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The institutional marginalization of Chinese migrant workers and their families

An understanding of education, gender and *hukou* citizenship

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Abstract

Exploring one of the intricacies of China's internationally renowned rapid rates of economic growth and development, this research aims to tackle the issue of migrant marginalization and social exclusion, through the exploration of access to education for migrant children. While vast literature on access to education for migrant children in urban settings currently exists, the existing literature largely lacks a gendered understanding and/or analysis. This research thus, aims to initiate discussion, and provide for a preliminary attempt at understanding the manifold relationships, and contemporary realities of deeply rooted 'son preference' across Chinese culture, and the socially exclusionary functions of the *hukou* citizenship system, through a historical institutionalist lens, within the context of one of the greatest mass migrations "possibly, in the history of the world," (Nielsen, Smyth & Vicziany, 2007, 1).

The research presented is rooted in a case study, conducted in Dongguan, Guangzhou, China in the summer of 2013, which involved surveying and speaking to migrant parents in the region. The primary data collected allowed for a preliminary analysis and thus, insight into a gendered evaluation of access to education for migrant children, highlighting trends and changes in gendered values across the migratory process. Additionally, this research further ignited a theoretical and conceptual discussion on the *hukou* citizenship system in the framing of *hukou* status as "inherited property," a concept derived from the work of Shachar and Hirschl (2007), and further analyzed alongside North's work on *Institutions* (1989, 1991), lending to a comprehensive and contemporary understanding of the *hukou* citizenship system and the barriers it causes in the upward social mobility of migrant workers.

Résumé

Explorant l'une des subtilités de la renommée internationale des taux rapides de la Chine de la croissance économique et le développement, cette recherche essaie de mieux comprendre le problème de la marginalisation des migrants et de l'exclusion sociale de ces derniers, à travers l'étude de l'accès à l'éducation de leurs enfants. Bien qu'une vaste littérature sur l'accès à l'éducation pour les enfants des migrants en milieu urbain existe, celle-ci manque largement une compréhension et/ou une analyse de genre. Cette recherche vise donc à lancer la discussion, et à présenter une première tentative de compréhension des multiples relations et réalités contemporaines de la « préférence des fils », qui est profondément enracinée dans la culture chinoise, et les fonctions d'exclusion sociale du système de citoyenneté *hukou*. Cette évaluation se fera dans une perspective d'institutionnalisme historique institutions, dans le cadre de l'une des plus grandes migrations de masse « peut-être, dans l'histoire du monde » (Nielsen, Smyth et Vicziany, 2007, 1).

La recherche présentée est enracinée dans une étude de cas, menée en Chine, à Dongguan, Guangzhou, pendant l'été 2013, qui inclut des sondages et des discussions avec des parents migrants dans la région. Les données primaires collectées ont permis une analyse préliminaire et, par conséquent, un aperçu d'une évaluation de genre de l'accès à l'éducation pour les enfants migrants, soulignant les tendances et les changements dans les valeurs parentales de genre dans le processus migratoire. En outre, cette recherche a amené une discussion conceptuelle et théorique sur le système de citoyenneté, le *hukou*, en définissant le statut *hukou* comme un « bien hérité », un concept dérivé du travail de Shachar et Hirschl (2007), et analysé plus en profondeur dans le travail de Nord sur les institutions (1989, 1991), prêtant à une compréhension complète et contemporaine du système de citoyenneté *hukou* et l'impact sur la mobilité sociale ascendante des populations migrantes en Chine.

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List of Acronyms

CCR-CSR	Centre for Child Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
RMB	Renminbi (Official Currency of the People's Republic of China)
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

Chapter 1. Introduction

The economic prosperity experienced in China over the past 35 years has been of unprecedented strength. Since the 1978 reforms of Deng Xiaoping, social and economic policies have opened up to the pressures of globalization toward a market oriented economy; a market orientation which can be attributed to China's average annual GDP growth rate of 11.3% over the past ten years (World Bank, 2012; Zhu, Webber & Benson, 2010). However, as the 2010 UN Human Development Report suggests, China has not seen a comparable level of human development alongside its economic gains. Rising inequalities have largely accompanied the rising aggregate wealth of the state (UNDP, 2010). Although China's Human Development Index (HDI) in 2012 stood at 0.699, categorizing it in the medium human development category, when adjusted for inequality China's HDI sees a loss of 22.4 percent (UNDP, 2013a). While loss due to inequality in income represents the greatest source of inequality, causing 29.5 percent of the overall loss, inequality in education is the second greatest contributing factor of inequality, contributing to an additional 23.2 percent of the overall loss (UNDP, 2013a).

As the second greatest source of inequality within the country, access to education therefore represents a central developmental issue in China. Despite the Compulsory Education Law in China, which became effective in 1986, many marginalized children still lack access to educational services (Cao, 2008; Li & Tsang, 2003). Where education is available, the quality of education is often deficient and of poor quality (Wang, 2008). Migrant workers, who collectively emblemize "the fuel for the engine room of China's high growth rate," and their children, have been those most highly marginalized throughout the economic reformation process (Bowles & Harriss, 2010; Nielsen et al., 2007, 2). For the context of this research, migrant workers in China will be defined as the domestic, often rural to urban migrants, who have left their hometowns and often provinces, largely in inland China, in search of employment in larger, coastal cities. Across

the process of migration, the children of migrant workers have become one of the groups of children most highly marginalized from the Chinese education system (Wang, 2008). Due to their *hukou*¹ status, an embedded institution of population control within Chinese society, migrant children are often marginalized from the educational system in destination cities, facing greater barriers to education than local *hukou* children.

As evident by the literature review which follows, there is substantial literature covering the marginalization of migrant workers and their children's access to primary education in urban settings, (Pai, 2012; Wang, 2008; Wong, Li & Song, 2007; Yan, 2005) Additionally, there is also considerable coverage within the literature on the marginalization of access to education for female children in rural areas (Hannum, 2003; Hannum, Kong & Zhang, 2009; Li & Tsang, 2003; Wang, 2005). However, specific literature on the context of access to education, at the primary level, for female migrant children, in contrast to their male counterparts, in urban, destination city settings is not well-established and largely under represented. In addition to advancing preliminary insight into the gendered dynamics of access to education for migrant children, the research also aims to contribute to debates in the literature rooted in the continued relevance of the *hukou* citizenship system and its impact on the well-being and life chances of migrant workers. This is developed through the exploration of whether *hukou* status remains as a central barrier to access to education for migrant children, and the intergenerational cycle of marginalization that institutionally denied rights to full citizenship may perpetuate.

The context of this research is framed through theoretical understandings of Social Exclusion Theory, the Rights Based Approach to Development and the Gender and Development

¹ *Hukou* Household Registration System – A domestic identification certificate originally implemented in 1958 to restrict rural – urban migration. Since the 1978 economic reforms in China the *hukou* system has been somewhat liberalized to allow migration to occur; however, domestic citizenship bound to place of birth, restricts migrants in destination cities from access to social welfare provisions (Nielsen et al., 2007).

Theory. The findings are additionally, more comprehensively evaluated, and more thoroughly understood through a lens of North's (1990) theory of institutionalism. Patterns of social exclusion for female children in relation to access to education, which has been observed in rural areas of China, were expected to transfer to the urban setting. This was anticipated as within the migrant context formally institutionalized barriers of access to education increase, due to outside *hukou* status limiting access to social services for migrants in urban areas, and further deep rooted ideologies and cultural perceptions of son preference, the informal constraints, were not expected to transform through the migratory process. For the context of this research, it is important to highlight that the discussion and use of the term 'access' is not limited to the understanding of whether or not a child has been granted access to an educational source. Rather, access is presented more broadly in scope, allowing for value-measurements such as quality to be encompassed in its understanding.

Conducted in the summer of 2013, this research focuses on a case study developed within the densely migrant populated city of Dongguan, Guangdong, China. Over the course of two months, 150 surveys were distributed, with a resulting 67 returned and completed surveys used for analysis. Additionally, a focus group and an interview were conducted during the data collection period. The majority of the participants and sample of this research included migrant parents with children living and attending primary school in Dongguan; however, migrant parents with children living and attending primary school in their hometowns and a public primary school teacher were also key informants in this research. It must be further noted that due to the sample collected, in terms of size, sample, and demographic representation, this research presents simply insight into a specific sample of migrant workers' experiences and realities and may not be representative of migrant populations outside of this study's sample.

Moving forward, the thesis will continue with a literature review encompassing the theoretical and contextual basis in which the research was conceptualized. The literature review will be followed by a description of the research design and methodology. This includes the central research questions and hypotheses of this research, and the methodological approaches across the data collecting field research process and the analysis period, which enabled a response to the research questions and hypotheses developed. Following the design and methodology, a profile of the sample and a description of the findings will be presented. Subsequently, an in depth and comprehensive analysis of key results is developed, alongside relevant discussion on the trends which emerged. The thesis will then draw towards its conclusion with an overview of the central findings of the research, the limitations and possible future directions.

Chapter 2. Contextual Review: Understanding and situating the migrant experience across the existing literature

The following literature review will begin with a brief overview of China's recent trends in migration. This will then be followed by a review of the existing literature which built the theoretical foundations of this research. Social Exclusion theory is first discussed alongside its relevance, and practical relationship to the *hukou* citizenship system. Continuing, the Rights Based Approach to Development is explored within the context of access to education, with Gender and Development theory expanding the discussion to encompass the gendered aspects of access to education. The literature review then finishes by placing, and contextualizing both the *hukou* citizenship system, and gender within an institutionalist framework.

2.1. China's Migratory Phenomenon

Initiated in 1978, China's economic reforms began by expanding property rights into rural areas and creating an environment which allowed for individual household gains through the sale of excess to state-quota production. This created incentives for labour efficiency and led to a more productive agricultural sector (Hu & Kahn, 1997). The increase in productivity in agriculture resulted in the "rapid growth of village enterprises and [drew] millions of people from traditional agriculture into higher-value-added manufacturing." (Hu & Khan, 1997, 5). As a result, this economic shift led to a surplus of labour in the rural, agricultural sectors. Alongside a partial liberalization of the *hukou* household registration system (which is further discussed in the section which follows) the surplus promoted, "the largest movement of people in China's history and possibly the history of the world;" driven by the rural to urban income gap (Nielsen et al., 2007, 1; Zhao, 2005).

Migrant labour can largely be credited to the unprecedented economic gains seen in China over the past 35 years. This claim is reinforced by Nielsen et al. (2007, 2) as they state that, “the migrants who have flooded into the cities along China’s eastern seaboard have been the fuel for the engine room of China’s high growth rate.” Despite their central contributions to China’s prosperity, migrant workers have been highly marginalized in the development process, with “growing awareness among not only civil society advocates, but also multinational enterprises and the Chinese government, that the burden of the economic development is being felt most by China’s migrant workers” (Lillywhite, 2007, 84). Migrant marginalization and their further social exclusion within the Chinese state are thus central to the research at hand. One area, through which the manifestation of this exclusion is exposed, is across the migrant realities of access to education.

2.2. Social Exclusion Theory & Hukou (户口) – Household Registration System

Julian Le Grand, cited in Barry (1998, 4), defines social exclusion by suggesting that “an individual is socially excluded if (a) he/she is geographically resident in [a country] but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control, he/she cannot participate in the normal activities of... citizens, and (c) he/she would like to so participate.” This definition, while seemingly simplistic, encompasses the central principles of social exclusion theory. The theory aligns closely to Sen’s capabilities approach which measures one’s freedom to achieve well-being rooted in the real opportunities available. Further, it presents a multidimensional understanding of deprivation which is inextricably linked to poverty and analyzed through social, political and economic functionings (Beall, 2002; Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997; Hong, 2005). Crucial to the explanation of social exclusion is an understanding of the “connections between people, problems, and processes” as the theory is inherently embedded in social interaction and social recognition and

cannot be disassociated from the overarching social structure encompassing the specific context of analysis (Kabeer, 2000, 3).

Through a neoliberal lens, social exclusion's interpretation somewhat diverges presenting an understanding more limited in scope. Evaluating the reality of the contemporary global economy rooted in neoliberal underpinnings, social exclusion is understood as a "necessary result of [the] global realignment of production, and the concomitant fact that workers formerly protected by trade barriers at a national level, and social security and formal employment conditions at a personal level are now excluded from such benefits," (Beall, 2002, 43). Bhalla & Lapeyre (1997) present what could arguably be a sub-category of this definition by recognizing the relationship between precarious labour and social exclusion. The informalization of labour, created by neoliberal globalization, has increased levels of precarious employment which is "highly correlated with...economic vulnerability, social-relation deprivation...and weak social participation," all fundamental characteristics of social exclusion (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997, 428). While the definition rooted in neoliberalism may not be as holistically encompassing, it evidently remains quite practical in a collaborative analysis with the more broadly defined theory, previously presented, for a more comprehensive understanding of the context of migrant labour in contemporary China.

In respect to precarious labour and neoliberal globalization, social exclusion can also be evaluated as a "product of institutional processes" which lends to both "informal constraints and formal rules," (Kabeer, 2000, 1; North, 1991, 97). North (1991, 98) argues that in understanding economic development, "the evolution of political and economic institutions that create an economic environment which induce [increases in] productivity" must not be overlooked. Relating this analysis directly to that of social exclusion, Kabeer's (2000, 9) conclusions which suggest social exclusion results "when institutional mechanisms through which resources are

allocated and value assigned operate in such a way as they systematically deny particular groups of people the resources and recognition which would allow them to participate fully in the life of that society,” compliment that of North (1990) and quite precisely depict the pattern of growth, resource allocation, and migrant marginalization in China.

One of the most overt formal institutions which has played an important role in China’s path of national economic prosperity is that of the *hukou* household registration system. Initially created in 1958 as a strict regulatory system on rural to urban and inter-provincial migration, the household registration system essentially restricted migration in its entirety, and as a result rooted citizenship to a person’s place of birth domestically (Nielsen et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2007). In the effort of filling the labour demand in urban areas, incurred through the transition to a market orientation of the Chinese economy, the *hukou* system has been somewhat liberalized allowing for the movement of rural workers to support the growing economy (Guan, 2000; Lan, 2009; Nielsen et al., 2007; Zhan, 2011). However, through their migration, while attached to their rural *hukou*, migrant workers have become “state-less” persons in urban settings (Nielsen et al., 2007). Migrant workers and their children are highly discriminated against due to their ‘outside’ and often rural status and are largely denied access to social welfare provisions in urban areas, reflecting the socially exclusive cause and consequence of their “poverty of social rights” (Hart-Landsberg, 2011; Hong, 2005, 723; Lan, 2009; Lillywhite, 2007; Nielsen et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2007).

While it is generally agreed upon across the literature on migrant labour in China that social exclusion has largely forged migrant workers’ marginalized status within society, across the understandings of social exclusion, its relation to the *hukou* system, and the impact of this institution on migrant workers, the literature tends to deviate. The deviation in the literature arises in understanding the relevance of the partially liberalized *hukou* system, and what impacts

it continues to have (or not) on the well-being and life chances of migrant workers. The dominant area of discourse argues that the *hukou* system remains the principle factor contributing to the social exclusion of migrant workers and more specifically to their marginalized access to social services (Applebaum & Lichtenstein, 2006; Lan, 2009; Nielsen et al., 2007; Wang, 2008).

Alternatively, scholars such as Zhan (2011) argue that the *hukou* system now plays a minimal role in the well-being of migrant workers. Zhan (2011) justifies this assertion with the fact that when given the opportunity to register to an urban *hukou*, less and less migrants are willing to do so, due to the limited increase in their well-being that the formalized registration will bring. While remaining aligned with social exclusionary thought, Zhan (2011) argues that discrimination, is more heavily seeded in free market functionings in which migrants lack marketable resources; through an informal identity based exclusion, rather than the formal *hukou* system itself.

Despite Zhan's (2011) work representing the most contemporary literature on this subject matter reviewed, and rightfully arguing the weakened relevance of the liberalizing *hukou* system, the continued relevance of *hukou* system in relation to the access to social services, and the affect it has on the transmission of social exclusion across generations is overlooked in his work. The initial functions of the *hukou* system which privileged urban residents, although liberalizing and arguably decreasing in formal relevance, remain embedded in present day China in its capacity to marginalize and socially exclude migrant workers of outside *hukou* status living and working in urban, destination city settings. In the effort of more holistically understanding, and theoretically framing migrant realities, it is becomes further important to acknowledge and align *hukou* based marginalization with the exploration of its impacts on access to education, within the framework of education as a basic human right.

2.3. Rights Based Approach to Development and Access to Education

Targeting marginalized and excluded groups, the Rights Based Approach to development is anchored in “the principles of universality, indivisibility, interdependence, equality and non-discrimination,” (UNFPA, 2007, 2). The Rights Based Approach to Development presents a normative framework supported by international law. The approach identifies individuals as right holders and as the central agents and participants of development, while holding states accountable to the enabling of full actualization of human rights across their citizenry as duty bearers, carrying with it the “notion of obligation” (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004, 1419; Davis, 2009). As articulated by Cornwall and Nyamu-Musemi (2004, 1417), the “rights based approach calls for existing resources to be shared more equally and for assisting the marginalized people to assert their rights to those resources.”

A central critique to this approach surmounts as although it is rooted within an internationally normative framework, adhering to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is essentially non-binding leaving little to no retribution for minor violations (Mansell & Scott, 1994). This critique attempts to invalidate the approach as it suggests the laws or international rights used to strengthen the development framework are over justified in the assumptions of the real gains that can be made through their application. The Rights Based Approach is thus critiqued as a seductive ‘new trend,’ encompassing mainstream approaches to development, under a new name (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Davis, 2009). However, despite the critiques made, the strength of the approach as a key framework of analysis is not dismantled. The potential that this approach, grounded in internationally recognized normative rights has, regardless of its non-binding status, to affect policy implementation in practice remains strong, as the strength of international normative influence maintains significance in our contemporary, globalized world (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004).

Article 26 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares the right to education to everyone, inferring education to be that of at least an elementary level (UN, 2012). Aligned with this article, the Rights Based Approach to Development identifies “the right of access to education [as comprising of] three elements: the provision of education throughout all stages of childhood and beyond; the provision of sufficient, accessible school places or learning opportunities; and equality of opportunity” (UNICEF, 2007, 29). Additionally, it incorporates the “right to quality education...that enables individuals to achieve their economic and social objectives and to acquire the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that bring about responsible and active citizenship” free from discrimination (UNICEF, 2007, 27). Migrant children in China however, do not have this right holistically satisfied.

In the context of access to education for migrant children in urban centers, the *hukou* system continues to impact and create barriers to their access to education (Goodburn, 2009; Lai et al., 2011; Liang & Chen, 2007; Wang, 2008; Wang & Holland, 2011; Yan, 2005). Due to their outside and/or rural status, migrant children are often directly disqualified from admittance to public schools in urban areas, or are required to pay higher fees than urban *hukou* children; fees which are often unaffordable to their low-incoming earning, migrant parents (Liang & Chen, 2007; Wang, 2008). Not only is their access to education limited, migrant children who are admitted to public schools often face discrimination from their peers, being labeled as “*jiedu* – students from outside community borrowing a place to study” (Wang, 2008, 693). Where access to public education is not an option, informal migrant private schools have been created. In the city of Dongguan, the location of research for this work, there are over 200 *minban* – or ‘people-run schools,’ outside of the publicly funded system which vary across quality (Mitchell, 2009). The quality of the physical schools which are often located in abandoned buildings, and the quality of teaching and curriculum are far below the standards of the public system, leaving

many migrant children academically disadvantaged in comparison to their urban *hukou* peers (Wang, 2008; Yan, 2005).

It is important to recognize that while migrant children are widely discriminated against, access to education, which is decentralized to local governments, varies across the country, presenting modest however, somewhat more positive trends in various regions. While cities such as Beijing, the nation's capital, are quite hostile to "migrants' self-provision of education," some coastal cities such as Xiamen and Shanghai have more progressively embraced migrant schools (Goodburn, 2009, 495; Wang, 2008). In these cities, regulatory standards have been put in place to increase the quality of education while also implementing migrant children quotas to be filled in public schools. Dongguan, the selected city of study, has also made advancements in the inclusion of migrant children in public schools. In 2009, the government instilled a policy allowing for "all children in Dongguan, migrant or not to receive free compulsory education" (Wang, 2011, 225). However, admission is continually based on specific requirements and subjective evaluations, allowing for the continued exclusion of migrant children, while exposing an evident gap in policy versus practice.

Relating back to the concept of social exclusion, in alleviating the marginalized position if migrant families within society, it is critical that migrant children obtain the same 'life-chances' to that of urban-born children by increasing their human capital, and avoiding the reproduction of marginalization and continued poverty over generations. Education which is not only a human right, is also seen as one of the central factors decreasing the transmission of intergenerational poverty and social exclusion, exhibiting its significance within the migrant context (Foster, Valdes, Davis & Anriques, 2011; Harper, Marcus & Moore, 2003; Hong & Pandey, 2008; Klassen, 2001; Wang, 2008).

In the effort of contributing to the current gap in the existing literature in which there is a limited understanding of the relationship between gender and access to education, aligned with the literature presented on social exclusion and the Rights Based Approach to development, feminist contributions and perspectives must also be explored. The following section thus examines a suitable feminist approach to development, and its application to access to education within in the Chinese context.

2.4. Gender and Development (GAD) Theory and Access to Education in China

Developed in reaction to both Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD) theories' weaknesses, Gender and Development (GAD) theory encompasses a more holistic understanding of gender relations, "looking at the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society," (Rathgeber, 1990, 494). Emphasizing not only the role of women in development but more specifically their oppressed position within the greater structural confines of socially constructed gender roles of both men and women, GAD enters the "private sphere, "giving special attention to the oppression of women in the family" while calling on the state as a central duty bearer in increasing gender equity within a society (Rathgeber, 1990, 494). Novel to GAD perspectives in contrast to both WID and WAD is its "fundamental re-examination of social structures and institutions [...] which affect [...] women as well as men" (Rathgeber, 1990, 495).

In line with GAD perspectives, the gendered constructs within Chinese society depict inequitable access to education across gender due the deep-rooted "traditional belief in the superiority of boys over girls," widely known as son preference (Yan, 2005, 4). As a result of the decentralization of educational administration and financing from the state to localities, rural regions, which have been less prosperous since the reforms, have had greater difficulty

supporting their educational systems. This, in turn, has increased the cost of education per child absorbed by the household, generally resulting in a cost-benefit analysis of which child or children in a family should be sent to school (Cao, 2008; Hannum, 2003). In rural families, who often have more than one child, as allowed by the *One-Child Policy*³ if the first born child is female, it is common for parents to commit greater resources to the male child, especially if it is perceived that investments in education for a girl will not translate into a good job and therefore economic returns for the family (Hannum et al., 2009; Yan, 2005). Moreover, “rural parents are making educational decisions based not on their perceptions about what is appropriate for the child but on what they think is best for the family’s economic future,” (Hannum et al., 2009, 476). This rural experience contrasts with that of a “children [born] in an urban setting [with] less competition for family resources,” as there is usually only one child, and the pool of family resources is generally greater (Hannum et al., 2009, 475). As a result, urban populations, who generally have higher levels of education and occupation, and thus income, treat daughters and sons more equitably than do rural populations, including in regards to educational opportunities (Burgess & Zhuang, 2000; Wang, 2008).

Regardless of the Compulsory Education Law initiated in 1986, and China’s Law on Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests, culturally embedded household decisions and parental expectations take precedence in the fate of girls’ education (Li & Tsang, 2003; UNESCO, 2008). The idea of education as an investment for the family’s economic future further marginalizes girls from opportunities to education as once they are married, they are perceived as no longer contributors to their family’s economic well-being (Hannum, 2003; Li &

³ One-Child Policy – Family planning policy in China implemented in 1978, restricts the majority of the Chinese Han population from having more than one child. Exceptions to the policy include: the allowance of a second child for rural *hukou* families whose first child is female; the allowance of a second child for new families where both parents are a single child; and ethnic minority groups are not subject to the policy.

Tsang, 2003). It is this investment cost that largely impacts rural female children's access to education in low income families. If the educational investment is seen as too costly in regards to the returns it will provide, it is more common for girls to be kept at home to support household economies; however, when financial resources are not as limited, "rural parents' decisions about education [are] more egalitarian" (Hannum, 2003, 147).

Li & Tsang (2003) argue that parental expectations of educational attainment for girls are lower than boys in rural areas, with the expectations rooted in culturally prescribed and traditional notions of gender roles in relation to the family, as suggested above. Hannum et al. (2009, 483), who more recently conducted research in Gansu province, the same region as Li and Tsang (2003), found that while culturally rooted discrimination in terms of access to education for female children still persists, maternal perceptions studied concluded "that few mothers think that girls are less capable or worthy of investment than boys, but substantial proportions of mothers expect future support from sons, and some mothers link this expectation to the view that investing in girls is a waste."

Developing a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of two of the most significant factors of this research, both the *hukou* system and gender, the final portion of the literature review will frame both aspects within their development as significant institutions within Chinese society, across their respective historical contexts.

2.5. Historical Institutionalism: A gendered perspective

2.5.1. The evolution of the hukou citizenship system through an institutionalist lens

Historical institutionalism therefore evaluates and examines the construct and continuation of institutions over time "in order to identify the causal sequences and developmental pathways that led to [their present...] outcomes," exploring the interplay of

institutions and organizations (Waylen, 2009, 250). Institutions are identified by North (1990; 3), a leading scholar on institutionalist thought, as “the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction.” Further, North (1990, vi) argues that “the importance of institutions arises from the costliness of measuring what is valuable, protecting rights, and policing and enforcing agreements. Once created, institutions determine the cost of acting in various ways in political and economic contexts.”

Juxtaposed to institutions, North (1990) further identifies *organizations* as a central factor of analysis in understanding the institutional evolution of an economy and society. North (1990, iv) defines organizations by suggesting that “organizations are created to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the institutions in shaping the development of economies.” Importantly, “both what organizations come into existence and how they evolve are fundamentally influenced by the institutional framework, in turn they influence how institutional framework evolves” (North, 1990, 5). In the context of this research, the organizations are most overtly represented by the household, urban city councils, the factory/firm, and schools and will be further explored in the discussion section of this thesis.

In greater relevance to the examination of the contemporary Chinese context, North (1991, 98) emphasizes that examining the historical impact and “evolution of political and economic institutions” is essential to understanding the economic development of a state and the “environment [created] that induced increasing productivity.” In order to evaluate and understand the developmental pathway and institutional evolution of an economy, North (1990) divides institutions into formal rules and informal constraints, separating the institutions rooted in law, and those rooted in culture, codes of conduct and norms of behaviour, the latter often maintaining greater persistence. In the context of this research, greatest emphasis has been

placed on the formal institution of the *hukou* citizenship system and the informal constraint of patriarchal notions of gender.

Understanding the formal institution of the *hukou* citizenship system, within the institutionalist framework, further requires an understanding of property rights. As defined by Ensminger (1996, 124), property rights are “the social institutions that define or delimit the range of privileges granted to individuals to specific assets.” Within the Chinese context, and more specifically within the context of this research, property rights are largely defined by the *hukou* system which delineates the opportunity sets and bargaining power of individuals rooted in the property rights allocated to them through their place of origin. Contrasting the property rights of migrants in their hometowns compared to their rights in urban areas, migrant workers experience a significant loss of property rights and bargaining power in destination cities. This includes, specifically in the context of this research, their access to social services and therefore their rights to public goods such as education.

The Chinese *hukou* system is one of the most significantly influential political institutions in contemporary Chinese society. Necessary to develop a comprehensive understanding of the institutionalized nature and evolution of the domestic citizenship system, in its role as a productivity increasing mechanism across China’s economic reforms, while concurrently working to maintaining the societal marginalization of its migrant citizenry, a brief account of the evolution of the *hukou* system will follow.

Population registration, existing in a variety of forms, has been embedded within Chinese society arguably since the Qing dynasty which began towards the second half of the 17th century (Cheng & Seldon, 1994). However, the *hukou* citizenship system, the system of greatest contemporary significance, was gradually implemented across the 1950’s, and became “a keystone of social control in Mao’s era, remain[ing as] a [central] pillar of China’s political

system,” (Wu, 2010, 56). Marxist in nature, China’s First Five-Year Plan of which the *hukou* system became a central component, was developed on “urban-centred perspectives...stressing the critical role of cities in the industrialization process” (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 651). This emphasized the urban and rural divide, and exposes the origins of the institutionalized dichotomy that exists in present day.

Initially implemented in 1951, the *hukou* system began as an exclusively urban residential registry “with the officially stated purpose of maintaining social peace and order, safeguarding the people’s security, and protecting their freedom of residence and movement” (Liu, 2005, 135). While maintaining its fundamental urban preference and reinforcing the prioritization of urban areas for industrialization, the *hukou* system soon evolved from a system registration “to explicit government policies to prevent unplanned migration” nationally, out of the state’s concern of the “influx of "non-productive" dependents to the cities,” which would in turn deter the industrialization process (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 657; Liu, 2005, 135). In 1955, the *hukou* system first categorized and designated citizens into either a rural or urban status limiting, however not completely restricting migration, as rural-urban labour migration was promoted intermittently to support urban industries (Cheng & Seldon, 1994). Privilege however, was granted by this system to urban residents through state guaranteed welfare by means of retirement, educational, and housing provisions, while the rural population relied on self-sustainability; this division, marking the contemporary initiation of the institutionalized “spatial hierarchy” across China’s citizenry which remains today (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 668; Wong et al., 2007).

With deteriorating conditions and poverty in the rural collectives juxtaposing the growing industrialization and social protection the eastern cities, the motivation to migrate to urban areas became self-evident. Thus, between 1949 and 1956 China’s urban population grew by 34.6

million, 60 percent of which were rural migrants (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 652). With growing concern over the rates and costs of urbanization, and “in response to signs of famine and economic collapse,” in 1958 a state enforced reduction in urban population ensued, transferring over 10 million urban citizens to rural areas; citizens who were “unaware of the long-term consequences of their downward transfer,” (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 666). To permanently reinforce this transfer, the *hukou* system tightened at this time and restricted migration, inter- and intra-provincially in its entirety.

Aligned with the transition away from a centrally planned, to a market orientated economy since the 1978 reforms, the *hukou* system, out of economic necessity, experienced a transition to a more liberalized functioning. By liberalizing the *hukou* system to re-allow migration within the country, while denying rural *hukou* migrants access to the social welfare systems in urban areas, the growing industries in urban areas were, and are still able to capitalize on and exploit China’s “reserve army of cheap labour” (McMichael, 2008, 288).

Reviewing the evolution of the *hukou* system allows the system’s institutionalized roots within the centrally planned economic system of China’s past to be exposed; foundations and roots which remain embedded in contemporary Chinese society. Furthermore, this review allows for the impact of *organizations*, as defined by North (1990), on institutional evolution to become evident. Not only has the *hukou* system consistently been used a mechanism to control migration and more specifically its human resources and labour force to the benefit of economic development, as highlighted by Cheng and Sheldon (1994, 667), “the *hukou* system provided the institutional core of the system of rural exile,” perpetually reinforcing urban preference. One of the most significant implications of the evolution of the *hukou* system, has been its informal transition from a dichotomous segregation of its population from a “two-class rural-urban society” to the development of an informal third class representing the majority of migrant workers who

maintain a rural *hukou* but reside in urban areas (Zhang & Treiman, 2013, 72). As reinforced by Wu (2010, 65) the Chinese migrant population has been systematically denied the rights to their citizenship in urban areas, as “the migrants are citizens of the People’s Republic of China only when they remain in their native places. Once they leave, they are transformed into ‘aliens,’ or more accurately, ‘alien nationals.’”

2.5.2. *Son preference as a gendered, informal constraint*

As exposed by the barriers to education for female children acknowledged in the previous literary section, the socially constructed institution of patriarchal notions of gender also plays a significant role in this analysis. Evaluating the potential transfer of gender discriminatory decision making from rural households to rural *hukou* families living in urban settings, demands for an alignment of contributions from feminist political science scholarship and that of historical institutionalism (Waylen, 2009). Mackay et al. (2010, 581) reinforce the importance of collaboration, as “new institutionalist scholars, [such as historical institutionalists,] miss the opportunity to fully discern the nature and interplay of formal and informal institution and the differential effect they have on the men and women operating within these environments as well as the products – norms, rules, policies and laws – these institutions produce.”

While it may be suggested that patriarchal and patrilineal functionings across the majority of the contemporary world dominate societal and kinship structures, levels of son preference in East Asian countries, such as China, are found to be rooted in an order of “unilineal descent,” and “rigid patrilineal...kinship systems” (Gupta et al., 2003, 160; Ikels, 1993, 124). This rigidity is in contrast to European or Western counterparts in which bilateral descent is practiced in which “all ancestors and descendants regardless of sex [are recognized] as equal members of the kinship group,” characterized as much more flexible (Ikels, 1993; 124). Gupta et al., (2003; 160-

161) further depicts this ‘rigidity versus flexibility’ comparison in terms of land inheritance in that in “peasant Europe, women could inherit land if their parents had no sons, and the daughter and her husband would take over the property; [however,] in China, ... it would be extremely rare for a daughter to inherit land. A man without sons might adopt one from among the man’s male kin, or take another wife or concubine.” Highlighting the significance of male children as the carriers of lineage within the Chinese family, deep rooted son preference is evidently exposed.

The influences of Confucian traditions and ancestor worship have throughout Chinese history played, and continue to play a role in the development and perseverance of son preference within Chinese culture, and the notion of son continuance of the family lineage. Hillier (1988, 104) cited in Wang (2005, 6) identifies that, “according to Confucian belief, one of the three grave unfilial acts is to fail to have a son, and in pre-revolutionary times, this was grounds for a man to divorce his wife.” Aligned, ancestor worship in China is rooted in the understanding that one must “ensure the welfare of departed souls,” and because male children are thought to maintain the highest return on investment, as they do not marry out of the family and thus ensure the welfare of their elders, “without sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, one’s afterlife if insecure” (Gupta et al., 2003, 167).

In the 1950s, post-revolution, “the Communists’ ideological commitment to gender equality resulted [in a...] de-emphasis” on gendered differences (Entwisle et al., 1995; Gupta et al., 2003, 178-179). The government at this time announced that women's participation in social and economic development was not only an issue of concern to women, but also “an issue important to society as a whole,” (Entwisle et al., 1995; Wang, 2005, 4;). Furthermore, post-revolution, the Communist government’s public push for gender equality alongside the promotion of collectivism “reduced the importance of the rural family...and suppressed emphasis

on ancestral worship” (Li & Lavelly, 2003, 88). Li and Lavelly (2003) identify that between 1949 and the mid-1970s, rates of infanticide decreased. Therefore, during this time, it is suggested that the prevalence of son preference probably lessened. However, although the status of women was rising in the public sphere, the basic rules of kinship, and private social order remained untouched and were largely maintained (Gupta et al., 2003). This social order, is one that Gupta et al. (2003, 181) suggests, “is one of the most fundamental aspects of Chinese culture, capable of persisting despite rising incomes, education and urbanisation,” reinforcing its strength of influence and persistence as an institutionalised informal constraint in Chinese society, during a time of organizational pressure for change.

The economic reforms of 1978 brought forward a re-intensification, and a shift in values associated to son preference, as decollectivization reinstated the family as the central unit of social and economic security, rather than the collective (Entwisle, 1995; Li & Lavelly, 2003). Not only did families want more male children for farm labour, guaranteed social welfare from the collective no longer existed. Therefore, sons were preferred as they would remain within the family in adulthood rather than be married out, and were thus seen as the familial source of social security of the future (Hannum et al., 2009). Additionally, resurfacing from its suppression during the Mao era, ancestral worshipping returned to family life, maintaining male preference and again exposing the culturally institutionalized nature of son preference within Chinese culture (Li & Lavelly, 2003).

Around the same time as the initiation of the reforms, in 1979 China implemented the One-Child Policy, which has been widely studied, and has been found to have created an imbalanced sex ratio within the country. Gupta et al. (2003, 157) suggests that while “female infanticide was noted at least a century ago,... sex ratios at birth started rising sharply around 1985, when sex-selective technology began to become widespread.” While the sharp rise in the

sex ration at birth did not occur directly with the initiation of the One-Child Policy, the policy alongside the “availability of sex selective technology both worked to raise discrimination against female children,” (Gupta et al., 2003, 157).

Three and a half decades, and more contemporarily, it has been suggested that an increase in economic opportunities and incomes for women, especially rural women in China, has the potential to “weaken the economic basis for son preference” (Li & Lavelly, 2003, 102). While Li and Lavelly (2003, 102) suggest that this trend may be slower in reaching “China’s rural periphery,” with the current rates of migration from rural to urban areas, there is the potential that this trend and subsequent values, may transform more quickly than if China was not experiencing such high rates of urbanization.

As the 2013 China National Human Development Report indicates, 2011 represented the first time that China had more urban than rural residents, which in 2012 translated to 52.6 percent of the population living in urban areas rather than rural (UNDP, 2013b, 1). Gupta et al. (2003, 177) reinforces the influence of the urban transformation in China and the greater levels of gender equality, alongside the significantly decreased value of ‘son preference’ they reflect, in identifying that “in the metropolis of Shanghai, the sex ratios have become fairly normal, in stark contrast with evidence of heavy discrimination against females around 1900.” While continued son preference is widely understood as a culturally institutionalized norm within Chinese society, these values, although evidently deeply rooted and embedded, should not be understood as fixed or unchangeable as evidence of their transformative potential is here visible; a transformative potential, that has been explored and uprooted by the field research conducted of this study.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Research Objectives

The purpose of this research was to examine whether trends in access to education for female children observed in rural areas in China, transferred to the urban setting upon migration. Specifically, it looked to explore whether or not female migrant children are more highly marginalized, in terms of access to education compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, and in greater depth, the research aimed to evaluate how institutional, cultural, or economic factors in urban settings, limit access to education for female migrant children, examining what factors, and how these factors impact or cause inequitable access to education, compared to that of their male counterparts, if found to be inequitable, in the specific locality of Dongguan, Guangdong, China.

The objectives of this research were to:

1. Quantify the male to female ratio of children per family enrolled in education, across a variety of family make ups (one female child, one male child, a female and a male child etc.) of primary school grade, juxtaposing both public and private sources of education
2. Qualitatively examine the sources of education and the quality of education received by the migrant children under review and any gendered differences
3. Qualitatively uproot how institutional/social, cultural or economic factors work to marginalize female migrant children's access to education
4. Address the debate in the literature on the continued relevance of the hukou system on migrant life chances

3.2. *Research questions and hypotheses*

The central research questions and objectives of this research arose out of the gap in the literature, of which a gendered analysis of access to education for migrant children in urban China was largely non-existent. Therefore, without said literature existing on the specific subject of study, my hypotheses were developed by drawing on the existing literature for potential outcomes and results. Rooted in the literature on access to education for girls in rural settings, which generally concludes that female children are more disadvantaged than male children in their access to education, I hypothesized that female marginalization from access to education will remain a common trend across rural *hukou* children in urban settings. This was hypothesized through the understanding that comparable reasons for marginalized access to education for female children in rural areas may be sustained in urban settings, when faced with greater barriers to education in destination cities caused by the *hukou* system. As this was strictly a hypothesis rooted in a possible, yet not proven positive correlation, my *research questions* asked:

1. Does access⁴ to primary education for migrant children in urban settings vary according to the sex of the child?
2. How do institutional/social, cultural or economic factors limit the access to education of migrant children, and more specifically female migrant children, with an outside *hukou* in

⁴ For the purpose of this research, access to education is understood in alignment with Article 26 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which declares the right to education to everyone, inferring education to be that of at least an elementary level (UN, 2012). Article 26 states “the right of access to education [as comprising of] three elements: the provision of education throughout all stages of childhood and beyond; the provision of sufficient, accessible school places or learning opportunities; and equality of opportunity,” while importantly incorporating the “right to quality education...that enables individuals to achieve their economic and social objectives and to acquire the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that bring about responsible and active citizenship” free from discrimination (UNICEF, 2007, 29; 27)

urban destination city settings to primary education, compared to that of their male counterparts?

With these questions at the forefront of my research, my *central hypotheses* suggested that:

1. Comparable findings of the barriers to education for female children in rural settings, which are rooted in gendered discrimination and generally conclude that female children are more disadvantaged than male children in their access to education, will remain a constant trend across outside *hukou* children living in urban settings
2. The *hukou* – household registration system, while liberalizing and arguably decreasing in formal relevance remains embedded formally and informally in present day China in its capacity to marginalize and socially exclude migrant workers of outside status, living and working in urban settings.

3.3. Rationale & Significance

The central rationale and significance of this research are threefold:

- i) Chinese migrant workers have been denied the holistic right to their own citizenship. The insitutionalized *hukou* citizenship system has disadvantaged and marginalized a significant mass of China's population from the benefits of their labour, and more broadly denied them of equal access and opportunities to benefit from the overall growth and development occurring within the country. Examining the historically rooted institutionalized nature of the *hukou* system, alongside its contemporary manifestations allows for a comprehensive evaluation of inherently inequitable rural to urban divides and the impacts it has on migrant life chances..
- ii) As previously acknowledged, China has not seen increases in human development concurrent to their immense economic rates of growth. Not only do slower rates of human

development have the potential to impact future economic growth within the country, imbalanced human development has resulted in an increase in inequality. The second greatest area of this inequality, in China, is rooted in access to education issues, thus presenting an interesting area of study and evaluation as to where this inequality is present and in what forms. Migrant workers in contemporary China who largely represent the labour power producing China's economic prosperity, and their children, represent one of the most marginalized groups subject to the inequalities conceived during the rapid economic growth of China. Thus, at a macro level, this study presents a case study examining one of the intricacies facing China's weak human development outcomes alongside its economic gains. At a micro level, the significance of this research is rooted in the fact that increased access, and equal opportunity to education for migrant children has the potential to contribute to migrant workers' families and the breaking of the cycle of marginalization and discrimination currently experienced.

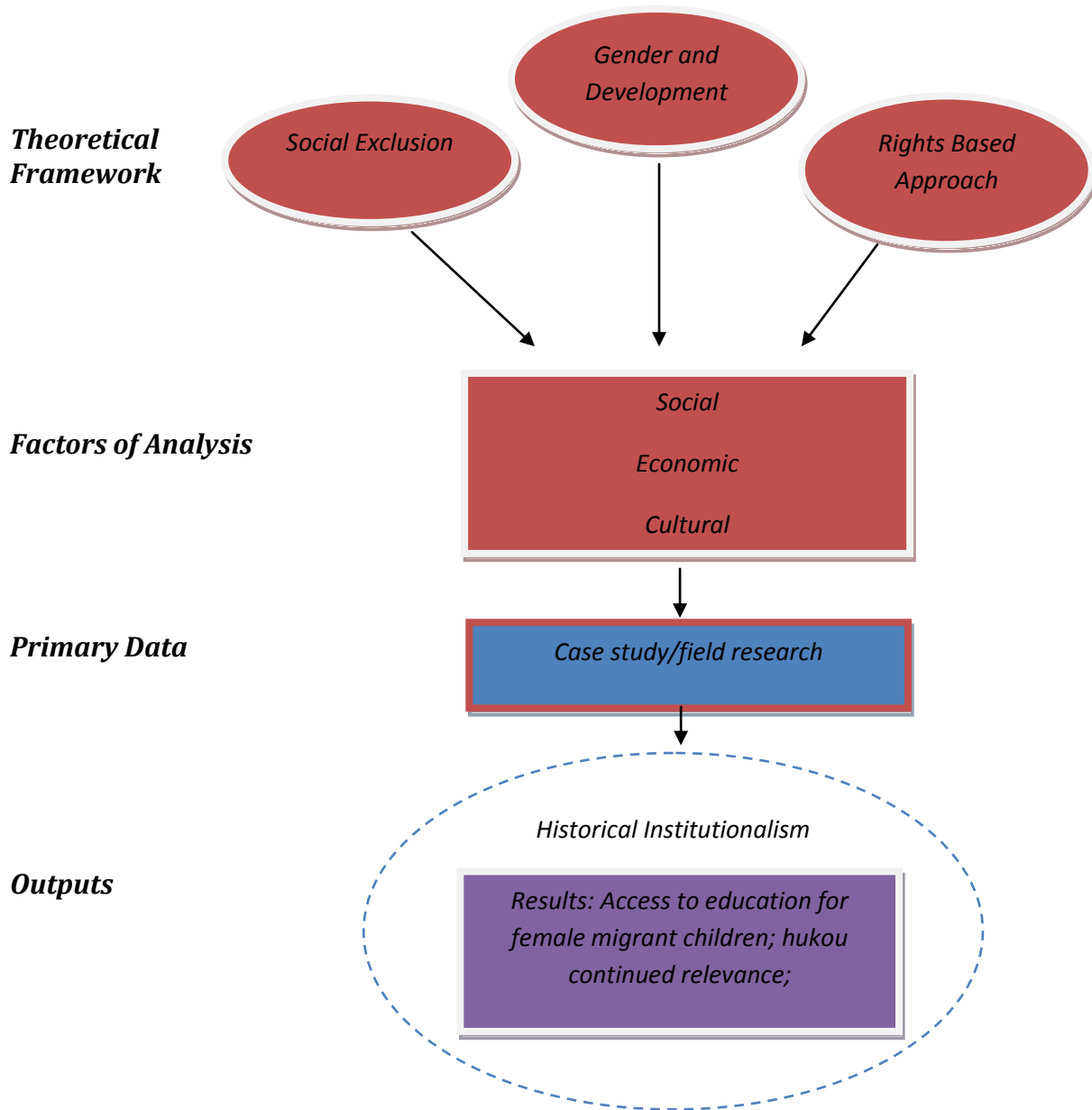
iii) Female migrant children who are denied equality of access to education are experiencing a violation of their fundamental human right to education. Identifying the marginalization and barriers to education for female migrant children in urban settings, which is under represented across the literature on migrant children's access to education, allows for not only a contribution to the specific area of literature but also a broader contribution to the evaluation of the status of women in China. Issues of son preference and female infanticide in China are widely understood; however, alongside China's transitions, are ever changing. This research thus explores a specific area of human development in China while uncovering aspects of a changing China and the impacts of economic reform and the resulting migration and urbanization, on gender perspectives.

3.4. Research Design & Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in *Figure 1.* illustrates the framework and central theoretical components of my research, which assisted in guiding my methodological process in both preparing for the field research exercise, and also in the comprehensive analysis and discussion of research findings. As indicated in *Figure 1.*, there are three central theoretical bases, of which my research was rooted. This theoretical framework includes: Social Exclusion; Gender and Development; and the Rights Based Approach. From these theories and the context relevant literature related to these theories, the central factors of analysis for this research were drawn. The three central factors of analysis include: socially, formal institutions – which for the context of this research specifically related to the *hukou* system; the economic variable relating to aspects such as household income, tuition costs, education viewed as a return on investment; and culture or the informal constraints – which largely explored the notion and continuance of patriarchal notions of gender and song preference in Chinese culture. In the effort of uncovering a relationship between gender and access to education for migrant children, these three factors of analysis were the focus of my field research and research tools.

Social Exclusion Theory was used to contextualize the *hukou* household registration system and its contribution as a central barrier to education for female migrant children in Dongguan. While the *hukou* directly marginalizes migrant children from the public education system, it also marginalizes migrant parents from fair and competitive wages, weakening opportunities for gaining access to high quality education for their children, thus clearly indicating a dual relationship between social exclusion and two of the central factors of analysis. Social exclusion is in large caused by migrant *hukou* status which is reflected by the formal institutions factor, and further by their economic abilities to contribute to educational resources.

Figure 1 - Conceptual Framework



Gender and Development (GAD) theory is used as the theoretical frame in which the evaluation and understanding of ‘son preference’ rooted in Chinese culture, is seen as a barrier to education for female children. The economic variable is also linked to the GAD component as it may be concluded that with an increase in financial resources, “decisions about education are more egalitarian” (Hannum, 2003, 147; Hannum et al., 2009). More broadly, the Rights Based Approach to Development is used to assess and examine the broader policy versus practice gaps in the evaluation of the *hukou* and gender based discrimination in the access to education for migrant children, encompassing the totality of the migrant child’s context which includes institutional, economic and cultural realities.

The field research findings exposed by the factors of analysis, three variables that dominate across the relevant literature presented, allowed me to identify gender specific characteristics in access to education, which deviates from the already developed literature on migrant children as a whole. Further, focusing on these three central variables enabled me to participate in the debate on the continued relevance of the *hukou* system on migrant life chances. Institutional thought was then applied to the research findings in an effort to explore the origins and evolution of the social constructs of two of the central factors of analysis (*hukou* and cultural gender preferences), to gain a better understanding as to why the patterns exposed were occurring. These components have contributed not only to the greater understanding of the subject matter at hand, but have also, as demonstrated by the conceptual framework in *Figure 1*., allowed for a comprehensive evaluation, and contextualization of the field research findings. This further resulted in the outputs and contributions, available in the *Results and Discussion* section of this thesis.

3.5. Site Selection

Figure 2. Location of study – Dongguan, Guangdong, China



The field research for this study was conducted in June and July, 2013 in Dongguan, a prefectural level city in the province of Guangdong, China (See Figure 2). Located in the south-western region of China, Dongguan consists of an urban core in the north-western region of the city with an additional 32 towns and 546 villages in the surrounding area (Dongguan Gov., 2011). Previously a county, Dongguan became a city in 1985, earning prefectural level status in 1988 (Dongguan Gov., 2011). With an average annual GDP growth rate of 8 percent, Dongguan has quickly developed and become a central exporting hub specializing in “information technology, plastics, and shoe and furniture manufacturing [...] and therefore, for decades has been one of the major destination cities for China’s migrant workers” (Pai, 2012, 188; Statistical Bureau of Guangdong Province, 2011). Furthermore, migrant workers account for 70-80 percent of the labour force in Dongguan; however, earn 1.63 times less than urban *hukou* residents, exemplifying the continual inequalities faced by migrants within the city (Chan, 2012, 188). According to the national census completed in 2010, the total resident population of Dongguan

was 8.2 million; of this total, only 1.8 million people had a localized urban *hukou*, thus exposing the high migrant population, of approximately 80 percent, as a proportion of the city's overall demography.

In terms of access to education for migrant children, as previously mentioned, in 2009 a new policy was put in place to promote access to all children residing in Dongguan, including migrant children (Wang, 2011). The requirements needing to be met in order to gain access to public education within the city first require that the child's parents have been in the city for at least three years while contributing to social insurance during this time. Therefore, although in policy all students have the right to free compulsory education, in practice there remains a gap, leaving many migrant children excluded, with the direct exclusion of new arrivals to the city. Additional requirements which may exclude migrant children from access to public schooling include the level of their parents' education, their job titles, living conditions, and family planning abidance with the One-Child Policy (Wang, 2011). While "evaluation and enrolment were to strictly follow the regulations and were to be 'open & fair,'" it remains evident that some of the requirements could not feasibly or easily be met by all migrant families (Wang, 2011, 225). Therefore, the evidently marginalized position of migrant children to access education within the city of Dongguan, alongside its mass migrant population presented an ideal environment for gathering the data and sample needed for this research.

3.6. Data Collection & Analysis

The data collection and field research process undertook a mixed-method approach combining both quantitative and qualitative research. This approach was taken in the effort of gaining a holistic understanding of the context specific subject matter. This approach allows for the strengths of each method to be capitalized upon while enabling the triangulation of theory,

methods and information to produce the findings central to the research (Mayoux, 2006; Neuman, 2006). That being said, to gain further insight into the issues uncovered through a preliminary review of the largely quantitative survey results, a qualitative focus group and interview were also conducted.

3.6.1. Sampling Method

Nonprobability purposive snowball sampling was used as my sampling method of choice for this research. This method was chosen as an ‘outsider’ to the population of study and more generally the country of study, this method would allow for greatest success in obtaining responses from hard-to-reach populations (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). In the application of this sampling method, the weaknesses of this approach were understood. This includes getting the perspectives of solely a specific social network and thus limiting the representativeness of the sample.

The survey questionnaires and focus group were conducted with migrant parents, across a divide of single child and multi-child homes. Exemptions from, and specific conditions of the One-Child Policy which include; the allowance of a second child to a rural *hukou* family if the first child is female, the allowance of more than one child if the parents are members of an ethnic minority, and the allowance of a second child if both parents come from single child households, made the possibility of finding dual-child households realistic and achievable. The sample included low-skilled to high-skilled migrant workers, both mothers and/or fathers of primary school aged children. The core survey sample intended to obtain 45 survey respondents and conduct a focus group with 10-15 participants; however due to a change in the sample source, which is described below and the resulting higher response rate, a larger sample was collected.

Originally, the proposed research sample was intended to be derived from the Lejichengping Leather Co. factory. However, upon initial attempts to administer the survey, it was found that this sample source did not have sufficient participants who fit the desired central sample criteria and desired sample size. The central and minimum criterion was of a migrant parent with at least one child living and attending school in Dongguan. Due to this complication, an adapted and alternative method of gathering the sample for the survey was adopted; however, participants from the Lejichengping Leather Co. factory, still maintained participation in this study, some as participants of the focus group session and some as respondents of a secondary survey. The secondary survey (11 participants) was generated to explore, in greater detail, the experiences of migrant parents who were working and living in Dongguan, however had a child or children living and studying in their hometowns. This survey allowed for an uncovering of the central barriers faced in obtaining access to education for their children in Dongguan. Additionally, the secondary survey results allowed for a comparison of variables between those who were able to bring their children to the destination city of Dongguan to live and study, and those who were not.

The participation of the sample derived from the Lejichengping Leather Co. factory was crucial to this study as part of the sample. Not only did it allow for a more qualitatively developed understanding of the central concerns across the subject matter in terms of their participation in the focus group, their participation in the secondary survey allowed for the perspectives and voice of a lower-skilled migrant population. This contrasts with the medium to higher skilled migrant population which were more highly represented in the core survey respondent sample, as explored below. (For further detail see also *Profile of Sample Section – Chapter 4*).

Therefore, in gathering the participants and sample of this research for the core survey, public and private elementary schools in the area were identified, and sent via e-mail, a posting for participation in the study. As a result, three schools responded and accepted to participate. Of the three schools two were public schools and the third was a high quality private school. The public schools included Baisha Elementary School, located in the Humen district of Dongguan city in the south-western most region, and Sanxing Elementary School, located in the Dalang district in the south-central region of the city. The private school participation came from Dongcheng Private School, located in the Dongcheng district in the north-west region and closest to the Dongguan city centre. Each school was provided with 50 surveys to administer to the parents of outside *hukou* migrant children within their respective schools. This resulted in the return of a total of 56 completed and eligible core surveys. The gender division of eldest children in the core sample of the 56 respondents' includes 30 eldest male and 26 eldest female children. The 11 respondent sample of the secondary survey, in which the children are living and attending primary school in their hometown consists of 5 eldest male and 6 eldest female children.

3.6.2. Quantitative + Qualitative Data – Core and Secondary Survey Questionnaires

The core (56 respondent) and secondary (11 respondent) questionnaires developed for this research were constructed in two parts (*See Appendix II & IV*). Both first and second sections are identical in the questions asked; however, the first section refers to the eldest or only child in a family, and the second section, for multi-child homes, is asked to be responded to based on the second eldest child in the family, if relevant. The survey was created in this manner, to include participants of households with just one child, regardless of the sex of the child or with two or more children, with the option to respond for up to the two eldest children within a family. This survey format was employed as it expands the scope of possible respondents, allowing for

unanticipated trends in the potentially differing gendered dynamics in access to education in urban areas depending on the familial make up and birth order of a child, while additionally allowing for a comparison between single and dual-child households.

As seen in the survey examples in *Appendix II and IV*, the surveys begin in the first section with a set of 13 and 12 demographic and more quantitative questions, respectively, ranging from age, gender, *hukou* status and income, to attainment of residence permits, time lived in the destination city of Dongguan, and familial make up. The only variance in the two surveys' demographic questions is the omission of the thirteenth demographic question in the core survey from the secondary survey, which asks the respondents to indicate if anyone helped them locate a source of education for their children upon arrival in Dongguan, as it is irrelevant to the secondary survey respondents.

In the core survey (*See Appendix II*), the demographic questions are followed by the second section, which includes a set of 16 questions. These questions, first, quantitatively ask respondents to identify the gender, enrolment status and location of enrolment, grade level and source of education of their eldest child. Depending on the enrolment status and location of enrolment, respondents are given further instructions of which questions to respond in the continuation and completion of the survey. After said instruction, more subject matter specific, and qualitative questions are asked such as: the duration of time taken to have their eldest child enrolled in school upon arrival in the city and any related barriers to enrolment, tuition costs, and access based questions relating to ease of access and values in access to education for their children, etc. These exact 16 questions are then repeated for the third section of the survey, regarding the second eldest child in a family, if relevant.

In the secondary survey (*See Appendix IV*), the first section of demographic questions is followed by the second section, which similar to the core survey, asked respondents to answer

based on their eldest child. Following a similar format, four initial questions are asked regarding the gender, age, enrolment status and grade of the eldest child. This is followed by eight subsequent questions regarding main barriers to access to education for their child in Dongguan, gender equality in access to education, preference of location of education for their child and ease of access, etc. These exact 12 questions are then also repeated for the third section of the survey, regarding the second eldest child in a family, if relevant. The qualitative findings from the survey questionnaire alongside the focus group and interview, which followed, allowed for further insight into the social, economic or political barriers limiting the access of education for migrant children and provided additional information if the desired outcome, of the more qualitatively rich discussion group and interview, was not obtained.

The initial administration of the surveys at the Lejichengping Leather Co. factory was considered as an important pilot test of the core survey. After a review of the initial completed surveys, alterations and revisions to the original survey were made for clarification and specification. This was done in an attempt to increase the relevance of the content of the survey and the output of responses to the research questions. These revisions were made prior to the dissemination of the survey to the three participating schools.

As described in *Sampling Methods*, 50 core surveys were distributed to each of the three participating schools. To ensure the surveys were not viewed by the students, each survey was sent in a sealed envelope, which also included a second envelope to seal upon the completion and return of the survey. The distribution of the secondary survey varied in that it was distributed directly to the migrant parents at their location of employment. They were able to complete the survey in the same day and return it promptly, also in a sealed envelope.

3.6.3. *Qualitative Data – Semi Structured Focus Group & Interview*

Recognized as one of the most useful interview methods for conducting qualitative research, with participants of whom there may only be the opportunity to interview on one occasion, a semi-structured focus group and an individual semi-structured interview were used as the central methods of gaining the qualitative inputs of this research (Barriball & While, 1994). The semi structured nature allowed for a series of questions, rooted in gaining further insight into outstanding questions based on a preliminary review of survey results, to be asked, while leaving the discussions somewhat open to explore unanticipated venues and subject matter (*See Appendix VI & VIII for focus group and interview question guides, respectively*). This approach also allowed the interviewer, the research assistant, to probe for more information when responses were limited in scope.

Both the focus group and interview were conducted in an informal way which including meeting the participants in a restaurant and eating dinner in a private room within the restaurant, which is very common in China. The focus group, which included 12 participants from the Lejichengping Leather Co., was composed of four male participants and eight female participants. The focus group and dinner lasted two and a half hours and was audio recorded, to the knowledge of the participants. The resulting focus group discussion and content proved to be very rich in content and allowed for greater insight into the real and lived experiences of migrant workers and their children's access to education. The discussion included topics of gender perspectives and gender equality, and the long and short term complications and difficulties relating to *hukou* status in terms of education.

The individual interview was held with a female teacher from the Baisha Elementary School. The teacher was the central contact point for the survey distribution in her school, and provided qualitative insight into the subject matter from a different perspective, than that of the

migrant parents. As a teacher, of local *hukou* status, who has been working in a Dongguan public school for over 13 years, the Baisha Elementary School interviewee provided for a more indepth understanding of the public school system and its conditions for migrant children. Her insight allowed the contextualization of the subject matter within the greater governmental point system⁵ for migrants in Dongguan city, content which was not deeply explored through the survey questionnaire.

3.6.4. Analysis of Data

The central analysis of this research has been conducted through the categorization of the sample into two tiers. There tiers include: 1) respondents with children living and attending primary school (either public or private) in Dongguan (56), and 2) respondents with children living and attending primary school in the migrants' hometown (11). Furthermore, the central analysis of this research has been rooted in the review of the survey responses for the eldest child or only child in a respondent's family. This does not holistically exclude the information of a second child in a multi-child home, from the study; however, in the effort of maintaining a manageable scope, set within a realistic timeframe for analysis, the information of the second child in a multi-child home has been used as supplementary and supporting information, rather than encompassed in the core analysis. Additionally, the survey results for the core 56 respondent sample of respondents with children living and attending school in Dongguan, have been further analyzed based on the source of education (private vs. public) and the gender of the child, and further in accounting for the familial make-up of the households (one child, or two or

⁵ The Dongguan Point system calculates migrants education, working experience, time lived in the city, adherence to the One-Child Policy on a point based scale to evaluate the benefits they are able to obtain in the city, including whether or not they are able to enrol their children in Dongguan public schools, or obtain local Dongguan *hukou*

more children homes). This deeper analysis better situates the issues and gendered dynamics of access to the different sources and quality of education, across a variety of familial make-ups.

The quantitative data was manually analyzed through simple derivations such as “totals, means, ratios, percentages, etc. [...and is] presented through tables and graphs” through the use of the basic descriptive statistics mentioned (Jambwa, 2003, 39). This manual analysis was conducted with the use of Microsoft Excel spreadsheets and formulas. The qualitative data within the survey questionnaires, and the discussion group and interview was also analyzed manually. Due to the fact that there was only one focus group and one interview, the qualitative findings were independently drawn from the transcriptions and the process of coding and categorizing was deemed unnecessary.

In following a mixed method approach, the surveys were both qualitatively and quantitatively embedded, and the focus group and interview were largely qualitatively expansive. The quantitative outputs from the survey allowed for the qualitative findings to be situated within the statistically analyzed quantitative results and develop a greater understanding of the participant sample of my research. More importantly, this method allowed for the identification of common variables and/or patterns that either increase or decrease gender discrepancies in access to education for migrant children and “shed light on the phenomena that are the main focus” of the research (Glewwe & Levin, 2005, 336).

3.7. Transcription and Translation

As the surveys and interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, a language in which I have only an intermediate level of comprehension; the assistance of a research assistant as a translator and transcriber was required. This included the translation of the questionnaire survey template and returned written responses, the focus group and interview questions, leading the

both focus group and interview discussions, and the further transcription of the audio recordings of these activities. Working closely and collaboratively with my research assistant through the translation process allowed for issues of ‘emic’ translation, “referring to terms that are specifically defined under a particular culture” to be rigorously discussed and clarified (Peng & Nunes, 2008, 246).

Chapter 4. Profile of Sample and Description of Survey Findings

This chapter will begin by developing a detailed understanding of the samples surveyed. First, the demographic statistics derived from *Section 1* of the surveys conducted (*See Appendix II & IV*) are illustrated through a description of central geographic, socio-economic, and cultural factors. The profiles of the samples continue with a description of the educational dimensions of the respondent's children, which is then followed by a detailed description of the survey findings. The survey findings are described for both core and secondary surveys, and are organized according to central survey questions and themes. This section includes both a description of the core survey sample of migrants with children living and studying in Dongguan, as well as subsections of the secondary survey sample respondents with children living and attending school in their hometowns.

4.1. Geographic Portrait of Sample

4.1.1. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in Dongguan

In reviewing the hometowns and provinces of origin of the sample population, it becomes evident that the majority of respondents surveyed in this research are originally from south-eastern China, to the exception of 11% of the respondents coming from Sichuan province in central-western China and 11% of Henan origin, in the north-east of China (*See Figure 3*). The provinces with the largest representation within the survey sample are that of Guangdong province, in which Dongguan is located, and Hunan province, located to the north of Dongguan, representing 20% of the respondents respectively. Following Guangdong and Hunan in representation, respondents from Jiangxi province represent 16% of the sample. Additionally, respondents originating from Hubei province represent 9%. Guangxi and Fujian province each

represent 4%, and finally Jiangsu province, Zhejiang province and Taiwan each represent 2% of the sample population.

Figure 3. Survey respondents' location of origin - provincial level – Children living and attending primary school in Dongguan.



4.1.2. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in hometown

Of the 11 respondents who had primary school age children that remained in their hometowns and were attending school, the respondents' hometowns were quite evenly spread across China's central/east region. Ninety percent of the sample deriving from the following provinces combined: Sichuan, Hunan, Henan, Shaanxi, and Jiangxi, each representing 18% of the sample respectively. Additionally, Guangxi province supplied the additional 9% of the sample population. It can be noted here that in contrast to the respondents who have children living and attending school in Dongguan, who largely derived from the south eastern region of

China, this category of respondents, on average originates from cities and provinces further away from the destination city of Dongguan.

4.2. Socio-economic and cultural dimensions of sample

4.2.1. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in Dongguan

The average income level, of this category of respondents who average an age between 30-34 years, lies within the 7001 - 8500RMB range per month (*See Table 1*). Looking more closely into the sample, while accounting for gender, it is found that on average households with an eldest male child have significantly higher incomes (8501-10,000RMB/month) than households with an eldest female child (5501-7000RMB/month). Examined more closely, and across gender and the familial make up of children per household, male single child homes have the highest level of income of 8501-10,000RMB per month, followed by multi-child homes where the eldest child is male and the household averages 7001-8500RMB/month. Single female child homes also average within the 7001-850RMB/month, and finally, multi child homes where the eldest child is female, average a monthly income of 5501-7000RMB. Across the survey findings, it is also evident that homes of male private school attendees whether from a single child home or the eldest from a multi child home have the highest level of incomes, each averaging between 8501-10,000RMB/month.

Additionally, on average this category of respondents has been living in Dongguan for 3-5 years. When accounting for the gender of the eldest or only child, both male and female child homes have the same average time lived in Dongguan, of 3-5 years. However, only 7% or four of the 54 respondents who responded to this question have a locally registered *hukou* with the additional 93% or 50 respondents maintaining the *hukou* of their hometown (*See Table 1*). This means that while all of the respondents (100%) originate from outside of Dongguan, four were

able to obtain local *hukou* status through Dongguan's citizenship point system. When accounting for the gender of the eldest child per household, it is found that 17% or four out of 23 male single child homes have registered Dongguan *hukou*, whereas none of the multi-child homes where the eldest is a male, or any of the families with eldest or only female children do. Additionally, 21% or three of the 14 respondents of homes with a single male child attending private school have Dongguan *hukou*, whereas only one of the eight of 13% respondents of single male child homes registered in public school do.

Parental levels of education are also a significant factor to review. Across this sample as the average level of education for fathers is that of completion of high school and for mothers, is the completion of middle school. When looking at the overall averages of male versus female eldest or single child homes, in both, fathers average completion of high school and mother the completion of middle school. Contrasts in levels in parental education can be seen most significantly in the single child versus multi-child home where both mothers and fathers of single child homes have an average education level of the completion of high school, and where both mothers and fathers of multi-child homes have an average education level of the completion of middle school.

Table 1 – Socio-economic and cultural dimensions

	Children living/attending school in DG <i>n</i> =56		Children living/attending school in hometown <i>n</i> =11	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Average age of respondent: years	30-34		30-34	
Average number of children per household	1.57		2.18	
Family size: number of children per household				
<i>1</i>	31	55	1	9
<i>2</i>	20	36	9	82
<i>3+</i>	5	9	1	9
Gender make-of children in households				
<i>1 male child</i>	22	39	1	9
<i>1 female child</i>	9	16	0	0
<i>1 male & 1 female child</i>	13	23	4	36
<i>2 male children</i>	2	4	4	36
<i>2 female children</i>	5	9	1	9
<i>2+ children mix of genders</i>	5	9	1	9
Average household income level per month	7001-8500RMB		4000-5500RMB	
Ethnicity:				
<i>Han</i>	54	96	11	100
<i>Minority</i>	2	4	0	0
<i>Hukou</i> Registration:				
<i>Dongguan</i>	4	7	0	0
<i>Outside Dongguan</i>	50	93	11	100
Respondent education level: average by parent				
<i>Father</i>	Completion of high school		Completion of middle school	
<i>Mother</i>	Completion of middle school		Completion of middle school	

Furthermore, the core survey sample reflects a majority Han ethnic representation at 96% with the remaining 4% representing that of the Miao and Zhuang ethnic minorities (*see Table 1*). The minority populations are reflected only in male child homes with 7% of male child homes representing a minority population. Further, 4% or one of the 23 respondents of male single child homes and 13% of multi-child, eldest male homes are of ethnic minority. In greatest detail, the families of ethnic minority are represented in one of eight single male child homes in which the child attends public school, and in one of six multi-child homes where the eldest child is male and attends public school.

As this study's central focus lies within access to education for children and the significance of their gender, it is important also to understand the familial makeup of the respondents' households. The average number of children per family across this category of respondents is 1.57 children (*See Table 1*). As expected, due to the One-Child Policy⁶ in China, a majority of the households are single child homes (55%). However, families with two children represent 36% of the sample, and 9% of the sample are households with more than two children. Of these households, 39% are that of a single male child household, 23% are double child households with one male and one female child and 16% are single female child households. Nine percent of the homes in this portion of the sample have two female children and 4% of the homes have two male children. The additional 9% of the homes are that of more than two children, which are made up of a various combination of genders (*see Table 1*). In reviewing the gender division of the only two children, or the eldest two children in the families with two children or more, 36% or nine of the 25 respondents in this sub-category have households where

⁶ One-Child Policy – Family planning policy in China implemented in 1978, restricts the majority of the Han Chinese population from having more than one child. Exceptions to the policy include: the allowance of a second child for rural *hukou* families whose first child is female; the allowance of a second child for new families where both parents are a single child; and ethnic minority groups are not subject to the policy.

the eldest child is female and the second child is male. Continuing, 32% or eight of the 25 of the households have both an eldest and second child that are female, 20% (5/25) represent households with an eldest male child and a second female child, and 12% or 3 households were of male eldest and second eldest children.

4.2.2. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in hometown

Comparable to their counterpart above, the respondents with children living and attending primary education in their hometowns lie within the same age range of 30-34 years, and are 100% of Han ethnicity. Similarly, they have also been living in Dongguan for an average of 3-5 years (*See Table 1*). In contrast however, this category of respondents averages only 4000-5500RMB per month; and none of the respondents in this category have a registered Dongguan *hukou*. Furthermore, both mothers and fathers within this category of children living and attending primary school in their hometowns, have an average educational level of the completion of middle school (*See Table 1*). When accounting for gender, it is found that fathers of female eldest or only child homes have an average education level of the completion of high school.

The average number of children per household within this category is 2.18. However, when accounting for the gender of the eldest child it is found that on average, male eldest or only child homes have an average of 1.83 children and female eldest or only child homes have an average of 2.60 children. Eighty-two percent or nine of the 11 households in this category have two child homes, with the additional two (18%) households representing a single child home and a home with more than two children. The gender make-up of the children in these households is as follows: four of eleven households have one male and one female child, four households have two male children, and each single male child, two female children and more than two children are represented by one household respectively. There are no single female child homes in this

sample (*See Table 1*). Of the homes with two children or more (10/11), four of ten households have two male children as their only two children or two eldest children, three households have a female eldest followed by a second eldest male child, two households have two female children as their two eldest or only two children, and one household has an eldest male child followed by a female child.

These findings contrast with the familial make ups of the respondents with children living and attending school in Dongguan as the greatest percentage of multi-child homes was made up of an eldest female child and second eldest male child (36%). Further, where only 12% of multi-child families where the children are living and studying in Dongguan have two eldest male children, 40% of multi-child families where the children are living and studying in their hometowns do. It is also interesting to note, in relation to the rules and exceptions of the One-Child Policy, that where 20% of the multi child households of children living and studying in Dongguan have an eldest male child followed by a second child that is female, only 10% of households with children living and studying in their hometowns do. It may be suggested that the variance in these percentages is due to the fact that migrants who are able to bring their children to Dongguan to live and study are in a better position financially to deal with the consequences of violating the One-Child Policy, whereas less migrants who have yet been able to bring their children to the city to study, had a second child, after the first child was male, due to their inability to manage any sanctions faced by violating the policy.

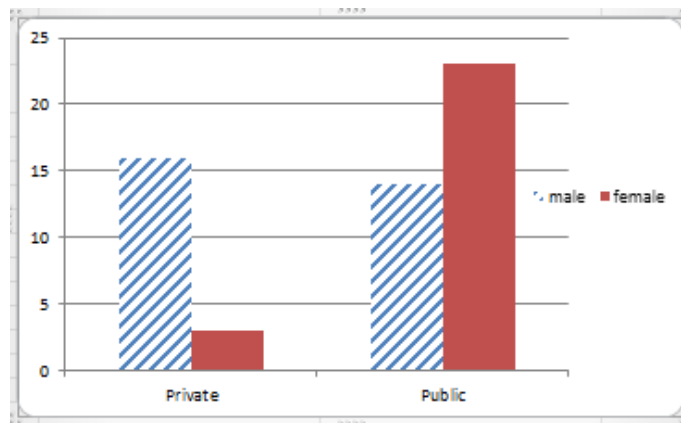
4.3. Educational dimensions of respondent's children

4.3.1. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in Dongguan.

Of the 56 respondents, the average grade level of their eldest child is primary grade four and the average grade level of the second child (within the 25 families that have two children or more) is primary grade two. Looking more closely into what type of education these children are

attending, whether in private school, or public school environments, 66% of the eldest children in this portion of the sample are registered in public schools, and 34% are registered in private schools. This is largely due to the fact that two public schools and one private school were used to retrieve the sample, and thus public school attendees make up for 2/3rd of the sample, and private school attendees make up for the additional 1/3rd. When accounting for gender, within the private school attendee sample, of the 19 students, 16 (84%) are male and 3 (16%) are female; within the public school attendee sample, of the 37 students, 14 (38%) are male, and 23 (62%) are female (See Figure 4).

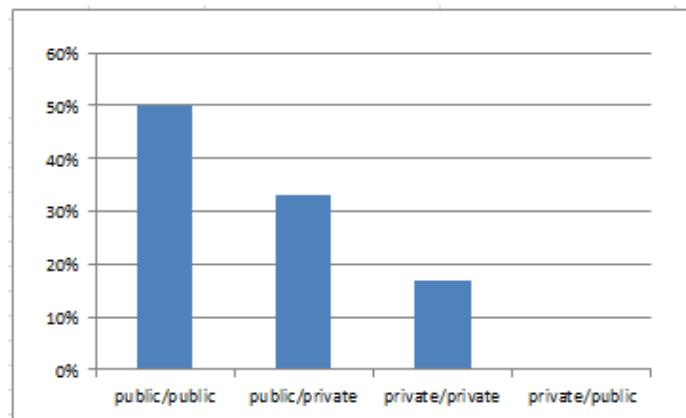
Figure 4. Gender make up of children according to source of education



Across the sample of second or second eldest children, 50% (12/24 who responded) attend public school and 50% attend private school. Further, it is interesting to note, that of the families with two children or more, in 50% of the cases, of the 24 out of 25 multi-child homes who responded, both eldest and second or second eldest child attend public school. In eight of 24 households (33%), the eldest child attends public school while the second or second eldest child attends a private school and in four of the households (17%), both children attend private school (See Figure 5). Looking more closely into the gender divide of the 33% of the cases where the

eldest child attends public school while the second or second eldest child attends public school in 25% of the cases the male eldest child attends a public school while a second child, female, attends a private school, in 37.5% of the cases the females eldest child attends a public school while the second child, male, attends a private school and in 37.5% of the cases the eldest female child attends public school where the second child, female attends a private school.

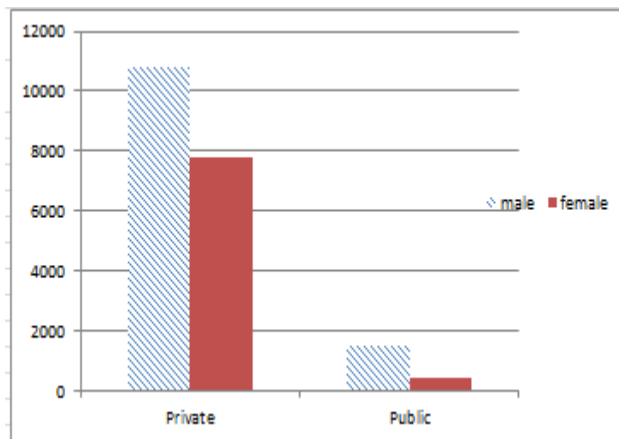
Figure 5. Source of education for households with 2 or more children



It is important to note that the private schools for a second child, mentioned here when an elder child is enrolled in public school, are not comparable to the Dongcheng Private school which is a private school of high quality. This is known due to tuition fees costs and the fact that often second child, does not fit the family planning requirements making it more difficult to enrol in a public school. Across the discussion group and interview with the public school teacher, it was agreed upon that generally, the private schools that lower skilled migrant workers children have access to, due to cost and affordability, are of poor quality. This is largely due to the poorer quality of teaching which is less regulated and less well paid than public school teaching positions; less qualified teachers are attracted to the positions, the quality of the facilities is of lower quality, and private schools are often rooted in profit making rather than the provision of quality education.

In reviewing the costs of education, average cost indicated by this sample was approximately 5200RMB per year. Looking more closely at tuition fees accounting for both educational source (private or public) and gender it is found that tuition for male private school students averages approximately 10800RMB per year and female private school students' tuition costs average 7800RMB per year. Looking at public school fees, which may include additional fees such as uniforms and school supplies as well as some tuition fees, as the free compulsory education law in China only permits children with local *hukou* access to its 'free education,' male children attending public school pay approximately 1500RMB per year in school fees whereas female children with outside *hukou* on average pay 430RMB per year to attend public school (See Figure 6).

Figure 6. Cost of education by source and gender (RMB/year)



4.3.2. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in hometown

All children living and attending primary school in hometown, which average a grade level of primary grade three, are registered in public school. Because they are attending school in their hometowns to which their *hukou* is registered, these students qualify within the Compulsory Education Law in China which covers the tuition for children's education up until the completion of primary school.

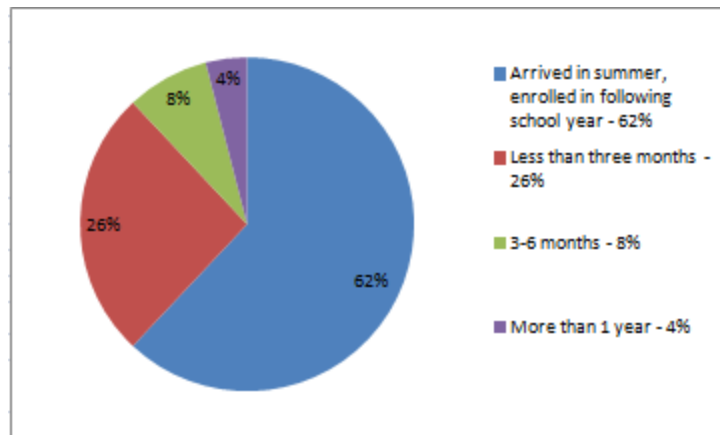
4.4. Detailed Description of Survey Results

4.4.1. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in Dongguan.

i) Duration of time before gaining access to education once arriving in Dongguan

When examining the duration of time it took for a respondent to gain access to education for their child, and have them enrolled in school (either public or private), the majority (62%) of the overall primary survey sample of the 53 who responded to this question, indicated that their children arrived in Dongguan in the summer months and school was not in session; however, their child was registered at the beginning of the school year which followed their arrival. An additional 26% responded that it took less than three months to have their child enrolled in school. However, for 8% of the respondents, it took 3-6 months to have their child enrolled in school, and for the remaining 4% of the respondents it took more than 1 year (See Figure 7).

Figure 7. Duration of time from arrival in Dongguan to enrolment in school – Overall Sample



In further exploring the issue of delay in access to education, those who experienced the greatest delays and did not have 100% of their children enrolled in school immediately or within the first 3 months of arrival in Dongguan, are the families with two children or more, and more specifically, the families with two children or more whose eldest child attends public school (*See Table 2*). Applying the gender divide to this finding exposes that eldest male children from a two or more child home who attended public school have 66% (4/6) enrolled immediately after the summer holiday or within less than 3 months. Additionally 17% (1/6) were enrolled in 3-6 months and 17% (1/6) enrolled after one year. In contrast, eldest female children from a two or more child home have a 73% (11/15) enrolment rate immediately after the summer holiday or in less than 3 months, 20% (3/15) enrolled in 3-6 months and 6% (1/15) enrolled after one year.

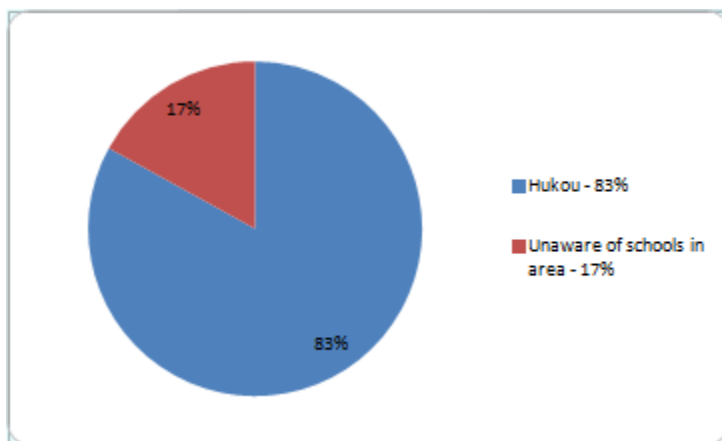
ii) Causes of delayed enrolment

Respondents who had a delay in the enrolment of their children in school of longer than 3 months were asked to further identify the cause(s) of the delay. Of the respondents that answered why their child was not immediately enrolled in school, 83% (5/6) indicated that they could not initially find a school that would accept their child with an ‘outside’ *hukou*, and 17% (1/6) indicated that they were not initially aware of schools in the area (*See Figure 8*). Across the male portion of the sample of multi children homes where the eldest child is male and attends public school, half of the respondents (1/2) indicated the delay was caused by the inability to find a school that would accept their child with an ‘outside’ *hukou* and half (1/2) of the respondents indicated that they were initially unaware of schools in the area. In the comparable female portion of the sample 100% (4/4) indicated that the delay was caused by the lag time in finding a school that would accept their child with an ‘outside’ *hukou*.

Table 2. Core Survey Questions Response Table

Variable	One child n=31				Two+ children n=25			
	Male Pub.	Male Priv.	Female Pub.	Female Priv.	Male Pub.	Male Priv.	Female Pub.	Female Priv.
n=	8	14	8	1	6	2	15	2
<i>Duration of time before enrolled into school once arriving in Dongguan</i>	100% enrolled immediately after summer holiday	100% enrolled immediately after summer holiday or in less than 3 months	100% enrolled immediately after summer holiday or in less than 3 months	100% enrolled in less than 3 months	66% enrolled immediately or less than 3 months	100% enrolled immediately after summer holiday or in less than 3 months	79% enrolled immediately or less than 3 months	100% enrolled immediately after summer holiday or in less than 3 months
<i>Are tuition fees too high?</i>								
YES	0%	85%	0%	100%	33%	100%	11%	50%
NO	100%	15%	100%	0%	67%	0%	89%	50%
<i>Do you pay higher tuition than children with a local hukou?</i>								
YES	0%	78%	0%	100%	33%	100%	17%	0%
NO	100%	22%	100%	0%	67%	0%	83%	100%
<i>Are you satisfied with the quality of education your child is receiving?</i>								
YES	100%	92%	100%	100%	100%	100%	93%	100%
NO	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%

Figure 8. Cause of delay in enrolment



iii) Access to education post migration

When asked whether access to education was better, whether there was no change in access, or whether access to education was worse post migration of the participants who responded to this question, 18% (9/50) of the overall sample responded that access was worse, 44% (22/50) responded that there was no difference, and 38% (19/50) indicated that access was better. Interestingly, in comparing across the genders it was found that 27% (7/26) of respondents with male children (eldest male or only child male) indicated that access to education was worse, 50% (13/26) responded that there was no difference and 23% (2/26) responded that access was better. Results for their female counterpart show that only 8% (2/24) of respondents indicated that access to education for their female child (eldest or only) was worse, 38% (9/24) indicated there was no difference and 54% (13/24) responded that access had in fact gotten better post migration.

Furthermore, in comparing gender and single versus two or more child homes, in single child homes 67% (6/9) of respondents of female children indicated that access to education improved while only 18% (4/22) of respondents of male single child homes responded that access had improved. In homes with two children or more, 47% (8/17) of respondents of with an eldest female child responded that access post migration had improved whereas only 38% (3/8) of their male counterparts responded that access had improved (*See Table 3*).

Table 3. Access to Education Post-Migration

	One Child n=31			Two + Children n=25	
Variable	Male	Female		Male n=8	Female
Access to education post-migration					
WORSE					
NO DIFF	65%	33%		25%	40%
BETTER	18%	67%		38%	47%

iv) Cost and Quality of Education

When asked if the cost of tuition for their child was too high, of the overall 56 respondent sample, 40% responded *yes* and 60% responded *no*. When accounting for gender, 56% (15/27) of respondents with a male single or male eldest child said that tuition fees were too high and 17% (3/18) of respondents with a female single or female eldest child believed that tuition fees were too high. Further it was found that the respondents with children attending private school are more likely to respond that cost of tuition is too high (*See Table 2*). Following this questions, survey respondents were asked if they believed they paid higher tuition fees than a child with a locally registered *hukou*. Results found that similar to the previous, a majority of respondents with children attending private school, whether male or female, or from a single child or multi child home, indicated that they pay higher tuition fees than for their children then a child with local *hukou* (*See Table 2*). This finding is to the exclusion of female eldest children from multi-child homes who attends private school, where 100% of the respondents indicated that they do not believe they pay higher fees for their child than a child with local *hukou*.

When respondents were asked if they were satisfied with the quality of education their child was receiving the responses were highly positive. The only sub-classes of the sample which indicated any discontent was 8% (1/14) of the male single child households where the child attends private school, and 7% (1/15) of the eldest female child in a multi-child households who attends public school (*See Table 2*). The remainder of the sample was wholly satisfied with the quality of education their child was receiving. Due to the fact that the survey questionnaires were distributed by homeroom teachers within the schools that their children study, the overall high level of satisfaction in the quality of education that their children are receiving may not be a fair representation of reality. In responding to this question, parents may have feared repercussions for their children if they did not rate the quality of education to be satisfactory, and therefore this bias has been taken into consideration.

v) Values in access to education

Survey respondents were asked, on a four point scale, to indicate how important access to education is for their eldest child on a scale that ranged from ‘very unimportant, to unimportant, to important and finally very important.’ Results found that across all the sub-classes measured by familial make up, gender and source of education, the only sub-class in which 100% of the respondents did not rate access to education for their child to be ‘very important’ is one respondent with an eldest female child, in a multi child home, who attends public school (*See Table 4*). Finally, when asked since migrating whether the respondents’ perceptions on access to education had changed, a majority of respondents indicated that access to education had become more important post migration (*See Table 4*).

Table 4. Values in access to education

	One child n=31				Two+ children n=25						
Variable	Male Pub.	Male Priv.		Female Pub.	Female Priv.		Male Pub.	Male Priv.		Female Pub.	Female Priv.
n=	8	14		8	1		6	2		15	2
How important is access to education for your eldest child? VERY IMPORTANT	100%	100%		100%	100%		100%	100%		93%	100%
Since migrating, has your perception on access to education changed? MORE IMPORTANT	100%	82%		75%	100%		100%	100%		93%	50%
NO CHANGE	0%	18%		25%	0%		0%	0%		7%	50%
LESS IMPORTANT	0%	0%		0%	0%		0%	0%		0%	0%

Looking more closely at the gender divide, it is found that 93% (25/27) of families with an eldest or only male child indicated that access to education had become more important post migration in comparison to 84% (21/25) of families with an eldest or only female child. Further, in examining families with two or more children, 100% of respondents with a multi-child home where the eldest child is male, regardless of their source of education indicated that access to education had become more important. Alternatively, 93% of respondents of a multi-child home with an eldest female child that attends public school indicated that access to education had become more important post migration, and 50% (1/2) of respondents of a multi-child home with an eldest female child that attends private school indicated that education had become more important. It is important to note that none of the respondents indicated that education had becomes less important and that those who indicated there was no change in their perception

could have held education at the highest level of importance prior to migration and thus there was no room for change in values post migration.

4.4.2. Respondents with children living and attending primary school in hometown

i) Barriers to access to education in Dongguan

The 11 respondents, who work and live in Dongguan, who have children living and going to school in their hometown were first asked why their child was enrolled in school in their hometown and not in Dongguan. The respondents were instructed to give up to two answers, indicating the top two reasons. Of the 11 respondents, 15 responses were given. Of the 15 responses, four of the fifteen responses indicated that they did not look for a school in Dongguan for their child and that education in their hometown is fine, and three responses indicated that their *hukou* would make access to education in the city difficult. Additionally, one respondent indicated that there were no private schools to choose from in Dongguan, four responses indicated that tuition fees were too high, and the final three responses indicated other 'other'. Within the 'other' category all responses indicated that there would be no one to take care of the children while parents were working, and in their hometown, the children's grandparents can look after them. Therefore, these respondents did not attempt to enrol their children in school in Dongguan. None of the respondents indicated that their child was not studying in Dongguan because it was better if their eldest child goes to school at home so he/she can study and help with work around the house. When asked whether access to education issues are of equal importance whether the child is male or female, 100% of respondents indicated 'yes, these issues are of equal importance'.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they believed the Dongguan, local government's point system for migrants, in relation to access to public education for their

children, was 'very easy, easy, difficult, or very difficult'. Overall of the ten participants who responded to this question, seven indicated that the system was easy, two indicated that the system was difficult, and one responded that the system was very difficult. When accounting for gender, it was found that of the respondents with a male eldest child, five of the six respondents indicated the point system was easy, and one responded that it was difficult. However, of respondents with an eldest female child two of the four respondents indicated that the system was easy, one indicated that it was difficult, and one indicated that it was very difficult.

When asked whether or not respondents would prefer their child to go to school in Dongguan, five of the eleven respondents or 45% indicated *yes* while six of the 11 respondents or 55% indicated *no*. Of the respondents that indicated *yes*, that they would like their children to study in Dongguan, two of the five respondents indicated that they would simply like to have their child living with them. A single respondent indicated that education in Dongguan is better than in their hometown, and another single respondent indicated that their eldest child would have better opportunities in life if he grows up and goes to school in Dongguan rather than their hometown. Finally, one individual respondent indicated 'other' without providing further detail. Of the respondents that indicated, *no*, that they would prefer their child to attend school in their hometown, four of the six respondents indicated that there would be no one to take care of their children and their grandparents can do so in their hometown. Two additional respondents indicated that they believed going to school in Dongguan would not bring better opportunities to their eldest child that if he/she goes to school in their hometown, and the last respondent indicated that their child would be discriminated against in the school system as an 'outsider' if he/she comes to Dongguan to study.

ii) Perceptions on the ease or difficulty of access to education pre and post migration

Survey respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of ‘very easy, easy, difficult, to very difficult’ how they thought access to education for their eldest child would be in Dongguan, prior to migrating. One of the respondents indicated that they believed access to education would be very easy, four of the eleven respondents indicated easy, five respondents or 45% indicated difficult, and one respondent indicated that prior to moving to Dongguan they believed access to education would be very difficult. When accounting for gender, three respondents with an eldest or only male child indicated that they believed access to education would be easy, and the additional three respondents indicated difficult. Juxtaposed to the female counterpart, one of the 5 respondents indicated that they believed access to education in Dongguan would be *very easy*, one indicated *easy*, two indicated *difficult* and one respondent indicated *very difficult*.

This question was followed by asking respondents to indicate whether once arriving in Dongguan, access to education for their eldest child was ‘easier than expected, the same as they had expected, or more difficult than expected.’ Overall, of the ten respondents who responded to these questions, two indicated that access was easier than expected; seven indicated that access was the same as expected; and one respondent indicated that access to education was more difficult than expected. In accounting for the gender of the respondents’ eldest child, two of respondents with male children indicated that access was easier than expected, and four responded that access was the same as expected. Three of the four respondents who responded to this questions with female eldest children responded that access to education was the same as expected, and one indicated that it was more difficult than expected.

iii) Values in access to education

When asked, whether access to education has become less or more important, none of the nine respondents indicated that it had become less important. Four respondents indicated that there was no change in importance, and five respondents indicated that access to education had become more important since migrating. Reviewing by the gender of the respondents' children, four of the six of respondents with a male eldest child indicated that there was no change in importance, and two respondents indicated that it had become more important. For their female counterpart, of the four respondents who responded to this question, one of the respondents indicated that there was no change in the importance of access to education post migration, and three indicated that access to education had become more important post-migration.

Chapter 5. Comprehensive Results and Discussion

5.1. Overview

As explored across the relevant literature, studies have found that barriers to access to education for female children in rural areas are higher than those for their male counterparts, largely due to a culture of son preference (Gupta et al., 2004; Hannum, 2003; Hannum et al., 2009; Li & Lavelly, 2003; Li & Tsang, 2003; Wang, 2005). Additionally, a strong majority of the literature on migrant children in urban settings suggests that barriers such as *hukou* status play a significant role in the access to education migrant children are granted in cities (Goodburn, 2009; Lai et al., 2011; Mitchell, 2009; Wang, 2008; Wang & Holland, 2011; Yan, 2005). From these two central findings in the literature, my central hypotheses suggested the following two trends in access to education for migrant children: firstly that barriers to education for female children in rural settings which are rooted in gender discrimination will remain a constant trend; and secondly that there would be a continued impact of the *hukou* system as a barrier to education. These hypotheses were developed based on the assumption that regardless of the fact that through migrating families had an increase in income that could potentially allow for a greater contribution of household resources in support of education, the existing cultural barrier of son preference, together with the barriers of holding outside *hukou* status, would maintain the trend of greater female marginalization from access to education.

Despite these assumptions drawn from the existing literature, the preliminary data from the study conducted in Dongguan revealed, that at a high level, and amongst this sample population, equality in access to education may be evolving indicating that migration may be lessening gendered divides. However, despite this acknowledged, positive finding, a closer more detailed examination of the findings revealed some manifestations of continued female marginalization in access to education. Aligning more closely to the second hypothesis, the study

concludes that *hukou* citizenship remains the most significant factor impacting the marginalization of migrant children, and more specifically female migrant children, from education in an urban destination city.

An additional factor in understanding and framing the research results, findings and discussions is overall access versus non-access to education. While originally it was thought that there may potentially be some children in the sample without access to education at all and although there may be and likely are children in this situation in Dongguan, due to the way the sample was collected, the study surveyed only respondents with children who have been enrolled in, and have gained access to, either a private or public school. In acknowledging this, access to education for the purpose of this research will, as previously mentioned, not be considered solely in terms of whether children have been enrolled in school or not, but will be considered to encompass a broader scope including type and quality of education accessed, length of time to gain access, and parental perceptions of the importance of access to education for their children.

Drawing from the raw data and findings presented in the previous chapter, two significant and comprehensive areas of interest and contribution are uncovered and will be further developed here. The first central contribution which is practical in nature responds to the second research question which also reflects directly upon the first hypothesis. This practical finding, uncovers the nuances of preliminary evidence suggesting that migration is resulting in a transition in values towards gender equality in access to education. However, this transition co-exists with continued evidence of persisting son preference. The second significant contribution reflects upon the continued relevance and impact of the *hukou* status on migrant life chances. Building off of the practical gendered findings of the impact of the *hukou* system as a barrier to education for migrant children, further this section proposes a new theoretical and conceptual

contribution and understanding of the broader issue of citizenship, and the *hukou* system's function as an institutionalized function of marginalization.

5.2. *Understanding the transforming nuances of gender equality in household educational decision making across the migratory process*

Prior to exploring and developing the nuances uncovered and the evidence of persisting son preference in access to education for migrant children, the uncovered trend suggests greater gender equality in access to education is evolving across migrant populations, will be discussed. The first proposed hypothesis of this study suggested that in urban settings, female migrant children will be more highly marginalized in their access to education than male migrant children in urban settings. This hypothesis has proven to remain somewhat relevant, with respect to the consideration of quality of education (*to be further explored below*). However, as noted above, in the development of the hypothesis it was assumed that the strength and influence of son preference in Chinese culture, evident in rural areas in relation to access to education, would be maintained across the migratory process, and that this son preference, in addition to the barriers caused by outside *hukou* status, would result in the greater marginalization of female migrant children compared to their male counterparts. While this may remain true in some cases, there is strong evidence, uncovered in both this research's focus group and survey findings, as well as across the relevant literature, which suggest that across the migratory process, values of son preference tend to diminish.

To begin exploring this trend, it is important to frame, acknowledge, and contextualize the environment in which the following results and discussions have been developed, and the impact that this may have had on the sample's perspectives of gender equality and gendered access to education. A review of the relevant literature revealed that the majority of literature on access to education for female children in rural areas was conducted within the poorest regions

of China (Cao & Feng, 2010). However, as suggested by Du, Park and Wang (2005) it is not generally the poorest segment of the population who are able to migrate. Nor, due to their skill and educational levels, are they the population who have the means to benefit from migration. The sample in this research in which respondents have an average household income of 7001-8500RMB per month is significantly wealthier than the national average, of approximately 4000RMB per month (Trading Economics, 2014). Additionally, the fathers in the sample had on average an educational level of high school completion whereas mothers had an average of middle school completion, both above the national mean years of schooling of 7.5 years (UNDP, 2012). These demographic factors indicate that the sample from which this study was derived are not from the poorest of the poor in China. The parents in the sample also have higher than average levels of education, which in itself has the potential to affect values on the culturally rooted barrier of son preference. Identifying these sample variables highlights a potential oversight in the comprehensive understanding of the existing literature, from which the hypotheses were drawn. However, it also importantly acknowledges a factor that may have influenced, or contributed to the resulting relatively gender-equitable perspectives and findings on access to education across a migrant population.

The surveys found that when asked to rate the importance of access to education for their eldest child, the vast majority of respondents of the core survey (98%) regardless of the gender of their eldest child, rated access to education as very important (the highest rating provided on the 4-point scale). This finding thus indicates general gender equity in parental views towards access to education for their children. Further, the sole exception to this rating was one respondent, who indicated that access to education for his eldest child, who was female, was 'important.' This respondent was the parent of a multi-child home where the eldest child was female and the second child was male and he indicated that access to education for his children

was 'important' for both the eldest female and second eldest male child. Thus the rating in fact displayed no gendered preference.

In reviewing the findings on access to education post-migration, another significant finding that may have also contributed to the 'levelling of the playing field' for access to education between male and female children emerged. It was found that post-migration 27% of respondents with a male eldest or male only child indicated that access to education had gotten worse for their child, compared to only 8% of respondents with a female eldest or only child. In fact, 54% of respondents with a female eldest or only child indicated that access had improved whereas only 23% of respondents with a male eldest or only child indicated that access had improved. While it was not possible to decipher from the primary data the causal factors as to why access to education post-migration improved more significantly for eldest female migrant children, than eldest male children, the improved access to education for eldest female migrant children, post migration, in its simplest form, must not be overlooked.

Additionally, in almost all cases when asked how long it took to gain access to education after arrival in Dongguan, respondents indicated that their children arrived during the summer holidays and were enrolled for the following school year, or that their children had been enrolled within the first three months after arrival. However, two sub categories showed greater delays. Eldest male children from a two or more child home who attended public school were only two-thirds enrolled in the school year after arriving during the summer holiday or within less than three months. The final third enrolled between three months to up to a year after their arrival. Their counterparts, of eldest female children from a two or more child home, attending public school were three-quarters enrolled in the following school year after arriving in summer holiday or in less than three months. Only quarter enrolled in three months up to one year after arrival.

These results, which indicate that access to public school may be more easily and more quickly gained by female migrant children may be a result of the difficulty of ethnic minority populations in gaining access to education. Of the eldest male children in this sample, 17% are of minority ethnicity. In contrast, 100% of eldest female children in the public school are of Han ethnicity. This factor alone may not be conclusive as to why, within this sample, male children have a slower rate of enrolling in public school than females. There may be additional unknown barriers, which though not identifiable through this research may also contribute. This factor of difference in ethnic status does however provide further insight as to why the expected differences in access to education favouring male children while still present, were not the only finding, and further why there was a more equitable outcome when the results were reviewed at a high level. It may also be speculated that this outcome of slower enrolment in school may also be the result of migrant parents of male children waiting longer to find a better quality source of education for their children, than did the parents of female children (*to be further discussed below*).

Another factor relevant to understanding the high level results which indicate a relative evolution of equality between access to education for male and female children, is that a large majority of respondents, indicated that since migrating access to education had become more important to them. Further, of the parents living and working in Dongguan who had children studying in their hometowns, a greater percentage of parents of eldest female children (75%) acknowledged that access to education had become more important post-migration whereas less than half (40%) of parents with male eldest children indicated the same. This may be significant as it allows for the identification of a change in values across the migratory process that may affect both genders, but is also potentially levelling the playing field between male and female children.

In the focus group held, this transformation of values was identified, and justified clearly and overtly by one respondent who, when asked if access to education became more important post-migration, indicated, *“of course it became more important, because for us migrant workers we know it is not easy, it is tough work and tough jobs. We want our next generation to live better than us, and get a better education. Because we are migrant workers we have a lower position in society. If I graduated from a good university, I would have a different life. In my story, my parents didn’t have money, they could not support my education, but now I can support my children, I want my children to have better education and a better life.”*

This value shift, as out rightly discussed by the focus group participants, uncovered that the value change is largely rooted in the fact that there is a realization post-migration of how difficult the working opportunities are for low-skilled workers. Highlighting, and in reference to, the growing importance of education in a country growing and urbanizing as fast as China, a focus group participant indicated that, *“for us [parents], we could feed ourselves, and continue to feed our families at home by farming, and working with our hands. Our children will not be able to survive just on the farm in the future because everything is becoming mechanized and replacing our human labour.”*

When relating this value change directly to gender, focus group participants, indicated that while gender and son preference used to be more significant, it was no longer important to them stating that the gender of the child *“used to matter, but does not anymore,”* and that *“gender does not at all impact [access to education] decisions.”* This is reinforced with the result of 100% of secondary survey respondents, further indicating that gender was not a factor influencing issues related to access to education.

In aligning this research’s primary findings of a value change in the equality and importance of education across migration with the broader literature, a more comprehensive

understanding of this transition in values can be developed. Burgess and Zhuang (2000, 10) suggest that modernization, and the resulting urbanization, “plays some role in eroding gender biases in education spending.” This erosion, as suggested by Burgess and Zhuang (2000, 10) is activated by an increase in “income and off-farming” diversification within households. Diversification, as highlighted by Burgess and Zhuang (2000, 21), “affects the family budget set and the relative returns of male and female children [and] it is likely to influence parental decisions on the intra-household allocation of household resources,” an impact highly reflected across this research. Gupta et al. (2003, 177) further reinforces this relationship in suggesting that, “decades of urbanization with concomitant social change, as well as female education and employment, seem to be having some impact on [lessening the] the pressures to have [and invest more in] sons.”

Through the identification of the role of economic opportunities in the value shift of son preference and specifically in relation to access to education, it can thus be suggested, as is by Burgess and Zhuang (2000, 1) that, “son preference in rural China is not driven solely by cultural factors.” Rather, there is also a strong influence from external factors that influence and socially construct cultural perspectives. Therefore, aligned with the historical review of son preference in China explored in the *Historical Institutionalism* section of *Chapter 2*, which showed variations across past economic reforms, “son preference should [and cannot] be treated as an immutable social norm or tradition,” (Burgess & Zhuang, 2000, 22). Linking this to the theory of institutionalism, the relationship between North’s (1990) *organizations* represented in the discussion above, by the household and its impact on institutional change can be seen. The household, in recognizing female children as economic actors and recognizing the increased return on investment that education may bring, liberalizes, and impacts the evolution of the informal constraint of patriarchal notions of gender.

Highlighting the real possibilities for change and evolution in values of son preference, Burgess and Zhuang (2000) and Gupta et al. (2003) point to the potential of the role of public policy, understood in North's (1990) institutionalist theory as organizations, in the greater diminishing of son preference in general. In terms of public policy prescriptions, Wang (2005, 5) suggests that, "improved mass education would reduce gender discrimination in the long run, [...as] parents with higher levels of education and occupation are less likely to discriminate against female children." In the specific context of this study of migrant children and their access to education, the long term trickle-down effect of changes to public policy and improvements in the educational system would need to be linked to the localized *hukou* eligibility and citizenship systems. Without the ability for Chinese citizens to migrate freely to improve their livelihoods by increasing their household income, while at the same time maintaining access to state provided educational systems for their children, there will continued marginalization of migrants and for their children denial of their "right to quality education...[a right] that enables individuals to achieve their economic and social objectives and to acquire the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that bring about responsible and active citizenship," free from discrimination (UNICEF, 2007, 29; 27).

While improving mass education may alleviate any income based decision making processes in relation to education, Burgess and Zhuang (2000, 23) disclose that there remains a challenge in "understanding which specific policies lead to more equal treatment of the sexes within households" with respect to education. Complexities arise when culturally rooted aspects or informal constraints such as the kinship system in China are included in the evaluation and understanding of this issue. As Gupta et al. (2003, 153) identifies, "urbanisation, female education, and employment can only slowly change [son preference values] without more direct efforts by the state and civil society to increase the flexibility of the kinship system such that

daughters and sons can be perceived as being more equally valuable.” That being said, the migratory process, alongside China’s urbanization, has resulted in a change in gender and educational values across the migrants themselves. The high influx and saturation of migrants with changing values, into destination cities and regions such as Guangdong province, known for their stronger maintenance of the son preference, means that there is a great potential for the transmission of values to permeate across and into the local attitudes and values over time.

These findings, which suggest not only an increased importance attached to access to education post-migration, but also a decline in son preference, thus contributes to the current literature in two ways. Firstly, the insight into gender and access to education for migrant populations contribute to filling a gap in existing literature on migrant child education. Secondly, it also allows for a contribution to broader research on the impacts of migration and urbanization in China, and an addition, in a contemporary addition, to the historical lineage and evolution of institutionalized son preference in China (*See Chapter 2 Historical Institutionalism*). However, this specific finding of increasing equality in parental values across the migratory process must not be over emphasized. Some values of son preference remain evident amongst this migrant population sample, demonstrating its strength in persisting as an informal constraint in Chinese society across a period of significant institutional change.

5.2.1. Evidence of continued son preference in access to education

While at a high level of analysis this study suggests that with respect to access to education for female and male children migration has resulted in a ‘levelling of the playing field,’ closer examination makes it evident that gendered disparities still remain. In the discussion of the topic of gender in the focus group a majority of the respondents, as noted above, agreed that gender was no longer a variable or factor in the household educational decision making

processes. However, one participant's response exposed the legacy and institutionalized nature of son preference in China. The respondent indicated that " [education for sons is still more important] ... *because the son will stay by your side when you are old, but the daughter will just come to visit you time to time,*" depicting, precisely the literature on son preference which suggests that economic returns for the family, may be the greatest factor in educational household decision making (Hannum et al., 2009; Yan, 2005). Additionally, both a focus group participant of outside *hukou* status, and the teacher interviewed who is of local *hukou* status and a Guangdong province resident, indicated that in Guangdong province, amongst the local Guangdong people, and compared to other provinces in China, son preference is still relatively strong. These findings overtly indicated the continued existence of son preference within migrant populations. Further evidence of this also arises when looking more closely into the issue of quality of education and gender.

The most significant discrepancy in access to education across gender in this research arose in the juxtaposition of gendered access in relation to the quality of education being received. Quality, was identified through this research as one of the most significant variables in migrant educational decision making. The discussion group participants emphasized that alongside cost, the quality of education their children were receiving was one of the most important factors in the decision making process concerning where their child would attend school. Participants in almost all cases emphasized that public schools provided the best quality education their children could receive and that generally private schools in the area were of poor quality, poor teaching and in poor environments. However, they also noted that there were some private schools that were of 'noble' level status. These school are of the best quality, often significantly better than public schools, and even residents with local *hukou* enrolled their

children in these schools, if possible. Dongcheng Private School, the sole private school surveyed in this sample, is one of noble status.

Due to the inability to enrol their children in high cost noble private schools, many migrant parents, including some of the participants in the discussion group, prefer to leave their children in their hometowns to study at a public school, where the quality of education is much better than the poor quality private schools that they would have sole access to in Dongguan. This was precisely communicated by a focus group participant who indicated that *“if I were to consider bringing my children to Dongguan to study, I would first pay attention to the quality of education that they could receive. Public schools are always the first choice. If they have to go to a private school, I would like it to be one of high quality, but it is hard to find that around here.”*

Moreover, the teacher interviewed reinforced that *“when it comes to the university entrance exam, public school student scores are much better than that of private schools that most migrant children have access to [excluding noble private schools], the students cannot even compete at the same level.”* This experience and reality, reflects the social exclusion faced by migrants and their children, in their marginalization from equality in access to education and as a result, a marginalized opportunity at equal life chances and upward social mobility. Here, the denial of migrant workers’ rights to their national citizenship is exposed. Furthermore, it closely reflects the gate keeping function of citizenship systems as discussed by Shachar and Hirschl (2007). These citizenship systems, such as the domestic *hukou* status, evoke the right to exclude, and shapes citizenship as “a prerequisite for the enjoyment of certain rights,” rights which have the ability to, and “typically [do] preserve unequal structures of holdings that tend to concentrate control over wealth,” such as the right to education (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 265; 266).

Reflecting directly upon the core survey results, and acknowledging, from the discussion group findings, that a good quality education for their children is of central importance to many

migrant workers, a review of the gender makeup of the noble status private school (Dongcheng Private School) attendees and their related tuition costs leads to the suggestion that the continuance of the cultural son preference may still exist. In the sample of 19 respondents, whose eldest child attends private school at Dongcheng Private School, 16 of the children are male and only 3 of the children are female. In comparing familial indicators both respondents of both male and female children are within the age range of 30-34 years. Both sets of parents have a comparable level of education, the completion of high school for both mothers and fathers. On average there are 1.13 children per household for families of male eldest children, and 1.33 children per household for families with female eldest children.

However, variances in familial and demographic indicators are seen in that respondents with male eldest children have a higher, however not significantly higher level of income averaging 8501-10,000RMB per month in comparison to an average 7001-8500RMB per month for respondents with a female eldest child. Additionally, approximately one fifth (19%) of the respondents with male eldest children attending Dongcheng School have earned local Dongguan *hukou*, whereas none of the respondents with female eldest children have. This factor however, may not directly prove to be a significant barrier to female access education to the noble status, high quality Dongcheng Private School, as private school admission does not consider local *hukou* to be an entrance level requirement. The 19% local *hukou* status respondents of male eldest children compared to the zero rate for their female counterparts is interesting to note as the Dongguan point system for gaining *hukou* status places emphasis on time lived and worked in the city but the respondents of female eldest children have on average, been living in Dongguan longer than the respondents of male eldest children. This factor combined with the limited differences in income levels however the significantly lower level of female child attendees at the noble private school displays a gendered gap. It can here be suggested that although parents

of female migrant children have comparable although slightly less income than male migrant children, in the private school sample, there remains a significantly lower admission rate of female children in the private school; demonstrating a manifestation of continued son preference

This finding is further supported when respondents were asked if access to education had become better or worse for their children post migration. Almost equally close to a third of respondents of both male eldest and female eldest children attending private school indicated that access had gotten worse. However, 15% of respondents with male eldest children attending private school indicated that access had improved, whereas none of the respondents with female eldest children attending private school indicated as such.

In further examining the gendered make-up of the Dongcheng Private School attendees, and their indicated cost of tuition, an additional gender based finding is uncovered. Respondents of the 19 children who attend Dongcheng Private School have indicated that on average the cost of tuition is 17,848 RMB per year. The fact that the sample shows that there are approximately six times more male than female children in attendance at the school indicates that although tuition fees for high quality private education are significantly higher than attending public school, parents of male children are more willing to invest in the greater expense of higher quality education for their child. This finding suggests that a level of son preference remains, to an extent, although it may be somewhat limited.

5.3. Demystifying the debate: The continued relevance of hukou citizenship on migrant life chances

5.3.1. Hukou citizenship: the gendered barrier to education

Furthering the understanding and exposure of gender based marginalization in terms of access to education, in contrast to their male counterparts, and uncovered through this research,

female marginalization, and the continuance of son preference, can also be seen through an understanding of the gendered impact of the *hukou* system. In the effort of evaluating and understanding the institutional, social, cultural and economic factors affecting access to education for migrant children, across genders, survey respondents were asked to indicate how long it took for them to have their child enrolled in school after arrival in Dongguan. Respondents who indicated that enrolment took longer than three months were asked to answer a follow-up question as to what the central cause of delay was in having their child enrolled in school. Of the six respondents who qualified, all of whom were from the multi-child homes with eldest children who attend public school, a majority indicated that they could not initially find a school that would accept their child with an ‘outside’ *hukou*, while less than a quarter had delays as they were not initially aware of schools in the area. When reviewing these two central causes of delay in enrolment through a gendered lens, it is found that 100% (4/4) of respondents with an eldest female child, attending public school indicated that their *hukou* status was the central cause delay while only 50% (1/2) of respondents with an eldest male child, attending public school indicated their *hukou* status as the central cause of delay, with the additional 50% (1/2) indicating that they were not initially aware of schools in the area. Alongside this finding, it is important to note that none of the respondents of multi-child homes with male or female eldest children, have gained a local *hukou* status and thus, in terms of access to education to public school based solely on *hukou* status, remain on a level playing field.

In further exploring this trend, however looking at the second child in a multi-child home’s barriers to access to education, the survey results found that while approximately three quarters (8/11) of female second children were enrolled in school immediately after the summer holiday in which they arrived or within three months, their male counterparts had 100% (10/10) enrolment in the same period of time. When assessing the barriers to enrolment for the female

second child sample, it is found that comparable to their elder female counterparts, the *hukou* remains the sole identified barrier to their access to education.

This trend is further strengthened in examining the barriers to access to education in Dongguan, for the sample of respondents who work and live in Dongguan, but whose children are living and attending primary school in their hometowns, as comparable findings are found. While this portion of the sample were not asked the same question on the duration of time it took to have their child enrolled in school, they were first asked why their child was enrolled in school in their hometown and not in Dongguan. As previously acknowledged in the detailed review of the survey findings, one fifth of respondents indicated that their outside *hukou* status would make access to education in the city difficult. Looking into these responses more closely, of the four *hukou* based responses, three or 75% were from respondents with female eldest children. The findings are similar when looking at the indicated barrier of ‘tuition fees are too high,’ where 3 (75%) of the 4 responses were also from respondents with female eldest children. The greatest indicated barrier (at 100% of responses) to the parents of male eldest children who currently remain studying in their hometowns, was the inability of parents to take care of their children in their destination city, due to cost and time, and the ability of the grandparents in their hometowns to do so.

Respondents of female eldest children indicating that high tuition fees are a central barrier to education in Dongguan is significant for two reasons. The first is that increased tuition fees are often associated with the ownership of an ‘outside’ *hukou* as children with local *hukou* are eligible within the Compulsory Education Law which covers the majority of the schooling fees for primary education in public schools. In contrast, as indicated in the interview with the local public school teacher, when outside *hukou* children are granted access to education in public schools, via the public school ‘outside *hukou* acceptance quotas,’ they are often subject to much

higher school fees. They are required to pay tuition as an ‘outside’ student, borrowing educational services from a city outside of their *hukou* jurisdiction. Secondly, respondents of female eldest children indicating that high tuition fees are a central barrier to access to education in Dongguan, reflects upon the conclusion from the discussion of quality, that parents may be willing to invest more in male education than female education. As a result of this, respondents with male children would not indicate cost as such a significant barrier to education.

These findings, which highlight the *hukou* system’s influence on access to education for female children in urban, Dongguan, China, respond to the second research question which asked “how do institutional/social, cultural or economic factors limit the access to education of female migrant children with an outside *hukou* in urban settings to primary education, compared to that of their male counterparts?” The answers to this question, presented above, highlight the institutionalized barrier of *hukou* status as one factor, which while affecting both genders, seems to more significantly affect female migrant children. Therefore in its broader understanding this finding suggests son preference, in terms of *hukou* barriers being more easily or more willingly overcome for male children, remains and continues to influence access to education decisions for Chinese migrant children.

Furthermore, these findings even more closely reflect upon the second hypothesis which suggests that the *hukou* – household registration system, while liberalizing and arguably decreasing in formal relevance remains embedded formally and informally in present day China in its capacity to marginalize migrant workers of rural status, living and working in urban settings. Thus, in holding both migrant child status and being of the female gender, female migrant children are further marginalized than their male counterparts. Given the suggested continuation of son preference in Chinese culture, and in relation specifically to access to

education *hukou* status can be seen as an additional contributing factor to their social exclusion and their denied right to equality in educational opportunities.

5.3.2. *A response to Zhan (2011): Continued relevance of hukou citizenship on migrant life chances*

In exploring the issues and debates surrounding the continued relevance of the *hukou* and its impacts on the life chances of migrants and their children continues to be seen. Although a majority of the literature reviewed (*See Chapter 2*), reflected that *hukou* status still impacted migrant workers' marginalization and social exclusion, some more recent studies such as that by Zhan (2011) suggests that the *hukou* system itself plays a more minimal role than the fact that migrants do not have marketable resources. Interestingly, in response to this debate, a close examination of issues of migrant workers, in relation to access to education and social exclusion or life chances, makes it evident that for migrants and migrant families to gain greater marketable resources and break the cycle of marginalization, greater access to education is required. And, as found through the field research of this study, the *hukou* continues to be identified as the greatest barrier to access to education for migrant children and most specifically female migrant children (as seen in *Section 5.2.2*).

Therefore, while Zhan (2011) may be correct in suggesting the lack of marketable resources plays a significant role in migrant workers' marginalization, he does not recognize the mutual relationship between the *hukou* and its direct impact on the ability of migrant workers and their families to improve their said, marketability, through equitable access to education. It can thus be suggested that the institutionalized *hukou* system continues to be seen as the root of migrant social exclusion and marginalization of migrant populations in China. However, it must also be noted here that the *hukou* system is liberalizing and institutionally evolving. This is

evident from the sample of this research, the majority of whom had children attending public schools in Dongguan.

In exploring this institutional evolution in direct relation to North's (1990) theory of institutionalism, and the findings of the research, an overt relationship between the impact of organizations on changes in institutions became evident through the interview with the local Dongguan public school teacher as she noted:

“In 2008 when the point system was initially implemented it became much more difficult for migrant children to gain access to education, than prior to the point system. When the system was too strict there was little incentive for migrants to move to Dongguan for work if their children couldn't go to school, or could only go to low quality private schools. More recently they have started to loosen up a bit because factories were having difficulty attracting employees”- Dongguan public school teacher

This quotation directly demonstrates the impact of organizations on incremental changes in formal institutions, such as the *hukou* citizenship system. Organizations, such as the firm who needed a greater labour force and the local city council who has interests in economic growth in the area, effect changes to the organization of the school system, which incrementally liberalizes formal *hukou* restrictions. Here we see that within the context of the *hukou* system and the property rights, or lack of property rights attributed to migrant workers in urban areas, the initial bargaining strength lies within the organizations of the firm and city council. However, as migrant children are granted greater access to public education, a transfer of property rights, even slightly, in terms of access to a public good, is gained. North (1990, 51) sums up this occurrence in suggesting that “changes in relative prices or relative scarcities of any kind [here noted a labour], lead to the creation of property rights when it becomes worthwhile to incur the cost of devising such rights.”

In his work, Zhan (2011) also argues that *hukou* status is now becoming *less relevant* justifying this argument through the recognition that fewer and fewer migrants are willing to change their status when given the opportunity due to the limited increase in their well-being that formalized registration will bring. The empirical findings of this research align with Zhan's (2011) conclusions that fewer migrants are willing to change their *hukou* status, which in his argument equates to less formalized relevance of the *hukou* itself. However, it is important that contemporary *hukou* relevance not be evaluated to the exclusion of its institutionalized nature, or solely at a superficial level of the willingness of migrants to change their *hukou* status, when given the opportunity. Due to the institutional nature of the citizenship system in China, *hukou* relevance must be looked at within a greater scope. This includes encompassing not only an examination of why migrants do not change their *hukou* status, as presented above, but by also an understanding how their *hukou* status continues to influence their marginalized position in society. Zhan (2011) argues that the *hukou* system in its formal form is largely less relevant in terms of migrant life chance or well-being, than it used to be. However, it is through maintaining the *hukou* system, with its ability to deny migrants from full citizenship rights and equitable opportunities for upward social mobility, that the migrant experience remains socially exclusionary.

Discussions from the focus group found Zhan (2011) to be seemingly correct in that migrants are not willing to change their status, due to the limited increase in well-being and the loss of property rights that a change in residential *hukou* would bring. Focus group participants responded first that their close ties and identities rooted in their hometowns largely dissuaded them from wanting to change their *hukou* status when given the opportunity. This was in fact the most significant reason as to why. Furthermore, the participants added that if they were to change their *hukou* status to that of a Dongguan citizen, not only would they still be considered

outsiders labelled as “new Dongguan people,” they would also not be granted local benefits⁷ from the Dongguan region and would lose their share of local benefits from their hometowns. It was further found that the decision was even more complex as to be able to gain local Dongguan *hukou*, a migrant must pay into the local social insurance for a minimum of three years to be considered. However, this paid into social insurance cannot then be transferred back to their hometown localities and is thus a negative trade-off for migrants, a large majority of whom wish to return to their hometowns later in life. Not only does the inability to transfer social insurance investments inter-provincially discourage migrants from changing their *hukou* status via investments in local insurance, on a macro level, it contributes to the preservation of marginalization, discrimination, and underdevelopment of the populations and regions from which many migrants originate⁸.

Aligning North’s (1990) theory of institutionalism with the finding as to why migrant workers would not change their *hukou* status given the opportunity, the interplay of institutions, organizations, ideologies and property rights becomes evident. Aligned with North (1990), Ensminger (1996, 128) suggests that “ideologies shape preference over property rights by allowing the possibility that people consider more than their own narrow gains when evaluating different systems of rights.” In relation to the Chinese context and to the findings of this research, the temporary movement of migrants, and the resistance of converting *hukou* status to their destination city, is in large part due to ideologies and the deep rooted attachment that Chinese people have in their hometowns. Furthermore the inability of migrants to ever become full

⁷ Local benefits refers to a person’s share in village or local profits as a percentage of village or local profits in land sales, exports etc.

⁸ The *hukou* system was built to maintain a clear segregation between rural and urban residents (as seen in Literature Review on Historical Institutionalism). The trade-off decision that migrants must between obtaining destination city *hukou* which would allow their children access to public education in the city, potentially increasing their well-being; and losing any social insurance investments they have made as a requirement in obtaining local *hukou*, denies migrant populations the rights to fairly and fully participate and capitalize on China’s growing economy, maintaining their marginalized position in Chinese society. Thus, opportunities available outside of their home regions cannot be holistically transferred back into local systems in cities of origin.

Dongguan citizens in terms of access to local benefits and the loss of property rights in their hometowns creates additional disincentives for conversion. Here, we see the contrast of property rights as institutions, in both the villages and urban areas, alongside the informal constraint of identity. The household, as an organization, in its decision to return to its hometown, has the potential to impact *hukou* liberalization, for example, as suggest above when firms and urban city councils experience a labour shortage. However, in returning to their hometown, because the transaction cost of working in city, or obtaining urban *hukou* is not worth the benefits of an increased income, it also reinforces the *hukou* system in its function as a mechanism population control by those with greater bargaining power.

From this study of access to education for migrant children rooted within the broader migrant experience, the continued relevance of the *hukou* system in its formality remains evident. Migrant families, who migrate to improve their livelihoods through increased incomes, are denied access to education in urban settings or must overcome significantly higher barriers to education compared to their urban counterparts, as a direct result of their *hukou* status. They are as a consequence marginalized from their right to equality in education and therefore their equality in opportunities of upward social mobility. This is suggested as although children who remain in their rural hometowns would be provided with public education, in a decentralized system, such as China, urban cities generally have greater public funds to support the quality of education in their schools, and as a result have higher quality public educational systems. Disadvantaging migrant children from this educational source, through their *hukou* status thus reflects a formal, real, and maintained impact of the *hukou* system on migrant life chances.

A participant in the focus group reinforced this notion as she admitted that her son, who was once studying in Dongguan but has since returned to their hometown, has such poor grades in school that the total grades of three of his classes combined are less than 100%. In response to

this, a fellow focus group respondent suggested that the child was doing so poorly because he was not able to be in the city with his parents. To this, the original participant agreed and said: “yes, when he was with us, it was better, when he went back to the hometown,... that was a disaster.” While the respondent agreed that issues arose upon the return of her child to their hometown and to the fact that she could not supervise closely over his education, she also highlighted the issues surrounding educational opportunities and experiences in her rural hometown for her child. On this subject the respondent indicated that, “the environment in our hometown is bad, people don’t want to study, and children don’t study seriously. My child also told me himself that it’s a pretty bad environment, nobody wants to learn.” Thus, as made evident here, denying migrant children equality in access to education disadvantages them from “equality of opportunity” and from their ability as “individuals to achieve their economic and social objectives,” and further upward social mobility; an upward social mobility, of which the migrant parents in the focus group all indicated that they hope better education for their children will bring (UNICEF, 2007, 29; 27).

5.4. Citizenship: The neglected property right of the Chinese economic reform

Expanding further on the institutionalized nature of the *hukou* system in relation to North’s (1989; 1991) conception of institutions and the role of institutions in economic development, one significant parallel across Chinese migrant, and *hukou* relevant literature, has yet to be thoroughly explored. Drawing on the work of Shachar and Hirschl’s (2007) examination of citizenship as inherited property, and North’s (1989; 1990; 1991) discussions on the role of property rights, allows for the link between the institutional evaluation of the *hukou* citizenship system, and the realities of the contemporary experience of Chinese migrant workers to be explored. Specifically it enables an exploration of the means through which it has

structured the differential opportunities afforded to urban and rural populations becomes more fruitfully and conceptually evolved (Cheng & Seldon, 1994, 645).

A central tenet of North's (1989, 1320) evaluation of economic development and the role of political institutions is the "specification and enforcement of property rights." North (1989) develops the argument that, as an economy evolves according to the Western capitalistic economic model, property rights, established and determined by political institutions, allow significant social relations and social capital to be developed. Property rights must be established to "allow transactions to occur and [for] productivity gains... to be realized" (North, 1989, 1320). The transactions being referred to here are the economic transactions conducted in modern capitalist markets, rooted in impersonal relations. These transactions, as noted by North (1989; 1990; 1991) juxtaposed with historical economic transactions executed through personal relations of trust, require political institutions to rationalize the legitimacy of transacting by reducing transaction costs. Therefore, the political institutions in a society thus provide the framework in which secured property rights are able to develop (North, 1989; 1990; 1991). In acknowledging the role of political institutions in developing property rights across the greater pursuit of economic growth, the significance of the state's presence and interaction in markets thus becomes evident.

Weingast (1995), aligned with North (1989; 1990; 1991) reinforces the importance of the role of state in the necessary development of a "political foundation that limits the ability of the state to confiscate wealth" and to further enable the prosperity of markets. Weingast (1995, 1) describes this as "requiring a form of limited government, that is, political institutions that credibly commit the state to honour economic and political rights." However, as acknowledged by North (1989, 1321), along with the increased presence of the state in the development of political systems, arises "the unequal distribution of coercive power...[which] provides the

opportunity for individuals with superior coercive [and political power] to enforce the rules to their advantage, regardless of their effects on efficiency.”

The nature of the Chinese state makes it inaccurate and unrealistic to label the Chinese state as one maintaining a ‘limited government’ approach. However, Weingast (1995, 25) notes that “markets and limited government are complementary aspects of economic development and reform [in which] political development must therefore take place simultaneously with economic development,” highlighting the experience of the contemporary Chinese reforms as a concrete example of this occurrence. Weingast (1995, 22) explores the decentralization process which occurred in the beginning of the 1978 reform process and suggests that arguably, a Chinese style federalism was developed, decreasing the absolute levels of centralized state control previously known, “providing many local political officials with the incentives to create an economic and political environment that fosters economic growth.” It can thus be suggested that the decentralization processes which devolved property rights to officials in the localities, produced incentives for economic growth, and as a result increased productivity. If we reflect on the empirical results of this research, the discussion on the allowance of more migrant children in public schools in Dongguan, during a labour shortage, reflects this theory precisely.

As central actors in the economic growth experienced in China, as well as those recognized as the population most highly marginalized through the growth process, it becomes essential to examine the structure of property rights in relation to Chinese migrants and their citizenship. To allow for a coherent submersion of the marginalizing effects of the *hukou* system into the discussion of property rights and the impacts on economic development noted above, *hukou*-designated citizenship is evaluated through an understanding of Shachar and Hirschl’s (2007) concept of citizenship as inherited property. Although Shachar and Hirschl’s (2007) work is rooted in an examination of national citizenship and the internationally marginalizing effects

of this system, the comparable nature and outcomes of the domestic *hukou* system in China, to that of the international context, allow strong similarities to be drawn and thus contribute significantly relevant literature to the discussion at hand.

Defining property as “a human-made and multi-faceted institution, which creates and maintains certain relations among individuals in reference to things,” Shachar and Hirschl (2007, 259) in their analysis do not attempt to frame citizenship as property under the context of citizenship as a “tangible thing.” Rather, similarities are drawn based on the comparable relationships that both property and citizenship socially maintain “in relation to other members” of a socially defined group and more specifically within “a particular government that create enforceable rights and duties,” (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 61). Correspondingly, in conceptualizing citizenship as inherited property, Shachar and Hirschl (2007, 255) develop a strong correlation between the “gate keeping and opportunity enhancing” mechanisms evident in the disposition of both citizenship and property, allowing for the conceptually appropriate framing of citizenship as property. The gate keeping functions of both property and citizenship are recognized as those which evoke the “right to exclude” by “creating legal boundaries...[which] generally protect the interests of designated legitimate owners while imposing severe legal sanctions against those who are perceived as illegal entrants who breach them,” (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 265; 266). Furthermore, the “right to exclude” shapes citizenship as “a prerequisite for the enjoyment of certain rights,” rights which have the ability to, and “typically [do] preserve unequal structures of holdings that tend to concentrate control over wealth,” (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 265; 266).

Alternatively, the “opportunity enhancing function,” which Shachar and Hirschl (2007, 268) identify as a function of property with greater influence in the context of citizenship, represents “a share in the protection conferred on the group as a whole...[allowing] individuals

to gain a fair share of equal liberties, access to public goods and non-discriminatory participation in economic and labour markets.” Due to *hukou* designated citizenship, migrant workers in China, defined by their localized status citizenship, have largely been denied the “opportunity enhancing function” of their national Chinese citizenship while subject to the limits of the “gate keeping function” within the borders of their own country. The gate keeping/opportunity enhancing dichotomy of citizenship within the Chinese migrant context brings significant exposure to the discrimination and marginalization experienced by outside *hukou* citizens in urban destination cities. Denied the protection of their citizenship rights, migrant workers have been socially, politically and economically disadvantaged, disallowing comparable opportunities to that of their urban status counterparts to fully benefit from the economic growth experienced since the reforms (Nielsen et al., 2007).

Identifying *hukou*-designated citizenship as a denied right to citizenship conceived as property, aligned with its role as a mechanism enforcing an inequitable structure of property rights, is useful in examining and understanding the marginalization faced by migrant workers within the borders of their own country. Because of the *hukou* system, a discussion of the concept of birthright also becomes necessary as “to a large extent [*hukou* status was and] still is, a very strong determinant of rights and privileges affecting [the] socio-economic wellbeing” of Chinese citizens (Zhang & Treiman, 2013, 72). Encompassing the exclusionary and influential nature of the *hukou* system on migrant life chances, Shachar and Hirschl (2007, 258) describe citizenship as a “morally arbitrary circumstance of birth [... which] perpetuates and reifies dramatically differentiated life prospects,” creating both winners and “losers of the birthright lottery” (Joppke, 2010, 12).

Due to the embedded nature of the *hukou* system within Chinese society, citizens have been “organized into a hierarchy of groups on the principle of differentiation of status and rights”

framed under a guise of naturalness and heredity, as rural or urban designation is intergenerationally transferred (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007; Wu, 2010, 60). Conceiving citizenship as a naturally defined status allows for marginalizing practices to become deeply embedded and maintained within a society “locking in structures of privilege” built out of a socially constructed model of differentiation (Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 282). The exclusion experienced by rural or outside *hukou* designated populations, or the “losers of the birthright lottery” in China comes as a result of “an affluent community systematically delimiting access to membership and its derivative benefits on the basis of a strict heredity system...preserving privilege and advantage in the hands of the few.” (Joppke, 2010, 12; Shachar & Hirschl, 2007, 269).

Inherently embedded in social interaction and social recognition both social exclusion and social stratification theories further the theoretical conceptualization of the migrant experience and advance the understanding of the fundamentally marginalizing disposition, and continually embedded manifestations of the *hukou* system in Chinese society (Kabeer, 2000; Massey, 2009). Social stratification and associated stigmatization “occurs because human societies are characterized by social structures that divides people into categories” (Link & Phelan, 2001, 37). These categories or labels are psychologically rooted in socially constructed classifications which are often linked to “undesirable attributes” allowing for the differentiation and the stereotyping of groups from “us” and “them” (Massey, 2009, 12). This notion is reinforced by Link and Phelan (2001, 371) as they acknowledge that “when people are labelled, set apart, and linked to undesirable characteristics, a rationale is constructed for devaluing, rejecting and excluding them.” This said devaluation “orders people vertically in a social structure characterized by a distinct top and bottom” and is the materialization of a relationship of power, a relationship which allows “social actors who control more of the resources in society-those at

the top of the stratification system- [to] have the upper hand in framing” and perpetuation of the distinguished categorizations (Link & Phelan, 2001; Massey, 2009, 12; 14).

Inextricably linked, it becomes evident that *hukou* designated citizenship understood under birthright and as property is a significantly influential form of social exclusion and social stratification, institutionally creating a hierarchal organization within society, and instrumentally determining the prospective life chances of a Chinese citizen (Link & Phelan, 2001; Massey, 2009). The *hukou* system, as a state regulated and institutionalized mechanism, allows for the categorization and thus social stratification and stigmatization of migrant workers to be overt and facile. Due to the institutional evolution of the *hukou* system in Chinese society, the stigmatized position of migrant workers through the *hukou* system is interpreted by the dominant elite in society as “just the way things are.” This then results in maintaining “differential access to... resources, and social status” which enables further, or perpetuated stratification, while embedding the “psychological foundation for exploitation and exclusion” across its society (Link & Phelan, 2001, 367; Massey, 2009, 12; 14). Massey (2009, 12) defines exploitation as “when people in one social group expropriate a resource produced by members of another social group and prevent them from realizing the full value for their effort in producing it,” directly encompassing the migrant experience.

Chapter 6. Concluding remarks

6.1 Review of Findings

Rooted in a theoretical basis of Social Exclusion and the Rights Based Approach to Development, the research was conceptualized through the identification of a gap in the existing literature on access to education for migrant children in urban China, and gender based decision making in access to education in rural China. The gap identified, was the lack of a gendered understanding of access to education for migrant children in urban settings. Thus, the initial objective of this research was to explore the rates of male to female primary school enrolment of migrant children in an urban setting, across a variety of educational sources, and qualitatively uproot the factors causing potential gender differences in access to education amongst a migrant sample.

Alongside the theoretical roots of Social Exclusion and the Rights Based Approach to Development, this research was also guided through an understanding of the Gender and Development theory, which “look[s] at the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society” (Rathgeber (1990, 494). Therefore, in the effort of following this approach, the research explored migrant realities in terms of their role in the economy, their social exclusion in terms of citizenship, their institutionalized *hukou*-based identities, and the broader, historical patterns of gender values in China. This approach, as noted in the literature review of *Chapter 2*, aligned with the Historical Institutional framework through which the research has been understood, has allowed for the interplay and collaboration of a feminist approach, and a new institutionalist approach. This collaboration is one, which has been deemed by scholars such as Mackay et al. (2010, 581) and Waylen (2009) as lacking in practice; however, crucial in understanding the “differential effects [institutions] have on men and women.”

As a result, the research allowed for a preliminary, case study contribution to gendered access to education for migrant children in China; exposing a variance of findings in terms of gender in relation to access to education, and thus contributing to the existing void and identified gap in the relevant literature. Furthermore, by aligning the field research and preliminary data findings with existing literature, the research developed additional theoretical and conceptual contributions; regarding both the *hukou* system's institutionalized nature, and its functionality and impacts on citizenship within Chinese society.

Taking a Historical Institutionalist approach to understanding the embedded nature of gendered values, and the *hukou* system in China, these two central factors of analysis were identified as informal constraints and formal institutions respectively. The research was able to contribute to a review of the historically embedded presence of both gender and the *hukou* system, while identifying current and contemporary manifestations or representations of these institutions, in relation to access to education, across a migrant sample. Aligned with the gendered component of this study, the research was also able to uncover a trend in the weakening of son preference across migrant populations in terms of access to education. This allows for a contemporary contribution to the historical trends of son preference and the status of women, as well as trends in gender based household decision making in China. While it was found that there may remain a gender bias and son preference in access to different qualities of education, with greater substantiation, the results of the survey, and the focus group findings suggested an equalling of parental perspectives on gender and access to education post-migration, situated within the greater urbanization process. While the latter finding suggests a partially

negative alignment with the first hypothesis⁹, it is unquestionably a response to the first research question¹⁰, and a positive finding in terms of transitions towards greater gender equality within Chinese society; a finding of which I am content to have misaligned through my hypothesis.

In addition to the gendered aspects covered above, the research was further able to address a debate in the literature on *hukou* citizenship. The empirical evidence of this research suggests that the *hukou* remains as a central factor in marginalizing migrant children from access to education, specifically female migrant children. This finding responds to and aligns with the second hypothesis¹¹ while responding to the second research question¹². Drawing on the continued relevance of *hukou*-designated citizenship, theoretical and conceptual contributions towards new approaches of analyzing, discussing and understanding the state of citizenship in China, in relation to the migrant context was also developed. The discussion introduced an exploration of *hukou* citizenship through the lens of inherited property rights. Not only did this allow for an understanding of the *hukou* system as an economic instrument, it more concretely allowed for the exploration of the power of the institutionalized nature of the *hukou* system on marginalization, social exclusion, and citizenship rights.

Comprehensively formulating the results of this research, it can be suggested that although there is evidence of both liberalizing characteristics of the *hukou* system, and an evolution across the migratory process towards greater gender equality in access to education

⁹ Comparable findings of the barriers to education for female children in rural settings, which are rooted in gendered discrimination and generally conclude that female children are more disadvantaged than male children in their access to education, will remain a constant trend across outside *hukou* children living in urban settings

¹⁰ Does access to primary education for migrant children in urban settings vary according to the sex of the child?

¹¹ The *hukou* – household registration system, while liberalizing and arguably decreasing in formal relevance remains embedded formally and informally in present day China in its capacity to marginalize and socially exclude migrant workers of outside status, living and working in urban settings.

¹² How do institutional/social, cultural or economic factors limit the access to education of migrant children, and more specifically female migrant children, with an outside *hukou* in urban destination city settings to primary education, compared to that of their male counterparts?

decision making, some barriers remain. These barriers continue to marginalize migrant children from their right to equality in education. This denies migrant children, and more specifically female migrant children, from equality in life chances in contrast to their urban born counterparts, placing them at a greater risk of the perpetuation the intergenerational cycle of marginalization. This research therefore concludes by suggesting that the institutional framework in which the *hukou* system operates, although evolving, remains relevant in migrant life chances, specifically in terms of access to education for migrant children, and more broadly maintains barriers on migrant workers and their families in terms of upward social mobility.

6.2 Limitations and Future Directions

The limitations of this research are four-fold. First, a significant limitation in the research is evident in the scope and methodological approach of the research. In looking to explore barriers to access to education, administering the surveys through schools, both public and high quality private schools, removes the possibility of exploring children with access to lower quality migrant schools or no access to education at all within the destination city. This therefore brings the study within a sample of the population that is not the most disadvantaged, and has already surmounted many of the barriers to access to education, lending to an inherent sampling bias in the research. Due to sampling method and the socio-economic and general demographic status of the migrant participants captured in the sample, the results found may not be transferable or reflective of other migrant groups across Dongguan. The case study remains limited as, if access could have been gained to a less educated, lower income-earning sample, which had been living in Dongguan for a shorter period of time, the research findings may have varied significantly.

The initial limitation lends further to the second limitation, rooted in the statistical significance of the findings. It must be acknowledged here that the statistical significance of the

research is limited, largely due to the sample sizes represented in the study, with special consideration to the secondary survey and the single interview. The statistical significance is therefore limited as there remains a possibility that the findings have resulted out of chance. While the sample sizes of these two research activities were small, the secondary survey, the focus group, and the single interview were conducted as supplementary activities to the core survey to gain a richer understanding of the subject at hand, and to provide insight from a variety of different stakeholders, of which their purpose was realized.

Aligned with this limitation, is also the consideration and possibility that socially desirable answers were provided by the participants. While efforts were taken in attempt to mediate this risk, due to the subject matter of the research and the methodological approach taken, it is possible that a level social desirability bias is present across the research findings. While the limitations presented here are significant and the results of the empirical research may not have generalizing potential across other migrant groups, the trends found, aligned with existing literature allow for case study specific contributions to gaps in current literature, and have also identified a new area of research which could be more comprehensively evaluated, on a greater scale, in the future.

The third limitation, which derives from the first two, is rooted in the ability of the research to draw detailed and extensive discussion on solely the gendered aspects of this study. This is due in part to the survey design, and also the sample studied. Because the high-level findings suggest a growing equality in access to education for migrant children across genders, within the sampled socio-economic level, significant marginalization in terms of direct access to enrolment in education was not found, as was expected. However, this limitation brought forth one of the most significant findings and conclusions in my research, of the change in gendered values across migration, and further the prevalence of gender valuation in terms of access to

different qualities of education. While the gender specific research allowed for some quite significant findings and contributions, to strengthen this work, and allow for additional contributions, the discussions were also expanded to include a stronger response to the debate in the literature, although not heavily gendered, on the overall the continued relevance of the *hukou* citizenship system on migrant life chances. This contribution is significant as not only does it address the debate in the literature, it also brought new concepts forward, in terms of understanding *hukou* citizenship as property rights.

Finally, the fourth limitation arises in the research due to the criteria chosen in which only the parents of primary school children were surveyed, and asked to participate in the focus group. Because China's Compulsory Education Law covers the first nine years of education, there may be an overlooked sample population of children outside of the nine compulsory years. Greater gender differences may occur in the higher grade levels when the economic cost of education on the household significantly increases. In households of lower income, there may be a cost benefit analysis, in regards to which children, and of which gender, will continue in school and which children may not. While this research specifically targeted primary school children, there is the potential for significant research to be conducted in the future on this gap, of upper year migrant children and their access to education based on gender.

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Appendix I

Core Survey Questionnaire Chinese version

加拿大渥太华大学调查问卷

非常感谢参与问卷调查！填写过程中如有任何疑问，请联系刘生 15220310257

第一部分

受访者信息

1. 年龄

- a) 25-29
- b) 30-34
- c) 34-39
- d) 40-44
- e) 45 +

2. 性别

- a) 男
- b) 女

3. 您的家乡（请填写省份和县市）：

4. 您现居何处（在东莞的地址，精确到镇区）

5. 您现在的户口状态? a) 东莞户口 b) 外地户口

6. 您的民族成分? a) 汉族 b) 少数民族

如果是少数民族，请指出是什么民族 _____

7. 请指出您和您配偶的教育程度.

您自己

- a) 小学或以下
- b) 初中
- c) 高中
- d) 大学或以上

您配偶

- a) 小学或以下
- b) 初中
- c) 高中
- d) 大学或以上

8. 夫妇每月总收入

- a) < 4000 元
- b) 4000- 5500 元
- c) 5501 -7000 元
- d) 7001 -8500 元
- e) 8501-10 000 元
- f) >10 000 元

9. 除子女之外，你们有无其他人需要赡养? a) 是 b) 否

如有，还有几个人需要赡养? _____.

10. 来东莞几年了?

- a) 未满 1 年 c) 3-5 年
- b) 1 年 - 3 年 d) >5 年

11. 来东莞之后办过暂住证吗? a) 是 b) 否

12. 您家庭符合以下哪种情况:

- a) 一女
- b) 一男
- c) 一男一女
- d) 两男
- e) 两女
- f) 其他情况 (请另注明) _____

13. 刚来东莞时, 有没有人帮助你们联系子女上学的学校?

- a) 是 b) 否

如果填是, 谁帮助联系子女学校?

- a) 亲戚
- b) 老乡
- c) 工友
- d) 老板
- e) 其他 (请指出) _____

第二部分

以下问题是跟您的第一个子女相关 (长子/长女)

1. 您的大孩子是: a) 男孩 b) 女孩

2. 您的大孩子在哪里上学? a) 在东莞上学 b) 在东莞辍学 c) 在老家上学 c) 在老家辍学

如果在东莞上学, 他/她现在何处上学:

- a) 民工子弟学校
- b) 私立学校
- c) 公立学校
- d) 其他 (请指出) _____

如果在东莞上学，请回答问题 3-9 和 13-16

如果在东莞辍学，请回答问题 10 和 13-16

如果在老家上学，请回答问题 11 和 13-16

如果在老家辍学，请回答问题 12-16.

3. 您大孩子现在读几年级? (请圈出来)

小学: 初中:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |
| 6 | |

4. 来东莞后，您的大孩子找学校花了多久? (请根据个人经历选择一个最合适的选项)?

- a) 夏季抵达东莞，孩子在当地找到学校，当年 9 月份顺利入学
- b) 等了不到 3 个月后入学
- c) 等了 3 个月-6 个月
- d) 等了 6 个月-1 年
- e) 等了 1 年以上

5. 如果您大孩子找学校花时间超过 3 个月，请选择具体原因； 如果您大孩子在 3 个月内找到学校
请继续 **问题 6**.

- a) 刚来东莞没钱
- b) 找不到肯接受外地户口生源的学校
- c) 不知道当地有什么学校
- d) 来东莞的时候是暑期，学校放假
- e) 其他 (请指出) _____

6. 您大孩子 1 年学费是多少?

_____ 元/年

7. 您觉得学费高吗? a) 是 b) 否

8. 作为外地户口生源，您大孩子在公立学校上学要不要比本地同学付更多的学费?

a) 是 b) 否

9. 对于您大孩子现在所接受的教育的教学质量，你们还满意吗？

a) 是 b) 否

如果否，请在以下方框解释原因。

10. 请选择您大孩子住在东莞同时辍学的主要原因（最多 2 个）。

外地户口，上东莞公立学校困难重重

没有私立学校可供选择

学费太高

学校离得太远

家里需要孩子帮忙做家务，因而辍学

其他原因 (请指出) _____

11. 请选择您大孩子留在老家就学却不能在东莞就学的原因最（多 2 个）。

外地户口，上东莞公立学校困难重重

没有私立学校可供选择

在东莞学费太高

其他原因 (请指出) _____

12. 请指出您大孩子留在老家且不能就学的原因（多 2 个）。

学费太高

学校离得太远

家里需要孩子帮忙做家务，因而辍学

其他原因 (请指出) _____

13. 如果没跟着你们来东莞工作，您的大孩子在老家公立学校能注册并上学吗？

a) 是 b) 否

请解释一下能或者不能的理由。

14. 来东莞打工后，大孩子接受教育的难易程度改变了多少？

- 1) 更困难
- 2) 没变化
- 3) 更容易

15. 对你们而言，大孩子的就学问题

- 1) 根本不重要
- 2) 不怎么重要
- 3) 有点重要
- 4) 非常重要

16. 来东莞之后，您对孩子受教育问题重要性的认识有没有发生变化？

- 1) 更加不重要
- 2) 没变化
- 3) 更加重要

如果您有第二个孩子，请继续第三部分.

如果您只有一个孩子，问卷调查到此结束。谢谢您的参与!

第三部分

以下问题是跟您的第二个子女相关（次子/次女）

- 1. 您的第二个孩子是: a) 男孩 b) 女孩

- 2. 您的第二个孩子在哪里上学? a) 在东莞上学 b) 在东莞辍学 c) 在老家上学 c) 在老家辍学

如果在东莞上学，他/她现在何处上学:

- a) 民工子弟学校
- b) 私立学校
- c) 公立学校
- d) 其他 (请指出) _____

如果在东莞上学，请回答问题 3-9 和 13-16

如果在东莞辍学，请回答问题 10 和 13-16

如果在老家上学，请回答问题 11 和 13-16

如果在老家辍学，请回答问题 12-16.

3. 您第二个孩子现在读几年级? (请圈出来)

小学: 初中:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |
| 6 | |

4. 来东莞后, 您的第二个孩子找学校花了多久? (请根据个人经历选择一个最合适的选项)?

- a) 夏季抵达东莞, 孩子在当地找到学校, 当年9月份顺利入学
- b) 等了不到3个月后入学
- c) 等了3个月-6个月
- d) 等了6个月-1年
- e) 等了1年以上

5. 如果您第二个孩子找学校花时间超过3个月, 请选择具体原因; 如果您第二个孩子在3个月内找到学校 请继续 **问题6**.

- a) 刚来东莞没钱
- b) 找不到肯接受外地户口生源的学校
- c) 不知道当地有什么学校
- d) 来东莞的时候是暑期, 学校放假
- e) 其他 (请指出) _____

6. 您第二个孩子1年学费是多少?

_____ 元/年

7. 您觉得学费高吗? a) 是 b) 否

8. 作为外地户口生源, 您第二个孩子在公立学校上学要不要比本地同学付更多的学费?

a) 是 b) 否

9. 对于您第二个孩子现在所接受的教育的教学质量, 你们还满意吗?

a) 是 b) 否

如果否, 请在以下方框解释原因。

10. 请选择您第二个孩子住在东莞同时辍学的主要原因（最多3个）。

- 外地户口，上东莞公立学校困难重重
- 没有私立学校可供选择
- 学费太高
- 学校离得太远
- 家里需要孩子帮忙做家务，因而辍学
- 其他原因(请指出)_____

11. 请选择您第二个孩子留在老家就学却不能在东莞就学的原因最（多2个）。

- 外地户口，上东莞公立学校困难重重
- 没有私立学校可供选择
- 在东莞学费太高
- 其他原因(请指出)_____

12. 请指出您第二个孩子留在老家且不能就学的原因（多2个）。

- 学费太高
- 学校离得太远
- 家里需要孩子帮忙做家务，因而辍学
- 其他原因(请指出)_____

13. 如果没跟着你们来东莞工作，您的第二个孩子在老家公立学校能注册并上学吗？

a) 是 b) 否

无论您认为您第二个孩子在老家公立学校能或者不能正常注册并上学，请解释一下能或者不能的理由。

14. 来东莞打工后，第二个孩子接受教育的难易程度改变了多少？

- 1) 更困难
- 2) 没变化
- 3) 更容易

15. 对你们而言，第二个孩子的就学问题

- 1) 根本不重要
- 2) 不怎么重要
- 3) 有点重要
- 4) 非常重要

16. 来东莞之后，您对第二个孩子受教育问题重要性的认识有没有发生变化？

- 1) 更加不重要
- 2) 没变化
- 3) 更加重要

非常感谢参与问卷调查！如有任何其他问题，欢迎联系刘景乐#

Appendix II

Core Survey Questionnaire *English Version*

Section 1

Respondent Information

1. Age
a) 25-29
b) 30-34
c) 34-29
d) 40-44
e) 45 +
2. Gender
a) male
b) female
3. Please indicate your hometown and province of origin:

4. Please indicated your current area of residence
(district of Dongguan)

5. Where is your registered hukou? a) Dongguan b) outside Dongguan

6. Are you of Han ethnicity a) Yes b) No

If **no**, please indicate your ethnic group _____

7. Please indicate the achieved level of education and that best describes you and your spouse.

Yourself

- a) Less than completed primary education
b) Completion of primary education
c) Completion of middle school
d) Completion of high school
e) University degree

Your Spouse

- a) Less than completed primary education
b) Completion of primary education
c) Completion of middle school
d) Completion of high school
e) University degree

8. Please indicate your combined household income per month

- a) <4000RMB
b) 4000- 5500RMB
c) 5501 -7000 RMB
d) 7001 -8500RMB
e) 8501 – 10 000RMB
f) > 10 000 RMB

9. Other than a child/children do you have any other dependents to support? a) Yes b) No

If yes, please indicate how many dependents you have other than your children _____.

10. How many years have you lived in Dongguan?

- a) less than 1 year
b) 1 year - 3 years
c) 3 – 5 years
d) 3 – 5 years
e) > 5 years

11. Since arriving in Dongguan have you obtained a residence permit? a) Yes b) No

12. Which best describes your family:

- a) One female child
- b) One male child
- c) One male and one female child
- d) Two male children
- e) Two female children
- f) Other (please indicate) _____

13. Upon arrival in Dongguan, did anyone help you to locate a source of education for your child/children?

a) Yes b) No

If **yes**, please indicate who helped you locate a source of education for your child:

- a) A relative living in Dongguan
- b) A person from my same hometown and/or province
- c) A co-worker
- d) An employer
- e) Other (please indicate) _____

Section 2

Please answer the following questions based on your *eldest or only child*.

1. My eldest child is: a) male b) female

2. Is your eldest child enrolled in school: a) Dongguan in school b) Dongguan not in school c) at home in school c) at home not in school

If ***your child is in Dongguan in school***, is he/she enrolled in:

- a) an independent migrant school
- b) a private school
- c) a public school
- d) Other (please specify) _____

If your child is in Dongguan in school answer 3-9 & 13-16

If your child is in Dongguan not in school answer 10 & 13-16

If your child is at home and in school answer 11 & 13-16

If your child is at home and not in school answer 12 -16

3. What grade has your eldest child completed? (Please circle)

Primary:

Middle School:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

- 1
- 2
- 3

4. How quickly after arrival in Dongguan was your eldest child enrolled in school? (Please select the category which best suits your experience)?

- a) We arrived in Dongguan in the summer when school was not in session, my child was registered in the school year which followed our arrival.
- b) less than 3 months
- c) 3-6 months
- d) 6m- 1year
- e) more than 1 year

5. If it took longer than **3 month** after arrival in Dongguan for your eldest child to be enrolled in school can you please select the reason which best suits why your child was not enrolled in school **in 3months** time after arrival. If your child was registered for school **within 3** after arrival, please continue to **question 6**.

- a) We did not have enough money to enrol our child in school upon arrival
- b) We could not find a school that would accept our child with a rural Hukou
- c) We were not initially aware of any schools in the area
- d) It was summer holiday for the school when we arrived in Dongguan
- e) Other (please specify) _____

6. What are the annual tuition fees for your eldest child's education?
_____ RMB / year

7. Do you feel tuition fees are too high? a) Yes b) No

8. Do you pay higher tuition fees for your child than a child with a Dongguan hukou?
a) Yes b) No

9. Are you satisfied with the quality of education your eldest child is receiving?
a) Yes b) No

If No, please explain why

10. Please indicate the main reasons (up to 3), which best suit your situation, as to why your eldest child is living in Dongguan but not enrolled in school.

- Rural hukou makes access to public schools in Dongguan more difficult
- There are no private for my child to attend in Dongguan
- Tuition costs are too high
- School is too far away
- It is better if my child does not go to school and helps with house work
- Other (please specify) _____

11. Please indicate the main reason (up to 2) why your eldest child is enrolled in school at home and not in Dongguan

- Rural hukou makes access to public schools in Dongguan more difficult
- There is no migrant school for my child to attend in Dongguan
- Tuition costs are too high in Dongguan
- Other (please specify) _____

12. Please indicate the main reasons why (up to 2), which best suits your situation, as to why your eldest child is not enrolled in school at home.

- Tuition costs are too high
- No school available within walking distance
- It is better if my child does not go to school and helps with the housework/farming
- Other (please specify) _____

13. If you had not migrated to Dongguan, do you believe that your eldest child would be registered in school in your hometown?

a) Yes b) No

Whether **Yes or No**, please provide a brief explanation as to why you believe your child would or would not be registered in school in your hometown.

14. Would you say *access* to education for your eldest child is better or worse than before relocation?

- 1) Worse
- 2) No difference
- 3) Better

15. How important is *access* to education to you for your eldest child?

- 1) Very unimportant
- 2) Unimportant
- 4) Important
- 5) Very important

16. Since moving to Dongguan, has your perception on the importance of access to education for your eldest child changed?

- 1) Less important
- 2) No change
- 3) More important

Please continue to Section 3 if you have a second child. If you do not have a second child, you have now completed the questionnaire. Thank you!

Section 3

Please answer the following questions based on your *second or second eldest child*.

1. My second child is: a) male b) female

2. Is your second child enroled in school: a) Dongguan in school b) Dongguan not in school c)at home in school c) at home not in school

If *your child is in Dongguan in school*, is he/she enroled in:

- a) an independent migrant school
- b) a private school
- c) a public school
- d) Other (please specify) _____

If your child is in Dongguan in school answer 3-9 & 13-16

If your child is in Dongguan not in school answer 10 &13-16

If your child is at home and in school answer 11 &13-16

If your child is at home and not in school answer 12 -16

3. What grade has your second child completed? (Please circle)

Primary:

Middle School:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

- 1
- 2
- 3

4. How quickly after arrival in Dongguan was your second child enrolled in school? (Please select the category which best suits your experience)?

- a) We arrived in Dongguan in the summer when school was not in session, my child was registered in the school year which followed our arrival.
- b) less than 3 months
- c) 3-6 months
- d) 6m- 1year
- e) more than 1 year

5. If it took longer than **3 month** after arrival in Dongguan for your second child to be enrolled in school can you please select the reason which best suits why your child was not enrolled in school **in 3months** time after arrival. If your child was registered for school **within 3** after arrival, please continue to **question 6**.

- a) We did not have enough money to enrol our child in school upon arrival
- b) We could not find a school that would accept our child with an outside hukou
- c) We were not initially aware of any schools in the area
- d) It was summer holiday for the school when we arrived in Dongguan
- e) Other (please specify) _____

6. What are the annual tuition fees for your second child's education?
_____ RMB / year

7. Do you feel tuition fees are too high? a) Yes b) No

8. Do you pay higher tuition fees for your child than a child with a Dongguan hukou?
a) Yes b) No

9. Are you satisfied with the quality of education your second child is receiving?
a) Yes b) No

If No, please explain why

10. Please indicate the main reasons (up to 3), which best suit your situation, as to why your second child is living in Dongguan but not enrolled in school.

- Rural hukou makes access to public schools in Dongguan more difficult
- There are no private for my child to attend in Dongguan
- Tuition costs are too high
- School is too far away
- It is better if my child does not go to school and helps with house work
- Other (please specify) _____

11. Please indicate the main reason (up to 2) why your second child is enrolled in school at home and not in Dongguan

- Rural hukou makes access to public schools in Dongguan more difficult
- There is no migrant school for my child to attend in Dongguan
- Tuition costs are too high in Dongguan
- Other (please specify) _____

12. Please indicate the main reasons why (up to 2), which best suits your situation, as to why your second child is not enrolled in school at home.

- Tuition costs are too high
- No school available within walking distance
- It is better if my child does not go to school and helps with the housework/farming
- Other (please specify) _____

13. If you had not migrated to Dongguan, do you believe that your second child would be registered in school in your hometown?

a) Yes b) No

Whether **Yes or No**, please provide a brief explanation as to why you believe your child would or would not be registered in school in your hometown.

14. Would you say *access* to education for your second child is better or worse than before relocation?

- 1) Worse
- 2) No difference
- 3) Better

15. How important is *access* to education to you for your second child?

- 1) Very unimportant
- 2) Unimportant
- 4) Important
- 5) Very important

16. Since moving to Dongguan, has your perception on the importance of access to education for your second child changed?

- 1) Less important
- 2) No change
- 3) More important

Thank you very much for your participation in this survey! If you have any other questions, please contact Jing le Liu #

Appendix III

Secondary Survey Questionnaire Chinese Version

第一部分

受访者信息

1. 年龄

a) 25-29

b) 30-34

c) 34-39

d) 40-44

e) 45 +

2. 性别

a) 男

b) 女

3. 您的家乡（请填写省份和县市）：

4. 您现居何处（在东莞的地址，精确到镇区）

5. 您现在的户口状态? a) 东莞户口 b) 外地户口

6. 您的民族成分? a) 汉族 b) 少数民族

如果是少数民族，请指出是什么民族 _____

7. 请指出您和您配偶的教育程度.

您自己

a) 小学或以

b) 初中

c) 高中

d) 大学或以上

您配偶

a) 小学或以下

b) 初中

c) 高中

d) 大学或以上

8. 夫妇每月总收入

a) < 4000 元

b) 4000- 5500 元

c) 5501 -7000 元

d) 7001 -8500 元

e) 8501-10 000 元

f) >10 000 元

9. 除子女之外，你们有无其他人需要赡养? a) 是 b) 否

如有，还有几个人需要赡养? _____.

10. 来东莞几年了?

a) 未满 1 年

c) 3-5 年

b) 1 年-3 年

d) >5 年

11. 来东莞之后办过暂住证吗? a) 是 b) 否

12. 您家庭符合以下哪种情况:

a) 一女

b) 一男

c) 一男一女

d) 两男

e) 两女

f) 其他情况 (请另注明) _____

第二部分

以下问题是跟您的第一个子女相关.

1. 性别

a) 男 b) 女

2. 年龄 _____

3. 您大孩子在老家注册上学吗?

a) 在老家上学 b) 在老家辍学 c) 其他 _____

如果您孩子留守在老家上学, 请回答问题 3 - 10

如果您孩子留守在老家没有上学, 请回答问题 11

4. 他/她上几年级? _____

5. 请选择您大孩子留在老家就学却不在东莞就学的原因最 (多 2 个)

我们没有在东莞找学校, 还在在老家上学挺好

外地户口, 上东莞公立学校困难重重

没有私立学校可供选择

在东莞学费太高

大孩子留在家里读书更好, 方便帮助做家务

其他原因 (请指出) _____

6. 男孩和女孩的受教育问题一样重要吗? A) 是 b) 否
请解释原因

7. 对你而言, 达到东莞的积分上学制度要求:

- a) 非常简单
- b) 简单
- c) 困难
- d) 非常困难

如您选择 **困难**或者**非常困难**, 请解释原因:

8. 如果条件许可, 您还会选择让您大孩子来东莞上学吗? a) 是 b) 否
如果是, 请选择原因 (最多选两项)

- 我相信东莞的教育质量比老家更好
- 我想让大孩子跟我们一起呆在东莞上学
- 跟留在老家相比, 在东莞上学的话, 将来发展会有更多机会
- 其他原因_____

如果否, 请选择原因 (最多两项)

- 作为外地人, 孩子在学校里将受到歧视和排斥
- 留在老家上学, 将来发展会有更多机会
- 大孩子留在老家可以帮忙家务和农活
- 其他原因_____

9. 来东莞之前, 您当时以为大孩子在东莞就学将会:

- a) 非常容易
- b) 容易
- c) 困难
- d) 非常困难

10. 来东莞之后，我发现大孩子在东莞就学实际上：

- a) 比我想象中容易
- b) 跟我想的一样
- c) 比我想像中更加困难

11. 来东莞之后，您对大孩子受教育问题重要性的认识有没有发生变化？

- 1) 更加不重要
- 2) 没变化
- 3) 更加重要

请解释原因

12. 我的大孩子在老家但是没有上学：

- a) 家里没钱供大孩子上学
- b) 学校离家太远，上学不方便
- c) 需要留在家干家务或者农活
- d) 孩子还没到学龄
- e) 其他原因 (请指出) _____

如果您有第二个孩子，请继续第三部分。

如果您只有一个孩子，问卷调查到此结束。谢谢您的参与！

第三部分

如果您有第二个子女

1. 性别

a) 男 b) 女

2. 年龄 _____

3. 您第二个孩子在老家注册上学吗？

a) 在老家上学 b) 在老家辍学 c) 其他 _____

如果您孩子留守在老家上学，请回答问题 3 - 10

如果您孩子留守在老家没有上学，请回答问题 11

4. 他/她上几年级? _____

5. 请选择您第二个孩子留在老家就学却不在东莞就学的原因最（多 2 个）

- 我们没有在东莞找学校，还在在老家上学挺好
- 外地户口，上东莞公立学校困难重重
- 没有私立学校可供选择
- 在东莞学费太高
- 第二个孩子留在家读书更好，方便帮助做家务
- 其他原因 (请指出)_____

6. 男孩和女孩的受教育问题一样重要吗? A) 是 b) 否
请解释原因

7. 对你而言，达到东莞的积分上学制度要求:

- a) 非常简单
- b) 简单
- c) 困难
- d) 非常困难

如您选择 **困难**或者**非常困难**，请解释原因:

8. 如果条件许可，您还会选择让您第二个孩子来东莞上学吗? a) 是 b) 否
如果是，请选择原因 (最多选两项)

- 我相信东莞的教育质量比老家更好
- 我想让第二个孩子跟我们一起呆在东莞上学
- 跟留在老家相比，在东莞上学的话，将来发展会有更多机会
- 其他原因_____

如果否, 请选择原因 (最多两项)

作为外地人, 孩子在学校里将受到歧视和排斥

留在老家上学, 将来发展会有更多机会

第二个孩子留在老家可以帮忙家务和农活

其他原因_____

9. 来东莞之前, 您当时以为第二个孩子在东莞就学将会:

a) 非常容易

b) 容易

c) 困难

d) 非常困难

10. 来东莞之后, 我发现第二个孩子在东莞就学实际上:

a) 比我想象中容易

b) 跟我想的一样

c) 比我想象中更加困难

11. 来东莞之后, 您对第二个孩子受教育问题重要性的认识有没有发生变化?

1) 更加不重要

2) 没变化

3) 更加重要

请解释原因

12. 我的第二个孩子在老家但是没有上学:

a) 家里没钱供第二个孩子上学

b) 学校离家太远, 上学不方便

c) 需要留在家干家务或者农活

d) 孩子还没到学龄

e) 其他原因 (请指出) _____

再次感谢您参与问卷调查! 如有其他补充内容, 请联系刘景乐#

Appendix IV

Secondary Survey Questionnaire *English Version*

Section 1

Respondent Information

- | | | |
|----------|-----------|--|
| 1. Age | 2. Gender | 3. Please indicate your hometown and province of origin: |
| a) 25-29 | a) male | _____ |
| b) 30-34 | b) female | 4. Please indicated your current area of residence |
| c) 34-29 | | (district of Dongguan) |
| d) 40-44 | | _____ |
| e) 45 + | | |

5. Where is your registered hukou? a) Dongguan b) outside Dongguan

6. Are you of Han ethnicity a) Yes b) No

If **no**, please indicate your ethnic group _____

7. Please indicate the achieved level of education and that best describes you and your spouse.

Yourself

- a) primary or less
- b) middle school
- c) high school
- d) university or more

Your Spouse

- a) primary or less
- b) middle school
- c) high school
- d) university or more

8. Please indicate your combined household income per month

- a) <4000RMB
- b) 4000- 5500RMB
- c) 5501 -7000 RMB
- d) 7001 -8500RMB
- e) 8501 – 10 000RMB
- f) > 10 000 RMB

9. Other than a child/children do you have any other dependents to support? a) Yes b) No

If yes, please indicate how many dependents you have other than your children _____.

10. How many years have you lived in Dongguan?

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| a) less than 1 year | d) 3 – 5 years |
| b) 1 year - 3 years | e) > 5 years |

11. Since arriving in Dongguan have you obtained a residence permit? a) Yes b) No

12. Which best describes your family:
- a) One female child
 - b) One male child
 - c) One male and one female child
 - d) Two male children
 - e) Two female children
 - f) Other (please indicate) _____

Section 2

Please respond based on your eldest or only child.

1. a) Male or b) Female

2. Eldest child's age _____

3. Is your eldest child registered in a public school in your hometown? a) yes b) no he/she is not registered in school c) other (please write) _____

If your child is registered in school in your hometown please continue questions 3 - 10

If your child is not registered in school please continue to question 12

4. Grade level (please write) _____

5. Please indicate the main reason (up to 2) why your eldest child is enrolled in school at home and not in Dongguan
 - We did not look for a school in Dongguan for our child, education in our hometown is fine.
 - Outside hukou status makes access difficult
 - There were no private schools to choose from
 - Tuition fees are too high
 - It is better if my eldest child goes to school at home so he/she can study and help with work around the house at home
 - Other (please indicate) _____

6. Are access to education issues for you of equal importance whether your child is male or female? A) Yes b) No

Please explain why.

7. I believe the local government's point system for migrants, in relation to allowing our children to go to public school is:

- a) very easy
- b) easy
- c) difficult
- d) very difficult

If you answered **difficult** or **very difficult**, please explain why:

8. If possible, would you prefer your eldest child to go to school in Dongguan? a) Yes b) No

If **Yes**, Please choose why (up to 2 answers)

- We believe the education in Dongguan is better than in our hometown
- We want our eldest child to live with us in Dongguan
- Our eldest child will have better opportunities in life if he grows up and goes to school in Dongguan, rather than our hometown
- Other _____

If **No**, please choose why (up to 2 answers)

- Our child will be discriminated against in the school system as an outsider if he comes to Dongguan
- Going to school in Dongguan is not going to bring better opportunities to our eldest child, than if he/she goes to school in our hometown
- It is better if our child studies at home and helps with house work/farming
- Other _____

9. Before moving, did you think access to education for your child in Dongguan would be:

- a) very easy
- b) easy
- c) difficult
- d) very difficult

10. Once arriving in Dongguan, I realized access to education for my eldest child was:

- a) easier than I had expected
- b) the same as I had expected
- c) more difficult than I had expected

11. Since moving to Dongguan, has your perception on the importance of access to education for your second child changed?

- 1) Less important
- 2) No change
- 3) More important

Please explain why

12. My eldest child is not registered in school because:

- a) we don't have enough money
- b) the school is too far from home
- c) it is better if my child stays home to help with work around the house
- d) my child is not of school age
- e) other (please specify) _____

Please continue to Section 3 if you have a second child. If you do not have a second child, you have now completed the questionnaire. Thank you!

Section 3

Please respond to the following questions based on your second.

1. a) Male or b) Female

2. Second child's age _____

3. Is your second child registered in a public school in your hometown? a) yes b) no he/she is not registered in school c) other (please write) _____

If your child is registered in school in your hometown please continue questions 3 - 10

If your child is not registered in school please continue to question 12

4. Grade level (please write) _____

5. Please indicate the main reason (up to 2) why your second child is enrolled in school at home and not in Dongguan

- We did not look for a school in Dongguan for our child, education in our hometown is fine.
- Outside hukou status makes access difficult
- There were no private schools to choose from
- Tuition fees are too high
- It is better if my eldest child goes to school at home so he/she can study and help with work around the house at home
- Other (please indicate) _____

6. Are access to education issues for you of equal importance whether your second child is male or female?
A) Yes b) No

Please explain why.

7. I believe the local government's point system for migrants, in relation to allowing our children to go to public school is:

- a) very easy
- b) easy
- c) difficult
- d) very difficult

If you answered **difficult** or **very difficult**, please explain why:

8. If possible, would you prefer your second child to go to school in Dongguan? a) Yes b) No
If **Yes**, Please choose why (up to 2 answers)

- We believe the education in Dongguan is better than in our hometown
- We want our second child to live with us in Dongguan
- Our second child will have better opportunities in life if he grows up and goes to school in Dongguan, rather than our hometown
- Other _____

If **No**, please choose why (up to 2 answers)

- Our child will be discriminated against in the school system as an outsider if he comes to Dongguan
- Going to school in Dongguan is not going to bring better opportunities to our second child, than if he/she goes to school in our hometown
- It is better if our child studies at home and helps with house work/farming
- Other _____

9. Before moving, did you think access to education for your child in Dongguan would be:

- a) very easy
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- a) easier than I had expected
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11. Since moving to Dongguan, has your perception on the importance of access to education for your second child changed?

- 1) Less important
- 2) No change
- 3) More important

Please explain why

12. My second child is not registered in school because:

- a) we don't have enough money
- b) the school is too far from home
- c) it is better if my child stays home to help with work around the house
- d) my child is not of school age
- e) other (please specify) _____

Thank you very much for your participation in this survey! If you have any other questions, please contact Jing le Liu #

Appendix V

Focus Group Questions Lejichengping Leather Co. *Chinese Version*

1. 来东莞之前，你觉得孩子在东莞就学跟老家相比会更难还是更容易？
来东莞之后，你发现实际上是更容易了还是更难了？或者没什么变化？
理由？
2. 当你考虑你带不带着孩子来东莞读书时，哪些因素比较重要？
孩子的年龄？男孩女孩？花费？异地高考中考问题？户口问题？
3. 在调查问卷中我们发现，有些人为孩子找学校花了超过3个月，更多人由于种种原因无法带孩子来东莞就学。其中最大的障碍是什么？非本地户口是不是造成困难的主要原因？
4. 在东莞找学校困难吗？如果你们的孩子在东莞上民办学校，上的是什么样的民办学校？为什么不去公立学校？想去公立学校上吗？为什么？
5. 外地户口想在东莞的公立学校上学会很困难。但是东莞市政府有积分入户制度。积分制度对你的孩子上学有帮助吗？你来东莞之前有听说过积分制度吗？你了解积分制度吗？你觉得现有的积分制度合理吗？达到积分制度的要求困难吗？有没有哪部分内容你特别有意见的？理由？
6. 问卷调查里，很多人都承认：来东莞之后自己对子女的受教育问题更加重视了。您本人是怎么看的？理由？
7. 对待男孩和女孩的教育问题上，您的看法有没有什么什么区别？理由？
8. 跟前些年相比，出门工作（比如来东莞）更方便了或是相反？
更有吸引力了吗？或是渐渐地发现回老家也挺好的？
哪些因素起作用：可以从工作环境、薪酬待遇、住房、子女教育等方面进行分析？
9. 您对你孩子有什么样的期望值？

Appendix VI

Focus Group Questions Lejichengping Leather Co. *English Version*

1. Before arriving to Dongguan, did you think it could be easier or harder to gain access to education for your children than it was in reality? Why did you think it would be easier/harder? The survey results suggest that some people say the access to education is worse and some say there is no change from the hometown, why is this?
2. What factors do you consider when deciding to bring your child to Dongguan or not? – age, gender, cost, writing the university entrance exam, etc. How big of a role does your Hukou play in your decision?
3. Some of the responses in the survey suggest it took more than 3 months to find a school for your children and some people are unable to bring their children to study in Dongguan,, what do you believe the **greatest barrier to gaining access** to education for your children? The hukou came up as a central reason making access to public schools more difficult. Is this the central issue? (ask ALL participants whether or not their child is currently registered in school)
4. For those of you with children studying in Dongguan, why do your children attend private school? What kind of private school is it? Would you prefer your children attend public school? Why? Was it difficult to find a school for your children?
5. One respondent mentioned that the local policies do not allow outside students to go to public schools. How has the government’s point system in Dongguan, for access to education for your children affected you? Did you know about it before you came? Do you think it is too difficult/strict? Fair/unfair? Which parts of the system are most fair/unfair? And why?
6. The survey shows that most people say that since moving to Dongguan, access to education has become more important. Have your perceptions on the importance of access to education for your child(ren) changed since migrating to Dongguan? How and why do you believe they have changed?
7. Does the gender of your child impact your views on their education? If yes, how does it impact your views on the importance of education for female vs male children?
8. In general, do you think the overall migration process for people like you is becoming easier or more difficult? Why? Consider employment, housing, education etc.
9. What is your biggest concern about your children for their future?

Appendix VII

Interview Question Guide *Chinese Version*

1. 东莞本地人或者外地人？在这个学校工作多久了？
2. 最近几年，班上非户籍学生的数量有无变化。原因？
3. 班上男女生比例有发生变化吗？非户籍学生中间呢？为什么？
4. 非户籍学生在东莞就学，更容易还是更苦难？为什么？
5. 非户籍学生如果要到您学校就学，有何要求？非户籍学生在学费上跟本地生有什么区别吗？
6. 班上有多少非户籍学生是在东莞出生的？在非户籍生中占多数还是少数？
7. 在您看来，公立学校跟民办学校区别主要有哪些？
8. 非户籍学生在将来面临的最大的问题和挑战是什么？

Appendix VIII

Interview Question Guide *English Version*

1. Is he/she a Dongguan native? If not how long has he/she lived in Dongguan? How long have you been teaching in Dongguan/this school?
2. Have you seen the numbers of migrant children in your classes/ school increase or decrease over the past few years? Why do you think this is?
3. Have you noticed any changes in the gender makeup of the classes? More girls than before? More equal division of boys vs. girls in the school/classes? Why do you think this is?
4. Do you think access to education for migrant children is becoming easier or more difficult? Why do you think this is occurring?
5. What are the requirements for a migrant child to be granted access to your school? Do some students pay tuition fees while others do not? Do some students pay more than others?
6. Some of the surveys indicated that their children were born in Dongguan. Do you know if many of the 'migrant' children in your class were actually born in Dongguan? Would you say this is a majority of the children? Or a minority?
7. What do you think is the difference between public schools and private schools in Dongguan?
8. What do you think will be the biggest challenge in your migrant students in the future?

Appendix IX

File Number:

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 02/26/2013



Université d'Ottawa
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University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Huhua	Cao	Arts / Geography	Supervisor
Alexandra Ella	Simanzik	Social Sciences / Others	Student Researcher

File Number: 01-13-04

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Access to Education for Migrant Children in Urban China: A gendered perspective

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
02/26/2013	02/25/2014	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

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<http://www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie/index.html>

File Number:

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 02/26/2013



Université d'Ottawa
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University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the application for ethical approval for the above named research project as of the Ethics Approval Date indicated for the period above and subject to the conditions listed the section above entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the study the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove subjects from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the study (e.g. change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment documentation, should be submitted to this office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: <http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/consent.html>.

Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at: <http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/consent.html>.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension _____ or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.

Signature:

Kim Thompson

Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Barbara Graves, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

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