Children of Migrant Workers in Urban High Schools

An Analysis of the Dual Role of Education

Yue Song

BA, MA

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

School of Education

College of Social Science

University of Glasgow

January 2018

Abstract

Due to the limitations of the household registration system, rural migrants in Chinese cities are unable to access the same range of rights and benefits as urban natives. This rural-urban segregation has consequences beyond access to political and economic rights and resources; it has deepened to shape cultural and ideological perceptions. This deepening has a profound influence on the children of migrant workers who are moving to study in the city. Though nowadays children of migrant workers can study in urban public schools alongside local students, the rural-urban structural divide still exists and impedes personal and social relations between the two groups.

This research investigated the difficulties and opportunities encountered by children of migrant workers after they have entered urban public schools and as the face the realities of contact with urban people. The research also discussed whether educating rural and urban students together can help children of migrant workers' social adaptation in the city, or whether this studying together model places pressures on rural students which impede their social integration into urban communities.

A 'field-habitus' analysis framework was used to assess rural students' social adaptation performances in the city. Research methods including questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews and focus groups were employed in the study. Besides rural students, urban people such as urban students and teachers whom rural students interact with in schools were investigated in the research. Moreover, to evaluate whether inclusive education in public schools has created an inclusive environment to help rural students' social adaptation, rural students from private schools, who are receiving an exclusive education that is only for children of migrant workers, were also studied as the reference group.

Based on the data analysis, the research found that rural students from public schools are generally well-adapted to their urban lives. Additionally, compared with rural students from private schools, rural students from public schools have more urbanized behaviours and lifestyles. Meanwhile, the research indicated that rural students being educated in public schools suffer from many misunderstandings and conflicts with urban students, which may bring them more pressures related to social adaptation compared with their counterparts in private schools.

Rural students' social adaptation performances were attributed to the dual functions of education, meaning that education in public schools may either improve or impede children of migrant workers' adaptation to their lives in the city. The discussion on the role of education was mainly based on Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Reproduction and Inclusive Education Model. Moreover, students' family background was also taken into consideration for a more comprehensive explanation.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgement

For the four years I have been at the University of Glasgow, so many people have touched my life and enabled me to reach many goals. This would not have been possible without their support, encouragement, and patience.

My acknowledgements begin with Professor Andy Furlong, who inspired and empowered me so that I could begin this journey. His encouragement and patience pushed me through this journey and his unfailing support has given me strength in times of fear. Though he has passed away, the knowledge of and attitude toward doing research that I have gained from him will forever guide me in education and in life. May he rest in peace.

I offer my sincerest thanks to the two people most responsible for my growth and development as a researcher, Dr Kristinn Hermannsson and Dr Barbara Read. They have challenged me to be a thoughtful, balanced, and well-rounded researcher. Their guidance and support has been beyond my expectations. I appreciate Dr Kristinn Hermannsson's willingness to become my principal supervisor during this journey. I will forever be indebted to him for his countless, genuinely solicitous hours assisting me in making my dream a reality. Thanks to Dr Barbara Read, who joined my research journey at the very end, but provided lots of detailed guidance on my data analysis and report writing within a very limited time.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My husband, Zhou Dai, your love and support mean the world to me. And my little girl, Xinhe Dai, I am so proud of you, you fill my heart with joy.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this Dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: YUE SONG

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

With the development of the economic reform in China, millions of people from rural areas are migrating to cities. However, Huji, a government system of household registration that determines where people are allowed to live, strictly limits rural workers' access to various rights and benefits once they have migrated into urban areas. These rural migrant workers fail to secure permanent residency on an equal footing with urban-registered residents. This rural-urban segregation has consequences beyond access to political rights and economic resources that have deepened to shape cultural perceptions. Moreover, the rural-urban segregation has a profound influence on rural migrant children who move to the cities with their parents and study in urban schools. Even though nowadays rural migrant children are allowed to study in urban public schools alongside native students, the rural-urban structural conflict still exists and impedes social relations between rural-urban groups.

Through interviews and questionnaire surveys, this research investigates the difficulties and opportunities encountered by rural migrant children after they enter urban public schools and begin having contact with urban native students. The research also tries to answer whether rural students and urban students studying together helps rural migrant children's social adaptation in the city or places pressure on rural students as they work towards social integration into urban communities. The discussion of the dual roles of education as an agent of cultural reproduction and an opportunity for rural-urban communication is based on Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Reproduction Theory and Inclusive Education Model.

Chapter 1 offers a brief introduction of the thesis. Section 1.2 describes the research background and the aims of the study, which explores to what extent

public schools can help or hinder rural students' urban adaptation; related research has failed to reach a consensus on whether rural students can adapt to urban schools and whether urban schools play a positive role in rural students' social interactions with urban natives. Section 1.3 presents my research questions: "How do children of migrant workers adapt to their urban school life?" and "What kind of role do urban public schools play in rural migrant children's social adaptation process?". To answer these questions, a "habitus-field" research framework is built up in Section 1.4. Section 1.5 introduces the practical significance of the research, which is to provide guidance on helping rural students' social interactions within urban communities, and it identifies this thesis' contribution to knowledge, which is to provide a method to analyse whether Chinese inclusive education can create an inclusive environment for rural and urban students' interactions. Finally, an overview of each chapter is presented in Section 1.6.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

Since 1958, the Chinese government has officially promulgated Huji, a household registration system to control the movement of the population between urban and rural areas. A household registration record officially identifies a person as a resident of an area and categorises individuals as a "rural" or "urban" resident. Rural registered residents seeking to live outside their household registered domain would not qualify for food rationing, housing allowance, or other forms of social welfare. The number of people allowed to move from the country to cities was tightly controlled until 1978. Due to this long-lasting rural-urban segregation, rural areas' economic development is far behind that of urban areas, and the cultural difference between rural and urban areas has become increasingly apparent.

However, from 1978, economic reform gradually relaxed the rural-urban segregation based on the household registration system, and the government allowed rural residents to move into cities and find jobs in order to meet a surge

in labour demand. In 2016, the number of migrants reached 245 million, accounting for more than 20% of China's total population that year (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2017).

Meanwhile, due to the strong desire of the increasing number of rural migrants' children to stay with their parents and study in the cities, the Chinese government gradually changed its education policy, which at first did not allow children of migrant workers to be educated in the cities as "children should enter into the nearest school to where their household record is registered" (Ministry of Education of China, 1993). Nowadays, rural migrant children can enter urban public schools as long as their parents meet the requirements, such as having a stable occupation and paying taxes. In 2016, near 13.95 million children of migrant workers moved with their family to cities and entered urban schools (Ministry of Education of China, 2017).

Due to the historical rural-urban segregation caused by the limitations of the household registration system, there are many differences between rural and urban areas. Hence when rural students enter urban schools, they may engage with local urban "cultures" and "ways of being/doing" that are different from rural culture, and they may come under pressure to make changes and adjustments to their habits and values. For example, children of migrant workers need to make an effort to hide their rural accents, change their perspectives on fashion, get used to urban classmates' social topics, modify ways of communicating with teachers and catch up with higher expected levels of academic progress (Tan, 2010). Along with these issues, researchers have found that some rural students have to face stereotype discrimination in the city due to their rural identity, and may face psychological difficulties associated with living far from their hometowns (Liu and Jacob, 2013), which could lead to their failure in building new connections and establishing a sense of social belonging in a new environment (Wen et al., 2009). What happens to these rural students while they are studying in urban schools? What role does urban education play in these rural students' urban adaptation process? How does the interaction between rural

students and urban students change rural students' adaptation to the cities? My research aims to make a contribution to our understanding of the answers to these important questions.

According to my literature review, the related literature has failed to clarify some key points. Firstly, previous research does not reach a consensus on a unified standard for assessing adaptation. One strand of opinions suggests that the standard of "good" adaptation for rural students is that they transform into urban people; in other words, rural students can be said to have adapted once they are urbanised (Chen and Yang, 2010, Xiong, 2010). In this school of thought, education is assumed to be a tool for assimilating rural students into urban communities. However, Multicultural Integration Theory (Kallen and Chapman, 1956), Segmented Integration Theory (Hurh and Kim, 1984) and Space/Resident Integration Theory (Alba et al., 1999) hold the view that the goal of social integration should be to make urban communities open to diversified cultures rather than only promoting the superiority of urban culture by expelling other cultures out of the city. Accordingly, education should foster multi-cultural coexistence and communication. Therefore, what is considered to be "successful adaptation" or the standard for assessing adaptation still needs further discussion. Moreover, when it comes to urban public school education's influence on children of migrant workers, conclusions vary from study to study. Some researchers have found that children of migrant workers in urban public schools fare much better at social, cultural and psychological adaptation than their private schools counterparts (Yuan et al., 2009). Conversely, some researchers have found that children of migrant workers in private schools actually exhibit less loneliness and depression than those in public schools.(Zhou, 2006). No consensus has been reached on the questions of whether studying together with urban students in public schools is better for rural students to encourage them to adapt to their urban lives, or whether studying in private schools run exclusively for rural migrant children places less pressure on rural students to socially adapt to urban life. Lastly, little research focuses on education's positive impact on children of migrant workers' social adaptation, while most of research concludes that

education in urban schools mainly brings negative pressures upon rural students. Even if rural migrant children successfully adapt to their urban lives, researchers tend to attribute their success to individual factors such as a positive personal attitude rather than the influence of their school or education (Jiang et al., 2007). Therefore, this research focuses on devising and articulating a standard for measuring the success of adaptation, and it pays attention to both the positive and negative influences of urban public schools on children of migrant workers' social adaptation process.

The overarching aim of this study is to explore how children of migrant workers within China's rural-urban dualistic social structure adapt to their urban school life and how urban schools influence these rural students' social adaptation process in the cities. Policy makers and other educationalists need to be aware that even though school policy is based on the principle of inclusive education, social exclusion or segregation may still exist in such schools. Therefore, whether and how urban public schools create an inclusive environment for rural students — namely to what extent education for children of migrant workers has achieved its goal of social inclusion — is the focus of this research.

1.3 Research Questions

In this research, the definition of "children of migrant workers", also referred to as "rural migrant students" in the city is:

> Children whose household registration records locate them in rural areas, but who have moved with their parents to live in an urban area, and are educated in urban schools.

These children of migrant workers, like their parents, may experience social segregation and cultural exclusion arising from the Chinese rural-urban division that has been outlined briefly above. Some children of migrant workers adapt to their urban lives well, while others encounter difficulties in the social adaptation

process. Their different reactions push my research interests into exploring the role (positive and/or negative) that education may play in this process. Therefore, my research questions are as follows:

How do children of migrant workers adapt to urban school life? Namely, what are the perceptions and experiences of children of migrant workers in relation to the challenges arising from differences between rural and urban areas?

What kind of role does education in public schools play in rural migrant children's social adaptation process? Namely, how do urban public schools help or impede rural students' urban adaptation?

1.4 Research Design

The research aim is to investigate urban schools' influences on rural students' social adaptation process. Referring to Bourdieu's theory, a "habitus-field" research framework is built up to analyse "school influences" and the "social adaptation process".

"Habitus" can be defined as the individual's personality structure: the composite of an individual's lifestyle, values, dispositions, and expectations associated with particular social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1990b). Specifically, in this research, rural students' social adaptation process can be considered as changes in "habitus" which are analysed according to students' perspectives, like values, identity and expectations, and their behaviours like lifestyle, learning habits and social interactions. How rural students' perspectives and behaviours are different from urban students and whether they learn to integrate into urban communities were investigated through questionnaires and interviews. Both urban students in public schools and rural students in private schools are regarded as reference groups to assess how well rural students in public schools adapt to their urban lives, which leads to further attribution analysis on public school influence.

Bourdieu defined the "field" as "a setting in which agents and their social positions are located". The position of each agent in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field, the agent's habitus and the agent's capital (social, economic and cultural). More specifically, a field is a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of certain species of capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Conclusively, school influence on rural students' urban adaptation process, also referred to as the effects of the education field on students' habitus change in this study, is clarified not only according to other participants' social relationships with rural students in the field, but by institutional policies and regulations that rule the interactions among different participants in the field as well. "Other participants in the education field", including urban students and teachers in public schools, were surveyed for their feedback on interaction experiences with rural students and their views on school regulations. Urban students' thoughts and behaviours may be constructed based on how they think of inclusive education policy and how they think of rural students. Their reactions to rural students may either help or impede rural students to accept and learn urban habitus. Therefore, through policy analysis and interviews with urban groups, the extent to which urban public schools are able to create an inclusive environment for rural students' social adaptation is investigated in this research.

The city of Guangzhou, which is usually the first to experience national policy reforms, attracts a large population of rural migrants, so I selected the research sample from urban high schools in Guangzhou. Mixed research methods, including questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews and focus groups, were employed in this study. To understand whether rural migrant students were well-adapted to their urban lives in public schools, two questionnaires were delivered to both rural and urban students, and interviews were conducted with rural students, urban students and teachers in public schools. Moreover, to understand whether public schools provide an inclusive environment for rural students' social adaptation, questionnaires and interviews were also administered to rural migrant students from private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers. Rural migrant students from private schools are studied as reference groups to understand the

role of education on rural students' urban adaptation process in the cities.

1.5 Significance of the Study

In examining the role education plays in Chinese children of migrant workers' social adaptation to their urban lives, this research may make contributions on both practical and theoretical levels.

On the practical level, this research could provide some useful suggestions to policy makers on how to support the large number of children of migrant workers in urban schools. If the issue of children of migrant workers' social adaptation cannot be effectively addressed, serious social problems will continue to be rampant, such as teenage gangs and students dropping out of school (Wang, 2008b, Yi et al., 2012). Therefore, my research focuses on whether and how education can help children of migrant workers' academic and social lives in cities. The findings from this research suggest policy makers cannot treat inclusive education of urban and rural children as a panacea for social segregation, as even when this principle has been applied social segregation continues to exist. For instance, as discussed in section 6.5, without further measures being taken but only putting rural and urban students physically together, urban students' stereotype impressions of rural people still exist and unconsciously impede their communication with rural students. Therefore, more introductory materials and class activities should be designed to correct urban students' misunderstandings and to enhance social interactions between rural and urban students. Another example relates to teachers' understandings of inclusive education. Teachers can have misconceptions about inclusive education, believing that it means that all students merely need to be treated in the same way. This can lead to rural students' particular needs regarding social adaptation being ignored. Therefore, teachers should receive more training on supporting rural students' learning and socialisation in meaningful ways. Helping rural students' social adaptation problems is of great benefit not only to students and schools, but to the society as well. The issue of the current rural-urban dualistic structure cannot be solved

only by changing political and economic policy; the dualistic structure is deeply embedded in Chinese culture. Rural migrant children could act as a "bridge" between traditional/dominant forms of rural culture and traditional/dominant forms of urban culture, for they are the "carrier" of rural culture while they also try to learn the urban culture. The research on children of migrant workers' social adaptation in urban schools could thus contribute to breaking down China's dualistic structure and facilitate interaction between rural and urban areas.

On the theoretical level, this study contributes to Chinese and international research in three aspects. Firstly, as inclusive education is included in the education policies of governments around the world and there is a wide international consensus about inclusion as a desirable goal, this research provides new datasets of the experience of students and educators working in inclusive education in China. Furthermore, analyses of these datasets provide insights into how to create an inclusive environment in schools, which could feed into the broader international discussion of inclusive education development. Secondly, the research contributes to international discourse by identifying how children of migrant workers can be helped to settle down in a new cultural environment, which may provide a reference for international research on supporting migration or transcultural education. Finally, this research uses Pierre Bourdieu's research framework to discuss how education influences children of migrant workers' social adaptation. Through questionnaire and interview surveys, the research found that in urban public schools, while some rural students thought they have to give up their rural habitus if they want to be accepted by the urban community, a number of rural students held the view that they can maintain their rural style while living in the city. This points out that habitus can not only be reproductive, but also transformative, which may challenge Pierre Bourdieu's theory of Social Reproduction and thus contribute to the international debate on Pierre Bourdieu's research framework.

1.6 Plan of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters including this introductory chapter. Before introducing education issues relating to Chinese rural migrant children, it is necessary to explain why rural migrants have become such a culturally and socially disadvantaged group and why the rural-urban division is one of the most serious elements of social class segregation in China. Therefore, Chapter 2 reviews China's rural-urban dualistic social structure, which has historically been affected by the household registration system. Moreover, China's rural-urban dualistic social structure presents both visible and hidden forms of segregation that rural workers encounter after moving into cities. These rural migrant workers fail to secure permanent residency on an equal footing with registered urban residents even if they have worked in the cities for many years. Rural-urban segregation may have a profound influence on rural students' possession of cultural capital in the cities and reduce their success in the urban education field, which further impedes their habitus learning and social adaptation in urban schools.

For a better understanding of rural migrant students' restricted study conditions, Chapter 3 summarises the history of Chinese educational policy towards children of migrant workers. Before the relaxation of the household registration system and educational policy, children of migrant workers, even those born in the cities but lacking an urban household registered record, were not allowed to enrol urban schools or were only allowed to study in urban private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers. These exclusive schooling models caused many social problems; for example children of migrant workers were more easily exposed to security risks or abusive treatment, as well as a lack of parenting education (Duan et al., 2013, Wang, 2014). Accordingly, the Chinese government's educational policy has allowed children of migrant workers to study together with local students in urban public schools. To sum up, rural students initially had to be left in rural areas, then they were allowed to immigrate to the cities but only study in private schools exclusive to children of migrant workers, and finally they were

allowed to be educated together with urban native students in urban public schools. Step by step, rural students have been given more opportunities to move into cities. Additionally, these children of migrant workers may be more and more comprehensively exposed to the realities of the urban cultural community, which may force them to directly experience social segregation with its origins in China's rural-urban dualistic structure. This historical analysis leads to my first question: "How do they adapt to the urban environment?" Moreover, as the education context research in Chapter 3 illustrates, inclusive education in China is still restricted by the household registration policy. As well, it is still unknown whether inclusive education practitioners, like teachers, really understand the meaning of inclusion. Presumably they may have different understandings of "inclusive education", or they may not be sure how they should interpret the education policy on rural migrants. Accordingly, my second question is raised: "To what extent are urban public schools able to create an inclusive environment for rural students' better social adaptation?"

Educational inequities for children of migrant workers studying in the cities has drawn academics' concern for a long time, and I review the literature relevant to these concerns in Chapter 4. Previous research focusing on rural migrant children's education issues after migrating into cities and the factors influencing rural students' urban adaptation process are reviewed. Based on the literature review, several questions still require further discussion, including the lack of a unified standard for assessing adaptation, contradictory conclusions on the influence of public schools versus private schools for children of migrant workers, and the scarcity of mentions of education's positive role on rural migrant children's adaptation. Through these discussions, my research area and contribution to knowledge become clearer, which is to attribute rural migrant students' adaptation performance to institutional factors like school influence and to focus on whether schools help rural students' social adaptation by developing an inclusive environment for multi-cultural coexistence, rather than forcing rural migrant students to assimilate within a dominant system of urban values.

After clarifying my research questions, it is necessary to find a way to analyse rural students' social adaptation performance and school influence. Chapter 5 demonstrates the methodology of my research, which is mainly based on Pierre Bourdieu's research paradigm. Accordingly, it helps build up the "habitus-field" research framework and determine the steps and instruments which were used to collect the data for this research, namely questionnaires, interviews, and context analysis of policy documents. Chapter 5 also reports on the validity and reliability of the research, in addition to the difficulties encountered during the implementation process.

Emerging from the analysis of questionnaires and interviews, the main findings on rural migrant students' social adaptation are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. By comparing them with urban students, Chapter 6 evaluates the degree to which rural students integrate into urban society. Chapter 7 assesses the extent to which rural students in public schools do better or worse at urban adaptation than rural students in private schools. These two chapters provide a clear vision of how children of migrant workers adapt to their urban school life, which answers my first research question.

The conclusions drawn in Chapters 6 and 7 show the discrepancy in children of migrant workers' adaptations to urban school life. Some children of migrant workers may have negative reactions. For example, some rural migrant children failed to keep abreast of the current interests of their urban classmates, they appeared to resist their teachers' low evaluations of their abilities, or they lacked a sense of social belonging. Meanwhile, some rural migrant children reacted more positively to urban school life, in some cases performing just like native students and having higher expectations for education and their future. These two opposite performances may both be attributed to education influence. Therefore, through analysing policy context and interview materials, Chapter 8 presents an interpretation of how schools affect rural students' social adaptation process. Referring to Bourdieu's education reproduction theory and inclusive education model, Chapter 8 draws the conclusion that the education model in urban public

schools is an agent of cultural reproduction and an opportunity for multi-cultural fusion as well. It means education plays dual roles which partly help and partly impede rural migrant students' adaptation to urban school life. Meanwhile, when understanding the difference in rural students' social adaptation performances between public school and private schools, education model should not be the only factor considered. Maybe rural students have been selected to enter different schools due to their different family's economic condition and social networks. Finally, a more comprehensive explanation model will be presented in the research.

Chapter 2 Social Context: Origin, Characters and Influence of China's Rural-Urban Dualistic Structure

2.1 Introduction

Before introducing the development of education for children of migrant workers in China, it is necessary to review the history of Chinese migration within the context of rural-urban dualistic structure, which has been affected by a household registration system since 1958. Section 2.2 briefly introduces the history of the household registration system and its effect on rural-urban migration. This can be separated into three stages: freedom of social movement from 1949-1958, tight control on rural-urban migration from 1958-1978, and semi-open migration from 1978 (Wu and Treiman, 2004). With strict long-term control on migration between rural and urban areas, the rural-urban division has become deeply rooted in economic and cultural development. Accordingly, Chinese social structure can be viewed as a rural-urban dualistic structure. Detailed data and research supporting this argument are presented in Section 2.3. Though nowadays China's household registration system provides some flexibility for rural migrants, namely a reduction since 1978 in the restrictions on the migration of rural-registered people to cities, the rural-urban dualistic structure still continues to influence rural migrants after they have entered cities (Li, 2009). Section 2.4 discusses direct and indirect segregation in the household registration system after rural migrants have moved into cities, such as specific policy restrictions on buying an urban dwelling and subtle limitations on finding jobs. Ultimately, the rural-urban segregation caused by the limitations of the household registration system has blocked rural migrants' equal access to public services and social welfare resources, and has impeded their children's opportunities to be educated in urban schools.

2.2 Historical Review of the Household Registration System and Rural-Urban Migration

The history of China's household registration system can be divided into three phases. Before 1958, no restriction was set on population migration and many rural residents migrated to cities. In 1958, the Chinese government started a nationwide household registration system to control the growing urban population. The proportion of the population living in cities was controlled at under 18% until 1978. With the market-oriented economic reform from 1978, labour in rural areas was increasingly surplus to the requirements of the agricultural sector; meanwhile industrial development in urban areas prompted a surge in labour demand. Responding to these pressures, the Chinese government started to reform the household registration system to allow rural workers to migrate into cities (Wu and Treiman, 2007, Chan, 2010).

2.2.1 1949-1958: Early Freedom on Social Movement

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, in order to promote the priority of heavy industry development, the Chinese government controlled the purchase and sale of agricultural and industrial products and set their prices. As the price of agricultural products was lower than their value while the price of industrial output was driven up by the state, China's industry maintained advantages in its profit margins. By contrast, agricultural development in rural areas was less supported by the government (Knight, 1995). This led to people in rural areas increasingly giving up agricultural work and migrating to cities. In 1958, the total number of workers in factories grew by 85% compared to the previous year and the number of workers in state-owned heavy industries increased by 20 million from 1957, soaring to a total of 45.32 million (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1984). This sudden expansion of the urban population greatly reduced the affordability of living in cities, resulting in a shortage of resources in urban areas.

2.2.2 1958-1978: Tight Control on Rural-Urban Migration

In order to alleviate population pressure in cities, the Chinese government started to control migration through household registration management. In January 1958, the Chinese government officially promulgated "People's Republic of China Household Registration Regulations", which clearly defined the strict procedures for approving individual migration from rural to urban areas and established the requirement of a household registration record (Huji record) to settle down in different places.

In the household registration system, each individual owns a household registration record that officially identifies the person as a resident of an area and includes identifying information such as a person's name, date of birth, marriage status, migration records, and family relationship details. Individuals are categorised as either "rural" or "urban" residents according to their birthplaces and family relationships, and registered residence status strictly confined people's freedom to move away from their authorised domain or geographical area for their entire lives. The number of rural residents allowed to move from the country to city to take up non-agricultural work was tightly controlled (Lu, 2008).

Moreover, based on the household registration system, a series of institutional barriers related to the supply of necessities and public welfare, such as housing allocation, food supply, employment, medical treatment, pensions, labour protection and so on, were established for social segmentation between rural and urban areas (Wang, 2004). If people left their registered area without correspondingly changing their household registration records, they would have no access to social welfare or public resources in the new place. As a result, this policy reduced people's incentive to migrate and broke down the connection between rural and urban areas. Under the tight control of the household registration system on rural-urban migration, the growth in the number of people living in cities was rapidly reduced and the proportion of urban residents in the national population dropped from 18% in 1965 to 17.3% in 1975 (National Bureau

of Statistics of China, 1986).

2.2.3 1978-Present: Semi-Open Migration

The development of market-oriented economic reform since 1978 set in motion two broad currents of change. Firstly, a large number of rural surplus labourers were set free from agriculture. In traditional Maoist rural organization, the government issued farmers a quota of goods to produce. In the early 1980s quotas were drastically reduced and the peasants were allowed to sell the food they grew beyond the quota on the free market at unregulated prices (Huang, 2013); Secondly, the growth of private enterprises and factories in cities increased demand for the cheap, young labour. Consequently, the Chinese government reformed the household registration system to meet the demand for labour mobility and allow more rural workers to settle down in cities.

In the early 1980s, the Chinese government issued several policies[1] that allowed surplus rural residents to migrate to urban areas and do non-agricultural work, with the development of commune enterprises and town-village corporation businesses. In 1992, the 14th CPC National Congress set a target "to construct a market-based economy with Chinese Socialist characteristics". Accordingly, the Chinese government changed the principle of its policy-making from strict control on rural-urban migration to positive encouragement of orderly labour movement. Subsequently a series of practical measures were adopted to serve and support rural migrants in cities, such as allowing rural residents to manage their social welfare in the city by certifying their migration with a "temporary residence permit". In 1997, the Ministry of Public Security issued "Reform for Small Town Household Registration System and Advice on Improving Management in Rural Household Registration System" (Sun et al., 2011). From then on, rural residents in the cities who had a formal occupation or had set up their own business and owned real estate in local areas could apply for permanent residency in towns or

[1] Examples of such policies include "Notice of the State Council on Issues Concerning Farmers' Permanent Residence Registration in Townships" in 1984, and "Interim Provisions of the Ministry of Public Security on the Administration of Urban Temporary Residents" in 1985.

small cities, as could those immediate relatives living with them.

This positive stimulus to the household registration system enabled a massive influx of rural people to move into cities. In 1992 alone, nearly 100 million people left their household registered areas, mostly moving from rural to urban areas. In 2016, the number of migrants reached 245 million, accounting for more than 20% of China's total population that year (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2017).

2.3 China's Rural-Urban Dualistic Structure under the Influence of the Household Registration System

Though the household registration system has become more open, due to the long historical segregation, China's social structure remains dualistic, divided between rural and urban areas in economic development and culture.

It has been argued that the national transition from a traditional agricultural society to a modern industrial society caused a modernization development gap between rural and urban areas, due to the differences in their economic growth patterns (Xiao, 2010, Berger and Piore, 1980). According to William Arthur Lewis' "Dual Sector Model", during the transitionary process of modernization, developing nations are divided into two parts: a traditional agricultural sector with an abundance of labour but low wages and productivity, and a modern industrial sector with higher wages and higher productivity, but a lacking labour force (Lewis, 2013). The disparities between agrarian and industrialised economies are evident in many low-income economies. However, this is expected to have a positive effect on long-term economic development, since manufacturing, which faces a relative labour shortage, could draw workers from agriculture, where labour supply is relatively abundant. If labour can freely transfer from the traditional sector to the modern sector, production and wages should eventually balance (Lewis, 1954, Todaro, 1969).

These forces should also apply in China, but labour transfer from rural to urban areas, or from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector, was for a long time restricted by the household registration system, and the foundational gap between rural and urban areas was further widened. Even though starting from 1978, reforms began introducing market mechanisms into the economic system, the restrictions of the household registration system were still applied strictly and significantly prohibited free labour mobility based on market demand. Consequently, rural areas failed to share urban achievements in modernization development and its per capita output fell far behind due to an oversupply of labour and the low efficiency of production. Moreover, after years of household registration system restrictions, the difference between China's rural areas and urban areas has developed into a dualistic economic and cultural structure (Tao Yang and Zhou, 1999).

2.3.1 Rural-Urban Dualistic Economic Structure

China's rural-urban dualistic economic structure can be identified by examining the differences in economic modes, family property and consumption styles. It can be illustrated by the relevant economic data in the "2015 China Statistical Yearbook" (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2016a).

1. Economic Mode

Table 2-1 demonstrates productivity by broad industrial sector. In 2015, the share of those employed in agriculture, industry and services were 28.3%, 29.3% and 42.4%, respectively. However, only 8.9% of the GDP came from agricultural production, whereas the other two sectors accounted for 40.9% and 50.2% respectively. When it comes to GDP per employee, an individual working in agriculture can be attributed with 27,770 yuan (≈£3,155, according to the exchange rate between RMB and GBP on 10 December 2017, similarly hereinafter), which is only about 1/5 or 1/4 that of an employee engaged in non-agricultural work. As China's agricultural production is concentrated in rural areas while

industry and services mainly develop in the cities, it can be inferred that the value of economic development in rural areas falls far behind that of the cities, due to the efficiency disparity among different production modes.

Table 2- 1 Employment and GDP by Broad Production sector in China in 2015

	Population Employed		GDP		GDP per Employee
	(*million*)	Proportion	(*billion yuan*)	Proportion	(*thousand yuan*)
Agriculture	219.19	28.3%	6,087.05	8.9%	27.77
Industry	226.93	29.3%	28,056.03	40.9%	123.63
Services	328.39	42.4%	34,407.50	50.2%	104.78
Total	774.51	100%	68,550.58	100%	88.51

Source: China Statistical Book 2016

2. Family Property

The differences in both per capita income and a family's possession of assets can illustrate the economic gap between rural and urban residents. Table 2-2 shows that the income gap between rural and urban households has widened since economic reform began in 1978. Although the income gap stopped expanding and has become narrower since 2005, rural family income is still only 1/3 of urban family income. In 2015, the annual per capita net income of rural households had reached 10,772 yuan (≈£1,224), while the annual per capita net income of urban residents was 31,790 yuan (≈£3,612), meaning that one city resident's annual disposable income is equivalent to that of nearly three country people.

According to Table 2-3, in terms of family property, at the end of 2015, every 100 urban households had 30.0 automobiles, 92.3 washing machines, 94.0 refrigerators, 114.6 air-conditioners, 78.5 computers and 33.0 cameras. By contrast, every 100 rural households had only 13.3 automobiles, 78.8 washing machines, 82.6 refrigerators, 38.8 air-conditioners 25.7 computers and 4.1 cameras. Therefore,

the ownership of basic electronic equipment per household in urban areas is significantly higher than that in rural areas.

3. Consumption Style

Moreover, the rural-urban dualistic economic structure directly stimulates differences in consumption style. Comparing the per capita consumption expenditure of rural and urban households in 2015, the rural-to-urban areas ratio is about 1:2.32, meaning that the consumption level of rural residents is much lower than that of urban residents. Apart from their consumption abilities, rural and urban families also show differences in what they consume. Table 2-4 shows that rural residents spend proportionately more on food and medical services, while urban residents spend more on clothing and communications. This means that rural residents spend more on basic needs, while urban residents spend more on higher order needs.

Overall, from the above comparison of different economic indices, it is safe to draw the conclusion that rural and urban areas exhibit differences in their economic structures, which can be regarded as a dualistic economic structure. The household registration system has imposed a range of institutional barriers relating to the supply of necessities and public welfare, constructing huge inequity in the possession of social and economic resources, which formed and strengthened China’s dualistic economic structure from 1978.

Table 2- 2 Per Capita Income of Rural and Urban Households (Unit: Yuan)

Year	1978	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Per Capita Net Income of Rural Households[2]	134	2,253	3,255	5,919	6,977	7,917	8,896	9,892	10,772
Per Capita Disposable Income of Urban Household[3]	343	6,280	10,493	19,109	21,810	24,565	26,955	29,381	31,790
Urban/Rural[4]	2.56	2.79	3.22	3.23	3.13	3.10	3.03	2.97	2.95

Source: China Statistical Books 2001-2016

[2] **Net Income of Rural Households** refers to the total income of rural households from all sources minus all corresponding expenses. The formula for the calculation is as follows: Net income of rural households = total income - household operation expenses - taxes and fees-depreciation of fixed assets for production - gifts to rural relatives.

[3] **Disposable Income of Urban Households** refers to the actual income at the disposal of members of the households which can be used for final consumption, other non-compulsory expenditure and savings. This equals total income minus income tax, personal contribution to social security and subsidy for keeping diaries in being a sample household. The following formula is used: Disposable Income of Urban Households= total household income - income tax - personal contribution to social security - subsidy for keeping diaries as a sampled household.

[4] Different statistical calibres were applied in income of rural and urban household from China Statistical Book.

Table 2- 3 Main Durable Goods Owned Per 100 Rural and Urban Households in 2015

	Automobile	Washing Machine	Refrigerator	Air Conditioner	Colour TV set	Mobile Telephone	Computer	Camera
Rural	13.3	78.8	82.6	38.8	116.9	226.1	25.7	4.1
Urban	30.0	92.3	94.0	114.6	122.3	223.8	78.5	33.0

Source: China Statistical Book 2016

Table 2- 4 Per Capita Consumption Expenditure of Rural and Urban Households in 2015 (Unit: Yuan)

	Consumption Expenditure	Food, Tobacco and Liquor		Clothing		Transport and Communications		Health Care and Medical Services		Other	
Rural	9,222.6	3,048.0	33.05%	550.5	5.97%	1,163.1	12.61%	846.0	9.17%	3,615.0	39.20%
Urban	21,392.4	6,359.7	29.73%	1,701.1	7.95%	2,895.4	13.53%	1,443.4	6.74%	8,992.8	42.05%

Source: China Statistical Book 2016

2.3.2 Rural-Urban Dualistic Cultural Structure

As well as its rural-urban dualistic economic structure, China's rural-urban dualistic cultural structure can also be analysed from individual, household and social levels.

On an individual level, rural migrants are not skilled in Mandarin and prefer to use local dialects, while urban residents are unified in promoting Mandarin as the language of daily use. It may therefore be hard for rural and urban people to communicate with each other. Furthermore, there is a great disparity in individuals' living habits between rural and urban areas. For instance, urban residents strictly schedule their daily routine and contact with others in accordance with the clock, while the sense of "time" in rural areas is much looser when scheduling a date or deadline. Rural people are generally less likely to be concerned with time accuracy in terms of hours and minutes (Li, 2009).

At a household level, based on the report on Chinese Family Development (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2015), rural households in 2014 had 3.56 members on average while urban families only had 3.07 people. The fact that the average number of household members in rural areas is larger than that in the cities indicates the difference between traditional rural extended family and the modern urban nuclear family. Moreover, according to the report, rural elders are financially dependent on their children to a greater extent than their urban counterparts, due to a lack of social welfare provision in the countryside. This report is consistent with the conclusion that "rural elders need children financially support and social welfare, while urban elders could live with their pension" (Wang, 2006).

Furthermore, the preference for boys over girls is common in China. Although the sex at birth had been decreased to 113.51 males to 100 females in 2015, that ratio is still far higher than the worldwide normal level (103-107) (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2016b). However, the preference for boys over girls is more accepted in rural areas. According to the sixth national population census in 2010, the male-to-female sex ratio at birth in urban areas was 118.33:100, while in rural areas it was 122.09:100, indicating that rural families have a stronger preference

for sons. Moreover, the death rate of new-born daughters in urban areas was 10.69‰ while the number in rural areas was 41.16‰, but the death rate of newborn sons in urban areas was 8.61‰ while that rate in rural areas was 28.28‰ (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012). The large gap between newborn son and daughter death rates in rural areas reveals different cultural values around gender in rural and urban areas, and some rural parents even engage in infanticide or abandon their newborn girls to have another chance at producing a son (Mungello, 2008).

At a social level, the authority styles in rural and urban areas are different. Social regulation in Chinese rural areas is close to traditional authority, a form of leadership in which the authority of an organisation or a ruling regime is largely related to tradition or custom. The main reason for the given state of affairs is that "it has always been that way"; therefore, it is generally the elders who are familiar with the history and tradition within a village or a clan, rather than the nations' institutional arrangements that are actually considered as being representative of authority. By contrast, social governance in the modernised cities is more likely to be a rational-legal authority, a form of leadership in which the authority of an organisation or a ruling regime is largely related to legal rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucracy rather than personal relationships (Zhang et al., 2005). Rich life experience establishes the elders' authority in rural environment, however, those experience cannot apply in urban culture when rural people migrate into cities, and hence the elders' authority, without a foundation of trust anymore, has declined rapidly (Yan, 2003).

In conclusion, segregation in lifestyles, ways of thinking and value systems are deeply entrenched in Chinese rural and urban areas from the individual level to the social level. As China's dualistic structure on both economic and cultural development has been continuously strengthened by the system-based household registration segmentation, Chinese rural migrant workers may face more difficulties than other countries' rural-to-urban migrants when entering cities and directly facing the realities of economic disparity and cultural distinction between rural and urban areas.

2.4 China's Rural-Urban Dualistic Structure Restrictions for Rural Migrants in City

With the development of China's economic reform, millions of people from rural areas are migrating to cities. However, the household registration system is still applied strictly and limits access to a range of rights and benefits. Besides these discriminative regulations, the inertia of institutional segmentation following previous limitations of the household registration system has a more profound influence on rural migrant workers' competitiveness when finding jobs, compared with urban residents. This, in turn, leads to their failure to have equal chances of employment and secure permanent residency on an equal footing with registered urban residents, even after they have worked in cities for years. Both the visible and hidden policy segregation of the household registration system impedes rural migrant workers and their children from having access to economic resources, public services and social benefits and from being accepted and regarded as urban residents by local urban communities (Wang, 2001, Zhao, 2016).

2.4.1 Visible Segregation in Household Registration System

Attracted by the much higher degree of social and economic development in urban areas, millions of rural residents are rushing into cities to find jobs. However, a large migrant population has produced some negative effects, like strains on city government services, damage to rural economies, and an increase in social unrest and crime. Therefore, further relaxation of the household registration system since the 1990s has progressed slowly and cautiously. Plus, considering the large numbers of laid-off urban workers due to the reform failure in state-owned enterprises in the late 1990s, the Chinese government retained various restrictions on rural migrants, including unequal access to urban medical treatment, public services and other social benefits to solve endogenous employment issues in urban areas (Wang and Cai, 2008).

Some limitations on migrant workers are still mentioned explicitly in the household registration systems' management regulations or other policies regarding employment and the social welfare system, which define rights based

on household registration status. For example, in order to be entitled to most urban social welfares and benefits, people must hold an urban residency permit. As a result, most migrant workers, who are rural registered, are excluded from the urban security system. According to the government notice on the "Establishment of the National Urban Minimum Living Security System" in 1997, the urban minimum living guarantee is only open to urban residents whose family income per capita is below the local minimum living standard. Therefore, even if a migrant worker has worked in a city for years, as long as they hold rural registration status, they can only ask for the living guarantee of their village and cannot be covered in the urban social welfare system (Wang and Zuo, 1999).

Although the Chinese government is trying to improve the marginal status of migrant workers by reforming the social security and welfare systems, reforms occur inconsistently in different cities. To what extent can rural migrant workers have the same rights as people with city residences, or should policies define separate rules for rural migrants? What additional conditions should be added if migrant workers are given access to the same social welfare as urban residents? Cities still have different answers for these questions. Because policy rules are not uniform throughout the social welfare system, migrant workers fail to transfer their social security and welfare resources to another place or back to their hometowns once they leave the city (Meng and Zhang, 2001, Wong et al., 2007).

Therefore, as the reform of the social security system is based on the principle of "adaptation to local conditions", meaning that the eligibility conditions for social benefits vary between different areas, the inconsistent qualifications for enrolment in the social security system results in rural migrant workers' failure to move or transfer their social security resources with them to another place. Additionally, the policy for social insurance is ambiguous as to how many years of residence allows migrant workers to obtain the same rights as urban residents and how social insurance should protect them in their place of residence. In many cities, the social welfare system has provided rural migrant workers with equal opportunities to local urban residents if migrant workers can stay long enough in the city. However, rural migrant workers can hardly enjoy the benefits of this policy, considering their characteristically high mobility and their difficulty in continuing their social welfare record when moving to a different city (Tian, 2013),

and thus they do not have enough enthusiasm to enrol in the social welfare system. Ultimately, lower enrolment rates mean less access to public resources and social benefits and a further lack of sense of belonging to the city (Wang and Fan, 2012).

2.4.2 Hidden Segregation in the Household Registration System

As well as the policy discriminations imposed by the household registration system, rural migrants are still suffering from institutional inertia as the heritage of rural-urban dual structure is derived from long-standing historical segmentation. Although the household registration system has reduced controls on employment and the social welfare system in accordance with China's economic reform policy, migrants cannot integrate into the urban community because the strong segmentation in the rural-urban economic development and resource allocation left by previous household registration policies do not disappear as soon as the restrictions in the household registration system are removed (Yip et al., 2007).

Long-lasting social inequality based on the household registration system's segregation between rural and urban areas continues blocking rural migrant workers' initial social and human capital accumulation, which has a negative effect on migrant workers' competitiveness in the urban labour market and finally forces them to undertake labour-intensive, low-tech, high-substitutability jobs with poor working conditions. As most social welfare and benefits in China are tied with people's work, their low occupational status means migrant workers are far away from public resources and social security, which further affects their children's primitive human capital accumulation and reduces their children's career expectations of city employment (Bian, 2004, Ma, 2002).

Therefore, differences in the long-term rural-urban household registration status have caused chain effects of segregation on the allocation of economic and educational resources, the accumulation of human capital and social network, and the difference in social security and welfare participation as they are related to different occupational status. All these differences result in rural migrant workers' low social status and inferior access to urban public resources and welfare. Unlike rural-urban segregation expressly stated in the household registration policy, this chain of recessive impacts of the household registration system cannot be ended

by policy makers and it profoundly impedes migrant workers and their children after entering the urban community. Specifically speaking, the hidden influence of the household registration system on employment and social welfare are explained as follows.

1. Inequity in Employment Opportunity

Research has shown that the correlation between rural household registration status and the ability to get a job with formal contracts is not significant. However, factors that are closely related to the indirect influence of the household registration system on differences in educational resources and developmental opportunities, such as years of education and whether one is in formal sector employment, have a significant influence on rural migrant workers' employment in the cities (Roberts, 2001, Lu and Song, 2006). From the perspective of finding jobs, Lin's economic research has proved that the access to jobs depends on social and human capital (Lin, 2002), while rural migrant workers have difficulties transforming their rural social and human capital or accumulating new capital in the cities due to China's dualistic structure (Bian, 2004). This means they fall behind compared with local urban workers at the beginning of the competition for employment in the urban labour market.

Seemingly, human capital is an individual variable in general, a "self-achieved" factor which is determined by one's personal efforts, education, family resources and capital. However, in China, because of the segregation of the household registration system, an urban family can provide a better opportunity for the obtainment of human capital than a rural family. Research shows that the quality of the education infrastructure in rural areas is not equal to that of urban areas; for example, there is less government expenditure on primary education, poor school facilities and more teachers with low educational backgrounds in rural schools (Liu, 2003). Given that the disparities between rural and urban areas are marked in the education sector, it is impossible for people who live in rural areas to obtain equal educational opportunities to urban residents. As rural migrants have less access to education than their urban counterparts, they have already fallen far behind at the starting line.

Meanwhile, the segregation imposed by the household registration system can also be inferred to have a hidden impact on an individual's educational return, even though rural migrants have the same educational background as urban workers. Research based on fieldwork and analysis of data for several provinces shows the difference in educational return on investment between rural and urban areas. Specifically, an additional year of education will lead to an 8% increase in wages for workers in urban areas, whilst an additional year of education for workers in rural areas leads to a 4% increase in wages. The difference in educational return on investment correlates with the educational quality gap between rural and urban areas (Yao and Zhang, 2004). Moreover, according to labour market segmentation theory, labour markets can be divided into two categories: primary labour market and secondary labour market (Reich et al., 1973). The primary labour market typically offers high wages, stable occupations, good working protection, formal regulations and more promotion opportunities; while low-wage, unstable occupations, poor working protection, informal regulation and fewer promotion opportunities are common in the secondary labour market. Given the long-standing restrictions imposed by the household registration system and its implications for unequal social capital when looking for jobs, rural migrants mainly enter the secondary labour market and do low-skill, intense labour with poor protection (Zhang and Song, 2003, Long et al., 2017).

2. Unfair social welfare system

Research has shown that compared to urban workers or urban-registered migrant workers, most rural migrant workers exhibit a lower rate of enrolment in the social security system (Jiang et al., 2017, Luo, 2016). Table 2-5 shows that, though the number and percentage of rural migrants participating in social securities is growing, the gap in social welfare between rural migrants and urban residents still exists (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015).

Table 2- 5 Percentage of Rural Migrant Workers and Urban Employees Participating in Basic Pension Insurance and Basic Medical Care Insurance

	Urban Employees		Rural Migrant Workers	
	Basic Pension Insurance	Basic Medical Care Insurance	Basic Pension Insurance	Basic Medical Care Insurance
2008	51.67%	62.29%	9.8%	13.1%
2009	53.25%	65.83%	7.6%	12.2%
2010	55.94%	68.43%	9.5%	14.3%
2011	60.05%	70.24%	13.9%	16.7%
2012	61.94%	71.39%	14.3%	16.9%
2013	63.23%	71.77%	15.7%	17.6%
2014	64.95%	71.98%	16.4%	18.2%

Source: China Statistical Books 2009-2015 & Reports about Rural Migrant Workers 2008-2014

On one hand, a labour contract is the basis for a rural migrant's eligibility for most social welfare in China. For instance, the social insurance system includes insurances for pension, unemployment, medical treatment, work-related injury and maternity leave, and these first three should be paid by both workers and their companies, while the latter two are only paid by the companies. More importantly, all insurances are based on a formal contract of employment. In addition, social welfare is either supported by the government based on household registration residency, like the urban minimum living guarantee and urban unemployment social assistance, or paid by companies or by both employees and companies, like the housing accumulation fund. On the other hand, as explained before, due to the rural-urban dualistic structure and the heritage of household registration division, rural migrant workers tend to be stuck at the bottom of the labour market without a formal contract or employment status (Wong et al., 2007, Xu et al., 2011).

Consequently, the household registration policy's hidden effect on rural migrant workers' viability in urban labour market competition causes a chain influence on their eligibility to enjoy equal social benefits in the cities. Take the housing accumulation fund as an example. Firstly, the qualification for the housing fund is based on a labour contract. Since many migrant workers are temporary workers

without contracts, they are not qualified to apply for the housing accumulation fund. Secondly, in most cities, the housing accumulation fund is only available for employees to purchase, construct, renovate or repair owner-occupied housing, while most rural migrant workers can only afford to rent a cheap house temporarily (Meng et al., 2016). Moreover, rural migrant workers are not eligible to apply for welfare housing or buy real estate that is partly supported by government subsidies; these benefits are only open to local urban residents. Consequently, only a small number of rural migrant workers can purchase a house in the city entirely using their own money rather than government subsidies, while the rest of them rent houses in poor conditions due to their failure to qualify for social welfare based on their informal and marginalised employment statuses.

In conclusion, the visible segregation that springs from the household registration system continues to exist during the process of social transformation. Furthermore, hidden segregation from the household registration system impedes the substantive equality of rural migrant workers to enjoy the same social welfare and resources as urban residents. As a result, rural migrants' chances to get educated, work in the city, get social security and welfare resources, and enrol their children in urban schools are all affected by both the dominant and recessive segmentation of the household registration system. Moreover, these inequalities are leading to rural migrants and their children's failure to gain equal access to economic and public resources and social benefits. Ultimately, rural migrant workers have many difficulties integrating into the urban community, and they are usually regarded as marginalized people in the cities (Sun, 2012, Fan, 2004, Myerson et al., 2010).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the origin, characters and influence of China's dualistic structure. Firstly, I have provided a historical review of the household registration system and rural-urban migration. The original goal of the household registration system was to control rural immigration and population regulation, however, it resulted in China's rural-urban dualistic structure, in which rural areas are economically and culturally disadvantaged compared with urban areas. After rural migrants have entered the city, the household registration system is still applied strictly and limits rural migrants' access to a range of rights and benefits.

They cannot participate in the social security system, be qualified to buy urban housing, or get a pension from the urban government. This leads to their failure in having equal chances of employment and securing permanent residency on an equal footing with urban natives even after they have worked in cities for years. Consequently, both the dominant and recessive policy segregation in the household registration system have a profound influence not only on migrant workers' competitiveness in the city, but also on their next generations' eligibility and capability to be educated in urban areas.

The report shows that 56.6% of children of migrant workers were born in their current residences in 2014, while the percentage was 27.5% in 2010 (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2016). With more and more children of migrant workers living in cities, what educational problems may come out when these rural students are educated in urban schools? How do China's household registration system and dualistic social structure influence rural students' interactions with urban communities? Do children of migrant workers' disadvantaged economic-social family backgrounds influence their social adaptation in the city? Before answering these questions, it is necessary to review the development of Chinese educational policy on children of migrant workers.

Chapter 3 Educational Context: Education for Chinese Children of Migrant Workers

3.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the history and development of Chinese educational policy towards children of migrant workers. When more and more rural migrant workers moved into the city to find jobs, their children would remain in their hometowns as "left-behind children". However, without their parents' care and attention, these left-behind children suffered and continue to suffer from many developmental issues, increased vulnerability to becoming a victim of human trafficking, and a high possibility of getting involved in gambling or criminal activities (Xiang, 2007, Zhou et al., 2005). To stem these problems, children of rural migrant workers could move into the city with their parents. Until 1996, though, children of migrant workers were not eligible to enrol in urban public schools due to their rural household registration status. The increasing number of school-aged children of migrant workers pushed the Chinese government to issue related policies to protect their educational rights. Section 3.2 reviews the historical development of Chinese education policy on children of migrant workers' education. From 1996-2000, children of migrant workers who tried to enter urban public schools faced strict limitations set by the government, which pushed children of migrant workers back to their hometowns; from 2000-2006, the central government changed its policy goal to protect children of migrant workers' equal education opportunity as urban students and encourage urban local governments and urban public schools to accept children of migrant workers, though at the beginning, most of these rural-registered students could only receive poor quality education in private schools. A new compulsory education law was issued in 2006, officially making children of migrant workers' educational issues the responsibility of urban local governments. Therefore, local governments started to pay more attention to these issues. Section 3.3 summarizes the development of Chinese educational policy for rural migrants, including the clarification of the definition of "children of migrant workers", the increase in attention to children of migrant workers' educational issues, and a move from strict control to considerate service.

3.2 The History of the Chinese Government's Policy on Children of Migrant Workers' Education

Until 1996, no formal policy focused on children of migrant workers' educational issues, and children of migrant workers were not eligible to enrol in urban schools due to their household registration status. Though the Chinese government allowed children of migrant workers to enrol in urban schools from 1996, the government still applied strict limitations to children of migrant workers and believed they would return to rural schools soon. However, as more and more children of migrant workers moved into cities, it became impossible for the government to ignore their educational demand in urban schools. Since 2001, the Chinese government has established "two focused" regulations stating that "children of migrant workers should be placed under the jurisdiction of the government of the destination cities and should mainly attend local urban public schools". With the help of these regulations, children of migrant workers could enjoy education alongside urban students. However, the funding gap between local urban governments' education budgets and the increasing demand of children of migrant workers resulted in many children of migrant workers having difficulties entering urban publicly funded schools. As a result, more children of migrant workers enrolled in private schools which specially accepted children of migrant workers, but which had poor educational conditions. With the goal of equal education opportunity, the revised "People's Republic of China's Compulsory Education Law", issued in 2006, stated that "the local government of migrants' destination cities should take measures to guarantee the education rights of children of migrant workers in urban areas, especially during 'compulsory education' stage" (Chen et al., 2009a, Chen and Feng, 2013). From that time, local governments issued more detailed regulations to protect children of migrant workers' educational rights.

3.2.1 Before 1996: No Formal Educational Policy

With China's development of economic reform, urgent demand for labour pushed the government to relax the limitations on the mobility of rural migrant workers. As a result, more and more rural labourers began moving into cities to find jobs. Considering their unfamiliarity with the urban environment and the instability of

their employment status, many rural migrants chose (and continue to choose) to leave their children in their rural hometowns, and these children are referred to as “left-behind children” (Duan et al., 2013, Jia and Tian, 2010). Without their parents’ care, the left-behind children are either left under the care of relatives, mostly grandparents with little or no education experience, or other family members like uncles or aunties, or living independently and taking care of themselves (Wen and Lin, 2012).

Due to the lack of parental care and restraint, left-behind children have been found to be prone to developing poor learning consciousness, discipline, study habits and performance, and frequently have been reported to run away from classes or even drop out of school. Furthermore, problems with low self-esteem can lead to the development of ‘extreme’ personalities; some become exceedingly timid, introverted and isolated from others, while others become excessively grumpy, impulsive or irritable, exhibiting strong resentment for their parents and a lack of love and communication initiative. Often the caretakers are grandparents, distant relatives or elderly neighbours who are either too old or too weak to work in cities. These caretakers have been found to sometimes lack the physical ability, financial support or emotional commitment to take care of the left-behind children, which can lead to these children suffering from developmental issues, increased vulnerability to becoming a victim of human trafficking, and a high possibility of getting involved in gambling or even criminal activities (Duan and Zhou, 2005, Fan, 2005, Yao, 2005).

Rural parents realise the problems faced by children who are left in their hometowns, and some take their children with them to the cities; the number of children of migrant workers continues growing. However, as migrant workers began moving to the cities, children of migrant workers were not allowed to enrol in urban schools due to their rural household registration status, so these children faced the possibility of having to drop out of education.

To solve the children of migrant workers’ educational problems, the Chinese central government issued the “People’s Republic of China’s Compulsory Education Law Implementing Rules” in 1992. This regulation stated that “school-age children who move into different household registration places could apply

for local schools but without a formal study record". Though children of migrant workers were admitted to local schools, they could not enjoy the benefits of formal study and their parents were required to pay high tuition fees to the local schools. As a result, more children of migrant workers studied in urban private schools that were not legally registered in the government's education system, meaning that neither their schooling records nor their graduation could be officially certified by the government (Zhu, 2001, Yan, 2005). Therefore, another solution was needed for children of migrant workers' educational problems.

3.2.2 1996-2000: Strict Restrictions on Children of Migrant Workers in Urban School

To meet the increasing educational demand for children of migrant workers in urban areas, the Chinese Ministry of Education issued the "Proposed Regulation for Admitting Rural Migrant School-Age Children in Schools" in 1996. It stated that "children's parents or other guardians who have a temporary residence permit could apply for local primary and secondary school, and the children could enter school when they get a school's permission. Local governments should provide an educational opportunity for children of migrant workers and assume the regulatory responsibility". This was the first Chinese government regulation that took clear action in response to children of migrant workers' educational problems; other regulations came out subsequently. In 1998, the Chinese Ministry of Education issued the "Temporary Educational Regulation for Children of Migrant Workers", which stated that "children of migrant workers should apply for local public schools or private schools run exclusively for rural migrants with the government's permission".

These regulations did away with the limitations associated with household registration status and allowed children of migrant workers to enrol in urban public schools. Many schools specially catering for children of migrant workers then emerged (Yun and Wang, 2011). However, the regulations of 1996 and 1998 still demonstrated the government's restraint with regards to introducing social policy for children of migrant workers. The 1996 regulation stated that "the government should build a strict regulation system for children of migrant workers. Those children of migrant workers who could possibly be educated in the place of

their household registration should stay there to be educated". This regulation shows the government's dismissive attitude to children of migrant workers. The 1998 regulation stated that "the local governments of the places in which children of migrant workers are registered should strictly control school-age children's moving out" and that "the government should treat the children of migrant workers' educational problems as an important part of rural migrant regulation" (Huang and Xu, 2006). This means the government still refused to accept children of migrant workers in urban schools and hoped to get them back to rural areas.

The Chinese government's regulations for children of migrant workers from 1996-2000 reveal that, on the one hand, the government had begun to pay attention to children of migrant workers' educational problems; on the other hand, the government believed that children of migrant workers' education in urban schools was temporary and children of migrant workers would ultimately return to their household registered places. The government's dismissive attitude to children of migrant workers and the high tuition fees parents faced when enrolling their children in urban schools resulted in 9.3% of children of migrant workers dropping out of school in 2000 (Su, 2003).

3.2.3 2000-2006: Equal Education and the "Two Focuses" Regulation

In 2000, the Chinese government started to abolish the limitations on rural workers working in cities and integrate the rural and urban labour markets to prevent discrimination towards rural migrant workers, as explained in "Notification of Pushing Rural Migrant Workers Employment" (2000). To achieve these goals, employment, social insurance, the household registration system and housing reform were on the government's agenda. Aiming for "no discrimination towards rural migrant workers", the Chinese government also paid more attention to children of migrant workers' educational issues.

In 2001, the Chinese central government established a rural compulsory education system focusing on the county level, giving county governments the power to allocate human resources and financial budgets. Meanwhile, education funding was supported by the central government, provincial governments, city governments and county governments. The reform of the rural compulsory

education system indicated that the Chinese government was paying more attention to rural students' education issues.

Similarly, the government also tried to make a policy breakthrough on the issue of children of migrant workers' educational problems. In 2001, the Chinese State Council issued the policy "Decision on Compulsory Education Reform and Development", which stated that "it should be the local government of migrants' destination cities and public schools working together to solve rural migrant school-age children's education problems". The government's attitude to children of migrant workers in urban schools changed from one of strict limitation to active service, and children of migrant workers were now covered in national education development planning. This "two focuses" regulation established a basic educational policy and emphasized children of migrant workers' equal rights to be educated, meaning that children of migrant workers in school would no longer be temporary students. With the basic "two focuses" regulation, the government issued other related regulations to protect children of migrant workers' education rights.

Two years later, the Chinese State Council issued the policy "Notification of Employment and Service for Rural Migrant Workers" (2003) in January to confirm the "two focuses" regulation. It explained that "tuition for children of migrant workers' compulsory education should be equal to that of local children, children of migrant workers' compulsory education should be included in cities' social welfare budgets, and the schools in which children of migrant workers study should also be covered in city plans". In September, the Ministry of Education issued the regulation "Advice on Children of Migrant Workers' Compulsory Education Service". The regulation proposed that the government should devote more attention and benefits to those schools which specially accept children of migrant workers, and local governments should supply more financial subsidies to those schools.

In 2004, the Chinese central government issued "Document No.1" to push urban governments to include children of migrant workers' education funding in cities' financial budgets and abolish all unequal fees for children of migrant workers. In 2005, the Chinese State Council issued the policy "Notification of Rural

Compulsory Education Funding System Reformation", which emphasized that "children of migrant workers in urban public school should enjoy equal benefit to a local urban student". The next year, the Chinese State Council again focused on children of migrant workers' education issues in the regulation "Advice on Solutions to Rural Migrant Workers Issues", which said, "Local urban governments should take responsibility for children of migrant workers' compulsory education, cover children of migrant workers in the local education budgets and mainly accept children of migrant workers in local public schools. In terms of school tuition and management, children of migrant workers should be treated equally to local children and no other fees should be levied in excess of the national education standard." This regulation is clearer and more detailed on the subject of children of migrant workers' educational issues. Moreover, the regulation broke the past rural-urban dual education system and provided essential funding to implement the policy that "local governments should solve children of migrant workers' education problems in cities".

From the history of the Chinese government's policy on children of migrant workers from 2000-2006, it is clear that the Chinese government's guiding regulation changed from strict control of children of migrant workers moving into urban schools to actively accepting children of migrant workers in urban public school and supporting equal treatment to local urban students. This conclusion is evident from the following regulations: "Protect children of migrant workers' education rights" (January 2003); "Local urban governments should take responsibility for children of migrant workers' educational issues" (September 2003); "No other fees exceeding the national educational standard for children of migrant workers" (2004); and "Children of migrant workers' educational issue is an essential part of public service for rural migrant workers" (2006). These government policies on children of migrant workers' educational issues helped them enter urban public schools to get educated. In 2006, about 7 million rural migrant school-aged children (7-15 years old) moved into the city and studied in urban schools (Ministry of Education of China, 2012).

However, these government policies emphasizing equal education did not have sweeping practical outcomes. The unclear delegation of responsibilities resulted in secret operations, such as rural migrant parents still being made to pay high

additional tuition fees despite the fact that such fees had been forbidden by the government. Additionally, as local urban governments' educational funding and resources could not keep up with the rapid rise in the educational demand of children of migrant workers, local urban governments dragged their heals when it came to implement the central government's policy. About 9.3% of rural migrant school-age children dropped out of school in 2004 (Zou, 2005).

Since children of migrant workers faced difficulties when trying to enter urban public schools and enjoy equal education opportunity, they had to enter private schools with poor education conditions that specially accepted children of migrant workers. Therefore, an increasing number of children of migrant workers were educated in "schools exclusively for migrant children". This exclusive schooling model, however, had disadvantages. As these only-for-migrant-children schools were usually built in shanty towns, children of migrant workers were more easily exposed to security risks or abusive treatment. Moreover, due to lack of funding and rapidly increasing numbers of migrant children, the quality and quantity of the schooling facilities could hardly keep up with the standards of urban public schools. Because of these schools' poor situations and difficulty in meeting the basic educational requirements, few professional teachers were willing to come, and the government finally had to shut them down to guarantee education quality (Li et al., 2010). With regards to the rural migrant workers, they faced difficulties taking proper care of their children since most of them were doing labour-intensive jobs with long hours. They had little spare time to spend with their children, nor did they possess sufficient knowledge of family education or parenting. Moreover, while studying in one's registered area is free according to the nine-year compulsory education policy, it cost a lot if migrant workers wanted their children to study in urban schools even during their compulsory education years since none of these private schools dedicated to migrant children were funded by the government (Guo, 2002).

As it stood, the situation was that these private schools could usually only provide a poor educational environment characterized by low quality teachers, poor student activities, bad infrastructure and irregular school management (Fan, 2006). Though the government stipulated that these schools make improvements to meet the minimum requirements, more than 30 schools in Beijing that could

not live up to the requirements due to a lack of funding closed in June 2006 (Li, 2010). On the one hand, it was difficult for children of migrant workers to enter urban public schools, and on the other hand, the educational quality of those private schools established specially for children of migrant workers was poor. Where, then, could children of migrant workers go for an education? More detailed and effectual government educational policies were needed.

3.2.4 2006-present: Integration in Urban Public School

To protect children of migrant workers' equal educational rights, a revised "Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China" was issued in September 2006. It stated that "local governments are obliged to take responsibility for the education of children of migrant workers who move to a different household registration place with their parents or guardians". This new compulsory education law pushed the children of migrant workers' educational issues from government policy to national law, which means that children of migrant workers' equal education rights would be protected by powerful laws. If the local urban governments or urban public schools rejected children of migrant workers without rational reasons, rural migrant parents could now sue the government or the urban public school in question.

Following the introduction of the compulsory education law, the Chinese central government continued issuing related policies. The Ministry of Education started to publish statistical data about children of migrant workers and left-behind children that was included in the national education statistical bulletin in 2007. These statistical bulletins could help reveal the current situation and trends in rural children's educational issues. In 2008, the Chinese State Council decided that tuition fees for urban compulsory education would be waived nation-wide from the 2008 autumn term, and this would also apply to children of migrant workers. This means the Chinese government began to provide more financial funding to support children of migrant workers' educational issues as one of the consequences of free compulsory education. The following month, the "Notification of Tuition and Fees Waiver in Urban Compulsory Education" was issued and clearly explained that it is "compulsory for children of migrant workers to be included in the urban public education system", emphasizing that no tuition

or other fees should be paid by children of migrant workers. Local governments should dedicate enough financial funding to provide children of migrant workers with the same educational opportunity as urban students.

Besides these educational policies about compulsory education, the Chinese government also paid attention to children of migrant workers entering public high schools (16-18 years old). The 2010 "Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)" stressed that when children of migrant workers finished their compulsory education, they were eligible to take the same high school examination as local urban students. In 2012, the Chinese State Council issued the "Decision on Promoting Balanced Development of Compulsory Education", which emphasized that local urban governments should protect children of migrant workers' rights to get their compulsory education and enter high school. Furthermore, two years later, the Chinese State Council issued the "Advice on Promoting Household Registration Reform", which pointed out that "children of migrant workers could take High School Entrance Examinations and College Entrance Examinations in local urban areas step by step, considering their continued experience of studying in local schools".

With the central government paying more attention to children of migrant workers' educational issues, local urban governments took responsibility for children of migrant workers' education and issued new compulsory educational policies from 2006. To create equal access to urban public education for children of migrant workers, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou and other cities have partially reduced restrictions on entrance to urban public schools, meaning that children of rural migrant workers have the possibility of studying in urban schools together with urban children (Chen and Feng, 2013).

Take Guangdong province as an example. The economies of most cities in Guangdong province, especially the cities in the Pearl River Area such as Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai, are based on labour intensive industries. As a result, Guangdong province has attracted a huge influx of migrant workers, and lots of children of migrant workers settle with their migrant parents in these cities. Therefore, many Guangdong local urban governments have actively implemented the relevant central government policies and formulated a series of advanced

policies for children of migrant workers' compulsory education issues.

Firstly, Guangdong province kept increasing financial investment. In September 2006, the Guangdong government promulgated its "Recommendations on the Further Improvement of Rural Migrant Workers' Employment and Living Conditions", which clarified that local urban governments should provide an extra education financial budget for children of migrant workers, which would be included in local education development funding budgets. This policy also set the rule that as full-time public primary and secondary schools should be the first choice for receiving children of migrant workers, the government should pay public schools' extra fees, according to the number of children of migrant workers who were actually being educated in the schools. Moreover, in July 2011, "Recommendations on Enhancing Services for Children of Migrant Workers' Education in Cities" (2011) maintained that for those children of migrant workers who meet the free compulsory education requirements, the local government should cover their basic compulsory education expenses through the public financial support system. It is reported that in 2010, Guangdong province invested a total of more than 6 billion yuan (≈£681 million) in improving children of migrant workers' compulsory education (Nanfang Daily, 2011).

Secondly, the Guangdong provincial government tried to expand public schools' capacity to accept more children of migrant workers. Through replacing private schools with public schools, expanding old public schools or building brand-new ones, the Guangdong provincial government gradually raised the ratio of children of migrant workers educated in urban public schools. According to research data from the Department of Education and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) in Guangdong Province, the Shenzhen city government invested 29.44 billion yuan (≈£3.34 billion) to build or rebuild 89 public primary schools from 2001 to 2007, which helped 50,000 migrant children be educated in public primary schools. Also, the Zhuhai city government added 1.5 billion yuan (≈£170 million) to its financial budget to build 19 new public schools and expand 79 old public schools and offered 30,000 public school vacancies for children of migrant workers. The city of Zhongshan rearranged more than 200 public primary and secondary schools to accept more than 80,000 migrant children (Wu and Liu, 2009).

Thirdly, the Guangdong provincial government also paid attention to improving the education quality of private schools. Considering the current limited capacity of public schools accepting all migrant children, "Recommendations on Enhancing Services for Children of Migrant Workers Being Educated in Cities" (2011) also mentioned that based on the quality of public school education, social communities are welcome to establish private schools that cater only to children of migrant workers. Governments on various levels would encourage and support such private schools that open to children of migrant workers and enhance their management and supervision of private schools' education quality, teacher resources and migrant students' enrolment status.

Lastly, the Guangdong provincial government established a points-based calculation system to manage children of migrant workers enrolling in urban public schools. Starting from 2010, the points-based calculation system has been introduced to allow rural migrant workers and their families to move their residency into the Guangdong household registration system. On 7th June 2010, the Guangdong provincial government issued "Guidance on Transforming Rural Migrant Workers' Household Registration Record through a Points-based Calculation System", which formally set the 60-point base line for applying for a Guangdong household registration record. Points can be directly accumulated if migrant workers have enough skills or human capital like a higher education degree, and then all related services and social benefits would be open to migrant workers once they meet the requirements. This guidance made a clear statement that from province to district, governments on all levels need to add compulsory education for children of migrant workers into the plan of city development and education. If migrant workers have accumulated enough points, their children should be admitted to study in cities, or even in urban public schools if the district has capacity to take them in. From 2010 to 2012, this plan led to around 1.8 million rural migrant workers successfully registering in the Guangdong household registration system (Fu and Liu, 2012).

As well as Guangdong province, under the principle of children of migrant workers having equal access to urban education, Beijing, Shanghai and many other cities have partially reduced restrictions on migrant children's admission to urban public schools, meaning that children of migrant workers are more and more likely to

study in urban schools together with urban native children. For example, the 2014 "Beijing Municipal Commission of Education's Recommendations on School Admission in Compulsory Education Stage" suggested that when the legal guardian of a rural migrant child is working or living in Beijing, the child can be educated in Beijing as long as their parents can get all five certificates approved by the local urban government. The five certificates are the temporary residential permit in Beijing, proof of place of residence, evidence of working in Beijing (official employment contract), proof from the household registered location of no child-guardian conditions (i.e. proof that no one can take good care of the children in their home village), and a household registration record. These certificates should be jointly reviewed by both the input and output governments through the online household registration management system. Another example is that in Shanghai, the 2015 "Shanghai Municipal Education Commission's Suggestions on School Admission in Compulsory Education Stage" mentioned that children of migrant workers should be the first to be considered to be educated in public primary schools. For those districts without enough public education resources, local governments should arrange for children of migrant workers to study in specified private primary schools, and then all enter into public secondary schools.

With the detailed central government policy and local government implementation policy, more and more children of migrant workers entered in urban public schools and enjoyed the same education opportunity as local urban students. Table 3-1 shows the increasing trend of children of migrant workers in urban public schools, compared with rural left-behind children. Though the number and proportion of rural left-behind children stopped increasing in 2013, the number of children of migrant workers in urban schools continued growing and the proportion in 2016 was twice that of 2007 and already accounted for almost 10% of total children (Ministry of Education of China, 2017). The growing trend of children of migrant workers is clearer in big Chinese cities, and Tables 3-2, 3-3 and 3-4 illustrate this trend in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, respectively. More than 40% of students in Beijing's primary schools have been children of migrant workers since 2010, and the proportion in junior high school also underwent a huge leap since the Beijing city government relaxed the limitations on children of migrant workers taking the High School Entrance Examination. This situation also played out in Shanghai, where children of migrant workers have

made up more than 40% of rural compulsory public schools since 2010. The situation of children of migrant workers' education in Guangzhou was better. More than half of students in Guangzhou public primary school were children of migrant workers and local urban students were the minority, while over 40% of students in junior high schools have been rural-registered since 2013.

The growing number of children of migrant workers in rural public schools could have two explanations. Firstly, more rural migrant parents pay attention to their children's education and parents are increasingly able to provide more financial support. Second, this mainly was the result of the central government and local government's policies on children of migrant workers' educational issues to protect their equal education opportunity as urban students (Bao and Liu, 2015). It is therefore essential to review government educational policies on children of migrant workers' before elaborating on the research question.

3.3 Summary of Educational Policy

Since 1996, the major policies that the Chinese central government has promulgated concerning children of migrant workers' education issues include "Interim Schooling Methods for Children of Migrant Workers" (1996-draft, 1998), "Decisions on the Reform and Development of Compulsory Education" (2001), "Notifications on Improving Management and Services for Rural Workers' Employment in Cities" (2003), "Recommendations on Further Improvement of Compulsory Education for Children of Migrant Workers" (2003), the revised "Compulsory Education Law" (2006), "The State Council's Recommendations on Further Promotion of Balanced Compulsory Education Development" (2012), and so on. Starting from 2001, the Chinese central government clarified that all educational policies for migrant children should be formulated on two bases. Firstly, local governments, rather than the national central government, should play the dominant role in planning and implementing schooling policies for migrant children, and the detailed policy of accepting children of migrant workers in urban schools can be diversified based on each city's situation. Secondly, in order to guarantee education equity and improve harmonious rural-urban communication, urban public schools should be the first choice to receive migrant children, especially during the nine-year compulsory education stage. In summary,

the policy development for children of migrant workers shows three trends.

Table 3- 1 Children of Migrant Workers and Left-Behind Children in School

Year	Children of migrant workers *(thousand)*		Left-Behind Children *(thousand)*		Total Children *(thousand)*
2007	7,657	4.70%	20,374	12.50%	163,002
2008	8,847	5.56%	21,403	13.45%	159,165
2009	9,971	6.43%	22,242	14.34%	155,124
2010	11,672	7.67%	22,715	14.92%	152,200
2011	12,610	8.41%	22,003	14.68%	149,932
2012	13,939	9.64%	22,711	15.71%	144,590
2013	12,772	9.25%	21,268	15.41%	138,007
2014	12,947	9.36%	20,754	15.00%	138,357
2015	13,671	9.83%	20,192	14.52%	139,040
2016	13,948	9.79%	-[5]	-	142,424

Source: National Educational Statistics 2007-2016.

Table 3- 2 Proportion of Children of Migrant Workers in Beijing Public Schools

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Primary School (7-12 years old)	41.06%	42.49%	45.11%	46.83%	44.83%
Junior High School (13-15 years old)	23.86%	26.72%	30.46%	33.32%	33.36%

Source: Beijing Statistics Bureau.

Table 3- 3 Proportion of Children of Migrant Workers in Shanghai Public Schools

Year	2010	2011	2012
Compulsory School (7-15 years old)	41.70%	43.18%	45.10%

Source: Shanghai Education Bureau.

Table 3- 4 Proportion of Children of Migrant Workers in Guangzhou Public Schools

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014
Primary School (7-12 years old)	51.20%	52.82%	55.90%	56.26%
Junior High School (13-15 years old)	30.20%	32.51%	40.30%	44.10%

[5] National Educational Statistics in 2016 do not provide the data about left-behind children.

Source: Guangzhou Education Bureau.

3.3.1 Clearer Definition of "Children of migrant workers"

Throughout the development of policies, the definition of "children of migrant workers" has changed. In 1996, the policy only defined children of migrant workers as "school-age children and teenagers in rural-to-urban migration", which literally clarifies no speciality of the group but only their age range and draws no distinction for rural students who have chosen to migrate to the city independently rather than with their parents. In 1998, the concept was simplified to "school-age migrants", which covers a far wider demographic than the actual group. Children who migrated within the same household registration status, such as urban registered children moving from one city to another, or rural registered children moving to neighbouring villages, were also included into the policy, which caused ambiguity and misinterpretation in further policy making. Therefore, in 2003, the group's definition was changed to "children of migrant workers who moved from rural to urban areas", or "children of migrant workers" for short, which narrowed down migrant children to those who are rurally registered and whose parents have rural household registration identities but now move and take non-agricultural work in the cities. Furthermore, in 2007, a new concept of "left-behind children in rural areas" was proposed to divide "children of migrant workers" into two groups: those moving to the city with their parents and those staying in rural areas (Wang, 2014). These changes in definitions illustrate that the Chinese government has become increasingly clear on the special characteristics and needs of these children of migrant workers.

3.3.2 Increasing Attention to Children of Migrant Workers' Education Issues

In the first policy related to migrant children's education issues, "Interim Schooling Methods for Migrating Children" (1996), the section entitled "General Provisions" stated that it was legally mandatory for school-aged migrant children to receive their nine-year compulsory education. All specific implementing regulations for children of migrant workers' education should strictly follow "People's Republic of China's Compulsory Education Law" in accordance with the actual situation in each local urban area. Then, in the 1998 education policy

statement, both the State Education Commission and the Ministry of Public Security formally turned the children of migrant workers' schooling issue into a national core education issue which was directly concerned with the legal validity and in-depth development of "Compulsory Education Law". Whether children of migrant workers are able to enter school during their compulsory education years has been held up as a crucial test of achieving the "compulsory education" goal which provides equal education rights for all children and youth. In September 2003, the State Council, forwarding their recommendations to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Security, the Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the Labour and Social Security Department, issued "Recommendations on Further Improvement of Compulsory Education for Children of Migrant Workers", which strengthened the guarantee of children of migrant workers' compulsory education and implemented the "People's Republic of China's Compulsory Education Law" (An, 2013). In conclusion, starting from 2003, education for children of migrant workers was no longer a minor problem only related to migration groups or education systems, but became more related to the protection of rural migrant workers' rights and social stability, for which governments on all levels should take political responsibility.

3.3.3 From Strict Control to Considerate Service

The 1996 policy stated that "local governments should establish management systems to strictly control school-aged children migrating from rural to urban areas. Only those who are lack of guardians in household registered places are allowed to move to another place to receive their nine-year compulsory education. Otherwise, if their household registered places have relatives who meets the legal guardian requirements, children must stay and be educated in their household registered places". This indicates that governments still hold an exclusive attitude towards rural children migrating into cities. This "tight control" can also be seen in 1998 policy documents which insisted that migrant children's education issues should be treated as an important part of integrated management issues relating to migrating populations. Therefore, education issues for migrant children should be solved in the same way as other rural migrant management issues, meaning through local governments' tight control of the number of migrant children.

However, from 2003, the central government started to change its role from controller or manager to public servant in dealing with children of migrant workers' placement issues in cities. For example, in January 2003, the directives from the Central Committee mentioned that the most important thing in formulating policies for migrant children is to protect their right to receive compulsory education in the cities. Then, in September 2003, "Recommendations on Further Improvement of Compulsory Education for Children of Migrant Workers" insisted again that receiving compulsory education is a basic right for every child. Therefore, no matter where rural children are, the local urban government's responsibility is to protect their right to education. More specifically, the policies in 2004 and 2006 on providing services for migrant workers' urban placements clarified that local urban governments should "accept children of migrant workers to study in urban public schools" as a part of the public service for rural migrant workers. Further, in 2010, "Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)" pointed out again that "local urban governments should provide services for children of migrant workers to ensure that they are equally educated to local urban students, which is to place children of migrant workers mainly in full-time urban public school". In conclusion, in 2003 and 2004, China's government began to transform its policy position from tight control to open service; the basis for all policies relating to children of migrant workers' has got back to the national right to education and clearly it is governments' duty to protect this basic right. Consequently, beginning in 2006, an important aspect of public services for migrant workers has been added to the list, which is that their children be accepted and settled in cities during their compulsory education years.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the education policies and previous studies related to the education issues of children of migrant workers. The major conclusions are as follows:

Since 1996, China's central government has promulgated a series of policies concerning children of migrant workers' education issues. It can be seen from years of policy formulation that the Chinese government has paid more and more attention to children of migrant workers, and gradually clarified their needs. More

importantly, the policy perspective has transformed from strict control to considerate service.

According to the "two principles", local governments, rather than the national central government, should play the dominant role in planning and implementing schooling policies for children of migrant workers, and urban public schools should be the first choice to accept children of migrant workers, especially during their nine-year compulsory education age. Therefore, local urban governments should pay more attention to policies made to protect children of migrant workers' right to education. In fact, different cities delivered various solutions which can be categorized into different four groups: increasing financial investment; expanding public schools' capacity to accept more children of migrant workers; improving private schools' education quality; and allocating children of migrant workers into public schools by points-based calculations.

Both the central and local urban governments are working together to address children of migrant workers' education issues; however, the government seems to fail in achieving its policy target at the stage of implementation. Consequently, many children of migrant workers lost chances to study in urban public schools, and even those who could study in urban public schools alongside urban native students may still be marginalized in the urban social and cultural environment. To understand rural students' difficulties in adapting to their urban lives, the next chapter offers a review of previous related studies.

Chapter 4 Literature Review on Education for Children of Migrant Workers in Chinese Cities

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I introduced the historical development of education for children of migrant workers in China. In this chapter, I review the related studies focusing on education for rural students in the city. With the further relaxation of household registration restrictions, the number of migrant children studying in urban schools, especially in public schools alongside urban students, keeps growing. What happens when these children of migrant workers enter the city and are educated in urban schools? New education issues like inequity of school admissions and difficulty in urban adaptation have drawn researchers' attention.

This chapter first reviews the research history on rural students' education issues after their migration into cities (Section 4.2). These related studies can be categorized into two major topics: education inequity for children of migrant workers at the school admission stage (Section 4.3) and migrant children's difficulties in urban adaptation after entering urban schools (Section 4.4). Following a summary of related descriptive and causal analyses, Section 4.5 presents a discussion of the limitations of previous research, including the lack of a unified standard for assessing adaption, opposing views on the influence of school types (public versus private) and a shortage of research on education's positive influence on adaption. Finally, based on this literature review, research gaps are identified and research questions are presented in order to fill these gaps (Section 4.6).

4.2 The History of Research on Education Issues of Children of Migrant Workers in Chinese Cities

Educational inequities for children of migrant workers studying in Chinese cities have drawn academics' concern for a long time. The earliest research on children of migrant workers' education issues yielded by a search of the Chinese Social

Sciences Citation Index (CSSCI) is “Recruitment of Children of Migrant Workers into Urban Schools: Compulsory Education for All” in 1994 (Hua, 1994), which specifically examined how the city of Tianjin made use of its potential to accept children of migrant workers. After that, more and more researchers from various subjects got involved, and children of migrant workers’ education issues have been studied from a wider range of perspectives, offering deeper insights. All this research concerning children of migrant workers’ education issues can be divided into three phases based on their reflections on policy changes: the Beginning Stage (1994-2000), the Development Stage (2001-2005) and the Prosperity Stage (2006-present).

4.2.1 Beginning: 1994-2000

In 1995, a series of articles in the newspaper *China Education Daily* called “Where Can Children of Migrant Workers Go to School?” (Li, 1995) systematically outlined the kinds of problems encountered by the school-age rural children of migrant workers. Subsequently, how to address educational difficulties for children of migrant workers became a common concern in both the political and academic arenas. For example, in 1996, the Compulsory Education Department in the Ministry of Education, together with the Education Management Information Centre and other education departments, carried out an investigation of the living and studying conditions of school-age children of migrant workers in six provinces. This survey provided practical data and an academic basis for 1998’s policy, “Interim Schooling Methods for Migrating Children”, jointly issued by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Public Security (An, 2013). At this initial and exploratory phase, most of the research focused on the overall situation in large regions, rural migrant workers’ intentions for their children’s education, quality inspections of urban private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers, and superficial discussions on the factors that lead to migrant children’s education difficulties (Tang, 2009).

4.2.2 Development: 2001-2005

In 2001, in the policy “Decisions on Reform and Development of Compulsory Education”, the Chinese State Council for the first time clarified two points for

all policy formulations directed at solving children of migrant workers' education issues. One is that local governments, rather than the national central government, should play the dominant role in planning and implementing schooling policies for children of migrant workers; the other is that urban public schools should be the first choice to accept children of migrant workers, especially during their nine-years compulsory education period (China State Council, 2001). These two points were confirmed again in 2003 by two policy documents issued by the Chinese State Council. Moreover, starting from September 2004, the central government prohibited charging extra fees for children of migrant workers studying in cities, and an increasing number of related policies have been formulated since then.

Accordingly, education for children of migrant workers has become a hot topic in the academic field. All core journals in the Chinese educational studies field, such as *Education Studies*, *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Science Edition), Chinese Journal of Population Science* and *Youth Studies*, published research related to children of migrant workers' education issues, and these research publications are primarily concentrated on "Youth Development Studies", "Youth Studies", "Educational Science Research", "Population and Economic Development" (Zhou and Weng, 2011). Research at this rapid development stage mainly focused on introducing children of migrant workers' education issues and attracting public interest to this vulnerable group. Beside this policy research, more and more regional field work and reports came out, such as Duan and Zhou's research in Beijing (Duan and Zhou, 2001) and Zhang's report based on Beijing, Shenzhen, Shaoxing and Xi'an (Zhang et al., 2003). A more detailed impression of children of migrant workers' education issues was published, and I will introduce these findings in Section 4.3.

4.2.3 Prosperity: 2006-present

March 2006 was the first time that compulsory education for children of migrant workers was classified as part of public services, and social inclusion for rural migrants was addressed in "Chinese State Council's Recommendations on Solving Rural Migrant Workers' Problems" (Chinese State Council, 2006). Then in September 2006, the 22nd meeting of Standing Committee of the National People's Congress assembly adopted new national compulsory education law

(amendment). Under this law, significance was placed on the issue of children of migrant workers studying in cities; the central government stressed not only education equity for children of migrant workers, but also improving social services and rural-urban connections.

Consequently, the major trend in the related research on children of migrant workers shifted. Whereas the focus had previously been on general causes and policy analysis on the situation of running schools for children of migrant workers, or descriptions of difficulties in rural migrant students' urban school admissions due to the restrictions of the household registration system, the new focus was on more detailed and deeper questions, like cultural and social adaptation problems encountered after migrant children have entered urban schools. On the principle of helping more rural children of migrant workers gain equal access to urban education, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou and other cities partially removed restrictions on entrance conditions to urban public schools, meaning that children of migrant workers had the possibility of studying in urban schools together with urban native children. Based on this policy context, increasing research shifted focus towards children of migrant workers' urban school life rather than the threshold of how to enter urban schools (Wang, 2008a, Chen, 2006).

Moreover, research perspectives became more diversified. From a macro historical research perspective, Fan found that public concerns about children of migrant workers' education were shifting from difficulties in access to urban schools to the quality and equity in the education process, and the public has started to argue why and how mixed-class school education is the solution for reducing social segregation(Fan, 2007). Meanwhile, from a micro case study perspective, researchers tried to expose the family and social background of each so-called rural migrant "problem child" (Jin, 2007), and analysed the causes of the failure of education for children of migrant workers by comparative analysis of education experiences and lessons (Duan, 2008).

With regards to research techniques, most research has tended to use qualitative interviews, which provide a more in-depth understanding of migrants' educational issues, rather than generalizable impressions from quantitative studies. By reviewing the literature on the children of migrant workers from 2000 to 2010,

Zhou and Rong found that over 75% of these articles used descriptive statistical analysis and 7.1% used regression or more advanced statistics tools (Zhou and Rong, 2011). For example, Zhou and Wu discussed the education equity for children of migrant workers by using Hierarchical Linear Models to explore how and why native urban kids, rural kids in public schools and rural kids in private schools have different GPAs and levels of academic achievement (Zhou and Wu, 2008).

In conclusion, after two decades of academic accumulation, academics have produced an expanded, wider range of perspectives and deeper insights on children of migrant workers' education issues, and contributed to the government's policy making and further evaluation on policy implementation. From the time that they started paying attention to children of migrant workers' educational issues, academic researchers have tried to figure out how many children of migrant workers are accepted in urban schools, what factors influence their equal access to urban schools, how they adapt to urban life and urban schools, and what problems they encounter.

From this brief history of the research on children of migrant workers' education issues, it is clear that the research focuses on two aspects: education equity in school admissions and social adaptation after children of migrant workers have entered the urban schools.

4.3 Children of Migrant Workers' Education Equity in Urban School Admission

Though the national and local governments issue educational policies allowing children of migrant workers to enter urban schools, children of migrant workers' admission opportunities are still not equal to local urban students'. Research shows that children of migrant workers are less prepared for school than local urban students, or that they fail to enrol. Researchers have also tried to figure out what factors influence children of migrant workers' admission to urban schools. Some factors that have been identified as having an effect on school admission inequality are institution factors (like the classified education management system), family background (like cultural capital in education reproduction), and cultural exclusion, which can be rooted in a bias against rural culture.

4.3.1 Descriptive Analysis of Children of Migrant Workers' School Admission Inequality

Many findings suggest that, although the government introduced a series of policies to protect children of migrant workers' right to receive compulsory education, children of rural migrant workers still suffer discrimination in the school admission process. For example, Xie argued that children of migrant workers do not have access to equal education opportunities in cities compared to urban native kids, which can be reflected by their higher dropout rate, their lower rate of going to public schools, and the lower education quality provided by their schools, especially private schools, compared to the education quality urban children receive (Xie, 2012).

Based on large-scale surveys of students in public schools, licensed private schools, and unlicensed private schools in nine cities, like Beijing, Changzhou, Sanhe, Chen and Yang found that access to public schools was easier for children of migrant workers in small and medium cities than for those in large cities, but children of migrant workers in all cities had to face discrimination on several levels, such as extra tuition fees and difficulty travelling to and from school (Chen and Yang, 2010). Liang and Chen's research on the school enrolment of migrant children in the province of Guangdong supported this point and concluded that children of migrant workers are much less likely to be enrolled in school than permanent migrant children and local children (Liang and Chen, 2007). Yang and Duan used quantitative models to compare the education opportunities for children of migrant workers in cities, left-behind children in rural areas, and local urban children. They concluded that children of migrant workers in cities have the poorest education opportunities (Yang and Duan, 2008).

Specifically, on an individual level, rural children of migrant workers have been proved to be less advantaged than native kids in their preparation for school entrance. For example, He used the readiness assessment tools SRTB-CV (School Readiness Test Battery-Comprehensive Version) to compare the school entrance preparation of 75 children of migrant workers and local urban children in the city of Ningbo. The T-test results showed that children of migrant workers performed better than urban native kids in fine motor and gross motor skills, but were left

behind in learning style, cognitive development, language development, and emotional and social development (He, 2013). By applying the same evaluation tool in three kindergartens in the province of Henan, Wei proved that the average school preparation of preschool-age children of migrant workers is on the same level as that of children in the rural areas, but lags far behind urban students' (Wei, 2010). Chen and Feng used survey data and standardized test scores from field work in Shanghai and found that rural migrant students who are unable to enrol in public schools perform significantly worse than their more fortunate counterparts in both Chinese and Mathematics. They suggested that access to public schools is the key factor in determining the quality of education that migrant children receive (Chen and Feng, 2013).

4.3.2 Correlation Analysis of Children of Migrant Workers' School Admission Inequality

Considering that so many related policies have been formulated to protect children of migrant workers' equal right to compulsory education, why does education inequity still exist between rural migrant students and urban native students? To answer this question, plenty of correlation analysis has been published attributing children of migrant workers' schooling admission problems to various factors such as policy influence, disadvantages in family capital, financial pressures, and rural-urban cultural exclusion.

1. Institutional Factors

Unequal access to urban public schools mainly derives from the influence of the household registration system. School-age children who leave their household registered place but fail to get urban residency in the city in which they are living find it hard to get equal access to education. These children of migrant workers are excluded from both the urban and rural education systems. Due to their migration status and lack of institutional support, these children of migrant workers can only rely on their own efforts to fulfil their educational needs, without protection from the national system. As the majority of education resources are controlled and allocated by the local government, children of migrant workers are rarely accepted in urban public schools, while entering

quality urban private schools requires that high tuition fees be paid. Based on policy research and field work in Beijing, Li and Lin clarified that institutional factors, such as the household registration system, graded school system, classified education management system, student enrolments status management and education assessment, have significant effects on education for children of migrant workers (Li and Lin, 2005). Through survey and interview research on children of migrant workers and teachers from five urban schools in the city of Wuhan, Liu also analysed how unfair policies and invalid operations influence or impede education equity development (Liu, 2008). Based on children of migrant workers' school preferences and perspectives on educational need, Lei evaluated the responsibility of local urban governments and their measures on solving migrant children's schooling issues based on multiple education demands in different areas, and suggested that local urban governments provide different education opportunities according to children of migrant workers' different education needs; for example, some children of migrant workers prefer to enter schools where they can learn a professional skill to make a living, while others would rather attend a school which can provide a better environment to help them pass the High School Entrance Examination (Lei, 2005).

2. Family Capital

Family capital is a concept that derives from Bourdieu's cultural capital theory. According to Bourdieu's theory, children from different social classes are likely to have different academic achievements, which results in the more privileged classes getting more benefits from the academic market, which corresponds to the distribution of cultural capital among various social groups (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Based on this analysis paradigm, Zhou attributed children of migrant workers' relatively poor academic achievements to their unfair education treatment, which is related to their disadvantage in three types of family cultural capital: specified, objective and institutionalized family cultural capital. Based on his quantitative comparison research in the city of Zhengzhou, rural migrant families fall behind urban families in all three categories of family cultural capital (Zhou, 2008b). According to Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, family, which he defines as the basic unit in social structure, is the most hidden element in social reproduction, and Liu suggested that parents' knowledge, skills and

cultural cultivation has a subtle but important influence on children's further economic, social and cultural capital (Liu, 2010).

Based on field research and interviews in two primary schools in Shanghai, Tian also argued that the significant difference in children of migrant workers' opportunities to attend urban schools is based on their families' accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital. The more capital a family possesses, the greater the possibility that their children could have access to high quality education. Therefore, children of migrant workers, who have much less family capital in cities, fall behind at the starting line, which explains the origin of the education inequity that migrant children have to suffer (Tian, 2008).

3. Economic Burden

Feng maintains that economic exclusion, according to unfair policy treatment, includes labour market exclusion, income poverty and exclusion from the consumer market, which lead to rural migrant workers not being able to afford the cost of education for their children. Underpaid migrant workers, after deducting the cost of living in cities, have almost no savings, and consequently instead of choosing public schools, they can only send their children to private schools that are only for migrant children and charge relatively cheap tuition fees (Feng, 2011). Goodburn focused on the children of migrant workers' tuition fees in Beijing and found that the total fees varied widely from school to school in 2008, ranging from 1,200 yuan (≈£137) to more than 8,000 yuan (≈£911) per term in primary school. Most rural migrants are engaged in low-paid jobs, and the migrants Goodburn interviewed earned between 700 yuan (≈£80) and 1,200 yuan (≈£137) per month according to survey research, so Goodburn concluded that financial barriers prevent children of migrant workers from entering public schools (Goodburn, 2009).

4. Cultural Exclusion

Wang interviewed 10 students who dropped out of a private school that accepts children of migrant workers in Beijing and explored their reasons for giving up their studies. Wang found that their reasons were not, as they initially said, due

to a lack of money, but that the culture of poverty is deeply rooted in the migration group's value system (Wang, 2008b). It is widely spread in migration group that "there is no use in studying to earn more money", or "I would rather start working in my early years than pay tuition fees whose cost could not gain corresponding benefits" (Lewis, 1966). Though the culture of poverty has been criticized for its exaggeration of the cultural differences between the poor and other groups (Leacock, 1971), it is undeniable that rural family culture has an effect on children of migrant workers' educational issues.

Besides the culture of poverty explanation, cultural exclusion, the belief that the dominant culture excludes immigrants' or outsiders' culture, has also been researched (Bauder, 2002, Davis and Watson, 2001). In detailed educational research, Feng argued that children of migrant workers' difficulty can be explained from a cultural exclusion perspective, which comes from three urban communities: native residents like neighbours, urban students and teachers. The cultural cognitive bias excludes children of migrant workers from outside from urban community, which has a profound influence on their willingness to study in cities or apply for opportunities that they supposed to have so that they can be equally educated in urban schools (Feng, 2007).

As mentioned above, studies have used different perspectives, including institutional influence, family capital, economic burden and cultural exclusion, to analyse why rural children of migrant workers stand in an unequal position when it comes to enrolment opportunities in urban schools and where the gap between policy goals and actual implementation is. Overall, though, as further implementation is refined, opportunities for children of migrant workers entering urban public schools will gradually improve due to the consistent lowering of the household registration threshold and increasing rural-urban communications. Therefore, research focusing on equal opportunities in school admissions has gradually shifted its focus to the social and cultural adaptation of students already entering urban schools. Early in 2007, according to a questionnaire survey of children of migrant workers' parents in the city of Wuhan, Lei and Yang found that education for children of migrant workers is undergoing a structural transformation. Their parents more concerned about their children's schooling experience, school education quality and cultural environment, and future

possibilities after graduating from secondary schools, rather than the opportunity of getting into schools (Lei and Yang, 2007).

4.4 Rural Migrant Students' Urban School Adaptation

With the lower threshold of urban public schools, an increasing number of rural children of migrant workers are allowed to study in urban public school together with urban native kids. However, urban public schools did not have enough educational resources to support all children of migrant workers immediately when the policy allowing children of migrant workers to enter urban public schools was issued in 2006. As a result, limitations on children of migrant workers still existed to postpone the wave of children of migrant workers entering urban public schools.

Moreover, as mentioned in Section 2.3, the rural-urban segregation derived from the household registration system has consequences beyond access to political and economic rights and resources, and has deepened to shape cultural perceptions. This deepening may have a profound influence on rural children of migrant workers who are moving to study in urban high schools. Even though nowadays rural children of migrant workers can study in urban public high schools alongside locally resident and registered city students, does it mean that their education issues have been solved?

Liu and Jacob believed that although more children of migrant workers enrol in urban public schools, children of migrant workers still face other challenges, including discrimination, stigma, and psychological difficulties associated with living far from their home (Liu and Jacob, 2013). From being left behind in rural areas to being stuck in urban private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers, then to studying in urban public schools alongside urban native students, children of migrant workers are facing more realities of contact with city culture, which is likely to force them to experience cultural conflict considering the rural cultural background they experienced before entering school is hugely different from the culture in the new city environment. How would they react after they enter urban public schools and face the realities of contact with city culture? Would they adapt to the new environment? Would they, like their parents who

still suffer from cultural discrimination or misunderstanding even after household registration institutional restrictions have been relaxed, have difficulties in social interactions based on their different rural cultural background? These questions attract plenty of research attention.

4.4.1 Adaptation Performances in Urban Schools

Researchers have mainly analysed children of migrant workers' adaptation behaviours in urban schools from three perspectives: mental health, academic performance in schools, and social adaptation.

1. Mental Health

Academics have opposing views on children of migrant workers' mental health situations. On one hand, through the results of the Mental Status Exam completed by over 300 children of migrant workers in Beijing public primary schools, Bao and Liu concluded that most migrant children are in good mental health compared with the average level, and their self-confidence far exceeds their sense of inferiority, which makes them keep happy most of the time (Bao and Liu, 2015). By using the Piers-Harris children's self-concept scale that provides an overall view of an individual's self-perception and helps identify children who may require further testing (Piers, 2002), Zeng found that children of migrant workers in six of Zhengzhou's urban public schools did not show negative results, while their native counterparts did present negative results, and children of migrant workers and their native counterparts did not show any significant difference in anxiety or stress in social interactions (Zeng, 2009).

On the other hand, Li and Zou used questionnaire surveys and interviews in a Beijing junior high school to research the situation of children of migrant workers' self-esteem development, and argued that children of migrant workers fell behind urban kids, a situation which can be attributed to their awareness of rural-urban cultural differences and their sensitivity to urban people's deprecation of rural culture (Li et al., 2008a). Wen, Li and Shi, by using the mental health scale to test rural students and urban students in the same urban school, found that children of migrant workers' sense of security and social belonging is much lower than

native children's. Additionally, during the interviews, children of migrant workers expressed a belief that the physical environment and lifestyle in cities are completely different than in their hometowns, and that people in urban communities are not as close to each other as their old neighbours in their villages, which leads to their failure to build up new social connections and makes them feel less safe in their new environment (Wen et al., 2009).

2. Academic Performance in Schools

There are still contradictory views on this topic. Zhou and his research team checked near 500 students' academic records in two of Beijing's public schools and found that although children of migrant workers' score is generally lower than urban native children, when specifically checking rural migrant students who study in public schools together with other urban children, their overall score is not lower than native kids' (Zhou et al., 2013).

On the contrary, based on observations made in one Shanghai public school in 2008, Tan found that children of migrant workers were generally inferior to urban native children in academic performance, which can be explained by children of migrant workers' disadvantage with regards to time allocation. Tan argued that children of migrant workers often move with their parents to another new place and have to spend lots of extra time catching up on their studies (Tan, 2010). Sun's research on children's academic performance and family support in Guangzhou's public schools also supports Tan's argument, and Sun found that children of migrant workers spent 15% of their time helping their parents with housework after school while urban native children just spent 6% of their time on that activity, which results in children of migrant workers' academic performance being generally worse than that of urban native children (Sun, 2006).

3. Social Adaptation

Basically, research on children of migrant workers' social and cultural adaptation has mostly maintained that children of migrant workers are more or less isolated in urban schools. As many of them are living in the cities' marginal or relatively poor districts where the neighbourhood is filled with other migrants, they could

hardly have close communication with real urban natives, nor could they fully enjoy public services in the city centre (Wang, 2008a). By interviewing 27 children of migrant workers in Shanghai's public schools, Chen found that children of migrant workers show maladjustment in multiple aspects, including economic life, psychological health, and culture cognition development (Chen, 2006). Meanwhile, Guo and his research group's observation study in Beijing's public schools shows that children of migrant workers' adaptation in urban public school could grow worse with age (Guo et al., 2005).

Moreover, Ren summarized three types of exclusions in consumption, social interaction and cultural habitus, which can be seen from children of migrant workers' migration process in the cities (Ren, 2006). Li and Xiong's research in Guangzhou's public schools showed that around 30% of children of migrant workers were suffering from exclusion, feeling constantly marginalized and lacked self-identity and confidence, and the psychological exclusion would gradually expand to cultural habitus; for example, children of migrant workers whose confidence in themselves was decreasing would tend to be silent during group discussions in the classroom (Li and Xiong, 2007).

4.4.2 Correlation Analysis of Children of Migrant Workers' Adaptation in Urban Schools

Most of the correlation analysis research on children of migrant workers' different reactions to school adaptation can be summed up in three categories: disparity in school type, family education, and different adaptation phases.

1. Different School Types: Public or Private Schools

When discussing schools' influence on children of migrant workers' urban adaptation, researchers usually divide the "school" factor into two categories: public schools or private schools that are only for children of migrant workers. Which type is more suitable for migrant children has been debated for years in the academic field.

Some researchers maintain that public schools are better for children of migrant workers' adaptation to urban life as the teaching facilities, teacher quality, and

urban cultural environment are significantly superior to private schools', and rural children of migrant workers can communicate with urban kids face-to-face; these increased opportunities for interactions with the urban community promote rural-urban understanding and improve children of migrant workers' urban adaptation. Fang, Sun and Yuen's research from a sample of 301 Chinese rural migrant students (11-15 years old) together with in-depth interviews pointed out the positive role of integrative student composition in promoting migrant children's school satisfaction and academic achievement in public schools (Fang et al., 2016). Xie's quantitative research on children's self-esteem development in Beijing' public schools shows that children of migrant workers in public schools have higher levels of self-esteem development and lower scores in their perception of social discrimination and feelings of anxiety, depression and loneliness in social interactions compared with students in private schools for migrant children (Xie et al., 2007). This argument also finds support in studies conducted in other cities. For example, based on field work in Shanghai, Shen found that children of migrant workers in public schools were more successful academically and socially (Shen 2008). Other researchers used group sampling methods to compare children of migrant workers in public and private schools in Guangzhou, Hangzhou and other cities, and concluded that with more frequent communication with urban communities, rural children of migrant workers in public schools did much better in social/cultural and psychological adaptation than their private school counterparts, leading to higher levels of self-confidence and a lower sense of loneliness and marginality (Wang and Cai, 2008, Yuan et al., 2009).

However, some other academics hold the opposite opinion. For example, research in Nanchang city showed that children of migrant workers in public school achieved a significantly higher score in loneliness, maladaptation, dysthymia and relative deprivation than children in private schools (Qiu et al., 2008). Since urban students and teachers in public schools may discriminate against rural groups or deprecate rural culture to some extent, children of migrant workers are more likely to be laughed at or even bullied by urban groups, which gives rise to their sense of insecurity or deprivation (Li et al., 2008b). In private schools, all the students are migrants in the city, meaning that they have a relatively equal social identity. From the perspective of development psychology, this homogeneous environment is a positive stimulus to improve migrant children's mental health (Li,

2006). Zhou's questionnaire research in Beijing also showed that rural children of migrant workers in private schools actually have a lower sense of loneliness and depression than rural migrant students in urban public schools (Zhou, 2006). Not only do researchers have completely opposite views on public and private schools' effects on migrant children's urban adaptation, but contrary to the policy that private schools should be eliminated, Zhang, Wang and Huang even insisted that children of migrant workers would have better social and cultural development in private schools exclusively for migrants, and these private schools should be standardized and improved in order to take in the majority of children of migrant workers (Zhang et al., 2005).

In conclusion, there is no consensus on which school type (public or private), or which education model (inclusion or exclusion) would better benefit children of migrant workers' adaptation to urban environment, and I will try to answer this question in Chapter 7.

2. Different Phases in the Adaptation Process

Children of migrant workers' adaptation performances have distinctive characteristics at each migration stage. As their communication opportunities with urban communities increase with more and more time spent in cities, they become more likely to better adapt to their migration life. Jiang and his research team's research on children of migrant workers studying in Beijing schools showed that the cultural adaptation process that each child who has migrated from rural to urban areas experiences is actually not a planed process, but a structured path with different layers, ways or levels. Eventually, children of migrant workers have diverse choices and react differently to the interactions between their initial culture and the culture in which they are currently living (Jiang et al., 2007).

This "different adaptation stages" interpretation gets support from many other studies as well. For example, through in-depth interviews with 21 children of migrant workers, Liu summarized that almost every rural migrant child experiences a four-stage adaptation, including being excited and curious about their new urban life, shock and resistance when they are afraid of the unfamiliar environment, exploration and obedience when they try to follow new rules in

urban life, and integration and final adaptation when they are comfortable with their new daily life (Liu et al., 2008). Li even found an interaction effect between school type and adaptation stage, meaning that children of migrant workers' different reactions in different school types are also affected by the grade that the rural migrant child studies in (Li et al., 2009). Xie's interview research in Beijing showed that in primary schools where most children of migrant workers have just arrived in the cities, children of migrant workers in public schools have better student-teacher relationships than in private schools, while in secondary schools when the stage of curiosity about the new city has passed, children of migrant workers in private schools behave better in social communications (Xie et al., 2007).

3. Family Influence

The length of time that rural migrant parents have stayed in cities and family income per capita are the two major family factors, but they seem to have no significant influence on children of migrant workers' social adaptation process. However, children's sense of social belonging to urban communities is enhanced if their parents buy a house in the city, a claim which is supported by Tang's interview research in the city of Chongqing. During interviews with children of migrant workers, Tang found that owning a house in cities is likely to make children of migrant workers feel that they are no longer temporary residents just passing through, but that they have truly settled down in a new place (Tang et al., 2007). Moreover, as parenting plays an important role in children's primary socialization, the quantitative analysis from the "tracking survey on children of migrant workers' schooling issues" showed that the way rural migrant parents communicate with their children has an effect not only on children's personal characters, but on their interactions with classmates and friends at school (Zhou, 2008a).

4.5 Inspiration from Current Literature

From reviewing the literature above, it can be concluded that studies on children of migrant workers' education issues have changed their focus from policy assessment on school admission equity to a deep investigation of children of

migrant workers' adaptation after entering urban schools. Based on this summary review, several questions require further discussion based on previous research, including the lack of a unified standard for assessing adaptation, contradictory conclusions on school type's influence, and the shortage of mentions of education's positive role in migrant children's adaptation.

4.5.1 Lack of a Unified Standard for Assessing Adaptation

Researchers have posited that children of migrant workers undergo two types of adaptation: one is personal adaptation, such as psychological adaptation, and the other is social and sociocultural adaptation, including social networking, acclimatization, behaviour, value systems, language and study (Liu et al., 2008). In addition, researchers usually add another kind of adaptation: social identity, including identification with the origin culture and with the host culture, which may refer to a one-way assimilation from rural culture to urban culture, or a diversity-oriented approach to keeping both rural and urban culture (Xiong, 2010, Guillemin et al., 1993, Beaton et al., 2000). However, although we are aware of the types of changes that need to occur during children of migrant workers' adaptation process, no consensus exists on what kinds or levels of adaptation can be defined as successful or good changes that benefit children of migrant workers' growth. What is the target and goal of adaptation? In many studies, children of migrant workers are compared with their urban counterparts and the success of their adaptation is determined based on the differences in their economic status, social networks and culture in comparison with those of urban communities. How should they change?

Chen has suggested that because most children of migrant workers keep living in cities afterwards, urbanization, meaning assimilation to urban culture, would be the inevitable choice and correct aim for their adaptation. It is completely natural that their social identity should finally change to that of an "urban resident" (Chen, 2010). Xiong has also supported this urbanization assumption, further suggesting that the standard for rural migrant students' urban development is to transform rural students into urban people (Xiong, 2010). In this sense, education is assumed to be the tool that assimilates rural students into urban groups.

However, Luo found that many schools have adopted two extreme strategies in educating children of migrant workers. One is trying to exclude or isolate them from urban groups, and the other is based on the "making no exceptions for anyone" purpose, assimilating or integrating migrant children for urban culture unification. However, research shows that both of these education practices fail to achieve their aims (Castro et al., 2004, Anderson, 1994, Luo, 2011). Therefore, who should be the reference group when judging children of migrant workers' success in urban adaptation? Should it be urban native kids, children of migrant workers in different types of schools, or those children of migrant workers still left in rural areas? What constitutes a successful adaptation? Besides totally accepting urban culture, is it possible to keep some of their original values? Could the cultural environment in urban areas be one of multi-cultural coexistence rather than one urban mainstream culture?

Considering the negative effects on children of migrant workers of previous assimilation education, such as the sense of loss when they have had to give up their rural culture and the difficulties of pursuing urban culture and rejecting rural culture after assimilation, assimilation education surely contradicts the government's aim of delivering inclusive education for migrant children that tries to break down the dualistic structure and improve the interaction between rural and urban culture. Therefore, to explore whether urban schools can help children of migrant workers' social adaptation, this research focuses on whether schools in the cities create an environment for multi-cultural equal coexistence and free interaction.

4.5.2 Opposing Views on School Type's Influence

To date, researchers have analysed education's effects on children of migrant workers' adaptation based only on the different types of schools, as I mentioned in Section 4.4.2. Moreover, the results of different studies have been contradictory. Even when doing a comparison between public schools and private schools within the same adaptation type, researchers can get contradictory findings.

For example, when it comes to psychological adaptation, some researchers argue

that with more communication opportunities with urban communities, children of migrant workers in Beijing public schools do much better in social/cultural and psychological adaptation than their private school counterparts, leading to lower levels of loneliness and marginality. But some researchers have conducted psychological tests in Beijing schools which show completely opposite results, indicating instead that children of migrant workers in private schools achieve a lower score in loneliness and depression.

Why have these two opposing conclusions been reached? Examining the difference between public schools and private schools only shows the difference in quantity, rather than quality, of children of migrant workers' chances to communicate with urban people. However, quantity is not equal to quality, meaning that more contact with urban groups may not necessarily mean better contact that improves social understanding and connection between rural and urban groups. Therefore, is it possible that cause analyses of school types are more likely to draw opposite conclusions due to their lack of deep investigation on the quality of rural-urban communications facilitated by different schools? I will discuss the exact difference between the influence of different types of schools in Chapter 7.

4.5.3 Few Mentions of Education's Positive Role in Children of Migrant Workers' Adaptation

Previous research on children of migrant workers' urban school life focus too little on their development opportunities, while thinking that education in urban public schools mainly gives them negative pressures. As result, researchers hardly pay attention to what rural migrant students gain from rural-urban immigration. Moreover, previous research is likely to cite "positive mentality" and "optimistic perspective" to explain those rural migrant students who believe studying in cities is a rewarding journey. Does education as a social institution also play a significant role in rural students' active reaction? When searching related research from 2007-2017, research focusing on correlation analysis of positive reactions to the rural-urban cultural conflict can hardly be found in CSSCI. Few studies mention children of migrant workers' successful adaptations, and those that do only attributed their success to to their personal positive attitudes (Jiang et al., 2007, Hu and Guo, 2013). Is it true that most children of migrant workers suffer from

difficulties in urban adaptation? If so, why do more and more migrant children rush into cities for new opportunities? Besides individual psychological states, could education as an institutional factor also have a positive effect on migrant children's new lives in the cities?

4.6 Derivation of the Research Questions

In 2016, 13.95 million children of migrant workers (7-15 years old) studied in urban public schools (Ministry of Education of China, 2017). These teenagers, who grew up in rural communities and have now migrated to study in urban public schools alongside urban native students, are getting in touch with two different culture systems, as I discussed in Chapter 2. Rogoff's research has proved that children's cultural differences are exacerbated due to their living in separate communities (Rogoff, 2003), and this opinion also is supported by the comparison in the United States between Asian Americans, who tend to be the offspring of high-human-capital migrants, and Hispanics, many of whose parents are manual workers (Portes and Rivas, 2011). It can be inferred that many children of migrant workers, growing up in rural communities different from urban residents, will have dissimilar cultural perspectives and cognitions. Being educated in urban public schools means they are directly interacting with new urban culture while old rural culture is still with them.

Studying in a different school environment, rural students have to choose whether and how to change their lifestyles, study modes, consumption habits and so on in order to adapt to the new urban social community. Some children of migrant workers can handle the change well, while others fail to adapt to their urban lives. Their different reactions raise my research interests to explore the role (help or hindrance) that education may play in students' social adaptation progress. Especially as more and more children of migrant workers are now able to study in public schools together with urban native students, does this "education for all" environment provide more positive opportunities for their further development? Does Chinese Inclusive Education policy actually create an inclusive field for rural students' open communication with urban communities? Would this policy improve the interactions between rural and urban areas?

Based on a critical review of previous literature and basic knowledge of the current social reality, two major questions are asked in this research:

a) The question on rural students' social adaptation process: Do children of migrant workers perceive any differences between the 'rural' culture of their parents/family background and the 'urban' culture they now engage with at school? If differences are perceived, how and in what ways do children experience such differences in daily educational life and interactions with others? When aspects of conflict arise, what strategies (if any) do the children utilize to negotiate such conflict?

b) The question on school influence on students' adaptation process: To what degree and in what ways can current education policy and practice in China be seen as supporting social interactions between rural and urban people?

The next chapter will focus on how to undertake the research in order to answer these questions. The methodology of the study will be discussed in depth in the next chapter, including locating the study within a suitable research paradigm, and specifically, the procedures of designing, sampling, implementing the instruments and analysing and interpreting the data.

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

Based on the critical review of the existing literature and basic knowledge of current social realities, the research will investigate the difficulties or opportunities encountered by children of migrant workers after they have entered urban public schools and encountered the city culture, and how they deal with these difficulties or opportunities to adapt to their urban lives. More importantly, the research will also ask what kind of role education plays in the lives of such children, considering whether the "education for all" policies actually help rural students' social adaptation process while they are studying in urban schools.

After confirming the research focus, this chapter covers explanations of methodological issues employed in this study. It first discusses two major paradigms in educational studies: positivism and anti-positivism (or interpretivism) (Section 5.2), and consequently grounds the paradigm of this study with reference to Bourdieu's research paradigm, which surpasses traditional paradigms' debates over the primacy of structure or agency in shaping human behaviour (Section 5.3). Next, the mixed methods being used to collect the data, including questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions, are presented with a theoretical overview of each method and their implementation procedures in the research (Section 5.4). This is followed by a description of the sampling procedure which explains why Guangzhou is chosen for the research and how the participants are selected (Section 5.5). Following the sampling process, the chapter ends with discussions on ethical considerations (Section 5.6).

5.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm, in the most basic sense of the term, is a framework containing all of the commonly accepted views about a subject, a structure determining the direction research should take and how it should be performed (Kuhn, 2012). Specifically speaking, a paradigm is a way of describing a world view

that is informed by philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality, ways of knowing, and ethics and value systems, and thus leads us to ask certain questions and use appropriate approaches in a systematic inquiry (Patton, 2005). Based on this definition, a paradigm should include ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology, and it dictates the basis of conducting research in the real world on an ontological and epistemological level.

A clear paradigm is essential for research, for the 'paradigm' refers to the worldviews or belief systems that inform and guide investigations of educational phenomena (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The purpose of building up a paradigm is to set clear boundaries and rules for "what is studied and researched", "the type of questions that are asked", "the exact structure and nature of the questions", and "how the results of any research are interpreted" (Kuhn, 2012). Currently, educational research generally applies two types of paradigm: a positivist paradigm and interpretivist paradigm.

According to the positivist perspective, a single reality or truth in the world and human behaviour is both observable and measurable. Therefore, the role of research is to discover the existing universal law that governs human behaviour, and it focuses on reliable and valid tools to obtain that single reality. The positivists ontologically insist that education is an objective reality which is independent from subjectivities. Accordingly, on an epistemological level, research should intuitively reflect the one single reality and find ways to obtain reliable knowledge. Hitchcock and Hughes summarized the main assumptions of positivism as being "the concern to measure and quantify social behaviour in order to explain the regularities of such phenomena and the relationships that may be observed between them by matching the sophistication and rigor of the physical science in order to develop general, universal law like statements is what the scientific method is all about" (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995).

Since human behaviours are observable and measurable, scientific research methods can discover regularities and patterns in humans' predictable behaviours in educational phenomena. According to these methods, a single reality can be broken down into variables. By identifying and isolating different variables, cause and effect relationships can be established, and then generalized to other

situations. Thus, positivist research emphasizes measurement, comparison, and objectivity (Cohen et al., 2013). The positivist paradigm usually applies quantitative methods such as sampling, scaling, questionnaires and statistical analysis.

Although the positivist paradigm dominates social science research, it is criticized for its deficiencies in denying philosophical speculation or ignoring subject influences from researchers' critical thinking and value systems. The interpretivist paradigm argues that "the subject matter of the natural sciences and that of the social sciences obviously varies fundamentally" (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). Ontologically thinking, objects and events in the social world are the result of complex layers of meanings, interpretations, values and attitudes. Therefore, studying and understanding the context is more important than identifying causes, effects, outcomes and correlations (Cohen et al., 2013). In the context of educational research, the interpretivist paradigm focuses on the diversity of contexts from the viewpoints those involved, meaning that "schools, classrooms and their participants have histories and careers, teachers and pupils have their own educational and life histories, departmental members engage in interpersonal relations, conflicts and alliances emerge, responses to innovation and institutionalization ensure that schools and classrooms have cultural and ethos" (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). Accordingly, the interactions of different groups in education institutions should be understood as being "social constructed" rather than the result of external mediators, as assumed by positivists (Carr and Kemmis, 2003). Epistemologically speaking, as people perceive social reality in different ways, consequently their actions and decisions are influenced by their interpretations of their reality (Radnor, 2001).

The interpretivist paradigm researcher's task is "to make sense of their world, to understand it, to see what meaning is imbued in that situation by the people who are part of it", meaning that the research aim is to discover the formulation and implementation of interpretations and understandings regarding a particular social phenomenon (Radnor, 2001). The requirement of an interpretivist paradigm inquiry gives the researcher an active role in the research process as he/she needs to interact with his/her subjects in their own settings in order to make sense of their views of the world and reconstruct meanings based on the researcher's own

interpretation system. Thus, researchers using the interpretivist paradigm usually apply qualitative methods such as interviews, observation, case studies and narrative.

However, the interpretivist paradigm lacks reliability and validity in its conclusions or theory applications, since personal subjective experiences and feelings may be overemphasized when the researcher is regarded as both the main data-collector and the active meaning-constructor (Picciano, 2004). Also, the interpretivist paradigm is limited in that it is only suitable for small sample research, unlike the positivist paradigm.

Besides these limitations on research based on the positivist and interpretivist paradigms, these two paradigm both emphasize the separation between the individual and society, the division between personal action and social structure, and the opposition between structure and agency (Silver, 1994, Benson, 1999, Cronjé, 2006). On the one hand, social structure does not totally determine personal action, while on the other hand, the individual mind cannot escape from social thoughts' effects. The positivist and interpretivist paradigms both have the problem of binary opposition between the individual and society, and this ultimately leads to a long-standing debate over whether it is structure or agency, the capacity of individuals to act independently, that plays the primacy role in shaping human behaviour (Archer, 2003). Accordingly, social realities can either be studied as nature sciences within the positivist paradigm, since social structure comprises recurrent patterned arrangements and runs independently, or from the interpretivist paradigm's perspective, in which humans have agency to make their own free choices, meaning that social reality is not the only truth but diversified from various subjective meanings (Barker, 2005).

To overcome these two paradigms' deficiencies and the binary opposition between structure or agency, the post-positivist paradigm (Wildemuth, 1993, Henderson, 2011), constructivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1991, Carr et al., 1994), pragmatist paradigm (Crotty, 1998, Morgan, 2007), critical paradigm (Sproule, 1987, Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006) and other paradigms have evolved. Among these new paradigms, Bourdieu's paradigm is most suitable for my research.

5.3 Developing a "Field-Habitus" Research Framework

Based on our life experience, we can hardly stand on only one side in the structure versus agency debate to understand the real world. For example, from my previous contact experiences with children of migrant workers in urban schools, I noticed that how rural students choose to react positively or negatively with urban natives in schools mostly derives from their understandings of other urban classmates and teachers whom they have contact with in their current study environment. Meanwhile, this study environment (social structure) is also not running independently, since urban groups admit that their opinions of and behaviours toward rural students are not well-established but keep changing based on their daily interactions with these rural students. Ultimately, structure and agency should be seen as complementary forces, namely that social structure influence human behaviour, while humans are capable of changing the social environment they inhabit.

Many modern social theorists (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu, 1990b, Giddens, 1984) have made attempts to transcend the binary oppositions between structure and agency, between objectivity and subjectivity rather than standing on one side of the debate. Among these theorists' offerings, Pierre Bourdieu's paradigm is chosen as reference to develop the paradigm of this research. Based on Bourdieu's theory, a "Field-Habitus" research framework is developed for investigating rural students' social adaptation performances in the city.

5.3.1 Bourdieu's Paradigm

In Bourdieu's opinion, the positivist paradigm rejects the possibility of individual subjective action having an effect on structure, while the interpretivist paradigm regards the subject as a puppet limited by social structure, and the danger of this standpoint is ignoring the origin of social structure (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). To overcome the binary opposition of objectivism and subjectivism, Bourdieu introduced habitus, field and practice these conceptions to reconcile opposition.

Bourdieu defined the "field" as "a setting in which agents and their social positions are located". The position of each agent in the field is a result of

interaction between the specific rules of the field, the agent's habitus and the agent's capital (social, economic and cultural). More specifically, a field is a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of certain species of capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu suggested that the habitus consists of both the Hexis (the tendency to hold and use one's body in a certain way, such as posture and accent) and more abstract mental habits, schemes of perception, classification, appreciation, feeling, and action. Habitus allows individuals to find new solutions to new situations without calculated deliberation, based on their gut feelings and intuitions, which Bourdieu believed were collective and socially shaped (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu, 2000). Thus, in terms of practice, Bourdieu represented the formula: [(Habitus)*(Capital)]+Field=Practice. Agents are restricted by objective structure in field and try to find their positions in the network, and agents also construct social structure in the habitus mechanism by their capital. In this situation, the continuous process of constructed social structure being internalized as agent's habitus is the agent's practice in field (Bourdieu, 1977).

From Bourdieu's view, field is a network or configuration that results from each agent's interaction or competition on social status, social capital or habitus, therefore field is not a stable and steady structure and it is affected by individual action. Moreover, habitus is a reproduction system that remoulds one to engage with the interaction and competition in field, and it can change with environmental fluctuation. Social structure can therefore indirectly control individual action through habitus, and habitus can limit or contribute to the formation of social structure to some extent (Bourdieu, 1990b). For subjectivism, Bourdieu's paradigm emphasizes the practice's continuity and stability, while for objectivism, it underlines the practice's conditional freedom. Finally, Bourdieu breaks the segregation between structure and agency by though his concepts of field and habitus.

In terms of ontology and epistemology, Bourdieu's paradigm is different from the positivist and interpretivist paradigms. Bourdieu believed that the concept is described by practical application and interactive and practical studies, rather than the static definition. Scientific reality, like scientific objects, is not ready-made or given social reality, while it should be controlled, constructed and verified (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). This means that there is no absolute

objective reality, even in the scientific field, not to mention in the social sciences. Since personal experience is allowed by conceptual construction, which comes from the practical relationship between concept and daily perception, Bourdieu's paradigm started from viewing social reality as social relations and constructing various conceptions when exploring social relations that are beyond classical sociological thought, thus digesting the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism. Moreover, Bourdieu's paradigm changes research focus from structured reality or individual meanings to the production and reproduction of relationships, which surpasses the binary opposition between the positivist and interpretivist paradigms.

Specially speaking, in the books *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* and *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, Bourdieu argues that substantive and objective subjects, such as educators and administrators, connect with each other rather than existing in isolation in the educational field, and each participant's action would have an effect on the others and on the social network. To acquire more power, each subject competes in the educational field by their cultural capital. Besides cultural capital completion, the educational field also helps cultural reproduction and social reproduction, and embeds the power relationship in daily educational experience for the formation of habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Bourdieu, 1998).

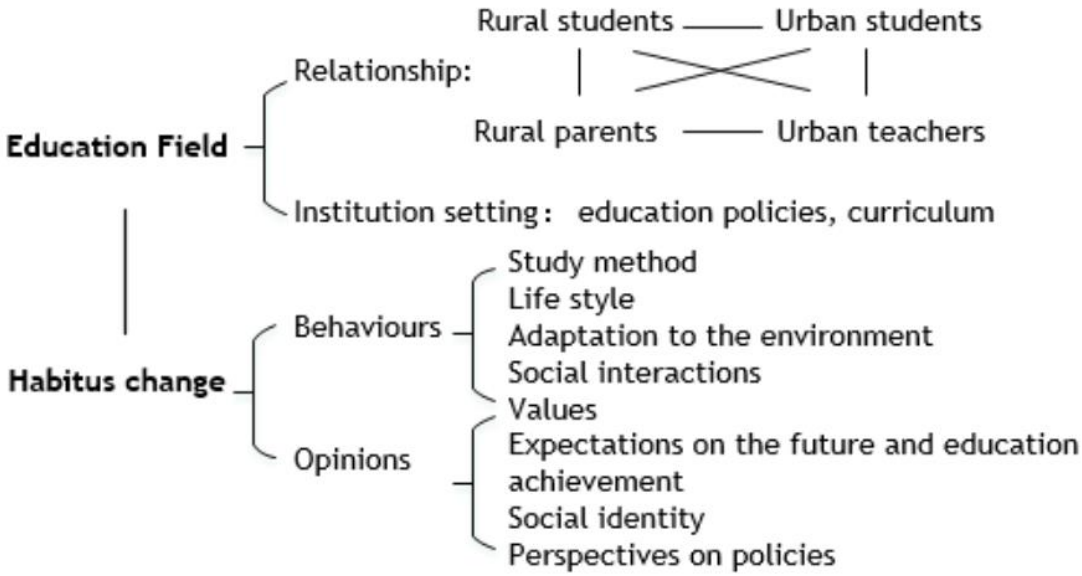
Since Bourdieu's paradigm proves the possibility to overcome the gap between the positivist and interpretivist paradigms, this research is underpinned by the assumption that not only could rural migrant students act differently in schools based on their subjective experiences and understandings, but other urban students and teachers may also be modified and influenced by interactions with the rural group.

5.3.2 "Field-Habitus" Analysis Framework Used in This Research

My research aim is to find out how well rural students adapt to their urban lives and how urban public schools influence rural students' social adaptation in the city. Referring to Bourdieu's research, a "Field-Habitus" analysis framework was built to understand education's role in rural students' social adaptation.

‘Education field’ in this study refers to participants’ behaviour and social network based on an individual’s action and institutional setting in urban public schools. To clarify the education field’s influence on rural students’ urban adaptation process, not only rural students’ opinions but other participants’ feedback in this field and the institutional settings should be investigated as well. ‘Habitus’ in this research includes rural students’ behaviours to adapt to the field and their thoughts on their social adaptation process in the field. Specifically speaking, rural students’ behaviours, including lifestyle, study methods, adaptation behaviours and social interactions, and their opinions, including values, expectations, and social identity, would be investigated in this research. Conclusively, to understand how public schools help or impede rural students’ social adaptation in the city, namely to understand how the education field influences actors’ habitus change, a “Field-Habitus” research framework is developed as follows:

Figure 5- 1 “Field-Habitus” research framework



In order to analyse rural migrant students’ habitus change in the urban education field, mixed research methods could be applied in my research.

5.4 Design of Mixed Research Methods

Based on the research paradigm, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, including structured-questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews and

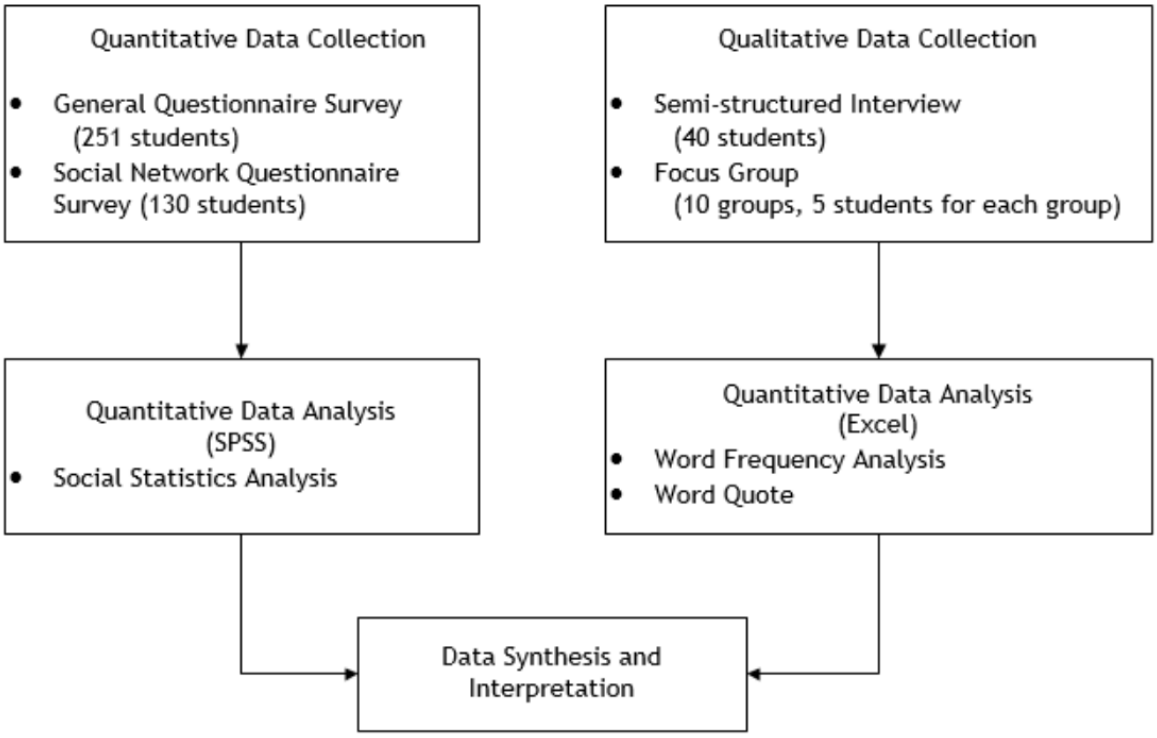
focus groups, would be involved in this study. Research shows an increasing tendency of mixed utilisation of different research approaches in order to make use of the most valuable features and to avoid the limitations of each method (Merton and Kendall, 1946, Cohen et al., 1994), therefore, the triangulated or mixed method design has been developed, which was defined by (Muijs et al., 2004) as a:

> "Flexible approach where the research design is determined by what we want to find out rather than by any predetermined epistemological position. In mixed methods research, qualitative or quantitative components can predominate or both can have equal status."

One advantage of using triangulated methods is to validate the research results from different sources of evidence or from more than one perspective (Picciano, 2004). According to (Muijs et al., 2004), data is often not naturally quantitative but can be collected in a quantitative way. For instance, in the studies of attitudes, beliefs and perceptions, a questionnaire can be used to ask the participants to rate several statements that essentially reflect their attitudes or perceptions towards a specific phenomenon. This process yields quantitative data, although 'we do not form our attitudes in the shape of numerical scales' (Muijs et al., 2004).

To employ mixed methods is to gain sufficient richness of data so that a comprehensive picture of rural children's habitus change mechanisms in the urban education field can be presented clearly in this research. Therefore, this research design collects and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data during the same phase of the research process, and merges the two sets of findings into an overall interpretation.

Figure 5- 2 Research Process



The following sections will explore the theoretical backgrounds and implementation of methods used in the present study.

5.4.1 Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire is usually used in survey research to study attitudes, opinions, perceptions and preferences (Borg et al., 1993, Muijs et al., 2004, Wiersma and Jurs, 2005). There are different ways of administering questionnaires: pencil and paper questionnaires, telephone interviews, face to face, postal, online and e-mail questionnaires (Muijs et al., 2004). Due to condition limitations such as money and students' difficulties in accessing the internet and telephones, a pencil and paper questionnaire form was adopted in this study.

The questionnaire was used in the research due to its advantages. In comparison to other methods, the questionnaire is characterized by its impersonality, meaning that the questions are the same for all respondents, anonymity is respected, there are no geographical limitations to its implementation, it is a relatively economical method in terms of both cost and time, and it allows time to carefully check that the content of the questions is likely to yield accurate

information (Walliman, 2005). This is an important consideration in the present study, which seeks reliable information from the respondents.

Questionnaires, however, do have some disadvantages, such as a potentially low response rate. This was tackled in the present study by the presence of the researcher during administration of the questionnaire. Administration of the questionnaire in person might result in a high response rate as the researcher can help the participants overcome any difficulties in answering the questions (Walliman, 2005).

In this research, two questionnaires are adopted to collect quantitative data. One questionnaire includes four aspects. The first part contains basic questions to collect the students' general information. The second part is to explore both rural and urban students' attitudes towards cultural division. The third part, in reference to the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS) (Ward and Kennedy, 1999), uses scales to assess rural students' perceptions of the difference between rural and urban habitus in language, study, entertainment, consumption and social interaction. The final part is to investigate rural and urban students' thoughts and values. Whether students are sensitive to the existence of migration groups, whether they have different perceptions of social reproduction and stratification, and whether they have various expectations of education and social mobility would be analysed in the research through following ways:

Sensitivity to Migration Groups: Whether students know of the existence of migrant children is tested from students' accuracy in estimating the number of rural students in their class.

Social Reproduction: From the students' perspectives, whether social class is reproductive, whether personal achievement relies on family background or transformative, and whether people can change their social status through self-effort are examined from their attitudes on the following statements in the questionnaire:

"No pain, no gain. Where there is a will, there is a way."

"It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in high social class."

"Migrant workers have equal opportunity to urban residents in the city."

Social Stratification: How students think of stratification between mental and manual workers is seen from their agreement on the statement "Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers". Moreover, whether students think the city is on a higher level in social stratification than the country is seen from their agreement with the statement, "The city is better than the country in all aspects".

Expectation for Education: Whether students have different perspectives on the significance of education is tested through their attitudes to the following statements:

"Knowledge can change destiny."

"Entering school is not only for getting a diploma."

Furthermore, both parents' and students' education expectations are analysed from their choices of the highest education degree they want to achieve.

Aspirations and Expectations for Social Mobility: Students' aspirations and expectations for social mobility are presented from their choices of what they "want to do" and "expect to do" in the future.

Social Integration: Whether students are socially integrated is tested from their attitudes on "educating rural and urban students separately" and the social distance they allow when interacting with their counterparts. Moreover, from rural students' perspectives, whether they have difficulties in social adaptation is another aspect that reflects their degree of social integration.

The other questionnaire records students' social interaction frequencies to understand students' acceptance of their counterparts in schools. In keeping with Bourdieu's paradigm assumptions on interactive relationships between individuals and groups, both rural and urban students' views need to be investigated to attain comprehensive knowledge of their own habitus and the education field. Therefore, the questionnaires are delivered to both rural and urban students. For rural students, their social-economic family background, migration experiences, values

and thoughts on various things, adaptation behaviours, and actions for social interactions would be questioned in the survey. Meanwhile, for urban students, their family background, opinions and communication choices would be asked about in the questionnaire survey.

5.4.2 Semi-structured Interview and Focus Group

As mentioned before, the education field includes not only relationships among students but students' interactions with teachers as well. Therefore, interviews and focus groups with small samples of rural/urban students and teachers are used to deepen the questionnaire responses and collect further information from other groups in the education field for a better understanding of students' answers. Unlike a structured questionnaire, an interview gives people more freedom to talk about their perceptions of rural-urban students' interactions and rural students' urban adaptations. On the other hand, instead of filling out questionnaires, interviewees, especially teachers, would prefer to offer more detailed information and be more willing to spend time sharing their knowledge and teaching experiences with rural students.

The questions in the interview could be direct or indirect, general or specific, and factual or opinion-based. As the present study aims to identify perceptions regarding Chinese urban inclusive education, opinion questions are most suitable. Because the semi-structured interview depends on probing, open-ended questions are more practical. Open-ended questions are characterized by flexibility so that they allow the interviewer to probe interviewees' responses in order to clear up any misunderstandings, to identify the interviewees' knowledge about the issue under investigation, and to properly assess the interviewees' beliefs (Cohen et al., 1994). The semi-structured interview in the present study was conducted according to a guide or schedule. This schedule was prepared to ensure that, to some extent, similar information was obtained from the interviews, yet there were no predetermined responses as the researcher in semi-structured interview had the right to probe the interviewees' responses. It was hoped that using an interview schedule would result in an effective use of interview time, as well as keeping interactions more systematic and focused.

Two interview schedules are used in the present study, one for students and one for teachers. The schedule for students is used to deepen their responses to the questionnaires and to explore how they view the difference between rural and urban communities and how they react to their counterparts. Therefore, the interview schedule is built according to the questionnaire as some questions need to be extended in order for further detailed information to be attained. The schedule for teachers is to investigate their cognition regarding Chinese inclusive education policy or policy for children of migrant workers, and their opinions on rural-urban students' differences and relationships. In general, all the schedules consist of three parts. Part one is an introduction to the interview that illustrates the goals and significance of the study and the rights of the participants. This is followed by questions on background information such as the interviewee's name and position, the date and place of the interview, and the start and end times of the interview. The third part of the interview is divided into two sub-parts: one part consists of questions about rural-urban student differences and relationships from their perspectives, and the other part consists of questions about the interviewee's comments on inclusive education policy.

Due to the limited time and chances to have access to students, focus groups are also used in this study. A group of either rural or urban students are asked about their perceptions of and attitudes towards cultural difference and the advantages and disadvantages of inclusive education policy. Questions, like those in the interview schedule, are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members, which allows the researcher to study people in a more natural conversation pattern than typically occurs in a one-to-one interview. A focus group is not only low-cost compared to surveys and useful for collecting more information by talking with several people at the same time, but it is also used as an occasion for participants to learn from one another as they exchange and build on one another's views, so that the participants can experience the research as an enriching encounter, leading to more details generated for the research from the interactions among group members (Romm, 2014).

To sum up, questionnaire surveys, interviews and focus groups would be used to collect data for the analysis. In accordance with the "Field-Habitus" research framework, the following table shows which research methods were used to

investigate rural students' habitus change in the education field.

Table 5- 1 Research Method Usage

	Research Focus	Questionnaire Survey	Interview and Focus Groups
Education Field	Policies and regulations		√
	Relationships with urban students	√	√
	Relationships with urban teachers		√
Habitus	Study method	√	√
	Lifestyle	√	√
	Adaptation to the environment	√	√
	Social interactions	√	√
	Values	√	√
	Expectations	√	√
	Social identity	√	√
	Opinions on policies		√

5.5 Identifying the Research group

Sampling is a significant step in achieving the aims of the present study. This is because a researcher "cannot investigate the entire population … in which they are interested. They must limit their investigation to a small sample" (Borg and Gall, 1989). In this context, Fraenkel and Wallen argued that the "sample is the group on which information is obtained [while population is] the larger group to which one hopes to apply the results" (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2003). "Group" is not confined to a group of individuals (such as students or teachers) but can refer to any group: for instance, classrooms, schools, facilities and materials (diaries, records, documents and photographs). This section will introduce how to set clear boundaries for the definition of the research group and how to effectively select samples within the scope.

5.5.1 Defining the Scope of "Children of Migrant Workers" ("Rural Migrant Students") in This Research

"Children of migrant workers" or "rural migrant students" in my research does not refer to every child as long as their parents are rural people migrating to work in cities. The definition of "children of migrant workers" in this study is:

Children from age 12-15 with their household registered in rural areas, but now living with their parents in cities and studying in public schools with urban local students or in urban schools that are only for children of migrant workers.

All children of migrant workers in this research must be registered in the rural household registration system; they are in the rural Huji even though they have lived and studied in cities for years. With regards to these children's personal information, there is no limitation on gender, and the age range is from 12-15 years old. For school types, these rural students can be separated into those studying in public schools together with urban students or private schools that are only for migrants, meaning an inclusive education group and an exclusive education group. Based on migration experiences, these students can be categorized as the one-and-a-half generation, who have taken at least two years of primary education since migrating to cities with their parents, and the second generation who, though rurally registered, were born in the city or came to the city before starting primary school (Xiong, 2010). This research will make two comparisons. One comparison is made between rural and urban students in public schools to understand whether rural students are well adapted to their urban lives. The other is made between public and private schools to explore whether rural students are better adapted to the city if they are studying together with urban students. Students from private schools that are only for children of migrant workers would be analysed as reference groups to further examine whether China's inclusive education policy helps rural students in their social adaptation process.

5.5.2 The Chosen Region: Guangzhou

According to the research group definition, the research sample schools will be

selected from schools in the city of Guangzhou. There are three reasons for choosing samples in Guangzhou. Firstly, located in the Pearl River Area, Guangzhou has developed based on labour intensive industry, which has created a dense population of migrant workers. 7.94 million people have lived in Guangzhou for more than a year, and 4.76 million of them are not Huji registered in Guangzhou. The proportion of migrant workers has increased from 33.29% in 2000 to 37.48% in 2010, a growth speed much faster than that of Guangzhou natives (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2013). Accordingly, many children have followed their parents to cities and study in urban schools, leading to a large sample base that can be guaranteed for this research. Secondly, as one of the five biggest cities in China, Guangzhou is usually the first and most advanced place in the process of economic reform, with official policies appearing to be more open-minded and energetic with regards to trying new policies for social and economic development. It will be of value to see the extent to which inclusive practices within education are or are not a part of the "Policy Experimental Example" or whether cultural conflict still occurs because of a lack of active policy initiatives in the school system. Finally, the proposed study arises from previous research in cities located in the province of Guangdong, such as Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Taishan and Leizhou. The previous work on "Marginality of Rural Students in Chinese Urban Schools" examined whether rural students would experience a sense of marginality when coming to urban schools. 35 children of migrant workers in Guangdong were randomly recruited for that study. Previous studies have shown that unlike Shenzhen or other new cities in the Pearl River Area in which migrant workers have become the majority of population, Guangzhou has many years of its own history, leading to a major city culture and the predominant speaking of Guangzhou Cantonese even though many migrant workers have moved there over the years (Yue et al., 2010). Therefore, rural and urban cultural differences may be more significantly seen in Guangzhou city. In conclusion, given the large migrant population base, the frontier of policy reforms, and previous research experiences, the sample will be selected from urban schools in the city of Guangzhou.

5.5.3 Selection of Samples from Three Schools

There are 11 districts in Guangzhou city, including 4 central old districts, 4

extended urban areas that developed at the end of last century, 2 satellite towns, and 2 suburban counties which were zoned in Guangzhou city in the current century. In 2014, nearly 12.1 million students were going to school during their nine-year compulsory education stage, and 4.3 million of them were children of migrant workers (Department of Education of Guangdong Province, 2015). Only a small number of rural students live in the old districts. This proportion goes to over 50% in the four extended urban districts like Baiyun and Haizhu. When it comes to the satellite towns and the suburban county, though most residents are Guangzhou registered, previous research has shown that most of them still think their district cannot be categorized as part of Guangzhou since they have only belonged to Guangzhou in recent years and they are located really far away from city centre. Their accent, lifestyle and ways of social interactions are quite different from people living in Guangzhou's old districts.

By using friend network resources, I contacted two public schools and a private school run exclusively for rural students as samples in the research. Schools A and B are public schools located in different areas. School A belongs to the city centre or the old quarter of Guangzhou, while school B is in an extended urban area where a large proportion of the population are migrants. School C is in the same enrolment area as school B, only 30 minutes away by car. Therefore, one of the differences among them is the composition of rural and urban students. Rural students vary from 100% in private schools to nearly 70% in extended urban area public schools and to around 15% in the central district and suburban county (Department of Education of Guangdong Province, 2015). The other difference is their locations. Whether the location and the composition of student groups would influence rural students' social adaptation needs further discussions.

According to teachers' responses in this research, the education quality of each public sample school is on average with its district and the private sample school can also represent the private schools which are lower in quality and can only attract rural students. However, determining whether the schools can recruit students with similar family background needs further testimony. Moreover, it is necessary to review the differences between public schools and private schools. According to "The Guidance on Guangzhou Compulsory Education Enrolment" (Guangzhou City Government, 2015), the admission criteria and methods for

public and private schools have significant differences, as follows:

Admission Method

For public schools, governments allocate students who are locally registered in local primary schools to different district schools based on their home address. In other words, to be eligible to enrol in Guangzhou public secondary schools, you need a study record in Guangzhou primary schools and a certification of living in the city areas. All public schools in Guangzhou city must follow “no entrance exam” and “nearby enrolment” principles, meaning that public schools can only take in students living in the neighbourhood and enrol students into schools without taking any examinations. For the admission process, if there is only one public school in the district, all children living nearby and graduating from nearby primary schools would be taken into this school. If there are several secondary schools in the same district, students living in this area would be randomly distributed by computer to get into different schools. Therefore, there is almost no need for public schools to recruit students as according to compulsory education policy, they will be allocated by computer or directly transferred from local primary schools.

Private schools, however, need to recruit students themselves. No entrance exam is permitted. However, private schools can use any other method to recruit students and there is no limitation on students’ living districts. Any children are eligible to apply for admission, whether they have registered in local primary schools or recently migrated into city, and whether they live nearby or not.

Education Fees

In public schools, students who have Guangzhou city household registration status do not need to pay any fees at the compulsory education stage, while those who are not registered in Guangzhou’s household registration system need to pay a three-year tuition fee at one time, according to related educational policy in Guangzhou.

In private schools, all students need to pay tuition fees irrespective of their Guangzhou household registration status. How much students should be charged is strictly regulated by government. However, how to make the payment, by year

or by semester, is flexibly planned by each school.

Education Quality

The teaching quality in public schools is rigorously evaluated and monitored by the government. For rationally allocating and balancing education resources, most public secondary schools are provided a similar level of education quality, though some secondary schools have an advantage over other schools (Yang, 2000, Zhao, 2009). Private schools, however, are increasingly polarized in education development. On the one side, some private schools, like Guang Ya and Zeng Guang Middle School, may offer the best education quality in Guangzhou. As the education quality in these schools is well above the average of public schools, even native students are willing to pay high education fees. Therefore, these schools are highly competitive and most of its students are from the upper-middle class of the native community. On the other side, some private schools' education quality is far below the average due to their limited schooling conditions and government support. Apparently urban students would never pay extra fees to get into these schools when they can be educated for free in better public ones. However, compared to public schools, these private schools have relatively lower standards in school admission and are much cheaper in their fees. Therefore, these schools can attract a large proportion of children of migrant workers, especially those recently migrating into cites or striving in poverty (Tao et al., 2010, Xue and Wang, 2010).

To sum up, from what has been discussed above, public and private schools are different from each other in various aspects. Whether these differences influence their students' choices still needs further investigation.

Within each school, three classes, all in the second year of junior high school, were randomly selected for the questionnaire survey and around 15 students were randomly selected from each class for interview and focus group research. Care was taken to have a spread of pupils from the various districts of the city. There was also a spread of ages 12-15 (normal junior high school age). A gender balance was established. How many respondents there were for each method will be presented in Chapters 6 and 7 along with data analysis.

5.5.4 Sample Anonymity and Confidentiality

In line with the ethical compliance of the study (Section 5.6), the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, districts, wards, villages, and schools involved in the study were strictly protected. First, during data collection stage, none of the participants in the questionnaire survey, interview and focus group were requested to mention their names or any other information that might lead to the disclosure of their identity (Mikulincer et al., 2000). Secondly, during the report writing stage, codes were used to represent participants and institutions and, wherever necessary, any comments that might show direct and indirect attributes of individual participants or groups were avoided (Spencer et al., 2003). This means that in verbatim extracts the anonymous codes were used to represent specific categories that were considered easy to recognize.

5.6 Ethical Compliance

The necessary procedures for ethical requirements in undertaking research were followed. Firstly, the researcher submitted a comprehensive application for the approval of the ethical committee, which conformed to the University of Glasgow's ethical code of research, a process which is now prevalent in many educational and research institutions (Cohen et al., 2013). The plain language statement attached to the ethical application form demonstrates the procedures of data management and storage, and it assures the protection of participants from harm. Secondly, among other forms attached to the ethical application form is the 'informed consent' document. Based on the understanding that participation in the study is voluntary (Spencer et al., 2003), informed consent assures the safety of the participants by guaranteeing that their views will not be misused and that they will not risk coming under any threat because of this research. As stated earlier, this study seeks to explore how students and teachers understand rural and urban cultural difference and the strategies they choose to react to cultural division. In this case, personal opinions probed and obtained during interviews and group discussions needed protection. All participants attending the questionnaire survey, interviews and group discussions were provided with an informed consent form to read and sign, followed by a clear explanation from the researcher wherever there was doubt. Like other research

documents obtained during data collection, all the signed consent forms were stored and locked in a drawer. Participants were assured of the privacy of these forms and that they would be destroyed once the thesis is completed and defended. In addition, to assure participants that they are fully protected so that they can freely express their experiences and opinions, the researcher committed that the research will not influence students' record in schools and the researcher would provide feedback in terms of summary of the findings upon the completion of thesis report writing.

5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by grounding the study in an appropriate research paradigm, Bourdieu's research paradigm. The ontological and epistemological assumptions of this paradigm and its implications for the present study were then presented. This was followed by a discussion of the adopted methods, namely questionnaire surveys, interviews and focus group discussions. The chapter also introduced how data would be collected and analysed to explain the exclusive or inclusive influence of education on rural students' social adaptation, followed by introducing the sample of this study, which was randomly selected within the scope of research groups. The sample involved different groups in the education field, including rural and urban students and teachers, plus educational policy documents. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data was explained by discussing the credibility of the present study. Finally, related ethical considerations in dealing with participants were taken into consideration.

Chapter 6 An Analysis of the Social Adaptation of Rural Students in Urban Public Schools

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 3, since the "two focuses" principle that education for rural students in cities should be arranged mainly by local governments and in public schools was established, the Chinese government has developed inclusive education for children of migrant workers by enabling them to study alongside urban registered students in public schools in cities. However, does educating rural and urban students together mean that the education environment is inclusive for rural students? Will rural and urban students benefit from this "inclusive" environment? How well do rural students adapt to urban life in public schools? This chapter addresses these questions through an analysis of rural and urban students' different perspectives and teachers' opinions on rural-urban differences.

To find out whether educating rural and urban students together can help children of migrant workers' social adaptation in the city, or whether this studying together model brings pressures to rural students which impedes their social integration into urban communities, I need to figure out how much difference there is between rural and urban students in urban public schools from students' and teachers' perspectives. Therefore, this chapter will analyse whether rural students perceive themselves to be facing rural-urban differences and whether they think they can cope with the gap well. I also collected opinions from urban students and teachers as references to see whether rural students' perspectives are the same as their counterparts'.

Following a general description of the research sample in Section 6.2, Section 6.3 compares the values and interaction strategies of students who are registered with the same household registration identities but study in different schools. Then the research combines rural student samples from two public schools to analyse whether rural students can adapt to their urban school life. Urban students and teachers from two schools are also analysed together as references. To assess

whether the education environment in urban public schools is inclusive to students with different household registration statuses, whether rural students can adapt to their urban school life will be discussed in this chapter. Based on the analysis of the data obtained from questionnaires and interviews that were administered to both rural and urban students and teachers in public schools in Guangzhou, Section 6.4 presents how well rural students integrate into urban communities in public schools. Section 6.5, on the other hand, demonstrates rural students' maladjustment in urban public schools. Finally, all conclusions are summarised in Section 6.6.

6.2 Sample Description

To explore whether public schools provide an inclusive educational environment for rural students, two questionnaires were administered to students in two schools. Questionnaire I was designed to investigate rural and urban students' family backgrounds, general perspectives on social reproduction, stratification, rural-urban differences, and expectations for education and social mobility (see details in Appendix A). Four classes of students from two schools, totalling 163 students, returned questionnaire I. Questionnaire II was used to test how frequently rural and urban students actually interact with their counterparts (see details in Appendix B). Three classes from two public schools, totalling 130 students, returned this questionnaire. Moreover, 60 students were randomly selected from the questionnaire respondents for further interview and focus group research. Finally, six teachers from public schools A and B were invited to be interviewed as well. The composition of each student sample in terms of household registration status and schools is as follows:

Table 6- 1 The Distribution of Students' Demographic Information According to Household Registration Status and Schools

Questionnaire I:

	Household Registration Status				Total
	Rural		Urban		
Two Classes in Public School A	13	17.33%	62	82.67%	75
Two Classes in Public School B	63	71.59%	25	28.41%	88
Total	76	46.62%	87	53.37%	163

Questionnaire II:

	Household Registration Status				Total
	Rural		Urban		
One Class in Public School A	11	26.19%	31	73.81%	42
Two Classes in Public School B	63	71.59%	25	28.41%	88
Total	74	56.92%	56	43.08%	130

Interview and Focus Group:

	Household Registration Status				Total
	Rural		Urban		
Two Classes in Public School A	10	33.33%	20	66.67%	30
Two Classes in Public School B	20	66.67%	10	33.33%	30
Total	30	50.00%	30	50.00%	60

The composition of the sample shown in Table 6-1 clearly shows that public schools A and B have different ratios of rural to urban students. More than 70% of students in public school A are urban registered, whereas it is the opposite situation in public school B, where the urban student proportion is 30% less. One possible reason to explain the different student ratios in public schools A and B is that these two public schools are located in different areas. As mentioned in Chapter 5, public school A is located in the city centre, the old quarter of Guangzhou where the majority of residents are natives, while public school B is in an extended urban

area where rural migrants constitute most of the population. Accordingly, the student proportions in schools A and B reflect the compositions of the two districts.

6.3 Sample Analysis

To evaluate whether studying in public schools helps rural students' social adaptation in cities, rural students' adaptation performance should first be studied. By analysing the differences between rural and urban students and understanding students' and teachers' attitudes and perceptions of these rural-urban differences, this chapter will explore how well rural students adapt to urban school life and to what extent rural students encounter difficulties when studying together with urban students. However, considering the different student ratios in public schools A and B, would rural students' perspectives be influenced by whether they make up the majority or minority in schools? Similarly, would urban students' perspectives also differ between public schools A and B due to their interacting with different numbers of rural students? With these questions, before looking at the differences between the perspectives of rural and urban students, it is necessary to see whether students within the same household registration group have different thoughts and values between the two public schools.

6.3.1 Perspective Comparisons on Rural Students between Schools A and B

Some of the answers to the questions in the questionnaire I are categorical variables or ordinal variables. For instance, when responding to the question asking whether students agree with the statement "no pain, no gain", the students can only choose one option from a selection of "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree" and "strongly disagree" (Institue for Digital Research and Education, 2017). According to related quantitative methods, the Pearson Chi-Square test is the most suitable tool to compare the differences between different groups. Some of answers to the questions in questionnaire I are interval variables, such as the answers to the question, "How many years have you studied with urban/rural students?" In situations like this, the Independent-Samples T test can be applied for comparison (National Centre for Research Methods, 2012). Therefore, I will mainly use these two tools, the Pearson Chi-Square test and the Independent-Samples T test, in the following quantitative analysis.

Table 6-2 compares the responses of rural students in public schools A and B in terms of their accuracy in estimating the number of migrant children in their classes, their perceptions of social reproduction and stratification, their expectations around education and social mobility, their attitudes on social integration, and their self-estimation on social adaptation difficulty. As can be seen from the table, there is little statistically significant difference between the responses of rural students in public schools A and B, suggesting that regardless of whether rural students are the majority or minority in school, their thoughts and adaptation strategies are similar.

Table 6- 2 Comparisons of the Perspectives of Rural Students Between Public Schools A and B

Rural Students' Perspectives	School A	School B	X^2	P
Estimation of the number of Rural Students	13	63	0.155	0.694
Attitude to Rural-urban Class Separation	13	63	0.773	0.679
Perspectives on the Significance of Self-effort				
"No pain, no gain."	13	63	11.179	0.011**
"It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in high social class."	13	63	4.874	0.181
"Migrant workers have equal opportunity to urban residents in the city."	13	63	3.215	0.360
Perspectives of Social Stratification				
"Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers."	13	63	3.394	0.335
"The city is better than the country in all aspects."	13	63	3.859	0.277
Perspectives on the Significance of Education				
"Knowledge can change destiny."	13	63	0.493	0.920
"Entering school is not only for a diploma."	13	63	3.661	0.300
Expectations for Education				
Parents' Education Expectation	13	63	0.605	0.895
Students' Education Expectation	13	63	3.507	0.320
Aspirations and Expectations for Future				
Student's Aspirations for Future	13	63	1.364	0.928
Student's Expectation for Future	13	63	1.949	0.745

Rural Students' Perspectives	School A	School B	t	p
Social Interaction Scale				
Social Distance Summary	11	63	-1.306	0.196
Study Together	11	63	-0.393	0.695
Desk Mate	11	63	-0.707	0.482
Play Mate	11	63	-0.618	0.539
Gossip Share	11	63	-1.385	0.170
Secret Share	11	63	-2.111	0.038**
Social Adaptation Difficulty Scale				
Difficulty Summary	10	61	1.532	0.130
Difficulty in Study	10	61	0.372	0.711
Difficulty in Life	10	61	1.104	0.295
Difficulty in Social Interaction	10	61	1.790	0.078

Despite the similarities, it is worth noting that there are still two significant results shown in the above tables. One is the comparison of students' perspectives on "No pain, no gain". While 96.8% of rural students in school B agree or strongly agree with this statement, the percentage dropped down to 76.9% in school A. This indicates that compared with rural students in school A, rural students in school B have more faith in self-effort. A possible explanation for this might be that students in these two schools construct their values based on different reference groups. Many youth studies (Chen, 2004, Shi and Yu, 2010) have shown that children studying in secondary schools usually construct their values and perspectives based on their peer group's opinions, particularly relying on their classmates as reference. Since rural students in school B make up the majority of students, they are more likely to build up their value system according to their rural classmates' views. Likewise, rural students in school A are more inclined to learn from their urban classmates, the dominant group at their school. As seen from later comparisons between rural and urban students in public schools, rural students have a stronger belief in self-effort as they don't have many family social network resources to rely on, whereas native urban students who have lived in Guangzhou since they were born have accumulated more social network capital,

leading them to rely less on self-effort. Therefore, rural students in schools A and B have different perspectives on self-effort, which might be attributed to the different reference groups they can learn from.

The other significant difference lies in rural students' frequency of "sharing secrets" with urban classmates. To get a clear view of the frequency of social interaction between rural and urban students in the research, both rural students and urban students responded to the social interaction scale, including questions about "co-working in the same study group", "sharing the same desk in the class", "playing together (shopping, sports) as personal friends", "chatting together as personal friends", and "sharing problems/secrets as close friends". A higher mark means more frequent interactions with their counterparts with different household registration identities. Table 6-3 clearly demonstrates that rural students' scores in school B are generally higher than those in school A, meaning that rural students in school B are much closer with urban students than rural students in school A are, not only in secret sharing but in other activities as well. Contrary to the expectations, although rural students from public school A have more urban classmates to interact with, their actual contacts are less frequent than those of rural students from public school B. This unexpected finding suggests that more chances to interact with urban people does not necessarily mean that they benefit from more chances to communicate with urban communities. On the contrary, staying in an environment where the majority of students are locally registered might give children of migrant workers more pressure or less confidence to interact with urban people. Under this circumstance, more opportunities to communicate with urban natives leads to more pressure for their social integration into the city.

However, considering the small and unequal sample sizes in public schools A and B, caution must be applied when drawing conclusions from these statistical findings as a larger and more even sample might have made it more possible to detect differences between the two groups that are too subtle to register given the current margin of error. Therefore, no matter whether a significant difference was found or not, the effect of rural students' group size on their social adaptation and integration in public schools still needs further discussion.

Table 6- 3 T-test on Rural Students' Social Interaction Scale

Rural Students: School A VS. B	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Social Distance					
School A	11	16.36	3.202	-1.306	0.196
School B	63	17.65	2.985		
Study Together					
School A	11	3.55	0.522	-0.393	0.695
School B	63	3.62	0.580		
Desk Mate					
School A	11	3.45	0.688	-0.707	0.482
School B	63	3.57	0.560		
Play Mate					
School A	11	3.45	0.688	-0.618	0.539
School B	63	3.57	0.560		
Gossip Share					
School A	11	3.18	0.751	-1.385	0.170
School B	63	3.51	0.716		
Secret Share					
School A	11	2.73	1.009	-2.111	0.038**
School B	63	3.35	0.883		

6.3.2 Perspective Comparisons on Urban Students between School A and B

This section compares urban students' perspectives between public schools A and B. Like the comparison results of the rural students, most of the differences in urban students' perspectives do not show any statistical significance between the two public schools. As demonstrated in Table 6-4, only four significant differences emerged in the tests on urban students' perspectives between schools A and B.

Table 6- 4 Comparisons on Urban Students' Perspectives between Schools A and B

Urban Students' Perspectives	School A	School B	X^2	p
Estimation on the number of Rural Students	62	25	0.859	0.651
Attitude to Rural-urban Class Separation	62	25	1.996	0.369
Perspectives on the Significance of Self-effort				
"No pain, no gain."	62	25	5.907	0.116
"It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in high social class."	62	25	2.134	0.545
"Migrant workers have equal opportunity to urban residents in the city."	62	25	4.052	0.256
Perspectives of Social Stratification				
"Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers."	62	25	8.118	0.044**
"The city is better than the country in all aspects."	62	25	8.114	0.044**
Perspectives on the Significance of Education				
"Knowledge can change destiny."	62	25	6.957	0.073
"Entering school is not only for a diploma."	62	25	3.597	0.308
Expectations for Education				
Parents' Education Expectation	62	25	4.556	0.102
Students' Education Expectation	62	25	5.074	0.166
Aspirations and Expectations for Future				
Student's Aspiration for Future	62	25	4.914	0.178
Student's Expectation for Future	62	25		

Social Interaction Scale	School A	School B	t	p
Social Distance Summary	31	23	-0.183	0.856
Study Together	31	23	0.147	0.884
Desk Mate	31	23	-0.537	0.593
Play Mate	31	23	-1.007	0.319
Gossip Share	31	23	-2.125	0.038**
Secret Share	31	23	-2.858	0.006***

As can be seen from Table 6-4, when it comes to urban students' perspectives on social stratification, compared to urban students in school B, urban students from school A have a stronger sense of segregation among different social classes.

Table 6-5 shows that while nearly a quarter of urban students in public school A (25.8% = (13+3)/26) agree or strongly agree with the statement that "manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers", none of the urban students in public school B choose to agree. This finding indicates that urban students in school B show fewer signs of discrimination or unequal thoughts on manual workers compared to urban students in school A, at least in their answers to the questionnaire. Considering that large proportions of migrant workers are manual workers, engaged for example in construction work or working in manufacturing factories, discrimination against manual workers might lead to urban students having negative attitudes towards their rural classmates, most of whom are children of manual workers.

Moreover, nearly half of urban students in school A (43.5%= (15+12)/62) agree that the city is better than the country in all aspects, meaning that half of locally registered students in school A have high urban superiority as urban natives. By contrast, only 12% of urban students (12%= (2+1)/25) in school B agree with the statement. Therefore, it can be inferred that for urban students, the larger the proportion they constitute in their class, the more difficult it is for them to open their mind to other culture. Compared with urban students in school B, urban students in school A, as the majority group, have a stronger willingness to defend the superiority of the city, which may mean they can more easily put rural students into a marginalised position.

Table 6- 5 Urban Students' Perspectives on Social Stratification

Urban Students	"Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
School A	19	27	13	3	62	8.118	0.044**
School B	9	16	0	0	25		

Urban Students	"The city is better than the country in all aspects."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
School A	8	27	15	12	62	8.114	0.044**
School B	4	18	2	1	25		

Table 6-6 presents the frequency with which urban students interact with their rural classmates. When it comes to close communication, like sharing gossip or secrets, urban students in school B are more frequently in contact with rural students than urban students in school A. Considering that rural students form a larger proportion in school B, for urban students, the more rural students they can have access to, the more interactions they have with rural students. This result is contrary to rural students' answers that were examined in the previous section, which showed that having more urban students to interact with does not mean rural students necessarily take the chance to communicate with urban communities. Therefore, it can be inferred that students from different household registration systems may have different attitudes on the existence of their counterparts. While urban students are more open to rural students if there are more of them in the class, rural students may feel marginalised if urban students form the majority in the class. This can also be reflected from the interviews, in which urban students, no matter whether they are in school A or school B, replied they think rural and urban students are same and equal in schools, whereas rural students from school A are more likely than those from school B to mention that rural and urban students are treated differently in the city. Why having more urban classmates bring more pressures rather than communication opportunities for rural students will be further discussed in the interview analysis.

However, for most of the perspective comparisons, urban students from the two schools do not show any significant differences. However, just like the comparative analysis of rural students, these results must be interpreted with caution because of the relatively small number of urban students in school B. Therefore, whether the student proportions have an influence on interactions between different household registration groups is still under consideration.

Table 6- 6 T-test on Urban Students' Social Interaction Scale

Urban Students: School A VS. B	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Social Distance					
School A	31	14.74	3.454	-0.183	0.856
School B	23	14.96	5.420		
Study Together					
School A	31	3.42	0.720	0.147	0.884
School B	23	3.39	0.656		
Desk Mate					
School A	31	3.10	0.831	-0.537	0.593
School B	23	3.22	0.795		
Play Mate					
School A	31	3.03	0.912	-1.007	0.319
School B	23	3.26	0.689		
Gossip Share					
School A	31	2.81	0.946	-2.125	0.038**
School B	23	3.30	0.703		
Secret Share					
School A	31	2.39	0.882	-2.858	0.006***
School B	23	3.09	0.900		

To sum up, when it comes to the comparisons within the same household registration group, public schools A and B do not appear to differ from one another too much. Therefore, it is reasonable to merge students from different schools but with the same Huji identity together as one sample group for the following comparison research done between rural and urban students in these two public schools.

6.4 Social Adaptation of Rural students in Urban Public Schools

According to the students' responses in the questionnaire and interviews, rural students seem to be well adapted and even integrated into urban students' groups. How well rural students seem to have adapted to their urban lives can be demonstrated from both rural and urban students' answers, as examined below.

6.4.1 Indications of Social Adaptation from Rural Students' Answers

When answering the question, "To what extent do you think you are integrated into the urban class community?", over 80% of rural students chose "almost" or "totally" well-adapted. Accordingly, rural students' self-assessment of how much difficulty they experience in studying, living and interacting with urban communities also reflects their positive feelings on social adaptation. From a scale of 1 ("no difficulty") to 5 ("extreme difficulty"), the average score that rural students marked is below 2, meaning that from rural students' perspectives (at least as can be ascertained from their answers to the survey), there seems to be almost no difficulty in adapting to urban ways of studying, living or building up social relationships. The conclusions from the questionnaire survey can also be supported by rural students' statements in the interviews. As one rural interviewee mentioned:

> 'I have lived here for over ten years. I think I am no different from urban residents. I can speak Cantonese, I love Guangzhou food, and my lifestyle is just like other Guangzhou natives'.' (No.03, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Based on the questionnaire survey, most of the rural students feel that they are well-integrated in the city, and rural students consistently provided positive feedback when commenting on their urban lives in the interview. However, Section 6.5 will show that although rural students said they thought they were well-adapted to their schools, they still did not deny that students of rural and urban backgrounds are treated differently at school. While holding some positive views on social adaptation, rural students also mentioned some difficulties they encounter in adapting to their urban lives, which will be presented in Section 6.5.

6.4.2 Indications of Social Adaptation in Urban Students' Answers

Based on urban students' answers, it seems that they can hardly tell the difference between rural and urban students at all. When asked to estimate how many their classmates are rural registered, only 29.9% of urban students got the correct number of rural students. The majority (67.8%) of urban students' estimations were less than the true number of rural students, meaning that generally urban students are not sensitive to rural students' "rural" household registration status. This conclusion is also supported by urban students' responses in the interviews. From urban students' perspectives, their rural-registered classmates do not behave like the typical "rural people" they imagine. These rural students' behaviours are much closer to natives' behaviours in Guangzhou. The reason that many urban students failed to identify these children of migrant workers is probably that in public schools A and B, although the Huji of children of migrant workers is registered in rural areas, most of them migrated to Guangzhou city and have studied with urban students since they were very young. Some of them were even born in Guangzhou. In such a situation, considering rural students' actual life experiences rather than their household registration status, urban students can hardly tell the difference between "locals" and "migrants".

> 'I don't think these students are children of migrant workers as we grew up together. We have already been classmates since nursery school.' (No.57, Urban-registered student, School B, Male)

> 'I have no idea how many students in my class are rural registered unless they talked about their rural Huji themselves.' (No.21, Urban-registered student, School A, Female)

In conclusion, many urban students' comments on rural students support the results of the rural students' self-assessment. Either from the rural students' own perspectives or from their urban counterparts', rural students are generally well-adapted to their urban lives.

6.5 Social Maladjustment of Rural students in Urban Public Schools

While urban students cannot identify all the rural students in their class based on their daily communication and rural students also feel good about themselves in adapting to their urban lives, the questionnaire and interview data reveals that differences in value systems and social identities still exist between rural and urban students. These differences could result in the failure to adapt in different communities (Wakil et al., 1981, Lopez, 2001), and this situation also occurs in China (Kwong, 2004, Montgomery, 2012). This section presents that the differences in thoughts and values have caused pressures and maladjustments in rural students attempting to adapt to their lives in the city.

6.5.1 Indication of Social Maladjustment from Rural Students' Answers

It can be concluded from the questionnaire and interview data that there are still many value divergences between rural and urban students, which may mislead their understandings of each other, and ultimately hinder open communication within the schools. With different perspectives and segregated social identities, these rural students may fail to totally integrate into urban communities.

Firstly, rural students tend to have different values on social stratification, at least as indicated in their survey answers. As can be seen from Table 6-7, only 6.6% of rural students agree that "Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers", while 18.3% of urban students agreed on this point. Additionally, only 1.3% of rural students strongly believe that "The city is better than the country in all aspects", while nearly 15% of urban students agreed with the statement. In conclusion, although more than half of rural and urban students did not agree to look down to manual workers and life in rural areas, rural and urban students still have statistically significant differences in perceiving social stratification. Comparatively, more urban students were willing to discriminate against manual work and rural areas.

Table 6- 7 Perspectives on Social Stratification

Huji Status	"Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Rural Students	38 50.0%	33 43.4%	4 5.3%	1 1.3%	76 100.0%	7.889	0.048**
Urban Students	28 32.2%	43 49.4%	13 14.9%	3 3.4%	87 100.0%		

Huji Status	"The city is better than the country in all aspects."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Rural Students	12 15.8%	48 63.2%	15 19.7%	1 1.3%	76 100.0%	9.810	0.020**
Urban Students	12 13.8%	45 51.7%	17 19.5%	13 14.9%	87 100.0%		

Considering that many rural migrant workers are doing manual work in the city and their children are rural registered, urban students' discrimination against manual work and rural people may lead them to dislike or discriminate against their rural classmates, feelings which may not even be noticed by the urban students themselves. In contrast to their previous statements that they treat rural and urban students with no difference, they look down upon their rural classmates based on their lower social class or rural background. One interviewee's comment reflects this underlying discrimination:

> 'I know who are rural-registered in my class. I don't treat them differently. However, it is hard to make friends with them as I don't think we have any common interests. For example, I am passionate about online games. I don't think my rural classmates could understand this hobby.' (No.12, Urban-registered student, School A, Male)

On the other hand, just as working class students are strangers in paradise in elite universities (Reay et al., 2009, Archer et al., 2007), even though rural students have been living and studying in the city for many years, they may still suffer from urban people's stereotyped impressions of rural migrants due to their rural household registration status, which makes it hard for them to integrate into the communities in urban schools. As one interviewee mentioned:

> 'I was born in Guangzhou. However, there are still some urban people calling me a 'country bumpkin'. I try to dress like them, talk like them, and behave like them. However, it is still hard for me to join their social group. From their perspectives, I am a country girl who has no independent views but only chases fashionable things in the city.' (No.08, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Rural and urban students' differences can also be reflected in their perceptions of social reproduction. Table 6-8 clearly presents the differences between rural and urban students in terms of the significance of self-effort. While 93.5% of the surveyed rural students agree on "No pain, no gain", only 85.1% of urban students support this statement. Moreover, only 5.3% of rural students strongly agreed that personal success is closely related to parents' social class, while this statement was strongly agreed on by 17.2% of urban students. In conclusion, compared with native students, rural students were more inclined to believe that self-effort is significant in achieving success.

Table 6- 8 Perspectives on the Significance of Self-effort

Huji Status	"No pain, no gain."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Rural Students	1 1.3%	4 5.3%	54 71.1%	17 22.4%	76 100.0%	10.782	0.013**
Urban Students	4 4.6%	9 10.3%	40 46.0%	34 39.1%	87 100.0%		

Huji Status	"It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in a high social class."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Rural Students	12 15.8%	39 51.3%	21 27.6%	4 5.3%	76 100.0%	9.053	0.029**
Urban Students	12 13.8%	48 55.2%	12 13.8%	15 17.2%	87 100.0%		

The reason that generally rural students had stronger faith in self-effort is probably that rural students, as migrants, usually lack urban social capital or networking resources when competing with native students in cities, and I will discuss these dynamics more explicitly with reference to Bourdieu's habitus theoretical framework in Chapter 8. It can also be concluded from the interviews that due to their shortage of social capital, rural students feel they have no choice but to rely on themselves rather than their family background. Unlike their urban classmates who can get help from many local networking resources, it could be argued that these rural students feel a higher degree of helplessness and isolation, leading them to persuade themselves to believe in the value of self-effort. Accordingly, according to this aspect of the data, rural students seem to have more pressures in adapting to urban life. Even more problematically, they would only blame themselves if they encounter any setback in their social adaptation process, as they usually attribute their failure to a lack of self-effort rather than the unequal social environment for migrants.

> 'None of my urban friends need to worry about finding a job, as their parents have so much 'guanxi'. My parents don't have that many networking resources, so I can only rely on myself.' (No.09, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

> 'Of course self-effort is important, or who else I can depend on? My parents already told me that I can only rely on myself when I was at a very young age, as even they themselves cannot give me anything.' (No.05, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> ‘I should work harder and harder. Otherwise, I will be eliminated from the competition in the city.’ (No.32, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

Moreover, rural students’ tendency to put much higher value and expectations for education also arguably reflects their deficiency in social networking resources. As noted in Table 6-9, 86.9% of rural students believe that “Knowledge can change destiny”, while only 69.0% of urban students agreed with this point. Additionally, different values on the significance of knowledge are in accordance with different expectations for education. Table 6-10 indicates that both rural students and their parents had higher expectations for education compared with their urban counterparts. 88.2 % of rural parents hoped their children could enter college or above, while only 73.6% of urban students’ parents had the same plan. Over one quarter of urban students’ parents had no further expectations after their children graduate from senior high school. Additionally, the significant difference also emerged in students’ own expectations of education, with 86.8% of rural students hoping they can enter college while the percentage dropped down to 66.7% in the urban students’ group. Without as much social support as native students, most of the rural students desire to get a higher education degree so that they can be more competitive in the future labour market. As one interviewee said:

> ‘If I don’t study harder, I will be just like my father doing heavy manual work but earning little money every day. Education is the only way to change my destiny.’ (No.32, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

Table 6- 9 Perspectives on the Significance of Education

Huji Status	“Knowledge can change destiny.”				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Rural Students	1	9	49	17	76	13.740	0.003***
	1.3%	11.8%	64.5%	22.4%	100.0%		
Urban Students	10	17	34	26	87		
	11.5%	19.5%	39.1%	29.9%	100.0%		

Table 6- 10 Expectations for Education

Huji Status	Parents' Education Expectation				Total	X^2	p
	Finish Junior High	Finish Senior High	College degree	University or above			
Rural Students	1	8	50	17	76	8.929	0.030**
	1.3%	10.5%	65.8%	22.4%	100.0%		
Urban Students	0	23	53	11	87		
	0.0%	26.4%	60.9%	12.6%	100.0%		

Huji Status	Students' Education Expectation				Total	X^2	p
	Finish Junior High	Finish Senior High	College degree	University or above			
Rural Students	1	9	41	25	76	10.922	0.012**
	1.3%	11.8%	53.9%	32.9%	100.0%		
Urban Students	6	23	42	16	87		
	6.9%	26.4%	48.3%	18.4%	100.0%		

In conclusion, unlike native students, who have a wide variety of ways and resources to compete in the labour market, children of migrant workers generally have no choice but to accumulate cultural capital and social capital by education to make up for their scarcity of social capital, which is same as working class students who hope to achieve upward social mobility (Snarey and Vaillant, 1985, Van de Werfhorst, 2002). This higher expectation for education may bring pressures to their urban school life an and unequal attitude to their interactions with urban classmates.

Another gap between rural and urban students' perspectives lies in their expectations for the future. No significant difference was shown in comparisons of students' aspirations for the future; both the majority of rural (80.3%) and urban students (62.1%) said they wanted to stay in Guangzhou city and continue to study in senior high schools after graduating from junior high school. However, when it comes to actual plans for the future, a significant difference emerged between children of migrant workers and urban natives, as some rural students

lowered their expectations for the future when taking the gap between reality and ideals into consideration. As can be seen from Table 6-11, nearly 8% of rural students planned to go back to their hometown after graduation, while only 2.6% of rural students actually wanted to do so. Additionally, 80.3% rural students wanted to study in urban senior high schools, whereas nearly 10% of them changed their mind when talking about the actual plan. On the other hand, urban students did not show much change between what they want to do and what they plan to do. Therefore, it can be inferred from Table 6-11 that unlike urban students, rural students have more concerns that limit their choices for the future, which is also true of working class students' expectations for university (Lehmann, 2009, Reay et al., 2001).

As can be concluded from the interview responses, the major limitations that rural students encounter are related to household registration policies. For example, according to the regulations promulgated by the Guangzhou Education Bureau, the standard for rural students to enter public senior high schools in Guangzhou is much higher than students who have Guangzhou Huji, meaning that although rural students take the same entrance exam as native students do, they must achieve a higher score if they want to enter the same school as their urban peers. This school entrance limitation, however, is not applied to students if they choose to go back to their hometown, where their Huji are registered. Therefore, to overcome the score restrictions, some rural students had to choose to leave their parents who work in Guangzhou and go to study in their hometown schools alone.

> 'Who doesn't want to live with their parents? In Guangzhou, however, I can only go to schools which are really low ranked in the district. With the same score, I can enter better schools in my hometown.' (No.36, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

Table 6- 11 Students' Aspirations and Expectations for the Future

Rural Students	What do you want to do in the future?						Total	X^2	p
	Stay in City				Back to Hometown				
	Get a job	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High	Be apprentice	Senior High			
Rural Students	1 1.3%	3 3.9%	9 11.8%	61 80.3%	1 1.3%	1 1.3%	76 100.0%	10.863	0.054
Urban Students	1 1.1%	7 8.0%	25 28.7%	54 62.1%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	87 100.0%		

Rural Students	What's your plan after graduating from junior high?						Total	X^2	p
	Stay in City				Back to Hometown				
	Get a job	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High	Be apprentice	Senior High			
Rural Students	0 0.0%	4 5.3%	12 15.8%	54 71.1%	1 1.3%	5 6.6%	76 100.0%	15.231	0.009***
Urban Students	5 5.7%	7 8.0%	24 27.6%	51 58.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	87 100.0%		

Those students who choose to stay in the city have to compete with their urban classmates based on an unequal standard. This unfair treatment may create in rural students a relatively deprived feeling and make them increase their efforts. Negative comments on the education policy were found in the interviews:

> 'I know the policy is so unfair, but what can I do? There are already many unfair policy restrictions on migrant workers, no surprise that the unfairness continues for the children of migrant workers. But at least I have an opportunity to take the test together with urban students and continue studying in the city.' (No.08, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Therefore, to sum up, either going back to their hometowns or staying in the city

would give rise to a strong sense of deprivation, which impedes rural students' sense of fairness of competition and freedom to choose their own future plans (Knight and Gunatilaka, 2010).

The last but the most crucial point to demonstrate that rural students' maladjustment in urban schools comes from their marginalised social identity, which, generally speaking, is reflected by three aspects. Firstly, as mentioned in Section 6.4.2, contrary to urban students' failure to identify rural students' "immigrant" status, rural students have a clear understanding of the difference between migrants and locals. As can be seen from Table 6-12, 64.5% of rural students accurately estimated the number of rural students in their class, while only 29.9% of urban students got the correct number. Moreover, no rural student's estimation exceeds than the true number, meaning that it is unlikely for rural students to mistake natives for migrants. Therefore, it can be summarised from the questionnaire data that rural students have a strong sensitivity to the city outsiders' identity.

Table 6- 12 Estimation of the Number of Rural Students

Huji Status	Rural Student Estimation			Total	X^2	p
	Less than truth	Correct	More than truth			
Rural Students	27	49	0	76	21.310	0.000***
	35.5%	64.5%	0.0%	100.0%		
Urban Students	59	26	2	87		
	67.8%	29.9%	2.3%	100.0%		

The interview data also supports the above conclusion. Although rural students, like their urban classmates, failed to give a definite answer on the difference between rural and urban students, they are still confident that they can accurately identify migrants and locals.

> 'I don't think there is any difference in behaviour between migrants and natives, as we have lived in Guangzhou for many years, but we (rural students) all know who is an immigrant and who is not.' (No.40, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

> ‘Maybe urban students have a different temperament? … I have no idea of the difference; I just can tell whether he/she is a migrant or not at the first sight.’ (No.35, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

Secondly, it was demonstrated from the interview data that rural students generally seem to have a low sense of social belonging, as they understand their household registration status is not only different from urban students’, but comparatively at a lower level of social class as well. Influenced by social news, friends and families’ perspectives, and urban people’s discrimination, rural students were more inclined to believe they were born in an unequal society. Due to the limitations of the household registration system, their parents have failed to secure a residency even after working in the city for years. Accordingly, they have to pay extra tuition fees, take extra tests to go to school, and face a higher threshold to continue studying in high schools. All these policy restrictions lead to rural students’ failure to easily integrate into urban communities. Even though from their urban classmates’ perspectives, they behave almost like urban natives, and even though rural and urban students are treated with no difference in school, from these rural students’ perspectives, they still don’t think they belong to this city.

> ‘I know my parents have to pay more for housing and medical treatment just because we are rural registered. Even though we’ve lived in this city for nearly ten years, some urban people are still mean to us.’ (No.09, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

> ‘All my friends are rural registered as I don’t think my urban classmates are truly willing to make friends with rural students.’ (No.02, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Finally, a lack of social belonging leads to rural students’ confusion in self-definition. In the questionnaire, most of the rural students chose “almost” or “totally” integrated into urban communities. However, when asked “whether you are a Guangzhou citizen”, none of the participants were able to directly say yes. The various answers on self-definition below reflect that rural students are still not confident that they are Guangzhou people, even though they have lived in the

city for years.

> ‘You can regard me as a Jiangmen person, as that is my hometown. My parents and all my family were born and grown up there.’ (No.42, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

> ‘I am not like traditional Guangzhou natives, but as the Guangzhou government has propagandized, you can call me as a new Guangzhou citizen.’ (No.03, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

> ‘I am not sure whether I can be regarded as a Guangzhou citizen or not. Although I was born in Guangzhou, all my friends and neighbours are rural migrants. I don’t think people would treat me as a Guangzhou native.’ (No.40, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

In conclusion, from what has been discussed above, rural migrant students are still facing various difficulties when perceiving and interacting with urban communities. Even though rural students can behave like their urban counterparts, their value system is still distant from urban people’s perspectives. More importantly, most of the rural students are aware of the segregation in value systems, which gives them more pressures and impediments to adapting to urban school life.

6.5.2 Indication of Social Maladjustment from Urban Students’ and Teachers’ Answers

Rural students’ social maladjustment can also be reflected in urban natives’ comments. For example, when asked whether rural students have been treated differently in class, most urban students’ answers were ‘no’. However, the social interaction scale clearly shows that the actual frequencies with which rural students and urban students interact with their counterparts are significantly different. As can be seen from Table 6-13, the frequency of rural students’ interactions with urban students is generally higher than that of urban students’ interactions with rural students, with statistical significance. This suggests that rural students are more active in communicating with urban students, whereas urban students less frequently interact with their rural classmates. Rural students think they have already become involved in the urban student group, while from

their urban classmates' perspectives, they may still be outsiders to urban students' friendship networks (Chen et al., 2009b). Moreover, with the increasing level of social interactions, the mean difference between rural and urban students becomes more significant, meaning that when it comes to closer interactions, the misunderstanding gap related to social acceptance becomes wider. To sum up, the questionnaire data indicates two things: the social interaction between rural students and urban students does not seem to be as close as rural students described in the interviews, and urban students do not seem to be as willing to accept rural students to be their close friends as they stated in the interviews. Urban students' implicit resistance to accepting rural students as close friends may cut off open and equal communications between rural and urban students, which may have a profound negative influence on rural students' social adaptation in the city.

Moreover, there is another difficulty which may impede rural migrant students' social adaptation. Based on the questionnaire data, rural students and urban students have significantly different attitudes on class separation. As can be seen from Table 6-14, 86.8% of rural students and 58.6% of urban students disagree that there should be class separation based on their household registration status. Moreover, 31.0% of urban students chose "no matter" to express their attitude and 10.3% of urban students were even in favour of exclusive education so that rural and urban students could be educated separately rather than studying together. While rural migrant students hope to get more opportunity to communicate with urban classmates, nearly one third of urban students do not care about class separation, meaning that native students failed to indicate the same enthusiasm as children of migrant workers did. Urban students' unconcerned attitude may further block the social interactions between rural and urban students, leading to rural students' social maladjustment.

Table 6- 13 T-test on Social Interaction Scale

Students in School AB	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Social Interaction Summary					
Rural Students	74	17.46	3.030	4.019	0.000***
Urban Students	54	14.84	4.397		
Study Together					
Rural Students	74	3.61	0.569	1.804	0.074
Urban Students	54	3.41	0.687		
Desk Mate					
Rural Students	74	3.58	0.641	3.372	0.001***
Urban Students	54	3.15	0.810		
Play Mate					
Rural Students	74	3.55	0.577	3.426	0.001***
Urban Students	54	3.13	0.825		
Gossip Share					
Rural Students	74	3.46	0.725	3.104	0.002***
Urban Students	54	3.02	0.879		
Secret Share					
Rural Students	74	3.26	0.922	3.422	0.001***
Urban Students	54	2.69	0.948		

Table 6- 14 Attitude to Class Separation

Huji Status	Rural-urban Class Separation			Total	X^2	p
	Disagree	Doesn't matter	Agree			
Rural Students	66	8	2	76	16.023	0.000***
	86.8%	10.5%	2.6%	100.0%		
Urban Students	51	27	9	87		
	58.6%	31.0%	10.3%	100.0%		

Not only urban students' reactions, but also teachers' attitudes may unconsciously have a negative effect on rural students' social adaptation in urban public schools. As can be concluded from the interviews, teachers in schools A and B generally had poor impressions of rural students, which is similar to Lu's findings (Lu and Zhou, 2012). However, when taking a closer look at the teachers' comments and trying to verify these comments based on rural students' feedback, it is not hard to infer that some teachers' comments on rural students may be based in stereotypical images of rural migrants rather than being based on rural migrant students' actual performances at school. For example, over half of the teachers in the interviews insisted that rural students fail to get enough care and support from their parents, as rural migrant workers are generally less educated than urban students' parents.

> 'It is not surprising that children of migrant workers couldn't have equal academic achievements to native students. Their parents are less well educated, so they can hardly help their children with the homework.' (No.1, Teacher, School A, Male)

However, although a significant difference was shown in the comparisons of parents' education experiences, according to rural students' statement in the interview, they did not receive less care from their parents. It is teachers' care and attention that rural students thought they received less of than urban students.

> 'I don't think my parents don't care about my studies. No matter how busy my mum is, she checks my homework everyday … How could my teacher know whether my parents are able to support my studies or not? She only visited my home once! My teacher doesn't care about me as much as urban students. For many of my urban classmates, she's already done home visits many times.' (No.09, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

There is another example to demonstrate that rural students may be misunderstood by teachers. From teachers' perspectives, rural students generally lack comprehensive development as they focus too much on their studies. As one teacher stated in the interview:

> ‘Rural students are usually not interested in extracurricular or social activities. they care about exam score.’ (No3, Teacher, School A, Female)

However, according to rural students’ responses, they wanted to take part in the extracurricular activities, but because the test score is the only thing which decides whether they can continue studying in the city or not, they had to give up the chances to get involved in these activities in order to have more time to study (Mo et al., 2013, Murphy, 2014). One interviewee argued as follows:

> ‘I know my urban classmates call me ‘study machine’. However, what else can I do? I want to join the interest groups and to be a ‘cool’ student, but I have no time to be cool as I need to make sure I can continue studying in a senior high school first.’ (No.41, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

Therefore, from what has been discussed above, the conflicts between teachers’ and rural students’ opinions suggest that teachers may lack the patience to understand rural students’ needs and the reasons behind these students’ different behaviours. On the contrary, teachers in public schools are more likely to be affected by the stereotype of rural people. Finally, thinking about it from rural students’ perspective, teachers’ neglect and prejudice may cause rural students to have a strong sense of marginality at school, which ultimately influences their social adaptation in the city.

Teachers’ stereotyped perceptions not only block their further understanding of rural students but lower their expectations of children of migrant workers as well. Based on the interviews, the teachers generally express fewer concerns for the rural students’ futures.

> ‘They [children of migrant workers] are less likely to continue studying, as to pass the entrance exams of senior high schools in Guangzhou would be too difficult for them.’ (No.4, Teacher, School B, Male)

> ‘I think if they choose to live in Guangzhou, at least half of them would not continue their study after graduating from junior high schools. Like their parents, they may want to get a job and earn more money first.’ (No.2, Teacher, School A, Male)

Contrary to the teachers' perspectives, as previously stated, both rural students and their parents' expectations for their educations and futures are even higher than that of their urban counterparts. Although a higher score is needed for rural students to enter senior schools in Guangzhou, the majority of rural students (71.1% of respondents in the questionnaire survey) still plan to continue their studies in urban senior high schools rather than to go to work directly. Therefore, it can be indicated from the interview and questionnaire that there is a gap between rural students' and teachers' expectations. This gap may lead to teachers unconsciously giving less attention to rural students, which is reflected in one of the rural interviewees' statements:

> 'My teacher also only visited my home once, as she thought I have already done well in the study. However, my current level is only good enough to pass the graduation exam and to get a junior high school degree. I still need more help as I want to continue my studies. It seems my teacher doesn't have further requirements for my study … Am I being too ambitious about my future?' (No.36, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

Although in the questionnaire survey, most of the children of migrant workers expressed strong confidence in "almost" or "totally" adapting to the city, nearly half of rural migrant students in the interview showed more or less anxiety on continuing their studies in the city. Considering teachers' comments on rural migrant students, maybe it is their lower expectations that discourage rural students' enthusiasm in pursuing higher education degrees or upward social mobility.

Finally, another example of teachers' unconscious discrimination against rural students lies in teachers' misunderstandings of inclusive education policy. When asked about their opinions on "inclusive education", the teachers were unanimous in the view that they are supporters and practitioners of inclusive education, as they treat every student equally without differentiation, no matter whether the student is rural registered or not.

> 'There are no exceptions for any student. All students are the same.' (No.5, Teacher, School B, Female)

> ‘We would never treat students differently based on their household registration status. Students should have equal chances to study in this school’ (No.1, Teacher, School A, Male)

However, when carefully considering these teachers’ responses, “treating students equally” could also mean ignoring some students’ special needs. As one of the teachers mentioned in the interview:

> ‘I know rural students should achieve a higher score in order to enter the same school as their urban classmates, but the significance of putting rural and urban students together is to make sure children of migrant workers can receive the same education as native students, isn’t it? Therefore, we should treat students without differentiation. It is the rural students’ own choice to either study harder to stay in the city or go back to their hometowns.’ (No.1, Teacher, School A, Male)

As can be seen from the statement above, the so-called “equity” that the teachers insisted on actually entails policy inequity. Inclusive education, based on teachers’ understandings, has excluded rural migrant students’ own needs. This can also be proved by rural students’ responses that none of them received extra help or instructions from their teachers on studies or social interactions. Therefore, they have to deal with the education policy unfairness on their own. As one of the rural students argued in the interview:

> ‘Unlike native students, we have to pay tuition fees and we also need to have a higher score in the entrance exam. No one is willing to help us, or to simply try to understand our differences and pressures.’ (No.37, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

Rural migrant students’ feedback indicates that teachers’ understanding of inclusive education has blocked rural students’ chances of seeking help. Rural migrant students, eventually, have developed a strong sense of isolation and segregation, which may cause their maladjustment when integrating into urban communities.

6.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed rural students' social adaptation in urban public schools. In summary, although they have been studying together with urban native students for a long time, rural students still fail to totally integrate into the urban communities in schools.

Generally speaking, rural students in public schools have become well-adapted to their urban lives. On one hand, students' self-assessment indicated that from the rural students' own perspectives, they think they have already adapted to urban school life. Considering that most of them have lived in Guangzhou for years and they have no difficulty in adapting to urban ways of life, rural students are confident in their social adaptation. On the other hand, urban students' responses also agreed that rural students are integrated into the schools as they can neither estimate the number of their rural classmates correctly nor tell the difference between migrants' and locals' behaviours.

However, when taking a closer look at rural students' urban life, it can be illustrated from the research that there are still some maladjustments that rural students encounter when studying in public schools.

Firstly, there are many significant differences between rural and urban students' values, which ultimately leads to rural students having difficulties in totally becoming integrated into urban communities. The cognitive gaps which impede children of migrant workers' further adaptation include perspectives on social stratification and self-effort and expectations for education and the future. Compared with native students, children of migrant workers may have less social capital and network resources available to rely on. Therefore, most rural students chose to believe that self-effort could be a critical part of their success. Accordingly, both children of migrant workers and their parents have higher expectations for education as rural students are placing their hope on the development of human capital through education. Most rural students and their parents hope that they can enter college to become more competitive in the future. Finally, when it comes to their future plans, rural and urban students' choices are also significantly different from each other. Although rural students

have strong confidence in integrating into the city, they still clearly understand that there are many restrictions either due to policy or urban peoples' exclusivity that impede them to have equal opportunities to compete with urban natives in Guangzhou. Therefore, unlike urban students, some rural students have to choose to go back to their hometowns, even though they want to stay in the city. In conclusion, the segregation of perspectives which originated from the rural-urban difference may block rural students from having mutual understandings and equal conversations with their urban counterparts, which ultimately gives rise to maladjustment in their social adaptation process.

Secondly, rural students' contradictive cognition around their social identity also reflects their failure to adapt to their urban school life. On one hand, they are highly sensitive to the boundary between migrants and locals, even though their urban classmates fail to identify them as migrants. On the other hand, rural students are confused about their own social identity. Even though these children of migrant workers have lived in Guangzhou for years, none of them can say they are 'Guangzhou people' without doubts. No matter how long rural students have lived in the city, they more or less expressed a low sense of social belonging to Guangzhou city. This sense of marginality is not only constructed based on their interactions with urban students and teachers in public schools, but is influenced by their families, neighbours and other people in Guangzhou as well. Rural students' problems around social identity indicate that they still need to make further adjustments to living in the city.

Moreover, based on urban students' responses, it can be inferred that although in public schools, rural students have more chances to interact with urban students and teachers, they still fail to integrate into urban communities. Even though urban students think they treat rural and urban students with no difference, there are still significant differences in contact frequencies with their rural and urban classmates, especially when it comes to close interactions like sharing secrets. While rural students are more active at communicating with urban students, such as studying together, playing together and sharing secrets, their urban classmates may not have the same inclinations. Additionally, in terms of the attitude to class separation, urban students are more inclined to be educated separately rather than rural and urban students studying together. Their preference for exclusive

education demonstrates that rural students are still on the margins of the urban social network, and fail to be totally accepted by their urban classmates.

Finally, teachers' misunderstandings and the so-called 'treating students with no difference' policy may discourage children of migrant workers' enthusiasm for social adaptation and further upward social mobility.

In conclusion, children of migrant workers studying in public schools are generally well-adapted to their urban school life, but in some aspects, they still fail to integrate into urban communities. The inclusive education in public schools creates more opportunities for children of migrant workers to interact with urban natives. These direct interactions may bring rural students more chances to learn from their urban classmates, which contributes to rural students' social adaptation learning, or it may push rural students into rural-urban conflicts, which increases rural students' pressures and social maladjustment. Therefore, whether rural students' social adaptation performance or social maladjustment difficulties can be attributed to the influence of inclusive education in public schools will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 A Comparative Analysis of the Social Adaptation of Rural students in Urban Public and Private Schools

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 directly analysed how well rural students adapt to their urban lives when studying together with urban students in public schools. In order to assess whether rural students can better adapt to their urban lives if studying together with urban students, Chapter 7 compares rural students in public schools with rural students in private schools which are only for children of migrant workers, thereby addressing the question of whether public schools provide an inclusive environment to help rural students' social adaptations. The comparisons are based on rural students' behaviours (Section 7.3) and opinions (Section 7.4). Using rural students from private schools as reference groups, this chapter will discuss whether rural students have better social adaptation performances when studying together with urban natives in public schools or in private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers.

7.2 Sample Description

To compare rural students in public and private schools, I issued questionnaires to four classes in two public schools and two classes in one private school. Eventually, 164 rural students, including 76 students from the public schools and 88 students from the private school, returned their completed questionnaires. Moreover, to reach a more detailed understanding of the differences between public and private schools, 30 children of migrant workers from public schools A and B and 30 from private school C were randomly selected for interviews and focus groups. The demographic information of the student samples in terms of household registration status and schools is presented in Table 7-1.

Table 7-1 shows that there were only 13 rural migrant students in the sample from

school A, too small a sample size to compare with the other schools. Considering that the students enrolled in schools A and B have similar perspectives, as has been seen in Chapter 6, rural students from these two public schools can be regarded as one group for the purposes of making a comparison with the rural students from private school C. Therefore, the differences between children of migrant workers in public versus private schools can be analysed through rural students in school AB versus rural students in school C. The following sections will not only present what rural students do to adapt to their urban lives, but also what they think of social adaptation and how they see themselves adapting to the city.

Table 7- 1 The Distribution of Students' Demographic Information According to Household Registration Status and Schools

Questionnaire I:

School Type	f	%
Public School A (Rural Student < 50%)	13	7.9
Public School B (Rural Student >50%)	63	38.4
Private School C	88	53.7
Total	164	100.0

Interviews and Focus Groups:

School Type	f	%
Public School A (Rural Student < 50%)	10	16.7
Public School B (Rural Student >50%)	20	33.3
Private School C	30	50.0
Total	60	100.0

7.3 Comparisons of Rural Students' Behaviours

Based on interviews and observation, it can be concluded that rural students from public schools seem to have a more urbanised lifestyle compared with rural students in private schools. In other words, rural students' lifestyles in public

schools seem to be more similar to urban native students' lifestyles. This conclusion is supported by the following two points.

Firstly, rural students in public schools have comparatively more organised arrangements in their PE classes and after-school activities. For example, in public schools, rural students are taught to play various ball games or to do exercises in their PE classes, while in private school, rural students just play around; I could hardly find any teaching of sport in their PE classes. Through observation, I found that public school A has a structured schedule for students' gym classes. Based on my observations, a 45-minute PE class was usually divided into three sections. Section one was a 10-15 minute teaching period during which the PE teacher gave a brief introduction to different sports and exercises. Following the teacher's guidance, section two was the students' practice time, which usually lasted for 15-20 minutes. Finally, section three was a group competition or a physical fitness test. A teacher usually stayed along with students from the start to the end of the class to make sure the students' activities were monitored and that they had enough exercise during the class. In private school, however, this is not the case. At private school C, the PE teacher only showed up at the beginning of the class to check the students' attendance, then the teacher just let students arrange activities on their own. I could hardly see any sports learning, but only playing around.

Not only do rural students' PE classes have more structured arrangements in public schools, but their after-school activities are more organised as well. For example, walking in the campuses of public schools A and B, you can see many posters on the bulletin boards giving updates on various school clubs and after-school activities. Moreover, most students from public schools A and B spoke highly of their after-school arrangements, which contain various interest groups, student clubs, and school events. From the students' perspectives, these activities help them develop different interests and skills, improve their teamwork and give them a more comprehensive understanding of Guangzhou.

> 'On Monday, I observe and record a plant growing in a science club; Tuesday and Thursday are rehearsal days in the school choir; On Wednesday, I learn piano with a music interest group; and on Friday, teachers usually take us

to visit a historical site in Guangzhou so we can learn more about Guangzhou's history.' (No.03, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

'I joined the drama club. Almost every day after school I go there for rehearsal. It is challenging but fun. The school recruited a teacher to guide us. Next month we will even perform at the city centre theatre. I feel like I am going to be a star!' (No.07, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

At the private school, the after-school activities were much less organised. According to students' responses, they generally hold the view that it is not the school's business to arrange after-school activities; the teachers care about nothing but their studies, and the private school offers far fewer arrangements after school. Moreover, without guidance, the students have developed far fewer hobbies than their counterparts from public schools.

'Why does the school have responsibility for your other activities besides learning? When class is over, I just go home and do homework.' (No.63, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

'Me, too … Okay, to be honest, I usually go to internet bars to play computer games.' (No.64, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

'I don't have any hobbies, or maybe watching TV can be counted as a hobby? Sorry, but that is the only thing I would do after finishing my homework.' (No.67, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

Another thing that shows rural students' more urbanised lifestyle in public schools is their engagement in public affairs. For example, it can be seen from rural students' responses that rural students in public schools usually take part in a big campaign to elect their student representatives. Just like a formal political election, rural students in public schools need to present their governance plan, design their posters and flyers, and strategically communicate with their classmates to get more supporters. Sometimes even their parents get involved to assist in this canvassing process. On the contrary, the student representatives in the private school are just nominated by teachers.

> ‘There are three stages to become the representative. First, make a formal speech on why people should vote for me and how to be a student representative; second, put my poster on the notice board with a brief introduction of myself and my campaign plan; and finally, take part in an anonymous vote to determine the final winner. Every step is so formal, just like electing a national president. Luckily, I have many urban friends who taught me how to write a governance proposal and convince people that I would be the best representatives. It was really exciting when the teacher finally announced that I had got the most votes. It felt like I was elected to be a national president!’ (No.33, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

Moreover, rural students in both public schools A and B are aware that there is a principal’s mailbox to collect students’ feedback. If rural students in public schools are not satisfied with the school services, they can write to the principal’s mailbox to appeal, whereas in private school C, there is no process for rural students to make complaints at all, nor would rural private school students think to express their dissatisfaction or fight for their rights.

> ‘Yes, we know there is a principal’s mailbox. One of my urban friend sent a letter last month, and surprisingly, the principal did response to the question through the school broadcast. Hmm … I may write a proposal later myself to complain that our classroom is too far away to the drinking fountain. It could be helpful if the school can add another fountain near our classroom.’ (No.07, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Through the interviews, I found that by having more chances to interact with urban students, rural students in public school are able to live a more urbanised lifestyle. Compared with rural students in private school, rural students in public school are more organised in developing their activities and highly involved in public affairs. This finding is similar to Lareau’s study of family-school relationships in middle-class and white working class communities in the United States, which showed that the students in middle-class communities usually

participated in various after-school activities, while the students in white working class could only stay at home or do some housework to help their parents (Lareau, 1987, Lareau, 2011).

However, does this high similarity to urban students mean rural students in public schools adapt better to urban live? Does being educated together with urban students affect rural students' values or thoughts to help them adapt better to the city? The next section will focus on the comparisons of rural students' perspectives between public and private schools.

7.4 Comparisons of Rural Students' Perspectives

Similar to the comparative analysis done in Chapter 6, the remainder of this chapter compares rural students' opinions on various aspects of public and private schools, including their perspectives on social stratification and self-effort, expectations for their future and education, and self-assessment of their social integration and social identity. Moreover, how rural students from public and private schools think of urban policies for rural migrants will be analysed in this section.

7.4.1 Perspectives on Social Stratification

Table 7-2 presents students' perspectives on social stratification, and no significant difference can be found between rural students in public and private school. As can be seen from the table, both rural students in public and private school mainly refused to agree that "manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers" or that "the city is better than the country in all aspects". Generally, from rural students' perspectives, their parents may do manual work, but it doesn't mean they are in a lower social class. Additionally, although they migrated from rural areas, it doesn't mean their hometown is completely inferior to the city. Based on the questionnaire responses, rural areas only seem to be different from urban areas, but not to stand on a lower social level.

However, despite the answers to the questionnaires showing high similarity between public and private school students, rural students from public and private

schools provided significantly different responses in the interviews. While rural students in private school had various positive comments on rural areas, including "nice natural environment", "less air pollution" and "warm-hearted neighbours who are more willing to help each other", none of rural students from public schools were able to give a positive word when describing their hometowns. Only negative terms such as "poor relatives", "obsolete technology", "uneducated people" and "contaminated drinking water" came up in their answers. Unlike most rural students from private school who stated that rural areas are not "inferior to the cities" but just "different from the cities", rural students from public schools seem to drag both rural people and rural areas down to a relatively lower position in social stratification.

Table 7- 2 Perspectives on Social Stratification

Rural Students	"Manual workers are losers compared to mental labourers"				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	38 50.0%	33 43.4%	4 5.3%	1 1.3%	76 100.0%	1.409	0.703
Private School C	42 47.7%	42 47.7%	4 4.5%	0 0.0%	88 100.0%		

Rural Students	"The city is better than the country in all aspects."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	12 15.8%	48 63.2%	15 19.7%	1 1.3%	76 100.0%	0.664	0.882
Private School C	13 14.8%	59 67.0%	14 15.9%	2 2.3%	88 100.0%		

This difference may be attributed to their migration experiences. As can be seen from Table 7-3, 80.8% of students in public schools A and B can be defined as "second generation migrants" as they have stayed in Guangzhou for 5 years or more, meaning that most of the rural students in public schools were born in or came to Guangzhou at an early age before entering public schools. These students have almost no living experience in rural areas. Meanwhile, 60.9% of rural students from the private school can be defined as "one-and-a-half generation migrants" as they have lived in Guangzhou for less than 5 years. In other words, the majority of students in private school lived and studied in rural areas for several years, and then migrated into Guangzhou in recent years. According to these students' responses, they generally moved to urban areas when they were in fifth grade, at around 11 years old, which means that they spent at least 10 years in rural areas. They therefore have experience living in both urban and rural areas.

Table 7- 3 Distribution of Rural Student's Migration Time by School Type

Rural Students	Migration Time		Total
	Less than 5 years	5 years or more	
Public School AB	14 19.2%	59 80.8%	73 100.0%
Private School C	53 60.9%	34 39.1%	87 100.0%
Total	67	93	160

Moreover, if we take the "second generation migrants" group out and look only at rural students who migrated into cities within the last five years, there is still a significant difference between public and private schools in the length of time for which rural students have lived and studied in city. As demonstrated in Table 7-4, those "one-and-a-half generation migrants" in private school have generally lived in the city for a shorter period of time than their counterparts in public schools.

Table 7- 4 Years That 1.5 Generation Rural Students Have Lived and Studied in Guangzhou

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Years Living in Guangzhou					
Public School AB	14	4.18	2.500	6.154	0.016**
Private School C	54	4.02	1.660		
Years Studying in Guangzhou					
Public School AB	14	4.79	2.630	9.141	0.004***
Private School C	54	3.64	1.510		

Because rural students in public schools were either born in the city or moved into the city at a young age, they have spent a limited amount of time living in rural areas. Based on the interviews, it seems that most of their impressions or knowledge of rural areas comes from urban residents, such as their urban classmates and neighbours who they spend most of their time with, rather than people who live in their hometowns. Strongly influenced by their urban friends, who also have little experience of living in rural areas, these rural students can ultimately only rely on the stereotypes that urban people usually use to judge rural people and to understand their hometowns or "rural areas". Accordingly, many rural students in public schools, as can be seen from their responses in the interviews, are more inclined to look down upon rural areas or rural people, equating "rural" with "lower" in terms of social stratification. Some of them even feel shame about their "rural" identity and try to escape or refuse further discussions on their hometown.

> 'My neighbours [in the city] always says rural areas are dirty and the drinking water is unfiltered. Luckily, I only need to stay in my hometown for two weeks at most each year.' (No.04, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> 'Can we stop talking about my hometown? I only stay there during Spring Festival, only one or two weeks every year. Honestly, I don't think that village can be called as my 'hometown', as I was not even born there.'

(No.06, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> ‘I don’t understand why my parents want me to go back to my hometown year after year to celebrate Spring Festival. I have to meet so many rural relatives and answer their endless questions, such as ‘How do you say this in English?’, ‘Do you know how to play this computer game well?’, ‘What does bike sharing look like in the city?’ … I am really getting sick of these uneducated people. When my classmates ask me, ‘How was your vacation?’, sadly I have nothing worth sharing. How lucky my classmates are who can stay in the city or go out for a trip during Spring Festival.’ (No.43, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

Meanwhile, much less antipathy for rural areas and rural people can be found in the responses of rural students from private school C. It is not hard to understand this based on their migration experiences, as most of these students lived for much longer periods of time in rural areas than their counterparts from public schools. Rather than simply relying on stereotypes, an average of at least ten years of living experience in their hometowns has given them a more direct and comprehensive understanding of rural areas. According to their responses in the interviews, rural students from private school provided more positive responses when introducing their hometowns and put rural and urban areas on a more equal level when it comes to social stratification.

> ‘I miss my hometown. In my hometown, I have many cousins and we used to play together all the time. Unlike people the city who talk to each other just by sending messages through their phones, people in rural areas stay much closer.’ (No.73, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

> ‘Before I migrated to Guangzhou, it was my grandmother who took care of me when my parents working in the city. I used to do farm work with her and eat vegetables that we grew ourselves. It is much healthier and more delicious than those fast foods in the city.’ (No.74, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

In conclusion, although rural students, no matter whether they are in public or

private schools, generally refused to agree that rural people or areas are in a relatively inferior position when it comes to social stratification, when looking closer at students' detailed descriptions of their hometowns, rural students from public schools are more likely to regard rural areas as occupying lower levels in social stratification than rural students from private school. This difference can be attributed to rural students' migration experiences. Most rural students from public schools lack living experiences in rural areas and connections with rural people, leading to their misunderstanding and dislike of rural areas and a sense of inferiority around their rural identity. Meanwhile, most rural students from the private school had living experiences in both rural and urban areas, which helped them to understand rural-urban differences in a more comprehensive way.

7.4.2 Perspectives on the Significance of Self-effort

In questionnaire I, statements such as "No pain, no gain" and "It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in a high social class" were designed to test whether rural students from public and private schools have different opinions on the significance of self-effort.

As can be seen from Table 7-5, no significant difference was found in rural students' responses between public and private schools. In both cases, over 90% of rural students in public and private schools agreed with "No pain, no gain", and almost 70% of them disagreed that "It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in a high social class". These responses indicate that unlike urban students, who are more inclined to value family backgrounds or social networks, most rural students, either from public or private schools, strongly believe that their success depends on their own effort rather than on their family background.

Consistent with their answers in the questionnaire, rural students from both public and private schools confirmed their belief in self-effort in their interview responses.

> 'Just look at my mum and dad. They migrated to Guangzhou with no money and no one to help them, but now we've got our own house here. So I believe the future is in my hands, and I think I can do even better than my

parents.' (No.67, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

'Unlike my classmates [who are urban native students], I've got no social network to rely on. However, even though I am not at the same starting line as my classmates, I believe that as long as I study hard and go to the best universities, then I can still be competitive and get a decent job.' (No.07, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Table 7- 5 Perspectives on the Significance of Self-effort

Rural Students	"No pain, no gain"				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	1	4	54	17	76	0.852	0.837
	1.3%	5.3%	71.1%	22.4%	100.0%		
Private School C	1	6	66	15	88		
	1.1%	6.8%	75.0%	17.0%	100.0%		

Rural Students	"It is hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in a high social class"				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	12	39	21	4	76	3.503	0.320
	15.8%	51.3%	27.6%	5.3%	100.0%		
Private School C	17	51	19	1	88		
	19.3%	58.0%	21.6%	1.1%	100.0%		

However, it is worth noting that although most of the rural students from both public and private schools agreed that they can gain success through self-effort, they have significantly different goals and plans for their future. Namely, rural students had no doubt of the significance of self-effort in their future, but they had different opinions on what kind of future they want to achieve through their self-effort. The next section demonstrates the differences between the

expectations of rural students in public and private schools when it comes to their futures.

7.4.3 Aspirations and Expectations for the Future

Table 7-6 presents rural students' responses in terms of aspirations and expectations for their future. As can be seen from the table, when answering the question "What do you ideally want to do after graduation?", 97.4% of rural students from public schools said they would prefer to stay in the city after graduating from junior high school, while only 75.1% of rural students in private school had the same aspiration. Similarly, when answering "What will you do after graduation?", the proportion of rural students from public schools planning to stay in the city (92.2%) was also much larger than that of rural students from private school (72.7%). Even though 5.2% of rural students from public school changed their choices from "stay in the city" to "go back to hometown" when thinking of "practical plans for the future", still only a small number of rural students in public schools would consider back to their rural household registered hometown.

Table 7- 6 Aspirations and Expectations for the Future

Rural Students	Student's Aspirations for the Future							Total	X^2	p
	Stay in City				Go back to Hometown					
	Get a job	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High			
Public School AB	1	3	9	61	1	0	1	76	64.034	0.000***
	1.3%	3.9%	11.8%	80.3%	1.3%	0.0%	1.3%	100.0%		
Private School C	2	17	30	17	1	9	12	88		
	2.3%	19.3%	34.1%	19.3%	1.1%	10.2%	13.6%	100.0%		

Rural Students	Student's Expectations for the Future							Total	X^2	p
	Stay in City				Go back to Hometown					
	Get a job	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High	Be apprentice	Technical school	Senior High			
Public School AB	0	4	12	54	1	0	5	76	48.134	0.000***
	0.0%	5.3%	15.8%	71.1%	1.3%	0.0%	6.6%	100.0%		
Private School C	6	17	23	18	3	10	11	88		
	6.8%	19.3%	26.1%	20.5%	3.4%	11.4%	12.5%	100.0%		

Students' responses in the interviews also demonstrate that rural students in public schools have more unwillingness and resistance to studying and living in rural areas than their counterparts in private schools. In the interviews, almost every rural student from public schools held the viewpoint that the only reason they would be pushed back to rural areas would be because of the unfair school entrance policy, which requires them to get a higher score on the school entrance exam if they want to enter the same senior high school as their urban native classmates in Guangzhou. Otherwise, they think no one would "want to" leave Guangzhou city or "prefer" rural areas. This again reflects public schools' rural students' stronger antipathy to rural areas.

> 'I think the education quality in the country must be far inferior to that in the city. If I study in rural areas, I would definitely fall behind. Then how can I compete with my urban classmates in the university entrance exam?' (No.04, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> 'Why would I go back to that small village? My parents always warn me to work harder, otherwise I will be a loser who can only go back to my hometown and work as a farmer. Only people who cannot survive in the city will go back to their hometown. I am not a loser.' (No.45, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

> 'I was born and brought up in Guangzhou. I can't imagine that I would leave Guangzhou. However, due to my rural registered identity, I must get a much higher score than my classmates in order to continue studying in Guangzhou, so I have no choice but go back to my hometown where the standard for the school entrance exam is much lower.' (No.10, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Unlike most of the rural students in public schools who insisted on staying in the city, rural students from private school expressed more diverse thoughts on their future. Nearly one fourth of rural students in private school chose "go back to hometown" either as their "ideal" or "practical" plan. Moreover, unlike rural students in public schools who would generally choose to continue their study in

senior high schools like most of the native urban students do, only around 20% of rural students in private school wanted to continue their studies in general senior high schools. A larger proportion of rural students in private school preferred either to get a job directly, or to study in a technical school or become an apprentice; these latter two choices could lead them straight into a job. Compared with rural students in public schools, more rural students in private school in the interviews focused on whether they can get a job quickly, rather than on whether they can stay in the city or be educated like other native students in Guangzhou.

> 'I have no problem going back to my hometown, as I used to study in my hometown's primary school for three years before I came to Guangzhou. The education quality might be poorer in rural areas, but I believe as long as I study hard, I can still go to first class universities.' (No.61, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

> 'Rather than competing with Guangzhou natives here, I would go back to my hometown, where I could be very competitive in the labour market, as people know I studied in the big city before.' (No.64, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

> 'What's the point of studying in senior high schools? I think it is more useful to learn occupational skills in technical schools, as I can get a job afterwards. Unlike my classmates who go to senior high schools and then to universities, I can start earning money from 16 or 17 years old rather than wasting my parents' money to pay the tuition fees.' (No.69, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

> 'Even if I graduate from senior high school or from university, I still need to get a job in the end. Not to mention that some of my mum and dad's colleagues who graduated from universities are now doing the same job as my mum and dad. So it's better to skip the studying part and start working sooner.' (No.72, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

To sum up, it is worth noting that although rural students, no matter whether they

are in public or private schools, generally believe that they can have a bright future through their own efforts, their pictures of "bright future" are not the same. For rural students in public schools, the more similar their future is to urban native students', which is to continue studying in senior high schools, the better. For rural students in private school, however, there is no need to insist on the general education route as urban native students do. Many other factors, such as how to get a job and how to earn more money, were more important in their considerations.

7.4.4 Expectations for Education

As they did when asked about their perspectives on the future, when it comes to education, rural students, no matter whether they are in public or private schools, all agreed on the value of education but expressed different expectations for what education degree is the highest level they want to reach in the future.

As shown in Table 7-7, 86.9% of rural students in public schools and 81.8% of rural students in private school maintained that "Knowledge can change destiny". Moreover, over 85% of rural students from both public and private schools agreed with the statement that "Studying in school is not only for a diploma". Therefore, it can be confirmed from the questionnaire responses that rural students generally think highly of education.

Rural students' strong belief in education is also reflected in their interview responses. Most of the rural students from public and private schools hold the view that studying in urban schools is a crucial step in their personal development and social adaptation.

> 'Of course school education is important. Only by studying in urban junior high schools can I go to urban senior high schools and then to university. When I graduate from university, I will get an excellent job and finally settle down in the city. Until then, I can say I am an urban native rather than a rural migrant.' (No.75, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

> 'Thanks to my teacher and classmates, I know how to think and talk like urban natives. There is no gap any more for me to get on well with urban

natives.' (No.03, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Table 7- 7 Perspectives on the Significance of Education

Rural Students	"Knowledge can change destiny."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	1	9	49	17	76	0.959	0.811
	1.3%	11.8%	64.5%	22.4%	100.0%		
Private School C	1	15	52	20	88		
	1.1%	17.0%	59.1%	22.7%	100.0%		

Rural Students	"Studying in school is not only for a diploma."				Total	X^2	p
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree			
Public School AB	4	7	45	20	76	2.772	0.428
	5.3%	9.2%	59.2%	26.3%	100.0%		
Private School C	1	10	50	27	88		
	1.1%	11.4%	56.8%	30.7%	100.0%		

However, although rural students in both public and private schools agree on the significance of education, their parents' and their own expectations regarding what education degree they ought to achieve are significantly different. Table 7-8 presents that 86.8% of rural students from public schools and 88.2% of their parents hope they can get at least a college degree, while only 50.0% of rural students from private school and 55.7% of their parents want them to continue studying at colleges or universities. Comparatively, rural students in public schools expressed significantly higher expectations for their academic outcomes.

Table 7- 8 Expectations for Education

Rural Students	Parents' Education Expectation				Total	X^2	p
	Finish Junior High	Finish Senior High	College degree	University or above			
Public School AB	1	8	50	17	76	21.820	0.000***
	1.3%	10.5%	65.8%	22.4%	100.0%		
Private School C	8	31	40	9	88		
	9.1%	35.2%	45.5%	10.2%	100.0%		

Rural Students	Student's Education Expectation				Total	X^2	p
	Finish Junior High	Finish Senior High	College degree	University or above			
Public School AB	1	9	41	25	76	29.180	0.000***
	1.3%	11.8%	53.9%	32.9%	100.0%		
Private School C	10	34	35	9	88		
	11.4%	38.6%	39.8%	10.2%	100.0%		

In the interviews, it was also rural students from public schools who expressed a stronger desire to achieve higher education degrees. However, it is worth noting that when rural students from private school explained why they don't want to continue their education in universities or colleges, many of them clarified that they have no choice but to stop their studies after graduating from junior high schools. For many rural students in private school, stopping their education after high school study is seen as a matter of necessity since they think they are short of money or family support.

> 'My mum always said there is no need for girls to have a higher education degree. Maybe I will have a different future if I go to university, but none of my family agree to me continuing my education.' (No.71, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

> 'As an elder brother, I have bigger responsibilities. Better to start work soon so I can support my younger brother to continue his studies.' (No.67,

Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

> 'Do I want to get a BA or even MA degree? Yes, I want to. In that way, I may be able to get a decent job, and no longer need to do manual work in the factory like my father. But we've just started our life in Guangzhou. I need to help my family earn more money as soon as possible so we can buy a house and finally settle down here.' (No.79, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

Therefore, from what has been discussed above, it can be concluded that rural students generally agree on the value of education, but when thinking practically, they may come up with different education plans due to the restrictions of family conditions or expectations.

7.4.5 Sense of Difference between Rural and Urban Areas

An informed comparison between rural and urban areas can only be made by rural students who have stayed in the city for less than five years and can be referred to as "one-and-a-half generation migrants". Considering that the students in this research are in the second grade of junior high school, most of these "one-and-a-half generation migrants" should be 12-15 years old; accordingly, it can be calculated that these students previously lived in rural areas for at least seven years. Unlike the "second generation migrants" who were born in cities or migrated into them at an early age, "one-and-a-half generation migrants" have experience living in both rural and urban areas. By comparing their own experiences in rural and urban areas, these rural students provided their estimations on how much difference there is between their Huji registered areas (rural areas) and Guangzhou. These living experiences included their studies, such as "ways of teaching"; social interaction, such as "main entertainment places"; and lifestyle, such as "the definition of fashion".

Table 7-9 shows that there is no statistical difference between public and private schools' "one-and-a-half generation" students' perceptions of rural-urban differences. Accordingly, it can be concluded from this non-significant result that rural students who have similar migration experiences hold similar views on rural-

urban differences regardless of whether they attend public or private schools.

When looking closely at these students' responses in the interview, it is worth noting that rural students from public and private schools were using different groups as references when comparing the differences between rural and urban areas. Even though rural students from public and private schools came to the same conclusions on major differences between rural and urban areas, the so-called "urban people" in their comparisons were not the same. For rural students from public schools, the reference group they used to understand urban areas was usually their urban classmates or neighbours, who are mostly Guangzhou natives. Meanwhile, for rural students in private school, the "urban natives" they referred to were actually not urban-registered people but rural migrants who have just lived in Guangzhou for a much longer time or speak native Cantonese more fluently than them. In fact, since these rural students are being educated in a private school run exclusively for children of migrant workers and live in neighbourhoods where most of the residents are migrants, they actually have limited access to natives of Guangzhou. Accordingly, unlike rural students in public schools, private school students' knowledge of urban areas is built on their interactions with other rural migrants rather than natives.

> 'I don't think there are any differences between my hometown and here. For example, I had many friends in my hometown, and I also made many friends here. Before I came to Guangzhou, I thought urban people may fancy high-tech products or fashionable things, but after I came here, I found that this is not the case. The phones that my classmates are using or the social topics that my classmates are talking about are just like my old friend' interests in my hometown.' (No.86, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

Table 7- 9 T-test on Rural-Urban Perceived Difference

Living in city for less than 5 years	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Rural-urban Difference in Class Study					
Public School AB	14	3.06	0.687	-0.662	0.510
Private School C	54	3.18	0.601		
Rural-urban Difference in School Interaction					
Public School AB	14	3.27	0.904	0.950	0.346
Private School C	54	3.02	0.865		
Rural-urban Difference in Life Outside of School					
Public School AB	14	3.31	0.879	0.984	0.329
Private School C	54	3.06	0.895		
Rural-urban Difference Summary					
Public School AB	14	3.20	0.718	0.522	0.603
Private School C	54	3.10	0.626		

In conclusion, as they are talking about different urban reference groups, it is hard to say whether rural students in public and private schools hold the same view of rural-urban differences. It is the difference in reference groups that we should pay more attention to when considering rural students' comments on "city" or "urban residents".

7.4.6 Self-assessment of Social Integration

To compare how well rural students are socially integrated into the city in public and private schools, students' opinions on social integration and their difficulties on social adaptation were investigated in the research.

Table 7-10 demonstrates rural students' self-assessment on the question of the extent to which they are socially integrated into urban schools. It shows a statistically significant difference between public and private school students. Nearly half of rural students in public schools (49.3%) are confident they are

completely integrated into urban communities, while only one quarter of students (25.0%) in private school gave the same answer. Over half of rural students in private school (56.8%) answered that they are "almost integrated". Comparatively, rural students from public schools thought themselves more integrated into urban schools. The conclusion is also supported by students' responses in the interviews, as only the interviewees from the private school expressed the view that they will never integrate into the urban community due to their 'migrants' identity.

> 'I will never be the same as an urban people because my whole family are rural migrants. No matter how many years pass, I will still see myself as an outsider in this city.' (No.83, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

Table 7- 10 Perspectives on Social Integration

Rural Students	Student's Social Integration				Total	X^2	p
	Only a little	Majority	Most	All			
Public School AB	4	6	26	35	71	11.580	0.009***
	5.6%	8.5%	36.6%	49.3%	100.0%		
Private School C	3	13	50	22	88		
	3.4%	14.8%	56.8%	25.0%	100.0%		

Another question to check rural students' degree of social integration is to investigate whether they have difficulties in adapting to urban life. The questionnaire designed to attain rural students' self-assessment on the difficulty of social adaptation includes questions on the difficulties of studying at school, such as "finishing homework on time", the problems of living in Guangzhou, such as "shopping in Guangzhou city", and obstacles in social interaction, such as "making friends with urban natives". In questionnaire I, rural students performed self-assessments in each category on a scale of 1 to 5, with a lower score meaning it is easier to adapt to urban life.

Table 7-11 shows that on average, the self-assessment scores of rural students from public schools were 0.5 lower than their counterparts in private school, which is a statistically significant difference. Compared with rural students from private schools, rural students from public schools considered that they

encountered less problems in adapting to urban study, lifestyle and social interactions.

Table 7- 11 T-test Rural Migrant Students' Difficulty in Social Adaptation

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
Difficulty in Study					
Public School AB	71	1.81	0.831	-4.073	0.000***
Private School C	88	2.34	0.818		
Difficulty in Life					
Public School AB	71	1.43	0.571	-4.704	0.000***
Private School C	88	1.93	0.728		
Difficulty in Social Interaction					
Public School AB	71	1.53	0.605	-5.239	0.000***
Private School C	87	2.09	0.711		
Difficulty Summary					
Public School AB	71	1.58	0.547	-5.598	0.000***
Private School C	87	2.12	0.650		

The rural students' self-assessment results are also in accordance with their statements in the interviews. When asked about difficulties living in the city, unlike rural students in private school who had different complaints about how difficult their urban lives are, rural students from public schools were unanimous in the view that they could hardly think of any difficulties in their urban lives. Moreover, it is worth noting that most rural students attributed "no difficulty" in social adaptation to their migration experience. In other words, rural students who find it is easy to study and live in Guangzhou were born or have lived in this city for many years.

> 'I grew up in Guangzhou. Although I don't have Guangzhou Huji, I think my lifestyle is just like urban natives'.' (No.31, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

> ‘I have no problem either studying or living in Guangzhou. Why? Because I was born here. I started to make friends with urban people when I was very little. If you are talking about difficulties in social adaptation, I can only imagine I may have adaptation difficulties if I go back to my Huji registered area, as I rarely lived there before.’ (No.10, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

> ‘Why would I have difficulties in social adaptation? Although my household registration record shows that I am a ‘rural migrant’, actually I am not [a migrant]. I was born here. I grew up here. I went to school here. I think I know Guangzhou city the same as my urban classmates.’ (No.06, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

Therefore, it can be concluded from the comparisons that rural students in public schools have found less difficulty in social adaptation. However, even though rural students in public school thought it easy to adapt to their urban lives, does this mean they have successfully integrated into the urban community? As a result, can rural students have the confidence to think of themselves as “Guangzhou people”? How rural students define their social identity will be discussed in the next section.

7.4.7 Social Identity

Even though rural students thought they have no problem integrating into urban communities, when answering the question, “Who are you?”, none of the rural students from public or private schools had the confidence to directly say they were “Guangzhou people” just like Guangzhou natives, no matter how long they have lived in the city. Moreover, when looking closely at students’ responses, it is worth noting that rural students from public and private schools expressed different thoughts on their “non-Guangzhou” identity.

Most rural students in private school clearly regarded themselves as “migrants” or “outsiders”. However, even though rural students in private school agree that they are not the same as Guangzhou natives based on their “migrant” identity, they still think highly of their living experiences in Guangzhou. One reason for this

is probably because rural students from private school were using the wrong groups as references to understand the city. As mentioned in Section 7.4.5, rural students from private school tend to build up their perceptions and knowledge of the city from their friends and neighbours, who mostly are rural migrants rather than natives. In fact, most of the urban living experiences they mentioned in the interviews were with people who are not natives. Considering that they have limited chances to interact with Guangzhou local people in their daily lives, they may be less likely to directly encounter misunderstandings or discrimination from urban communities. Ultimately, rural students from private school are generally comfortable with their identity and living conditions.

> 'Of course I am an immigrant, just like my parents.' (No.66, Rural-registered student, School C, Male)

> 'Living in Guangzhou is fine. Guangzhou people are friendly to rural migrants, as many of them used to be immigrants. My mum told me if they're tracing back to the last generation or the generation before that, many Guangzhou people's grandparents may be rural registered.' (No.68, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

> 'I used to think Guangzhou people may be mean to rural migrants, but since I came here, almost everyone has been so nice. My neighbours, for example, help each other, just like my friends in my hometown.' (No.70, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

Unlike most of the rural students from private school who were clear about their social identity, rural students in public schools struggled to find out who they are. On one hand, many rural students in public schools were using their urban classmates who are natives as references to understand their social identity. No matter how much they are like their urban classmates, they are still rural registered. Accordingly, these rural students had no confidence to directly say they are "Guangzhou people". On the other hand, they also didn't agree that they are rural migrants as most of them have never lived in rural areas. Ultimately, many rural students from public schools failed to define their social identity. Moreover, based on the interviews, compared with rural students from the private

school, some rural students from public schools held more negative views on Guangzhou and Guangzhou natives. Many students from public schools complained that they were looked down upon by local people or by their urban classmates.

> 'If I say I am a Guangzhou person, my classmates would say I am a liar as none of my family is a Guangzhou native. Even though I was born here, they still think I am not a Guangzhou native.' (No.05, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> 'Maybe you can call me a 'New Guangzhou person? As I was born in Guangzhou, I don't think I am a migrant like my parents. But no one here would treat me like a real Guangzhou person. I think the reason they look down on me is simply because all my family came from rural areas.' (No.41, Rural-registered student, School B, Male)

> 'I can't answer your question, as I am confused on my social identity. I used to think I was a Guangzhou native as I was born here, but my parents always say to me that I should never forget I came from my hometown as it is the root of my family. In fact, I don't know where my roots are. Definitely not that small village, the so-called hometown, as I've never been there before.' (No.46, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

Therefore, it can be concluded from the interviews that rural students from public and private schools hold different views on their social identity. While rural students from private school were comfortable with their "migrants" identity, rural students from public schools, stuck in the crevice of rural and urban communities, struggle to understand who they are. Moreover, due to different referencing groups, rural students from private school hold more positive views of their urban lives than their counterparts from public schools.

7.4.8 Opinions on Policies for Migrants

As can be seen from the interview records, generally rural students from private schools provided more positive comments on their urban living experience. This positive attitude is also reflected in their views on Guangzhou's policies for migrants. There are many policies in Guangzhou that set higher standards or more

limitations for rural migrants. For example, rural students have to pay tuition fees to enter schools in Guangzhou, while for urban natives, the nine-year education from primary school to junior high school is free. Additionally, rural students must get higher scores in the school entrance exam if they want to go to the same senior high school as their urban classmates. Rural students' parents also suffer from unfair policies. They must work harder and pay more taxes to get same medical treatment and other social welfare. Looking at the terms and conditions, most of these policies are extremely harsh to people who recently migrated into Guangzhou city. Therefore, rural students in private school can be supposed to suffer from most of these policy restrictions, however, they seem to accept the policy unfairness well, or surprisingly even better than rural students from public schools. In the interviews, only rural students from public schools had complaints on the policies' social exclusion of rural migrants.

> 'I understand there are many policies in Guangzhou to exclude migrants, but all my classmates are rural registered. We all need to pay the tuition fee and get higher scores. It is same difficulty for everyone, so why should I complain about it?' (No.63, Rural-registered student, School C, Female)

> 'Unlike my urban classmates, I need to pay tuition fee to enter school and get a higher score to pass the entrance exam to go to senior high schools. These unfair policies kept reminding me that I am not the same as my urban classmates. Though I have some urban friends to study and share gossip with, I understand clearly that we are not the same. Only by studying harder and harder can I get same achievements as my urban classmates.' (No.08, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Conclusively, rural students in private school hold more positive views on policies for migrants. Again, private school students' positive attitudes on urban policies can be attributed to their having had fewer interactions with urban natives. Being educated in private schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers and living in neighbourhoods where most residents are migrants, rural students from private school have limited access to local people, which gives them fewer chances to clearly see how urban natives misunderstand and exclude rural migrants. Accordingly, rural students in the private school have a lower sense of

relative deprivation than their counterparts in public schools.

7.5 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, many conclusions have been drawn from comparisons of the behaviours and perspectives of rural students in public schools and private schools. Compared with those of rural students in private schools, the lifestyles of rural students in public schools are more similar to urban students' lifestyles. For example, they have more organised activity arrangements in their gym class or after school while rural students in private schools just play around. Rural students in public school also show more care about public affairs. For example, rural students from public schools had a formal election campaign when selecting their student representatives, while student representatives in private schools were just nominated by teachers. Therefore, through the benefit of having more chances to interact with urban students, rural students in public school are living a more urbanised lifestyle. However, does this high level of similarity mean that rural students in public schools adapt to urban live better? In the comparisons of students' perspectives, many differences emerged between rural students from public and private schools. For example, while rural students from both public and private schools share a strong belief in self-effort, they expressed different plans for their futures. While rural students from both public and private schools agreed on the significance of education, rural students in public schools and their parents expressed higher expectations for education achievement than their counterparts from private schools. Though no statistical significance has been found among "one-and-a-half generation" students in public and private schools on the subject of rural-urban differences, rural students in urban public schools have lower levels of difficulty in social adaptation, and their self-assessment scores on social integration are usually higher than those of the students in private schools.

However, it is still hard to draw a conclusion on which group of students are better adapted to urban life. Although rural students in public schools have higher expectations for their future and education, surprisingly they feel more marginalised in the city and made more negative comments on their interaction experiences with urban people than rural students from private schools. When it comes to social identity, although rural students from private schools agree that

they are definitely not Guangzhou natives, they are generally getting used to living in Guangzhou as an ‘outsider’. Rural students in public schools, however, struggle in finding their social identity. From their perspectives, they do not belong to their Huji registered area as they were even not born in that place, nor do they belong to Guangzhou as they are so-called ‘rural migrants’. Stuck in the crevice of rural and urban identity, they do not show happiness regarding their highly urbanised lifestyle. With confusion around their social identity, rural students from public schools show a relatively lower sense of social belonging and a higher sense of relative deprivation than their counterparts from private schools.

In conclusion, after comparing rural students from public and private schools, the research failed to draw a simple conclusion on whether rural students in public schools adapt to urban lives better or not. It can be inferred from the research that the “studying together” model in public school does not necessarily mean better adaptation. More chances to interact with urban natives could bring more opportunities for development, but they could also bring more pressures to deal with.

Education in public schools may play a dual role in rural students’ social adaptation. While it provides rural students with more chances to learn from urban students, it also brings rural students into the conflict of rural-urban cognition. Education’s dual role will be further explained in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 Factors Influencing Rural Students' Social Adaptation in Urban Public Schools

8.1 Introduction

Based on the research findings presented in Chapters 6 and 7, rural students in public schools can only be regarded as partially adapted rather than completely well-adapted to their urban school lives, as they still suffer from many difficulties in social adaptation. Moreover, rural students in public schools failed to show significant superiority in social adaptation when compared with their counterparts in private schools. Although rural students in public schools have more opportunities to learn from urban natives, they also encounter more rural-urban conflicts due to direct interactions with urban communities. In this chapter, both rural students' adaptation and maladaptation in public schools will be attributed to their education environments.

To make sense of the research findings, this chapter aims to explain the mechanisms of how the education model in public schools, in which rural students are studying together with urban natives, have helped or put pressures on rural students' social adaptations in the city. The dual role of education is discussed in Section 8.2, which is mainly based on Pierre Bourdieu's Reproduction Theory and Inclusive Education Model. These two theoretical starting points will shape and inform the research into how education not only reproduces social division but can challenge such tendencies as well. Moreover, this chapter evaluates the effects of family background on rural students' social adaptation process in Section 8.3. Finally, a more comprehensive explanation model that considers the dual effects of education and family social-economic status is developed in this chapter.

8.2 The Dual Role of Education in Public Schools

Educating rural and urban students together may not only help children of migrant workers' social adaptation in the city, but may also bring pressures to rural students which impede their social integration into urban communities. This

section discusses the dual roles of education as an agent of social reproduction and an opportunity for connecting urban natives and rural migrants. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Reproduction Theory and Inclusive Education Model, I will illustrate the mechanisms of how education in public schools promotes or impedes rural students' adaptation to their urban lives.

8.2.1 The Exclusive Side of Education

As introduced in Chapter 5, Pierre Bourdieu used an analytical model, [(Habitus)*(Capital)]+Field=Practice, to explain why education is an important agent of cultural reproduction for the continuity of social inequity and how education unconsciously transforms people's symbolic or economic inheritance into cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu, 1984).

In this analytical model, a "field" is a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relationships. More specially, a field is a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of certain species of capital, capital being whatever is taken as significant for social agents, which means the position of each particular agent in the field is a result of interaction between the specific rules of the field (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993). According to these rules, activity develops in the field, which works like a marker in which actors compete for the specific benefits associated with it. This competition defines the objective relationships between participants through factors like the volume of capital they contribute. The operative capital in the field is the set of resources which can be used to obtain an advantage within it. Therefore, "capital" is a factor of the field dynamics, as well as a by-product of the field which does not exist outside of it. Different species of capitals perform in different fields, which in turn are defined by the power balance exerted by the capital. "Habitus" can be defined as the individual's personality structure: the composite of an individual's lifestyle, values, dispositions, and expectations associated with particular social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1990a). As a result of understanding their place in the social structure, an individual is able to determine what is achievable or possible in their life. Bourdieu argued that the reproduction of the social structure results from the habitus of individuals (Bourdieu, 1990b).

By use of the analytical tool, Bourdieu's Reproduction Theory is mainly concerned with how education, as an agent for reproducing cultural capital and legitimate school and cultural tyranny, can create segregation among different social classes and finally strengthen the link between original class membership and ultimate class membership (Bourdieu, 1984, Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

This chapter adopts Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital to facilitate my empirical investigation. It conceptualizes public schools as a field and examines how rural students change their habitus and gain capital when interacting with urban students and teachers, which makes them competitive in their future social mobility. Although public schools are delivering "inclusive education", which let rural students and urban students study together, public schools are still in the general education reproduction system. Apart from accepting rural students, urban public schools have not changed other education settings, such as the rules of selecting A-level students or the ways of delivering learning and teaching services. In other words, the rules of this education field remain unchanged, no matter whether rural students exist as actors in the field. In this case, it can be inferred from Bourdieu's theory of Cultural Reproduction that education in public schools still has an exclusive side that serves social reproduction, just like other schools.

The following is a brief outline of how the social reproduction mechanism works in the public school field. Firstly, unequal education policies already put rural students and urban students in segregated positions. Then during rural students' interactions with urban students and teachers, the difference between rural migrants and urban natives is expanded and strengthened. As whether rural students can integrate into the field relies on their interactions with other actors in the field, urban students and teachers may exclude rural students from the education field by imposing their dominant urban culture upon children of migrant workers through daily interactions. Moreover, as this education field is dominantly ruled by the urban community, rural students' original capital required from rural parents and families may make it hard to acquire any priority when competing in public schools where the urban community controls the mainstream and authority. On the contrary, native students may be more competitive in accumulating cultural and social capital in the urban education system. In order to gain new

capital in the field, rural migrant students struggle to change their habitus to a more urbanised style. Many rural students may fail in this adaptation process, which may lead to their maladjustment in the urban community. It is possible that some rural students can successfully adapt to the rules in the field and change their habitus to gain capital. However, in this case, rural students give up all their rural habitus and are assimilated by the urban community. As new urbanites, rural students are eager to integrate into the urban community and get rid of their rural background. Accordingly, rural habitus is eliminated rather than allowed to coexist with urban habitus in the field. In the end, the urban community successfully maintains its superiority in the city and reproduces the existing social segregation between rural and urban groups. Moreover, rural migrant children are more likely to attribute their urban classmates' success in academic outcomes and social networks to their self-effort rather than their urban superiority. Having failed in social adaptation, rural students would only blame themselves for not working hard enough or not having the required talent, rather than criticizing the inequity of the competition in the public school field. Through strengthening the social segregation and stratification between rural and urban communities, education in public schools turns out to be a tool for social exclusion and reproduction, which brings pressures onto rural students' interactions with urban communities and further impedes rural students' social adaptation in the city.

Specifically speaking, the influence of the education field on rural-urban segregation and social reproduction can be reflected in the following aspects. Firstly, although rural students and urban students can study together in the same classroom, they are still facing unfair education policies which divide student groups based on their household registration records. For example, rural students have to pay tuition fee to enter schools, while it is free for urban natives. Rural students have to get higher scores to continue their studies in senior high schools, while the score requirement for urban native students to enter the same senior high school is much lower. Not only rural students from public schools, but their parents also face many policies unfair to rural migrants, which limits their ability to secure an equal footing with natives in the city, as I described in Chapter 2. These policies keep reminding rural students of the city's unfair rules to rural migrants. Ultimately, it is not hard to understand why rural students from public schools fail to define themselves as 'Guangzhou people' in the interviews, even

though they were born in or have lived in Guangzhou for many years. With various policy limitations on rural migrants, these rural students can hardly build up the same sense of social belonging as their urban classmates, which may have profound influence on their social interactions.

> 'I must study harder as I need a higher score to go to senior schools. Otherwise, I have to drop out of school, just like my parents who were looked down on by urban people as the less educated group. When my urban classmates are busy in discussing where to travel during summer vacation, I need to go extra to tutoring for higher scores. They can play and relax as much as they want, but I can't.' (No.09, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

> 'Yes, I understand there are many policies that are different for migrants. For example, it is much harder for migrants to get housing loans from the bank. Even though my parents work day and night, we are still renting a small flat. My parents always say to me I must study harder, get a better job, and earn more money in order to have the same quality of life as my urban classmates.' (No.05, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

Secondly, rural students and urban students studying together means rural students have more opportunities to communicate with urban natives. However, it cannot be taken for granted that more chances of communication lead to a better understanding of each other. During the daily interactions, rural students may suffer from urban classmates' unintentional misunderstanding or discrimination against rural people. Even though in some cases, urban students do not mean to discriminate against rural students, their unintentional misunderstanding still drives rural students away from the education field. For instance, during the interviews, urban students teased rural students for knowing about nothing but studying. However, as can be seen from rural students' responses, the reason rural students focus on studying and spend limited time on social activities is because they must get higher scores to continue their studies, as I introduced in Chapter 6. Instead of understanding the unfairness of the education policy and showing more care for rural students' difficulties, most urban students just label rural students as "study machines" and refused to have more

conversations with rural students apart from study-related topics.

> ‘What can I chat about with them? Fashion? The latest video games? Celebrity gossip? They look so bored and only care about studying.’ (No.12, Urban-registered student, School A, Male)

Moreover, as presented in Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.1), many urban students hold the view that “The city is better than the country in all aspects”. Their urban superiority blocks them from accepting anyone who is not sufficiently urbanised; if rural students keep their rural habitus and behave unlike urban natives, urban students may not want to make friends with them. Only by dressing like urban students and following urban students’ social topics and lifestyles can rural students be accepted by their urban classmates. Under such circumstances, to integrate into the class, rural students have no choice but to give up their rural habitus. Eventually, the communication between rural and urban students turns out to be a process for pushing rural students to change their habitus in order to be the same as urban students, instead of a process of mutual understanding of each other’s own habitus. This assumption can be supported by the differences in the frequency of social interaction demonstrated in Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.2). While rural students are more active in communicating with urban students, urban students less frequently interact with their rural classmates, especially when it comes to building up closer relationships, and the social acceptance gap widens. In the interviews, some urban students stated that the reason they do not want to make friends with their rural classmates is that rural students sometimes fail to keep up with their conversation topics. Accordingly, urban students have no interest in communicating with them. Urban students’ dominant role in communication and interaction may put rural students in a relatively inferior position in the field, leading to rural students’ maladaptation in the city.

Thirdly, not only urban students’ reactions, but also teachers’ attitudes may unconsciously marginalise rural students in the field. According to the analysis done in Chapter 6, teachers have a misunderstanding of the inclusive education policy. They generally hold the view that so-called “inclusive education” means every student should be treated without any difference. Based on this understanding, they insist on teaching rural students in the same way as urban

natives, regardless of rural students' previous education background. If rural students were educated in rural schools before they migrated into cities, the learning and teaching contents or methods they received in their hometown may be different from what and how they learn in urban schools. Accordingly, rural students may have difficulties catching up and achieving the same academic outcomes as their urban classmates. Instead of attributing rural students' failures in their studies to rural-urban education differences, teachers in public schools just blamed rural students' poor academic performance on their not being clever enough or not studying as hard as urban students do. From teachers' perspectives, rural students who fall behind should find the reasons for their failure within themselves, as the school has given them the same opportunities as urban students. Moreover, with stereotyped impressions of rural people, teachers in public schools provide much less support to rural migrant students than the students need, which further impedes rural students' adaptation in the education field. In the interviews, many teachers agreed that unlike urban students who participate in various school clubs, rural students only care about exams and scores. Considering rural students' lack of interest, teachers usually choose not to ask rural students to join many interest groups in class.

> 'Rural students are usually not interested in extracurricular or social activities. It is only the exam score they care about.' (No3, Teacher, School A, Female)

However, rural students' hard work on their studies does not mean they have low interest in class activities. According to rural students' responses, even though they have limited time to focus on things other than studying, they still want to get involved in class activities just like their urban classmates. It is the lack of teachers' guidance that reduces rural students' participation in class activities.

> 'I didn't mean to be a 'study machine' that knows nothing but studying. I also want to join those interest groups. However, I am not like my urban classmates who always have many things to share in various topics such as technology, art, and music. I don't know how to join their talk, and unfortunately, no one notice my difficulties and teaches me how to get involved.' (No.08, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Ultimately, urban teachers' lack of understanding puts rural students in a more isolated position in schools. In order to meet teachers' expectations, rural students have to adapt to urban school's learning and teaching methods on their own and catch up as quickly as possible, which results in more pressures on rural students' social adaptation.

As was discussed above, with the restrictions of policies and pressures from urban students and teachers, rural students may be marginalised in the field and fail to gain new capital. In order to integrate into the field, rural students have no choice but to follow the dominant culture of the field. Under such circumstances, rural students struggle to change their habitus to catch up with urban students and to gain approval from urban teachers. The difficulty in habitus change and adaptation may lead to rural students' social maladjustment and failure in gaining new capital in the field.

As was mentioned in Chapter 6, based on the questionnaire survey, rural students tend to have strong belief in "self-effort". However, while rural students are more likely to use self-effort to explain their success, they are also more inclined to attribute their social maladjustment to personal reasons rather than impediments from schools. When they fail in the study competition or feel that it is hard to get involved in urban social groups, they tend to blame themselves, as these rural students insisted in the interviews:

> 'I may not have talent for studying, just like my parents. They didn't continue their studies in senior high schools. Neither do I.' (No.05, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

> 'If I can be cool as my urban classmates, I may be popular at school. However, I know nothing but studying. I am just so boring.' (No.09, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

If rural students succeed in changing their habitus, they may be well-adapted to their urban lives. However, once these rural students are recognised as a new urban resident in school, they seem to stand on urban students' side and use urban people's stereotyped impression to judge rural people and make negative

comments about their hometowns. Assimilated by urban communities, rural students from public schools seem eager to get rid of their rural background. As was mentioned in Chapters 6 and 7, compared with rural students from private schools, rural students from public schools were less willing to talk about their hometowns and felt shame about their rural-registered identities. In this case, while rural students become integrated into urban communities, they also push themselves away from their hometowns. The education field, instead of inclusive to different household registration groups, impedes the harmonious coexistence of different habitus. By forcing rural migrants to give up their rural habitus, the public schools ultimately maintain the superiority of the urban community in the field.

> 'Can we stop talking about my hometown? I only stay there during Spring Festival, only one or two weeks every year … I am not a rural person, as I have far more knowledge in fashion and the latest social topics.' (No.06, Rural-registered student, School A, Male)

In conclusion, through strengthening urban students' superiority and marginalising children of migrant workers' rural identity, education in public schools plays a negative role in rural students' social adaptation process.

8.2.2 The Inclusive Side of Education

In Bourdieu's Reproduction Theory, "habitus" is not only reproductive but can be transformative in the field as well. Moreover, an inclusive trend has developed in education for migrant children as a replacement for segmentation or assimilation to solve migrants' cross-cultural and social adaptation issues. The Inclusive Education Model, which aims to eliminate education access barriers between different cultural systems so that culturally disadvantaged groups can be given more attention for the sake of multi-cultural harmonious coexistence, has already become a power challenging education's exclusive side.

Deriving from the "integration" and "return to the mainstream" philosophy in special education, the inclusive education model became an international trend from the 1990s to encourage children with disabilities or any special education

needs or in culturally disadvantaged positions to study in ordinary schools, which involved changes and modifications to content, approaches, structures and strategies (UNESCO, 2003). Based on UNESCO's "Guidelines for inclusion: ensuring access to education for all" (UNESCO, 2006), "Inclusive Education" is clearly defined as "increasing learning culture and community participation, and reducing the education system's internal and external rejection to deal with the diversity of learners' needs and process" (Zhou, 2008c).

According to these guidelines, "inclusivity" is an attitude of acceptance, belongingness and a sense of community. Accordingly, within an inclusive education model, education systems and practices are restructured with a view to meeting the distinctive needs of children who come from disadvantaged groups that often encounter institutionalized barriers and cultural exclusion to their learning. Schools, teachers, parents and social workers all need to take part in providing equal opportunities for joining campus activities to all students, especially enabling special students to get educated in ordinary classrooms just like others (Deng and Pan, 2003). Unlike traditional education which uses a unified cultural standard to select "social elites", inclusive education is a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all children, youth and adults through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing and eliminating the exclusion and assimilation of different cultures into one stream. Contrary to education reproduction, this "education for all" theory aims at improving cultural coexistence, communications and social mobility (UNESCO, 2003).

When looking at Chinese education for rural migrant children, many education policies were set up to help rural students have equal opportunities to study in the city together with urban registered students. For example, in public schools, instead of educating students separately based on their household registration status, schools must randomly select students to join each class. Moreover, public schools are required to develop various activities to improve communication between rural and urban students, such as arranging summer camps in rural areas in order to help urban native students better understand the countryside, and delivering psychological counselling services to help rural students deal with the stress arising from their social adaptation difficulties, as I mentioned in Chapter

3. These education settings may be able to improve social equity and open communication between rural and urban communities, which is in accordance with the inclusive education philosophy. As mentioned in the policy documents, the aim of China's "education for all" policy is to improve multi-cultural development rather than to produce social elites and to eliminate other students who fall behind. Accordingly, the Chinese inclusive education setting is the opposite of the essential rules of the traditional education model, which may challenge education's reproduction role. In fact, based on students' responses, it looks as though Chinese inclusive education has already played a positive role in promoting mutual communication between rural and urban students, leading to rural students' better social adaptation and higher expectations for their future. Many rural and urban students expressed in the interviews that thanks to this "education together" model, they have changed their initial impressions of rural-urban differences. Through more direct communications with their counterparts in public schools, they have established a more comprehensive understanding of different household registration groups, rather than only relying on stereotypes to judge people.

> 'I used to think urban people are likely to look down on rural people. However, my classmates here are all very nice. No one would treat me differently, even if they all knew I came from a rural migrant family. Many of us have grown up together since primary school, and my best friend is also an urban-registered student.' (No.31, Rural-registered student, School B, Female)

> 'I think there is no difference between rural-registered and urban-registered students. At first, I thought rural students may be not interested in joining in our topics as we talk about fashion, video games and many other things besides studying. However, after having a discussion with my desk mate (a rural student), I realized that rural students share similar topics to us. My desk mate can even beat me in the video game. How cool is he?' (No.23, Urban-registered student, School A, Male)

Additionally, not only did communication between rural and urban students help rural students' social integration, but it prompted rural students to have higher

expectations for their futures as well. As demonstrated in Chapter 7, compared with rural students from private schools, rural students from public schools have higher expectations for their academic achievement. Moreover, rural students from public schools are more likely to stay in the city and continue their education in senior high schools, which is similar to urban natives. In the interviews, many rural students from public schools stated that learning from urban students, they had new plans for their futures. Even though sometimes competition with urban natives brings pressures on rural students, they can also make us of this competition. From these rural students' perspectives, pressure is also power to stimulate them to study harder.

> 'Before I came to public school, I just thought to finish my study in high school, no need to go on further to university. However, many of my urban classmates aims to get their degrees in universities. For them, a high school degree means nothing but a loser in study. Therefore, I should catch up with them and study as hard as I can.' (No.07, Rural-registered student, School A, Female)

Eventually, benefitting from being educated together, rural students from public schools successfully lived in a more urbanised way and had more ambitious plans when thinking about their futures. The Chinese inclusive education model, educating rural and urban students together in public schools, may have created an inclusive environment which provided open communications between rural and urban students. Consequently, this inclusive environment may help rural migrant children deal with the rural-urban differences they encounter in the city, and adapt to their urban lives in a more proactive way.

In conclusion, education in public schools has both inclusive and exclusive influences on rural students' social adaptation process. On one hand, although Chinese inclusive education has taken some special education measures based on the values of inclusive education, public schools in the city still stay within the urban general education system. Therefore, some of public schools' education settings, like how to define A-level students and how to graduate from school, still obey the rules of the general education system. Consequently, based on Bourdieu's reproduction theory, schools may become a tool of social reproduction.

As a result, the general education settings in public schools, like many other schools, may have a negative influence on rural students' cultural adaptation process: it expands cultural exclusion to consolidate social reproduction. On the other hand, unlike schools run exclusively for children of migrant workers or other urban schools which do not have inclusive education systems, public schools have some special education settings based on an inclusive value system and inclusive education policy model. These particular education reforms, aiming to eliminate the barriers between different cultural systems and pay more attention to disadvantaged cultural groups for multi-cultural harmonious coexistence and communication, may increase the inclusive side of education and become a power against education's exclusive side.

8.3 Taking Family Background into Account

From the interviews, it is worth noting that sometimes there may be some misapprehension between rural students and urban students. While rural students complained that their urban classmates despised them simply because their Huji is not registered in Guangzhou, the urban natives gave different explanations for why they looked down upon these rural students.

> 'How can I make friends with rural students? They only dress in the school uniform, so I can't discuss fashion things with them. They only use some no-name brand mobiles, so we have nothing to talk about regarding high technology. Basically, we are on different social class levels that have nothing in common to share.' (No.24, Urban-registered student, School A, Female)

As can be seen from the above response, urban students may have negative comments on rural students, not because of their rural Huji record, but due to their poorer consumption level, which can be attributed to their families' lower social class. Therefore, apart from education field influence, the socioeconomic status of students' families may also play a key role in rural-urban interactions, which invisibly impedes rural students' social adaptation process. Meanwhile, when understanding the difference in rural student's social adaptation performances between public school and private schools, education models should

not be the only factor looked at to explain the differences. Maybe rural students have been selected to enter different schools due to their different family economic conditions and social networks. Ultimately, rural students from public schools and private schools may not only have differences in their school types, but in their family backgrounds as well.

The evaluation of families' social and economic status is mainly based on the analysis of students' family backgrounds, including their parents' occupations and education experience, family living conditions, the number of rural neighbours and relatives they have, and their contact frequency with rural neighbours and relatives. Students from different schools but in the same household registration system will be compared to understand whether the different school environment has an effect on the difference. Moreover, students from different Huji systems will also be compared to understand whether rural and urban students in public schools have any other differences in addition to their Huji status which may influence their perceptions and interactions. Finally, a comparison of family backgrounds will be made between rural students from public schools and private schools. Besides the influence of the school environment, whether any other factors should be taken into account to understand rural students' different adaptation performances will also be considered in this section.

8.3.1 Family Background Comparisons within the Same Household Registration Status

Tables 8-1 and 8-2 demonstrate the Pearson Chi-square test results of children's family background comparisons within the same household registration group. When comparing urban students in schools A and B, Table 8-1 shows no statistically significant difference in terms of the father's occupation, mother's occupation, father's education experience, living place, and number of and contact frequency with rural neighbours and rural relatives; the only statistically significant difference is in mother's education experience. These Chi-square test results suggest that urban students' family backgrounds in schools A and B are similar, meaning that the urban students who attend schools A and B are from similar levels of social class.

Moreover, Table 8-2 compares rural students from the two public schools, who also do not have any significant difference. Not only do students within the same household registration group have no significant difference in their family backgrounds, but they also showed many consistencies in their views on various things, such as social reproduction, stratification, rural-urban interactions, education and social mobility. In short, students with similar family background have similar perspectives.

To sum up, there is no significant difference between the two public schools when comparing students who come from same household registration groups. These findings are in accordance with the interviewed teachers' statements that the quality of education at both of the sample schools is on average in the district and should not be different from each other. Therefore, taking the findings of both the questionnaire surveys and interviews into consideration, it can be concluded that public schools A and B have minimal differences in education quality and school reputation, considering that their students with the same household registration status have similar family social and economic conditions and share similar values.

Table 8- 1 Pearson Chi-Square Test on Urban Students between Schools A and B

	N	X^2	*p*
Father's Occupation	87	2.511	0.643
Mother's Occupation	87	7.355	0.118
Father's Education Experience	87	7.367	0.061
Mother's Education Experience	87	12.059	0.007***[6]
Living Place	87	0.234	0.628
Number of Rural Neighbours	87	3.564	0.313
Frequency of Rural Neighbour Contact	87	2.748	0.432
Number of Rural Relatives	87	1.609	0.205
Frequency of Rural Relative Contact	87	2.171	0.538

[6] ***: $p<0.01$; **: $p<0.05$

Table 8- 2 Pearson Chi-Square Test on Rural Students between Schools A and B

	N	X^2	*p*
Father's Occupation	76	2.618	0.454
Mother's Occupation	76	2.016	0.733
Father's Education Experience	76	2.825	0.419
Mother's Education Experience	76	1.384	0.709
Living Place	76	0.263	0.608
Number of Rural Neighbours	76	6.607	0.086
Frequency of Rural Neighbour Contact	76	1.357	0.716
Number of Rural Relatives	76	0.424	0.515
Frequency of Rural Relative Contact	76	1.242	0.537
Migration Time	73^	3.241	0.072
Migration Distance	73^	7.749	0.052

^ 3 samples do not response this question.

As there is no significant difference between these two schools, it is possible to combine public schools A and B as one sample when comparing rural and urban students' family backgrounds. Specifically, the comparisons between rural and urban students will be done by comparing rural students from public schools A and B to urban students from public schools A and B.

8.3.2 Family Background Comparisons between Urban and Rural Students in Public Schools

As clarified in Chapter 6, rural and urban students may not only differ in their household registration status, but in their families' economic conditions and social relationships with rural communities as well. Accordingly, the family backgrounds of rural and urban students in public schools A and B are compared in this section. Table 8-3 illustrates a summary of Chi-square test results for comparisons of rural and urban students' family backgrounds. As the table illustrates, other than their contact frequency with rural neighbours, urban and rural students have many significant differences in their family backgrounds. How rural and urban students

differ from each other will be clarified in the following sections.

Table 8- 3 Pearson Chi-Square Test between Rural and Urban Students

	N	X^2	*P*
Father's Occupation	163	28.310	0.000***
Mother's Occupation	163	21.455	0.000***
Father's Education Experience	163	18.401	0.000***
Mother's Education Experience	163	14.878	0.002***
Living Place	163	41.722	0.000***
Number of Rural Neighbours	163	35.965	0.000***
Frequency of Rural Neighbour Contact	163	4.722	0.193
Number of Rural Relatives	163	14.398	0.000***
Frequency of Rural Relative Contact	163	21.467	0.000***

1. Parents' Occupation

Based on the students' responses, I classified parents' occupations into five categories: 1) Self-owned business; 2) Manager; 3) Worker with social welfare, including those that work in a factory; 4) Worker without social welfare, including those work as a waiter in a restaurant; 5) Unemployed, including housewives. Other than "manager" and "worker with social welfare", people in these occupations are not eligible to receive social welfare benefits as their employment status does not meet the criteria to join the national social welfare system.

Tables 8-4 and 8-5 demonstrate that fathers' and mothers' occupations both show statically significant differences between rural and urban groups. In Table 8-4, while the largest percentage of rural students' fathers' occupations is "self-owned business" (69.7%), "workers with social welfare" (46.0%) makes up the largest proportion of urban fathers' occupations. This means that most rural students' fathers, who have self-owned businesses, are not eligible to participate in the social welfare system, whereas most urban students' fathers have access to social welfare resources. In total, only 23.6% of rural students' fathers' jobs are covered

with pensions and other social welfare (23.6%=3.9% “manager” +19.7% “workers with social welfare”), while that percentage in the urban students’ fathers’ group increases to 60.9% (60.9%=14.9% “manager” + 46.0% “workers with social welfare”). In China, being covered by the social welfare system means lots of priorities when enjoying public services, like free or cheaper medical bills and continuously getting paid after retirement. Therefore, it can be concluded from Table 8-4 that generally urban students’ fathers have an advantage in the labour market compared with rural students’ fathers.

The comparisons of mothers’ occupations between rural and urban students in Table 8-5 further support the above conclusion. Judging from their job types, 23.6% of rural students mothers’ are in the social welfare system (23.6%=3.9% “manager” + 19.7% “worker with social welfare”), while that percentage in the urban group rises to 60.9% (60.9%= 14.9% “manager” + 46.0% “worker with social welfare”). In particular, only 3.9% of rural students’ mothers work as managers, whereas the percentage of manager soars to 14.9% in the urban mothers group. The findings in the mothers’ occupation comparison are consistent with the comparison results of fathers’ occupation, which also reflects rural migrant workers’ difficulties, as mentioned in Chapter 2, when competing with natives in the urban labour market. Therefore, it can be further inferred that generally rural students’ families, compared with urban counterparts, are less likely to find jobs with social welfare.

Table 8- 4 Distribution of Father’s Occupation by Household Registration Status

Household Registration status		Father’s Occupation					Total
		Self-owned business	Manager	Worker with social welfare	Worker without social welfare	Unemployed	
Rural	School A	9	0	4	0	0	13
	School B	44	3	11	5	0	63
	Total	53	3	15	5	0	76
		69.7%	3.9%	19.7%	6.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Urban	School A	18	10	30	2	2	62
	School B	11	3	10	0	1	25
	Total	29	13	40	2	3	87
		33.3%	14.9%	46.0%	2.3%	3.4%	100.0%
Total		82	16	55	7	3	163

Table 8- 5 Distribution of Mother's Occupation by Household Registration Status

Household Registration status		Mother's Occupation					Total
		Self-owned business	Manager	Worker with social welfare	Worker without social welfare	Unemployed	
Rural	School A	7	0	3	2	1	13
	School B	42	2	11	4	4	63
	Total	49	2	14	6	5	76
		64.5%	2.6%	18.4%	7.9%	6.6%	100.0%
Urban	School A	17	6	20	13	6	62
	School B	9	4	11	1	0	25
	Total	26	10	31	14	6	87
		29.9%	11.5%	35.6%	16.1%	6.9%	100.0%
Total		75	12	45	20	11	163

2. Parents' Education Experience

Tables 8-6 and 8-7 present parents' education experience, which is also different between rural and urban students with statistical significance. 68.2% of rural fathers' education experience is below secondary school level (68.2%=7.9% "Uneducated" + 55.3% "Primary school"), while this percentage is reduced by half (33.3%) in the urban group. Moreover, 23.0% of urban fathers graduated from senior school or above, while the percentage in the rural group is only 6.6%. In summary, Table 8-6 indicates that the education level of urban students' fathers is generally much higher than their urban counterparts. This difference is similar to students' mothers' education experience, as is shown in Table 8-7. For instance, while only 23.7% of rural students' mothers finished middle school or above, this percentage among urban students' mother increases to 50.6%.

Table 8- 6 Distribution of Father's Education by Household Registration Status

Household Registration Status		Father's Education Experience				Total
		Uneducated	Primary School	Junior School	Senior School or above	
Rural	School A	0	9	4	0	13
	School B	6	33	19	5	63
	Total	6	42	23	5	76
		7.9%	55.3%	30.3%	6.6%	100.0%
Urban	School A	1	25	23	13	62
	School B	0	3	15	7	25
	Total	1	28	38	20	87
		1.1%	32.2%	43.7%	23.0%	100.0%
Total		7	70	61	25	163

Table 8- 7 Distribution of Mother's Education by Household Registration Status

Household Registration Status		Mother's Education Experience				Total
		Uneducated	Primary School	Junior School	Senior School or above	
Rural	School A	2	8	2	1	13
	School B	18	30	12	3	63
	Total	20	38	14	4	76
		26.3%	50.0%	18.4%	5.3%	100.0%
Urban	School A	10	27	14	11	62
	School B	0	6	14	5	25
	Total	10	33	28	16	87
		11.5%	37.9%	32.2%	18.4%	100.0%
Total		30	71	42	20	163

According to many studies on family education, a higher level of education among

parents is very helpful for children, as they can help with their children's homework and pay more attention to their studies (Spodek and Saracho, 2014, Topping and Wolfendale, 2017). Therefore, this comparison makes it clear that urban students have an advantage over rural students in terms of their parents' education experience.

3. Living Conditions

Although it is hard to judge which type of job can earn more money, students' family economic status can still be partly reflected by their living conditions. Table 8-8 presents the comparisons of living places between rural students and urban students, which has a statistically significant difference according to the Chi-square test. Apparently, the majority of rural students live in a rented flat or a relative's house, while the majority of local students live in their own bought house. Although 28.9% of rural families have bought a house in Guangzhou, there are still large numbers of rural families that cannot afford the price of a self-owned house. Considering house ownership is an essential signal of family income in China, rural students' poorer living conditions indicate their relatively lower economic status compared with urban students. Even though they are educated together in public schools, there is still significant inequity in the economic backgrounds of rural and urban students.

Table 8- 8 Distribution of House Type by Household Registration Status

Household Registration Status		House Type		Total
		Rent/ Live with relatives	Bought/ Self-built House	
Rural	School A	10	3	13
	School B	44	19	63
	Total	54	22	76
		71.1%	28.9%	100.0%
Urban	School A	12	50	62
	School B	6	19	25
	Total	18	69	87
		20.7%	79.3%	100.0%
Total		72	91	163

4. Contact with Rural People

Students' contact with rural people includes their contact with rural registered neighbours near their living places in the city and their relationships with relatives who still live in rural areas. Table 8-9 shows students' living environment and their frequency of contact with rural neighbours. Although the statistical result on contact frequency is not significant, there is significance in the comparison of numbers of rural neighbours. The difference in the numbers of rural neighbours can be seen clearly in the first table. 18.4% of rural students' families live in an area with predominantly rural neighbours, and 17.1% of them responded that only a few of their neighbours are rural registered. On the contrary, only 1.1% of urban students' families live in neighbourhoods where the majority are rural people, but more than half of them (55.2%) live in places where the neighbours are predominantly natives.

Therefore, it can be inferred that even though they study in the same schools, rural and urban students rarely live in the same communities. Contrary to their urban schoolmates, rural students are more likely to live in a neighbourhood filled with rural migrant workers. This finding is also consistent with the previous research on living conditions, as can be verified from data showing that students who can afford to buy a house are also those whose neighbours are mostly urban registered. Therefore, considering the numbers of rural neighbours together with living conditions, it can be concluded that rural students and urban students have significant disparity in their families' economic status, which may further impede their social interactions with each other in public schools.

Table 8- 9 Distribution of Rural Neighbour Contact by Household Registration Status

Household Registration Status		Number of Rural Neighbours				Total
		Only a few	Some	Half	Majority	
Rural	School A	2	8	3	0	13
	School B	11	18	20	14	63
	Total	13	26	23	14	76
		17.1%	34.2%	30.3%	18.4%	100.0%
Urban	School A	37	19	5	1	62
	School B	11	9	5	0	25
	Total	48	28	10	1	87
		55.2%	32.2%	11.5%	1.1%	100.0%
Total		61	54	33	15	163

Household Registration Status		Rural Neighbour Contact Frequency				Total
		Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Rural	School A	0	5	8	0	13
	School B	2	21	36	4	63
	Total	2	26	44	4	76
		2.6%	34.2%	57.9%	5.3%	100.0%
Urban	School A	6	13	37	6	62
	School B	0	6	17	2	25
	Total	6	19	54	8	87
		6.9%	21.8%	62.1%	9.2%	100.0%
Total		8	45	98	12	163

In terms of contact with relatives who are still in rural areas, both the total number of and contact frequency with rural relatives are significantly different between rural and urban students. Table 8-10 demonstrates that 97.4% of rural student families keep contact with their rural relatives, while that percentage among urban student families is 77.0%. Moreover, 40.8% of rural student families keep frequent contact with their rural relatives, while this percentage decreases to 28.7% in the urban group. The findings indicate that even though rural migrants have moved into the city, they may keep contact with their rural relatives, such

as asking for a rural relative's help when dealing with countryside affairs or taking care of their elders. However, when they get a steady job or save enough money to help their elders move into city, their relationships with relatives in rural areas may weaken. This is suggested by the difference between the number of rural relatives and the frequency of contact with rural relatives. Nearly every rural student family has relatives in rural areas, but over half of them (59.2%) rarely keep contact with their rural relatives.

Table 8- 10 Distribution of Rural Relative Contact by Household Registration Status

Household Registration Status		Number of Rural Relatives		Total
		Have rural relative	Don't have rural relative	
Rural	School A	13	0	13
	School B	61	2	63
	Total	74	2	76
		97.4%	2.6%	100.0%
Urban	School A	50	12	62
	School B	17	8	25
	Total	67	20	87
		77.0%	23.0%	100.0%
Total		141	22	163

Household Registration Status		Rural Relative Contact Frequency				Total
		Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Rural	School A	0	4	9	0	13
	School B	0	27	34	2	63
	Total	0	31	43	2	76
		0%	40.8%	56.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Urban	School A	4	16	30	12	62
	School B	1	4	12	8	25
	Total	5	20	42	20	87
		5.7%	23.0%	48.3%	23.0%	100.0%
Total		5	51	85	22	163

5. Summary

By analysing the family backgrounds of rural students and urban students in public schools, it can be concluded that compared with rural students, urban students have advantages regarding their parents' occupations, parents' education experience, living conditions and close contact with urban communities. Firstly, rural migrant workers are less likely to participate in the social welfare system based on their interiority in the urban labour market, which may have a further effect on their children's understanding of the differences between migrants and natives. Secondly, rural parents' education levels are relatively lower than those of urban parents, which would probably result in differences in education investment. Thirdly, more rural students' families rent a flat or live with their relatives, which partly indicates the inequity of family economic status between rural and urban groups. Furthermore, besides the economic gap between rural students and urban students, they also differ in their relationships with rural communities. For example, rural students commonly live in neighbourhoods where rural neighbours form the majority, while urban students live in neighbourhoods with comparatively more urban natives. Moreover, urban students' contact with rural people including rural neighbours and rural relatives is less frequent than that of rural students. Therefore, although years of rural parents' hard work in the city can improve their families' conditions, as is demonstrated in Tables 8-8 and 8-9, 28.9% of rural students' families have bought their own house in the city and 51.3% of them live in neighbourhoods where urban neighbours form the majority, there are still large numbers of rural migrant children in relatively lower classes in the cities. Even though rural students are allowed to enter urban public schools, their families' economic status and social connections with urban communities still have not reached the same level as their urban classmates, which may have a profound influence on their integration into urban life.

In conclusion, even within the same public school, rural students have significantly different family social-economic backgrounds compared with their urban classmates. Accordingly, the household registration status is no longer the only factor to consider when understanding rural-urban conflict in public schools. Due to their different social-economic status, rural students may fail to become a member of urban students' networks, which ultimately leads to their isolation and maladaptation in the city. While rural students think urban students exclude them

for their rural identity, they do not notice urban students' real focus. In fact, it is their relative poorness reflected from their manner and behaviour that is despised and rejected by urban students.

8.3.3 Family Background Comparisons between Rural Students in Public and Private Schools

To assess whether studying together with urban natives is better for rural students' adaptation to their urban lives, Chapter 7 used rural students from a private school that is only for rural migrant children as references to compare with the social adaptation performances of rural students from public schools. According to the analysis in Chapter 7, compared with rural students in the private school only for migrants, rural students from public schools in which rural and urban students study together generally live a more urbanised lifestyle. However, when looking closely at rural students' values and perspectives, rural students from public schools may encounter stronger conflicts between rural and urban communities, leading to their confusion over social identity and negative comments on their urban lives.

When analysing the influencing factors behind rural students' social adaptation performances, the education field may play a significant role in either helping or obstructing their interactions with urban people, as stated in previous sections. Moreover, family background may become another key factor in understanding rural students' adaptation process. According to the literature review in Chapter 4, rural students have great diversity in terms of family background and migration experience. As mentioned in Chapter 5, besides the difference in whether they study together with urban natives or not, there are many other differences between public schools and private schools, including school entry standards, education fees and education quality. Accordingly, rural students may have already been divided through the school admission process, meaning that even in the same household registration group, rural migrant children studying in public schools or private schools may have significant differences in family background and migration experiences. Therefore, when comparing rural students in the same rural household registration status but studying in different school types (public and private schools), it is essential to test rural migrant children's different family

conditions and social networks, including parents' occupation and education experience, living conditions, contact with rural people and their migration experience. To find out whether different types of schools bring rural students' difficulties or opportunities during their urban adaptation process, rural students' family background should also be taken into consideration.

Table 8-11 summarises the statistical results of comparisons between rural students in public schools and private school. As seen from the table, besides studying in different types of schools, rural students from public schools and private school have significant differences in their parents' occupation, living conditions, number of rural neighbours, contact frequency with rural relatives and migration time and distance. Detailed comparisons will be further explained below.

Table 8- 11 Test on Rural students between Schools A+B and C

	N	X^2	*p*
Father's Occupation	163	9.280	0.026**
Mother's Occupation	163	11.386	0.023**
Father's Education Experience	164	6.647	0.084
Mother's Education Experience	164	2.754	0.431
Living Place	164	4.881	0.027**
Number of Rural Neighbours	164	23.405	0.000***
Frequency of Rural Neighbour Contact	164	2.392	0.495
Number of Rural Relatives	164	2.344	0.126
Frequency of Rural Relative Contact	164	9.558	0.023**
Migration Time	160	28.414	0.000***
Migration Distance	160	13.045	0.005***

	N	t	*p*
1.5 Generation Living in Guangzhou	68	6.154	0.016**
1.5 Generation Studying in Guangzhou	68	9.141	0.004***

1. Parents' Occupation

Table 8-12 shows that 69.7% of the fathers of rural students in public schools operate self-owned business while the percentage in private school is 49.4%. Consistent with this difference in fathers' occupation, rural students' mothers also have significant differences between public schools and private school. Table 8-13 illustrates that 64.5% of rural students' mothers in public schools have self-own businesses while the percentage in the private school is 42.5%. Moreover, while only 6.6% of rural students' mothers in public schools are unemployed, 14.9% of rural students' mothers in private school are unemployed.

To sum up, the parents of more rural students in public schools have self-owned businesses and fewer are unemployed compared with the parents of rural students in private school. Conclusively, it is rural students in public schools whose parents have the better employment status.

Table 8- 12 Distribution of Father's Occupation by School Type

Rural Students	Father's Occupation					Total
	Self-owned business	Manager	Worker with social welfare	Worker without social welfare	Unemployed	
Public School AB	53	3	15	5	0	76
	69.7%	3.9%	19.7%	6.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Private School C	43	2	36	6	0	87
	49.4%	2.3%	41.4%	6.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	96	5	51	11	0	163

Table 8- 13 Distribution of Mother's Occupation by School Type

Rural Students	Mother's Occupation					Total
	Self-owned business	Manager	Worker with social welfare	Worker without social welfare	Unemployed	
Public School AB	49	2	14	6	5	76
	64.5%	2.6%	18.4%	7.9%	6.6%	100.0%
Private School C	37	1	31	5	13	87
	42.5%	1.1%	35.6%	5.7%	14.9%	100.0%
Total	86	3	45	11	18	163

2. Parents' Education Experience

Table 8-14 introduces the different education experience of rural students' fathers in the different types of school. The percentage of rural students' fathers with primary school education experience in public schools and private school is close, 55.3% and 52.3% respectively, however, 36.9% of rural students' fathers in public school were educated to junior school or above while the proportion in private school is only 27.3%.

Table 8- 14 Distribution of Father's Education by School Type

Rural Students	Father's Education Experience				Total
	Uneducated	Primary School	Junior School	Senior School or above	
Public School AB	6 7.9%	42 55.3%	23 30.3%	5 6.6%	76 100.0%
Private School C	18 20.5%	46 52.3%	22 25.0%	2 2.3%	88 100.0%
Total	24	88	45	7	164

Table 8- 15 Distribution of Mother's Education by School Type

Rural Students	Mother's Education Experience				Total
	Uneducated	Primary School	Junior School	Senior School or above	
Public School AB	20 26.3%	38 50.0%	14 18.4%	4 5.3%	76 100.0%
Private School C	30 34.1%	45 51.1%	11 12.5%	2 2.3%	88 100.0%
Total	50	83	25	6	164

Table 8-15 shows that the education experience distribution of rural students' mothers in different schools is the same as their fathers'. More than half of rural students' mothers in public schools and private school finished their primary school, but 23.7% of rural students' mother in public school were educated in junior school or above, while the percentage in private school is only 14.8%.

From this comparison of rural students' parents' education experience, it is clear that the parents of rural students in public schools are more highly educated than the parents of rural students in private school.

3. Living Conditions

In terms of living conditions, Table 8-16 shows that 28.9% of rural students in public schools live in bought or self-built houses while the percentage in private school is 14.8%. Proved with the Chi-square statistical significance, the living conditions of rural students in public schools is better than that of rural students in private school. As parents' occupations and living conditions partly indicate the difference in family income, accordingly it can be inferred that the family economic conditions of rural students studying in public schools are generally better than those in private school.

Table 8- 16 Distribution of House Type by School Type

Rural Students	House Condition		Total
	Rent/ Live with relatives	Bought/ Self-built House	
Public School AB	54 71.1%	22 28.9%	76 100.0%
Private School C	75 85.2%	13 14.8%	88 100.0%
Total	50	25	164

4. Contact with Rural People

Based on the Chi-square test, rural students in public schools and private school have significant differences in their number of rural neighbours. Table 8-17 demonstrates that more rural students from public schools, compared with migrant children in private schools, live in areas where rural neighbours are in smaller proportions. In public schools, 48.7% of rural students answered that half or more than half of their neighbours are rural registered (48.7%=30.3% "Half" + 18.4% "Majority"), whereas this percentage increases to 81.8% for students from private schools (81.8%=52.3% "Half" + 29.5% "Majority"). A difference can also be

found in that 17.1% of rural students in public schools have only a few rural neighbours, while it is a smaller percentage (11.4%) in students from private school. The number of rural neighbours can also reflect students' living conditions and economic status, as fewer rural neighbours means living in more native communities, where usually the house price is much higher than those communities filled with rural migrant workers.

Table 8- 17 Distribution of Number of Rural Neighbours by School Type

Rural Students	Number of Rural Neighbours				Total
	Only a few	Some	Half	Majority	
Public School AB	13 17.1%	26 34.2%	23 30.3%	14 18.4%	76 100.0%
Private School C	10 11.4%	6 6.8%	46 52.3%	26 29.5%	88 100.0%
Total	23	32	69	40	164

Additionally, no statistical significance is found in contact frequency with rural neighbours. As shown in Table 8-18, over half of students in both public and private schools are rarely in contact with their rural neighbours.

Table 8- 18 Distribution of Rural Neighbour Contact Frequency by School Type

Rural Students	Rural Neighbour Contact Frequency				Total
	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Public School AB	2 2.6%	26 34.2%	44 57.9%	4 5.3%	76 100.0%
Private School C	6 6.8%	31 35.2%	44 50.0%	7 8.0%	88 100.0%
Total	8	57	88	11	164

When it comes to contact with rural relatives, though over 90% of students in both public schools and private school replied that they have relatives living in rural areas, their contact frequencies with these relatives are significantly different. Table 8-19 presents rural students' contact frequency with their relatives in rural

areas. While no rural student in public school "always" has contact with rural relatives, nearly 10% of rural students in private school have close connections with their relatives in rural areas. Rural students' families in public schools have much less interaction with their rural relatives, meaning that they may rely less on their rural social networks than their private school counterparts. This could also reflect that the families of students in public schools have generally built up a social network in Guangzhou rather than in their rural hometown. Rural students in public schools show loose relationships with rural areas, which can be further clarified by the migration experience analysis.

Table 8- 19 Distribution of Rural Relative Contact by School Type

Rural Students	Rural Relative Contact Frequency				Total
	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Public School AB	0	31	43	2	76
	0.0%	40.8%	56.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Private School C	8	36	44	0	88
	9.1%	40.9%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	8	67	87	2	164

5. Migration Experiences

As analysed in Chapter 7, 80.8% of students from public schools are second generation migrants (5 years or more in Guangzhou), meaning that the majority of students in public schools were born in or came to Guangzhou at an early age before entering public school. Meanwhile, 60.9% of students in private schools are one-and-a-half generation migrants (less than 5 years in Guangzhou). In short, the majority of students in private school have lived in Guangzhou for less time. Even only comparing the one-and-a-half generation group between public schools and private school, the time that one-and-a-half generation rural students in public schools have lived and studied in Guangzhou is generally longer than those in private school. Meanwhile, most rural students in public schools were born in Guangzhou or moved there at an early age. Therefore, it can be concluded that rural students from public schools have more living experience in Guangzhou than their counterparts from private school.

Moreover, in terms of migration distance, Table 8-20 shows that 74.0% of rural students in public schools come from areas within Guangdong province, while the proportion of Guangdong province internal migration is 48.3% in private school. The difference in rural students' migration distance between public and private schools is statistically significant, meaning that rural students who migrate from some rural areas closer to Guangzhou and then stay a longer time in Guangzhou have a better chance of entering public schools.

According to school admission policy, students who are eligible to enter public schools should have a study record in a local primary school, and their parents should have occupation certification and have paid at least three years' social welfare fees. Restricted by these policy regulations, those rural students who have recently migrated to Guangzhou can seldom meet the criteria. Take the study records as an example. In order to officially have a "study record" in Guangzhou, the student should have studied in local schools for at least two years. This requirement is easy for second generation rural migrants as they have lived in Guangzhou for over 10 years. For those students who have recently moved into Guangzhou, however, this requirement impedes them from applying for public schools. Therefore, they have no choice but to study in private schools which have lower thresholds for school admission. With these policy restrictions, rural students' school choices are dependent on their migration experiences.

Table 8- 20 Distribution of Rural Student's Migration Distance by School Type

Rural Students	Migration Distance				Total
	Near Guangzhou	Within Guangdong Province	Close to Guangdong	Far away from Guangdong	
Public School AB	11 15.1%	43 58.9%	14 19.2%	5 6.8%	73 100.0%
Private School C	5 5.7%	37 42.5%	27 31.0%	18 20.7%	87 100.0%
Total	16	80	41	23	160

6. Summary of Family Background Analysis

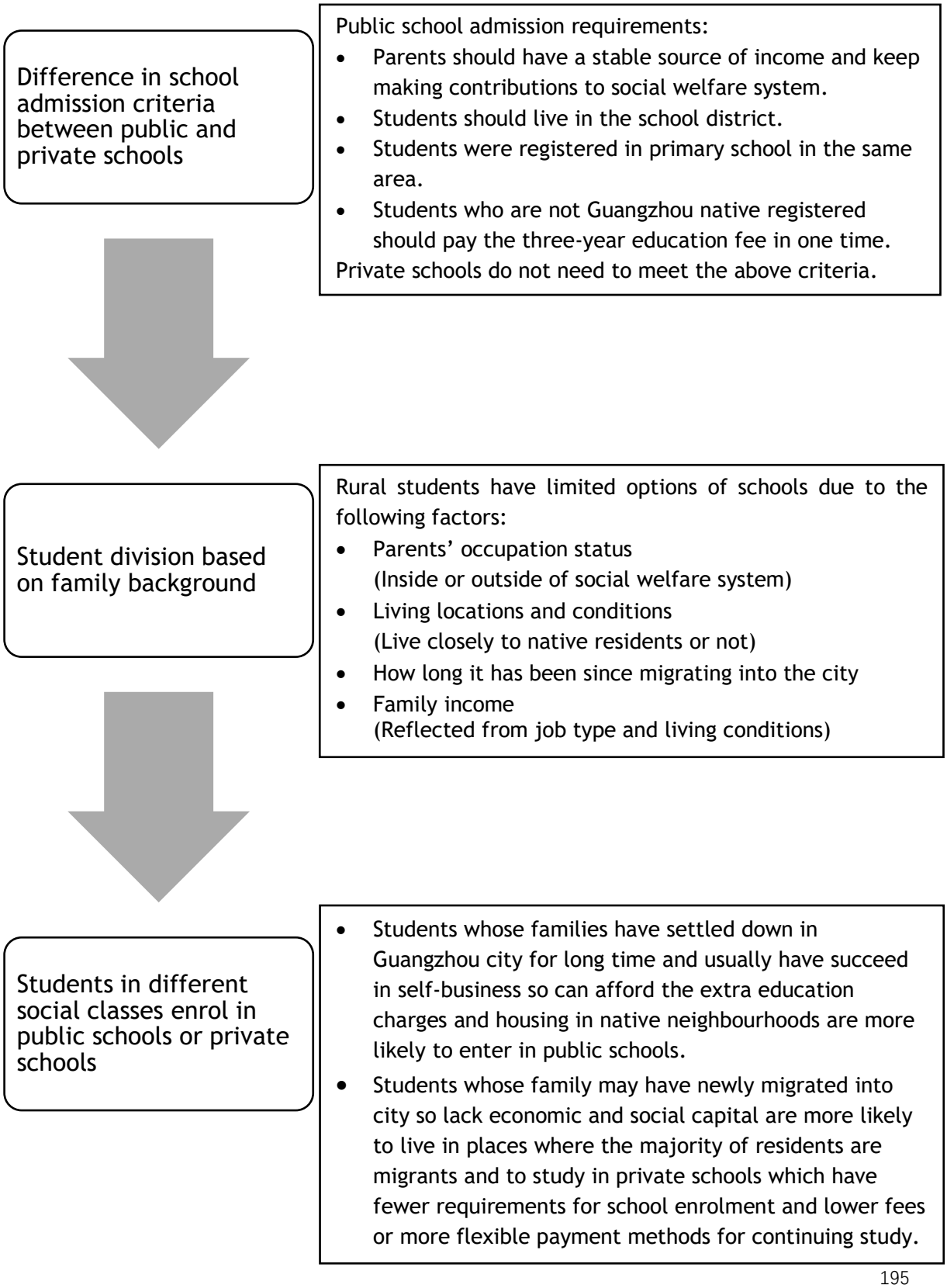
The results on the comparisons between rural students in public and private schools reveal that even though they belong to the same household registration group, rural students studying in public and private schools have a significant division in family economic status and migration experience, as rural students have already been divided based on their family social-economic conditions by school admission policies. The policy's influence on rural students' division is demonstrated in Figure 8- 1.

Considering that rural students in urban public schools usually have a higher family socioeconomic status, have lived longer in Guangzhou and have more urbanised neighbourhood relationships, they may be better adapted to urban lives even before entering school. With different family backgrounds, rural students from public schools and private schools stand on different starting lines, which may continue to have a profound influence on their social adaption in schools. Therefore, when comparing rural students' understandings of and reactions to the difference of rural and urban communities, the difference should be attributed not only to the education model (studying together with urban students in public schools or studying in private schools only for migrant students), but to rural students' families' economic class and social network as well.

After taking students' family backgrounds into account, the differences in many rural students' behaviours and opinions between public schools and private schools can be better explained. For example, as was stated in Chapter 7, rural students in public schools generally have higher expectations for their future and education achievement than their counterparts in private schools. This difference could be attributed to different school environments, as in public schools, urban students' help and simulation may encourage rural students to stay in the city. However, rural students' different expectations could also result from their different family social statuses. For those children of migrant workers in private schools, their families usually are not rooted in Guangzhou and frequently move to different places to find available jobs, so they still have the final option of returning back to their hometown. Those children of migrant workers in urban public schools were generally born in Guangzhou or immigrated into Guangzhou

city at early ages, and their hometown is Guangzhou while their rural hometown is an unfamiliar place. Therefore, the different family social status between rural migrant children in urban public schools and private schools could partly explain the difference in their aspirations and expectations for the future.

Figure 8- 1 Education Policy Influence on Rural Students' Division



Moreover, rural students' and their parents' expectations for education achievement may also result from their different family social backgrounds. Since rural students with lower family social status generally enter private schools with poorer education quality, while rural students with higher family social status usually enter urban public schools with better education quality, rural migrant children have been divided into two parts. As a result, those rural students with lower family social status would not expect to go to college or university while students with higher family social status hope to get a higher education degree to become more competitive in society.

In conclusion, when analysing rural students' perspectives on rural-urban cultural coexistence, communication and expectations for future social mobility, it is important to take into consideration not only the influences of their different school environments, but also their family backgrounds affect rural students' school choices and neighbourhood conditions.

8.4 Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the questionnaire and interview data, the research has found that children of migrant workers in public schools are generally well adapted to their urban school life. Additionally, compared with rural students from private schools, rural students from public schools have more urbanised behaviour and lifestyles. However, the research also indicates that despite studying together with urban native students, children of migrant workers still have many different values and perspectives which make them misunderstood by urban students and teachers, and marginalized in the schools. Some rural students in public schools are suffering more pressures around social integration compared with rural students in private schools. Conclusively, educating rural and urban students together not only helps children of migrant workers' social adaptation in the city, but this studying together model also brings pressures to rural students which impede their social integration into urban communities.

Both children of migrant workers' social adaptation and maladjustment performances can be attributed to the dual functions of education, meaning that education may either improve or impede children of migrant workers in their

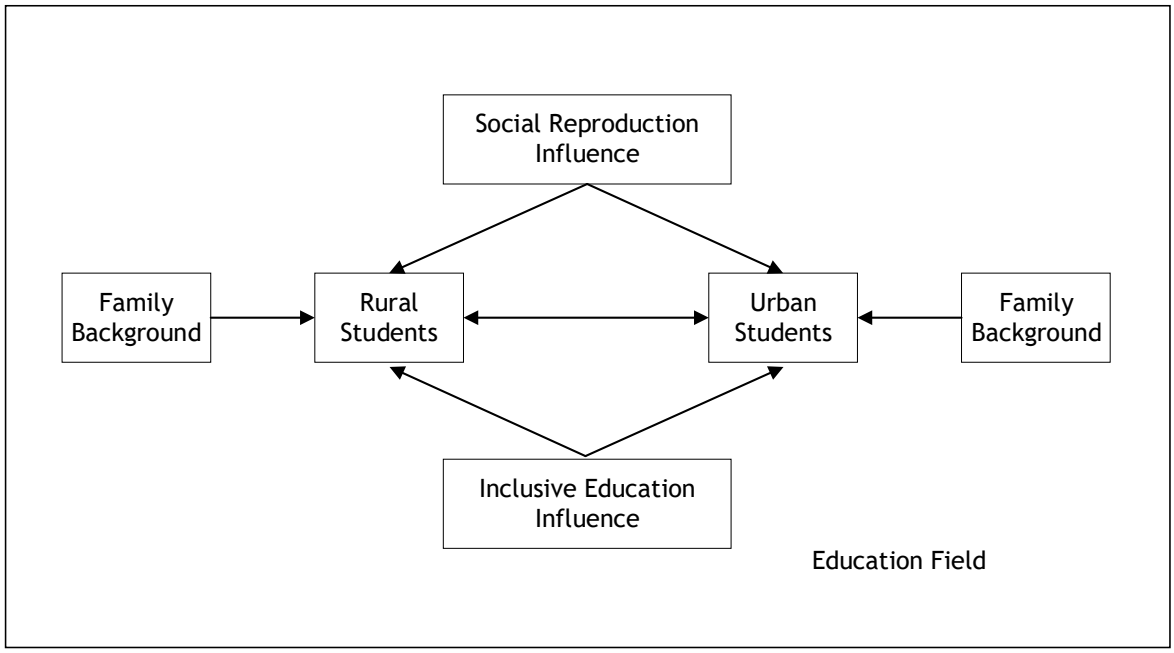
adaptation to their urban lives. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Reproduction and Inclusive Education Model, the mechanisms of how education not only reproduces rural-urban segregation but can challenge such tendencies as well are developed in the research.

Furthermore, students' families' social and economic backgrounds were also taken into consideration when explaining students' social adaptation performances. For example, within the same school, rural and urban students showed significant differences between each other in family social-economic status, and rural students from public and private schools were also significantly different in family social and economic conditions. Briefly speaking, urban students' family conditions were better than rural students in public schools, while rural students in public schools had better conditions than rural students in private schools. The difference in family backgrounds may have a profound influence on rural and urban students' perceptions. For example, while some rural students' thought their urban classmates looked down on 'country people', what urban students claimed to despise was the 'cheap lifestyle' originating in a family's lower social class rather than their rural household identity. Due to the restrictions of family economic conditions, rural students in public schools may not have as many fancy high technology products as their urban classmates. That is the reason why urban students are not willing to make friends with them. Therefore, family social and economic background is of great significance when considering rural students' social adaptation in the city.

In conclusion, the present study revealed a gap in the intentions of the inclusive education policy and the actual practices of the inclusive education programme for children of migrant workers. Inclusive education in public schools does give children of migrant workers more chances to communicate with urban natives. However, more chances at communication does not equal more benefits for rural students' urban adaptations. Even when the system is based on the principle of inclusive education, cultural discrimination and social segregation still exist in public schools. The so-called 'inclusive education' actually plays dual roles in rural students' social adaptation process, as it not only helps but also impedes rural students' integration into urban communities. Moreover, the effects of school education on students' social adaptations should be understood in combination

with the influence of family background. This more comprehensive explanation model, including the dual effects of education and family social-economic status, is concluded as follows:

Figure 8- 2 Explanation Model



References

ALBA, R. D., LOGAN, J. R., STULTS, B. J., MARZAN, G. & ZHANG, W. 1999. Immigrant groups in the suburbs: A reexamination of suburbanization and spatial assimilation. *American sociological review*, 446-460.

AN, X. 2013. Policy Research on Rural Migrant Children's Education Issue from Power Perspective. *Administration Reform*.

ANDERSON, L. E. 1994. A new look at an old construct: Cross-cultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 18, 293-328.

ARCHER, L., HOLLINGWORTH, S. & HALSALL, A. 2007. University's not for Me—I'm a Nike Person': Urban, Working-Class Young People's Negotiations ofStyle', Identity and Educational Engagement. *Sociology,* 41, 219-237.

ARCHER, M. S. 2003. *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*, Cambridge University Press.

BAO, C. & LIU, C. 2015. Rural Migrant Children in Primary School's Cultural Adaption and Improvement: Take Public School in Beijing. *Educational Science Research*.

BARKER, E. 2005. Crossing the boundary. *Religion and cyberspace*, 67-85.

BAUDER, H. 2002. Neighbourhood effects and cultural exclusion. *Urban studies,* 39, 85-93.

BEATON, D. E., BOMBARDIER, C., GUILLEMIN, F. & FERRAZ, M. B. 2000. Guidelines for the process of cross-cultural adaptation of self-report measures. *Spine,* 25, 3186-3191.

BENSON, R. 1999. Field theory in comparative context: A new paradigm for media studies. *Theory and society,* 28, 463-498.

BERGER, S. & PIORE, M. J. 1980. *Dualism and discontinuity in industrial societies*, Cambridge University Press.

BIAN, Y. 2004. Source and Functions of Urbanites' Social Capital: A Network Approach. *Social Sciences In China*.

BORG, W., GALL, J. & GALL, M. 1993. Applying educational research NY. Longman.

BORG, W. R. & GALL, M. D. 1989. Educational Research. White Plains. *NY: Longman*.

BOURDIEU, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge university press.

BOURDIEU, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Harvard University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. 1990a. *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*, Stanford University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. 1990b. *The logic of practice*, Stanford University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. 1998. *The state nobility: Elite schools in the field of power*, Stanford University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. 2000. *Pascalian meditations*, Stanford University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. & JOHNSON, R. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Columbia University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. & PASSERON, J.-C. 1990. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*, Sage.

BOURDIEU, P. & THOMPSON, J. B. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*, Harvard University Press.

BOURDIEU, P. & WACQUANT, L. J. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*, University of Chicago press.

CARR, M., BARKER, M., BELL, B., BIDDULPH, F., JONES, A., KIRKWOOD, V., PEARSON, J. & SYMINGTON, D. 1994. The constructivist paradigm and some implications for science content and pedagogy. *The content of science: A constructivist approach to its teaching and learning*, 147-160.

CARR, W. & KEMMIS, S. 2003. *Becoming critical: education knowledge and action research*, Routledge.

CASTRO, F. G., BARRERA, M. & MARTINEZ, C. R. 2004. The cultural adaptation of prevention interventions: Resolving tensions between fidelity and fit. *Prevention Science,* 5, 41-45.

CHAN, K. W. 2010. The household registration system and migrant labor in China: notes on

a debate. *Population and development review,* 36, 357-364.
CHEN, G. & YANG, J. 2010. Access to Compulsory Education by Rural Migrant's Children in Urban China: A Case Study from Nine Cities. *Journal of Education for International Development*.
CHEN, H. 2006. Sociological Analysis on Issues about Rural Migrant Children Adaptation in City. *Lanzhou Academic Journal*.
CHEN, J. 2010. *Research on City Adaption of Migrant Children: from the Perspective of Educational Life.* Ph.D., Fujian Normal University.
CHEN, X., HUANG, Q., ROZELLE, S., SHI, Y. & ZHANG, L. 2009a. Effect of migration on children's educational performance in rural China. *Comparative Economic Studies,* 51, 323-343.
CHEN, X., WANG, L. & WANG, Z. 2009b. Shyness‐Sensitivity and Social, School, and Psychological Adjustment in Rural Migrant and Urban Children in China. *Child development,* 80, 1499-1513.
CHEN, Y. & FENG, S. 2013. Access to Public Schools and Education of Rural Migrant Children in China. *China Economic Review*.
CHEN, Z. 2004. Peer Group Influence on Youth Development. *Journal of Ningbo University(Educational Science Edition),* 05.
CHINA STATE COUNCIL 2001. Decisions on Reform and Development of Compulsory Education. Beijing.
CHINESE STATE COUNCIL 2006. Chinese State Council's Recommendations on Solving Migrant Workers' Problems. Beijing: Chinese State Council.
COHEN, L., MANION, L. & MORRISON, K. 1994. Educational research methodology. *Athens: Metaixmio*.
COHEN, L., MANION, L. & MORRISON, K. 2013. *Research methods in education*, Routledge.
CRONJé, J. 2006. Paradigms regained: Toward integrating objectivism and constructivism in instructional design and the learning sciences. *Educational technology research and development,* 54, 387-416.
CROTTY, M. 1998. *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*, Sage.
DAVIS, J. M. & WATSON, N. 2001. Where are the children's experiences? Analysing social and cultural exclusion in'special'and'mainstream'schools. *Disability & Society,* 16, 671-687.
DENG, M. & PAN, J. 2003. Review of the Literature on Inclusive Education and Its Implications for Chinese Special Education. *Chinese Journal of Special Education*, 1-7.
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OF GUANGDONG PROVINCE 2015. Educational Statistics in Guangdong Province 2014. Guangzhou: Department of Education of Guangdong Province.
DUAN, C.-R., LV, L.-D., GUO, J. & WANG, Z.-P. 2013. Survival and development of left-behind children in rural China: Based on the analysis of sixth census data. *Population Journal,* 35, 37-49.
DUAN, C. 2008. Warning on Policy about Rural Migrant Children from French Youth Unrest. *China Youth Study*.
DUAN, C. & ZHOU, H. 2001. Situation Analysis on Rural Migrant Children in Beijing. *Population & Economics*.
FAN, C. C. 2004. The state, the migrant labor regime, and maiden workers in China. *Political Geography,* 23, 283-305.
FAN, X. 2006. Problems and Solution of Rural Migrant Children School. *Journal of Educational Development*.
FAN, X. 2007. Education Equality and System Guarantee-Situation Analysis on Rural Migrant Children Accepting Compulsory Education. *Research in Educational Development*.
FANG, L., SUN, R. C. & YUEN, M. 2016. Acculturation, Economic Stress, Social Relationships and School Satisfaction among Migrant Children in Urban China. *Journal of Happiness Studies,* 17, 507-531.
FENG, B. 2007. Rural Migrant Children's Education Equality: From Social Exclusion Perspective. *Education Research Monthly*.

FENG, B. 2011. Economic Exclusion and Rural Migrant Children's Education Equality. *Education & Economy*.
FRAENKEL, J. R. & WALLEN, N. E. 2003. *How to design and evaluate research in education*, McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
FU, C. & LIU, M. 2012. Policy Improvement of Compulsory Education for the Children Living with Their Migrant Worker Parents in City: A Case of Guangdong Province. *Urban Insight*.
GIDDENS, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*, Univ of California Press.
GOODBURN, C. 2009. Learning from Migrant Education: A Case Study of the Schooling of Rural Migrant Children in Beijing. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 29, 495-504.
GUANGZHOU CITY GOVERNMENT 2015. The Guidance on Guangzhou Compulsory Education Enrolment. Guangzhou: Guangzhou City Government.
GUBA, E. G. & LINCOLN, Y. S. 1991. What is the constructivist paradigm. *Knowledge for policy: Improving education through research*, 58-170.
GUBA, E. G. & LINCOLN, Y. S. 1994. Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research,* 2, 105.
GUILLEMIN, F., BOMBARDIER, C. & BEATON, D. 1993. Cross-cultural adaptation of health-related quality of life measures: literature review and proposed guidelines. *Journal of clinical epidemiology,* 46, 1417-1432.
GUO, F. 2002. School attendance of migrant children in Beijing, China: a multivariate analysis. *Asian and Pacific migration journal,* 11, 357-374.
GUO, L., YAO, Y. & YANG, B. 2005. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in City: Case Study on one Private Rural Migrant Children School in Beijing. *Youth Studies*.
HE, H. 2013. An Analysis of Ningbo Migrant Children School Readiness Level. *Journal of Ningbo Institute of Education*.
HENDERSON, K. A. 2011. Post-positivism and the pragmatics of leisure research. *Leisure Sciences,* 33, 341-346.
HITCHCOCK, G. & HUGHES, D. 1995. *Research and the teacher: A qualitative introduction to school-based research*, Psychology Press.
HU, T. & GUO, C. 2013. Model of Rural Migrant Children's Social Adaption and its Influence Factors. *Journal of Southwest University (Social Sciences Edition)* 39.
HUA, Y. 1994. Recruitment of Rural Migrant Children into Urban Schools: Compulsory Education for All. *Education in Tianjin*.
HUANG, H. 2013. Signal left, turn right: central rhetoric and local reform in China. *Political Research Quarterly,* 66, 292-305.
HUANG, Z.-H. & XU, K.-P. 2006. Education of migrant workers and their children and its solutions. *Journal of Zhejiang University (humanities and social sciences),* 36, 108-114.
HURH, W. M. & KIM, K. C. 1984. Adhesive sociocultural adaptation of Korean immigrants in the US: An alternative strategy of minority adaptation. *International Migration Review*, 188-216.
INSTITUE FOR DIGITAL RESEARCH AND EDUCATION. 2017. *WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CATEGORICAL, ORDINAL AND INTERVAL VARIABLES?* [Online]. University of California, Los Angeles. Available: https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/other/mult-pkg/whatstat/what-is-the-difference-between-categorical-ordinal-and-interval-variables/ [Accessed 15 June 2017].
JIA, Z. & TIAN, W. 2010. Loneliness of left‐behind children: a cross‐sectional survey in a sample of rural China. *Child: care, health and development,* 36, 812-817.
JIANG, H., XU, X. & CHEN, Q. 2007. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in Urban Culture: Take Two Primary School in Beijing as Case. *Educational Science Research*.
JIANG, Y., ZHANG, J., JIN, X., ANDO, R., CHEN, L., SHEN, Z., YING, J., FANG, Q. & SUN, Z. 2017. Rural migrant workers' intentions to permanently reside in cities and future energy consumption preference in the changing context of urban China. *Transportation Research Part D: Transport and Environment*.

JIN, Y. 2007. Case Study on Rural Migrant Children's Education in Changzhou City. Nanjing Normal University.
KALLEN, H. M. & CHAPMAN, S. H. 1956. *Cultural pluralism and the American idea: An essay in social philosophy*, University of Pennsylvania Press.
KNIGHT, J. 1995. Price scissors and intersectoral resource transfers: who paid for industrialization in China? *Oxford Economic Papers*, 117-135.
KNIGHT, J. & GUNATILAKA, R. 2010. Great expectations? The subjective well-being of rural–urban migrants in China. *World Development,* 38, 113-124.
KUHN, T. S. 2012. *The structure of scientific revolutions*, University of Chicago press.
KWONG, J. 2004. Educating migrant children: Negotiations between the state and civil society. *The China Quarterly,* 180, 1073-1088.
LAREAU, A. 1987. Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of education*, 73-85.
LAREAU, A. 2011. *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*, Univ of California Press.
LEACOCK, E. B. 1971. The culture of poverty: A critique.
LEHMANN, W. 2009. University as vocational education: working-class students' expectations for university. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 30, 137-149.
LEI, W. 2005. Rural Migrant Children's Education Policy Choice from Diverse Needs' Perspective. *Journal of Central China Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*.
LEI, W. & YANG, F. 2007. Rural Migrant Children Facing Structural Transformation: Based on Survey about Rural Migrant Parents in Wuhan City. *Education & Economy*.
LEWIS, O. 1966. The culture of poverty. *Scientific American,* 215, 19-25.
LEWIS, W. A. 1954. Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *The manchester school,* 22, 139-191.
LEWIS, W. A. 2013. *Theory of economic growth*, Routledge.
LI, B. & XIONG, S. 2007. Research and Reflection on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in Guangzhou. *The Modern Education Journal*.
LI, H. 2009. Anthropologic Interpretation to Culture Acculturation of Migrant Workers Children in Urban School *Journal of Educational Science of Hunan Normal University,* 8, 30-34.
LI, J. 1995. Where can Rural Migrant Children Go to School? *China Education Daily*, 1995-01-21.
LI, W. 2010. Literature Review of Blocking Implementation of Educational Policy for Rural Migrant Children. *Journal of Northwest Sci-Tech University of Agriculture and Forestry (Social Science)*.
LI, X., ZHANG, L., FANG, X., STANTON, B., XIONG, Q., LIN, D. & MATHUR, A. 2010. Schooling of migrant children in China: Perspectives of school teachers. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies,* 5, 79-87.
LI, X., ZOU, H. & WANG, L. 2009. Compare Research on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in School between Public School and Private Rural Migrant Children School in Beijing. *Chinese Journal of Special Education*.
LI, X., ZOU, H., WANG, R. & DOU, D. 2008a. Research on Rural Migrant Children in Beijing's Self-Esteem Development and the Relationship with Study Performance and Teacher. *Psychological Science*.
LI, X., ZOU, H., ZHANG, J. & YANG, Y. 2008b. Qualitative Research on Rural Migrant Children's Discrimination Sense: From Social Comparison Perspective. *Psychological Research*.
LI, Y. 2006. Segments and Identity: Research on Rural Migrant Children's Personal Contact Situation, Take a Rural Migrant Children School in Nanjing as Example. *Youth Studies*.
LI, Y. & LIN, L. 2005. Research and Suggestion on Institutional Factors about Rural Migrant Children's Education Issues. *Education Exploration*.
LIANG, Z. & CHEN, Y. P. 2007. The Educational Consequences of Migration for Children in

China. *Social science research,* 36, 28-47.
LIN, N. 2002. *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*, Cambridge university press.
LIU, D. 2010. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Family Education Capital. Yunnan University.
LIU, H. 2003. Rural-Urban Dualistic Structure and Rural Education. *Education Exploration*, 68-69.
LIU, J. & JACOB, W. J. 2013. From Access to Quality: Migrant Children's Education in Urban China. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice,* 12, 177-191.
LIU, X. 2008. From Education Policy to Education Equality. Central China Normal University.
LIU, Y., FANG, X., ZHANG, Y., CAI, R. & WU, Y. 2008. Research on Standard of Rural Migrant Children's Adaptation in Urban. *Review of Applied Psychology*
LONG, W., APPLETON, S. & SONG, L. 2017. The impact of job contact networks on wages of rural–urban migrants in China: a switching regression approach. *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies*, 1-21.
LOPEZ, G. 2001. The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im) migrant household. *Harvard educational review,* 71, 416-438.
LU, Y. 2008. Does Hukou still matter? The household registration system and its impact on social stratification and mobility in China. *Social Sciences in China-English Edition,* 29, 56.
LU, Y. & ZHOU, H. 2012. Academic achievement and loneliness of migrant children in China: school segregation and segmented assimilation. *Comparative education review,* 57, 85-116.
LU, Z. & SONG, S. 2006. Rural–urban migration and wage determination: The case of Tianjin, China. *China Economic Review,* 17, 337-345.
LUO, H. 2016. Analysis on the Causes of the Plight of Chinese Rural Migrant Workers' Endowment Insurance. *Sociology,* 6, 204-209.
LUO, Y. 2011. Migrant Children's Education in Urban Public Schools: Distinction or Integration? *Exploring Education Development*.
MA, Z. 2002. Social-capital mobilization and income returns to entrepreneurship: the case of return migration in rural China. *Environment and Planning A,* 34, 1763-1784.
MACKENZIE, N. & KNIPE, S. 2006. Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues in educational research,* 16, 193-205.
MENG, X., XUE, S. & XUE, J. 2016. Consumption and Savings of Migrant Households: 2008–14. *China's New Sources of Economic Growth: Vol. 1: Reform, Resources and Climate Change*, 159.
MENG, X. & ZHANG, J. 2001. The two-tier labor market in urban China: occupational segregation and wage differentials between urban residents and rural migrants in Shanghai. *Journal of comparative Economics,* 29, 485-504.
MERTON, R. K. & KENDALL, P. L. 1946. The focused interview. *American journal of Sociology,* 51, 541-557.
MIKULINCER, M., BIRNBAUM, G., WODDIS, D. & NACHMIAS, O. 2000. Stress and accessibility of proximity-related thoughts: exploring the normative and intraindividual components of attachment theory. *Journal of personality and social psychology,* 78, 509.
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF CHINA 1993. Detailed Rules of Compulsory Education Law. Beijing: Ministry of Education of China.
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF CHINA 2012. National Educational Statistics in 2010. Ministry of Education of China.
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF CHINA 2017. National Educational Statistics in 2016. Ministry of Education of China.
MO, D., ZHANG, L., YI, H., LUO, R., ROZELLE, S. & BRINTON, C. 2013. School dropouts and conditional cash transfers: Evidence from a randomised controlled trial in rural China's junior high schools. *The Journal of Development Studies,* 49, 190-207.
MONTGOMERY, J. L. 2012. The inheritance of inequality: hukou and related barriers to compulsory education for China's migrant children. *Pac. Rim L. & Pol'y J.,* 21,

591.
MORGAN, D. L. 2007. Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: Methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of mixed methods research,* 1, 48-76.
MUIJS, D., HARRIS, A., CHAPMAN, C., STOLL, L. & RUSS, J. 2004. Improving schools in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas - A review of research evidence. *School effectiveness and school improvement,* 15, 149-175.
MUNGELLO, D. E. 2008. *Drowning girls in China: Female infanticide in China since 1650*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
MURPHY, R. 2014. Study and school in the lives of children in migrant families: A view from rural Jiangxi, China. *Development and Change,* 45, 29-51.
MYERSON, R., HOU, Y., TANG, H., CHENG, Y., WANG, Y. & YE, Z. 2010. Home and away: Chinese migrant workers between two worlds. *The Sociological Review,* 58, 26-44.
NANFANG DAILY. 2011. *180,000 Rural Migrant Workers Would Be Qualified for Guangdong Household Registration Status by Point-Base System* [Online]. Available: http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/14562/15316120.html [Accessed 26 June 2016].
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 1984. *China's Statistical Book 1983,* Beijing, China Statistics Press.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 1986. *China's Statistical Book 1985,* Beijing, China Statistics Press.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012. *Tabulation on the 2010 Population Cencus of The People's Republic of China,* Beijing, China Statistics Press.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2013. *China's National Population Census 2010,* Beijing, China Statistics Press.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2015. Reports about Rural Migrant Workers 2014. Beijing: National Bureau of Statistics of China.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2016a. *China's Statistical Book 2015,* Beijing, China Statistics Press.
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA. 2016b. *China's Economy Realized a Moderate but Stable and Sound Growth in 2015* [Online]. Beijing. Available: http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/PressRelease/201601/t20160119_1306072.html [Accessed January 19 2016].
NATIONAL CENTRE FOR RESEARCH METHODS. 2012. *International Social Research Methods Training* [Online]. Southampton: National Centre for Research Methods. Available: http://www.restore.ac.uk/ISResMeth/ [Accessed 15 June 2017].
NATIONAL HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION OF CHINA 2015. *Chinese Family Development 2015,* Beijing, China Population Publishing House.
NATIONAL HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION OF CHINA 2016. Chinese Migrant Population Report 2016. Beijing: National Health and Family Planning Commission of China.
NATIONAL HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION OF CHINA 2017. Chinese Migrant Population Report 2017. Beijing: National Health and Family Planning Commission of China.
PATTON, M. Q. 2005. *Qualitative research*, Wiley Online Library.
PICCIANO, A. 2004. *Educational research primer*, A&C Black.
PIERS, E. V. 2002. *Piers-Harris children's self-concept scale*, Western Psychological Services Los Angeles, CA.
PORTES, A. & RIVAS, A. 2011. The adaptation of migrant children. *The future of children,* 21, 219-246.
QIU, D., CAO, D. & YANG, H. 2008. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Psychological Situation in Nanchang City. *Chinese Journal of Health Education.*
RADNOR, H. A. 2001. *Researching your professional practice: Doing interpretive research*, Open University Press Buckingham.
REAY, D., CROZIER, G. & CLAYTON, J. 2009. 'Strangers in paradise'? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology,* 43, 1103-1121.
REAY, D., DAVIES, J., DAVID, M. & BALL, S. J. 2001. Choices of degree or degrees of choice? Class, 'race' and the higher education choice process. *Sociology,* 35, 855-874.

REICH, M., GORDON, D. M. & EDWARDS, R. C. 1973. A theory of labor market segmentation. *The American Economic Review,* 63, 359-365.
REN, Y. 2006. Research on Social Exclusion and Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in City. *Journal of Shaanxi Youth Vocational College*.
ROBERTS, K. D. 2001. The determinants of job choice by rural labor migrants in Shanghai. *China Economic Review,* 12, 15-39.
ROGOFF, B. 2003. *The cultural nature of human development*, Oxford University Press.
ROMM, N. R. A. Conducting focus groups in terms of an appreciation of indigenous ways of knowing: Some examples from South Africa. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 2014.
SHI, J. & YU, X. 2010. Phychological Factors on the Formation of Informal Group in Junior High Schools. *The Science Education Article Collects,* 05.
SILVER, H. 1994. Social exclusion and social solidarity: three paradigms. *Int'l Lab. Rev.,* 133, 531.
SNAREY, J. R. & VAILLANT, G. E. 1985. How lower-and working-class youth become middle-class adults: The association between ego defense mechanisms and upward social mobility. *Child development*, 899-910.
SPENCER, L., RITCHIE, J., LEWIS, J. & DILLON, L. 2003. Quality in qualitative evaluation: a framework for assessing research evidence.
SPODEK, B. & SARACHO, O. N. 2014. *Handbook of research on the education of young children*, Routledge.
SPROULE, J. M. 1987. Propaganda studies in American social science: The rise and fall of the critical paradigm. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 73, 60-78.
SU, M. 2003. *9.3% of Rural Migrant Children Drop out of Schools* [Online]. People.com. Available: http://www.people.com.cn/GB/guandian/183/2281/3295/2172793.html [Accessed June-26 2016].
SUN, W. 2012. Desperately seeking my wages: justice, media logic, and the politics of voice in urban China. *Media, Culture & Society,* 34, 864-879.
SUN, W., BAI, C. & XIE, P. 2011. The effect on rural labor mobility from registration system reform in China. *Economic Research Journal,* 1, 28-41.
SUN, X. 2006. Situation Research on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in School *Modern Education Science*.
TAN, Q. 2010. Relationship between Rural Migrant Children's Social Support and School Adaption. *China Journal of Health Psychology*.
TANG, G., TANG, X. & XIAO, J. 2007. Social Adaption Among Floating Children in Chongqing City. *Chinese Journal of School Health*.
TANG, M. 2009. The Decade of Education Research on Immgrant Children-Review and Reflection. *Education Research Monthly*.
TAO, H., YANG, D. & LI, Y. 2010. Analysis of Rural Migrant Children's Compulsory Education: Based on Research in Ten Cities. *Education Development Research*.
TAO YANG, D. & ZHOU, H. 1999. Rural‐urban disparity and sectoral labour allocation in China. *The Journal of Development Studies,* 35, 105-133.
TIAN, H. 2008. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Education Admission Opportunity Equality. East China Normal University.
TIAN, M. 2013. An Investigation on Job Mobility of China's Migrant Workers. *Journal of Tsinghua University(Philosophy and Social Sciences),* 28, 69-80.
TODARO, M. P. 1969. A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries. *The American economic review,* 59, 138-148.
TOPPING, K. & WOLFENDALE, S. 2017. *Parental involvement in children's reading*, Routledge.
UNESCO. 2003. *Inclusion in education* [Online]. UNESCO. Available: https://en.unesco.org/themes/inclusion-in-education [Accessed 10 May 2017].
UNESCO 2006. Guidelines for inclusion: ensuring access to education for all. UNESCO.
VAN DE WERFHORST, H. G. 2002. A detailed examination of the role of education in intergenerational social-class mobility. *Social Science Information,* 41, 407-438.
WAKIL, S. P., SIDDIQUE, C. M. & WAKIL, F. 1981. Between two cultures: A study in socialization of children of immigrants. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 929-

940.
WALLIMAN, N. 2005. *Your research project: a step-by-step guide for the first-time researcher*, Sage.
WANG, C. 2001. Social Identity of the New Generation of Rural Hobo and Merger of Urban and Rural. *Sociological Research,* 3, 63-76.
WANG, D. 2006. China's urban and rural old age security system: Challenges and options. *China & World Economy,* 14, 102-116.
WANG, D. 2008a. Report on Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in Urban Public School. *Youth Research*.
WANG, F.-L. 2004. Reformed migration control and new targeted people: China's hukou system in the 2000s. *The China Quarterly,* 177, 115-132.
WANG, F. & ZUO, X. 1999. Inside China's cities: Institutional barriers and opportunities for urban migrants. *The American Economic Review,* 89, 276-280.
WANG, L. 2008b. Research on Rural Migrant Children Dropping Out of Junior School. Minzu University of China.
WANG, M. & CAI, F. 2008. History and Expectation of Reforming Household Registration System. *Social Science in Guangdong*, 19-26.
WANG, S. X. 2014. The effect of parental migration on the educational attainment of their left-behind children in rural China. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy,* 14, 1037-1080.
WANG, W. W. & FAN, C. C. 2012. Migrant workers' integration in urban China: experiences in employment, social adaptation, and self-identity. *Eurasian Geography and Economics,* 53, 731-749.
WARD, C. & KENNEDY, A. 1999. The measurement of sociocultural adaptation. *International journal of intercultural relations,* 23, 659-677.
WEI, C. 2010. Research on School Preparation of Preschool-Age Rural Migrant Children Henan University.
WEN, M. & LIN, D. 2012. Child development in rural China: Children left behind by their migrant parents and children of nonmigrant families. *Child development,* 83, 120-136.
WEN, Y., LI, R. & SHI, B. 2009. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Security and Belonging to School in Beijing. *Journal of Capital Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)*.
WIERSMA, W. & JURS, S. G. 2005. Research methods in education (8 th). Boston, MA: Pearson.
WILDEMUTH, B. M. 1993. Post-positivist research: two examples of methodological pluralism. *The Library Quarterly,* 63, 450-468.
WONG, K., FU, D., LI, C. & SONG, H. 2007. Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalised life. *International Journal of Social Welfare,* 16, 32-40.
WU, K. & LIU, L. 2009. Discussion about Rural Migrant Children's Compulsory Education Issues in Pearl Delta Area. *Education Development Research*.
WU, X. & TREIMAN, D. J. 2004. The household registration system and social stratification in China: 1955–1996. *Demography,* 41, 363-384.
WU, X. & TREIMAN, D. J. 2007. Inequality and equality under Chinese socialism: The hukou system and intergenerational occupational mobility 1. *American Journal of Sociology,* 113, 415-445.
XIANG, B. 2007. How far are the left-behind left behind? A preliminary study in rural China. *Population, Space and Place,* 13, 179-191.
XIAO, B. 2010. Two Types of Citizenship and the Dualistic Structure of National Identity. *Wuhan University Journal (Philosophy & Social Sciences*.
XIE, Y. A., ZOU, H. & LI, X. 2007. Compare Research on Rural Migrant Children's Teacher-Student Relationship between Public School and Private Rural Migrant Children School in Beijing. *Journal of The Chinese Society of Education*.
XIONG, Y. 2010. *Urbanization Children,* Shanghai, Shanghai Academic Publication Fund.
XU, Q., GUAN, X. & YAO, F. 2011. Welfare program participation among rural-to-urban migrant workers in China. *International Journal of Social Welfare,* 20, 10-21.
XUE, H. & WANG, R. 2010. Education Production Function and the Equity of Compulsory

Education. *Educational Research*.
YAN, F. 2005. Education problems with urban migratory children in China. *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare,* 32, 3.
YAN, Y. 2003. Private life under socialism: Love, intimacy, and family change in a Chinese village, 1949-1999, *Stanford University Press.*
YANG, D. 2000. Thoughts on China Equal Education. *Education Development Research*.
YANG, J. & DUAN, C. 2008. Compare Research on Education Opportunity between Rural Migrant Children, Left Behind Children and Other Children. *Population Research*.
YAO, X. & ZHANG, H. 2004. An Analysis of the Differential of the Rates of Return to Schooling Between Urban and Rural Labor in China-Evidence from the Survey in Zhejiang, Guangdong, Hunan and Anhui. *Collected Essays on Finance and Economics*, 1-7.
YI, H., ZHANG, L., LUO, R., SHI, Y., MO, D., CHEN, X., BRINTON, C. & ROZELLE, S. 2012. Dropping out: Why are students leaving junior high in China's poor rural areas? *International Journal of Educational Development,* 32, 555-563.
YIP, W., SUBRAMANIAN, S., MITCHELL, A. D., LEE, D. T., WANG, J. & KAWACHI, I. 2007. Does social capital enhance health and well-being? Evidence from rural China. *Social science & medicine,* 64, 35-49.
YUAN, X., FANG, X., LIU, Y. & LI, Z. 2009. Relationship between Education Resettlement and Rural Migrant Children's Adaption in Urban. *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Sciences)*.
YUE, Z., LI, S., FELDMAN, M. W. & DU, H. 2010. Floating choices: A generational perspective on intentions of rural–urban migrants in China. *Environment and Planning A,* 42, 545-562.
YUN, C. & WANG, A. 2011. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Compulsory Educational Issues. *Journal of Beijing University of Technology (Social Sciences Edition)*.
ZENG, S. 2009. Rural Migrant Children in Public School's Mental Health. *Contemporary Youth Research*.
ZHANG, K. H. & SONG, S. 2003. Rural–urban migration and urbanization in China: Evidence from time-series and cross-section analyses. *China Economic Review,* 14, 386-400.
ZHANG, Q., QU, Z. & ZOU, H. 2003. Development Report about Rural Migrant Children: Based on interview in Beijing, Shenzhen, Shaoxing and Xi'an. *Youth Studies*.
ZHANG, Y., WANG, N. & HUANG, L. 2005. Thought about the Legality of Rural Migrant Children School. *Journal of Kunming Teachers College*.
ZHAO, L. 2009. China's Reform of Compulsory Education Funding: Changes and Effects. *China Social Science*.
ZHAO, R. 2016. *Transition to Adulthood and Adult Identity among Chinese Young-Generation Rural-Urban Migrants--An Exploratory Research in Shenzhen.* PhD, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
ZHOU, G. & WENG, Q. 2011. Literature Review on Education Issues of Migrant Children. *Population & Development,* 17, 101-112.
ZHOU, H. 2006. Discussion About Rural Migrant Children's Psychology Situation. *Population & Economics*.
ZHOU, H. 2008a. Compare Research on Rural Migrant Children's Psychological Situation. *Population & Economy*.
ZHOU, H. 2008b. Suggestion on Rural Migrant Children's Education Equality: From Cultural Capital Perspective. *Theory and Practice of Education*.
ZHOU, H. & RONG, S. 2011. Literature Review on Rural Migrant Children. *Population & Economics*.
ZHOU, H. & WU, X. 2008. Rural Migrant Children's Education Performance and its Influence Factors: Hierarchical Linear Model Analysis. *Population Research*.
ZHOU, J., DENG, X., SHI, Y. & YANG, C. 2013. Compare Research on Rural Migrant Children and Native Children's Integration in School: From Social Integration Perspective. *Youth Studies*.
ZHOU, M. 2008c. Inclusive Education: Concept and Main Issues. *Education Research*, 16-20.
ZHOU, Z.-K., SUN, X.-J., LIU, Y. & ZHOU, D.-M. 2005. Psychological Development and

Education Problems of Children Left in Rural Areas [J]. *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Science Edition),* 1, 008.

ZHU, M. 2001. The education problems of migrant children in Shanghai. *Child welfare,* 80, 563.

ZOU, H. 2005. Research on Rural Migrant Children's Development and Demand in 9 Chinese Cities. *Youth Research*.

Appendices

Appendix A: The Questionnaire I

Questionnaire Survey

Instructions

Please complete the following questions to reflect your opinions as accurately as possible without any discussion.

Except those specified with "multiple choices", each question only has one answer.

Thank you for your support!

Part 1: Personal Information

1. Your Hukou is registered in _____.

1) Country 2) City, but not Guangzhou 3) Guangzhou city

2. What is your father and mother's job? (Please only select one occupation for each parent)

Occupation	Father	Mother
Labour in factory	☐	☐
Working in the office	☐	☐
Doing self-owned business	☐	☐
Civil servant in government	☐	☐
Specialist (E.g. Teacher, doctor, lawyer)	☐	☐
Manager	☐	☐
Waiter/Waitress	☐	☐
Waiting for employment	☐	☐
Other (Please specify)	☐	☐

3. What is your father and mother's education degree? (Please only select one education degree for each parent)

Education degree	Father	Mother
Haven't been to school	☐	☐
Primary school	☐	☐
Junior High School	☐	☐
Senior High School	☐	☐
College	☐	☐
University or above	☐	☐

4. Currently, where do you live during week days?

1) Live in school dormitory (If living in school dormitory, please skip Question5&6)

2) Live with parents

3) Live with relatives or friends other than parents

3) Other (Please specify_____)

5. Where does your family live in the city?

1) Rent a flat 2) Bought a commercial house

3) Stay at relatives/friends' house 4) Live in a house funded by Danwei (Company)

6. Approximately, how many your neighbours do you think are rural registered in your community now?

1) Only a few 2) Some 3) Majority 4) Most

7. How often do you contact with your rural neighbours?

1) Always 2) Sometimes 3) Rarely 4) Never

8. How many students do you think are rural registered in your class?

1) Less than 5 2) 5-15 3) 16-half 4) More than half

9. What do you think if your school want to educate rural and urban students separately?

1) Object. This is discrimination to rural students.

2) Object. It impedes communication between rural and urban students.

3) Agree. I only want to make friends registered in the same Huji system as me.

4) Agree. I do better at study when studying with students registered in the same Huji system as me.

5) It doesn't matter whether separate the class or not.

10. Do you have relatives who are rural registered?

1) Yes

2) No (If no, please skip Question4)

11. How often do you contact with your rural relatives?

1) Always 2) Sometimes 3) Rarely 4) Never

Part 2: Value& Future Expectation

1. What education degree do your parents want you to achieve?

1) Finish Junior High School 2) Finish Senior High School

3) College degree 4) University or above

2. What education degree do you want you to achieve?

1) Finish Junior High School 2) Finish Senior High School

3) College degree 4) University or above

3. What do you mostly want to do after graduation? (Please only select one choice.)

Aspiration	Stay in the city	Go back to hometown
Get a job directly	☐	☐
Be apprentice to learn a skill	☐	☐
Study in vocational/technical school	☐	☐
Go to Senior High School	☐	☐

4. What do you mostly expect to do after graduation? (Please only select one choice.)

Expectation	Stay in the city	Go back to hometown
Get a job directly	☐	☐
Be apprentice to learn a skill	☐	☐
Study in vocational/technical school	☐	☐
Go to Senior High School	☐	☐

5. Please write down the number of Top 3 most important factors to success into the form below:

	No.1	No.2	No.3
Important factor to Success			

1) High IQ 2) Working hard 3) High morality

4) High education degree 5) Social communication skills 6) Parents' high social status

7) Family has lots of social networking resources 8) Fortune

6. Please tick the box to indicate to what extent you agree with following ideas:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
No pain, no gain.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Where there is a will, there is a way. Dream can come true by self-effort.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hard to succeed as long as my parents are not in high social class.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Migrant workers have equal opportunity as urban residents in city.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical labour is inferior to mental worker.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Only lazy people can be poor.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Knowledge can change destiny.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Going to school is only for getting a diploma to find a job.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can succeed without going to school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
City is better than country in all aspects.	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you are urban registered, this is the end of your questionnaire. Thank you for your help!

If you are rural registered, please complete Part 3&4.

Part 3: Migration experience

1. Where is your hometown?

Village/town: _____ City:_____ Province:_____.

2. Is Guangzhou the first city you have been living for more than a year?

1) No

2) Yes (If yes, please skip Question4)

3. How long have you been living in the city? _____Years (Less than 1 year please write "<1")

4. How long have you been living in Guangzhou? _____Years (Less than 1 year please write "<1")

5. How long have you been studying in urban public school? _____Years.

(Total amount of time in urban public schools rather than the only period in this school. Less than 1 year please write "<1")

6. Have you ever studied in schools only for migrant children in Guangzhou before?

1) Yes

2) No (If no, please skip Question7)

7. The reasons to change to public school? (Multiple choices)

1) Better education quality

2) More communication chances with urban community

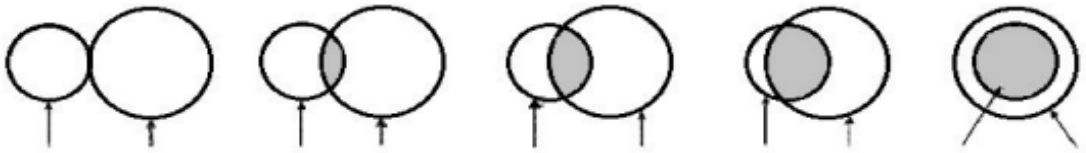
3) Just personal reasons, no specific intention to change to public school

4) Other (Please specify_____)

8. How long have your parents (or only one parent) been living in the city?_____Years (Less than 1 year please write "<1")

Part 4: Cultural Adaptation

1. To what extent do you think you are integrated into urban class community? **Small circle** is **you** and **big circle** is **urban community.**



1) No integration 2) Only a little 3) Majority 4) Most 5) All

2. Please tick the box to indicate how much difference from rural schools you experience in urban schools in each of these areas below:

Difference within classroom	No difference	Slight difference	Moderate difference	Great difference	Extreme difference
Learning content (using same textbooks?)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teaching method	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ways of communicating with teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quantity of homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Content/form of homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frequency of examination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Content of examination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Standard of "A" Level student	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Your study's ranking in class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Difference within school	No difference	Slight difference	Moderate difference	Great difference	Extreme difference
Places you go to spend spare time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Attend camp/interest group after school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frequency of going to museum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Number of close friends in school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urban students' daily topics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ways of making urban friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Difference Outside school	No difference	Slight difference	Moderate difference	Great difference	Extreme difference
Frequency of going shopping	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Total amount spend on shopping	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Definition of "necessities"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Definition of "fashion" clothes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Standard in choosing clothes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Demand for cell phone, tablet or computer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frequency in use of computer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. Please tick the box to indicate how much difficulty you experience at school in each of these areas below:

Difficulty in Study	No difficulty	Slight difficulty	Moderate difficulty	Great difficulty	Extreme difficulty
Coping with academic workload	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expressing your ideas in class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Discussing your difficulties with urban students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Discussing your difficulties with urban teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting extra help from urban teachers after class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Joining study group/seminar with urban students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coping with examination/academic competition	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Difficulty in Life in Guangzhou	No difficulty	Slight difficulty	Moderate difficulty	Great difficulty	Extreme difficulty
Using the transport system	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finding your way around	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting used to the population density	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finding food you enjoy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Going shopping	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting used to the pace of life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Understanding Cantonese	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speaking Cantonese	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Difficulty in Communication	No difficulty	Slight difficulty	Moderate difficulty	Great difficulty	Extreme difficulty
Participating in class activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Joining in urban students' after school activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Joining urban students' daily topics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making yourself understood	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sharing your rural life experiences with others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Communicating with urban classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making friends with urban students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Communicating with teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Communicating with urban people (like neighbours)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Communicating with parents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Varying my words/behaviour to the same as urban classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Maintaining my hobbies and interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dealing with someone who despises you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dealing with unsatisfactory service	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Understanding rural-urban cultural differences	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Seeing things from a city point of view	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This is the end of your questionnaire. Thank you again for your help!

Appendix B: The Questionnaire II

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Questionnaire Survey

Instructions

Please complete the following questions to reflect your opinions as accurately as possible without any discussion.

Except those specified with “multiple choices”, each question only has one answer.

Thank you for your support!

1. Your Hukou is registered in _____.

1) Country 2) City, but not Guangzhou 3) Guangzhou city

2. If you are urban registered, please tick the box to indicate how often you communicate with rural students:

If you are rural registered, please tick the box to indicate how often you communicate with urban students:

Frequency of contact with classmates	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Co-working in the same study group	☐	☐	☐	☐
Living in the same dormitory	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sharing the same desk in the class	☐	☐	☐	☐
Playing together (shopping, sports) as personal friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chatting together as personal friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sharing problems/secrets as close friends	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix C: Schedule for Interview and Focus Groups

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Interview with rural students, urban students and teachers

1. Urban students and teachers- What do you think of rural students/your rural classmates?

   Rural students- What do you think of your urban classmates?

2. What kind of difference between rural and urban students? Any difference in study, after school entertainment, social interaction?

3. Urban students and teachers- Any difficulties when communicating with rural students? Try any solutions to solve the problems?

   Rural students- Any difficulties when communicating with urban students/teachers? Try any solutions to solve the problems?

4. Rural students- How do you define yourself? (social identity)

5. What do you think of education policy for rural migrants? (E.g. rural and urban students study together, higher score for senior high school entrance)

Focus group with rural and urban students

1. Urban students-What do you think of rural students/your rural classmates?

   Rural students-What do you think of your urban classmates?

2. What kind of difference between rural and urban students?

3. Any difficulties when communicating with other students? Any solutions to solve the problems?

4. Rural students- How do you define yourself? (social identity)

5. What do you think of inclusive education policies (like having class together, extra parent meeting, summer camp in rural areas, children-centred quality development)?

Appendix D: Plain Language Statement (For students' questionnaire and interview survey)

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Plain Language Statement

Researcher: Yue Song (PhD Researcher, School of Education, University of Glasgow)
Project title:
Children of Migrant Workers in Urban High Schools: An Analysis of the Dual Role of Education

Dear parent,

Your child is being invited to take part in a doctoral research study. Before you decide to let your child take part in research, it is important for you and your child to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully together with your child. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.
Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?
With the development of reform and opening up process in China, millions of people from rural areas are migrating into cities. However, household registration system limits their access to a range of rights and benefits. These migrant workers fail to secure permanent residency on an equal footing with registered urban residents even though they work in the city. This rural-urban segregation has consequences beyond access to political and economic rights and resources, and has deepened to shape cultural and ideological perceptions, which has profound influence on the children of migrant workers moving to study in urban high schools. Though nowadays children of migrant workers can study in urban public schools alongside local resident, the rural-urban structural conflict still exists and impedes social relations between rural-urban groups.
The primary aim of this doctoral research project is to investigate difficulties or opportunities encountered by children of Chinese migrant workers after they have entered urban public schools. To look at how is rural students' urban school life, not only migrant students' views and behaviours, but opinions from other social groups, including urban students, urban school

teachers and school administrators, should be studied as well.

The research started from October, 2013 is expected to end on October 2016. In particular, this phase of research, from March 2015 to June 2015, is to collect research data through questionnaire and interview. All paper questionnaires and interview recording documents would be kept in high confidentiality and finally be destroyed by the university collection of confidential waste after the successful award of PhD Degree.

Why have I been chosen?

3 Junior High Schools in Guangzhou city (1 private+ 2 public schools) would be sample schools for the research. The research would randomly select classes from Junior Year 2 (Age 12-15) in each school for the Questionnaire Survey and randomly select students and teachers from each school for the Interview and Focus Group research.

Questionnaire Survey: Randomly select 2 classes in year 2 from each school for the Questionnaire Survey.

Interview: Randomly select around 10 rural students, 10 urban students, and 2-3 teachers/ school administrators from each school, together nearly 30 rural students, 30 urban students (Age 12-15) and 6 teachers/ school administrators from 3 schools for the interview.

Focus Group: Randomly select 20 rural students, 20 urban students from 2 public schools, and 20 rural student from 1 private school. Around 5 students per focus group.

You are one of the randomly selected students from Junior Year 2 in your school for Questionnaire Survey, Interview or Focus Group.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. The decision not to participate will not affect your grades in any way. And withdrawing from the research will not jeopardise your relationship with other students, teachers or the researcher.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in the research, the research would only take you two 20-minute class breaks for questionnaire survey or 20 minutes after school time for interview or focus group.

Questionnaire Survey: 2 Classes in Junior Year 2 (Age 12-15) in each school would be randomly selected in each school for Questionnaire Survey. If you are one of the students in this class, the research would take you two 20-miniute class breaks to finish two questionnaires. The first questionnaire is to ask your basic information and your expectation for your future. If you are rural-registered student, you need to answer more questions about your migration experience and your opinions on the difference between rural and urban schools. The second questionnaire is to ask who you would choose to study or play together.

The researcher, assisted by school teachers, would explain two questionnaires at the beginning of class breaks. Then, it would take you no longer than 15 minutes to finish each

questionnaire.
Interview or focus group: rural and urban students would be randomly selected from Junior Year 2 in each school (Age 12-15) for interview and focus group. If you are one of the randomly selected students, it would take you no longer than 20 minutes after school to finish interview and focus group. The interview and focus group will focus on how you think the difference between rural and urban students in your school.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?
All information, which is collected about you during the course of the research, will be kept strictly confidential. You will be anonymised in the research and any information about you will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognised from it. The raw data obtained from observations will only be available to the researcher and will be securely stored in a locked cabinet within the University of Glasgow. If in electronic format, the data will be secured by password. The data will be archived for a fixed period and will be destroyed after ten years.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
All questionnaire and interview data would be used for a doctoral thesis. The results may also be published in an academic journal paper and disseminated through presentations. Anyone being referred to would be pseudonym and unable to be identified in any publications arising from the research.

Who is organising and funding the research? (If relevant)
The research project is self-organised and self-funded by the PhD researcher Yue Song from University of Glasgow for doctoral research.

Who has reviewed the study?
The project has been reviewed by the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

If you have further question or wish to receive further information about the study, please contact the researcher, Yue Song, y.song.3@research.gla.ac.uk, or her supervisor Professor Andy Furlong (Andy.Furlong@glasgow.ac.uk) and Professor Chris Chapman (Chris.Chapman@glasgow.ac.uk).
If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research project, please contact the College Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Take time to decide whether or not you agree for your child to take part. Participation is voluntary and if your child decides to participate, it will be fine for him/her to withdraw at any point without providing a reason.
Thank you for your support!

Appendix E: Plain Language Statement (For teacher's interview)

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Plain Language Statement

Researcher: Yue Song (PhD Researcher, School of Education, University of Glasgow)
Project title:
Children of Migrant Workers in Urban High Schools: An Analysis of the Dual Role of Education

You are being invited to take part in a doctoral research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully together with your parents and discuss it with your parents. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide you're your parents whether or not you wish to take part. Participation is voluntary and if you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any point without providing a reason.
Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?
With the development of reform and opening up process in China, millions of people from rural areas are migrating into cities. However, household registration system limits their access to a range of rights and benefits. These migrant workers fail to secure permanent residency on an equal footing with registered urban residents even though they work in the city. This rural-urban segregation has consequences beyond access to political and economic rights and resources, and has deepened to shape cultural and ideological perceptions, which has profound influence on the children of migrant workers moving to study in urban high schools. Though nowadays children of migrant workers can study in urban public schools alongside local resident, the rural-urban structural conflict still exists and impedes social relations between rural-urban groups.
The primary aim of this doctoral research project is to investigate difficulties or opportunities encountered by children of Chinese migrant workers after they have entered urban public schools. To look at how is rural students' urban school life, not only migrant students' views and behaviours, but opinions from other social groups, including urban students, urban school teachers and school administrators, should be studied as well.
The research started from October, 2013 is expected to end on October 2016. In particular, this phase of research, from March 2015 to June 2015, is to collect research data through

questionnaire and interview. All paper questionnaires and interview recording documents would be kept in high confidentiality and finally be destroyed by the university collection of confidential waste after the successful award of PhD Degree.

Why have I been chosen?

3 Junior High Schools in Guangzhou city (1 private+ 2 public schools) would be sample schools for the research. The research would randomly select classes from Junior Year 2 (Age 12-15) in each school for the Questionnaire Survey and randomly select students and teachers from each school for the Interview and Focus Group research.

Questionnaire Survey: Randomly select 2 classes in year 2 from each school for the Questionnaire Survey.

Interview: Randomly select around 10 rural students, 10 urban students, and 2-3 teachers/ school administrators from each school, together nearly 30 rural students, 30 urban students (Age 12-15) and 6 teachers/ school administrators from 3 schools for the interview.

Focus Group: Randomly select 20 rural students, 20 urban students from 2 public schools, and 20 rural students from 1 private school. Around 5 students per focus group.

You are one of the randomly selected students from Junior Year 2 in your school for Questionnaire Survey, Interview or Focus Group.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. The decision not to participate will not affect your grades in any way. And withdrawing from the research will not jeopardise your relationship with other students, teachers or the researcher.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in the research, the research would only take you two 20-minute class breaks for questionnaire survey or 20 minutes after school time for interview or focus group.

Questionnaire Survey: 2 Classes in Junior Year 2 (Age 12-15) in each school would be randomly selected in each school for Questionnaire Survey. If you are one of the students in this class, the research would take you two 20-miniute class breaks to finish two questionnaires. The first questionnaire is to ask your basic information and your expectation for your future. If you are rural-registered student, you need to answer more questions about your migration experience and your opinions on the difference between rural and urban schools. The second questionnaire is to ask who you would choose to study or play together.

The researcher, assisted by school teachers, would explain two questionnaires at the beginning of class breaks. Then, it would take you no longer than 15 minutes to finish each questionnaire.

Interview or focus group: rural and urban students would be randomly selected from Junior Year 2 in each school (Age 12-15) for interview and focus group. If you are one of the randomly

selected students, it would take you no longer than 20 minutes after school to finish interview and focus group. The interview and focus group will focus on how you think the difference between rural and urban students in your school.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information, which is collected about you during the course of the research, will be kept strictly confidential. You will be anonymised in the research and any information about you will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognised from it. The raw data obtained from observations will only be available to the researcher and will be securely stored in a locked cabinet within the University of Glasgow. If in electronic format, the data will be secured by password. The data will be archived for a fixed period and will be destroyed after ten years.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All questionnaire and interview data would be used for a doctoral thesis. The results may also be published in an academic journal paper and disseminated through presentations. Anyone being referred to would be pseudonym and unable to be identified in any publications arising from the research.

Who is organising and funding the research? (If relevant)

The research project is self-organised and self-funded by the PhD researcher Yue Song from University of Glasgow for doctoral research.

Who has reviewed the study?

The project has been reviewed by the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

If you have further question or wish to receive further information about the study, please contact the researcher, Yue Song, y.song.3@research.gla.ac.uk, or her supervisor Professor Andy Furlong (Andy.Furlong@glasgow.ac.uk) and Professor Chris Chapman (Chris.Chapman@glasgow.ac.uk).

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research project, please contact the College Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Take time to decide whether or not you agree to take part. Participation is voluntary and if you decide to participate, it will be fine for you to withdraw at any point without providing a reason.

Thank you for your support!

Appendix F: Consent Form (For interview)

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Interviews

Title of Project:

Children of Migrant Workers in Urban High Schools: An Analysis of the Dual Role of Education

Researcher: Yue Song （School of Education, University of Glasgow）

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that participation or non-participation in the research will have no effect on my grades and relationships with other students and teachers.

3. I understand that my interview will be recorded using an audio device and I consent to this.

4. I understand that my participation in this project is for the purposes of research, and is in no way an evaluation of me as an individual.

5. I understand that participants to be referred to by pseudonym or identified by name in any publications arising from the research.

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

7. I understand that if I have further question or wish to receive further information about the study, please contact the researcher, Yue Song, y.song.3@research.gla.ac.uk, or her supervisor Professor Andy Furlong (Andy.Furlong@glasgow.ac.uk) and Professor Chris Chapman (Chris.Chapman@glasgow.ac.uk).

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Person giving consent (Parent's name)	Date	Signature
Yue Song Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix G: Consent Form (For questionnaire survey)

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Questionnaire

Title of Project:

Children of Migrant Workers in Urban High Schools: An Analysis of the Dual Role of Education

Researcher: Yue Song (School of Education, University of Glasgow)

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that participation or non-participation in the research will have no effect on my grades and relationships with other students and teachers.

3. I understand that my participation in this project is for the purposes of research, and is in no way an evaluation of me as an individual.

4. I understand that participants to be referred to by pseudonym or identified by name in any publications arising from the research.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

6. I understand that if I have further question or wish to receive further information about the study, please contact the researcher, Yue Song, y.song.3@research.gla.ac.uk, or her supervisor Professor Andy Furlong (Andy.Furlong@glasgow.ac.uk) and Professor Chris Chapman (Chris.Chapman@glasgow.ac.uk).

Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Name of Person giving consent (Parent's name)	Date	Signature
Yue Song Researcher	Date	Signature