



# **Educational Exclusion of Internal Rural Migrant Children in Urban Areas in China**

A Research Paper presented by:

*Shen Qi*

China

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Social Policy for Development**

SPD

Members of the Examining Committee:

Auma Okwany

Mahmood Messkoub

The Hague, The Netherlands

November 2019

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: [info@iss.nl](mailto:info@iss.nl)  
w: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

# Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	4
<i>List of Figures</i>	4
<i>List of Maps</i>	4
<i>Abstract</i>	5
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 Background of the household registration system and migration in China	6
1.2 Statement of the research problem	7
1.2.1 Social exclusion and discrimination of rural-to-urban migrant workers	7
1.2.2 From social exclusion to exclusional exclusion	7
1.2.3 Exclusion of other social services related to education	8
<b>Chapter 2 Research questions and methodology</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Research objective	10
2.2 Research questions	10
2.2.1 Main question	10
2.2.2 Sub questions	10
2.3 Conceptual framework and methodology	11
2.3.1 Related concepts and analytical framework	11
2.3.2 Methodology of the research	13
<b>Chapter 3 Analysis of official documents and empirical studies</b>	<b>14</b>
3.1 Exclusion of migrant children in the progression of education	14
3.1.1 Exclusion and discrimination in public school enrolment	14
3.1.2 Challenges of progression to higher education	15
3.1.3 Migrant Children's right to take college entrance examination in destination cities	17
3.2 Other factors lead to educational exclusion of migrant children in China	19
3.2.1 Exclusion of social provision system faced by migrant children in urban areas	19
3.2.2 The living status of migrant children after they leave school	22
3.3 Discussion on educational exclusion of migrant children in new urbanization	24
3.3.1 Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration and the relationship among regions	24
3.3.2 Prediction of Xiong'an's planning's effect on Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration	26
3.3.3 Allocation Problem of Educational resource in Beijing	28
<b>Chapter 4 Conclusion</b>	<b>31</b>
<i>References</i>	33

## List of Tables

Table 1.1 Situation of children's school attendance in Beijing (2017)	8
Table 3.1 Changes of school enrollment policy for migrant children	14
Table 3.2 Changes of requirement of documents for migrant children in Beijing	14
Table 3.3 Number of non-Beijing students in school from 2004 to 2013	16
Table 3.4 Number of non-Beijing students in different grades Junior high school	17
Table 3.5 Employment status of investigated migrant children (2016)	22
Table 3.6 Industry distribution of sample employees	23
Table 3.7 Average salary comparison between sample migrant employees and total employees in Beijing	23
Table 3.8 Beijing Government expenditure (2011-2017)	28
Table 3.9 The population of different area in Beijing (2017)	29
Table 3.10 Comparison of education expenditure in different districts (2017)	29
Table 3.11 Number of students in elementary school in different districts (2005-2016)	30

## List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Schooling progression of migrant children from rural to urban areas	9
Figure 3.2 Schooling progression of migrant children in Beijing	26

## List of Maps

Map 3.1 Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration	24
Map 3.2 Xiong'an New District in Hebei	26

## **Abstract**

Lack of participation in the social provision system has been a big problem for migrants in China because of the household registration system. The vulnerability of migrant children in education and other social services is also the result of children's accompanied citizenship rights in China. The paper starts from the analysis on the educational exclusion of rural migrant children lead by the household registration system, then explore the other factors related to educational exclusion of migrant children in China. Meanwhile it explained the way that rural migrants negotiate and confront the challenges of their marginalization in the cities. Furthermore, by pointing out the new opportunities and challenges faced by migrant children in education under the context of 'new urbanization', the paper gave a different perspective on the educational exclusion issue of rural migrant children in urban areas in China..

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Education right is one of the basic human rights. However, it can be exclusionary to some groups of people. Migrant children from rural areas in China are vulnerable to be excluded by the schooling system in destination cities. Meanwhile they face a big problem with social inclusion. Hence, it is significant to find out the reason behind the educational exclusion of migrant children. It contains education equality and social justice issue in the research of educational exclusion. Moreover, discussion on migration intends to bring public attention to the 'marginalise people' in the context of urbanization. It links population mobility with urbanization, and connects children's citizenship rights to city development.

## **Keywords**

Educational exclusion, migrant children, household registration system, accompanied citizenship rights, social justice, new urbanization

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background of the household registration system and migration in China

In China, population mobility has a close relationship to household registration system, which is known as the hukou<sup>1</sup> system. This system requires individuals to register with local authorities in their home places. It means that Chinese citizens have access to stable residence, education system, and other public services only at the place of their household registration (Tao 2009:74).

The contemporary Chinese household registration system was promulgated in January 1958<sup>2</sup>. Under the guidance of the planned economy at that time, it was used to allocate public resources (Murphy 2009: 5, Yuan et al. 2017: 8). Rural to urban migration was largely limited in this way. In the early 1980s, the demand for labor in cities rose due to the return to household farming and the emergence of the private market (Murphy 2009: 3). More entrepreneurs preferred to employ rural migrants as cheap labour, which made it possible for migrants to make a living outside the official allocation system in the destination cities. This contributed to the acceleration of rural to urban migration which became a visible phenomenon in China. From the mid-1990s, the rapid urbanization required more labour in the cities. The government encouraged migration from rural to urban areas to supplement the labour market. Some local authorities implemented temporary residential permits to migrant workers. Thus, there were more migrants bringing their families to the destination cities (Woronov 2009: 96). In this movement, while a significant number of children were left behind in the rural areas with relatives or their own, many other children of migrant workers migrated with their parents instead of being left behind in their hometowns<sup>3</sup>. No matter whether children migrate with their parents into urban areas, child vulnerability have been created for both groups in this large-scale rural-to-urban migration. In this research, I focused on those children who migrate with their parents from rural to urban areas in China.

The number of domestic migrant children increased from 4.59 million in 1990 to 19.82 million in 2000; and it continued to increase rapidly from 2000 to 2010. The number increased to 35.81 million in 2010, and the proportion of migrant children nationwide rose to 12.8% (Han and Qin 2017: 259). According to “Annual Report on Education for China’s Migrant Children (2016)”, approximately 25 out of 100 kids in cities and towns in China are migrant children, and the ratio is even higher in big cities like Beijing.

Since 2000, the central government has established the principle of "two mainstays" (liang wei zhu) to solve the problem of migrant children receiving compulsory education, which refers to letting the destination cities’ government and public schools take the main responsibility. In 2014, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council promulgated the “National New Urbanization Plan (2014-2020)”, proposing a “two-inclusion” policy<sup>4</sup> (liang na ru).

At the end of 2015, China's urbanization rate had reached 56.1% (calculated by permanent resident population). The country is currently in the second phase of urbanization

---

<sup>1</sup> Hukou means the account that people have through the registration at local authority.

<sup>2</sup> *Regulations on Household Registration in the People's Republic of China* was published in January 1958.

<sup>3</sup> In this article, migrant children refer to those who immigrate with their parent(s) from original hometown to destination cities, instead of migrating on their own.

<sup>4</sup> Two-inclusion: including permanent residents into regional education development planning, including the compulsory education of migrant children in the scope of all levels of government financial security

development dominated by large cities (Han and Qin 2017: 264). In order to promote the equalization of basic public services and realize “urbanization of people”, In 2016, the “Several Opinions of the State Council on Promoting the Reform and Development of Urban and Rural Compulsory Education Integration in County Areas” once again proposed the “two unifications” policy<sup>5</sup> (liang tong yi) to provide substantial guarantees for promoting new urbanization construction. The promotion of policies has made the keyword “new urbanization” the latest frontier theme for mobile children's research (Wang 2018: 14).

## 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

### 1.2.1 Social exclusion and discrimination of migrant workers

The household registration system has divided labour market between people with ‘agricultural’ or ‘non-agricultural’ hukou since establishment in 1958, resulting in the segmentation of Chinese labour market. Which was seen as an “occupational designation” by Murphy (2009: 5). Even nowadays most migrants are still excluded from some certain jobs because of their rural hukou and education level. To some extent, urbanization is a kind of class phenomena (Harvey 2008: 24). The surplus product which concentrate in cities are usually exploited from peasantry and controlled by upper class (Harvey 2008: 24). The migrant workers from rural to urban areas usually do low-income jobs, together with low social status, while these jobs are crucial to make the social system run properly. However, migrant workers and their children are suffered from “the imagined and administrative dichotomy” (Woronov 2009: 97), which makes it more difficult for them to integrate in cities. It is difficult for many migrants to settle down in the destination city. They are excluded through limited access to social services provision system like housing, social insurance, education, etc. Murphy (2009: 5) describe them as a group of people who are “vulnerable to detention, fines and repatriations”.

### 1.2.2 From Social exclusion to Educational exclusion

#### *Limited access to schooling of migrant children*

Compulsory education is mainly under the charge of the local government where their hukou is located. Thus, migrant children are regarded as subjects outside the local compulsory education system. This makes it difficult for migrant children to enter public schools in the destination cities. Facing the schooling enrollment dilemma of migrant children, migrant workers or some social entrepreneurs founded schools spontaneously to solve the problem. This kind of school is called ‘migrant school’. Generally speaking, conditions in migrant schools are poor, including poor teaching resources and infrastructure. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2017), the number of students per teacher in public school and private school<sup>6</sup> is 13.6 and 30.9 respectively (Table 1.1). This means that the relative quantity of teachers in migrant schools is much lower than the national standard. And this has an impact on the quality of education in these schools. For example, Yuan et al. (2019: 134) found that the poor infrastructure conditions in migrant schools negatively affect children’s physical and mental health and academic performance.

---

<sup>5</sup> Two unifications: the unified use of residence permits as the main basis for providing compulsory education for migrant children, and flow education funds with students.

<sup>6</sup> Private schools include migrant schools and private high cost schools are for the minority elite class.

**Table 1.1**  
Situation of children's school attendance in Beijing (2017)

2017	Number of primary schools	Number of students	Number of Enrollment	Number of graduates	Number of faculty	Number of full-time teachers	Number of students per teacher
Public school	926	824499	149960	114886	58714	52120	15.8
Private school	59	51350	7599	11052	2190	1662	30.9

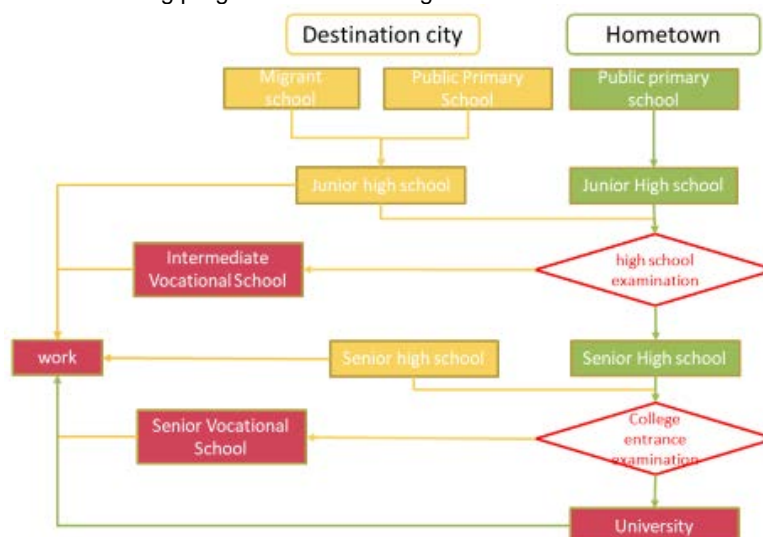
Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics

In 1998, migrant children were finally allowed to attend the local public school. However, they have to pay a high ‘Temporary schooling fee’, because the current school does not match their hukou location. The temporary schooling fee exceed the ability of migrant families to pay. In 2010, the Ministry of Education cancelled borrowing fee officially. But there are some public schools still charge migrant children who study in their school additional fee in other forms like tuition fee or sponsorship fee. In addition to the financial barrier, there is another obstacle--the requirement of documents to attend local public school. The access to schooling of migrant children is greatly impacted by changes in these documents. A large number of migrant children have been prevented from attending public schools in Beijing through the cumbersome documents and unmanageable procedures (Zhao and Wei, 2016).

### ***The disadvantage of migrant children in college entrance examination***

The college entrance examination is a system for Chinese higher education institutions to select qualified students. Chinese mainland high-school students are required to take the exam before they are enrolled in the university. This system originates from more than 1,300 years in China, combining with the western examination system. According to the college entrance examination system in China, the local government allocates quotas to the local students to enter the university. In this context, migrant children who even have studied in the destination cities for years are required to go back to take the exam in their hometowns where their hukou is registered (Figure 1.1). However, it is difficult for these migrant children to fit back in their hometown, because they are already used to their life in the city environment and do not have many connections in their origin regions. Additionally, 17 different exam papers are used all over the country so that there are different textbooks in the high school of each province and city. This means that migrant children are at disadvantage when sitting for these examinations. Researchers have criticized that the exams reflect the priority of local students and causes educational continuity problems for migrant children (Yuan 2014: 23). Furthermore, the students in the origin regions might have to compete with those who have experienced better education in big cities.

**Figure 1.1**  
Schooling progression of rural migrant children in urban areas





### **1.2.3 Exclusion of other social services related to education**

The economic reform in China since 1979 has had great effect on the functional conversion of household registration system. Since then, the emergence of temporary residence permit and nation-wide food market have made it possible for rural migrants to live in destination cities (Messkoub and Davin 2000: 88). However, the word 'temporary' implies the meaning of floating. The 'permit' is only for population management, rather than providing equal social services for migrants. Even if the migrants got the temporary Residence Permit, they were not entitled to enjoy public services as citizens. In another word, they were excluded in the social provision system.

In spite of the great contribution that rural-to-urban migrant workers have made to the cities, there are rigorous requirements for them to register in the destination cities, which means that they have limited access to social services provision system like housing, social insurance, education, etc. According to the regulation of household registration, children's places of household account follow either of their parents. The household registration places of migrant children are mostly in original places, the same as that of their parents. Under the circumstance, rural-to-urban migrants suffer social exclusion in destination cities in many aspects. And these aspects together aggravate educational exclusion of migrant children. The range of challenges will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

# Chapter 2 Research question and methodology

## 2.1 Research Objective

Based on the analysis of CSSCI literature from 1997 to 2016, Wang (2018: 15) found that the keywords such as “measures to allow migrant children to take the college entrance exam at places where the decreasing the number of primary schools and currently reside” and “new urbanization” are the latest frontier topics in current migrant children research. How to participate in the middle and high school entrance examinations and receive higher school education are the new challenges faced by migrant children. Under the circumstance of new urbanization, the research will examine the issues of migrant children's right to education, education inclusion, and equalization of education.

Firstly, in this study, I will discuss the educational exclusion of migrant children not only on schooling enrolment problem, but also their continuity of education from primary to secondary and higher education in their whole life. As mentioned, the college entrance examination has been playing critical role in Chinese's lives, and it has close relationship with the schooling enrolment of migrant children. However, the empirical studies usually talk about the school enrolment and college entrance examination separately. The paper aims to make up for the current gap between the college entrance examination policy and the education problem analysis for migrant children by studying on the progression of education for migrant children.

Secondly, the existing literature is mainly focused on big cities like Beijing, Shanghai. As the new era of urbanization in China begins, unified development of urban and rural is playing an important role in the country's development. My research will examine educational exclusion of migrant children in Beijing, it will widen the scope by examining the problem to include the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration. Comparing the situation in Beijing with Hebei and Tianjin collectively will add a different perspective by looking at the connections of these cities. Furthermore, my research will also include Xiong'an new district established in 2017 to relieve the population pressure of the capital. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

## 2.2 Research questions

### 2.2.1 Main question

How does the household registration system lead to educational exclusion of rural migrant children in urban areas of China?

### 2.2.2 Sub questions

What are the other factors lead to educational exclusion of migrant children in China?

What are the new opportunities and challenges faced by migrant children in education under the context of ‘new urbanization’?

How do the rural migrants negotiate and confront the challenges of their marginalization in the cities?

## 2.3 Conceptual Framework and Methodology

### 2.3.1 Related concepts and analytical framework

The study will adopt a right-based and social justice approach to analyse the role played by the household registration system playing in the educational exclusion of migrant children in China. Different from the human capital theory, right-based approach will not justify education through cost-benefit analysis for individuals and nations, but regard education as basic rights for all people. According to Leon and Angeline (2011: 7), some education researchers have recognized that sometimes education also results in reduction in capability of vulnerable groups of people through inequality reproduction. Consequently, social justice is significant to provide an alternative approach to discuss equal education. It is the framework that defines education quality in specific context, drawing attention to the nature of a quality education at different levels (Leon and Angeline 2011: 3).

The inclusion dimension is an important aspect of a good quality education from the social justice perspective (Leon and Angeline 2011: 9). The way of distribution of educational resources play an important role in the process of inclusion education (Leon and Angeline 2011: 9). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defined inclusive education as “address the learning needs of all children, especially those who are vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion”. In this model, children are human beings who should enjoy education rights as the basic right.

#### *Children's accompanied citizenship rights in China*

There are two different traditions of definition of citizenship: “One emphasis the individual and his rights, the other the community and the obligations of individuals to that community” (Lister 1998: 227). Both traditions are supported by the idea of membership of a community (Lister 2010: 195). The community here refers to the national community (Marshall 1950). The citizens who possess passports are conferred legal citizenship by the national state (Lister 2010: 198). In China, hukou is known as an ‘internal passport’. Meanwhile the hukou has a geographic attribute meaning that people only have access to social welfares at the specific region where their hukou is registered. Article 4 of Nationality Law<sup>7</sup> stated that a person born in China and at least one parent who is a Chinese national is a Chinese citizen. However, as a result of restriction of household registration system, people are not seen or treated as a Chinese citizen without a hukou in reality (*Invisible Lives: A Legacy Of China's Strict Family Planning Rules* 2016). Furthermore, people have access to stable housing, education, transportation and other public services only if they register in the local authority. As a result, migrants cannot enjoy as much rights as ‘local citizens’. In another word, migrants are excluded from citizenship rights in the destination cities in China.

Inclusion and exclusion are the two faces of citizenship (Lister 2003: 42). Social exclusion is regarded as preventing some people from benefitting from social rights (Rodgers 1995: 43; Okwany 2010: 137). Childhood is a specific age group that is socially constructed and vulnerable to exclusion. Children live in an adult world hence they are in the web of power relations with adults. In China, the hukou status of children depends on the status of their parents. In this context, children are belongings to the adults and their only have accompanied citizenship because of their dependency. In the process of school enrolment policy, the adjustment mainly focuses on the qualification of migrant parents such as their working status, living status, family relationship, original place, etc. There are rarely consideration and requirement about migrant children their own. In other words, children

---

<sup>7</sup> Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted by the National People's Congress on September 10, 1980.

are taken as accessories of their parents. However, there is no reason to justify the rights to education of children merely through the status of their parents. This paper will take the childhood as a life phrase not only as 'human becomings' but also 'human beings'. They have their independent rights and capability. It is essential for all different groups of people to have access to good quality education so that they are able to develop valued capabilities<sup>8</sup> (Leon and Angeline 2011: 9).

### ***Exam as a barrier to rights to education***

Education rights is basic human rights for all people. All individuals should enjoy human rights unconditionally, the nation states cannot exclude migrants from human rights (Lister 2010: 211). Education rights is not only basic rights for all the children, other than this, it is a bridge that empowers them to other rights. However, the rights to education are denied to migrant children in the cities based on the household registration system.

The Chinese government has signed 'UN Children's Convention' and the Article 2 explicitly states that the national party should respect the rights enshrined in this Convention and ensure that every child within its jurisdiction enjoys education rights. According to Article 2 and Article 4 of Compulsory Education Law of People's Republic of China, it is clearly stipulated that "All school-age children and adolescents with the nationality of the People's Republic of China have the right to compulsory education". In reality, not all the children's rights of education are guaranteed, migrant children are one of the groups of vulnerable children in education. One piece of evidence is that the national level of school-attendance rate is significantly higher than attendance rate of migrant children (Yuan et al. 2017: 1).

Furthermore, the rights to the exam of migrant children are even harder to guarantee. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the college entrance examination is the necessary exam that Chinese students have to take before they can enter higher-education. In the planned economy era, the college entrance examination can be regarded as an administrative examination for the preparation of civil servants for the country. And Beijing as the capital city and political center of China has the privilege in the selecting system. In this situation, Beijing has relatively adequate quota from first-class universities than other provinces and cities all over the country. Zhang Qianfan, a professor of Peking University, explained that the reason for current dilemma in Beijing is the privilege of the college entrance examination that they created through household registration system (Feng and Liu 2018: 96). However, college entrance system is not a system of exclusive rights of the state anymore, but a system of social rights. Which means the right of college entrance examination of migrant children should now be understood in terms of regulating social mobility and social equity.

The concepts and analytical framework will help to figure out the drivers of vulnerability of migrant children in educational exclusion. Starting from the problem of primary school enrollment for migrant children in Beijing, the paper will analyse the risk and vulnerability of migrant children in the national schooling system. Then there will be a deeper discussion on the educational exclusion of migrant children including the college entrance examination.

---

<sup>8</sup> From perspective of Sen (1999, 2009) and Walker (2006: 165), Leon and Angeline (2011: 7) concluded that capabilities refer to the individual freedom to get access to all kinds of 'functionings' that valuable for them.

### 2.3.2 Methodology of the research

The research was based on collection of secondary data. It combined qualitative and quantitative analysis of data from a large number of official documents and research papers on educational issue of migrant children. Based on the previous work, the research sorted out official documents, related investigation, demographic data and analysis them in the current context. To find out how the household registration system lead to the educational exclusion of migrant children from rural to urban areas, I divided the question in three stages: the school enrolment, progression to higher education, the right to take college entrance examination in destination cities.

At the first stage, I collected data from the Statistical Yearbook. It is implemented by National or Local Bureau of Statistics every year. It includes the most complete demographic information and population movements in China. In the research, I used data from *National Statistical Yearbook*, *Beijing Statistical Yearbook*, *Beijing Regional Statistical Yearbook* to analysis the population status in Beijing urban and rural areas. It also provided the enrolment rate of migrant children in primary schools year by year. Additionally, the government reports helped me to get an overview of the policy changing related to school enrolment of migrant children.

Then I found empirical researches in *Report on China's Migrant Population Development and Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children* that contained useful information to analysis the difficulty faced by migrant children in the progression to higher education. The former one is edited by the National Health Council of China. This report is the result of a survey on the issue of migrant population in recent years. It reviews the process of migration in China, and analyses the new characteristics and new trends of the migrant population in the new era. The second one focuses on the educational issue of migrant children. It sorts out the historical evolution of migrant children's education policy and the latest developments of relevant policies. The general overview of the local practice of migrant children's education in the compulsory education stage is much related to my paper. The tracking investigation among 1866 eight-grade students in migrant school in Beijing from 2010 to 2015 was done by three Chinese researchers in 2017. It recorded the process of living status of 1866 migrant in Beijing from they entered the secondary school to they left school. The data of this research was applicable to analysis the living status of new generation of migrants in Beijing.

In the discussion of how migrant children are excluded by the college entrance examination system, I mainly collected the laws and regulations promulgated by center government or local authorities—what the government has done and how the migrants negotiate and confront the challenges of their exclusion out of the citizenship rights. The researches including interviews of migrants and local residents helped me to analyse the reason behind conflict of interest.

Because the research was based on the secondary data, there is a low risk in terms of ethical issue. The data were all officially public from all levels of governments, official departments and professional researchers. Additionally, the investigation adopted in the research were all anonymous. Despite this, I paid attention to privacy protection during the data collection to make sure the information security.

# Chapter 3 Analysis of the official documents and empirical studies

## 3.1 Exclusion of migrant children in the Progression of education

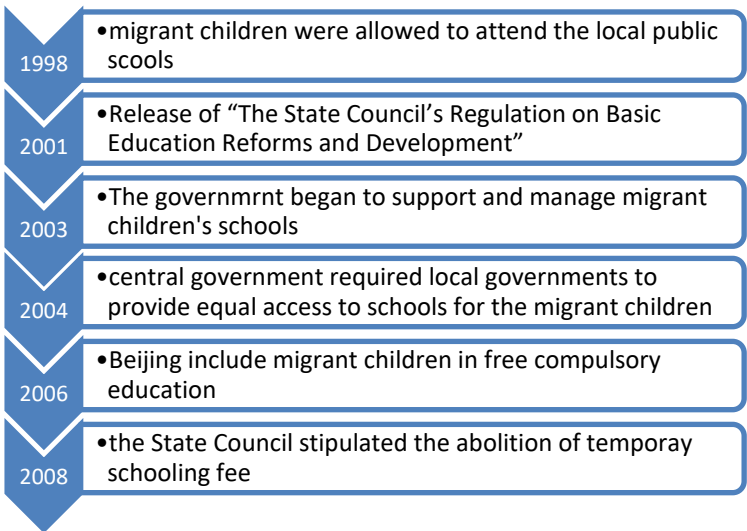
### 3.1.1 Exclusion and discrimination in public school enrolment

In recent years, the central government did do some efforts on providing more opportunities for migrant children to be enrolled in public schools. But there is still a gap exists between reality and policy. It will be explained as follows.

#### *Education policy reformations related to migrant children*

Since the government has largely paid attention to the educational problems of migrant children from 1990s, there has been quite significant changes (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1**  
Changes of school enrollment policy for migrant children in nationwide and Beijing



Even though public schools are opened to migrant children after the 1990s, there is another obstacle--the requirement of documents (table 3.2). A large number of migrant children have been prevented from attending public schools in Beijing through the cumbersome documents and unmanageable procedures (Zhao and Wei, 2016).

**Table 3.2**  
Changes of requirement of documents for migrant children in Beijing



From the above information, in the process of policy changing, barrier of public school only depends on the qualification of migrant parents such as their working status, living status, family relationship, original places, etc. There are rarely consideration and requirement about migrant children their own. In other words, children are taken as accessories of their parents. Furthermore, these documents are mainly targeted at high-income and high-educated group. Those who participate in low-income jobs, together with low social status still face big problem with sending their children to school. Under these circumstances, only migrants with a relatively high income and social status can afford to have their children enter public school to receive better education. By 2008, only 63 of the 300 migrant schools Beijing received official approval (Yao 2010). If the parents cannot provide required documents or afford additional fee that public school charge for non-local students, their children have no option except entering migrant school. From this aspect, household registration system brings intergenerational inequality, and result in the solidification of social class.

### ***Gap between School enrolment and school inclusion***

Most parents would prefer to send their children to public school because of the conditional gap between migrant school and public school. According to the investigation in Beijing (Gao 2018: 22), the number of migrant children who study in public schools has exceeded the number of those who study in private school. However, even if migrant children are sent to local public schools, they often suffer discrimination because of lack of language skills, culture gap and social status. Sometimes migrant children are grouped in the “rural-area class” separately after they are enrolled in the public school. For those who get the opportunity to stay in the same class with local students, there is an invisible barrier between them. According to a survey in Beijing, 48% of migrant children do not have contact with local children, and 56% of them have not played with local children (Han and Qin 2017: 271). They are excluded in school because of their low social class and rural origin (Kwong 2011: 880).

The educational exclusion of migrant children in school originates from the division between rural and urban. Geographical locality is one of the factors that created a social division between urban and rural residents through the household registration system (Lister 2010: 202). For a long time, the social structure of China's urban-rural dual system and the gap between urban and rural areas have formed a mindset of “urban is much more civilized and advanced than rural”. The hukou barrier makes things worse by creating an institutionalized hierarchy. It makes urban managers and urban registered populations adopt a superior attitude in their interactions with migrant workers from rural areas (Han and Qin 2017: 271). Consequently, there are obvious distinguishing socio-economic status between locals and outsiders, urban residents and rural workers. The phenomenon of discrimination is still widespread in the country, especially in big cities.

In sum, school enrollment is distinct from school inclusion. Even the migrant children are enrolled in local public schools, they are likely to be excluded by schoolmates and teachers. On the objective aspect, the migrant children have high mobility that they may transfer to different schools. The local parents and school leaders would worry about stability of the class if there are migrant children in the school. As a result, migrant children are distinguished from local children in public schools.

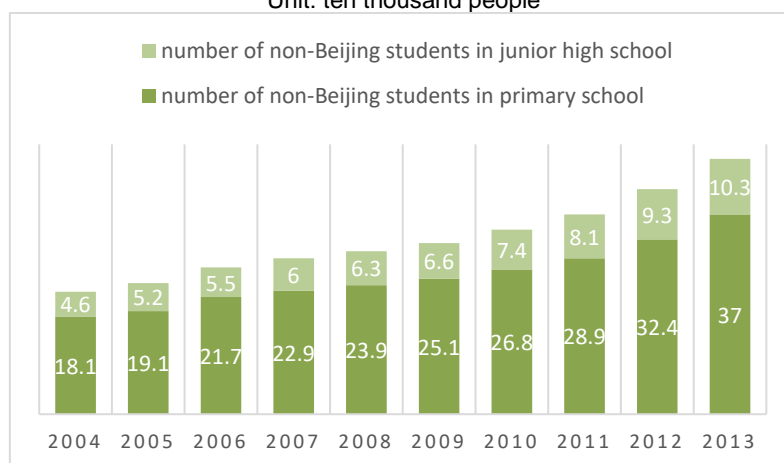
### **3.1.2 Challenges of progression to higher education**

As introduced in Chapter 1, children who are not registered in the local authority system are restricted from the college entrance examination. Many non-local students have no option but returning to their hometown before graduation and participate in the examination there. The data of two surveys in 2010 and 2015 (“The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant

Children' 2018:137) showed that A large proportion of high-school-age migrant children were studying in high school in the original province. Some children who followed their parents across the province in early years also returned home at the high school age to continue their study.

From 2004 to 2013, the number of non-Beijing students in compulsory education in Beijing continued to rise (Zhao and Wei 2016: 111). However, the number of non-Beijing primary schools in each stage is far less than the local students. Moreover, the number of non-Beijing junior high school students is much less than that of non-Beijing primary school students (Table 3.3).

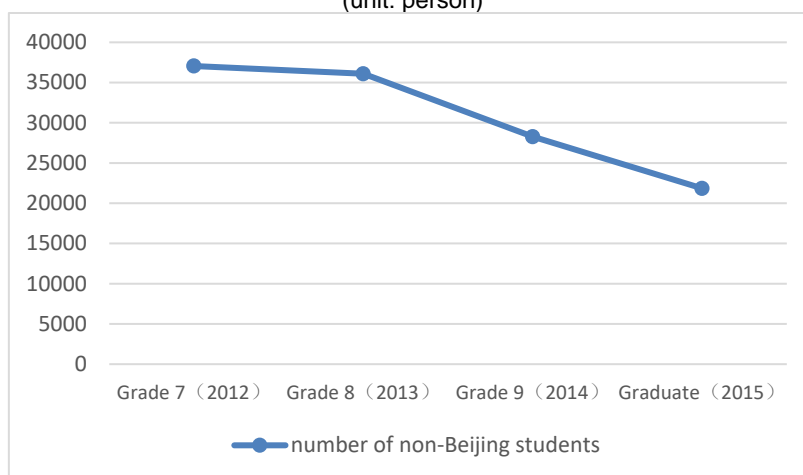
**Table 3.3**  
Number of non-Beijing students in school from 2004 to 2013  
Unit: ten thousand people



Source: Annual Report on Education for China's migrant children (2016)

The loss phenomenon of non-Beijing students continues to exist in the middle school stage. There are 37,052 migrant children who entered the secondary high school in 2012 in Beijing, while in 2015 only 21,849 of them graduated. The cumulative loss was 15,204 people, and the total wastage rate was as high as 41.03% (Zhao and Wei 2016: 115). In another research (Song, Zeng et al. 2017: 195), there are less than 17.62% of the students entered in the first grade of university among the 1866 investigated migrant children who study in migrant school in Beijing (Table 3.4). The reason for the reduction of migrant children in higher education and where did they go after they left school were explained in the next two sections.

**Table 3.4**  
Number of non-Beijing students in different grades Junior high school  
(unit: person)



Source: Annual Report on Education for China's migrant children (2016)



### **3.1.3 Migrant Children's rights to take college entrance examination in destination cities**

#### ***Discrimination faced by migrant children in college entrance examination***

The proportion of high-school-age migrant children studying in high school increased from 2005 to 2015, reflecting the increase in the popularity of high school education in China ('The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant Children' 2018: 142). In 2015, 71.8% of migrant children aged fifteen to seventeen were receiving high school education. There are more and more demands for opening the college entrance examination in cities for migrant children. However, the implement of policy to enable migrant children sit in Beijing's college entrance examination is not easy. Firstly, there is a conflict existing in the recognition of the "college entrance examination rights". Beijing local residents believe that the right to college entrance examination is the welfare brought by the household registration, the universities around the country should be biased towards taxpayers in the region. However, the migrants think that the "college entrance examination right" is the basic rights of every citizen. The state should provide each student with the equal examination rights (Feng and Liu 2018: 96).

In 2013, China began to implement the policy which enable migrant children who meet certain conditions to take the college entrance exam in the city where their parents work and live, instead of going back to their hometowns. Twelve provinces for the first time allowed the eligible migrant children to participate in the college entrance examination in the destination cities. The parent status, the student status, and the social factor are the three aspects of the conditions of admission to the college entrance examinations in Beijing. Among the two subjective factors for migrant family, the requirements of parents' factors are strict, like stable housing and employment (Feng and Liu 2014:98). The requirements for students themselves are concreated on the schooling status. The last section explained that the schooling enrollment requirement for migrant children also depends on their parents. Hence, the requirements of students to take exam in Beijing eventually depend on parents' factors. It reflects the accompanied citizenship rights of migrant children in China--Children's rights depend on the adults who are in power. Migrant children do not have the rights to make choices for themselves while they are the ones who are directly affected by all the policy changing. In this context, children are viewed as human becoming rather than beings.

According to the 2015 national 1% population sample survey data, the number of migrant children in need of taking college entrance examination in China reached 187,000 (The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant Children 2018: 143). However, there are only 4000 of them who are qualified to participate in college entrance examination in the destination cities (Han and Qin 2017: 266). Additionally, students who take examination outside their household registration place can only apply for vocational schools, meaning that the migrant children who take the examination in destination cities are excluded outside the academic universities. Feng and Liu (2018: 98) suggested that the admission requirements should be focus on the student level to make the entry requirements suitable for migrant children who should take college entrance examination in destination cities and avoid college entrance Examination immigration.

#### ***College entrance examination immigration phenomenon and the effect on migrant children***

The current study has shown that local candidates account for a high proportion of the Beijing college entrance examinations in 2006 and 2007, but the proportion of non-local candidates in the Beijing college entrance examination has increased year by year since then (Feng and Liu 2018: 95). Except for migrant children, most of these candidates are "college

entrance examination immigrants”. In order to adjust the uneven level of education among areas, the quota allocated to provinces or municipalities by the same school is different. At the same time, the policy tilt to certain regions like Beijing and Shanghai. makes the situation more complicated. Thus, the intense degree of competition can vary a lot in different provinces and cities. “College entrance examination immigration” become a special phenomenon in China. It refers to the candidates who move to provinces with lower admission scores and higher admission rates in order to have more access to a better university. Beijing with rich educational resources and low admission scores in college entrance examinations is one of the popular choices for a large number of college entrance examination immigrants. Thus, if the college entrance examination qualification in Beijing is opened in order to solve the problem of migrant children's continuity of education, the consequence might end with promoting more college entrance examination immigrants. In turn, it will reduce the fairness of the examination and make the situation more difficult to local students and migrant children in Beijing. To this perspective, solving the problem of college entrance examination immigration is one of the initial conditions to let migrant children have access to fair education and exam rights. Otherwise, it will disrupt the equity of college entrance examination and cause distortion in other social system (Feng and Liu 2018: 97).

The College entrance Examination immigration phenomenon reflects the regional uneven educational level in the country, which in return aggravates the imbalance of national higher education resources (Feng and Liu 2018: 95). It also adds to the difficulty of educational reform for migrant children. Nowadays, in the context of increasingly open and specialized social division of labor, the college entrance examination system has no longer showed the superiority of selecting talents (Zhang Qianfan, as cited by Feng and Liu 2018: 96). Instead, the unified enrollment system of colleges and universities has gradually revealed many problems and conflict with the concept of educational equity. To solve the problem of college entrance examination immigration fundamentally, it is essential to break the long-standing privilege of the college entrance examination and striving to establish a fairer examination system in the country (Feng and Liu 2018: 96).

In sum, the schooling system based on household registration system make the schooling exclusionary to migrant children by creating barriers in every stage of education for migrant children. They are marginalised in school enrolment, progression to higher education, and qualification of taking college entrance examination in destination cities. Migrant children from rural to urban areas have not been fairly treated in the national education by now. The educational exclusion for them is still a big problem.

## **3.2 Other factors lead to educational exclusion of migrant children in China**

### **3.2.1 Exclusion of other social provision system faced by migrant children in urban cities**

The institutionalized obstacles that distinguish some people from ‘full partners in social interaction’ is the key challenge to overcome to achieve social justice (Fraser 2008: 16, as cited by Leon and Angeline 2011: 6). The household registration system is one of the factors that create institutionalized hierarchies in China, especially in urban areas. Additionally, other factors such as economic structure, cultural forces and social environment also have effect on social justice (Leon and Angeline 2011: 7). Except for the household registration, other social services are also related to the educational exclusion of migrant children from rural to urban areas in China. According to many researchers (Wang 2013, Yang and Gao 2012, Ma

and Zhang 2004, as cited in Zhao et al. 2019: 7), population mobility is an important driving force for economic development. In the view of the planners of destination city, migrants are “an important asset” (Messkoub and Davin 2000: 87). However, it only applies for migrants who are at working-age and able to provide labour force for the city. When it comes to migrant children, the local governments have different opinions on social services provision. Based on the assumption that migrant children do not directly contribute to local economic development, local governments often exclude migrant children from the coverage range of local residents' medical insurance (Zhao et al. 2019: 7). This section explained the dilemma that migrant children faced in social provision system. It also provided the achievement that the rural migrants get through the negotiation and confrontation of their marginalization in the cities.

### ***The lack of housing security of migrants in destination cities***

Temporary Residence Permit is established in 1984 in Shenzhen. It is implemented in Beijing in 2009. The temporary residence permit is a legal identification of the temporary residence for the migrants. At present, temporary residence permits have been cancelled in many cities and replaced by Residence Permit. The conversion is to establish and improve the basic public service provision system for migrants. On August 11, 2016, the Beijing Municipal Government issued the “Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations on Residence Permits in Beijing”. From October 1 the same year, migrants who have lived in Beijing for more than 6 months and who meet one of the three requirements<sup>9</sup> are entitled to apply for a residence permit.

Even with a residence permit, there are strict requirements and complex procedures for migrants to buy house in Beijing. In 2017 March, Beijing promulgated the “Announcement on the Implementation Standards of Individual Income Tax Policies in the Qualification Examination for House Purchases”. According to the announcement, the qualifications for buying house in Beijing get strict compared with before. It stipulates that the applicators need to pay personal income tax in Beijing for more than 60 consecutive months.

As a result, most of migrant workers choose to rent house temporarily. Some even live in the ‘Container Apartment’ which is cheap and flexible (Figure 3.2). However, some migrants have to move to other cities because of the difficulty of settling down. According to the data of “Dynamic Monitoring of Migrant Population” (2011) by the National Health Planning Commission, 14.3% of the 66219 migrant children were born in another destination city and moved to the current one with parents; 27.5% of them were born in origins but have spent more than half of their time in the destination cities.

**Figure 3.2**

Container Apartment of migrant workers



Source: <https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1612090797028283414&wfr=spider&for=pc>

<sup>9</sup> The three requirements: legally stable employment, legally stable residence, continuous reading years

The unstable living status also do harm to migrant children's education process. In this situation, it is normal for migrant children to transfer to different schools. The public schools cannot meet the needs of frequent transfer. They are afraid that the more they accept migrant children, the more unstable the school will be (Li 2011: 12). Therefore, the unstable housing is another aspect that leads to educational exclusion of migrant children.

### ***Exclusion of health care services and the impact on migrant children***

Based on imperfect housing security, many migrant families live under poor sanitation conditions-- some of them still lack clean and safe drinking water, independent toilets and kitchens, which make the incidence of disease among migrant children far higher than urban children. In addition, the relatively low economic income and low level of education make migrant families lack of health awareness and proper food shortages (Sun and Zhang 2015: 26). As a result of insufficient nutrition, migrant children have a higher risk of stunting or dysplasia. At the same time, higher and higher medical expenses in cities have made situation more difficult for migrant children.

Despite the rapid advancement of China's medical insurance system construction in recent years, medical insurance of migrant children at the national level has not been properly resolved. According to the report *Analysis on Chinese Children's Medical Care and Social Assistance*, the lack of participation in public health insurance of migrant population especially migrant children is one of the three major challenges faced by children in the current medical service system (Bao 2014: 60). In 2012, there were about 35.81 million migrant children from 0 to 17 years old in China, including 10.78 million migrant children who moved across provinces. The participation rate of medical care insurance of the migrant population is only 44% (Chinese Women's Daily 2019). Secondly, the shortage and imbalance of paediatric medical resources make it common for children to go to hospitals in different places. There are currently 158,000 paediatric physicians who have the qualified license in China, accounting for 3.9% of the total number of physicians; while the proportion of children in the all age group is 16.5% (Chinese Women's Daily 2019). It means that the medical resource for children is relatively Insufficient comparing to the population proportion. Furthermore, most of the best hospitals are located at the city-level. The children in rural areas have no option but go to hospitals outside the origin place when they get ill seriously. Additionally, there is a contradiction between county-level medical insurance co-ordination and medical treatment needs in different places, resulting in reduction of reimbursement rates and complicated medical and reimbursement procedures<sup>10</sup> (Bao 2014: 60).

*Opinions on Integrating the Basic Medical Insurance System for Urban and Rural Residents (2016)* stipulated that the national basic medical insurance covers all urban and rural residents. However, in the reality the implementation of the medical insurance policy differs a lot among cities. It is because the basic medical insurance subsidies for urban and rural residents are jointly borne by the central government and local finance. To support less developed regions and make the balance, the central financial subsidies are mainly invested in the central and western regions. According to Zhao et al (2019:7), among all the fifteen main eastern cities, the amount of the central government subsidies for residents' medical insurance accounts for a lower proportion than local finance in 2018; In Beijing, the central government's share of total financial subsidies is only 2.59%, while the local finance accounts for 97.41% correspondingly. Due to the relatively low proportion of funding sources, the central government has weak influence on residents' health insurance system in developed

---

<sup>10</sup> The third challenge mentioned in the report is, the basic reimbursement rate of basic medical insurance for serious diseases is limited, and the medical insurance for serious illnesses has not been widely implemented, so that the medical burden on citizens is still high. Due to the medical system in China, children who do not participate in medical insurance will have to pay for all medical expenses once they become ill.

areas (Zhao et al. 2019: 7). The same as compulsory education, the basic medical insurance for Chinese citizens is also in the charge of local authorities. Under the separation between different regions caused by household registration system, the local government are more inclined to provide social services for local urbanites (Zhao et al. 2019: 7).

In Beijing, migrant children are divided into two categories according to the local medical insurance: migrant children in school (local primary and secondary schools and child-care institutions) and scattered migrant children. From the above analysis, we know that migrant children in Beijing face high entry thresholds of entering public schools. Moreover, no matter whether they are enrolled in local school, there are some other conditions for enjoying the basic medical insurance (Zhao et al. 2019: 6). These conditions for the participation in medical insurance of migrant children are mainly concentrated on parents' factors, such as parents' education level, vocational qualifications, stable living conditions, employment situation and social security payment period of their parents or guardians (Zhao et al. 2019: 6). Which means that migrant children's citizen rights mostly depend on their parents, reflecting the accompanied citizenship of migrant children. However, there is no reason to justify the rights to education of children merely through factors of their parents. Not to mention that most migrant workers cannot meet the requirements to participate in the social medical insurance. The data of the migrant population monitoring survey shows that more than 70% of the migrant population is junior high school and below, and more than 50% of the migrant population is engaged in unsteady occupations such as catering, housekeeping, cleaning and security (Report on China's Migrant Population Development 2016, 2017). In this condition, migrant children's health and safety is more difficult to secure, making it an intergenerational problem.

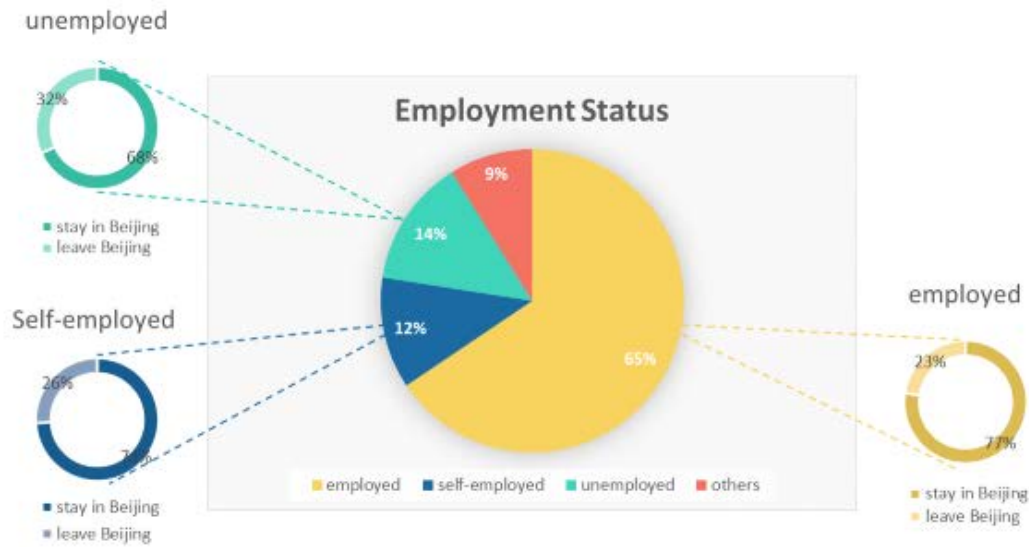
In conclusion, due to economic conditions and living environment restrictions, migrant children face greater risk of health problem but lower utilization of medical services than local children. The idea of treating migrants as labor rather than equal citizens is one of the main reasons. Apart from this, the accompanied citizenship of migrant children makes it more difficult to guarantee migrant children's rights in urban areas. Because physical and nutritional status has a great impact on the children's study status, migrant children are more vulnerable to health problems. From this aspect, the health of migrant children is also related to the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Sun and Zhang 2015: 27).

### **3.2.2 The living status of migrant children after they leave school**

At present, the new generation of migrants has become the main body of the migrant population in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region ('The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant Children' 2018: 89). The biggest difference between these migrant children and their parents is that they are born or raised in the city. The statistics showed that more than half of the new generation in Beijing were born outside their origins (Han and Qin 2017: 259). To this reason, the new generation are more adapted to city life, and they have higher pursuit for sustainable city life.

According to the tracking investigation among 1866 eight-grade students in migrant school in Beijing from 2010 to 2015, there are 1203 migrant children who was not in school in 2015 (Song et al. 2017). 789 of them were employed, accounting for 65% of 1203 sample children; 12% of them were self-employed and 14% of them were unemployed (Song et al. 2017: 200). In the three groups of different employment status, the proportion of whom staying in Beijing is 77%, 74%, 68% respectively. It showed that in addition to attending ordinary high school in their hometown, most of migrant children chose to stay in Beijing instead of returning to their hometown or other places (Table 3.5).

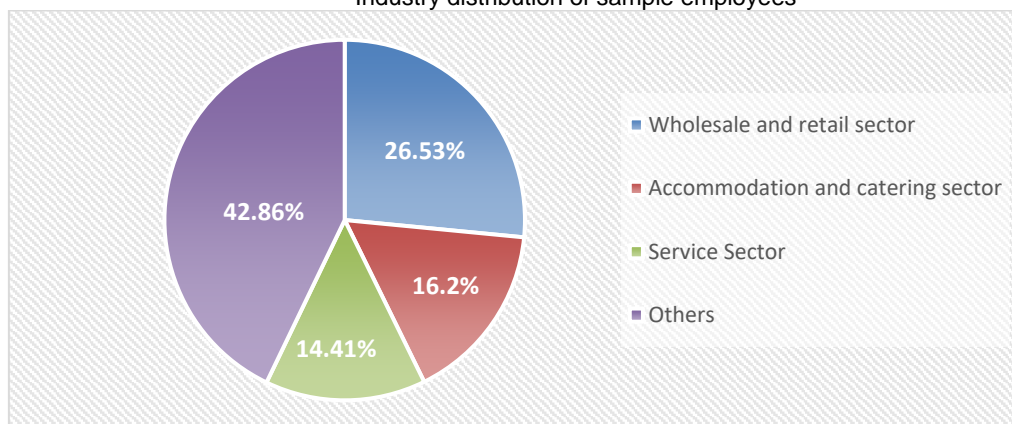
**Table 3.5**  
Employment status of investigated migrant children who was not in school (2015)



Source: Annual report on education for China's migrant children (2016)  
(Song et al. 2017: 204)

According to the collection of employment industry of 789 migrant children in the sample who were employed in 2015, Song et al. (2017:201) found that the wholesale and retail sector ranked the very first sector, which included 26.53% of migrant children who were employed; accommodation and catering sector is the second choice for migrant children, accounting for 16.2% of the 789 children; the number of sample children working in Service sector accounts for 14.41%, ranking the third (Table 3.6). These three sectors included a total number of more than a half of the 789 employed children in the sample. The thing has to be aware of is that, the investigation happened five years after when the sample children were in the eighth grade. Which means that the highest education level of the employed children is graduation from high school. The low educational level is a critical obstacle for them to find a high-skilled job.

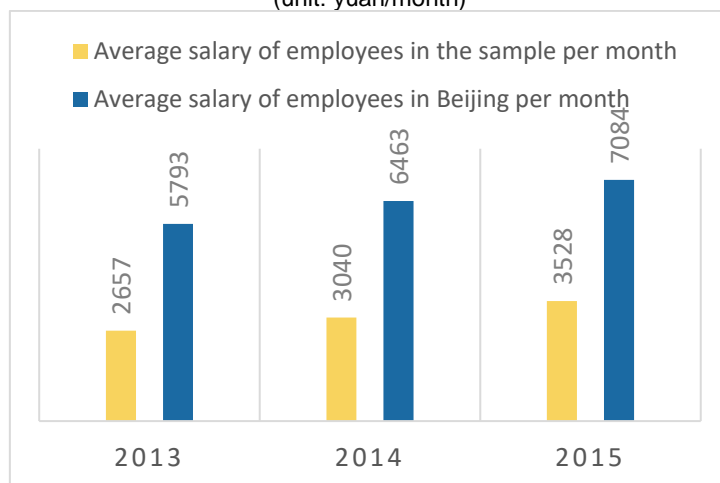
**Table 3.6**  
Industry distribution of sample employees



Source: Annual report on education for China's migrant children (2016)  
(Song et al. 2017: 205)

In corresponding to that, the salary of these 789 employed children is related low. Through the comparison of average salary level between migrant employers in the sample and Beijing workers, both of them rise year by year. However, in each year the average monthly salary of employers in the sample is much lower than the local average salary, even less than half of the city's level (Table 3.7).

**Table 3.7**  
Average salary comparison between sample migrant employees and total employees in Beijing  
(unit: yuan/month)



Source: Annual report on education for China's migrant children (2016)

(Song et al. 2017: 205)

In sum, the employment situation of the new generation of migrants is not optimistic. One reason is that a high proportion of them has to leave school before they learn enough knowledge and skills. Therefore, they lack the opportunities to get competitive qualifications in the labour market. As mentioned, the educational policy for migrant children are mainly targeted at high-income families. The low educational level is the critical obstacle for migrant children to find high-skilled and well-paid jobs. Hence, the lack of education opportunities result in the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

### 3.3 Discussion on educational exclusion of migrant children in the new urbanization

#### 3.3.1 Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration and the relationship among regions

**Map 3.1**

Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration



Source:

<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%BA%AC%E6%B4%A5%E5%86%80/7504899?fr=aladdin>

### ***Introduction of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration***

The three major urban agglomerations in China--Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei, Yangtze River Delta and Pearl River Delta, attract a large proportion of the migrant population. In 2015, a quarter of the national migrant children concentrated in these three major urban agglomerations (The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant Children of China 2018: 138). According to Report on China's Migrant population Development (2018), the migrant population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration have the highest educational level. Beijing is the core city of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei urban agglomeration and absorbs 40% of all the migrants in this area. At the same time nearly 70% of the migrant population in Beijing comes from other provinces outside this area ('The Changing Status of the Migrant Population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region' 2018: 84). It shows that Beijing is more attractive to long-distance migrants. Meanwhile it is rated as the most difficult city to settle down.

There is an imbalance in the distribution of migrant population: Beijing and Tianjin have relatively high income levels and rich public resources so that these two cities have concentrated more than half of the mobile workforce in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region. Hebei Province provides the largest proportion of the migrant population in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region ('The Changing Status of the Migrant Population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region' 2018: 89). The excessive concentration of migrant labor, especially high-quality labor in Beijing and Tianjin has intensified competition in the high-skilled labor market in these two cities. Furthermore, Beijing as a national science and technology innovation center, has absorbed high-skilled talents from all across the country. It will lead to structural unemployment problem. At the same time, the migrant population in Hebei Province is mainly engaged in Low-skilled work, which will inevitably be affected during the industrial upgrading process ('The Changing Status of the Migrant Population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region' 2018: 89).

The *National New Urbanization Plan (2014-2020)* was promulgated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council in 2013. The new plan put forward the policy goal of ensuring the equal right to education of migrant children, and required the migrant children to be included in the compulsory education. However, it also emphasizes "strictly controlling the population of megacities". Improving the schooling enrolment threshold and the college entrance examination conditions for migrant children become the crucial means of controlling migration population. At the second meeting of the *14th Beijing Municipal People's Congress* in the beginning of 2014, the population size regulation was stipulated as one of the main tasks in the *Beijing Municipal Government Work Report* (Yang 2017: 286). In this context, slogan of "controlling the population through education" arose in 2014. It advocated improving barriers of school enrolment for migrant children to reduce population migrating to big cities. According to the theory of David Harvey (2004), far more than accessing to the resources, the rights to the city it is a right to make and re-make the city that belongs to all the people ('The right to the city' 2019). It was not fair to exclude migrants or any other groups of people in the process of urbanization.

### ***Comparison of Educational Policy between Beijing and Hebei Province***

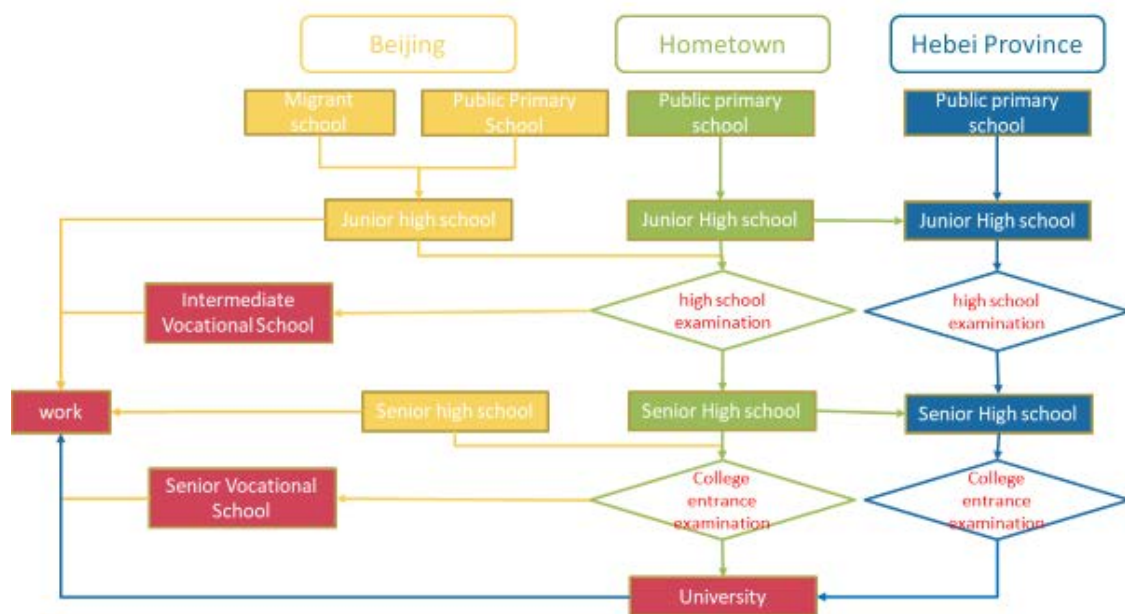
Since the population contraction policy of Beijing in 2014, there are even less reunion between children and their parents who work in destination big cities—children of migrant workers are more likely to be left home. The improved admission requirement of public school for non-local students in Beijing began at the end of 2013. According to the statistics of the Beijing Municipal Education Commission, at of the end of 2014, the number of new enrollments in the compulsory education in Beijing was more than 153,000, a decrease of more than 12,000 compared with 2013 (Yang 2017: 287). The number of non-Beijing freshmen enrolled in Beijing primary schools has dropped from 75,000 in 2013 to 55,000 in



2014 (Han and Qin 2017: 265). The number of non-Beijing students enrolled in junior high school is also lower than that in 2013 (Zhao and Wei 2016: 113). As a result, the policy failed to control population movements, but caused problems of left-behind children.

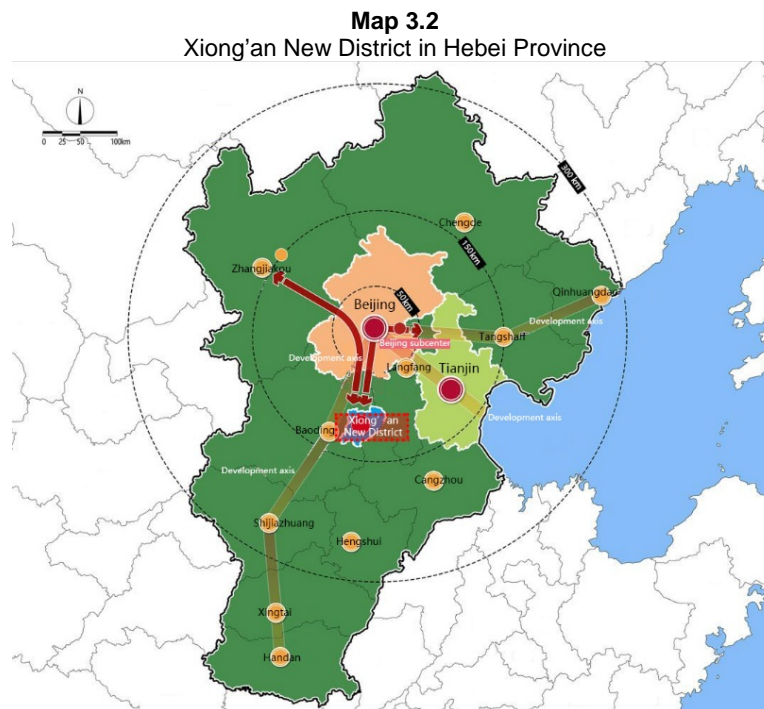
Compared with the strict barriers in Beijing, the conditions for admission to Hebei public primary school are quite relaxed. ID cards, household registration books, local employment permits and proof of residence in the school district are the only required documents to get their children enroll in the nearby public school (Yang 2017: 287). Moreover, under the restrictions of Beijing's population policy, even those children who attend many years local schooling cannot take Beijing's college entrance examination or they can only apply for vocational schools. However, Hebei announced a college entrance examination policy for non-local students in 2013: as long as they have two years of local high-school experience, parents' employment or unemployment certificate and local residence certificate, the student can register for the college entrance examination in Hebei regardless of where the original household registration is. Though the pressure of college entrance examination in Hebei Province is much higher than in Beijing, it is the relatively good choice for migrant children to study there -- the high educational level, low living cost and near distance from their parents. Affected by this policy, a large number of new students has suddenly poured in Hebei Province (Figure 3.4). Take Langfang, a city in Hebei Province located near Beijing, as an example, the number of students in primary and secondary schools in 2014 increased by 11,000 and 23,000 respectively compared with 2013 (Yang 2017: 287).

**Figure 3.4**  
Schooling progression of migrant children in Beijing



The compared schooling policy shows the coordinated development of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region. The government tries to release the pressure of schooling in Beijing to Hebei Province. However, it could not be a long-term solution to merely sending migrant children in Beijing to schools in Hebei without educational resources support. Additionally, under the policy of resolving capital population pressure and the establishment of Xiong'an New District, there will be more uncertainty in the composition of the migrant population in Hebei Province ('The Changing Status of the Migrant Population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region' 2018: 85). In the next section, the research analysed the planning of Xiong'an District and predicted how it would affect the migrant children's education in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region.

### 3.3.2 Prediction of Xiong'an planning's effect on Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Urban Agglomeration



Xiong'an New District is established in 2017 to relieve Beijing's non-capital function such as economy, population, transportation, etc. It located in the south-Hebei (Map 3.2). Xiong'an New District is a new opportunity to adjust the structure and inject new vitality into Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Urban Agglomeration ('A strange and new city—Xiong'an' 2019). To reply to the "Urban Plan of Xiong'an New District of Hebei Province (2018-2035)", the State Council stipulated the approval in January 2019. Because there is a limited amount of public document on Xiong'an planning. The analysis of the potential effect of Xiong'an on Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Urban Agglomeration is mainly referring to the approval document.

Under the new urbanization, avoiding the excessive gap between urban and rural areas is one of the prerequisites for sustainable development. The current population in Xiong'an New District is more than 100 million people, most of them are concentrated in rural areas. Well in the process of urbanization, the development between rural and urban areas must be balanced. Which is the task mentioned in the Article 6 of the approval (Chinese State Council 2019).

In Article 3 and Article 11, it is mentioned that Xiong'an New District will mainly construct universities, research institutes, medical institutions, corporate headquarters, financial institutions, and high-tech industries to undertake some technology functions in Beijing (Chinese State Council 2019). Under this circumstance, it will promote the flow of production factors and enhance the internal development momentum of Xiong'an New District ('A strange and new city—Xiong'an' 2019). Furthermore, the economic and social development in Xiong'an will improve the attraction for high-educated and high-skilled labour. Under this circumstance, it might help to release the pressure of labour market in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region and Optimize the market labor structure.

Article 8 of the approval request the city to give priority to the development of modern education, allocate medical and health resources with high standards, build public cultural service facilities, build a comprehensive network of national fitness facilities, provide multi-level public employment services and innovate social security service systems (Chinese State

Council 2019). The allocation of good medical and health services is obviously aimed at alleviating the increasing difficulty of seeing a doctor in Beijing ('A strange and new city—Xiong'an' 2019). Beijing has related-high medical level. The professional means, doctor level and medical equipment in Beijing are much better than other regions. As a result, an average of 700,000 people from other cities every day go to Beijing to see a doctor, which had greatly increased the medical pressure in Beijing. This has been a serious problem in Beijing for a long time. If high-quality medical resources are allocated in the new district, people in Xiong'an and the southern part of Hebei Province do not have to go to Beijing to see a doctor. It can help alleviating the stress of hospitals in Beijing. On one hand, as analyzed in Chapter 3.2, the improvement of social provision system will also contribute to the educational inclusion of migrant children. Which potentially improve the attraction of Xiong'an to migrants. On another hand, development of education in the new district would release the educational pressure in Beijing. It provides another option for migrant family who find it difficult to settle down in the capital. Furthermore, the life pressure of the residents in Beijing will be reduced relatively.

### 3.3.3 Allocation problem of Education resources in Beijing

#### *Declining education expenditure in recent years*

The obvious imbalance existing between the urban and rural area is caused by “the decentralized administrative and fiscal system” (Yu 2004: 93-100). The rural area and some local government lack financial support to improve education resource and infrastructure. For example, if a migrant child with a household registration in Henan Province attends school in 2002, the local government only has to allocate 355.75 yuan for education, while in Beijing, the government has to pay 2472.26 yuan (Yu 2005: 50). However, the data shows that in the past 20 years, Beijing has been decreasing the number of primary schools and teachers (Zhao and Wei 2016: 116). According to local government budget, the percentage of education expenditure in general public budget expenditure goes down from 2011 to 2017 (Table 3.8).

**Table 3.8**  
Beijing Government expenditure (2011-2017)

Local government budget expenditure (hundred million yuan)			
Year	General public budget expenditure	Education	Percentage
2011	3245.23	520.08	16.0%
2012	3685.31	628.65	17.1%
2013	4173.66	681.18	16.3%
2014	4524.67	742.05	16.4%
2015	5737.7	855.67	14.9%
2016	6406.77	887.38	13.9%
2017	6824.53	964.62	14.1%

Data Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics

#### *Unbalanced allocation among areas in the city*

Beijing is divided into four area, sixteen districts according to different functions (Table 3.9). By the end of 2017, the number of migrant population in Beijing is 8.2 million. From the area distribution perspective, Urban Expansion Area<sup>11</sup> and New Development Area<sup>12</sup> has

<sup>11</sup> Urban Expansion Area contains Chaoyang District, Fengtai District, Shijingshan District, Haidian District

<sup>12</sup> New Development Area contains Fangshan District, Tongzhou District, Shunyi District, Changping District, Daxing District

relatively high proportion of migrant population. Especially Changping District, the only district that more than half of the resident population is not registered in the local authority. In contrast with Urban Expansion area and New Development Area, Capital Core Area<sup>13</sup> and Ecological Conservation Area<sup>14</sup> have relatively less migrant population. In general, the more job opportunities a district has, the greater attractiveness it has for the migrant population. At the same time the housing price is a significant factor to consider when the migrants settle down. Consequently, many of them choose to work in one district while living in another district. By 2015, there are twelve districts<sup>15</sup> requiring migrant population to provide employment certificate in the same district if they intend to get their children enrolled into local schooling system (Zhao and Wei 2017: 113). However, there is a conflict between the reality and the requirement.

**Table 3.9**  
The population of different area in Beijing (2017)

Region		permanent resident population (Ten thousand people)	Permanent resident migrant population (Ten thousand people)	Proportion of migrant population
Function area	Citywide	2170.7	794.3	36.6%
Capital core area	Dongcheng District	85.1	17.8	20.9%
	Xicheng District	122	27.9	22.9%
Urban Expansion area	Chaoyang District	373.9	168.8	45.1%
	Fengtai District	218.6	75.4	34.5%
	Shijingshan District	61.2	17.8	29.1%
	Haidian District	348	127.6	36.7%
New development area	Fangshan District	115.4	30.3	26.3%
	Tongzhou District	150.8	60.3	40.0%
	Shunyi District	112.8	46.4	41.1%
	Changping District	206.3	105.5	51.1%
	Daxing District	176.1	83.2	47.2%
Ecological conservation area	Mentougou District	32.2	5	15.5%
	Huairou District	40.5	10.7	26.4%
	Pinggu District	44.8	5.7	12.7%
	Miyun District	49	7.6	15.5%
	Yanqing District	34	4.3	12.6%

*Data Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics*

Additionally, there are large unequal distribution of educational resources existing regionally. According to Beijing Regional Statistical Yearbook 2018, the city average number is 4443.8 RMB per capita. When comes to the catalog of education expenditure for per person, Dongcheng District has the highest education expenditure, which is 7471.0 RMB per capita. It is four times more than that of Changping district, which is ranked last at 1705.2 RMB per capita. At the same time Changping is the district has the highest proportion of migrant population (Table 3.10). It contains 13.3% of the citywide permanent resident migrant population. This means that a large proportion of migrant children in Beijing is under relatively inferior educational conditions, migrant children in the district would have less accessibility to public educational resources.

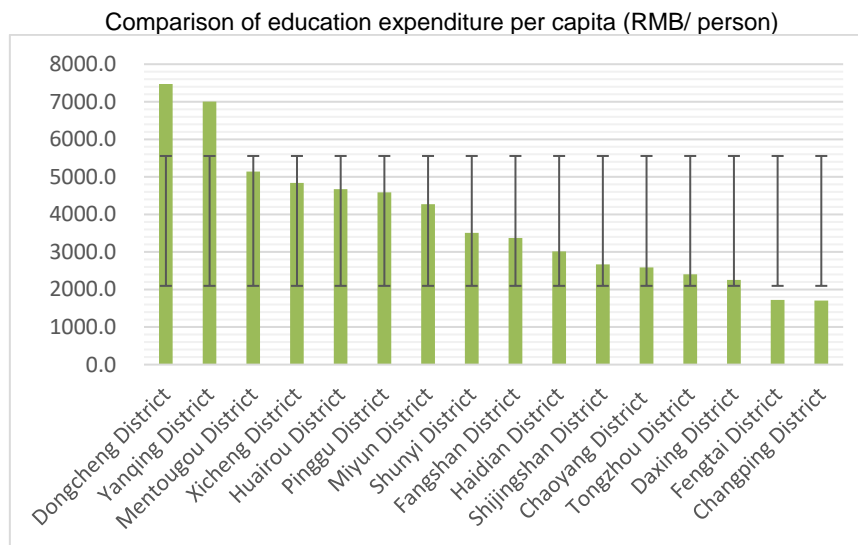
<sup>13</sup> Capital Core Area contains Dongcheng District, Xicheng District

<sup>14</sup> Ecological Conservation Area contains Mentougou District, Huairou District, Pinggu District, Miyun District, Yanqing District

<sup>15</sup> Dongcheng district, Xicheng district, Chaoyang district, Fengtai district, Shijingshan district, Fangshan district, Tongzhou district, Shunyi district, Daxing district, Mentougou district, Miyun district, Yanqing district

**Table 3.10**  
Comparison of education expenditure in different districts (2017)

District	Permanent Resident Population (ten thousand)	Educational Finance Expenditure (million RMB)	Per capita education expenditure (RMB/person)
Total	2170.7	964618.4	4443.8
Dongcheng District	85.1	63577.8	7471.0
Yanqing District	34.0	23815.8	7004.6
Mentougou District	32.2	16557.8	5142.2
Xicheng District	122.0	59013.4	4837.2
Huairou District	40.5	18920.3	4671.7
Pinggu District	44.8	20541.9	4585.2
Miyun District	49.0	20938.7	4273.2
Shunyi District	112.8	39580.4	3508.9
Fangshan District	115.4	38907.2	3371.5
Haidian District	348.0	104907.3	3014.6
Shijingshan District	61.2	16341.6	2670.2
Chaoyang District	373.9	96797.5	2588.9
Tongzhou District	150.8	36292.0	2406.6
Daxing District	176.1	39690.3	2253.9
Fentai District	218.6	37673.1	1723.4
Changping District	206.3	35179.2	1705.2



Data Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics

There is also a discrepancy between the population and the number of children attending school. Dongcheng District has 3.9% of the city's population and the proportion in Xicheng District is 5.6% (Table 3.8). However, when it comes to the number of students in elementary school, the proportion rises to 6.3% and 8.4% respectively (Table 3.11). The reason for this is that educational resources in these two districts are more sufficient than others. It is another aspect showing the unbalanced resources allocation among districts.

**Table 3.11**

Number of students in elementary school in different districts (2005-2016)

District	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total	49.45	65.33	68.05	71.87	78.93	82.18	85.03	86.84
Dongcheng District	3.99	4.57	4.65	4.67	4.91	5.08	5.3	5.46
Xicheng District	4.13	4.99	5.32	5.56	6.07	6.45	6.93	7.38
Chaoyang District	4.78	8.41	9.1	9.85	11.88	12.8	13.29	13.57
Fengtai District	3.28	6.43	6.64	6.59	6.88	7.04	6.91	6.75
Shijingshan District	1.33	2.07	2.1	2.14	2.29	2.35	2.38	2.35
Haidian District	8.25	12.08	12.78	13.15	14.14	14.77	15.56	16.13
Fangshan District	3.8	3.71	3.81	4.2	4.48	4.66	4.82	4.89
Tongzhou District	2.87	4.79	5.08	5.42	5.94	6.07	6.21	6.36
Shunyi District	2.5	3.21	3.4	3.59	3.81	4.1	4.28	4.45
Changping District	2.22	3.5	3.65	5.07	5.36	5.4	5.39	5.28
Daxing District	3.11	4.01	4.07	4.24	5.6	5.62	5.93	6.09
Mentougou District	1.07	1.19	1.15	1.11	1.11	1.13	1.17	1.19
Huairou District	1.65	1.48	1.51	1.55	1.61	1.65	1.7	1.7
Pinggu District	2.39	1.59	1.56	1.55	1.6	1.67	1.73	1.78
Miyun District	2.46	1.97	1.96	1.97	2.04	2.13	2.21	2.23
Yanqing District	1.61	1.32	1.26	1.19	1.18	1.19	1.23	1.23

Data Source: Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics



## Chapter 4 Conclusion

The institutional discrimination caused by household registration system still remains for those who migrate to the urban areas from the rural. However, the reasons for educational exclusion of migrant children is not only the household registration system, but also culture distinguish and unbalanced development. The hukou barrier, accompanied citizenship rights of children and lack of protection of social mechanisms social lead to the educational exclusion of migrant children from rural to urban areas collectively.

Even restriction between ‘agricultural’ and ‘non-agricultural’ hukou has been cancelled officially in most cities, most migrants are still restricted to low-income jobs, together with lower social status. This makes them vulnerable to poverty and makes it more difficult for them to integrate in the cities. Apart from the discrimination based on the household registration system, poverty is the key obstacle for most migrants to obtain social welfare (Murphy 2009: 8). As analysed in chapter 3, exclusion of social provision system will in return aggravate educational exclusion of migrant children. The current fiscal mechanism based on districts and counties cannot meet the needs of regional coordinated development. It is urgent to emphasize provincial-level coordination and establish education funding guarantee system at all levels of administrations. Tao (2009: 91) suggested that well-designed and promptly implemented policy packages are essential to address these challenges apart from hukou reform. While the central government releases mobility restrictions, local authorities in destination cities should also take their responsibility to allocate resources to new settlers. Yuan et al. (2019: 135) proposed the improvement of infrastructure in suburban areas, to narrow the gap between different regions, through attracting people in suburban to reduce the population pressure of megacities and big cities. Bao (2014: 60) suggested to create a joint platform for children's health charity assistance, explore the establishment of a joint child health and safety network that requires cooperation among the government, public welfare department and social organization. In sum, it is significant to optimize the structure of social provision system and include migrant population in all the social resources.

Sun, a Chinese scholar studying in social integration, predicted that education will replace institutional reform step by step and become the main mechanism of social mobility in China (Han and Qin 2017: 273). The educational exclusion happens in the progression of education from primary to secondary and higher education. To address education problems of migrant children in destination cities, the state should take the most responsibility to security education rights of all children. Besides, related society institutions, the migrant and public schools, the family and teacher should also cooperate together. On the one hand, public schools should take the educational responsibility of the migrant children. Some scholars (Yuan, 2016; Yuan et al. 2017: 17) have proposed that inclusion of migrant children in public schools is the best way to solve the problem. It is imperative for city governments to fulfill their statutory responsibilities and ensure that migrant children enter public schools. Except for developing admission policies, financial support is also crucial. As most migrant children are unable to enter the public school because of the expenses. In accordance with social divisions, poverty is another limiting factor of full citizenship (Lister 2003: 44). On the other hand, migrant school is also playing an important role on the basis of insufficient resources of public school. Thus, it is necessary to improve the quality of migrant schools through various strategies. “Shanghai-model” is the strategy adopted by the local government that providing subsidy to migrant schools instead of closing and demolishing the unqualified ones (Gao 2018). The practice is also applicable to Beijing and other big cities. It can efficiently optimize educational resources and improve the education environment of migrant children. Yuan et al. (2019: 135) found that the school facilities and the quality of

the teachers are the most important factors that cause the student gap. Thus, it is crucial to increase the subsidies for migrant children's schools and attract higher-qualified teachers through income to increase the strength and stability of teachers in migrant children's schools.

Moreover, other factors such as economic development, growth of national total population and rapid urbanization have all contributed to the rapid growth of Beijing's population (Ling, as cited by Yang 2017: 292). Therefore, Beijing's population regulation should not only focus on the restriction of migrant population, but also optimize the human capital resources and coordinate the geographical distribution of the population. Social inclusion not only emphasizes the adaptation of the immigrants themselves, but also emphasizes the acceptance and tolerance of the urban society and local residents to new immigrants (Han and Qin 2017: 271). It emphasises the equal citizen rights between local residents and migrants from rural areas. In the context of new urbanization, policy makers should take advantage of regional coordinated development. The country should coordinate relationship between large and small cities, as well as urban and rural area. And lead reasonable guidance of population distribution rather than making rigid restrictions on population movement. Relative sector should focus on adjusting contradiction between population size and population structure. The reasonable distribution of population will make the best use of city space and promote the inclusion of migrant population in urban areas.

In sum, the educational exclusion violates the principle of social justice and solidified intergenerational mobility of human capital. As the improvement of national average education level and the requirement of labor market, more and more challenges the new generation of migrants are facing with. To solve the educational exclusion of migrant children, the most fundamental factor is to break the household registration barrier. Secondly, the factors of education participation and social welfare participation should consider on children's own rather than the adults. Thirdly, the government should provide support for inclusion of social provision system of migrant children. Finally, in the new stage of urbanization, it is significant to combine population planning with urban development. All levels of government, related departments, schools and parents, social organization should cooperate to reach education equality.



## References

- 'A strange and new city—Xiong'an' (2019) Accessed 30 October 2019  
<<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1621632092294067640&wfr=spider&for=pc>>
- Chinese Women's Daily (2019) 'Tens of millions of migrant children have outstanding medical insurance problems' Accessed 9 November 2019  
<<http://www.bjwomen.gov.cn/a/gongzuoyuandi/yaowenguanzhu/2014/0723/20483.html>>
- Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics (2018) 'Beijing Statistical Yearbook'. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics.
- Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics (2017) 'Beijing Regional Statistical Yearbook'. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics.
- Bao, Y. (2014) 'The 2nd Forum on China Children's Disease Relief in Beijing', *China social organization* 15: 60.
- Chinese State Council (2019) 'Approval on the overall plan of Hebei Xiong'an New District (2018-2035) (No. [2018] 159)'. Chinese State Council
- Cai, F. (2011) 'Hukou System Reform and Unification of Rural–urban Social Welfare', *China & World Economy* 19(3): 33-48.
- 'Container Apartment of migrant workers' (Image)  
Accessed 29 October 2019  
<<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1612090797028283414&wfr=spider&for=pc>>
- Davin, D. (1999) *Internal migration in contemporary china*. New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.
- Feng, B. and D. Liu (2018) 'A Paradox Analysis of the Policy to allow migrant children to take College Entrance Examinations in Destination cities——Taking Beijing as a Case', *Education and Teaching Research* 32(10):93-100+127.
- Gao, Y. (2018) 'Education Problems of Migrant Children in China', Master of Arts in International Studies: China, TN: University of Washington.
- Harvey, D. (2008). 'The Right to the City'. *New Left Review* 53: 23–40.
- Han, J. and H. Qin (2017) 'Dreams and Challenges of the Second-Generation Migrant Workers in Rapid Urbanization Processes', in Yang Dongping et al. (eds) *Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children (2016)*, pp. 284-294. Social Sciences Academic Press (China).

*Invisible Lives: A Legacy Of China's Strict Family Planning Rules* (2016) TIME.

Kwong, J. (2011) Education and identity: The Marginalisation of Migrant Youths in Beijing  
*Journal of Youth Studies*, 14:8, 871-883.

Kadzamira, E. and P. Rose (2003) 'Can Free Primary Education Meet the Needs of the Poor? Evidence from Malawi', *International Journal of Educational Development* 23: 501-516.

LV, C. (2018) 'The Influence of the College Entrance Examination Policy on the Discrimination Perception and Educational Expectation of the Migrant Children——A Mode of Moderating Role of the Intermediary'. *Research in Educational Development* 38(22):37-46.

Li, F. (2011) 'Research on migrant schools in Beijing Chaoyang District', Master of Education, Liaoning Normal School.

MacKenzie, P.W. (2002) 'Strangers in the city: The Hukou and urban citizenship in China', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 305-319.

Murphy, R. (2009) Introduction: Labour migration and social development in China in Murphy, R. (eds) *Labour migration and social development in contemporary China*, pp. 1-16. London: Routledge.

Marshall, T. H. (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Messkoub, M and D. Davin (2000) 'Patterns of Migration under the Reforms', in T. Cannon (eds) *China's Economic Growth: The Impact on Regions, Migration and the Environment*, pp. 56-90. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Okwany, L.A. (2010) Universal Primary Education and Social Exclusion in Kenya and Uganda in Nicholas Awortwi and Auma Okwany (eds) *Issues in Social Development and Local Governance in Uganda*, pp.131-156. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing BV.

Qiu, Y., Y. Han and W. Chang (2011) 'A Study on the Intention of Floating Children to Participate in Medical Insurance and Analysis of the Characters at a District of Beijing City', *Chinese Journal of Social Medicine* 28(04):276-278.

'Schematic diagram of the spatial pattern of Beijing-Tianjin' (Image)

Accessed 29 October 2019

<[http://www.sohu.com/a/229114987\\_391352](http://www.sohu.com/a/229114987_391352)>

Solinger, D.J. (1999) *Contesting Citizenship on Urban China, Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market*. London: University of California Press.

- Solinger, D.J. (1999) 'Citizenship Issues in China's Internal Migration: Comparisons with Germany and Japan', *Political Science Quarterly* 114(3) pp. 455-478.
- Smith, C.J. (2000) 'The Floating Population in China's Cities: A New Ethnic Underclass?', in T. Cannon (eds) *China's Economic Growth: The Impact on Regions, Migration and the Environment*, pp. 91-114. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Song, Y., Y. Zeng and L. Zhang (2017) 'Where Do Migrant Children Go after Middle School? –An Empirical Study Based on Longitudinal Survey Data of 1866 Migrant Children in Beijing', in Yang Dongping et al. (eds) *Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children (2016)*, pp. 190-209. Social Sciences Academic Press (China).
- Sun, S. and Y. Zhang (2015) 'On Equalization in Basic Health Care Services for Migrant Children', *Journal of Liaoning Medical University (Social Science Edition)* 13(03):25-27.
- 'The right to the city' (2019) Accessed 30 September 2019  
<<https://www.waronwant.org/righttothecity/what.html>>
- Tao, R. (2009) 'Hukou reform and social security for migrant workers in China', in Murphy, R. (eds) *Labour migration and social development in contemporary China*, pp. 73-95. London: Routledge.
- Tikly, L and M.B. Angeline (2011) 'Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries', *International Journal of Educational Development* 31(2011): 3-14.
- 'The Characteristics and Trends of Migrant Children' (2018) in National Health Council of China (ed.) *National's Migrant population Development 2018*, pp.135-143. China Population Publishing House.
- 'The Changing Status of the Migrant Population in Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region' (2018) in National Health Council of China (ed.) *Report on China's Migrant population Development 2018*, pp.82-90. China Population Publishing House.
- Woronov, T.E. (2009) Migrant children and migrant schooling: Policies, problems and possibilities in Murphy, R. (eds) *Labour migration and social development in contemporary China*, pp. 96-114. London: Routledge.
- Wang, C. (2018) 'Twenty years' research on domestic migrant children: overview, hotspots and evolution——based on the visual analysis of CSSCI literature from 1997 to 2016', *Basic Education Research* 21: 10-15.
- Yuan, Z., X. Wang, R. Luo and L. Zhang (2019) 'Troubles on Choosing School: Academic Gap between Migrant Children and Rural Children'. *China Agricultural University Journal of Social Sciences Edition* 36(01):128-136.
- Yuan, S., G.W. Noblit and X.L. Rong (2017) The Education Issues of the Children of Internal Migrant Workers in China. In: Pink W., Noblit G. (eds) *Second International*

*Handbook of Urban Education*. Springer International Handbooks of Education. Springer, Cham.

Yu, H. (2005) 'Between Ideal and Reality', Master of Education, TN: Beijing Normal University

Yang, D. (2017) 'Studying on the threshold of Beijing', in Yang Dongping et al. (eds) *Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children (2016)*, pp. 284-294. Social Sciences Academic Press (China).

Yang, J. and J. Ning (2019) 'Is it an Efficient Way to Reduce Population by Restricting Children's Education? ——A Comparative Analysis of the Raising the Enrollment Threshold for Migrant Children Policies in Beijing and Shanghai', *Education and Economics* 35(1): 65-74.

Zhao, H. and J. Wei (2017) 'Current Situation of Compulsory Education for Migrant Children in Beijing', in Yang Dongping et al. (eds) *Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children (2016)*, pp. 105-120. Social Sciences Academic Press (China).

Zhao, D., D. Song and J. Ren (2019) 'Analysis on the Portability of Basic Medical Insurance for Migrant Children', *Chinese Primary Health Care* 33(08):5-8.