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# China's rural migrant workers and the household registration system: A case study of the effects of the Shanghai Hukou system reforms in a citizenship perspective

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# ABSTRACT

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Since a series of economic reforms were introduced in China at the end of the 1970s, large numbers of rural people have flooded into urban areas to find employment but were excluded from the urban society in different ways. One important factor was associated with the Chinese household registration system. Even if rural migrant workers had lived and worked in the cities for years, they were not granted urban Hukou status, which prohibited them from receiving genuine citizen rights. However, in the beginning of the 1990s a series of Hukou system reforms were gradually carried out (most reforms started from the 2000s). Hence, this master thesis aims to examine the consequences of these reformed Hukou policies on rural migrant workers' citizenship. A theoretical framework based on citizenship, migration and Weberian closure theories is used to offer an understanding of the mechanisms of different Hukou policies in regulating rural migrant workers' access to full citizenship. A single-case study of Shanghai's Hukou system reforms, qualitative analysis of official documents from central and local government as well as a secondary analysis of official statistics are used to answer the research questions. The findings show that the admittance standards of the reformed policies are not in the interests of the poor and low-educated rural migrant workers. The different residence permits that appeared in the Hukou reforms are in essence not the same thing as formal Hukou even if the citizen rights attached to them have been improved. The underlying motivations of these Hukou policies seem to have been to favor the elite and protect their local resources and benefits. Rural migrant workers are still excluded by being replaced as inferior citizens. The differentiation among citizens has been aggravated and rural migrant workers are still not experiencing full citizenship.

*Key words:* rural migrant workers; Hukou system reform; legal status; exclusion; citizenship

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background and research questions

As China has rapidly become industrialized and urbanized since the implementation of economic reform at the end of the 1970s, hundreds of millions of rural people have departed their villages to search for employment and economic prospect in urban areas. Many rural migrant workers ended up living and working in the cities for many years. One institution that strongly affects their urban life is the household registration system (Hukou System). Rural migrant workers carry the status of “agricultural household” and are thus prohibited from enjoying the same rights as legal urban residents. They are transients, who no longer belong to rural society and at the same time lack legal residential status in urban areas, suffering from different sorts of social exclusions such as bad working conditions, poor living conditions, children's education problem, low or no social insurances as well as severe social discriminations (Wong, Chang and He, 2007).

Rural migrants' vulnerable situation in China has gained more and more attention as a social problem, especially in relation to the Hukou system. Since the problem has threatened the stability of society, central government has given orders to carry out Hukou system reforms starting from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Local governments have been left options to determine their own conditions for granting local Hukou to immigrants. A set of reformed Hukou policies have been put into trial and implemented in some cities since the early 1990's (especially from the early 2000s). Until now it is still a period of exploration for the various local governments.

Having noticed the unequal position of rural migrant workers since I was a child, this thesis is an attempt to eliminate social injustice and make a contribution to improve the future lives of rural migrant workers. Hence, this thesis aims to study the consequences of the Hukou system reforms in relation to rural migrant workers' citizenship. Thus, the research question of this thesis is *How does the Hukou system reform shift Chinese rural migrant workers' citizenship?* To answer this question, some sub research questions are raised. They are: *How big part of the rural migrant workers can be included in these policies? How do the various forms of residence permits that have appeared in these policies differ from Hukou, especially regarding welfare entitlements? How have the reformed Hukou policies been motivated by the government?*

To answer these questions, this paper is divided in four parts. I will first review basic information on rural migrant workers and the Hukou system. Next, a presentation of my theoretical framework, namely citizenship, migration and Weberian closure theories will be given. The third part presents the methodology, which includes a single-case study, qualitative analysis of official government documents and quantitative secondary analysis of statistics. In the analysis part, first the discourses of rural migrant workers and the Hukou system reform addressed by

central government are generally reviewed to offer a concrete understanding of the central state's awareness of migrant workers' issues and the Hukou system reform. Next, the analysis focuses on the different forms of reformed Hukou policies in Shanghai in terms of their admittance standards and welfare entitlements. The paper finally discusses how rural migrant workers' citizenship is being shaped by the set of new policymaking.

### 1.1.1 Rural migrant workers

Rural migrant workers are those workers whose household is registered in rural areas, but who in reality have moved to urban areas to get employed. Their household registration status is farmer and they have the collective land contracts at home, but in reality they work in urban enterprises. So occupationally, they are workers.

Rural migrant workers in urban China are a huge group of people who live marginalized and subordinated lives in society under the rapid development of capital (Guan, 2008 & Wong, Chang and He, 2005). Even if these rural workers have made significant contributions to the economic development, they are excluded from the urban society in various ways: occupational condition, health, housing, children's education, ethnic discrimination etc. (Wong, Chang and He, 2005). They lack the access to rights that formal workers and legal urban residents are entrusted. They are under the suppression of the state, employers and urban residents. They lack a safety net both in and outside of work (Li, 2002).

Because of their generally low level of education, they are mainly occupied with physically demanding jobs that are unwanted by local residents (Roberts, 2000). The migrant workers' wage is significantly lower than the national average wage (Jian and Huang, 2007). Working conditions for migrant workers are very poor. They suffer for example long working hours, dirty and dangerous working environments and frequent wage default (Lee, 2007; Pun, 2005). Many employers failed to pay the social insurance premium for their rural laborers and even if some workers had medical insurance, reimbursement for medical expenses were also denied (Tan, 2000). Moreover, they are excluded from the social welfare system such as medical assistance, housing subsidies and basic living allowances etc. (Gu, zheng and Yi, 2007 & Guan, 2008).

The biggest reason for the exclusion is the China's household registration system (Hukou system), which was established in 1949 (Wong, Chang & He, 2005; Wong and He, 2008). The function of this residence permit is similar to the use of passport and legal visa for a migrant's entry into a European country. It does not mean that rural migrants must possess urban Hukou to enter urban areas since migration is free, but without urban residence registration, they are not capable of enjoying equal citizenship rights as urban citizens. Their statuses are denied in the city and they are being treated as "outsiders" in every aspect of life. Rural migrant workers' situation is somehow similar to the undocumented migrants in Europe, who are also without a



legal residence permit to regulate their livelihood in the host country. Both groups fail to settle down the legal residential documents. Rural migrant workers move to cities to participate in the labor market, and the uncertainty of whether they will go back home or settle in the cities are the excuses that lead to their "lack of document"-- they are classified by the government as "temporary population" and thus there is no need to issue them the urban residence. But also for those who want to stay in the cities and for those who have spent many years there, the matter of getting the documents settled is extremely difficult.

According to the newest national survey of rural migrant workers conducted by the Chinese National Statistics Bureau (CNSB) 2012, there were up to 262 million migrant workers employed in the cities in 2012. Compared with 225 million in 2008 (CNSB, 2009), this number have increased with 16 % within 4 years. This labor group is much larger than formal urban workers (Jian & Huang, 2007). In 2008 it was estimated that there were 1.9 to 3.8 million undocumented migrants within the EU (FRA, 2011). The number of rural migrants in China was more than 56 times larger than the migrants staying undocumented in the EU in the same year. As the problem of undocumented migrants has evoked much attention from society in the Western world, the situation of rural migrant workers in China is in a great need of being recognized. Both groups fail to access privileged social resources to perform a regular staying in every aspect of life.

According to a national survey (CNSB, 2012), migrant workers' educational level is mostly middle school and their average age is 37.3 years old. They mainly engage in manufacturing, building industry, transportation, storage and postal services, wholesale and retail trade, accommodation and catering industry, resident services and other services.

**Table 1 Rural migrant workers' population percentage in different areas in China**

	2012			2011		
	east	middle	west	east	middle	west
Rural migrant worker	64.7%	17.9%	17.1%	65.4%	17.6 %	16.7%

Source: National survey of rural migrant workers 2011, 2012 conducted by CNSB

As shown in table 1 above, Eastern China had the largest percentages of migrant workers. Most of the migrants migrated to the urban areas in the Eastern coastal areas from the Western and Central inlands, namely the migration trend started from relatively less developed regions to high developed regions (Cai & Wang, 2003). While Sichuan, Henan, Anhui, Hunan and Jiangxi provinces had the largest number of emigrants, Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces had the

highest number of immigrants (CNSB 2001, 2004 ). Meanwhile, migrant workers that moved to municipalities accounted for 10%, the capital cities accounted for 20.1%, the prefecture-level cities accounted for 34.9%, and the county-level cities accounted for 23.6% (NBSC, 2012).

### 1.1.2 The Hukou system: a background

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress formulated "*Household Registration Regulations of People's Republic of China*" in 1958. It stipulates that citizens who want to migrate from rural areas to cities must hold an employment certificate by the labor department, school's enrollment certification, or a migration proof granted by urban residence registration authority to apply for moving out. Coupled with a food stamp system and low-priced rationing of foods to people in their place of residence, the internal migration from rural to urban areas was tightly controlled during the years 1958--1984 (Wang, Chang & He, 2005 and Li qin, 2003). With the introduction of China's economic reforms, farmers have gained freedom to arrange their own labor force. In the hope of better economic conditions, they began to migrant to relatively wealthy cities to find employment (Bai and Li, 2008 and Cai & Wang, 2003). Thus, a huge scale of internal migration emerged, unavoidably.

One main reason why rural migrant workers were subordinated in society was the Chinese household registration system (Wong, Chang & He, 2005; Wong and He, 2008). This registration system is called the Hukou system. This system classifies the national households as agricultural household and non-agricultural household based on geography and family relationship and the transfer of type is difficult. With the emergence of the huge migration flood into urban areas after the socialist market economy was introduced in 1978, the Hukou system has done nothing to accommodate to this new situation. The transfer of status was still highly controlled. The dual structure of the Hukou system thus distinguished between those who have urban status and those who have rural status. It prohibited rural migrant workers from being a legal urban citizen. Many unjust social conditions were generated based on this residence system and many migrant workers had found themselves deprived of social protection (Guan, 2008). Furthermore, entitlements to public services depended entirely on the Hukou status each individual was endowed. Education, subsistence allowances, medical insurances and housing benefits etc. were available to an urban citizen but none of these privileges were entitled to people without an urban Hukou (Wong, Chang & He, 2005; Wong and He, 2008; Guan, 2008). Hence, those who own rural residence but work and live in the cities were excluded from genuine rights.

It was not until the early 2000s that the hardships of rural migrant workers have been gradually recognized. Government's attention was given to rural migrant workers, and various social policies for protecting their rights began to arise. For example, it is required that private employers must include work contracts and social insurance programs for their migrant workers; delaying and defaulting payment of workers' salaries is no longer allowed (Li Ying, 2011). And in the recent 20 years, a

reform of the Hukou system was carried through in some cities, including big modern cities as well as the medium- and small- size towns. The essence of the reform is to break through the differentiation between the people who possess different residence statuses. In fact, since the end of the 1990s, the state encouraged small towns to loosen their Hukou policies to adopt immigrants, which means the conditions of transferring Hukou status have been redesigned more immigrants friendly (Li, 2003; Wang, 2004). Lanyin Hukou as a new form of residence permit was a major element of Hukou system reform in 1990s. It firstly appeared in the medium-and small-size cities in 1992 and after 1994, many large and municipal cities also began to employ this system (<http://baike.baidu.com/view/1523417.htm>). The Hukou transfer in large and municipal cities was in actual not encouraged by the state but local governments were given options to determine their own Hukou policies based on their own situation. Many large and municipal cities successively implemented the Ju Zhuzheng system from the 2000s. The Ju Zhuzheng system appears to be another form of residence permit apart from Hukou and is the key part of the Hukou system reforms in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The detailed explanation of the Lanyin Hukou and the Ju Zhuzheng system will be given in chapter 4.1.2: Hukou policies in general. Bearing these developments in mind this thesis is going to examine the outcome of the Hukou system reform and to analyze how citizenship has been shaped for the rural migrant workers.

## 1.2 Previous research

Even if internal migration has a long history in China, study on this subject did not make much progress until the late 1980s due to lack of access to information (Chan and Liu, 2001). Then a large number of studies could provide a deeper understanding of this population, such as their distribution, their contribution to labor export areas and their impact on labor import areas etc. For instance, based on research and different surveys, Bai & Li (2008) argue that internal migration has contributed around 20% growth to China's GDP. Furthermore, there is a large amount of academic studies on how migrant workers suffer from harsh, inferior social conditions. For example, through a thorough literature review, Wong, Chang and He (2005) argue that migrant workers are excluded from participating in some areas of social life that are viewed as essential in a given society. These include employment, social security, the education of children, housing and discrimination by urban residents. Jian and Huang (2008) did an investigation after the central government had officially recognized the issue of rural migrant workers in 2006. They found out that some essential problems still exist for rural migrant workers and they are still not legal urban residents. Many scholars also try to grip the current situation and find ways to incorporate rural migrants into the social protection system and necessary policy changes are therefore suggested.

However, although many researchers have acknowledged the suffering and social inequality migrant workers have to face, the concept of citizenship is barely

mentioned in their papers due to its political sensibility (Wang X.Z, 2009). The demonstration of unequal citizenship rights for rural migrant workers may create issues for Chinese communist party since it reveals severe institutional exclusion. Instead researchers try to address this issue by discussing for example migrant workers and China's social stratification (Liqiang, 2004; Tang& Feng, 2000), the Hukou system and China's social structure (Li qiang, 2004) as well as migrant workers' social inclusion (Ma, 2001; Hu, 2007).

However, the American scholar Solinger Dorothy J (1999) has systematically studied China's rural migrant workers with a citizenship perspective. By analyzing the relations between peasant migrants, the state and the market, she argues that there is no need for migrant workers to strive directly for income, welfare and services, but a status that entitles them to such things (Solinger, 1999). However it is not easy for them to obtain equal citizenship because the political institution is not in favor of them (ibid). Solinger's arguement has made a strong impact on China's academia. Gradually scholars try to understand migrant workers' problems by considering their political identity and their relations to the state and other social institutions. For instance, Chen Yingfang utilizes the concept of "urban citizenship" (2005) to explore the different statuses and rights between the people who have local Hukou and those who don't, recognizing the institutional reasons and the purpose of identity construction. She concludes that the key to solving migrant worker's problems is solving the problem of how they are able to achieve the legal urban status (Chen Yingfang, 2005).

As the whole society has begun to recognize migrant workers' problem, the government has released the Hukou system and a reform of the system has taken place successively in some cities in recent years. Studies that analyze the process and the effect of the reform are however very few, let alone using the concept of citizenship. Furthermore there are still no official government investigations of the outcome of the Hukou reform, at least no public reports.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Citizenship

The theoretical framework of the paper takes a departure from Marshall's (2006) classical definition of citizenship-- "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (2006, p.34). As Marshall (2006) manifested, all the citizens are endowed with equal status, and the rights and duties that go hand in hand with this status are also equal. The essence of the membership is therefore full. He classified citizenship into three parts. First, the introduction of civic rights which protect individual freedom and personal property, then came the political rights that allows participation in the decision-making process. Social rights as the most crucial ones appeared last, and focused on the social security and life as a civilized human being. The civilized life can be achieved by embracing social services and education system.

In the opinion of Marshall, the existence of social rights can help eliminate the class disparities and the full citizenship could thus be achieved.

Marshall's citizenship theory can be seen as a concept of the modern citizenship, which is used to "identify the legal status of an individual in terms of state membership" (Bachmann & Staerklé, 2003, p17). The underlying principle of modern conception of citizenship has been formal equality (Delanty, 2000). It is the state that endows the legal status, and rights and duties of an individual are defined based on one's membership with the state (Bachmann & Staerklé 2003). This citizenship serves as the mechanisms at the legal level to regulate inclusion and exclusion (ibid). Hence, struggles for inclusion within the citizenship are consequently fights for social recognition (ibid).

Marshall's understanding of citizenship have been criticized as ignoring of the differences within the citizens, such as gender (Sager, 2011 and Lister, 1997). Kevin (2010) also argues that Marshall's theorization is not adequate enough to approach the ongoing and dynamic social problems.

Social rights are considered by Marshall as a prerequisite for possessing an equal status in a political community (2006). However, Marshall's study of citizenship development in Britain was undertaken under special historical circumstances in which civic rights were followed by political rights and social rights. China, which differs from Britain and other European countries, has its own interpretations and different conditions for citizen rights. As Wu Jiemin illustrates (2009), a few social rights came first in China; after 1978, the civic rights arrived and political rights are somehow still strictly controlled by the ruling party. However, no matter what rights people are entitled to, the position of social rights should never be ignored. Hence, the modern understanding of citizenship that is based on Marshall's definition of status, membership and social rights may serve as key concepts in a theoretical framework for the analysis of citizenship.

## 2.2 Citizenship and migration

Citizenship becomes a mechanism of closure that delimits the boundaries of states when it comes to immigration (Brubaker, 1992). Citizenship serves to define the indigenous and deny the outsiders. Only citizens of the state are allowed to enter into its territory. People who don't meet the conditions fail to be included. This can be seen as a formal exclusion since citizenship is denied at the borders (Sager, 2011). Different forms of citizenship positions should be clarified—from holding a temporary permit to permanent permit to passport (ibid). It is therefore necessary to understand the concept of citizenship as a broader concept of different forms of legal statuses from the narrow notion of formal citizenship (ibid). In the discourse of migration and citizenship, exclusion can also be produced by ideas and practices that organize access to public services (ibid). Even if some immigrants have obtained the membership of the host state, facing unequal rights is still an issue for them (Christian, 1999). Hence, it is constructive to find the structural mechanisms that prevent permanent residents from attaining full rights and power (Sager, 2011). All in all, it is

necessary to first differentiate the different sorts of legal statuses in order to differentiate immigrants' access to various social resources (ibid).

As a result of European integration and globalization, the previous states' territorial boundaries are challenged. Hence immigrants have been discussed in the context of transnational citizenship, and the concepts of identities, rights and participation have been redefined (Gerard Delanty, 1998). However, undocumented migrants and their status do not appear directly in the migratory and citizenship context (Varsanyi, M.W. 2006). The stability of the concepts of citizenship has been challenged by the existence of a large amount of undocumented migrants (Sager, 2011). Linda Bosniak (2000) also argues that there are boundaries between undocumented residents and local citizens and these boundaries do influence their practice of citizenship.

With the understanding of the migration discourse, rural migrant workers could to some extent be seen as the "undocumented migrants" in urban China--living within the territories of the urban areas without a "passport"-- an access to formal urban citizenship. If rural and urban people all belong to China's territory, why is there a "border" to exclude rural migrants from enjoying the full citizenship? The migration first needs to go through the gate into a territory, then continue with a gate to the different levels of legal statuses (Lister, 2003). Rural migrant workers in China have already entered into the boundaries of urban cities but meet the problems when walking through the gate to different levels of residence permits (legal statuses). Hence, different levels of inclusion and exclusion of legal status in relation to migration would be meaningful to study.

## 2.3 Weberian closure theory

Weberian theory of closure offers an understanding of the mechanisms of social inequality. Kevin O'Brien (2010) has made a very good summary of closure theory which is based on the elaboration of Weber, Parkin and Murphy. The strategies of social closure shape the social relationships, which can exist as one of the two forms: open and closed (K O'Brien, 2010). If the dominant social group considers that their material interests can be best satisfied by restricting the entry, then the monopolistic tactics would be activated to close the social relationship from outsiders (ibid). On the contrary, if the dominant social group is convinced that an open social relationship is most beneficial, the door will be open to other social members. Hence, it is the interests of the dominant social group's affect the decision of whether they should open or close the social relationship. Weber argues that if the competitive struggle between different social groups is permanently rationalized by dominant group using various methods, the status group will enjoy the appropriated advantages (ibid). It is the need to maintain prestige and social honor motivating them close the relationships and rest on the appropriated benefits (ibid). However, the struggle for the advantages is not easy to observe since the dominant group legitimate their monopoly power in the modern society (ibid). After receiving the differentiated advantages, the other

social groups tend to undertake corresponding actions in order to stop their inferior status continue (ibid).

On the basis of Weber's work, Parkin continued arguing that a group can utilize both strategies of exclusion and solidarism against another group (ibid). In the social hierarchy, the excluding groups exert downward pressure to secure its advantages, meanwhile closing off the important resources to other inferior groups; on the other hand, those were subordinated exert upward pressure to improve their position and this struggle process is called 'usurpation' (ibid). A group thus can be excluded and at the same time exclude other groups. The group traits such as race, gender and ethnicity can generate the strategies of exclusion and usurpatory but not only in terms of economy (Murphy, 1988). The ethnic groups, which are highly visible and may be seen as alien, are the easiest target group for exclusionary strategies (K O'Brien, 2010). The use of credentialism by the state is a tactic to exclude people (Murphy, 1988). If people have failed to reach the personal achievements, they are excluded directly. The actions of taking examinations and reexaminations are the evidences of usurpation by the excluded group (ibid). Thus, the Weberin closure theories have provided a useful framework to elucidate the different forms of social inequality.

## 2.4 Theoretical framework in my study

"Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed "(Marshall, 2006:34). If all people are born in the land of China and possess the Chinese nationality, why are they treated as unequal citizens by the country's institutions? No. 33 Chapter 2 in China's constitution stipulates that:

*All people that have China's nationality are Chinese citizens  
All Chinese citizens are equal before the law.  
The country respects and protects human rights.  
All citizens enjoy the rights according to the constitution and law and  
must fulfill the duties according to the constitution and law.*  
(My translation)

According to the constitution, "all people that have China's nationality are Chinese citizens" (No. 33, Chapter 2). That means, all the rural migrant workers are China's citizens and have a full membership of the country. However, they lack citizenship when they are in cities. They have the Chinese nationality but that is not the form of citizenship which could endow them with the same status as urban residents. Hukou status, seems more powerful than China's nationality in this context.

The previous theoretical exploration focuses on the population movement between national boundaries, but my study of citizenship and migration will be concentrated at the domestic level -- China's internal migration from rural to urban areas. However, this internal migration shares the same significant characteristics with other migrations that also bring up the issue of citizenship. These are: crossing

boundaries, acquiring membership, changing status, inclusion, exclusion and striving for rights. Rural migrants have entered the territories of urban China but they are denied of equal rights that urbanites possess. The boundary between local citizens and non local citizens has an impact on the meaning and practice of citizenship. Specifically, it is because they carry non-urban Hukou status. Hukou in this context is the form of formal citizenship. It is a mechanism of closure. It excludes rural migrant workers from being a full member of the urban society. It defines who are insiders and outsiders. Rural migrants have entered the gate of territories but then they face a problem of entering a gate to Hukou--formal citizenship.

There are two issues that are associated with citizenship: the nature of membership within the political collectivities and the right of gathering social resources (Bryan Turner, 1993). To speak about citizenship of rural migrant workers in China is to speak about their nature of membership within the urban community; to speak about their legal status in relation to the formal identity; to speak about the inclusion and exclusion as a result of institutional mechanisms; to speak about their equal rights to allocate social resources as the privileged.

Cities provide the basis for the development of transnational identities in the Western discourse (Varsanyi, M.W. 2006). Considering the actual words "city", "citizen", and "citizenship", it is not difficult to notice that there is a clear association among them. Literally, does this in fact mean that people who live in cities are called citizens? The answers are for sure negative. However, it applies to some extent in China, where a strong distinction between rural and urban areas exists. This thesis is a study of internal migration, and city is the key word in researching rural migrant workers' citizenship. However, in contrast to Europe where the boundaries for immigrations are nations' borders, borders also exist within China. Citizenship seems to only apply for those citizens who have formal residence permits in cities.

I will now proceed to present a framework for examining citizenship of rural migrant workers in China. Understanding the concept citizenship as a mechanism of closure, I argue that rural migrants in urban cities have experienced a deteriorative citizenship, which is associated with lack of a formal legal status--urban household residence (Hukou). Defined as such, only urban residents who obtain local Hukou are full members of the society and enjoy genuine citizenship since Marshall (2006, p34) conceptualizes citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community". In a social dimension, rural immigrants are excluded from the right to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the urban society.

As the Hukou system reform got started from the early 90s, Lanyin Hukou, Ju Zhuzheng which appeared in the new Hukou policies are other alternative forms of citizenship if we understand citizenship in a broad fashion. Hence, I define Hukou as the formal citizenship. Lanyin Hukou and Ju Zhuzheng are other forms of citizenship, or in other words, other forms of legal statuses. Non-local residents are able to apply for them if they fulfill the corresponding conditions. In the later analysis, the notion of "status" will be understood in a legal aspect since I focus on the formal aspect of citizenship.

According to Weberian closure theory, social konflikt should be studied by exploring the exclusionary and usurpation strategies a dominant group used against



another inferior group (K O'Brien, 2010). Hence, it is illuminating to analyze how those reformed Hukou policies have been motivated by the government. The Weberian closure theory is used to explain how the rural migrant workers have been excluded by the local residents and government. For understanding the strategies the government used to exclude the migrant workers, the extent to which rural migrant workers are included in these new policies is analyzed. And the nature of those different types of legal statuses would be another constructive analytic point. Researching these three questions enables me to understand how the different structural mechanisms prevent rural migrant workers from gaining full access to citizenship. Considering the fact that the research questions of the paper is "How does the Hukou system reform shift rural migrant workers' citizenship", I study the citizenship by focusing on the following aspects: membership, status, right and exclusion. In my case study of Shanghai, right to welfare entitlements is emphasized since the goal of social rights is equality (Marshall, 2006). Hence, to answer the research questions, I examine how rural migrant workers' membership, status, rights and exclusion have been affected and shifted with the appearance of new forms of legal statuses.

### 3. Methodology

This section presents the research design and justifies the choices of the methods used for the study. This thesis employs a single case study to answer the research question. Shanghai's Hukou system reform is selected as a case to investigate how a series of Hukou policies have changed migrant workers' citizenship. Hence, I examine how the policies have been motivated by the government. I also investigate the conditions of granting different legal residence permits and to which extent rural migrant workers are included. Additionally, the differences of all the legal statuses in the reform will be studied to provide an understanding of how they differ from formal Hukou. Welfare entitlements are focused in this context. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to research these questions. Documents are analyzed qualitatively. Through a critical discourse analysis of the official government documents, an analysis of how government addresses the issue of rural migrant workers and how these can be connected to the intentions and forms of various Hukou policies is performed. Simultaneously, qualitative content analysis is used to examine how the policies shift in terms of their admittance standard and welfare entitlements, and how these affect rural migrant workers. The qualitative discussion is supplemented by secondary analysis of official statistics. Those official statistics offer important information on rural migrant workers' situation in employment, education, housing etc. under different periods of time.

## 3.1 Single-case study

One basic form of case study is a detailed and intensive analysis of one single case (Bryman, 2012: 66). Single case study is often chosen to explore a complex social phenomenon (Yin, 2009:4). While the phenomenon of this study is the impact of a series of reformed Hukou policies on the citizenship of rural migrant workers in urban China since the early 1990s, Shanghai City is the case selected for studying this phenomenon. A further motivation of this selection can be found in the next section.

This research design is based on an embedded analysis, which involves a subunit analysis (Yin, 2009: 50-52). Hence, the particular units of a single case have gained all focus (ibid). While the key unit is Shanghai's Hukou policies in its entirety, the smallest unit is the rural immigrants who are confronted with unequal status as a consequence of this policy. Also, a case study is advantageous to answer a "how" or "why" question on contemporary events (Yin, 2009: 13). It is therefore appropriate to employ a case study in this research since the question of how citizenship of rural migrant workers has been shifted as a result of the implementation of a series of reformed Hukou policies is being raised. A single case study is justified when its theoretical reasoning is well designed (Bryman, 2012:71). It is more difficult to obtain a thorough understanding by investigating multiple cases compare to using only one detailed exploration.

In order to carry out an embedded analysis of the Hukou system reform in Shanghai, a multidimensional approach is established. The Hukou policies are examined with various perspectives. In this respect, the study explores the interrelation between a series of Hukou policies and the citizenship of rural migrant workers by exploring the admittance standard of these policies and the corresponding welfare entitlements.

To analyze the consequences of the Hukou system reform, the method of interview was taken into consideration in the first account. Rural migrant workers are the targets of the research and the effect of Hukou policies on them could be studied directly through conducting the interviews with them. However, due to time limitation and lack of resources and access, the method of interviews was not employed. Nevertheless, a qualitative analysis of the documents itself is capable of providing a thoughtful discussion to answer the research question. It is of special interest to explore the discourses of authority to understand how the Hukou policies have been motivated since the Hukou system was institutionally structured and the rural immigrants' citizenship was challenged in a formal fashion. The collection of secondary statistics also proves to be helpful in my case study strategy.

### 3.1.1 Selection of case

When case study researchers choose a case with pre-established ideas, a selection bias occurs (George and Bennett, 2005: 80). However, the reasons behind the choice of the

case are capable of conquering such a shortcoming (ibid). My reason for choosing Shanghai is the fact that Shanghai is one of the first cities in China which has tried to reform the Hukou system and it has a large amount of rural immigrants. On the one hand, rural immigrants have made a significant contribution to Shanghai's economic growth. On the other hand their citizenship has been challenged by the existence of the Hukou system. This consideration justifies the selection of Shanghai for analyzing the policy shifting in relation to rural migrant workers' citizenship.

The selection of single case study in this research can be justified by the rationale of the exemplifying case (Bryman, 2012: 70). This notion implies that "cases are often chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some ways but because either they epitomize a broader category of cases or they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered" (Bryman, 2012: 70). The selection of Shanghai allows me to "examine the key social process" (ibid) to answer my research question. Shanghai is known to have implemented a series of new Hukou policies since the early 90s. The impacts of those policies have been my special interests. After I have been influenced by citizenship theories about the relationship between the Hukou system and rural migrant workers' citizen status, I seek to examine the "implications of these theoretical and empirical deliberations in a particular research site" (ibid)--Shanghai. It is constructive to work through my research questions with my case--Shanghai due to its appropriateness. Shanghai does have the capacity to illuminate the links between the citizenship of rural migrant workers and its Hukou reform. By studying the process of its reform, it is possible to understand how citizenship of rural migrant workers has been shifted.

In 1978, China began to transform the planned economy into a socialist market economy. While the whole of China has experienced economic growth, the Eastern provinces have benefited significantly more than the Central and Western provinces (Cai et al., 2002). Hence, millions of rural Chinese migrated into the relatively wealthy coastal cities in search of work in respond to the increased labor demand in these regions (Zhang and Song, 2003:386). Shanghai is located in the Eastern part of China and has drawn large numbers of rural migrant workers from other parts of China.

With the gradual establishment of a socialist market economy, the Hukou system has finally begun to make the corresponding reforms. In the early period of the Hukou system reform, Shanghai was among the earlier cities to employ the Lanyin Hukou system. In 2002, Shanghai took the initiative to adopt the Ju Zhuzheng system, which make it a patriarch in the history of the major Hukou system reform in China—the implementation of the Ju Zhuzheng. Later, large cities such as Shenzhen, Beijing, Guangzhou and Qingdao etc. successively employed the Ju Zhuzheng system. From the official documents it is also clear that the Ju Zhuzheng system would be the key element in the future reform and would be promoted all over the country. In other words, Shanghai, which has been confronted with large amounts of rural migrant workers, is relatively mature compared to other provinces and municipal cities in innovating contemporary Hukou policies. This adds to its capacity to answer the research question: how the policy changes shift rural migrant workers' citizenship.

Another aspect also makes Shanghai a powerful case. From the beginning of 2000s, some documents about gradually releasing small towns' Hukou transition were

issued from central government but Hukou problems in large and municipal cities were somehow not mentioned. It revealed a fact that population movement from rural to large cities was actually not motivated by the central government. As the directives have been made, small cities and towns, mainly those in Western and Central China have correspondingly relaxed their Hukou transfer restrictions (Li, 2003). However, these small cities and towns were in effect unattractive to rural immigrants due to the limited employment opportunities and the wealth difference between the coastal and non-coastal regions (ibid). Hence, the large and municipal cities are still the destinations of a large amount of rural migrants. Shanghai is the largest and one of the municipal cities in China. It attracts a large number of rural laborers even though small towns' Hukou are easier to obtain. Studying the Hukou reform in large cities would be more tempting since they can be expected to have much impact on rural immigrants' citizenship.

### 3.2 Document analysis

The fulfillment of a single case strategy requires the intensive data gathering and documents are the primary source of information in this research. Documents may be seen as a means of communication since they are produced for specific purposes (Yin, 2009:101-103). They are able to tell the aspirations and intentions of the social events that have already happened (May, 2011:191-195). Thus it is necessary to examine the documents concerning the specific historical and political circumstances in which documents are produced.

In my study, the official government documents are considered the best suitable texts for the analysis of the matter at hand, as they have the potential to provide information about the motive and content of new Hukou policies and government's attitude toward the issue of rural migrant workers and the Hukou system reform. Examination of government documents can help us grasp the mind of the state regarding a particular group of population and a particular phenomenon --- rural migrant workers in China and how they are affected by Hukou system socio-economically.

The use of documents in this thesis is in a qualitative fashion. I have engaged in critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis to explore the official documents. To provide an understanding of how government addresses the issues of rural migrant workers, and how the various Hukou policies have been motivated, some key official documents were utilized for critical discourse analysis. Those documents are collected from both the central government and the Shanghai government. The central government's ideology on migrant workers as well as the Hukou system and its reform were analyzed. With a good knowledge of the macro level can we lay a solid foundation for further research of local policy shifting. To research Shanghai's Hukou system reform, local governmental documents concerning Hukou policies were studied by the method of qualitative content analysis. Furthermore, some crucial welfare policies were also selected for qualitative content

analysis. They serve the aim of analyzing how Hukou policies affect rural migrants' social rights. More detailed information will be given below.

### 3.2.1 Critical discourse analysis

Language can be treated as a helpful resource in the discourse approach (Bryman, 2012: 536). We need to treat the words carefully since they have the power to tell us something that we may not see literally. The text in critical discourse analysis can acquaint us with the "ideology and social cultural change" (Bryman, 2012: 536). Only with help of discourses, social reality can be fully understood (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). In order to explore the meaning of the discourse and how that is related to reality, we need to discover the ways discourses are constructed in relation to certain phenomena. Also, attention should be given to the specific social and historical context in which discourses are embedded since it tells about why meanings become privileged or marginalized (Bryman, 2012: 538).

China's domestic migration and the Hukou system have a long tradition. The Hukou system serves as an institutional tool to regulate rural immigrants' citizenship in urban areas. Thus, it is of special interest to see how the government addresses this issue--their ideology. By studying how rural migrant workers are defined and how their plight is addressed by official language, we can understand how the Hukou policies are motivated and produced in reality. After I carefully examined the content, structure and meaning of the document text, the ways in which language produces and legitimates rural migrant workers' ambiguous and unequal status are explored.

First, I select the central government's documents to analyze their discourse because it is interesting to see how the intentions of central policies are implemented on the local level. Four documents from central government were studied closely.

They are:

*"Notification on improving the work of managing and providing services to peasants who move to cities for work"* (January 2003),

*"Reporting on the problems of Chinese rural migrant workers"* (2006),

*"Advice on solving the problems of rural migrant workers by the State Council"* (March 2006) ,

*"Circular on positively and stably promoting the Hukou system reform"* (February 2012)

I also pay attention to a series of Hukou documents produced by Shanghai government. Six of these are used for critical discourse analysis to see the aspirations of the local government in compromising the immigrants. Those documents are also analyzed by the method of qualitative content analysis.

They are:

*"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai City"* (February 1994),

*"Temporary provisions on practice < Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng system > in order to import competent people"* (2002);

*"Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City"* (2004),

*"Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of ' Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng' "* (2009);

*"Opinions of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on doing a good work for rural migrant workers"* (2006),

*"Circular on developing work of electing and commending Shanghai City excellent rural migrant workers, Shanghai City advanced individual of rural migrant workers 2012-2011"*.

Last, I analyzed the Hukou policies from Central government to lay a foundation to further studies, addressing the Hukou system reforms on a local level. There were four documents that were especially relevant to fulfill my interest. They are valuable because they are able to offer an overview of the central government's ideology on the Hukou system and its reform. What central government have considered to be important in the history (/future) of Hukou system will be analyzed.

They are:

*"Advices on priorities of deepening economic reform 2010 "*,

*"On the temporary provisions of managing temporary population in cities"* (1985),

*"On the measures of deporting urban vagrants and beggars"* (1982) ,

*"Circular of National Development and Reform Commission on priorities of deepening economic reform in 2010"*.

### 3.2.2 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis (QCA) is a method for describing the meaning of qualitative data in a systematic way (Margrit Schreier, 2012). The documents are suitable materials for this type of analysis since they require a certain degree of subjective interpretation (ibid). This method is done by a process of classifying parts of the materials into categories of a coding frame, as indicated by the research questions (ibid). The coding frame is composed of key aspects of the material that need most attention (ibid). In most cases, these aspects are already part of the research questions (Frith, 2007). According to these definitions, text that fits the coding frame should be selected within a body of content in order to verify the theoretical assumption.

After the research questions have been decided, suitable materials are selected (Margrit Schreier, 2012). Analyzing a series of novel Hukou policies in Shanghai

since 1994, official documents deriving from the local government are still the major sources. The analysis of those local policies is the key part of this thesis. By organizing and identifying the relevant materials of Hukou policies in Shanghai in its history of reform, I found eight documents to be most helpful.

:  
They are:

*"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai City"* (February 1994),

*"Circular of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on stopping acceptance of Lanyin Hukou"* (2002),

*"Temporary provisions on practice < Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng system > in order to import competent people"* (2002);

*"Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City"* (2004),

*"Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of ' Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng' "* (2009);

*"Circular on doing a good job of the employment of non-local college students in Shanghai 2011"* (2011),

*"Opinions of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on doing a good work for rural migrant workers"* (2006),

*"Circular on developing work of electing and commending Shanghai City excellent rural migrant workers, Shanghai City advanced individual of rural migrant workers 2012-2011"*.

After I had selected the documents, I developed a coding frame in which two aspects are the main focus: admittance standard and welfare entitlements. The issue of how many people are able to be bestowed with equal status and which particular rights people can have when they obtain the status are of much significance for answering the questions concerning citizenship. Hence, I read the documents under scrutiny and I raised the question of how the conditions of granting different legal statuses change and how that change is related to rural migrant workers. Since the number of the applicants would be affected by the design of qualification, it is illuminating to analyze the admittance standard from the documents.

With respect to welfare entitlements, it is directly related to rural migrant workers' social rights as being a citizen. Together with sorting out the official documents of welfare provisions, the corresponding rights to welfare entitlements for rural migrant workers were also studied. Thirteen of them have been closely analyzed. I will later make a comparison of different types of welfare provisions based on the different group's social statuses. Those documents have been a useful source for me to understand how the different welfare entitlements are allocated. All the documents are listed in the appendix C and D. By studying the change of the welfare entitlements based on a series of Hukou policies, I was able to question how these different types of legal statuses are different from Hukou (formal citizenship) in effect.

In interpreting the materials, the change of admittance standard and welfare entitlements sheds light on the meaning of a social phenomenon—how Shanghai's Hukou system reform has been shifted for immigrants. How big part of rural migrant

workers can benefit from the new Hukou policies is further explored with the help of official statistics. In my analysis of the welfare entitlements for rural migrant workers, different types of legal statuses and welfare provisions are compared to provide the understanding of the function of formal Hukou and how rural migrant workers are rearranged in the welfare system.

In total I have used sixteen official documents on Hukou policies and thirteen official documents about Shanghai's welfare provision. Among them, the four main documents on Shanghai's Hukou policies are used most frequently as they are considered to be the most important. The whole case study focuses on the Hukou reform. The four documents help me go directly to the answers of my questions after I have identified my analytic point. The thirteen documents on welfare benefits are also important since they illuminate our understanding of the unequal arrangement of social service within the society. They provide powerful evidence for me in order to finally conclude the change of citizenship.

They are:

*"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai city"* (1994),

*"Temporary provisions on practice < Shanghai city Ju Zhuzheng system > in order to import competent people"* (2002);

*"Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai city"* (2004),

*"Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of ' Shanghai city Ju Zhuzheng' "* (2009)

### 3.3 Secondary analysis and official statistics

Apart from analyzing the before-mentioned documents, I have made use of secondary data and official documents. The case study strategy of this research is based on a multi-method data collection and thus also gives rise to the quantitative approach. There are possibilities in analyzing the data that have been collected by other researchers and institutions due to the fact that secondary analysis not only can save time and money but also since the data itself is of high quality (Bryman, 2012:311-313). It is especially suitable for a student because of their lack of time and resources to gather the data, which allows them to put more energy into interpretation of data and the analysis (ibid: 312). Official statistics are such data. The use of official statistics is controversial since the producer of them is the government agency but the data itself is of great significance. They can be analyzed over time, which means it is possible to chart trends of the situation of rural immigrants over the history (ibid: 321). It can also be studied in a cross-sectional fashion (ibid: 321). This gives rise to the opportunity of examining for instance, rural migrant workers' distribution in terms of their income, education etc.



In this thesis, statistics from surveys and investigations made by other scholars, the state and its agencies are used to offer a description of the situation of rural migrant workers over time, to analyze how the Hukou system challenges rural migrant workers' citizenship, and most importantly, how the different forms of Hukou policies since 1994 could benefit rural migrant workers. There is a variety of useful materials from the state and its agencies. For example: *National Statistic Yearbook of China*, *National survey of rural migrant workers conducted by CNSB*, *National Agricultural Census of China*, *Shanghai Statistical Yearbook*. There are also other surveys conducted by other researchers. For instance, to develop appropriate policies to assist rural migrant workers in China, a research group from Nankai University conducted a survey in five major cities in China (Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Kunming and Shenyang) from August to October 2006 and a total of 2509 rural migrants were interviewed (Guan , 2011).

By complementing the statistical information collected from the researchers, the state and its agency with a qualitative document analysis, this thesis is able to give a thorough analysis of rural migrant workers' citizenship in the times of Hukou system reform in a time and energy--saving manner.

### 3.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity are crucial in justifying the choice of the research methods in answering the research question. I consider my methods to be reasonable and logical according to the research question I am interested in, as well as the resources that are available to me. Given the importance of analyzing the policy outcome in relation to migrant workers' citizenship, I found that an analysis of the multiple documents would be insightful to answer the questions even if most of the documents stem from the government, which can raise the issue of credibility. But they nevertheless illustrate how it changes, and the intentions underlying the changes and also, policy contradictions. With the help of official documents we can grasp the "mind of the state", which is of irreplaceable position in determining rural immigrants' fate in China. In other words, " these documents can be interesting just because of the biases they reveal" (Bryman, 2012: 550). Coupled with the help of statistical information from secondary analysis, this thesis is able to answer the research question if the choice of data is careful and the interpretation of it is undertaken with consideration. Finally, a single case study may not be generalized to other cities in which the Hukou system reform have been opened up, but it may provide significant implications for achieving citizenship for rural migrant workers under the effect of Hukou policies. Other cities which have a similar situation could use the example of Shanghai to develop its novel Hukou policies if they are willing to take rural migrant workers' unequal position into account. Since Shanghai is the biggest city which contains a large amount of rural immigrants in China, its Hukou policies need to be studied and examined critically in favor of the disadvantaged in society.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 General review of central government's policies in relation to rural migrant workers and the Hukou system reform

#### 4.1.1 Discourses towards rural migrant workers

China's economic polarization has been enhanced significantly since the economic reform started in the end of 1970s. China has become one of the most unequal countries due to its wealth disparities. In 2002, the 16<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party brought forward the idea of building a "harmonious society". As a result, social equality and social stability became the main goals in future policymaking (CCPCC, 2005). Rural migrant worker is the second largest labor group as well as one of the most disadvantaged groups in China (Jian and Huang, 2007). Any policies concerned with improving their social well-being would have a significant impact on the overall social harmony as well as economy. It was a huge shift in the attitude of the Chinese government towards rural migrant workers in the years 2002-2003 (Chloé Froissart, 2005). From 2003, a number of policies were issued by the state that called for protection of migrant workers' legal rights and enhancement of their working and living conditions. For example, equal access to employment and children's education were requested for rural migrant workers in the document *"Notification on improving the work of managing and providing services to peasants who move to cities for work"* promulgated in 2003. The Official attitude towards rural immigrants has improved significantly.

The terms of "rural migrant workers" has become the official term and appears in a large amount of documents from the beginning of 21st century. On one hand their plight and unequal status has been acknowledged but on the other hand they are being defined in a way that implies a contradictory understanding. It's not difficult to imagine that this would lead to some consequences in any policymaking concerning their citizenship. How the state defines rural migrant workers is interesting. In 2006, a research report (Drafting group on the problems of rural migrant workers) from the State Council points out that:

*"Rural migrant workers" is a special concept in the times of economic and social transition. It means their residence status is still farmer and they have contracted land, but they mainly engage in nonagricultural industry and receive salaries as the main source of income. (My translation, Research report of China's rural migrant workers, 2006)*

The definition made rural migrant workers fall into an ambiguous situation. They have rural residential status but they contribute their labor to the urban industries.

They are farmers and workers simultaneously. But at the same time they are neither farmers nor workers because they don't engage in farming while urban citizen status is denied. This contradictory language would invariably be entangled with the following Hukou policies regarding them.

In March 2006, the State Council promulgated the *"Advice on solving the problems of rural migrant workers by the State Council"*. It acknowledged that the solution of the migrant workers' problem can determine China's economic and social development. The guiding ideology and basic principles underlying the policymaking were confirmed. The ideas and specific measures to solve the urgent problems were put forward. It made it clear that the protection of migrant workers' rights was the State Council's core business, especially with respect to accessing employment and welfare entitlement in urban areas. However, the contradictory categorization still exists:

*Rural migrant workers are a huge labor force in the times of Chinese economic reform, industrialization and urbanization. Their household registration is still in rural areas and they mainly engage in nonagricultural industries.....they have become the major part of industrial workers. A large amount of farmers go to cities and get employed by the township enterprises. They make a great contribution to China's modernization.....The phenomenon of migrating between rural and urban will exist in a long term..... (We should) gradually and conditionally solve the household registration problem of migrant workers who work and live in cities....protect their rights of land contract. (My translation, Advice on solving the problems of rural migrant workers by the State Council, 2006)*

The positioning of rural migrant workers is still ambiguous. On one hand their contribution to economic growth is recognized, they are a "huge labor force in the times of Chinese economic reform, industrialization and urbanization", "they have become the major part of industrial workers". But on the other hand, government still doesn't want to give them the "worker status". "Their household registration is still in rural areas", "The phenomenon of migrating between rural and urban will exist in a long term". It is a discourse that reflects an obvious conflict in policy making. Even if their hardship in an urban context has been acknowledged by central government, this contradictory ideology raises a question mark over the equality goal in the coming policy making.

In February 2012, the document *"Circular on positively and stably promoting the Hukou system reform"* issued by General Office of State Council highly reflects the state's concern about the Hukou system reform in relation to migrant workers' well-being. In the recognition of rural migrants' problem and Hukou system's importance to it, it says:

*( the local governments should) concentrate on the effort to solve rural migrant worker's practical problem. For those migrants who have already obtained the urban permanent residence, ( the local governments ) has to make sure they enjoy the same rights as indigenous urban dwellers; for those who currently don't fulfill the conditions for urban residence , the related system must be improved. Their problems*

*of job payment, children education, job training, public sanitation, housing, social security, vocational safety and hygiene etc. must be paid big effort to be settled.....Adopting effective measures to offer convenience for other transient population in terms of their local study, working and living; organize all the measures that cause inconvenience for transition population in terms of ....., modify what needs to be modified, abolish what needs to be abolished. All the policies referring to employment, compulsory education and job training etc. can not be associated with Hukou's type. Keep exploring the universal Hukou system for both cities and rural areas. .... (My translation, Circular on positively and stably promoting the Hukou system reform, 2012)*

In this discourse, rural migrant workers are classified into three categories. First are those who fulfill the conditions of requiring urban Hukou, second those who temporarily are not qualified for it. The third category is the "transient population". The respective measures for them are introduced. Why there is a special group called "transient population"? As mentioned earlier, the "floating character" is still rooted here. The proposed policy is under one assumption: part of the rural migrants may have the chance to get urban Hukou but the rest of them are not qualified and have to return to their villages. In essence, all of the rural migrants are "outsiders" but if they make sufficient contribution to the society (conditions of applying for urban Hukou), their status may convert from rural to urban. The suitable measures for people who may have the chance to become "urban citizen" are more specific. "Their problems of job payment, children education, job training, public sanitation, housing, social security, vocational safety and hygiene etc. must be paid big effort to be settled". For the "transient group" who don't have opportunities to get urban Hukou, the measures towards them are ambiguous as "adopting effective measures to offer convenience for other transient population in terms of their local study, working and living ....., modify what needs to be modified, abolish what needs to be abolished." Who determine what are convenient and what are in a need to be modified or abolished?

However, the unequal position rural immigrants may face even after they have achieved urban Hukou is mentioned implicitly. The possibilities of "being excluded based on ideas and practices that organize belonging in relation to welfare and power institution" (Sager, 2011:73) is taken into account by central government. "For those migrants who have already obtained the urban permanent residence, it has to make sure they enjoy the same rights as indigenous urban dwellers". It also acknowledged that there are many institutional barriers connected with migrant workers' problem. It is highlighted that the institutions shouldn't block the access to equal opportunities in society such as child education, employment and job coaching. But somehow the document doesn't mention other significant aspects of livelihood that the Hukou system set clear obstacles for, such as social welfare, including health care, housing benefit and basic living allowances etc. even if the fundamental protection is exactly what every migrant worker would need.

#### 4.1.2 Hukou policies in general

While rural migrant workers' rights protection has been put onto the political agenda, the Hukou system reform on the other hand was experiencing a slow progress from the beginning of 90s. As the reform got started, some documents from central government were issued to gradually release small towns' Hukou transition but not for large and municipal cities. In March 30, 2001, the State Council approved "*Advices on promoting small town's household registration system reform*" issued by the Ministry of Public Security. The qualifications of settling in small towns for rural migrants were loosened to a large extent. Immigrants who had a legal permanent dwelling place, stable job or other source of livelihood, together with their immediate family members that live with them, were able to acquire urban Hukou according to their own wishes. In February 2012, the document "*Circular on positively and stably promoting Hukou system reform*" issued by General Office of State Council continued to encourage small towns' urban Hukou transition for qualified people. The big cities' situation is somehow mentioned but

*".....for cities that have bigger carrying capacity pressure, the qualifications such as the scope of a legal and stable job, the range of years, stable and legal residence (including rental) should be more strictly specified. ( The local government should) continue keeping the population size in municipal cities, the sub-provincial cities and other large cities under control "(My translation, Circular on positively and stably promoting Hukou system reform, 2012).*

In this way, rural migration into big cities is not actually motivated by central government. Local municipalities have much space and freedom to make their own "specific requirements". This illustrates the fact that the central government is trying to restrict the population growth in those cities.

Premier Wen Jiabao chaired an official meeting of State Council, approving "*Advices on priorities of deepening economic reform 2010*", demonstrating that Hukou system reform was one of the nine key reform tasks in 2010. The central government's directives on carrying forward the Hukou system reform only stresses the principles it should be based on while the specific strategies and measures are determined by the local government according to the respective local specialties. The Lanyin Hukou and the Ju Zhuzheng system are the two major elements in the history of the Hukou system reform. Since the importance of the reform has not been emphasized until the beginning of 21st century, the Ju Zhuzheng system that emerged in 2000s has gained more attention than the Lanyin Hukou. The Lanyin Hukou first appeared in medium- and small-size cities in the 1990s and then spread to large cities. The Ju Zhuzheng system was somehow only employed by large cities from the 2000s. To further introduce these systems, the temporary residential permit system first needs to be mentioned.

Back in 1985, to control the new migration force in urban cities, the Ministry of Public Security constituted the document "*On the temporary provisions of managing temporary population in cities*", indicating that those above 16 years old and that have stayed in cities for more than three months must apply for a temporary residence

permit to be legally accepted. This is consistent with the government's ideology of the "transient population" for explaining the existence of rural migration. The aim of this action was to better control the population information so the social security would be better maintained. Moreover, fees must be paid every month to extend this temporary permit, which means the cost would help control the amount of migrants. In 1982 the State Council formulated the *"On the measures of deporting urban vagrants and beggars"*, which demonstrates that among the temporary population, those who did not have legal certificate (temporary residence permit), fixed residence and fixed income would be forcibly investigated and escorted by public security department. This system on one hand acknowledged the existence of internal migration, but on the other hand was in an attempt to label the rural immigrants as "outsiders" in urban areas.

To satisfy the large amount of rural migrants' needs of settling down in cities, the Hukou policies have adjusted to a relatively loose level in the concern of allowing part of migrants becoming urban citizens. Between the temporary residence permit and the formal Hukou, the Lanyin Hukou appears to be granting a certain amount of migrants who invest, purchase commercial housing and get employed by institutions in urban cities a residence permit by stamping a blue seal with the public security organs (Lanyin means blue print in Chinese) (<http://baike.baidu.com/view/1523417.htm?fromTaglist>). The Lanyin Hukou is not a permanent residence and those who possess it must be subject to annual inspection. Before Lanyin Hukou is converted to formal permanent residence, the original location of the permanent residence is not canceled. If people have gained Lanyin Hukou for several years and have fulfilled certain conditions designed by different local governments, they are able to apply for formal Hukou.

With respect to the Ju Zhuzheng system, it is a significant element of the Hukou system reform in recent years. It has been put into implementation in Shanghai, Shenzhen and some other big cities in the early 2000s. The scope of qualification for Ju Zhuzheng is extended accordingly. People who possess Ju Zhuzheng are able to enjoy the same treatment in some aspects of everyday life as urbanites. On May 27, 2010, the State Council transmitted the *"Circular of the National Development and Reform Commission on priorities of deepening economic reform 2010"*, which was the first time the Ju Zhuzheng system was proposed in the State Council documents.

*(The local governments should) deepen the reform of household registration system, speed up the implementation of policies on loosening conditions of settling in small cities... (The local governments should) further improve the temporary residence system, and gradually implement the Ju Zhuzheng system throughout the country. (My translation, Circular of the National Development and Reform Commission on priorities of deepening economic reform 2010, 2010)*

In the recognition of the importance of a Hukou system reform, the policy on limiting population size in big cities is however still quite clear. Nevertheless, the Ju Zhuzheng system will inevitably exist as the most crucial part of the Hukou system reform in the coming years.

## 4.2 How the Hukou system reforms shift rural migrant workers' citizenship---a case study of Shanghai City

### 4.2.1 Basic information of Shanghai City and rural migrant workers

Shanghai is the largest city in China and one of the 4 municipalities directly under the Central Government. It is located in the middle of the Eastern coastline, the port of Yangtse River. It is the center of China's economy, transportation, technology and finance. According to the Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau (SMSB) 2010, there are around 19.2 million people who live in Shanghai. Among them, 5.42 million are without Shanghai Hukou, which accounted for more than 30% of the whole population. Circa 80% of the migration force is composed by rural migrant workers (Ji dangsheng, 1995), there were around 4.4 million rural immigrants in Shanghai in 2010, which is a major factor in influencing Shanghai's population structure and economic development. Based on an investigation made by the Assistance Center of Law in Changning District Shanghai City (2006), almost half of the rural immigrants were concentrated on construction industry and catering industry, with a general low educational level--mostly middle school. According to the 6<sup>th</sup> national census (SMSB(b),2010), among all the Shanghai residents in 2010, there were respectively 5 million people who had college educational level (and above) and high school level , while more than 8 million people had middle school level. It is not hard to understand that the rural migrant workers, which are not highly educated, are in reality the most important labor force and make a huge contribution to Shanghai's economic growth.

### 4.2.2 The process of its reform

From the establishment of People's Republic of China (1949) to the middle of 1950s, the control of Shanghai urban Hukou was not strict ([Http://www.shtong.gov.cn/Node2/node2247/node4564/Node79127/node79133/userobject1ai103306.html](http://www.shtong.gov.cn/Node2/node2247/node4564/Node79127/node79133/userobject1ai103306.html)). Many people moved to Shanghai without the problems to settle the local Hukou. From 1951 to 1976, the Hukou policies were extremely strict in controlling immigration as the result of the large increase of urbanites, especially the controlling of rural population (ibid). After the Chinese economic reform, the migration population increased rapidly. To justify the rationality of the Hukou system, Shanghai also employed the temporary residence system in 1988. So far, there were no significant steps towards adjusting the Hukou system for the large amount of needs of immigrants. It was not until 1994 that some big policy changes had occurred. To sum up, the Hukou system has been reformed four times since 1994.

■ In February 1994, the *"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai City"* indicated that, to promote the investment and the development of

real estate market, the Lanyin Hukou system was carried out. Those migrants who invested, purchased commercial housing or got employed by Shanghai institution were capable of acquiring Shanghai Lanyin Hukou if certain conditions were fulfilled. In April 2002, the Lanyin Hukou system was cancelled as the result of the excessive growth of foreign population (*"Circular of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on stopping acceptance of Lanyin Hukou"*, 2002).

■2002, Shanghai took the lead in the country to implement the Ju Zhuzheng system according to *"Temporary provisions on practice < Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng system > in order to import competent people"*. People who worked in Shanghai with bachelor degree (or above) or other special talents could apply Ju Zhuzheng without the change of the original residence, which meant that migrant people were accepted in Shanghai without a formal Shanghai Hukou.

■In 2004, the government issued *"Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai city"* to promote the Ju Zhuzheng system for every kind of migrate population. The normal period of validity for Ju Zhuzheng was 1 year. For importing the very talented, there were also 3 years and 5 years of validity but it could not pass the valid time of the labor contract. People could use the Ju Zhuzheng to handle many social affairs and participate in social insurance program and other services.

■In 2009, the *"Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of 'Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng'"* was announced. It specified the different requirements of granting Shanghai urban Hukou for those who possess Ju Zhuzheng. Shanghai took the initiative to adopt this new policy in controlling migration population, which can be seen as a transitional trial to complete the Ju Zhuzheng system.

#### 4.2.3 Admittance standard—disinterest of rural migrant workers

A series of reformed Hukou polices appeared to release some advantageous migration force into the city in the need of the competence. But were the large amount of rural migrant workers with a low educational level able to access these new policies? Even if they did, were they really included in the urban life as equal citizens, enjoying the same status and citizenship rights?

To be qualified for an "urban citizen" is to be granted an urban Hukou. To not fundamentally touch this Hukou system but still make some innovation in compromising the migration, the Lanyin Hukou and the Ju Zhuzheng system (especially the Ju Zhuzheng system) serve to be the key elements of the reform, in the aim of releasing the immigrants into city without a formal Hukou. Conditions to acquire it are somehow designed carefully by government for the sake of benefit for their own cities. That is to say, only people with the competence that the government considers to be suitable for the development of a city are first included in the urban society. First I take a look at the process of the policy shifting to analyze the qualification changes in relation to rural migrant workers.

In 1994--2002, *"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai City"* was the major document to instruct Hukou policy. The aim of the



policy was to "strengthen the management of the extraneous transient residents". There were three classifications of applications, namely investment, purchase of commercial housing and employment. In the first, apart from the foreigners and people from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, "outsiders" from mainland China who invested one million yuan ( and above) in the central districts and Pu dong District and the project has been put into production for more than two years could apply for a Shanghai Lanyin Hukou. If people invested 500 thousand yuan and 300 thousand yuan in other less developed district, they could also apply for it. The second classification stated that, if "outsiders" purchase a commercial housing with a building area of 70 square meters or one with 65 square meters in Lu jiazui District they may apply for it. If people shop a housing in central town with 350 thousand yuan or 320 thousand yuan, 180 thousand yuan, 160 thousand yuan, 10 thousand yuan in other less developed area respectively they could also apply for it. The third category applied for people who had intermediate (or above) professional titles and was hired by the same place for more than 3 years and had stable legal residence.

In 2002, Shanghai government announced the document "*Circular of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on stopping acceptance of Lanyin Hukou*". It says:

*The Lanyin Hukou has played a positive roll in drawing in investment and booming real estate market these years. However, with the city's economic and social development, the current requirement of controlling Shanghai residence are not in accordance with the application conditions and the number of the applicants. Now according to the practical situation, decision has been made: from 1th April 2002, we stop attending to Lanyin Hukou applications. (My translation, Circular of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on stopping acceptance of Lanyin Hukou, 2002)*

It's not hard to understand from the discourse that the government utilized the Lanyin Hukou at a certain time mainly for promoting the economic benefits as investment and real estate market are the major factors in flourishing the economy. However, due to the fact that the overwhelming population was not consistent with the city's capacity, it was finally cancelled. Shanghai Statistical Yearbook (SMSB, 2001) revealed that the sailing area of commercial housing was 686.4 square meter in 1997, 1141.9 square meters in 1998, and 1796.6 square meter in 2001. A study also showed that (Wei yiping, 2009) 17 thousand amount of Lanyin housing was purchased from 1998--2000, and 20 thousand in 2001. Before the policy was stopped, the number had reached to 66 thousand.

Indeed, many people were qualified for the Lanyin Hukou, but how many of them were rural migrant workers? The statistics are very difficult to get, but we can deduce that it's impossible or extremely hard for a normal rural migrant worker to afford the amount of money to "buy" a Lanyin Hukou.

According to Lu (2012)'s study, the average monthly income of migrant worker was around 500 yuan in the middle of 1990s and it has increased very slow in the later 7, 8 years—in total 150 yuan. In 2004, those moving to the Eastern region got highest average monthly income compared to Western and Middle regions-- 798 yuan (Bai

and Li, 2008). The average monthly living expenses of migrant workers in the same year were 304 yuan in the Eastern area (ibid). Thus the average economic balance of migrant workers was 494 yuan a month. Migrant workers had it very difficult to afford the basic consumer expenses with such a low income, so it is impossible for them to take up the cost of an urban residence (Investigation Team of the National Bureau of Statics, 2006). However, their income and living expenses were only 58% and 49% of those of urban residents respectively (Bai and Li, 2008).

According to Shanghai Statistical Yearbook (SMSB, 2012), the average monthly income for an urban resident from 1994 to 2000 is 471 yuan to 1179 yuan, with the minimum salary 210 to 370 yuan. Hypothetically, a rural migrant worker's income is 50% lower than urban citizen, that is to say, a rural migrant worker's monthly income in Shanghai was 235 -- 600 yuan 1994-2000. In the same years, the income level for an average in Shanghai rural area was 345-533 yuan, which increased very slowly. After the basic living expenses (276 -- 464yuan), there were barely disposable money left. With a poor family background in a rural area and the disadvantage income in urban city, it was impossible for a normal rural migrant worker to provide several hundred thousand to settle Hukou problem in an urban area.

The Lanyin Hukou's intended effect in attracting the talented people doesn't come up to expectations since the condition of requiring it depends most on money. According to the statistic from Shanghai bureau of public security (Wei yiping, 2009), from 1994 to the end of 2001, Shanghai has handled 42 thousand Lanyin Hukou, 88% of them purchased commercial housing, 10% of them invested and only 2% belongs to employment category. With the end of the Lanyin Hukou system, Shanghai government readjusted its Hukou policy, focusing more on importing the talented people with high quality to suit the social development, enhancing the city's comprehensive ability of management. Thus, the *"Temporary provisions on practice ' Shanghai city Ju Zhuzheng system' in order to import competent people"* emerged in 2002.

In this regulation, people who come to work in Shanghai with bachelor degree (or above) or other special talents (foreigners as well) could apply for Ju Zhuzheng without the change of the original residence. The major function of Ju Zhuzheng was the possibility to attend to personal affairs of social insurance and housing fund etc. Documents as diploma, certificate of legal residence, health certificate and valid identity certificate were needed. In this case, the issue of a legal status was shifting from the requirement of money to the desires of high education qualification. Was this policy available for rural migrant workers? First I take a look at the college graduate in Shanghai. According to Shanghai Statistics Bureau (2002), the number of graduate from college and university was 42842 in 2001 and there were nearly 100 thousand graduate up to 2004. The annual growth rate was around 40%. In 2012, Shanghai local college graduates were 87.8 thousand while the students from other provinces and cities were 90 thousand ([http://news.xinhuanet.com/society/2012-01/11/c\\_111414578.htm?prolongation=1](http://news.xinhuanet.com/society/2012-01/11/c_111414578.htm?prolongation=1)). That is to say, if a non-local college student wanted to stay in Shanghai and get Ju Zhuzheng or formal Hukou, it was a fierce competition since the number of the Ju Zhuzheng holder was limited. According to the *"Circular on doing a good job of the employment of non-local college students in Shanghai 2011"*, if non- local college students were able to sign a labor contract with an

employer, meet the requirements of English and computer skills and other condition then they could apply for Ju Zhuzheng. Based on the points the student earned, they were accessible to apply for Ju Zhuzheng and Hukou .

Hence, it's obvious that this policy shifting is mainly touching people who had a high level of knowledge and skills. The Ju Zhuzheng could be difficult to get for the non-local college students, let alone the rural migrant workers with low educational

**Table 2 Educational level of rural migrant workers in 2006**

Unit: %

	Eastern	Central	Western	Northeast
Illiterate	0.9	1.1	1.7	0.5
Primary School	15.0	16.5	24.9	20.1
Junior high school	70.9	73.0	65.5	71.8
Senior high school	11.4	8.4	6.9	5.9
Junior college and above	1.8	1.0	1.0	1.7

Source: CNBS, Communique on Major Data of the Second National Agricultural Census of China (No.5), [http:// www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/nypcgb/](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/nypcgb/).

background (See table 2). The average educational level of rural migrants in Eastern area is middle school (70.9%). A census in Changning District Shanghai City also shows that, 60.6% of the rural migrant workers only have middle school background (<http://sfj.changning.sh.cn/fy/news.aspx?id=36>). Rural migrants are different from the non-local college students. They come to the city for the employment but not education. With the low educational level from the hometown, they mainly engage in the fields that require strong physical labor force but not much brainwork (Wang, Chang and He, 2005). Thus this Ju Zhuzheng system was far from reaching for rural migrants.

In 2004, the government issued the " *Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City*" to promote the Ju Zhuzheng system for all kinds of migrate population. "for importing the competence " has disappeared from the title of the document. There are no indications on the requirement of educational degree in the document. People who have stable job, or high education, or come to live with families are able to apply for Ju Zhuzheng according to the related rules. If people have achieved a certain amount of points based on different indexes, they can be granted Ju Zhuzheng and enjoy some related rights. Thus, this policy has made a big change in adopting the immigrants. An obvious evidence is that the words to describe

the migrants have changed from "the outsider" to "people come to Lu" (Lu is the short name of Shanghai).

For rural migrant workers, this policy has already been released to a large extent. According to the regulation, if they can offer certificates of a stable job, participation of the social insurance and a legal residence they are allowed to apply for Ju Zhuzheng. In 2006, the government issued the "*Opinions of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on doing a good work for rural migrant workers*", claiming that:

*"(We should) insist the principle of ' extend the same treatment to all '....., guarantee the legal rights of rural migrant workers..... Promote the Ju Zhuzheng system among Rural migrant workers.....all the rural immigrants must register its residence when they come to Shanghai. Rural migrant workers who can fulfill the conditions of stable employment and residence, may apply for Ju Zhuzheng. If they possess it, they are able to enjoy the rights of social insurance, job training, birth control and immunization etc. .... (We should) enhance their productivity of participating in the regional, collective management of social affairs.... (My translation, Opinions of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on doing a good work for rural migrant workers, 2006 )*

There is no doubt that a new door was opened for rural migrants becoming an "urban citizen" as they were now able to enjoy some basic rights as urbanites. The Shanghai government had already noticed the importance of including the marginalized group into urban city and the Ju Zhuzheng system appears to be a major means. However, if we take a deep sight into it, the threshold is still high for them to cross.

According to national survey of rural migrant workers (CNSB, 2011), only 43.8% of rural migrant workers signed a labor contract with the employer, which had increased slightly. If a labor contract was not signed, a valid certificate of legal job was a problem. Moreover, the participation level of social insurance system of migrant workers was still very low due to their lack of education and skills (Li and Li, 2007 and Jian & huang, 200). Moreover, their low socio-economic status made contributory insurance program unattractive because the premium was too costly in relation to their poor income (Guan, 2008).

**Table 3 Social insurance coverage rate among rural migrant workers**

	Unit %				
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Pension insurance	9.8	7.6	9.5	13.9	14.3
Injury insurance	24.1	21.8	24.1	23.6	24.0
Medical insurance	13.1	12.2	14.3	16.7	16.9
Unemployment insurance	3.7	3.9	4.9	8.0	8.4
Maternity insurance	2.0	2.4	2.9	5.6	6.1

Source: National survey of rural migrant workers 2012 conducted by CNSB

From table 3 above we see that the level of migrant workers' participation in the social insurance was very low. While participation in injury insurance was the highest

**Table 4 Participation of rural migrant workers in urban social insurance program**

	Unit %				
	Medical	Injury	Unemployment	Pension	Maternity
Currently covered	10.5	8.2	3.5	7.9	2.6
Used to be covered, but no longer	1.6	1.3	0.2	0.9	0.1
Never participating	85	87.4	93.5	88.3	94.5

Source: The Five City Survey (Nankai University Research Group, 2006)

among the five programs, the percentage was just around 24%. The lowest participation was found in maternity insurance. Only around 4% were subscribed in the program. From Table 4 above, we can not only see the similar result that the participation rate in social insurance was not positive, but also that the majority of people were never involved in any social insurance program.

Welfare benefits are not the direct goal of migration. Many migrant workers feel that it is not to their interest to spend money on insurance as they are only the temporary residents (Guan, 2008). Feng, Zuo and Ruan (2002) found out that in contrast to the high coverage rate of health insurance and pension insurances for local employees (79% and 91% respectively), the number was only 14% and 10% for rural laborers.

With respect to the housing situation, according to a national survey of rural migrant workers (CNSB, 2011), in the Eastern area, most of the rural migrant workers were living in houses provided by their employers, about 35.2 percent; another 12.8% lived in work sheds and business workplaces; 20.9 % of the interviewees rented rooms with other people; 14.2% rented a single room and lived by themselves; only 0.6% rural migrant workers purchased commercial houses for themselves. More importantly, 13.2% of them went back to their village to live after work. In these circumstances, those who live in the dormitory can provide a certificate of legal and

stable residence by offering a certificate of property right of collective dormitory. Those who have purchased commercial housing can offer the certificate of his or her own housing property right. Those who rent single rooms and live alone need to provide the legal rent contract. But for those who share room with others and live in the work sheds, the common problem is lacking of a certificate of a legal and stable residence. Those who go back to their village to live don't belong to the "local residence". Thus only 50% of rural migrant workers may have the chance to provide the legal certificate of housing if the employers and landlords can prove that their source of housing is legal.

To sum up, even if the Ju Zhuzheng system of 2004 has already made a huge gesture on adopting immigrants, it is still not easy for rural migrant workers to obtain it.

In 2009, *"Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of ' Shanghai City Ju Zhuzheng' "* was announced. It specifies the different conditions and requirements for granting Shanghai urban Hukou for those who possess Ju Zhuzheng. One of the conditions was that people have to have acquired Ju Zhuzheng for at least 7 years. If we calculate from now, people who are able to apply Hukou system must have got Ju Zhuzheng at least from 2006, which means they must have been granted Ju Zhuzheng in the beginning period of its implementation. So basically there were not many people who can get Hukou through this channel so far. Up to the end of 2008, 18.88 million people settled in Shanghai while 6.42 million were without Hukou (SMSB(a), 2010). Among them, only 270 thousand people had Ju Zhuzheng and around 3000 people may be qualified for normal Hukou (Ye zhongming, 2009).

Besides the condition of 7 years, only those who have acquired intermediate (or above) qualifications of professional positions or technician (Level 2 of national vocational qualification) can apply for Shanghai Hukou. There are however some conditions in the provisions to encourage those who make " very significant contribution to Shanghai city " applying for local Hukou, namely people that have high level of vocational profession, have paid much higher social insurance and taxes as well as have invested and paid total sum of taxes etc. are able to skip some hard rules to get Hukou. For example, years of holding Ju Zhuzheng could be curtailed or no need to have the intermediate professional level.

That is to say, people who have Ju Zhuzheng only account for 1/24 of the whole migration population (Ye zhongming, 2009). The reason they can get it is because they can survive economically in the Shanghai City, with a stable job and residence, as well as pay social insurance and taxes. The policies of converting Ju Zhuzheng to Hukou is to attract those who are outstanding among the residents (Ju Zhuzheng holder), reassuring them work and live in Shanghai.

In accordance with this provision, Shanghai government announced " *Circular on developing work of electing and commending Shanghai City excellent rural migrant worker, Shanghai City advanced individual of rural migrant workers 2010-2011*" in order to " encourage outstanding rural migrant works to work hard; build an atmosphere of caring and respecting rural migrant workers". The quota is 100 and 300 respectively according to their work period and work performance in Shanghai. The rewarding to them is to grant the Shanghai Hukou or Ju Zhuzheng. It

says, for those who are appraised as Shanghai City excellent rural migrant workers and fulfill the qualification according to " *Trial implementation of applying for urban Hukou by people in possession of ' Shanghai city Ju Zhuzheng'*  ", they are able to apply urban Hukou based on the first rule" make very significant contribution in Shanghai and have got related rewards". If they are appraised as Shanghai City advanced individual of rural migrant workers, this could be seen as one condition to apply for Ju Zhuzheng according to the related rules on importing the competence in " *Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City*".

It is not difficult to understand from this discourse that, only the "excellent rural migrant workers who make a very significant contribution to society" may have the chance to apply for Shanghai Hukou, namely 100 people out of more than 4 million

**Table 5 Overview of the admittance standards of 4 different forms of Hukou policies**

Content	Aim	Admittance standard	Outcome
Lan yin	“manage extraneous transient residents”, “ draw investment And boom real estate market”	investment, purchasing housing or employment	Very hard to reach for migrant workers
Ju Zhuzheng 2002	“ promote the flow of talent, to Attract the talent people”	Bachelor degree (or above) or other special talents,	Very hard to reach for migrant workers
Ju Zhuzheng 2004	“maintain the rights of People who come to Lu”	Stable job, participation of social insurance and legal residence	Easier to reach compared with the earlier, but still hard
Ju Zhu Zheng Conveting to outstanding people”	“complete Ju Zhuzheng system and attract the Hukou	Have acquired Ju Zhuzheng for 7 years; professional positions. who “make very significant contribution to Shanghai” may skip some rules	Extremely hard for rural migrants acquire Hukou

Source: local documents (see appendix A) and my conclusions (on the outcome).

rural migrant workers. To apply for Ju Zhuzheng would be easier, with 300 quota. But how many rural migrant workers are in reality outstanding? The very talented is after all a very small amount and most of them have a low educational level. Hence, the final policy shifting to allow part of Ju Zhuzheng holder to acquire Hukou is far from reaching a large amount of rural immigrants.

In general, there are 4 different forms of Hukou system reforms in Shanghai, shifting from money focus to talent focus. A brief overview of the differences within the 4 times of Hukou policies is given in table 5 above. In 2004, the Ju Zhuzheng system was the first call for adopting a larger amount of immigrants. 2009's policy of converting Ju Zhuzheng to Hukou has only been directed to a small amount of people so far. For rural migrant workers, the admittance standard of the various forms of Hukou policy has been too high even if it loosed its requirement to some point during the process. The 2004's Ju Zhuzheng system may be the only opportunity for more rural migrant workers to be included but the number was still limited. Moreover, in essence, Ju Zhuzheng is different from formal Hukou as the social benefits attached to it are less favorable. So even if the government claims the appearance of Ju Zhuzheng may entitle the "outsiders" the equal rights as urbanites, it is not the case in reality. That's why Ju Zhuzheng exists as another type of legal status apart from Hukou and the number of Hukou households is highly controlled as very high qualification must be fulfilled.

#### 4.2.4 Welfare entitlements—Hukou's superior status

##### 4.2.4.1 Differences within the three forms of Hukou policies

In 1994, the *"Temporary provisions on the management of Lanyin Hukou in Shanghai City"* indicated one rule that "Lanyin Hukou holders enjoy the same rights as urbanites concerning children's nursery, compulsory education, applying business licence and installing coal gas etc." However, social insurance and some other important public service are not mentioned. With the introduction of the Ju Zhuzheng system in 2002, the related entitlements are listed as a whole chapter, which is a significant progress compared to Lanyin Hukou's mentioning of rights--one sentence. In this chapter, the rights of starting companies, engaging in scientific activities, getting employed by an administrative organ, assessment of qualification, taking exams and foreign exchange etc. are regulated. Among these, the very aspects of migrants' life---children's education problem, medical insurance, pension insurance and housing funding are described.

Before, the education problem of migrant workers was a serious issue. Children without local Hukou were not allowed to attend 9 years of compulsory schooling. If families wanted to send their children to public school, they had to pay very expensive educational fee, which stopped them from sending (Wong, Chang and He,



2007). There were some migrant schools for migrant children, but the number of them was limited and the quality was poor: small size, lack of qualified teachers, standard teaching materials and sanitation facilities (ibid). If they went back to the residence of origin to attend the education, it would be a hard separation from their families. And more importantly, the most vital exam in China-- the college entrance examination was also denied to them. This problem is still prevailing. The score line in big cities invariably favor its local students, which means local students would have much easier to be enrolled in the same local university than the students from other provinces. Students without local Hukou must therefore go back to their place of origin to take this exam. For instance, the score line of a science major of Fu Dan university (a famous university in Shanghai) is 532-573 for local students while 649--661 for students from Guizhou ( a province in Southwest of China) in 2008 (<http://college.gaokao.com/school/tinfo/15/result/25/1/>). The difference is up to 100 points! And that difference would mean a student's tremendous hard working for years.

In "*Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City*" issued in 2004, the rights are also listed in detail. Some rights in the Ju Zhuzheng of 2002 were continued like birth control, immunization and qualification evaluation. However, it was not mentioned that the children of people with Ju Zhuzheng were able to attend college entrance examination in Shanghai, which was a heavy attack for many families. Besides, the rights to social insurance were not developed: "Ju Zhuzheng holders are able to enjoy the relevant rights if they participate in the integrated insurance and other social insurance according to the rules (*Temporary provisions on the Ju Zhuzheng system in Shanghai City*, 2004). It is assumed that the main targets may have already joined the integrated insurance. What is the integrated social insurance? According to "*Temporary measures on integrated insurance of Shanghai migrant worker*" announced in July 2002, this integrated insurance appears to satisfy the needs of covering the social insurance for the large amount of migrant workers in Shanghai. "The migrant worker" means those who come to Shanghai for work and business from other cities and provinces. It is also made clear that the integrated insurance is not suitable for the people imported from the Ju Zhuzheng system of 2002. This evidently indicates that the integrated insurance differs from the insurances that the "competent people" may get. This type of insurance will be developed later in the paper.

If people have acquired Ju Zhuzheng of 2002, the employer would pay 22% pension insurance and 12% of medical insurance while the person himself pay 8% and 2%. ( *Circular of Shanghai General office of the People's Government of Shanghai Municipality on adjusting the payment ratio of urban pension insurance*, 2004; *Shanghai urban basic medical insurance scheme*, 2000). But if a Ju Zhuzheng holder of 2004 has joined the integrated insurance, it means the employer would pay for the pension insurance, medical insurance and injury insurance in total with only 12.5% (*Temporary measures on integrated insurance of Shanghai migrant workers*, 2002). Unemployment insurance are not mentioned in any documents because there is no need to pay this type of insurance since if people lose job, they won't be allowed to have Ju Zhuzheng so they won't have the precondition to enjoy the unemployment benefits. In other words, the appearance of unemployment insurance in the document

would just make the regulations contradictory. Injury insurance and maternity insurance are not mentioned either, which imply that the employers will decide themselves if they will pay these insurance or not for their employees. Even if the percent of the payment is quite small compared with other insurances, it is still not like for urbanites that their employers are forced to pay these two types of insurances for them.

**Table 6 Different rights of the 3 forms of legal statuses**

	Social rights			Civic rights
	Children's rights of attending compulsory school	Children's rights of attending college entrance examination	Social insurance	
Lanyin 1994	yes	No	No	Applying business licences, installing coal gas etc.
Ju Zhuzheng 2002	yes	Yes	Urban pension, medical insurance (22%, 12% paid by employer), housing funding	Starting companies, engaging scientific activities, getting employed of an administrative organ, qualification evaluation etc.
Ju Zhuzheng 2004	yes	No	Integrated insurance (pension, medical and injury, total 12.5% paid by employer)	Almost the Same rights as in 2002

Source: local documents (see appendix B)

Table 6 provides an overview of the differences of rights within the 3 types of Hukou policies. In general, the relevant treatment for holding Ju Zhuzheng has improved a lot compared with Lanyin Hukou. However, in comparison to Ju Zhuzheng of 2002, Ju Zhuzheng of 2004 has tighter entitlements. It is proved by its limit on children's rights of attending local college entrance examination and the social insurance was designed to a lower level. As referred to earlier, the admittance standard of Ju Zhuzheng was released to a quite large extent in 2004 so that more rural migrant workers would be included in the system. That can definitely explain why the related rights have shifted generally in a tighter fashion. The relationship

between population pressure and government expenditure must be controlled, and hence the social insurance for migrants was rearranged.

#### 4.2.4.2 Differences between Ju Zhuzheng and Hukou

If people take a glimpse of the rights in these documents, they might consider that Ju Zhuzheng holder may enjoy the same status as urbanites since they have already been entitled with many rights in life that they didn't have before. But if they truly do, why aren't they able to directly acquire Hukou instead of Ju Zhuzheng? Are Hukou and Ju Zhuzheng in essence the same thing or not? If we investigate the most crucial part of human well-being-- the social insurance in this context, we find out that Hukou and Ju Zhuzheng are in reality not the same and that holding them doesn't mean equal status.

First a comparison of the Ju Zhuzheng system of 2002 and the Hukou system in relation to social insurance will be made. Currently the social insurance system consists of two parts: a social pool plus individual accounts. As mentioned earlier, the employer of Ju Zhuzheng will pay 22% of pension insurance and this part of money will enter into the social pool. The employee will pay 8% and it goes to a personal account. Different from the Hukou holder, if Ju Zhuzheng holder retires, the local social insurance agencies must transfer the personal account of pension insurance to agencies of his or her place of origin, which means migrant people are not allowed to enjoy the pension in Shanghai after they are retired and the major part (22%) of insurance must be left for Shanghai citizens. Employers pay 12% of medical insurance into the social pool and 2% is personal account. But when people get retired, only 2% of the medical insurance can be taken out and it must be transferred to the place of the original residence. Last but not least, unemployment insurance is only for Hukou holder if they fulfill certain conditions.

So if an immigrant who doesn't have urban local Hukou has made a life-time contribution to Shanghai, in the end they are still not allowed to enjoy the local social insurance benefits when they are old. For aged people, the medical insurance and pension insurance directly affect their everyday well-being but Shanghai government has actually from the beginning denied their right as a Shanghai citizen. This logic is a paradox, "Shanghai needs your contribution and talent but the burden from you falls on your hometown". Hence, to obtain Ju Zhuzheng do entitle migrant people with some rights in many aspects of lives but it can not hide the fact that they are still not the same as urbanites. The different statuses are still rooted because of the different types of legal status.

Right now, Shanghai has a social welfare system aiming for different groups of people, namely workers in the city with urban Hukou, workers in the suburb with urban Hukou (mainly farmers whose lands have been compulsory purchased), migrant workers without formal Hukou and farmers with rural Hukou. The social insurance programs for them are respectively called as "city insurance", "town insurance", "integrated insurance" and "rural insurance" in the official language. Apparently, the classification of the social insurance is based on the types of legal status people possess. The real name of the "integrated insurance" is "integrated insurance for outsiders".

According to "Temporary measures on integrated insurance of Shanghai migrant workers" announced in July 2002, an employer must pay the social insurance for their employees in order to "maintain the legal rights of 'outsiders' working in

**Table7 Three types of insurance program in Shanghai (2008)**

	“City insurance” (city with urban Hukou)		“town insurance” (suburb with urban Hukou)		“integrated insurance with ‘outsiders’” (migrants without Hukou)	
	employer	individual	employer	individual	employee	individual
Pension insurance	22%	8%	17%	Free will	7%	Free will
Medical, unemployment, injury and maternity insurances	15%--18%	3% (1% of unemployment, 2% of medical, no maternity and injury)	7.5-10%	Free will	5.5%	Free will
Base of payment	60%--300% of the city's average monthly wage of workers from last year, around 1735-8676 yuan		Fixed amount: 60% of the city's average monthly wage of workers from last year, around 1735 yuan		Fixed amount: 60% of the city's average monthly wage of workers from last year, around 1735 yuan	

Source: Wu Jiemin, 2011 and local documents (see appendix C)

Shanghai". In accordance with the Ju Zhuzheng system of 2004, "the migrant workers may enjoy the related rights if they participate in the integrated insurance and other social insurance". Those lines assume that the targets of Ju Zhuzheng system of 2004 are mainly those who engage in the integrated insurance. What is the essence of the integrated insurance?

The table7 above compares the different entitlements among "city insurance", "town insurance" and "integrated insurance" in relation to the contribution rate and base of contribution. Take pension as an example, the employer must pay 22% of insurance for employees with urban Hukou while 17% for people in "town insurance". The lowest is for the integrated insurance, only 7%. What's more, the base of payment for "integrated insurance" and "town insurance" is fixed to the lowest amount while the "city insurance" has the base space between 60%--300%, that is to say, no matter how much money a migrant work earn every month, the employer will pay the insurance for the same amount of money. Thirdly, individuals with "town insurance" and "integrated insurance" choose whether they want to pay the personal account whereas people in "city insurance" are forced to pay the individual part, which means

people with "city insurance" will have more benefits in the future. In other words, government cares more about the practical benefits for their local urban citizens rather than other people who possess "lower status".

Based on this table, we can calculate the difference among the insurance payment for an employer. If an employee earn 2000 yuan every month then the employer must pay 800 yuan ( $2000 \times 40\% = 800$ ) if he or she has local urban Hukou. If an employee has "little town Hukou", then the company needs to pay 540 yuan ( $2000 \times 27\% = 540$ ). But with "integrated insurance", the employer only needs to pay 250 yuan ( $2000 \times 12.5\%$ ). Apparently, the same worker with different legal status would be treated differently regarding the insurance fee the company needs to pay. With the same identity logic, the welfare expenditure for migrant workers is much lower than for the urban citizens.

**Table 8 Entitlements for Hukou residents and Ju Zhuzheng holders**

Characteristics	Hukou	Ju Zhuzheng
Non-contributory social benefits	Yes	No
Children' rights of attending local college entrance exam	Yes	No
Validity	Permanent	Normally one year
Contributory social insurance program	"Urban insurance"	"integrated insurance"; Pension insurance and medical insurance must transferred to residence of origin; insurance of social pool must be left in Shanghai;no unemployment insurance
Some social affairs (marriage registration etc.)	Yes	No

Source: local documents (see appendix D)

From the design of the social insurance system, it is not difficult to observe the smart trick played by Shanghai government: on one hand they include migrant workers into the social insurance but on the other hand set them into a lower socio-economic status so that they won't touch the benefits of local citizens. If we take a look at table 8, it is apparent that one's socio-economic eligibility is still linked with one's household residence (legal status). Even if Ju Zhuzheng is a big gesture by the

state that aims to include a large amount of migrants, it is actually excluding the migrants by replacing them into a lower socio-economic status and aggravating the differentiation among citizens.

There are in effect many differences between Ju Zhuzheng and Hukou. For example, there is no valid period for Hukou but Ju Zhuzheng is normally due within one year. Even if it is more than one year, it can not pass the valid period of labor contract. If people want to reapply for it, then people need to take photos, fill in the documents and pay the fee. Besides, the card issuing fee, the expense of physical examination, degree verification, computer certificate and English certificate.....would be quite a cost for a normal worker, especially rural migrant workers. There are also other differences in marriage registration, transacting passport and social security card.

Most importantly, people with Ju Zhuzheng are excluded institutionally from accessing social security, including the basic living allowances and the related social assistance. Even if they are available to the contributory insurance system, they are in reality placed in an inferior socio-economic position.

Nowadays the Hukou system reforms have been put into practice but rural migrant workers still meet the problem of unequal status. How do the reformed Hukou policies in reality shift their citizenship? The next part will finally give the answers to the question.

## 5. Conclusion

To discuss how the citizenship of rural migrant workers has been shaped as a result of the implementation of different forms of Hukou policies from the early 90s, there is a need to first discuss how their citizenship was challenged before the reform. During the years 1958--1984, the internal migration from rural to urban area had been extremely controlled (Li qin, 2003). As the economic reform carried out in 1978, a large amount of rural population migrated to urban areas in search of employment. However, they were confronted with various difficulties in many aspects of their urban life. One factor that leads to this unfortunate situation was the Hukou system, which was established in the 1950s. It was the core of the urban--rural dual structure, seperating the resources that are available to employment, education, health care, social security and any other social benefits. Under these circumstances, even if migrant worker had broken the geographical limit they were not able to break the constraints of identity. The Hukou system, nevertheless, had done nothing to adjust to this situation until the early 90s.

“Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community” (Marshall, 2006:34). If I define the urban political collectivity as the unit of this community in my case, I argue that, rural migrant workers do not have the full

membership of this urban community. The nature of this membership is unequal. Their legal status of the society is outsiders. Their lack of full membership is presented in a way that citizen rights that the full members are endowed with are violated. Citizenship is a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. Rural migrant workers were excluded from the urban political collectivity by the formal membership-- Hukou even if they are in the territory of this community. It is a formal exclusion through denial of citizenship. Even if they worked and lived in urban areas they are not treated as urban citizens institutionally.

Two examples are persuading evidences of how rural migrant workers were institutionally excluded by the non-urban status. They justified the existence of the Hukou system. In 1985, the document "*On the temporary provisions of managing temporary population in cities*" indicated that rural immigrants must apply for the "temporary residence permit" to be legally accepted in the city. The appearance of this system was due to the population flow but with an assumption that "the transient population "do not at all belong to the urban area. Moreover, fees must be paid every month to extend this temporary permit, which means the cost would help control the amount of migrants. As it says in the constitution "All the Chinese citizens are equal before the law." (No.33, Chapter 2). The "temporary residence permit" breaks somehow this egalitarian principle by discriminating the status of migrant workers. As a Chinese citizen to make a living in cities, they must apply for "temporary residence permit". There was no chance for them to get jobs and yet they would get punished if they didn't have it.

In 1982 the State Council formulated the "*On the measures of deporting urban vagrants and beggars* ", which demonstrates that among the temporary population , those who don't have a legal identity certificate ( temporary residence permit), fixed residence and fixed income would be forcibly investigated, put into asylum and escorted to the original place of residence by public security department. The "Sun Zhigang incident" that happened in 2003 was a tragical result of this policy. Sun Zhigang, whose residence of origin was Hubei, was arrested by GuangZhou government at the excuse of no "temporary residence permit", no fixed residence and no fixed income. During the time he stayed in the asylum, he was beaten to death by the staff. Ironically, Sun Zhigang had a bachelor degree and worked for a long time in a clothing company. He also had a legal residence as well as a legal identity certificate. This incident exposed the drawbacks of this deporting policy and its existence had been questioned intensely. This system directly challenged people's freedom of moving and was in an attempt to label the "outsiders" in urban areas. The illegal governmental behaviors also arose to infringe upon the human rights when the policy was executed. From this example we can understand that rural migrant workers' legal equal status was relentlessly deprived before the reform.

Shanghai has reformed its Hukou system with four different forms. Lanyin Hukou and Ju Zhuzheng (2002, 2004) appear to be other forms of legal statuses than Hukou. The differentiation of those different levels of legal statuses is a means of regulating migrants' access to rights and welfare entitlements (Sager, 2011). Hukou grants a formal form of citizenship and a formal form of membership within the given community. The new types of residence permits do endow the members of a sort of membership but somehow it is different from the full membership urbanites have.

By studying the process of the reform, I have raised the questions of how big part of rural migrant workers are capable of reaching the changing admittance standards? Even if they are able to be included in these new forms of residence permits, are they truly endowed with the same status as Hukou holders? What are the genuine motivations of these policies? By answering these three questions, I am able to answer the main research question of how does the reformed Hukou policies shift rural migrant workers' citizenship.

For the first, my answer is, the quantity of people who are able to obtain different forms of resident permits and enjoy public services has increased in general. However, with the increasingly expansion of rural labor force in respond to economic growth, none of the conditions are in the interests of those who are poor, low-educated rural workers. On the contrary, these arrangements of granting urban residence lead to a more clear classification of the statuses. Only the very wealthy, very high-educated people are the candidates of new urbanites.

For the second, I argue that immigrants' citizen rights (especially social rights) that are attached to these statuses have been improved in a way that more of them may be eligible and more rights are entitled. Meanwhile, the rights of holding Ju Zhuzheng have been increased largely compared with Lanyin Hukou. However, no matter what entitlements the Ju Zhuzheng system has, it can not hide the fact that holding Ju Zhuzheng doesn't mean holding Hukou. The "integrated social insurance" for "outsiders" is a compelling example. Besides, the basic living allowances and the other non-contributory social benefits are not attached to Ju Zhuzheng holders. There are still many things urban residents are able to do but not people with Ju Zhuzheng status.

How have these policies been motivated in reality? The Weberian theory of closure can be very helpful to explain why the migrant workers are excluded and the strategies that have been used by the government to exert this exclusion. The intention of the Hukou policies is not to assist the disadvantaged in society but a way to protect its own economic interests. Shanghai local residents and migrant workers have a closed social relationship. According to the theory, the desire to remain prestige and social honor motivates the dominant group to build a closure relationship (K. O'Brien, 2010). The needs of the dominant members decide the nature of the social relationship (ibid). Now the Shanghai government was convinced that their local interest can only be best fulfilled by restricting the entry to the local resources. This economic drive is appropriated by only permit entry for the elite in terms of money and education. Shanghai government has used its authority to design a series of Hukou policies that are only in favor its local residents, which guarantee their continuing dominant position.

The Shanghai government used a selection of closure strategies to ensure that the migrant workers remained in a subordinate position. They have used the credentialism as a door to close rural migrant workers' relationship. Different qualifications are written in a way that the majority of rural migrant workers are not able to reach. The essence of the reforms has been to unlock the door to the "urban privileges" for only a part of the immigrants. Who can enter first? How many of them are able to go inside? The Shanghai government designed a system which only includes those who are able to "make significant contribution" to the society, namely the elite in terms of assets



and education. The sagacity of the government is that they choose people who are qualified in a way that their contribution to local public finance exceeds the services they can enjoy after they become genuine "citizens". In other words, to allow them to become an "urban citizen" is to facilitate the public revenue instead of letting the source of income get away. These are the monopolistic tactics used by Shanghai government to best fulfill their interests, economically.

Personal achievement is utilized as an exclusionary tactic. The action of trying to be qualified as a Hukou holder can be seen as 'usurpation' made by migrant workers. They are trying to be included in the privileged system but only a very small number have succeeded. The majority of them who are poor and low-educated are excluded in a direct way. This leads to the result that the majority of the workers have to continue fight for the inclusion by improving individual achievement. This is considered as the usurpatory effort they made against the Shanghai government and local citizens. Meanwhile, those who are able to meet the conditions on one hand exert upward pressure to the government and its local people while practice exclusionary behaviors against the poor and low-educated rural workers. This group of rural migrant workers is easy target for exclusionary tactics since they are less organized and lack power and prestige. As a result, the disparities between the outstanding rural workers and the poor, low-educated rural workers have been enhanced significantly. Social injustice is rooted and reinforced in these Hukou policies. The disparities between the vulnerable migrant workers and the local citizens are also enhanced institutionally. The groups use the strategies of exclusion and usurpation against each other and there always exist the most marginalized groups.

Hukou is not merely a piece of paper to control the population information. Policies of public services and social security are also embedded in it. To obtain an urban Hukou is like having a welfare certificate (Wu jiemin, 2011). The various entitlements with different residence permits seem to include the immigrants into the welfare system but in reality the immigrants are rearranged in the position of second class citizens. The local residents --members of a privileged status group, have obtained their appropriated advantages through the revised Hukou policies. The eligibility to welfare entitlements is restricted through Hukou policies. The local residents have maintained their social status by enjoying the rights that are closed to non-urban citizens. The local citizens still have full control of the social resources and this is done by closing off the access to social resources for rural migrant workers. It also reflects local government's intention of protecting its local resources, benefits and citizens. They consider that their interests can only to be satisfied by closing the entry for the "aliens".

Concerning the different statuses people possess, the welfare benefits are designed accordingly. Urban residents, which are a people of their own, have access to better welfare entitlements and enjoy the appropriated advantages. Rural migrant workers, who are the transient population of a city, have access to inferior welfare entitlements and enjoy inferior rights. As I mentioned earlier, the description of rural migrant workers in official documents implies a huge paradox in terms of their status. Now a series of "novel" Hukou policies undoubtedly reflects a contradiction: on one hand migrants are adopted in the social welfare system but on the other hand a differential welfare services are offered. The roots of this unfair arrangement can be

traced back to their ambiguous status in the eyes of the privileged. A thorough Hukou system reform should be abolishing the discrimination within the public services and highlight the principle of social justice and favor the vulnerable group and not reinforce the social disparity.

Hence, I argue that it is of Shanghai local government, the employers and the local residents' interests to maintain the Hukou system. The system can be used as the monopolistic strategies to exclude those who are most unorganized -- the poor and low-educated rural immigrants. The authorities are excluding them because more revenue and less expenditure can produce an incredible economic growth. The employers are excluding them because they have the economic concern of saving money by hiring the migrant workers. The local residents are excluding them because they want to maintain their dominant social status and protect the limited social resources such as education opportunities, pension and health care. Only by closing off migrants' access to social resources, they can be guaranteed to possess better opportunities.

Having acquired answers to my questions, I proceed to argue that these reformed Hukou policies enable the appearance of new types of legal statuses apart from Hukou. There are therefore different forms and levels of citizenship. However, it is still difficult for rural migrant workers to acquire these different types of legal statuses, let alone Hukou since the conditions are much stricter. Thus, I argue that many rural migrant workers are still denied of formal citizenship--an equal legal status. Even if some of them are able to be granted those new residence permits, there exist fundamental differences between them and the privileged in terms of rights (especially social rights). Rural migrant workers are replaced in an inferior legal status. If they had outsider status before the reforms, now the rural migrant workers are endowed with a second-class legal status. If their full membership of the urban political community was denied before the reforms, now they may obtain other types of memberships, but not formal, unfortunately. If their rights were severely violated before the reforms, now they have gained more rights but somehow those rights are differentiated from those of the privileged social members. If they were blatantly excluded from the urban community by the formal citizenship before the reforms, now they are still excluded from the urban privileged by the formal citizenship, but in a more concealed way. That is to say, even if some of the rural migrant workers may seem to have acquired more rights as a consequence of the reforms, they are still not experiencing full citizenship, since equality must be the underlying principle in the claim of citizenship. The expectation that "all citizens will be dealt with by public agencies in ways that are not discriminatory or oppressive" (Clarke J. 2004:216) is somehow not fulfilled.

The methods chosen for this research are case study, document analysis and statistic review. They are able to give me the understanding of how authorities design the Hukou policies in relation to rural migrant workers' citizenship. However, the results from interviews with the rural migrant workers could be very meaningful. We need to understand how those migrant workers individually and subjectively think of the effects of the Hukou system reform. The potential interviewees are those workers who have been in Shanghai for many years so they are able to tell the policy changes .

Organizations working with rural migrant workers can also be the important interviewees.

The study of the new generation of rural migrant workers, those who were born in the 1980s and 1990s are also interesting. Those new generations of rural migrant workers are different from their parents and grandparents. They are not familiar with farming but more with internet. They have the life styles and expectations that the older generations didn't have before. Thus, it is illuminating to explore this new migration and its relation to Hukou policies and citizenship. Nevertheless, China is a very big country and Hukou system reforms have been carried out with various forms in different places. Even if the large cities are often more attractive for the large amount of rural migrants, many small- and medium sized cities have employed the reformed Hukou policies according to their local situations. That study the consequences of Hukou system reform in the small- and medium sized cities on the citizenship of rural migrant workers can also be significant. Lastly, a more dynamic understanding of citizenship can be given so that the differentiation within the rural migrant workers can be emphasized, such gender, age and ethnicity.

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