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Education for Migrant Children in Beijing



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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how education policies directed towards migrant students are carried out in practice, using a school in Beijing as a case study. Equal education for all is a concept that has come late to China despite the progressive attitudes towards education put forth by Confucius over 3000 years ago. Along with the economic reforms of the 1970's and China's emergence into the global market, western concepts of The Universal Rights of Children, especially in regards to free and equal compulsory education, have become visible and challenging issues for the Chinese government. Despite government efforts, the findings show that education between migrant and urban students is not equal. Migrant students are still required to obtain a set of certifications and are not always treated equally in the classroom. Unequal practices are upheld through the government decentralization of education practices, putting decision making power in the hands of the local municipalities and the institutional hukou system that perpetuates a system of "a dual division of urban and rural residency, which forms a structural basis for the social welfare system in China" (Wu & Treiman, 2004:81). This thesis posits that more efforts are needed and suggests some policies recommendations that can improve the equality of education.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

Despite efforts by the government in compulsory education policy making, a monetary investment in local school systems and a relaxation of the Hukou system, migrant children still face unequal opportunities in education and are being marginalized in the urban areas in which they live. Without the real existence of equality and social integration, the climb from second class citizen status, where these children are looked on as a burden to local resources, to a place where they can accomplish meaningful contributions to their urban environment is difficult indeed.

1.2 Research approach

This paper will use a rights based approach to examine secondary sources addressing the problems of education for migrant children in Beijing from both Chinese and international sources. It will also compare documented official government policies with present day realities and offer a view as seen through the eyes of actual students and school personnel interviewed in the Tongzhou district of Beijing.

The Children's Rights Convention created by the United Nations and ratified by member states, including China, establishes equal and quality education as an unalienable right. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) states that the right to education should be: **available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable**. These standards will be used as an analytical tool in examining the situation of migrant children's education in public (and private) schools in Beijing.

Social exclusion created by unequal educational opportunities relegates members of already disadvantaged groups such as the children of migrant workers, to the fringes of society. Social exclusion is the process in which individuals or entire communities of people are systematically blocked from (or denied full access to) various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group. This discriminatory practice perpetuates the cycle of poverty and disadvantage.

1.3 Research questions

In line with the primary aim of this study, the main research question is as follows:

- *How are China's education policies for migrant children implemented at public schools?*

The main research question is supported by a set of three sub-questions that help to support the main question:

- *What kinds of education policies for migrant children have been implemented?*
- *To what degree and which of the specific policies have been lived up to at the public schools?*
- *What policy changes can improve greater equality and social integration between local and migrant children at public schools?*

1.4 Disposition

This thesis is structured as follows. The next chapter provides a theoretical foundation, background information and a literature review. Chapter 3 provides the methodology that is used in this thesis, including the quality criteria and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the small number of current literature written on education policies for migrant children in China. Chapter 5 presents the main empirical findings of this thesis and analyzes these. Chapter 6 summarizes the main findings of this study and provides some suggestions for future research.

2. Background, Theoretical Framework and Literature

This chapter presents the main theoretical and analytical concepts that are employed in this thesis. This chapter also presents background information and an overview of the contemporary literature that has been devoted to education in China, although the literature specifically on the education of migrant children in China remains limited. An overview of government policies on education for migrant children is also provided.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The Children's Rights Convention regards education as one of the most important factors in the development and well being of children (Article 28). Being educated is also seen as a desirable capability for all citizens.

Amartya Sen's theory of capability that is employed in this thesis, looks at education as both valuable to the child being educated and at its instrumental role in the development of society. Education is examined in the framework of human rights and possibilities in fulfilling human potential. According to Sen, an individual's capability is influenced by the freedom they have to follow a path of achieving things they have reason to value (Sen, 1985, 1992), therefore the relationship between capabilities and rights is inseparable. Sen also suggests that we should spend time reflecting over ways of reducing the present injustices in our education systems and wider society rather than waiting for a consensus on what constitutes perfect justice (Sen, 2009).

A criticism of Sen is that he never fully addresses political dimensions. Equality and quality of education is a political issue and as such participation in deciding about what are the valued outcomes of education and valued processes to support these should be a matter of debate. (Tikley and Barrett, 2011)

In our age of globalization and vast movements of population from one place to another, international standards are presented through instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

Evaluating education with a rights-based approach can be aided by the framework that has been developed and promoted by UN agencies. Initially published in a Global Campaign for Education (GCE) document (GCE, 2002), and then approved by UNESCO, the framework is directed at analyzing the enactment of children's rights within educational institutions and shows a concern for learning outcomes. The individual learner is placed in the center and meeting the learners' needs is prioritized. The GCE/UNICEF framework is organized around what students need for learning; environments (are they healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive?); content (are curricula and materials relevant?); processes; and outcomes. (Tickley, Barrett, 2011)

Capability theory has become an important concept in international ideas about education and education continues to be recognized as an important key to global development.

The World Bank has stated that education is the single most important factor in fighting poverty (World Bank, 2012). But despite its importance in global development the World Bank has noted that equal education for all is far from a standard global practice and its universal institution is moving slowly. "Since 1990 the countries of the world have called for all children to be able to complete primary school, but many millions of children of primary-school age remain out of school – " (World Bank, 2012)

By using capability theory we understand that even offering 'equal' opportunities to begin schooling is not enough. Some students will not be able to succeed in following the pace and fulfill all the demands of school competition.

And the very concept of equal education is a debated issue. Everyone has the right of acquisition to the common culture, but what if that culture is discriminatory in and of itself? And furthermore, how do we measure equality and quality? In capability theory the emphasis is on equal outcomes and the freedom to fulfill individual potentials rather than on starting opportunities. But this could seem like a luxurious point of view in a world where so many children are denied equal starting opportunities or a chance to get started at all.

Nowadays, the design of institutionalised education is regularized by very general principles (e.g. the UDHR and the UNCRC). Discussions about equal opportunities occur against the background of the universal ‘right to education’. They no longer primarily serve a particular societal order, but aim at individual well-being.

Capability theory allows us to examine an individual well-being and at the same time recognize different needs and choices confronting different social groups by distinguishing between different types of social exclusion. By using capability theory we can evaluate how education quality can be understood in relationship to the extent to which it fosters key capabilities that individuals, communities and society in general have reason to value. It does not demand uniformity of outcomes, but instead calls for equal freedom for all to enjoy all aspects of citizenship (Sen 1999). Sen’s work provides a way into understanding the deeper ethical basis of justice and freedom in relation to global development (Biggeri, Ballet, & Comim, 2011, and Lessmann, Otto, & Ziegler, 2011).

The concept of ‘social exclusion’ (Klasen 1998), emphasizes the ‘inability to participate effectively in economic, social, and cultural life and, in some characteristics, alienation and distance from mainstream society’. Social exclusion is primarily concerned with the relationship between the individual and society, and the dynamics of that relationship. This has significant impact in the process of education.

Room (1995) brings the discussion of social exclusion into a rights-based position when he talks about social exclusion as the ‘denial or non-realization of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship’.

This definition aligns itself with capability theory which calls for measures to ensure that people have equal access to basic capabilities such as the ability to be healthy, well fed, housed, integrated into the community, participate in community and public life and enjoy social bases of self-respect (Sen 1992, 1999). Social exclusion would then be seen as the denial of important capabilities.

Sen argues that equal access to primary goods may not be enough for those who are disadvantaged by birth or background and may therefore need more to achieve the same capabilities (Sen 1990)

The inability to participate in, and be respected by, mainstream society is a violation of a basic right, (Klasen, 2001) 'Social exclusion' is an issue violating the rights and capabilities directly, which is recognized in the Convention of the Rights of the Child and national legislation governing the rights of children (BMFSFJ 1998; UNICEF 1989).

A rights-based approach to education is fundamentally different from a needs-oriented approach. Education has long been established as a human right that can be legally claimed by individuals.

As stated by Xia "Education is not a political aim, nor a charity which can be withdrawn arbitrarily: "it is a state's legal obligation that should be safeguarded by institutions and rules." (Xia, 2006.60)

A rights-based approach also prescribes the right of the student to be an active participant in his educational development. When they enjoy this right, their opinions should not be excluded in their educational affairs.

The term 'social exclusion' also covers the denial of the civic, political, and social rights (Klasen, 1998), or the uneven distribution of various rights. In this way social exclusion is a multidimensional mechanism that excludes individuals or groups from participation in social exchanges and rights for social integration (Andersen, 1999)."

Conversely, inclusion for different groups of learners can allow them to facilitate the development of their capabilities.

2.2 Background Introduction

Since late 1970, when economic reform was started, there have been more and more migrant workers moving from rural areas to the cities in China (Li, Stanton, Fang, & Lin, 2006) With an ever-growing need for more workers in the city, rural workers have been able to move more freely into the city for better jobs and since

mid-1980s worker's migration has increased dramatically (Zhang, 2001; Zhao, 1999). The government has used the Hukou system since 1958 as a method for keeping the balance of populations between urban and rural areas and to control and track the movement of Chinese citizens. The Hukou system registers people in the province where their parents are born and they are expected to use the social services provided by the government in their area of registration (Chan & Zhang, 1999).

There are two kinds of Hukou systems, one is agricultural household (most of the rural residents), another one is non-agricultural household (urban residents), and registration in these two forms cannot be changed without governmental approval. Moreover, Hukou registration is hereditary so children whose parents hold a rural Hukou also have a rural Hukou no matter where they are actually born. Analysts have different opinions on the motivating factors which led to these designations but the impact has been to create a 'caste-like system of social stratification' between urban residents and rural farmers (Potter & Potter, 1990; Woronov, 2004).

Although in recent years the Hukou system has been more flexible, allowing rural workers to flood into the cities in large numbers, the social effects of the Hukou system still exist (Wu & Treiman, 2004). The Hukou system forms "a dual division of urban and rural residency, which forms a structural basis for the social welfare system in China" (Wu & Treiman, 2004:81). When rural migrants move to the city for better jobs, they cannot get the same social benefits as the local people, such as government subsidized housing, health service care and schooling for their children (Goodkind & West, 2002; Woronov, 2004; Li et al., 2007). They are seen as "borrowing" services meant for urban Hukou holders and are generally expected to return to the rural province of their registration to get these services. This especially applies to schooling. Rural Hukou-holders are denied local social benefits normal for urban Hukou holders even though their labors are essential for economic growth and their contributions to the cities are substantial (Woronov, 2004).

There has been a steady development of government policies carried out by the Chinese central government during the past decades directed towards improving the

situation of migrant children's education in the cities of China. But a survey published by the All-China Women's Federation in China Daily News (2010) showed that during the years of 2005 till 2010, the numbers of migrant children in the cities, without access to decent education increased substantially. According to the survey, in 2010 there was an estimated 35.8 million migrant children in the cities which was an increase of 41.4 over a five-year period. As the population of migrant families grows there have been more and more limitations for migrant children getting their education in the cities, especially in Beijing, which has been forcing families to send their children back to their hometown to be educated with the services in their rural Hukou.

The official policy of the Chinese government demands compulsory education for all children through the ninth grade and states that education should be of equal quality. Though public schools are funded by the central government, responsibility for providing this education is placed in the hands of the local municipalities in a policy of decentralization. Money and resources are controlled by the local municipalities with no specific follow up from the central government. Central policies are often vague and open to local interpretations. Criteria for enrollment, study programs and textbooks can be different according to school and area access often having policies that make it more difficult for migrant students to go to attend public schools even though they are entitled by law. Since migrant students must return to their home provinces for high school and to take university entrance exams, what they learn in urban schools does not always apply. And conversely many students coming from rural schools to urban ones have had different training.

Local urban public schools feel that they do not have the funds or the facilities to accommodate the large numbers of migrant children who need schooling and find it hard to adjust to the special needs and circumstances of these children.

Urban school officials and teachers are unsure how to handle the differences and where to invest resources.

In order for their children to be admitted to schools, migrant families must obtain five certifications from both their home provinces and the urban province in which the family is currently living. It is usually costly and cumbersome to obtain these certifications.. Without these, migrant children must turn to private schools where they may study, but go without official registration making future further school attendance impossible without records of performance. In addition the private schools are unstable and of poorer quality than publicly funded schools. Private schools are not government funded and charge school fees to the students. They are usually unlicensed, this means teachers are low quality some of them even do not have certifications for being the teachers. Pointing to the inferior quality of unlicensed private schools taking migrant children, authorities have challenged their rights to operate and have closed and in some cases demolished private schools.

2.3 Contemporary Literature on Migrant Children's Education Policy

There is a lack of research on implementing migrant children's education policy. Some scholars (e.g.Fan 2004, Guo 2007) mentioned that making the goals of policies are different than carrying out the policies. They did not focus on the reason why the policies could not be fully carried out. Since the year 2001, the Chinese government started to pay attention to this issue and there were some academic articles that pointed out that the funding and school access policy were not carried out. Zhou (2006) suggested that the main reason that the school access policies were not carried out was that local school districts felt that financial resources were not enough. Funding and policies are passed down from the central government but the responsibility for distribution of these funds and the fulfillment of policy is left to the local municipalities with no specific follow up from the central government. Central policies are vague and open to interpretation by local schools. (Wang 2007, Zhou2007)

Qian and Geng (2007) argued that the hukou system is the main factor which has impact on carrying out the migrant children's education policy. A long history of separation between urban and rural populations and an unclear central government policy, which still tried to use hukou to control the population in urban

areas, the local governments used the hukou system as an excuse for not fulfilling their responsibilities.

After carrying out a case study in city Guangdong Province Li, (2007) suggested that the school access policy brought extra burdens for the local education system without additional funds to support it. The local government and public schools did not want to spend money on migrant children, but they only would like to spend money on local children. At the same time, since more and more migrant children studied at the local public schools they have to put more energy on managing these children.

Hu (2012) wants to further question research findings related to carrying out migrant children's education policies. 1) Zhou's research (2006, 2007) suggested lack of funding was one reason why some policies were not carried out. Further research should ask: Was it because the government did not have the money? Or the government did have the money but they do not want to spend money on migrant children's education? 2) Qian and Geng (2007) suggested that the policy could not be carried out, because of the hukou system. But the author Hu (2012) argued that he could not accept this point, the hukou system was already relaxed in 1985 by the Chinese government to advocate urbanization and rural-urban migration. He does not think the hukou system still has a negative impact on migrant children's education at the local level. I would question Hu's argument. Although, as he says, the hukou system was already relaxed, the hukou system is still there, it has not been taken away. For example the migrant children find it difficult to get their education in Beijing, because they do not have Beijing hukou. They have to offer the other certifications instead of hukou and the certifications are difficult and costly for them to get.

2.4 An Overview: Policies towards Migrants Children's Education

2.4.1 The first policies towards migrant children's education

In order to solve the problem that the migrant children could not get equal education in cities or they could not attend public schools in urban areas, the ministry of education (ME) carried out the Measures of Education for School-age

Migrant Children in Cities (Trial Version) in 1996. This was the first policy for dealing with the problem of education for migrant children. After two years, in 1998, the ME and the Ministry of Public Security cooperated to carry out the Temporary Measures of Education for Migrant Children.

These two regulations generally reflected restrictive and discriminatory practices. First, the central government asked local governments to strictly control the children for outflow and inflow, and limit the number of migrant children in the urban areas. Local government should set up a strict administration system to control migrant children having legal guardians in their registered Hukuo areas and they had to study at the registered areas (ME, 1996, Article 6).

Second, the central government asked the local governments to solve the problem of education for the migrant children who were already in the urban areas, but they had to be in separated education system. This meant the migrant children could get education in urban areas but they got different treatment than local children in local schools. For example, the central government suggested the local schools separate the local children and migrant children into different classes and the teachers who taught migrant children were less competent (ME, 1996, Article 12; ME and MPS, 1998, Article 10). The central government also suggested that the migrant children's academic performance not be taken into account in the total result of the local schools children (ME, 1996, Article 19). Finally, the migrant children had to pay an extra fee for the local schools, which the local children did not need to pay (ME, 1996, Article 15; ME and MPS, 1998, Article 11).

2.4.2 Restriction-Oriented Policies, 1996–2000

The report called 'China Education News' brought up the issue of migrant education in 1995 (Li, 1995), bringing attention to the issues. Although before the year of 1998 (Wen, Yang, 2000), there was not a lot of academic research about this topic. The media made many reports on this issue however, bringing it to the attention of the general public. For example, both Guangming Daily and Science

and Technology Daily reported that in “1995 the enrollment rate of migrant children in Beijing was only 12.5 percent.”

Media reports also coupled increased migration to cities with increased burdens to the public facilities and increasing rates of crime and pointed out government measures such as forced clearances and repatriations and occupational restrictions with migrant workers only allowed to enter sectors that local people did not want, according to a news review. (Sina News, 2008).

Under the media spotlight the government started to address the issue of migrant children’s education in the cities and carried out some related policies.

In 1996, the Ministry of Education (MOE) carried out Regulations for Schooling for School-Age Children among the migrant population in cities, but this policy was just in a test period. This was the first policy which was targeted on migrant children, and it was also a sign that the issue of migrant children’s education turned from a social issue into a policy issue.

The interim policy offered support for migrant children get their education in host cities, but this did not totally solve the problem. Discrimination was still present and the main goal was to limit the number of the migrant children entering the cities.

First, the policy expected the hometown governments to take the responsibility to strictly control the flow of migrant children to other cities during their school age. Only the children who could provide the certification that they did not have any guardians at their hukou cities were considered for urban schooling.

Second, the policies did not clearly state that the government of host cities should take responsibility for the migrant children’s compulsory education. These policies only claimed that the host governments should offer the conditions and opportunities for the migrant children to get education, and city authorities should manage these opportunities. Policies did not designate clearly who had the main

responsibility nor how they would be paid for. Host cities usually sighted other policy arrangements where it was stated “compulsory education is the responsibility of the government of the hukou circumscription,” not that of the government of the migrants’ current domicile. (Hu, 2012)

Third, the migrant children and local children were treated in different ways.

For example the 1996 Regulations claimed “those migrant children who do not fulfill the requirements to enter regular full-time primary and middle schools may enter various kinds of classes to receive informal education.” The 1998 Interim Regulations claimed the similar thing. Except this, there are also claimed “public, primary, and middle schools that accept migrant children may require fees for guest students according to relevant regulations.” So the migrant children could not attend the public schools, because they were from lower-income families there were some fees which they could not afford, such as guest-student fees and some other extra fees. These children had to choose other options, like private schools which were substandard (Zhang, 2011: 236).

2.4.3 The Shift of Policy Orientation towards Promoting Equal Treatment and Interest Protection, since 2000

At the beginning of the 21st century China started to care about the imbalance in the rapid economic growth between city and village. China’s strategies became more focused on both economy and society and social equality became more important.

In this context, state policies started to concentrate on the development of basic education. The policies for migrant children’s education were aimed at being more equal and fair. *Guidelines for Child Development in China 2001–2010* (中国儿童发展纲要 (2001–2010 年)) clearly stated that government will “protect the rights for education of children with disabilities, orphans, and migrant children...[and] improve the education system for migrant children. Based on the needs for urbanization, proper design of education should be conducted in order to satisfy the needs of migrant children for education in urban areas.”

Responding to international guidelines such as the Millennium Goals policies gradually emphasized equal treatment and protection of children's interests. Opinions on Further Improving Compulsory Education for Migrant Children (关于进一步做好进城务工就业农民子女义务教育工作的意见) (2003) stated that equality should be one of the main guiding principles for policies.

In 2001, the Chinese government started the education reform with the main idea to ensure basic and compulsory education in rural areas. It also stated that the public schools have the main roles for offering the compulsory education. In Decisions From the State Council on the Reform and Development of Basic Education (国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定) (2001) (thereafter the Decision (决定)), stated that the host city governments and public schools should take the main responsibility for ensuring migrant children get compulsory education and for the first time defined which level of government should take care of migrant children's education. And those public schools should be free from discriminatory and restrictive practices.

But the decision did not cover funding or quality control. Problems were still there.

In August 2002, there was a conference which was arranged by the Ministry of Education, the topic of the conference was nine-year compulsory education for migrant children. This conference was a meaningful event for the progress of education policies for migrant children. It talked about different problems and evaluated what happened after the new policies were carried out

The following key areas raised by the conference provided the basis for formulating a new policy system:

- (1) Compulsory education is important for migrant children and for social stability.
- (2) Division of responsibilities was clarified within different government agencies

(3) Public schools have the main responsibility for migrant children's education. At the same time, the public schools are required to give less burden to the migrant families for getting the compulsory education, for example lowering fees and so on. Also the migrant children should get the same treatment as local students.

(4) Including the cost of education for migrant children's education into local budgets; establishing appropriate methods to plan and recruit teaching staffing levels for those public schools that accept migrant children; and allocating a portion of the city education surcharge to solve the issue of migrant children schooling.

This meeting, at least in principle, showed that the attitude of discrimination and restriction in policies had changed. In September 2003, the state council convened the National Working conference on Rural Education. The main point was a focus on the responsibility of the host cities and public schools once again.

2.4.4 From Pro-equality Guidelines to Actual Policy

In September 2003, the Ministry of Education and five other ministries set forth "The Opinion" that developed a general and comprehensive policy framework for migrant children's education. It suggested 1) guidelines in policy principles, 2) development goals, 3) government responsibilities, 4) governance and management systems, 5) finances. "The Opinion" demonstrated a change from protecting the privileges of city children and maintaining the social status quo to promoting equal development for all children and protecting the interests of disadvantaged groups.

In the mean while, there were still some issues which were not totally solved in the 2003 policy. There was the issue that the migrant children should get equal treatment. A suggestion to abolish the guest student fee that had been introduced in the 1998 "Interim Regulations" was not adopted. The guest student fee was still an obstacle for the migrant children getting the education. According to Zhang, "The financing structure for migrant children's education raised in 'Opinion' was vague and had no quantifiable measurements; thus 'Opinion' guidelines could not guarantee adequate funding."(Zhang, 2011)

In 2004, the Ministry of Finance issued "Notice on Regulating Fees to promote Income Increase of Rural Citizens" suggesting "Migrant children should be treated

equally in terms of school fees. With the exception of school fees, tuitions, living fees, and textbook charges, no guest student fees or school-choice fees can be charged.” (MF,2004) The Ministry of Education also established a similar policy in the same year suggested taking away all the guest fees from the migrant children during the compulsory education.

In January 2006, the State Council issued “State Council’s Opinion on Solving Migrant Workers’ Problems.” This policy provided concrete plans for financing with allotted funding for the host schools based on the actual number of students in schools. In 2006, China revised the Compulsory Education Law to insure equality for students.. The new law declared that “all children and adolescents who are People’s Republic of China nationals and have reached the school age shall have equal rights and have the right to receive compulsory education, regardless of the gender, nationality, race, status of family property, religion, belief, etc.” (Article 4); and “For a school-age child and adolescent whose parents are working or dwelling at a place other than their permanent residence, if he receives compulsory education at the place where his parents or other statutory guardians are working or dwelling, the local people’s government shall provide him with equal conditions for receiving compulsory education” (Article 12).

In 2007, the Ministry of Education issued the “Regulations for Managing School Registration Information for Primary and Middle School Students” that stated, “A national unified school registration management means that migrant children can now attend schools easily and in time, wherever they go.” (Zhang, 2011: 241).

With all those policies, the Chinese government agencies found a complete policy system for compulsory education that emphasizes child’s rights to equal treatment. Although the earlier policies were made with the discrimination and restriction, the stated policy changed the situation. Policy making transformed from being restrictive to people-centered (Yang, 2006).

2.5 Implementation

Since 1990, there were many places that tried to carry out different forms of exploratory experiments to find out a way which or handling the issue of migrant children's education. Most of the cities in China in public schools gradually took away the guest-student fee, sponsoring fee and some other fees which were only charged to migrant children.

2.5.1 Problems Exist in Policy Implementation

Since the basic data for migrant children entering the school system in specific areas is unstable, it is difficult to carry out plans to build schools or allocate funds.

Actually, in big cities the one child policy has had a great effect on reducing the number of school age children. Public schools in some areas of the city are underutilized due to lack of enrollment. It might seem that these schools could provide facilities for migrant children, but migrant populations are mostly concentrated in the suburbs, while extra school capacity lies in urban centers and cannot solve the structural imbalance in peripheral areas.

To solve the problem of shifting and imbalanced migrant child populations and public schools that cannot accept all the migrant children in some areas, private migrant schools opened. Usually they could not get the governmental permit to run the schools since they could not reach the minimum standard for teaching capacity, management, and school safety. For example, in Beijing by the year of 2006 there were still about 239 migrant schools which could not get the permit to start the schools. From one perspective, when the public school could not admit all the migrant children, the migrant schools could be an option for the migrant children to choose. However, allowing low-quality schools to exist also creates a double standard in education.

There was a clear policy system and order for migrant children's education, which showed the guidance to the local government agencies what they were supposed to do. But there was no effective system of monitoring the host city governments' and

public schools' implementation of these policies and no accountability when these policies were not appropriately executed.

Although the policies had claimed that the public schools had the main roles for taking care of the migrant children education, the policies did not consider that how the local children and the parents thought about the policy changes. In Shang-Hai, there was a study at four public schools, since the public schools started to accept the migrant children there were about one-third of urban children's parents did not want to send their children to the public schools (Zeng, 2008). The rejection of urban residents showed to the migrant workers and their children (Zhang, 2011:247). This resistance had a negative impact on carrying out the policy for migrant children's education, and made the public schools in a tricky situation.

2.5.2 Difficult to Abolish Guest-Student Fees

Although the 2004 Notice on Regulating Fee Charges to Promote Income Growth of Rural Citizens stated, "no guest-student fees or school-choice-fees can be charged" to migrant children, fee-free enrollment is not a reality.

Strict paperwork procedures need to be followed before fees are waived. According to the policy carried out by the Beijing government in 2004, migrant workers were asked to offer five documents, the documents are first no guardians at their home town (hukou region), work permit in the city, temporary resident permit the city, hukou registration booklet, and proof of actual residence in the city-before applying for "proof of guest student status for migrant children." Only then could their guest-student fee be waived (Li, Song, 2006). And acquiring these certificates required fees as well.

Still some public schools asked the migrant children to pay the guest-student fees claiming insufficient funding. So the public schools got the guest-student fees as the make up fee for the extra expense. After the government carried out the policy to take away the guest-student fees some of the public schools regard the migrant children as the unwarranted heavy burden. Some public schools found different reasons to refuse to accept migrant children.

2.5.3A Lack of 'Educational Equality' in Chinese Tradition

Both in ancient and modern China, the emperors and Chinese authorities might think the ideas of Confucius had a great impact on education, but his idea of 'education without discrimination' had never come true in the reality (Xia, 2006).

Confucius was a famous educationalist and he had many great ideas about education during his lifetime late Spring, Autumn Period (772-481 B.C.). He founded his own private school. He had the idea that educating people was an important goal and should be done without discrimination, which means "everyone could have access to education regardless of property or rank" (Sun, 2000:32). This was a revolutionary idea at the time and but Confucius insisted this was necessary for the betterment of society. An idea reflected in UN documents and theories of social betterment today.

But in the reality, looking at the Chinese history, the rich families or the bureaucratic families always had better opportunities to get schooling, the poor families always had many obstacles. When the People's Republic of China was formed, the communist government gave more attention to the poor people and gave them ownership of the socialist country. During that time, the children of workers and poor farmers had more opportunities to get education, but the children from the landlord or capitalists were locked outside of the door. Therefore, even in the recent history of China, discrimination in education has always been there (Xia, 2006).

2.6 International Standards and Domestic Practices: Between Ideal and Reality

China had been involved in the international community, there are some international standards for the state practices, and therefore it is necessary to present what these international standards are and what China has been doing and what it has not.

2.6.1 Education for All

United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Bank cooperated with each other and gave out the idea of 'education for all' in 1990. In that year, delegates from 155 countries and representatives from some 150 organizations met in Jomtien (Thailand) for the World Conference on Education for All and adopted the World Declaration on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs and Framework for Action (Xia, 2006). They accepted the idea of universalize primary education and to decrease the number of illiteracy before the end of the decade.

In December 1993, UNESCO, UNICEF and the United Nations Population Fund set into motion the 'Education for All Summit: Nine High Population Countries' in New Delhi, India (Ibid, 2006). Nine countries' leaders (including China) had promised in the Delhi Declaration that they would make efforts and make the goals of 1990 World Conference come true. In 2000, the World Education Forum in Dakar summarized the development of 'education for all' since 1990 and adopted the *Dakar Framework for Action* that set up six important aims for the future. This included that "ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, would have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality" (UNESCO, 2000).

China claimed that it had been actively attending all the international activities which had the topic of 'education for all' and had plans and instituted developments for universalizing compulsory education both in rural and poor regions (Ibid, 2000). But for China, the compulsory education for migrant children is still a sensitive issue and it has not been solved even though the policy of 'education for all' has been instated.

2.6.2 The UN Millennium Declaration

At beginning of the 21st century world leaders at the United Nations in New York established a series of goals to improve the quality of life, facing issues of poverty,

hunger, disease illiteracy, environmental deterioration and discrimination against women (Millennium Goals, 2000). These goals have been used as standards for the global community and are called the UN Millennium Development Goals. China was a key member in the conference.

The UN Millennium Declaration made these plans based on human rights and one of these important goals was to universalize primary education and make sure all children should get the opportunity to finish a basic education (UN, 2000). Three major points were affirmed in the declaration:

(i) Compulsory Education shall be Free. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights defended that the education should be free at the primary level and be compulsory (Xia, 2006). What the primary education and compulsory means exactly is claimed by the countries themselves. However, it is suggested that basic knowledge and skills that are essential for functioning in society should be included. Also that primary education shall be compulsory and free to all (Xia, 2006).

(ii) Compulsory Education should be Available. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1999). This means that the state should build up educational institutions with at least basic facilities.

(iii) Compulsory Education should be Accessible. This is another requirement from the ICESCR (Ibid, 1999). It firstly entails that there is not any discrimination in education, which means that all the people have equal rights and opportunities for getting into the schools.

2.6.3 Other efforts

Besides the UN Millennium Declaration and the 'Education for All' declaration discussed above, there are other important efforts made that deserve a brief discussion here.

Plan of Action for Universalizing Compulsory Education.

In adopting the right to compulsory education, the state has obligations to work out a plan of action immediately, however this plan could be put into effect progressively because of limited resources. (ICESCR, UN, 1991)

Though China has a difficult situation to fix the problem of migrant children's education, it should first make a plan or strategy of action and then try to carry it out.

“Inclusive Education” in UNESCO.

In June 1994 delegates of 92 states and 24 NGOs met at the ‘World Conference on Special Educational Needs: Access and Quality’ convened by UNESCO in Salamanca (Spain) and adopted the Salamanca Declaration and Program of Action. The Declaration contained the principle of inclusive education, as well as the right of every child to education (UNESCO, 1994).

General Prescriptions on Equality and Non-discrimination.

The principle of equality without discrimination constitutes a fundamental requirement in most human rights documents, starting with The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

2.7 Roles of Public Schools in China

Compulsory education has been mainly offered by the public schools in China. To some extent, migrant children had problems and obstacles in compulsory education since they met the problems for getting into the public schools. The National Population and Family Planning Commission estimated in 2012 that 3.5 percent of migrant children in Beijing could not attend school (FPC, 2013). In Beijing, the enrolment rate for migrant students in primary and middle school in 2011 was just 70 percent. However, those who do manage to secure a place in public schools often face prejudice and discrimination. They are often excluded from extracurricular activities and are generally treated as outsiders. According to one survey (Xia, 2006), 86.3 percent of migrant children were not friends with local children and 7.1 percent did not have any friends. The final educational barrier for migrant children has been the National University entrance examination. Even if

they have spent nine years in an urban school, students nearly always have to take the exam in their hometown. And because each region sets its own curriculum, migrant students are at a distinct disadvantage. Moreover, many migrant students who return home to study high school have trouble adapting to this new environment and simply drop out.

2.7.1 Availability and Accessibility of Compulsory Education

The ICESCR requested that the state's government should make sufficient educational policies with at least basic facilities. Xia (2006) claimed that in China the authorities did not built up sufficient schools for the migrant children, or did not create sufficient places in public schools for the migrant children. Public schools have had the main role for taking care of migrant children's education, so the public schools have the rights to get the funds. In 2001, Beijing local government invested 200 million RMB to the public schools for accepting the migrant children and provide for their education.. In the year of 2002, the Beijing Education commission also invested 5 million RMB for the migrant children's education (Du, Wang, Zhou, 2006, 75).

The Chinese government has kept promising in different seminars, documents and policies to guarantee migrant children the opportunities to get compulsory education. However before the year of 2012, the fee for migrant children to "borrow" resources had been stopping many migrant children from getting into the schools. While private schools for migrant children provide a separate channel for educating these children, most of the schools for the migrant children are built up in the peripheral urban areas. Most of the schools are far away from the city centers, and the qualities of the schools are not good. Therefore, the physical accessibility of compulsory education remains problematic in these schools set up specifically for migrant children.

2.7.2 Government Input

Government input in education is closely linked with the availability and accessibility of education. The International Human Rights treaties did not make detailed rules on this matter, and provided each country much leeway for their own interpretation and actions. The sources of public education funds are mainly provided by the government, although they have also been provided by school factories, private donations and fees paid by parents (The education law of PRC, 2000). According to policies the Chinese government is committed to a gradual increase of its financial input so as to ensure a stable source of funding for state-run schools. The state also committed itself to an increase in the proportion of educational appropriations as part of the gross national product as the national economy develops and the financial revenue increases (Ibid, 2000). In reality, in China expenditure on education has not been increased as planned, which has been criticized by different scholars and officials (China Youth Daily, 2005). It is reported that for the ten-year period between 1993 to 2003, governments of all levels should have paid 600 billion yuan in total were they to fulfill these commitments (Ibid, 2005)

In relation to the migrant population, as every region was only responsible for those children registered in its own area, the children of migrant workers have not been able to enjoy the same level of educational resources because of the household registration system that does not take into account their numbers in the current public school funding scheme. While the new Compulsory Education Law represents a move in the right direction, some migrant children continue to pay extra temporary school fees for their education.

2.8 Equality and Education

Equality without discrimination is one perspective of a rights based evaluation. This could be understood as “involving three components: equality of opportunity, equality of procedure and equality of result” (Rawls, 1972). Equality of the opportunity means everyone has equal opportunity to participate and compete; including one’s equal ‘starting point’. Being prevented from participating from the first perpetuates a cycle of deprivation. Equality of procedure could be seen as a set of fair ‘rules’ that applies to all equally. But an unequal starting point affects the

playing field and can affect the results. Only when procedures are fair can opportunities truly be said to be equal. Equality of result, can be approached in two ways: “a formal approach of equality to treat every case in the same way, or a substantial approach of equality where different cases are treated another way because of their inherent differences” (Wentholt, 1999:53).

People can get the equal right to receive education, which is very important on two different aspects: firstly the knowledge is a way for people to survive in the society, and secondly it also contributes to build social capital (Lu, 2002: 239). While there are various ways for the upwardly movement of individuals in society, education is perhaps one of the most important. If the people cannot be accepted into the education equally or the education resources are distributed in an unequal way, the disadvantaged group is likely to experience suffering the most. Their lower status might become more firmly fixed so as to bring further social inequality.

There are several types of equality which we need to think about. The study by Du, Wang and Zhou (2006:39-40) has identified four different criteria of equality for migrant children. Firstly, an equal rights criteria means that every migrant child has the right to get the education no matter what their background is, including ethnicity or social status. Secondly, equal opportunities in education relate to that every migrant child has the same opportunity to get into every school as with other children. The third criteria is about equality in the teaching process. This means that schools where migrant children follow their education have the same funding and facilities of that of urban schools. This also relates to the curriculum and teaching, which takes into consideration the special needs migrant children may have, and that all teachers treat their students equally. The final criteria identified by Du, Wang and Zhou (2006:3940) is equality in learning performance. This means that after each stage of education, every child (including the migrant children) should obtain all the skills and knowledge that are in line with their level of abilities. It also includes the ‘ethical values’ which means that they are able to develop their potential and personality as emphasized in Sen's capability theory (1990).

Narrowly related to the equality issues in the Chinese context is that of the Hukuo system, which divides Chinese society in two groups. Over the years, international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International has criticized the Chinese Hukuo system because they regard it as a violation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (e.g. Amnesty International, 2007). In the year of 2010, there was a group consisting of 14 newspapers and 3 online news websites that published a joint editorial. Their claim was to take away the Hukuo system and promote equality for everybody: “China has long been tarnished by the Hukou system! We hold that all men are born free, and all men possess the rights for free mobility . . . but the existing hukou system has created inequalities between urban residents and rural residents, and between urban residents . . . it is obviously opposed to the constitutional law” (“Urging the members”, 2010). However, in more recent years there have been some reforms in the Hukuo system. Especially the local governments have initiated their own means to make reforms, which have already impacted the situation for the education of migrant children.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the literature reviews that are relevant for this thesis. It showed an overview of the domestic and international policies and efforts that have been made regarding education. However, as mentioned in section 2.2, more specific literature on the education for migrant children in China remains scarce. According to the statistical survey in 2014, there was a total of 8 millions migrants in Beijing. Among these, about 1 million migrants lived in Tongzhou in which this study is situated. There is a new policy which the government is proposing but we do not know when it will be carried out. It says that the government suggests an ‘accumulating credits’ policy, which means that the migrant could settle down in Beijing and get Beijing Hukou if they reach certain standards. For example, depending on how much the migrants contribute to the technology development, or if they have high professional skills, and how long time they have lived in Beijing and so on (News center, 2015). Tongzhou area will be the test area to implement this policy. One might ask if one form of discrimination related to place of birth

will be replaced with still another kind of discrimination, a kind of elitism of capability.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

During the time that I conducted my study, I was enrolled as a master student at Lund University, Sweden, where I designed a case study focusing on one public middle school in Beijing Tongzhou district. The research methods used in this study are qualitative semi-structured interviews as well as document and secondary data analysis. This paper may not represent the whole situation of migrant children's education in cities of China but it is a typical situation.

3.2 Data Collection

In March 2015 I conducted 17 interviews in Beijing. Except for the students' parents interviews, all interviews were carried out in the school conference room

and every interview was done in private. The parents' interviews were conducted at their workplace offices. By recording the interviews I could pay more attention to what the interviewees said instead of concentrating on taking notes (Bryman, 2012: 482). Before the interviews were conducted I explained the purpose of my research and the interview questions (see appendix 1), which gave them the guidance of the interview and also an understanding of my research. In all instances parents' permission was received. The interviewees and the school were guaranteed anonymity. In this paper all the interviewees' names have been changed to aliases to satisfy the interviewee's demand for anonymity (May, 2011:62). All the interviews were open ended and interviewees were encouraged to talk as long as they liked. The interviews were conducted in Chinese and were translated by myself into English. My research was transcribed and analyzed.

As Gerson and Horowitz have pointed out, some of the qualitative interviews might not sound inspiring and interesting from the beginning, so for some of the interviews, it would be better to listen to them carefully at least one or two times and then transcribe the things which are useful and relevant for the research (Bryman, 2012: 486). In order to keep the ease and flow of the conversation I was engaged in the conversations and gave responses in relation to what the interviewees said, using the method as Ann Oakley has suggested, the concept of 'dynamic' interviewing in which the researcher joins in the interview (May, 2011: 148). I used 'key informants' which gave great help and support and saved time. But remained aware of the described in Bryman, (2012: 440). Relying on key informants, may lead the researcher to see social reality through the eyes of key informants instead of seeing social reality through the eyes of members of the social setting (Ibid, 2012: 440). In this research, my key informant is my acquaintance who is the headmaster of the school where I conducted my interviews. He asked me to tell him what my requirements for the interviewees were and selected all the interviewees for me and arranged the meetings as well.

I did my interviews with the headmaster, 9 teachers, 5 students and 2 parents of the students. The 9 teachers are from the middle school, from grade 1 to 3. From each grade 3 of the teachers were chosen and of these three teachers one was the mentor

of the class and the other two main subjects' teachers; mainly in Chinese, English and mathematics. Because mentors spend more time with the students they know the students better. The 5 students they gave to me are also from grade 1 to 3, for each grade one boy and one girl. But for the third year they could only find one migrant student for me, since most of the migrant students at this level already had gone back to their hometown. The students are from different family backgrounds and they are from different provinces in China.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Case Study

George and Bennett (2005:5) provide a definition of the case study where they pointed out “the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalized to other events”. Instead of giving a general concept of the case study, Creswell (2007:73) suggests that: “Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes.” It is important to generate a case study in my research. As I have mentioned, the Hukou system has a long history in China and has caused different problems regarding access to social services. The Chinese government has tried to solve this problem but it has not been solved yet. This paper focuses on migrant students accessing education at the public schools and I chose one public school in Beijing as an example to present what the problems are now. As I have mentioned, the education policy for migrant students is multiplex. I examined, after policies were established by the state, how the schools have carried out the policies and what the realities are. One public school in Beijing was used as one case to be studied.

3.3.2 Secondary Data: Document Analysis

Besides the primary data derived from the interviews this study also uses secondary data. The analysis of secondary data is “the analysis of data by researchers who will

probably not have been involved in the collection of those data, for purposes that in all likelihood were not envisaged by those responsible for the data collection.” (Bryman, 2012 quoting Dale et al. 1988:321). This paper has used other researchers’ data, where the purpose is to present what has happened with the education policies regarding migrant students and comparing the existing data with my new findings. Document analysis is “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. (Glenn, 2009) ” The documents I studied have been published in the media or are public official documents from the government and statistical report. This paper has just used public documents, for example the government’s policy documents and news reports from the Internet. I use all these documents to present how the policies are implemented and what the results are.

3.4 Limitations

Using a key informant is the major limitation because the selections of interviewees were arranged by the headmaster and there may be a risk that the interviewees’ information was influenced by the informant, which in turn gives rise to reliability issues (Bryman, 2012). However, because of the time limit, and that this topic is a sensitive issue in China, I could not get access to a public school that would accept my interviews without such a contact. By being aware of this, I used a reflective approach during the interviews and in my analysis. The limitations are further informed by the context of a master thesis, due to limitations in time and financial resources, the number of interviews remains small. Therefore, it is not the aim of the study to make generalizations that apply to every migrant student, but rather to present the reality as perceived in my specific case.

4 Analysis and Discussion

This chapter analyzes and discusses the main empirical data that is derived from the interviews with students, their parents, and school authorities. It is divided into four parts: equal opportunities, social exclusion, education equality and social integration.

4.1 Equal Opportunities

Yang Ying (1988) defended that the idea of equal opportunity of education has had a long history and has been developed by different countries, like Britain and United States (Yang, 1992). In Europe and United States, the idea of equal opportunity which began to concentrate on the equal opportunity to enter into the schools and get the education, but later the concept of equal opportunity also included equal educational content and process (Ibid, 1992). In line with UN guidelines, besides the elimination of discrimination based on race, religion, sex, or class, it stresses more the active

provision of full opportunity for disadvantaged people to adequately develop their individual talents (Chen Kuei-his 1990). This is also a response to Sen's capability theory where the idea is to provide an environment where it is possible to fulfill individual human potential.

Starting in the 1960s, many countries began to provide culturally or financially disadvantaged people with compensatory education or active differential treatment referred to as affirmative action in an attempt to address inequality. This shows an acknowledgement of the need to help create a 'level playing field' through integration of the two concepts of "equality" and "social justice." The concept of equal educational opportunity has been implemented with a more positive intention from the starting point of insuring individual equality, in addition to attaching importance to the input factors of school education. People have also begun to see the importance of changing the output factors of school education (Yang, 1992).

When we mention equality, we need to talk about it in the context of social justice. One of the ideas about social justice refers to the disparities in societal opportunities, resources, and long-term outcomes among marginalized groups (Shakman et al., 2007; Aaron, 2013).

According to Freire, education is the key to achieve social justice and right unequal power relationships. (Freire, 2006). In Freire's own words, "It is impossible to think of education without thinking of power . . . the question . . . is not to get power, but to reinvent power" (cited in Evans, Evans, and Kennedy 1987, 226). As has been mentioned earlier, the reason that the migrant students are in a difficult situation is because they are marginalized under the influence of institutional discrimination and do not have power to defend themselves. Without the opportunity for equal outcomes in education they will remain in this situation.

4.2 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion refers to the denial of opportunity to participate in activities of the group. In general it is "related to the scarcity of material and social opportunities and the lack of skills to participate in economic, social, political, and cultural life in

an effective way and is related to alienation or estrangement from the main part of society” (Klasen 1998; Combes 1998; Andersen 1999). Since migrant workers are the groups that normally are marginalized, their children can be easily marginalized as well. As Beresneviciute (2003) has pointed out, the less educated, less organized, and less mobilized individuals and their groups are also likely to be the least visible.

There may be some concerns about whether the concept of social exclusion which originated in France can be applied in a Chinese context. Although the concept was first noted in Europe, the phenomenon of social exclusion exists all over the world. China is experiencing social stratification and even polarization (Li, Bray, 2006) which creates problems associated with social exclusion. The growing inequality of family incomes in China has put China far behind all developed countries and only ahead of some countries in Africa and Latin America in terms of income distribution (World bank, 2007). The divide between rural and urban Hukou holders is wide and migrant students are often excluded from public schools in the cities. Many studies have shown the applicability of the approach in both advanced economies (such as the UK, the US, Norway and Canada) and developing countries (such as Bangladesh and South Africa) (Unterhalter, 2003a; Robeyns, 2006a,b).

4.3 Education Equality

The migrant students who can get into the urban public schools face the issue of educational inequality. Here the educational equality refers to the equal admission criteria and equal school treatment. The compulsory education means it is a basic education for all the people in the society and the cornerstone of survival and contributions of a state and its entire people (Zhang, 2011). However, this study’s findings show that when the migrant children apply to the public schools, they do not receive equal treatment with the local students. As mentioned earlier, the migrant children have to offer the five certifications which the local students do not need to offer. When asked about this to the headmaster of the school that is included in this research, the reply was:

“If the students went to the primary schools in their hometown, and then change for their middle school to Beijing, when they apply for middle schools they have to show their 5 certifications. Without

these five certifications we cannot accept the students, then they have to go back their hometowns to study or study at private schools. But even if they go to the private schools, they can just study there but they cannot be registered at school.”

One of the parents of a migrant student commented the following on the requirement for five certifications:

“The process was so complicated, we needed to apply to the schools for my child through the Internet, but we did not know how and also we did not have a computer at our home, so we delayed. Then when we went to the schools they said we could not accept your child because you missed the time for applying to the schools through the Internet. Then we had to go to the authority for education in Beijing.”

Considering the proportion of migrant students to local students, it appears as though everyone has equal access into the school. The headmaster and the teachers pointed out that half of the students are local and the other half is made up of migrant students. Also the headmaster pointed out that as long as the migrant students have all the certifications and documents, they could apply to any of the schools in Tongzhou. One of the institutional practices of social exclusion identified by Kabeer (citing Parkin 1979) is social closure. It entails the deliberate, and often explicit, attempts through which “social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible” (Kabeer 2000:92). Local school systems and schools purposely create different policies for enrolling urban and migrant children to limit the numbers of migrant children. Following the answer of the headmaster, it is stated that:

“From the year 2014, as long as the migrant students have already studied at the local primary schools and been registered at the primary schools, at the same time they have the registration forms for entering schools, they can apply all the schools in Tongzhou area.”

But by looking at the highly ranked schools in Tongzhou area, some of the schools do not accept any migrant students. This is also reflected in one answer of the student.

“Since I am not a local person from Beijing I could not get accepted to some of the schools. Even with the five certifications, I could only go to the schools which the government gives us to choose from.”

Perceived discrimination is a subjective experience relative to objective discrimination, which means that individuals are being treated differently or unfairly because of the identity of his or her group, such as gender, race or birthplace (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). In their theory on stress management, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) stated that perceived discrimination is a key source of stress for members of subordinate groups, keeping individuals in a stressed state that may lead to chain stress reactions, such as depression or anxiety, and that it also has a negative impact on individuals' life satisfaction and aggressive behavior (Hao, Cui, 2015).

This is reflected by the following two answers of students:

“Of course, there is a big difference, for example, since we apply to the schools which we live close to, if it is a Beijing hukou and live in the area where I am living they could go to “LuHe” school which is the top school in TongZhou district, for me just because I’m not from Beijing I cannot apply to this school. “LuHe” school just accepts the Beijing local students. One of my best friends told me that he paid about 70 thousands [yuan] to the top school, but at the end he still could not go to that top school, just because he is a migrant student.”

And:

“When I finished my primary school, our teacher told us the local students could choose from all of the middle schools, but for us migrant students there were only some schools we could choose from to study at. I still remember there was one day my dad went to many middle schools and asked them if they could accept me, they all refused. They all said one thing: there are only some schools that accept migrants as I had been told. Another thing is that local students and migrant students have different times for applying.”

One of the parents said:

“Different schools have different requirements; some top schools in Beijing even ask that the students’ parents have their own house or apartment in Beijing. If you are renting a house they will not accept your child.”

The parent defended the equal rights of education, as she said:

“I think these requirements are too harsh for us. I think it is unfair for the migrant students. The state policy is for compulsory education and says that everyone should get it, but why do they

make so many limitations for just us? And if we cannot show these documents, it is not our children's fault; they have their rights to get an education."

The state policy is that compulsory education should be free and everyone should get it. But one of the parents pointed out that the free compulsory education only applies to the people who have the certifications, and the migrant students have to go to the schools which are close to where they live and that are available for migrants to go to. And if the migrant students want to choose schools in other areas, they have to pay extra fees for the schools. Haan and Maxwell (1998) argued that social exclusion is an institutional process a main problem of poverty. They suggested that institutions and the actors they contain are central to the processes that cause and reinforce deprivation, and that this has implications for public policy (Haan and Maxwell 1998, 5).

The parent of the migrant student then stated the following:

"No we did not pay anything. But if you live in one area and your children do not go to that area's schools and then want to go to another districts' school then you have to pay the extra fee."

Not only the headmaster but also most of the teachers pointed out they do not give more attention to the migrant students, they regard them the same as the local students. Kabeer (2000) mentioned that exclusion is the result of institutional processes.

People are excluded by the act of some agent, the action of powerful 'insider' group (Kabeer 2000, 87). As local Beijing people they do not really recognize that they are the insider group and they exclude migrant students, they think it is the state policy that has the main role in the 'outsider' and 'insider' dynamic.

The headmaster and the teachers said that:

"No, we do not give more attention to the migrant children. Because we do not see them as migrant children, we see them as the same as local students. We just do what we are supposed to do."

But when I ask deeper, most of the teachers pointed out that the migrant students have to go back to their hometowns to go to high school and the main barriers for them is that the migrant students study different text books at their own hometown. After they go back they can't follow up their studies. This is something that the

headmaster did not point out and I think maybe the headmaster has not even been considering it. Concerning equality in the teaching process, this does not only mean with available resources, but with a curriculum that is relevant to further demands and taking into consideration the special needs of the migrant children. (Xia, 2006) (adaptability)

Kwong (2011) pointed out that since there has been more and more migrant students going into the public schools, in some schools they are put together with the local students but some of the schools put the migrant students into special classes using the different kinds of text book (Xie, 2010; Kwong, 2011). Kwong argued that the motivation for this might be a way of teaching, but separating them from the local students perpetuates their marginality. Social exclusion can often become institutionalized, normally lead by a policy or regulation (Sen, 2000). A lack of adaptability in school programs, and being unable to respond to the needs of some students, leads also to a falling outside of the group.

As one of the teachers said:

“Mostly I do not see there are any obstacles for them. But the only obstacle I can guess is that they cannot attend the exam for entering high school in Beijing, they have to go back their hometown to take the exam and study at their own hometown. But in China, different provinces teach different things and we use different teaching material, it might be hard for them to follow up after they go back to their own hometown.”

Another point is that the local students could take the high school exam and continue on to high schools in Beijing, but the migrant students cannot continue their high school in Beijing. There are some teachers who complained that the migrant students do not even have basic knowledge of the English or other subjects, the migrant students attend their primary schools at their own hometown or at the private schools that had a lower quality of education, so the migrant students did not get the education which they were supposed to get. Freire (2006) explains the role that identity plays in the shaping and implementation of education. One of his most important arguments is that students’ identities need to be taken into account in all-educational settings. This idea is in line with the adaptability aspect of

UNESCO guidelines and is also an argument echoed in Sen's capability theory discussing equal opportunities to develop human potential, considering equality in the outcomes at least as important as equality in school entrances. .

Freire who is also concerned about the power relationships in education emphasizes that not everyone in the classroom, including the teacher, is starting from the same place in terms of social status and identity.

Since the students are migrants the teachers should consider that their backgrounds are different than local students and understand them, then offer the education which they need. But of course it is difficult to satisfy every students' needs especially if they are all in one class.

One of the English teachers said:

“One of the obstacles is study. Some of them did not even study English when they were at primary school. So I have to teach them from the beginning when they start middle school.”

One of the Chinese teachers said:

“Yes, I give extra help. The things they should have learned from the primary schools but they did not learn because of different reasons, now I use my free time to help them from the very beginning.”

This shows that the extra efforts for migrant students are highly dependent on the individual motivations of the teachers.

4.4 Social Integration

On the theoretical level, social integration indicates principles by which individuals (including actors, agents, or subjects) are bound to each other in the social space and it refers to relations among the actors, for instance how the actors accept social rules (Beresneviciute, 2003). One of the points I want to argue is that most of the teachers and the headmaster mentioned that they do not divide the local students and migrant students into different classes. But some of the teachers complained that the migrant students have a lower level of studies, and they have to teach them from the very beginning. And when the migrant students go back to their

hometown they could not follow the studies at their hometown. So some of the teachers mentioned it might be better to divide the class, saying it would be easier for them to teach and manage. In the different classes they could teach the migrant students different texts as well, which would make it easier for the migrant students to follow up the studies after they are back to their hometown. Anderson (2010) set up her view of integration, she argued that “an increasingly integrated school and workplace will lead to persons relaxing around each other, having fewer stereotypical views of others different from themselves, and sharing information and networking strategies that make power sharing possible” (Anderson, 2010:4).

Almost all the students pointed out that:

“I think to be in the same class with local students is better, because I could learn more and we could share our experiences.”

But some of the teachers argued that:

“What I think it would be better if we could divide the migrant students and local students into different classes. If we divide them, the teachers could educate them in a specific way. Maybe they would be more motivated, or they could learn more things which will help them after they are back to their hometown. Maybe we could divide the migrant students by their grades, if they have better grades we could put them in one class, and students with lower grades could be in another class, so the teachers could give them more attention.”

But also one of the teachers mentioned that if they separate the local and migrant students, and put the migrant students in one class, the teacher who teaches the migrant students might not put enough energy into teaching the migrant students because they know the migrant students will go back to their hometown at the end.

One of the teachers said:

“From the students’ perspective, I think putting them into the same class is better, because it is fair for everybody. But if we divide them into different classes then the teachers will not pay attention to the migrant students’ class because the policy is that the migrant students will go back to their hometown eventually.”

When I asked the teachers if the migrant students integrated into the school, they all answered 'yes' and said there were not any problems for the migrant students to integrate into the school. But at the same time they do complain that the students have problems in ways. For example, the idea of the policy is compulsory education for everyone for nine years, but since the students could not continue to high school in Beijing, they do not work hard on their studies from the beginning. And for some of the migrant students, their studies started to go down when they knew they could not continue their high school in the city.

One of the teachers said that:

"I think migrant students have lower quality. They do not work hard and do not care about their studies. But if it is a really good student, he works really hard and they know that they should appreciate the teachers."

Since most of the migrant students' parents are doing the jobs which are lower paid with low social status, it is thought that they do not really care about the children's studies. Actually this group of students need more education and often reaches for more education because they are already starting from behind and are a marginalized group. Traditional sociological explanations show that inequalities in the labor market are "grounded in the contemporary paradigms of social stratification, i.e. status attainment research and segmented labor market theory, both maintaining that the above-mentioned groups have a lower level of education and less labor market experience and therefore find themselves in the periphery" (Smith, 2000). If they do not get good education, they cannot overcome their parent's situation, such as lower paid job, low social status, and so on.

Another teacher said that:

"There is not a big difference. But I just feel our local students' parents care more about their children's studies. Migrant students' parents do not care that much about their children's studies. I also feel the migrant student's habits are not that good. Their personal hygiene is not good."

One of the problems that I need to discuss here is that of discrimination. Most the migrant students feel that they are not discriminated against but when the teacher

talks they have to be very careful, the migrant students are very sensitive. As following the teacher pointed out:

“The migrant students came to Beijing when they were very young, so they do not need a social integration process. But when they are on

the third year, we will arrange for the students to apply for high schools, but the migrant students are not allowed to apply since they have to go back their own hometown to study in high school. During this time I have to mention that only local students can apply and some of the migrant students do not feel comfortable and they will say they are discriminated against.”

Also since the policy is that the migrant students have to go back to their hometown to continue their high schools and the teachers do not see the migrant students as their “own children”. From here we can see that it is not the teachers discriminating against the migrant students, instead it seems like it is the government policy that discriminates against the migrant students, a discrimination that is institutionalized.

As the teacher said:

“I prefer to communicate with our local students. Because the migrant students will go back to their hometowns and their final grade, the grade for going to high schools will not be counted into the whole system. So I see the local students as my own children.”

The same teacher also said:

“No, I think they have already integrated into the schools. In the third year when all the local students start to apply to the high schools, there are some activities for applying the high schools the migrant students cannot attend; I could see the migrant students were feeling dispirited and disappointed because they could not apply. They feel like they have studied in Beijing at least 3 years middle schools some of them even 9 years at Beijing schools, but they feel like they get nothing.”

From the migrant students’ perspective, they all think they integrated into the school very well, but when they meet problems they never ask for help from the teachers instead they ask for help from their classmates. And for most of them their best friends are also migrant students, not the local students.

Three migrant students pointed out

“There is no extra help, but I asked my classmate to help me.” Some other migrant students pointed out that:

“My best friends are migrant students.”

4.5 Conclusion

My findings show that migrant students who do not have the certifications still cannot gain access into the public schools to get compulsory education in the cities. Even if they have the certifications, they are not allowed to choose any of the schools but are limited to schools that will accept them. Some of the top schools still set up limitations which exclude migrant students from admission. The main goal of the central government is still controlling the population in the cities. Although the central government’s policies have emphasized equal treatment and opportunities, there are still inequalities in education for migrant students. Even after finishing nine years of compulsory education, the migrant students cannot go on to high schools in the cities. The findings also show that migrant students were disadvantaged from the start since rural studies and urban studies are not compatible with each other: after coming to the city they could not follow the studies and teachers complain that they have to teach them from the very beginning again. The converse is also true; studies in the city do not prepare them for when they must return to their hometown to continue their education.

5. Conclusion and policies recommendation

5.1 Summary

This paper has examined the consequences of the Hukou system on the education possibilities for migrant children. The research overview noted that many scholars saw the Hukou system as the main barrier for migrant children for getting their education in the cities when following their families from rural provinces to the urban cities. Throughout history (for over 1000 years) Chinese leaders have set up the Hukou system with the main purpose of controlling population movement into the cities. The practice was adopted by the People's Republic of China in 1958 with the purpose still to control and separate rural and urban populations effectively institutionalizing a dual system of citizens' rights. Despite the contributions of migrants to economic growth and development in the cities, their children, seeking the education prescribed to all children by law, are still seen as a burden to city resources.

The migrant students who go to the cities they need to get the five certifications to study in the cities. Because of the new policies carried out, some of the migrant students with the certifications could study in the cities but they were treated differently.

Since the year of 2001, the central government found out that some of the policies were actually not carried out, and the main reason was that the local schools felt they did not have enough available financial resources for the migrant children. A solution was for migrant students to end up with paying extra fees for the local schools and the migrant children could not afford it. After the year of 2001, following international guidelines, the Chinese government started to concentrate on children's equal treatment, equal opportunities and children's needs. The government emphasized the migrant students should at least get the compulsory education in equal terms and the local schools should have the main role to take the responsibilities for the education of migrant students living in their area. The central government set up the main goal as to change the attitudes of discrimination and restriction that had grown out of the Hukou system.

At the same time I also gave a review of all the policies that have been implemented and what were the obstacles for migrant students getting education in the cities. One main obstacle was solved by taking away an extra fee that migrant children had to pay that was not required of local students. Placing responsibility for fairness on the local schools where migrant children live was also clearly defined.

Over several years, the central government has carried out different policies to change the migrant students educational situation in big cities, although some policies have been relaxed, my findings show that there are still significant barriers for the migrant students to get the same education as their urban counterparts.

5.2 Policies recommendations

As I mentioned, the students who are without certifications still cannot go to the schools outside of their Hukou, but actually according to the policy of compulsory

education migrant students even without the certifications have the right to get at least compulsory education as long as they have their guardians in the cities. The migrant students who are without certifications could be regarded as ‘temporary students’.

Since right now the migrant students cannot continue their high school educations in the cities there is a negative impact on the migrant students and some students do not really make efforts in their studies. The students who are with the certifications and if they are already with their parents in the cities for certain years (especially when some of them are born in urban areas), the government should set up a rule that they have the right to attend the admission exam for high schools in the cities. Of course, this must be based on how good their grades are. This could help the migrant students be more motivated to study hard during the compulsory education period.

A government suggestion for a new policy in 2015 suggested the state will start to carry out a system where migrants could settle in Beijing and get a Beijing Hukou. The government will calculate the “points” considering how many years one has been in Beijing, how long one has been working in Beijing and how much taxes one has been paying (ZhongShangQingBao news, 2015).

Since right now the migrant students have the problem that there is no connection between the studies in the cities and their hometown studies, the central government should set up a system which facilitates cooperation between local schools and the migrant students hometown schools. After students go back to their hometowns, their teachers could know what they have studied in Beijing and how they should follow up. There must be a united standard for the national education; at least there should not be big differences about learning contents between the local schools in Beijing and other provinces.

In order for the migrant students to get a better education, the central government should tighten up the implementation of the various regulations and notices that protect the rights of migrant students and are already in place. While the central government may have to provide incentives to city schools for the implementation of

the compulsory education, it must also establish tough measures against the lack of implementation of policies already existing. In addition, the establishment of a specific 'unit' in local governments is needed for the regulation and implementation of the education for migrant students.

Another way of improving the education of the marginalized migrant students is to help them organize themselves into supportive networks. According to S.K. Zhao's analysis, there are various types of informal mutual-aid organizations being run by migrant workers (Zhao, SK, 2000).

Private migrant schools run by the migrant workers themselves could provide some basic education relevant to the situation of the migrant students, but at present they are uncertified and unregulated and they are seen as just temporary. At present, some of these migrant schools are loosely organized. It would be a sensible alternative for the central and local governments to guide and strengthen the development of these migrant schools so that they could be another option for the migrant students to get education in the cities (Zhao, SK, 2000).

The central government gives the funds to the local public schools to take the responsibility for the migrant children, but has no control as to how this money is utilized. The central government should set up a system to keep track if the public schools spend these funds on migrant children's needs.

Promote Respect and Acceptance of migrant workers and migrant children

There are a lot of rural migrants flowing into the cities because of modernization and urbanization. The migrant workers make a great contribution to building up the cities and the state economy. But in the general situation the migrant workers are not accepted by the local residents. One thing shown in my study was that some of the local parents do not want to put their children into the same class with the migrant children. So it is important to make the local residents understand how important the migrants are to the city. The central government should publish policies which can help the migrant children integrate into the public schools. As I

mentioned in the analysis part, although all the teachers and even the migrant students themselves do not see any problems for integrating into the schools, when it come to the questions they do have some problems for integrating into the schools. Therefore public awareness and public education campaigns are essential.

Reform of migrant children's private schools:

Several years ago, the Central State Ministry of Education published the temporary rules for the governance of the migrant children, although there was not a big reflection. Normally the local governments adopt two ways to fix migrant children's schools, one way is that they just do not pay any attention to these kinds of schools and adopt the attitude of laissez-faire, and the second way is that they just shut down all these schools without any consideration. In Beijing, most of the local authorities have used the former way to fix the migrant schools. Considering these two ways, none of them have positive effects or solve the problems. The first method deprives the migrant children's schools of standardized management and leaves their learning to the discretion of individuals, and large numbers of children suffer from the consequences. The other method is even more harmful, banning such schools, without resolving the issue at state schools and without opening other options, is the same as depriving those children of an education.

For the issue of migrant children's schools:

As I mentioned before since the number of migrant children are increasing and the public schools might not have enough places for the migrant children. Right now the biggest problem for the migrant children is that they learn different things between Beijing and their hometowns and it is difficult for them to follow up, so migrant schools might be an option for the migrant children to take, and the migrant schools could teach the specific things which the migrant children need and help them more easily to go back to their hometown to follow up their studies.

These migrant schools should be legalized and should be given the space, support and help to develop in a proper way. Putting the migrant schools in the market could be a way for the migrant schools to compete with public schools and make the education

get better in China. The schools should be furnished with the facilities and the teachers should give the help and guidance to the students as much as they can and find a proper way to educate the migrant children. Changing the attitude and way of managing migrant children's school, which includes improving the requirements for education, enhancing the responsibility and supervision, and adopting more flexible and pragmatic resources. More detailed, the following ways of measuring should be concerned:

Firstly, to insist on uniform standards for all the migrant schools way of running, create a clear standard for the migrant schools facilities.

Secondly, make sure that all the migrant schools' inventory upholds the qualifications. Specific qualification requirements and assessment standards should be set up for the school operators with a system of regular performance assessments for the teachers. Schools where the operators and teachers fail to meet requirements should be reviewed.

Thirdly, educational departments should exercise regular guidance and supervision over the teaching activities of schools in operation. Prompt guidance should be given to improve schools when problems are found. Schools that refuse to accept supervision and guidance should also be reviewed.

Further research is needed to examine where inequalities occur and how these can be mitigated.

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Appendix: Interview Sheets

I. Directors or managers of the school (对于学校两位领导的问题)

- General questions ○ How many students are there in total at your school? How many migrant students are there in your school?

贵校总共有多少学生? 一共有多少外地学生?

- What is the average number of migrant children in each class?

每个班级平均有多少外地学生?

- How many new students have applied at your school last year? (How many of these were migrant?)

去年有多少新生申请了贵校? (有多少是外地学生?)

- How many migrant students were accepted and how many local students were accepted last year?

去年贵校录取了多少外地学生? 多少本地学生?

- What is the recruitment procedure of migrant children to your school? (for instance, do they have to do an entry-exam, do they pay a fee, or any certifications, are there differences with urban children?)

贵校录取外地学生的手续和步骤都有什么？（例如：他们需要参加任何考试吗？用不用交任何费用？需要什么材料证明，与当地学生申请步骤有何不同？等等）

- Which education policies are specifically directed to migrant children

(that you are aware of?)

- 您都知道哪些对于外地学生在北京上学的教育政策？

③ Follow-up: How do you think about those policies? (Why do you think is important?) 您是如何认为这些政策的？（您为何觉得这些政策重要？）

- Equal opportunities

Does the school accept applications from all migrants? (how do you differentiate between applicants)

贵校是否接收所有外地学生的申请？（您是如何区分这些申请者的？）

- Does the school pay extra attention to the migrant children? (extra study groups)

对于外地学生贵校是否给予额外关注呢？（例如额外的学习小组）

- Social integration ○ How are migrant children allocated to each class? (so are classes separated or not?)

贵校是如何将这些外地学生分班的？（外地学生与本地学生同班？还是外地学生独立班级？）

- What does the school do to help migrant children with social integration?

对于帮助外地学生融入到学校生活，贵校都做了什么？

- Are there many cases of school drop-outs by migrant children? (follow up: is this higher compared with local children, and what is the reason for this?)

贵校是否有很多外地学生中途退学问题呢？（与当地学生相比，是否外地学生发生此事的机率更高？都是什么原因导致他们退学的呢？）

- How do you think that migrant children and local children get along with each other?

您是如何认为外地学生与当地学生的相处问题的？

II. Teachers (对于学校老师们的问题)

- General questions

- How long have you been teaching at this school?

您在贵校工作多长时间了？

- How many students are there in your class?

您班级有多少学生？

- How many migrant students are there in your class?

您班级有多少外地学生？

- What are the migrant children's family backgrounds?

这些外地学生都是什么家庭背景？

- What about their examination results? (e.g. any differences with their urban counterparts?)

他们的学习状况都怎么样？（例如与当地学生比，他们有何不

同?)

- Equal opportunities ○ What obstacles do you see regarding migrant students that hinder their performance? (for instance, in language)

对于外地学生在校的表现，您觉得对于他们来说都有什么障碍？

(例如，普通话)

- Do you or the school give any extra help to the migrant children? (e.g. if they cannot follow the class do you give extra help)

您本人或者贵校是否给外地学生任何额外帮助呢？(例如，如果他们的学习跟不上，您是否提供额外帮助？)

- ③ Follow up: is this because of your own concerns or is this required by the school policies? And do the parents ask for this specifically?

如果您提供额外帮助，这只是您个人行为？还是学校政策要求？家长是否主动要求帮助呢？

- ③ Follow up II: what kind of help is it exactly?

请您具体说明您提供了哪些帮助？

- Are the migrant children allowed to attend all the activities, or are they sometimes excluded from certain events? Which?

所有的外地学生是否允许参与学校的所有活动呢？是否有某项活动他们是不能参与的？是什么活动呢？

- What suggestions do you have that could change the migrant students situation? (mostly policies changes)

请您提一些政策建议可以改变现在外地学生在北京就学情况？

- Social integration ○ How well do the urban and migrant children interact with each other?

您觉得本地学生与外地学生的互动怎么样？

- What differences do you see, for instance in their behavior?

您觉得本地学生和外地学生有什么不同呢？例如他们的行为？

- What specific activities do you or the school initiate to improve the social integration between your students?

对于帮助或者改进外地学生融入校园生活，您本人或者贵校安排了哪些专门的活动或者做出了哪些努力呢？

- Do you think it is better to divide the migrants' students and local student into different classes or do you think it is better just put them together? Why?

您个人认为将外地学生与本地学生分到同个班级更好？还是将外地学生与本地学生分开班级更好？为什么？

III. Parents (对于外地学生家长的问题)

- General information

Where are you from?

您来自哪个地区？

What is your occupation in Beijing?

您在北京的职业？

How many children do you have here in BeiJing?

您有几个孩子在北京？

- Equal opportunities

How difficult is it to find study places in urban public schools? What happened?

您当时为孩子找到了现在的公立学校上学有多困难？都发生了什么？

What were the certificates required when your child applied for this urban public school? (Are they difficult to get? Or which one is difficult to get?)

当时您为孩子申请北京的公立学校的时候都需要哪些证件和手续？（这些证件手续都很困难得到吗？或者说哪个证件很难得到？）

What do you think of these certificate requirements?

您是如何看待这些证件材料要求的？

Did your child attend any entrance examinations?

当时您的孩子申请学校的时候是否参加了任何入学考试呢？

Did you pay school selection fees?

您是否交了任何择校费用呢？

What are your expectations for your children after he/she graduate from the middle school?

当您的孩子从中学毕业以后，您对孩子有什么期待呢？（例如继续在京上高中？或者回到原籍，或者有任何其他期待？）

Social Integration

How does your child integrate well with the local students?

您觉得您的孩子与本地孩子的融合怎么样？觉得他们的相处是否融洽？

IV. Students (对于学校外地学生们的问题)

- General information

o How old are you and what grade are you in?

你几岁？你是哪个年级的学生？

o Where are you from?

你是哪的人？

○ When did you come to Beijing?

你是什么时候来的北京？

○ What are your parents' occupations?

你父母的职业？

○ Are you here with both your
parents?

你是与你父母一起在北京吗？

- Equal opportunities ○ What difficulties were there before you got into
the school? (Like exams, or any certifications, or other things?)

在你进入学校学习前对于你来说当时都遇到了什么困难？（例

如：考试，或者证件材料，或者其他的东西？）

○ How was your recent exam?

你最近的考试怎么样？

○ What difficulties do you have in your studies? (If yes, do you get any
extra help?

在你学习当中都有什么困难？（你是否得到了额外帮助呢？）

○ Who is performing better in the class, is it the local or migrant
children? (I mean the study results) And why is that?

你认为在你们班谁表现更好呢？是北京的学生？还是和你一样的

外地学生？（我的意思是学习）请你回答为什么？

- Social integration

○ Do you feel any differences between you and local students? (If yes, what are the differences?)

与北京学生相比较，你是否感觉你自己有任何的不同呢？（如果是，都有什么不同呢？）

○ Do you like to play with the local students? (or: are most of your friends migrant or urban children?)

你喜欢与你北京的同学一起玩儿吗？（或者你的朋友大多数是北京孩子？还是与你一样的来自别的地方的朋友呢？）

○ If you could choose, would you like to study at the migrant students school? Or do you feel fine to be in the local public schools?

如果你可以选择，你愿意在那种都是外地学生的学校学习？还是你更愿意在现在这样的学校学习？