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SCHOOL OF MIGRANT CHILDREN, AN ETHNOGRAPHY IN AN UNREGISTERED MIGRANT SCHOOL IN BEIJING

ABSTRACT

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In the urbanization and industrialization process of contemporary China, millions of internal migrants move from rural areas to cities to seek for work and better life, which is accompanied by the influx of large quantity of migrant children into receiving cities. The massive inflow of children challenges the capacity of public education provision in cities, as a community response private-run migrant schools that provide education exclusively for migrant children at compulsory education stage have emerged in many cities since 1990s. This thesis discusses the challenge of education for internal migrant children in receiving cities and analyzes the status quo and development of the migrant schools. An ethnographic research was conducted in one of the unregistered migrant schools in Beijing. Through a triangulation of research methods of participatory observation, semi-structured and life history interviews, as well as photography, this research, from emic perspectives, analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of the migrant schools in education provision to migrant children, understands the gaps between policy commitments and on-the-ground delivery of public education provision, and raises a few policy recommendations of developing the migrant schools and improving education provision to migrant children.

The findings suggest that the migrant schools have played an important role in meeting the unfulfilled demand for education of migrant children in receiving cities. However, the pursuit of short-term profits compromise education quality of such schools, the problem of inequality of quality becomes significant when the migrant schools function to reduce inequality of opportunity. The migrant schools, due to poor infrastructure, lack of finance, and for-profit nature, to some extent unintentionally reinforce social inequalities through low quality education provision. In addition, the findings show that the relationships between the migrant schools and local governments are of critical importance for school development. Based on the research, I would propose that the emerging public private partnership in education service provision can be an effective way to diversify and expand service provision channel, and help to create a win-win-win situation that the migrant schools would benefit by developing in a healthy and sustainable manner, government would benefit by reaching its coverage of public services to vulnerable groups, and most importantly, migrant children would benefit by receiving a higher quality compulsory education and unlock development potential.

Keywords: internal migration, migrant children, migrant school, education, quality, development, partnership

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

"We wanted workers, but human beings came." Swiss writer Max Frisch wrote this sentence to describe the situation of labour immigrants when Switzerland needed hands for its economic growth during the 1960s. In the urbanization and industrialization process of contemporary China, millions of internal migrants move from rural areas to cities to seek for work and better life. Despite the significant contributions they have made in accelerating economic development of the country in the past three decades, migrant population have encountered various institutional and social barriers in receiving cities, their children also face difficulties in accessing education. In this chapter, I introduce the internal migration in China as well as several new trends of migration, analyze the barriers that migrant workers and their children face in receiving cities, and then discuss about the emergence of migrant school in responding to the unfulfilled demand of education for migrant children in many cities in China. At the end of this chapter, I present research task and formulate research questions.

1.1 Internal migration in China

By the end of 2011 the number of people living in cities of China has exceeded the number of people living in the country's rural areas for the first time in Chinese history. The juggernaut of urbanization induces urban population increasing from less than 20 percent in 1980s to 51.27 percent in 2011 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012), far beyond the United Nations (1998) projection of 52 percent urban population in China by the year 2025. The World Bank (2012) even expects that the country will have two thirds of population living in urban areas by 2030. The scale and speed of internal migration from rural to urban areas is unprecedented in contemporary Chinese history and world history. The 6th National Census (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011) shows that the migration population in China amounted to 260 million in the year 2011, indicating that one out of six Chinese citizens is migrant. The massive movement of population or "waves

of rural labour" (Mingong Chao, 民工潮) initiated in the early 1980s with the relaxation of China's household registration system (Hukou, 户口) which allows peasants to move away from official place of residence and seek employment in nonagricultural sectors in cities, since then the population policy shifted from strict control to "leaving the land but not leaving the home" in early 1980s, and to "positive guidance" on migration in mid-1990s (Jiang, 2009).

The population policy shift can be viewed as a state response to the industrialization as well as integration into global market. It is this abundant, flexible and most importantly, cheap labour force constituted by agricultural surplus population that allows China's industrialization to proceed at a less expensive level (Chan, 1994; Solinger, 1993). The export-oriented economic development model, dependent upon rich labour reserve, creates the "economies of agglomeration" (Collier, 2007), makes China become a global manufacturing base and realizes the country's double digit annual GDP growth in the past three decades. Inside this huge migrant labour force, most migrant workers take the arduous 3-D (dirty, difficult and dangerous) jobs (Chan, 1996), concentrate in the sectors of manufacturing, construction, house-keeping, and cleaning, which are usually labour intensive, low skilled and not well paid thus are unappealing for city dwellers. As Smith (1996) points out "the migration as both a result of development and a force contributing to development", migration is a product of China's industrialization and globalization, an inevitable choice, irreversible trend and ongoing process. The massive population movement facilitates the country's transformation from an agricultural society into an industrialized economic power, provides a channel to lift millions of people out of poverty through earning income in cities and sending back remittances to rural homes, and paves the way for the country's realization of the Millennium Development Goal 1: Halving the proportion of people living in less $1 a day.

1.2 New trends of migration: Family-based, de facto permanent, and towards smaller cities

Compared with the blind waves (Mang Liu, 盲流) of migration in the 1980s and 1990s, there are some new trends of Chinese internal migration worth identifying and analyzing. First, a significant changing characteristic has been the increase of family migration which is different from the earlier single adult migration in the 1980s (Duan & Liang, 2003). Migrant parents are concerned about left-behind children who are usually taken care of either by grandparents or relatives in hometown, therefore bring children into cities for family reunification once their job secured and life stabilized. Second, transient mobility has been gradually replaced by de facto permanent movements. The studies of both internal and external migration demonstrate the process of migration from those who move on a seasonal, sporadic and short-term basis to permanent migrants who will never return to their homes (Grasmuck & Pessar 1991; Massey et al., 1987; Gardner 1995). This phenomenon is particularly observable among migrant children living in cities for many years or born in cities, who become physically and psychologically estranged from farm land and have no motives to move back to rural areas. Third, the direction of migration has begun to shift from coastal constellations and first-tier cities to inland and second or third-tier cities. This geographical shift is a reflection of the ongoing transformation of economic development model from export oriented to domestic consumption driven, which generates numerous job opportunities in infrastructure and service industry in inland cities. In addition, the soaring living costs and decreased job opportunities as a result of global financial crisis in coastal areas also directs new migrant workers into the cities that are less expensive and with better employment prospects. Last but not least, the "forced ecomigration" that Wood (Wood, 1994) referring to the involuntary migrants whose lives would be threatened because of environmental degradation and climate change has been increasing.

To sum up, these new trends of migration pattern suggest that the influx of rural population into urban areas is far from exhausting, instead, the family-based, de facto permanent migration is posing significant challenges to the social development and the provision of public goods such as education, not only in metropolises but also in the second and third-tier cities where migrants are emerging and expanding rapidly.

1.3 The barriers that migrant population face

Though migrants have made significant contributions to the development of China in the past three decades, this group of population have encountered institutional, social and cultural barriers in receiving cities.

Institutionally, the household registration system (Hukou, 户口) is widely considered a fundamental cause for unequal treatment of migrant workers, resulting in a series of problems with regard to public goods provision, such as children's education, health care, housing and employment security (Jiang, 2009). The dual Hukou system that divides Chinese population into rural and urban types was established in 1958 and gradually became an instrument of controlling population movements during 1949-1979 of planned economy stage (Knight & Song, 1999). Under the "caste-like system of social stratification" (Potter & Potter, 1990), Chinese citizens are assigned an urban or rural hukou on a transgenerational basis since their birth and enjoy social services and other entitlements in the place where their Hukou are registered. Following the reform and opening up in the late 1970s, the mobility function of Hukou has been gradually eliminated due to substantial labour demand in cities, however, the associated social entitlements have not been in parallel provided to migrant population. Under the Hukou system, the improvements of China in human development have not fully matched its economic achievements. The 0.46 GINI Coefficient (UNDP, 2005), exceeding the 0.4 mark used as a predictor by analysts for social disturbances, suggests that the inequality gap in terms of income, opportunities for quality social services and social protection between the rich and poor, urban and rural, migrants and non-migrants has been increasing in China.

Not only the institutional barrier that prevents migrant workers from accessing social services and resources, but also the social discrimination against migrant population have profound negative impacts upon the lives of migrant workers and their families. The tensions between "we" and "them", the line between "core" and "periphery" and

xenophobia gaze develop into an ongoing and unfinished (Ahmed, 2007) daily practice in the interactions between migrants and established urban residents, the "otherness" of migrant almost becomes a given that hinders the integration of these new comers. One can easily identify migrants by their dialects, clothes, occupations, housings, and most importantly by their Hukou status, then assume them to be poor, uneducated, dirty, and less sophisticated, treat them as inferior citizen in a less equal manner, sometimes deny their the access to social services, facilities and resources or require them to pay higher prices to gain access. Power is actions upon actions (Foucault, 1983), the hukou induced discrimination becomes even more powerful when it is implemented and reinforced by multi-layered networks of social service providers and ordinary urban citizens.

1.4 The education barrier that migrant children face

Human capital, though sometimes being criticized as depreciating and dehumanizing society to see human as a kind of capital, has been widely recognized in explaining differences among nations that have successfully made the middle to high income transition and those that have stalled (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1981; World Bank, 2012). Education, as a primary means to improve human capital, build "human capabilities" (Sen, 1999), reduce poverty as well as empower and accrue to society, has been given much attentions and priorities in a country's development strategies.

The rapid development of China in the past three decades cannot be divorced with its education strategies. Realizing that education investments yield high economic and social returns, China has taken a number of initiatives to unlock its human capital potential. The so-called educational "Great Leap Forward" initiated in 1999 profoundly altered Chinese higher education from elite education to a mass one, increased the university application-participation ratio from 20:1 in 1977 to 2:1 in 2007 (Brandenburg & Zhu, 2007). More fundamentally, the country acknowledges the importance of basic education in building people's cognitive and social capacity as well as maximizing the country's human capital

base, therefore has been making tremendous efforts in universalizing its basic education and fulfilling its commitments to Millennium Development Goal 2, ensuring that by 2015 all boys and girls will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

The Compulsory Education Law in China took effect nationwide in 1986, the law stipulates that "all children between 6-15 years of age are entitled to nine years of compulsory education, including 6 years primary school and 3 years middle school regardless of sex, ethnic group, race, family economic situation and religious belief". In order to remove financial barriers hindering the full implementation of Compulsory Education Law, in the year 2006 the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Finance jointly launched an ambitious policy to abolish tuition fee and miscellaneous fees in all Chinese rural areas in compulsory stage in a phased manner (Caijiao 财教, 2006). Two years later, the central government announced that same policy would be implemented in urban areas as well (Xinhua News, 2008).

While the majority of Chinese children, both in rural and urban areas, despite of family financial situations, can carry their schoolbags "under the same blue sky" as Chinese premier Wen Jiabao envisaged, many migrant children find themselves fall into an education provision gap. These children, without the possession of urban Hukou, are caught in a liminal state (Wu, 2007), encounter difficulties in accessing education services in receiving cities, sometimes have to pay prohibitively high extra fees and provide extensive documentations to gain access to public educational institutions.

In the context that China is striving to transform itself from a labour-intensive economy to an innovative and knowledge-based society, the investment in human capital is of critical significance. As Wang & Mei (2009) suggest the process of industrial upgrading must be accompanied by a process of social upgrading for labour. In this regard, the education difficulty that migrant children encounter, if not properly addressed, would result in a future generation of Chinese citizen diverge from their peers in a knowledge and information society and fall into or return to poverty.

1.5 A brief of migrant children's education in urban China

The children of migrant workers in China can be categorized into two groups- left-behind children and migrant children. Left-behind children or 留守儿童(Liushou ertong) refers to the children remain in rural areas when parents migrate into cities for work, normally these children are taken care of by grandparents or close relatives and live on the remittances sent back by parents. Migrant children or 流动儿童 (liudong ertong) is defined as the children who follow their migrant worker parents from rural areas to cities, or the migrant workers' children who were born and grow up the cities. Despite their de facto residency in cities, migrant children inherit rural hukou from their parents therefore are not granted full access to urban social services which are normally provided based on one's urban hukou status.

With the recent trend of family-based, de facto permanent migration, the number of migrant children in China has increased dramatically from 19.82 million in the year 2000 according to the data of 5th National Census to 38 million in the year 2010 based on the result of 6th National Census. The actual number may be even more startling if the unregistered children who were born outside the one-child policy system are taken into account.

The influx of large quantity of migrant children into cities brings about the education issue. Under the dual household registration system and decentralized finance and administration in China, the local government where a child's hukou registered is responsible for providing her/him with the legally mandated nine years of compulsory education. When migrant children leave their hometown, their education budget would be automatically cut down from where their Hukou are registered, however, they cannot fully enjoy the educational budgets in the receiving city because educational budgets are distributed based on permanent residents in the locality. To address the ambivalence surrounding the issue of who should be responsible for migrant children's education, in 2001 the State Council

issued The Decision of Basic Education reform and development 国务院关于基础教育改革与发展决定. The Decision explicitly pointed out the primary responsibilities of migrant children education are concentrated on governments of receiving cities and urban public schools, this decision is known as two-main-responsibility policy. In the year 2010, National Outline for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development 国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要(2010-2020) once again emphasized that equal education opportunity should be provided to migrant children and restated the primary responsibilities of governments of receiving cities and urban public schools.

Plans are linear, but practices are not. Though the two-main-responsibility policy has been taken into place for over a decade, the extent to which the policy has been implemented varies from one city to another. Migrant children, in many cases, still face difficulties in accessing public educational institutions in receiving cities.

1.6 The emergence of migrant school

In response to migrant children's difficulties in accessing public schools, in the 1990s in many cities of China there emerged private-run migrant school that provides education exclusively for migrant children at compulsory education stage. Rapidly, migrant school proliferates and gains popularity among migrant communities because of accessibility, affordability, and flexibility. Different from public school, migrant school has no restriction of Hukou, students don't have to provide extensive documentations for school entry. Compared with the high extra charges in some public schools, the tuition fee of migrant school seems more reasonable. Exclusively serving migrant children, migrant school takes a more flexible approach with regard to enrollment and student transfer. As a bottom-up and self-supporting community alternative, migrant school thus serves as a complementary component of the present educational systems (Wang, 2000; Zhou, 2000), and contributes in tackling the educational challenge that receiving city governments and public schools are incapable to address.

Although the emergence of migrant school to a large degree fills the gap of education provision to migrant children, the operations of these schools are not without problems. Solely relying on tuition fees for operation, the educational environment of migrant school is usually poor and education quality is always compromised. School infrastructure and teacher's capacity are inferior compared with public school, the hygiene and safety conditions are questionable. Despite that "rationality of migrate school is based on the irrationality of the system" (Lu & Zhang, 2004), the rationality is not necessarily translated into legitimacy. Majority of the migrant schools fail to meet official criteria and don't go through legal application procedures, operate without a legitimate identity, manoeuvre and circumvent in a grey area, and constantly face the risk of closure.

Beijing has long been a magnet for migrant workers and migrant children from all parts of the country, this city is also one of the earliest birthplaces of migrant school. From 1999 to 2007, the number of school-age migrant children in Beijing increased from 66,000 to 400,000 and the number of migrant schools in Beijing increased from about 100 to about 300 (Teets, 2011). Among the 300 migrant schools, 239 are unregistered (China Youth Daily, 2008). These unregistered migrant schools in the past two decades have experienced ups and downs in the capital city. In the early 1990s, these schools developed rapidly under the local education bureau's ambivalent and laissez-faire attitude of "don't ban, don't recognize". Since 2001, they began to constantly face the risk of closure because of illegal status and safety problem, the survival becomes much harder. As a microcosm of the inequalities that migrant population encounter, the migrant schools in recent years have attracted attentions of intellectuals, activists, NGOs, as well as international community. However, it is always etic perspectives surrounding and influencing, seldom the opportunities are offered to the migrant schools and the ones inhabit in the schools to voice out their views and perspectives on the difficulties they encounter, in what ways they cope with the challenges, and the expectations they hold.

1.7 Research task and questions

In this thesis, I have conducted an ethnographic research in one of the unregistered migrant schools that exclusively accommodate internal migrant children in Beijing, with the task of listening to emic perspectives from students, parents, teachers as well as school administrators inside the migrant school. I take the migrant school as my research focus in order to understand the reasons why migrant children, under the guidance of two-main-responsibility policy that assigns receiving cities and public schools to take responsibility for migrant children's education, still face difficulties in accessing public educational institutions, examine the quality of migrant school in education provision and reveal the challenges that migrant children and migrant school face, the actions they take, and the expectations they have. Furthermore, I move a step forward from the school to explore the challenges of education provision to migrant children in a rapidly urbanized China, and raise a few policy recommendations.

My research questions are:

1. Why so many migrant children attend the migrant schools?

2. What is the status quo of the migrant schools in Beijing? What are the advantages and disadvantages of these schools in education provision to migrant children?

3. What is the development prospect of the migrant schools? What can be done to tackle the challenge of migrant children's education in urban China?

In chapter two, I introduce the ethnographic methodology and methods of this research, analyze the influence of positionality on the research, as well as develop some strategies to minimize the negative effects of the limitations of research methods. In chapter three, I present my research findings, answer research question 1 and 2 by revealing the real life in the migrant school and delivering the voices of the ones inside the school. In the last chapter, I look at the "upwards" and "outwards" of the school (Nespor, 1997), to examine

the interplay between agency and structure, and raise a few policy recommendations of developing migrant school and improving education provision to migrant children.

2. METHODOLOGY

As a student of development with a specialization in education, I spontaneously and enthusiastically want to research on a topic associated with both education and development for my master's thesis. The problematic of internal migrant children's education in urban China, a pressing and significant issue that contemporary China is facing in its rapid ongoing urbanization process, perfectly suits my academic background and personal interests. When I decided to embark on this research topic, the first idea immediately came to my mind is to conduct research in and about the unregistered migrant school, which in many media constructions is portrayed as a representation of vulnerable social group, and a poor and ghetto-like educational setting. Despite the fragmented sentiments from media, intellectuals, and social activists, seldom the voices from the school within are heard. To understand "what is going on here" (Agar, 1986; Greertz, 1988; Wolcott, 1990) from the emic perspectives within the school, I decided to take ethnography- a naturalistic, observational, descriptive, contextual, open-ended, and in-death approach to doing research (Wilcox, 1982), focus on a discrete migrant school and listen to the voices from the primary stakeholders- migrant students, parents, teachers, and administrators inside the school.

Two key words involved in the topic of migrant children's education are migration and education, therefore the appropriateness of ethnographic methodology requires scrutiny from the perspectives of migration and education studies.

2.1 The appropriateness of ethnography in migration and education research

Ethnography is a field arm of anthropology, which has been developed and utilized within the discipline of anthropology (Spindler, 1982; Wilcox, 1982). Migration studies have long been a focus of contemporary anthropology, in turn anthropological methodology, mainly

referring to ethnography, is considered a mainstream approach for migration studies. Vertovec (2007) points out that anthropologists working in central South Africa are credited most with the initial development of serious ethnographic accounts and theoretical insights surrounding migration issues. As early as the 1940s and 1950s these anthropologists witnessed profound socio-economic transformations (especially rapid urbanization and vital shifts from agricultural subsistence to waged, industrial labour) and researched this transformation through ethnography. Brettell (2000) also notes that anthropologists perceive the disjunction between the ideal and the actual as a fundamental characteristic of human experience, tend to look at migration policy from the perspective of migrant who acts, adapts and often circumvents. The emic perspective, as Spindler (1982) explains as the view from within the culture, the folk view, in terms of native categories are highly valued and respected in migration studies. Ethnography takes migrants and their institutions, migrant school for instance, as active agent instead of passive reactor and provides extensive and rich articulation and knowledge from emic perspectives through a bottom-up approach.

The history of doing ethnographic research on education is no shorter than doing ethnographic research on migration. Anthropologists Solon Kimball, Jules Henry, George Spindler, and a few others were already doing the ethnography of schooling in the late 1940s and early 1950s, among the educational problems the denial of equal educational opportunity to diverse sectors of population is probably the key problem (Spindler, 1982; Wilcox, 1982). Using ethnographic tools to understand education opportunity deprivation within the educational setting is not new but has a strong tradition. As Pole & Morrison (2003) note, ethnography has become, if not the dominant, certainly one of the most frequently adopted approaches to educational research in recent years. Through day-to-day observation and vis-a-vis interaction with actors in specific educational setting, the emic, native, and in-depth knowledge and relationships are able to be illuminated which are hardly uncovered so vividly and lively in other types of research approaches.

2.2 The compatibility of research topic and methodology

Having understood the applicability of ethnography in migration and education studies from a historical perspective, I relate my research topic with the characteristics of ethnography to examine the compatibility of research topic and methodology.

Silverman (2001) reminds us that ethnography puts together two different words: "ethno" means "folk" while "graph" derives from "writing". His account reveals two distinctive characteristics of ethnography: emic perspective and descriptive nature. The verbalized emic perspectives and non-verbalized emic cultural knowledge are privileged in ethnographic research. Reviewing the debates in relation to migrant children's education in China, it is always the etic perspectives are taken into account. It is always policy makers, media, intellectuals and activists engage in the debates, seldom do we hear the voices from the main migrant children education provider— migrant school, and the ones inhabit in the school setting. To listen, watch, record the narratives and truths from people inside migrant school with a ethnographic eye, ear, and heart would not only enable me to understand the issue from insider's perspective, but also understand the relationships between agency and structure, the interplay between the micro and the macro, the complexity, diversity, and dynamics of the migrant children's education problem.

Rich and thick (Greetz, 1973) description is another distinctive feature of ethnography, illuminating in-depth knowledge and producing theory, as Brettell (2000) argues the descriptive ethnography is implicitly, if not explicitly theoretical. Geertz (1973) points that the thinner the description, the more it is stripped of multilayered social meaning. The depth of knowledge elicited and yielded from ethnographic research may surpass any other approaches in illustrating a subjective reality of the lived experience of those who inhabit in that location. Reviewing the researches and surveys related to migrant children's education in China, most are top-down and quantitative, the media reports and discussions surrounding the migrant schools, particularly when the schools under the risk of closure,

are always fragmented sentiments, very few capture the actual life and every day behavior in a detailed, in-depth, multi-dimensional manner in a migrant school setting. Reading through the existing researches and debates, I consider ethnography, featuring for emic perspective and descriptive nature, would provide an unusual and interesting perspective to convey the reality of migrant school from the insider's perspectives with contextualized and comprehensive descriptions, and through which to explore the challenges in the provision of education to migrant children in the rapidly urbanized Chinese society.

2.3 Research methods

Brewer (2000) distinguishes ethnography as methodology and method, identifies ethnography methodology as the broad theoretical and philosophical framework into which these procedural rules fit, while ethnography method as the tool bag from which researcher selects to collect data. Having discussed ethnography as methodology, it is crucial to make decision of ethnographic methods for my research.

"Triangulation" refers to the use of more than one method of data collection (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989), in ethnographic research the adoption of multiple methods allows ethnographer to capture the complexities and dynamics of social actions through a variety of lens and collect data in a holistic and comprehensive way, as well as increases the validity and reliability of ethnographic data. During the two-month field research, I used the triangulation of participatory observation, semi-structured and life history interviews, as well photography as ethnographic research methods, below I introduce why and how I applied these methods in my research.

2.3.1 Participatory observation and positionality

In a field where many stakeholders and perspectives exist such as school, participatory observation can be helpful to understand diverse perspectives and interplay. Though as

useful as participatory observation is in ethnography, the paradox of observing social actions in a natural setting and at the same time participating in the lives of the researched is a testimony to the professionalism and experience of researcher. On the one hand, researcher has to be a friend in order to establish rapports within a limited amount of time, minimize the disturbance caused by the existence of the researcher as Peshkin (1982) describes "researcher being acceptable that the natives talk and behave just as they do in his or her absence". On the other hand, researcher needs to keep a certain distance with the researched, behaving as a "professional stranger" (Agar, 1996) to keep the objectivity of data. Denscombe (1998) identifies three levels of participation: total participation that the researcher's role is kept secret, participation in the normal setting that the researcher's role known to certain gatekeeper but hidden from most of those in the setting, and participation as observer that researcher's identity is openly recognized. As an outsider "intruding" into a relatively stable school environment, inevitably I encountered suspicion and resistance at the beginning. In this regard, I see the open recognition of my identities as a voluntary teacher and a student researcher a wise choice in order to clear the clouds of confusion, on that basis to build trusts with my informants and observe real activities.

In addition to observation, I actively participated in various school activities. I taught English for Grade 4, 5, 6 on a daily basis, joined routine discussions and meetings with school administrators and teachers, talked with students in and out of class, and visited students' homes occasionally. My identity as a teacher legitimizes my natural participation in all school activities and access to valuable data that hardly acquired by being an observer only. The two-month participatory observation helps me involve in the school community, get closer to my informants, understand the contexts and relationships from insider's perspective, better design my interview questions and check validity of data collected. During the participatory observation process, I wrote field notes on a daily basis that allowed me to preserve what I have seen and heard on site and elicit questions for further observation and interview. Again, the identity as a teacher enables me to do the "urgent business" (Denscombe, 1998) of recording my observation on paper in an unnoticeable way.

Despite the abundant data collected through participatory observation, I was aware of and tried to minimize the shortcomings of this research method. Peshkin (1982) summarizes "my observations and what I made of them result from the interaction of what is out there and what is in me". In my research process, I realized the fact that the data generated from participatory observation is a combination of constructions from both the researched and myself, the "unconscious, experiential and biographical baggage" (Cohen et al., 2007) that I brought to the research has to be recognized and reflected. Being an independent researcher, I can guarantee the autonomy of my research to refrain from any political or economic interests, nevertheless my own positionality cannot be immune from my research. My study experiences in Finland, a country that firmly advocates the provision of equal education opportunity to all its citizens, both native and immigrants, shape my perception and aspiration of promoting equality and quality education in my own country. As a student of development with a specialization in education, I see the exclusion of educational opportunities unbearable both for individuals and for the country as a whole. Witnessing the gap between aspiration and reality may lead to frustration and sympathy, which would influence my narratives and accounts. In addition, the two months immersion in the school and the emotional attachments with informants might also impact on my constructions. Being aware of the relationships between positionality and participatory observation, I constantly remind myself in the research process the importance of reflexivity in the times of "getting things wrong having to put them right again" along my "intellectual tourism" (Griffiths, 1998).

2.3.2 Interview and identity

Interviews can be categorized in a continuum of standardized, highly structured on the one end and informal, unstructured on the other end. The choice of interview type large depends on the fitness of research purpose. My research aims to listen to the voices, understand the experiences of the ones in the migrant school setting and explore the educational difficulties they encounter, therefore I see semi-structured interview as the

appropriate method that provides more flexibility and opportunity to both interviewer and interviewees to probe and expand, negotiate and discuss the responses. While granting a certain degree of freedom and flexibility, semi-structured interview also considers structure and comparability of responses. For the interviews, I structured the questions into different themes in terms of rationale of children migration, experiences in migrant school, views on policies with regard to migrant education, on prospects and development of migrant school, as well as on the challenges of migrant children education, tried to elicit thematic responses from students, parents, teachers and administrators respectively. However, the specific questions under a certain theme are not strictly structured, leaving out flexibilities for interviewees to generate knowledge based on their individual experiences and circumstances.

In addition to semi-structured interview, I took life history interview to understand the lived experiences and narratives of events from interview informants, and connect their experiences to wider political, economic, social contexts and structures. As Mandelbaum (1982) points out ethnographer's interest lies in how the "folks" encountered in educational settings "cope with" the educational experiences they encounter, rather than upon the way that educational systems and structures "cope with" the stream of individuals who pass through them. In my research, I am interested in understanding how and in what ways the people in migrant school, as "active doers and seekers" (Mandelbaum, 1982), cope with the educational difficulties they encounter, and through which to explore the interplay between agency and structure.

Interview, as constructions by interviewer and interviewee of "some version of the world appropriate to what we take to be self-evident about the person to whom we are speaking and the context of the question", is not exclusively either subjective or objective, but intersubjective (Silverman, 2001; Cohen et al, 2000). Interview is a research method that very much relies upon the relationships between researcher and informants. Pole & Morrison (2003) specify that research informants will respond differently depending upon how they perceive the person asking the question and/or the intent behind the questions. In

my research, I have been cautious about and taking into account the possible influences of my identities on the interview. The identity as a teacher-researcher may generate power asymmetry and influences my students and parents' responses, and the identity as an "outsider" teacher may give rise to some tension and suspicion from my fellow teachers,. Recognizing the facts that a very important and indispensable part of my interview is to deal with power asymmetry, tension, and discretion, every now and then in my interview I kept reminding myself of being "polite and punctual, receptive and neutral" (Denscombe, 1998) to establish a atmosphere so that my informants would feel secure and comfortable, a platform so that my informants could use to make themselves heard, and a space so that my informants would give spontaneous, rich relevant, and "self-communicating" (Kvale, 1996) answers.

2.3.3 Photography

Photography offers ethnographer a different medium with which to represent social reality (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Photography captures and conveys reality here and now, the strength of photography is that photos tell stories itself through vivid visual images instead of relying on oral or written interpretation and representation from researcher. Despite its uniqueness in reality convey, there exist critiques in terms of the authenticity of photography. Although pictures can speak itself, the choice of what to take, when to take, and where to take remain in the hands of researcher, visual data yielded from same reality can vary from one photographer to another.

Scott (1990) identifies three genres of photograph, idealization emphasizing formality, natural portrayal capturing that actually happened as usual, and demystification that deliberately portraying some unusual or embarrassing situations. In practice, one may tend to capture the demystification, the exotic, astonishing circumstances that arouse attentions and debates among audiences. As an ethnographer, I understand the purpose of using photography in my research is not eye catching but to diversify research tools and

perspectives in order to convey reality of the school. Therefore, I see natural portrayal the appropriate genre for my ethnographic research to give it a "naturalistic profile" (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Obtained consent from school principals, I took photos of school environments, such as buildings, classrooms, and playground; captured routine school activities such as learning, playing, eating, and meeting. The familiarity with students and teachers through daily interaction enables my photo-taking less intrusive and more acceptable, so that I could capture natural behaviors and emotions in my camera. I assume that as long as the intentions to convey the lived experiences and describe reality are understood by both researcher and informants, photography can be considered an effective tool in providing invaluable and unique data for ethnographic research.

2.4 How to deal with the limitations of ethnography?

Ethnography, like all the research methods, has its own limitations. The focus on a discrete location may limit generalizability of data, the descriptive nature may lead to subjectivity, the sole interests on emic perspectives may make research less equipped to analyze macro-level social processes and social structures therefore "unsophisticated" (Erickson, 1979). While admitting the limitations of ethnography, I try to add some elements in my research to minimize the negative effects of these limitations.

2.4.1 There exist some extents of generalizability

Ethnography is an approach focusing on a discrete location, pays more attention to depth than width, thus it is often challenged by scholars who employ more quantitatively oriented methods on the grounds of their data's greater generalizability and reliability (Mahler & Patricia, 2006), and about the use and usefulness of ethnographic research in policy decision making.

Although the existence of migrant school in urban areas is a common phenomenon and the

education difficulty facing migrant children is a universal problem in China, the decentralized finance and administration system means that the opportunity and quality of migrant children's education may vary from one city to another. In this respect, I will not assume the research taken in one migrant school in Beijing can make wide generalization. However, I do believe ethnographic research has its own merits of "fuzzy generalizability" (Bassey, 1999). In his book Case Study Research in Educational Settings, Bassey explains of "fuzzy generalization" that "carries an element of uncertainty. It reports that something has happened in one place and it may happen elsewhere. There is a possibility but no surety". The in-depth knowledge constructed from one migrant school in Beijing is not remarkably dissimilar from other unregistered migrant schools in the city, the education difficulties the migrant children in this school face are not dissimilar from the education problems the migrant children encounter in other cities in China. With the rapid ongoing urbanization wave, the tier two, three or four cities in China are facing or will face the challenges of migrant children's education, policy makers in these cities would possibly take Beijing, the political and economic center of the country, as a reference to establish their coping strategies. I argue this research has some extent of generalizability at least in revealing the collective challenges that posed upon over 200 unregistered migrant schools in Beijing, and potentially it can be taken as a reference for the cities where migrant population are emerging.

2.4.2 Make familiar strange and make strange familiar to minimize subjectivity

Another long-held criticism of ethnography is subjectivity. Troyna (1994) illustrates a view prevalent in some research community that qualitative research is "subjective, value-laden and therefore, unscientific and invalid". The descriptive nature of ethnography determines the centrality and active role of researcher both in data collection and data analysis, ethnographic result cannot be divorced from the ethnographer, as Peshkin (1982) identified that "ethnographers are always run the risk of finding in their data not what is there but

what is in their beholding eye." In ethnography, the boundary between emic and etic perspective is blurred, the data is co-constructed by researcher and informants. Because of the descriptive nature, the authenticity and reliability of ethnography have been constantly questioned, which to some extent hinders the inclusion of ethnographic results into policy formation.

To minimize the downside of subjectivity in my ethnographic research, I believe it is important to "make strange familiar and make familiar strange" as Spindler (1982) suggests. The task of description with great sensitivity (Geertz, 1973) requires ethnographer get familiarized with the contexts and the informants, at the same time use a fresh eye to question what is taken for granted for both researcher and informants. As a Chinese doing research in my own country and using my native language, I don't face the challenges of tackling cultural and language barriers like most ethnographers have to. Nevertheless, my sensitivity would reduce when I take many things for granted due to thirty years immersion in this culture and society. Furthermore, the information that I received from fragmented media reports about migrant school in the pre-field stage may also form stereotypical preconceptions. In this case, making familiar strange, being reactive rather than proactive (Pole & Morrison, 2003) is something that I bear in mind from the beginning to the end of my research. Despite the articles, news clips, and videos that I reviewed, I had no first-hand information and knowledge about the migrant schools until conducting field research, the cultural knowledge, social interactions, explicit and "hidden" rules inside the school were all strange to me and needed to be familiarized. The simultaneous process of making familiar strange and making strange familiar helped me to move back and forth between outsider and insider, observe and analyze in a less subjective way.

2.4.3 Move a step forward from the school−Analyze the interplay between agency and structure through both micro and macro lens

The ethnographic focus on vis-à-vis interactions in a discrete location to research the social actions bears the risk of making ethnographic analysis "unacceptable naïve and unsophisticated" (Erickson, 1979). Ethnographer tends to see things through micro lens, from bottom up, treats the informants as active individual agents, understands emic perspectives to see how they act, adapt, resist, and negotiate. All of these qualities are of merits particularly when researching on vulnerable or marginalized social groups such as people in migrant school who normally lack opportunities to make their voices heard. Despite these advantages, ethnographer is relatively less equipped to analyze macro-level social processes and social structures in relation to the researched subject.

Nespor (1997) in her book Tangled-Up in School argues that "I look at one school as intersection in social space, a knot in a web of practices that stretch into complex systems beginning and ending outside of school", she also proposes to look at school not only "downwards" and "inwards" but also "upwards" and "outwards". Stepping into migrant school to explore social actions and relationships within by no means indicates that migrant school can be considered as an isolated subject without taking into account the wider political, economic, social contexts and structures. Rather, migrant school and people inhabit in the school are inevitably shaped by and more or less shape the state and local power and policies. In this research, I not only explore interactions and relationships of the specific migrant school, but also examine the interplay between agency and structure through both micro and macro lens, so that this research could move a step beyond knowledge for knowledge sake (Brew, 2000), and be able to provide some valuable information for education policy formation.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 A prelude-get access to migrant school in Beijing

There exists over 300 private schools for migrant children in Beijing, among them 239 are unregistered schools with a student population of 95,092 (China Youth Daily, 2008). How to gain access to one out of the 239 schools was a challenge until I found the website named "Migrant Worker's Friend" (http://www.dgzd.org.cn/) created by a local non-governmental organization committed to support migrant schools in Beijing. The website provides contact information of approximately 100 migrant schools in Beijing, based on which I started to call the schools and introduced myself, my research, as well as my intention to be a voluntary teacher through phone conversations. Mr. Zhang[1], a former migrant primary school principal was very interested in my research, referred me to his friend, Mr. Luo, the principal in Chao Yang School.

On a Saturday morning, I met my first informant Mr. Zhang as scheduled. Mr. Zhang is not traditionally stereotyped migrant worker as "bitter, dirty, arduous, and doing low prestige work" (Solinger, 1995), rather, he is well-dressed, speaks standardized mandarin, and drives a brand new car. Interestingly and ironically, as a formal migrant school principal, he didn't place his daughter in his own school when she migrated to Beijing four years ago but leveraged his networks and registered a public school.

Through 1.5 hour driving, Mr. Zhang and I arrived in Chao Yang School in Daxing district, a peripheral district of Beijing. In the principal's office and the only office in Chao Yang School, I met Mr. Luo, one of the three school principals, and Mr. Ran, the teaching director and discussed with them about my work arrangement as well as my research. Principal Luo expressed his welcome by saying *"I am very pleased to have someone with*

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[1] The real names of informants and name of school are replaced to protect anonymity and confidentiality and minimize the risk of harm.

overseas experiences to teach in our school", he also showed supports to my research and gave me full permission of conducting research in the forms of participation, interview and photography in the school. In early September 2011, I started my two months field research in Chao Yang School, meanwhile teaching English for 5 classes of Grade 4, 5, 6.

3.2 Why children migrate?

From 2000 to 2010, the number of migrant children doubled in urban China, reaching 38 million. The influx of migrant children looks puzzling in the context that tuition fees and miscellaneous fees are abolished in compulsory stage in all Chinese rural areas and the widely perceived education difficulties of migrant children in cities. To understand the rationale behind children migration, I interviewed parents and students in Chao Yang School.

Mr. Li, a father and a chef of a small restaurant told me: *"Me and my wife, we both work in Beijing. Almost all the adults in my village work in cities, the left ones are either elderly or children. Grandma of Ting Ting (Mr. Li's daughter) used to take care of Ting Ting and her little brother. But grandma is illiterate and not able to supervise their studies. We want our kids to be around us so that we know what's going on with their studies."* The way to see parenting not only as provider of material necessities but as care-giver and educator are prevalent among migrant parents, seven out of the ten parents that I interviewed echoed Mr. Li's explanation. Separation of parents and children are considered temporary among the "fostering triangle" (Åkesson et al., 2012) of parents, left-behind children and the ones who take care of the children in hometown, normally the elderly. Once migrant parents find stable work in cities, the left-behind children are brought to cities for family reunification.

The perception that education in cities is better than in rural areas is common among migrant parents. Ms. Chen, a mother and domestic worker said *"Yes, the education in my*

hometown is free, but the education quality is low. It is not possible for my son to go to college if he receives education in my hometown. I wish my son go to college and become a real Beijinger in the future." Though compulsory education is free both in urban and rural areas, the challenge of "equality of quality" (World Bank, 2012) is phenomenal in China. According to Educational Statistics Yearbook of China 2004, budgeted expenditure per primary school student varies from over RMB5,000 in Shanghai to RMB3,000 in Beijing to around RMB600 in the western provinces such as Gansu and Guizhou. Under the decentralized education finance and administration system, the education quality gap between economically advanced metropolises and underdeveloped rural western areas are stunning, which induces migrant parents bringing children to cities, with the aspiration of breaking transgenerational poverty and pursuing upward mobility through education.

In many cases, migrant children were not brought to cities but born in the cities. These de facto young urban residents are considered migrant children only because their parents are migrants and don't have urban Hukou. Three of my ten student informants born and grow up in Beijing expressed similar ideas that they are accustomed to life in Beijing and never thought of migrating back. The city-born migrant children constitute a large proportion of current migrant children population, and the number of this group is expected to increase considering current migrant demography. A recent report on migration population of National Bureau of Statistics (2012) shows that 61.7 percent of the migration population in China is below 40 years old, suggesting that huge amounts of young migrant workers would possibly give birth to and seek education opportunity for children in receiving cities in the coming future.

Contrast with the stereotype to see poor and/or minority parents as reluctant, uncooperative, as uncaring ignorant, or culturally deprived (Wilcox, 1982), most parents that I interviewed emphasized that education and care are the major determinants in their decision-making to bring children to Beijing. Ogbu (1978) discusses about the instrumental role of education in the culture, and its value as a ticket to adult success, in terms of a prestigious job and monetary reward. The tradition to value education is embedded in Chinese culture since

the application of imperial examination in Sui Dynasty (581-618AD) from which education opened an avenue for upward social mobility for centuries. Migrant parents, with strong aspirations to break intergenerational poverty through education, bring children to cities in order to provide decent education and care. Contrary to parents' aspirations, a large number of migrant children, upon their arrival, face the barriers in accessing public educational institutions and ended up into the private-run, unregistered migrant schools. In the following session, I discuss about the institutional, financial and cultural barriers that prevent migrant children accessing public education based on the conversations with migrant children and parents in Chao Yang School.

3.3 What are the barriers preventing migrant children's access to public school?

"The Decision of Basic Education Reform and Development" issue by the State Council in 2001 explicitly pointed out the two-main-responsibility, i.e, receiving cities and urban public schools should take primary responsibilities for migrant children education. Despite policy stipulation, until today many migrant children still face difficulties in accessing public educational institutions in receiving cities. According to literatures (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2004; World Bank, 2012; Zou et al, 2004), cities such as Dalian, Chengdu and Shanghai have more or less expanded public school access of migrant children, while Beijing is among the cities that migrant children have low participation rates in public school. Why, in the time that two-main-responsibility policy has been put in place for over a decade, we still witness so many migrant children attending the migrant schools in Beijing? What are the barriers that prevent migrant children studying in public education institutions?

Narayan (1999) concludes that transaction costs and documentation requirements are the two most common barriers to entry for socially excluded groups, his argument is mirrored by the migrant parents and children in Chao Yang School. The majority of my student

informants said it is difficult to find a study place in public school. One boy expressed his sentiments saying it is *"fantasy"* or *"day dream"* to go to public school when sharing with me his educational journey in Beijing.

"This is the third school that I have been in Beijing. My parents brought me to Beijing four years ago. We applied several public schools when I arrived, but all been rejected because we cannot provide five documents. Then my parents found a migrant school for me and I stayed there for one year. Then I had to leave because my dad found job in another construction site far away. I went to another migrant school, there I made many good friends. One month ago, my school was closed and I could not stay there anymore. My parents found Chao Yang School for me."

Then I asked the boy whether or not he wants to attend public school, his reply was quite definite.

"No. It costs too much for my parents if I go to public school. People in the public school open their eyes when they see money, and they look down upon us. I don't want to go there."

Similar narratives were repeated during the interview of parents and teachers. Six out of the ten parent informants said they tried to send their children to public school and failed. In a casual conversation with three middle-aged female teachers in Chao Yang School, I was told that these teachers, though teaching in migrant school, used network and money to help their own children get access to public school. Here is part of a dialogue with one of the school teachers:

Interviewer: "How did your daughter get access to public school?"
Teacher: "I paid the support school construction fee of RMB12,000 so that my daughter could have a seat in public school. Of course, it is not enough if you just have money, Guanxi (network) is also important."

Interviewer: "But you are a teacher here. Don't you want your daughter study here so that you can take care of her? It can also save a lot of money."

Teacher: "No, as long as we can afford, we prefer her to study in public school. Either Yingjian (hardware) or Ruanjian (software), here is not comparable with public school."

In 2009, Beijing government claimed to eliminate the jiedu fee 借读费 (fee for borrowing a study place as a non-local citizen), zexiao fee 择校费 (fee for selection school) and zanzhu fee 赞助费 (fee for sponsoring school, amount is negotiated by parents and school) that charge migrant children for many years (Xinhua News, 2009). However, according to my informants, until now some public schools still charge migrant children high extra fees in different names. A research on five Chinese cities shows that spending on primary education during one school year per child represented 5 percent of annual income in households in the richest quintile and 14 percent for household in the poorest quintile (Brixi, 2009), the prohibitive high transaction costs to a large extent restrict the access to public education, parents then have to resort to the migrant schools which charge a reasonable amount of tuition fee.

In addition to high costs, Narayan (1999) also points out that documentation as a means of excluding the poor is commonly cited in the reports as the reason for their inability to access resources. In many cases, migrant children are required to provide five documentations including identification card, temporary resident certificate, temporary worker certificate and tax certificate, immunization records, and a certificate indicating that no family members are living back at their birth place in order to get access to public schools. All the parents that I interviewed expressed difficulties in collecting these documentations due to their financial restriction and complicated documentation application procedure.

Manifested in the forms of high transaction costs and extensive documentations, the deep causes of reluctance in the provision of education services to migrant children are complex and multi-dimensional, one of the fundamental ones is the decentralized education finance.

In 1994, the education guidelines had been assigned: (1) to the central government the responsibility for policymaking, standard setting, and quality assurance; (2) to the provincial governments the responsibility for formulating the development plan for basic education and providing assistance to lower-level governments to the provincial governments; (3) to the municipality governments or district governments within large cities the responsibility for financing and provision of basic education in urban areas (Wu, 2008). The full financial responsibility of municipality government in educational provision means that the more migrant children arrive in city, the more financial burden city government has to bear. Same principle applies for urban public school. School operation budgets are allocated upon the number of students enrolled in the school in possession of permanent local Hukou. The more migrant children are accepted in school, the more fiscal constraints school has to face.

Despite financial constraints, some city administrators hold the concern that full provision of education to migrant children would give impetus to migrants and lead to sudden and large migrant influx, while instrumental constraints on education provision can deter incoming migration and even stimulate migrating back.

Not only the decentralization and population control strategy, but the invisible borders (Khosravi, 2010) between established urban residents and migrant workers inhibit the access to public education for migrant children. Khosravi (2010) argues that border gaze doesn't operate through a simple function of exclusion but is situated on the "threshold", between inside and outside. Economically migrant workers are inside, institutionally and socially they are outside. The selective "inclusive exclusion" (Agamben, 1998) border gaze enhances discrimination against migrant workers and migrant children, the construction of migrant children as a dirty, untrustworthy, ignorant (Pun, 1999), uncivilized, out-of-control, not disciplined (Goodburn, 2009) homogeneous type are entrenched, naturalized, and taken for granted for many urban parents, teachers and even urban children. Urban public schools face ideological, economic, and performance pressures when enrolling migrant children (Xia, 2006), worrying that the acceptance of migrant students may dissatisfy

urban parents and lower general academic performances and school competitiveness, this notion is particularly prevalent among the key public schools.

Lu & Zhang (2004) summarize that the rationality of migrate school is based on the irrationality of the system, the emergence and development of migrant school is a result of the system failing to keep up with developments of the times and individual's means outside the system. When migrant school becomes a main venue to provide migrant children education, it is necessary to look into the school, understand it from within, and give the school a voice. In the next part, I focus on Chao Yang School, through a "triangulation" of methods, to capture the complexities, dynamics and relationships of the school.

3.4 Will students have bright future in the "black" school?

Quality assurance has been implemented to evaluate school performance in many societies, both in the developed economies such as Hong Kong and Singapore and in the developing world such as Uganda (Wu, 2008). In China, the National Center for School Curriculum and Textbook Development Ministry of Education (NCCT) developed the "Criteria of Quality Assurance for Non-publicly Funded Schools" (民办学校评估认证) in the year 2008 to qualify private schools (NCCT, 2012). The Criteria examines following aspects of a school:

Resources, facilities and services

Ethos and goal

Organization and management

Curriculum, teaching and learning

Staff

Student services

Student development

Relationships

Considering that these Criteria are specifically designed by Chinese education authority to qualify private schools in China, I borrow the criteria through which to comprehensively understand the education quality of Chao Yang School, and see to what extent these unregistered "black" migrant schools can meet the qualification criteria and provide decent education to migrant children.

3.4.1 A snapshot of Chao Yang School−Resources, facilities and services

Like many places in the world, Beijing locals and migrant workers live in segregated areas. Xingzhuang Street is a migrant concentration area in peripheral suburban Beijing. In recent years locals of this street gradually move to newly constructed high buildings and rent these single-storey, poor rooms to migrant workers. Low residential rental costs attract large amounts of migrant workers and this street soon became a migrant neighborhood. Chao Yang School, like many migrant schools in Beijing located in the place where floating population are in high density and out of reach of public schools' service range (Fan & Peng, 2008), is the only school in Xingzhuang Street. High education demand and low supply makes Chao Yang School quite popular in the migrant communities. Currently, Chao Yang School has a student population of over 800, this number increased 10 percent in the autumn semester 2011 due to its absorption of migrant students affected by the migrant school closure in August 2011.

Chao Yang School is a typical migrant school, private-run, exclusively enrolls migrant children, and has not gone through legal application procedures. It is not easy to identify Chao Yang School if one doesn't notice a sign several meters away the school building. The school is next to a vegetable wholesale market and surrounded by many small business shops where many students' parents are working. It seems that the school deliberately keeps a low profile, this guess later on was confirmed by principal Luo *"we are*

unregistered school and we don't want to be too visible and get ourselves in trouble".

Chao Yang School is based in an abandoned factory building. Walking into the school, first comes into sight is a tall flagpole hanging a Chinese national flag. Flag raising ceremony is a traditional weekly ritual in public schools to promote patriotism spirit. Obviously Chao Yang School resembles this symbol and follows the tradition of public school. No trees and flowers are planted in the school, the schoolyard is quite dusty when students playing. Three parallel rows of single storey rooms are full of students, next to the classrooms are the only sports facilities in the school-four crudely built table tennis tables with bricks as the nets, which are always fully occupied during class interval. The tiny, dusty playground and poor infrastructure of Chao Yang School are far from meeting the standards set by Beijing municipal government stating "various kinds of facilities and a campus of at least 15,000 square meters." (Hu & Li, 2006)

In the average 37 degree temperature mid-summer in Beijing, one can smell the mixture of sweat and dust when stepping into the classroom. Over 60 students squeeze in a small classroom, the class size far exceeds the maximum size of 40 according to The standard of Beijing primary and secondary school condition 北京市中小学校办学条件标准 of 2006. The second-hand desks and chairs are of mixed colors and sizes. No modern electronic education equipments are available in the classroom, blackboard and chalks are the only means to teach.

The only office in Chao Yang School is the principal's office. In this multi-functional room, parents register and pay tuition fees at the beginning of semester, teachers convene every Monday for weekly school meeting and review students' homework when their classrooms are occupied by other teachers, principals deal with school operational matters through the only computer and only telephone in the school. On the wall of the principal's office hanging several brochures with regard to school regulations on epidemic disease prevention, vaccination, and food safety, which are the key areas of police inspection and the decisive factors of closing down migrant schools—health and safety problems

(Goodburn, 2009). It is difficult to judge whether these regulations are put into school practices or just hanging on the wall rhetorically catering for inspection.

The principal's office and the only school office

Next to principal's office is the school kitchen. Lunch bought from a restaurant nearby is supplied in this very small kitchen room to around 500 students whose parents are busy working and can't make lunch. At 12pm, students queue up to get lunch from the kitchen window then go back to classrooms to eat. The meal includes vegetables, rice, and sometimes meat. Lunch price is around RMB4-5, acceptable by most parents. When asked one of my student informants whether or not she is satisfied with the lunch service, she said *"Lunch is not expensive, and the quality is good. We can ask for more food if not enough .It would be better if we have a school canteen to eat instead of eating in classroom."*

Students queuing up for lunch

On the other side of classrooms are two lavatories of the school. The lavatories are quite primitive, no water flushing facilities are equipped, flies and mosquitoes hovering around, terrible smell is sensed in distance. The very poor hygiene of lavatories can be detrimental to student health, six out of ten students that I interviewed mentioned that they hope lavatories could be renovated. When I suggested two of the school principals to renovate at least the lavatories, their response was:

"We feel sorry about the lavatories. We understand it's too dirty and bad for students' health. We want to build new lavatories and build rooms for teachers, but what if the school is closed? If that happen, we work in vain."

As Wilcox (1982) says, school administrative behavior must be viewed in terms of the surrounding structural realities which are likely to account for it. From the conversations with school administrators, I understood that lack of money is only part of the story, the vulnerability to closure is the fundamental constraint that prevents investment in improving school infrastructures. The risk of sudden closure makes school operators reluctant to invest in improving school environment, while poor environment increases the risk of school being closed. The battle between migrant school owner and local authority goes on subtly and constantly at the expense of the interests of migrant children.

3.4.2 Seeking profits in the niche market−School ethos and goal & organization and management

The three principals in Chao Yang School are called "boss" by teachers in private occasions, this entrepreneurial salutation indicates the for-profit nature of school. Three principals take different responsibilities, one is in charge of school administration and routine issues, one is responsible for finance management, and the other one deals with communication with parents and occasional liaison with district government. All the three principals are male and originally were migrant workers from rural areas, two of them

were from same village. One principal claimed he possesses a Zhongzhuan (中专, equivalent to secondary technical school) diploma, the other two didn't reveal their educational backgrounds. One of the three had educational leadership experiences in a migrant kindergarten, the other two didn't have any education related working experiences until the establishment of Chao Yang School. To compensate their inexperience in educational leadership and lack of education knowledge and expertise, a vice-principal and a teaching director, both having over ten years educational experiences in migrant schools, were recruited to arrange teaching, curriculum and other school routine activities (Figure 1).

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┌─────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────┐
│ Investor/ Principal │──│ Investor/ Principal │──│ Investor/ Principal │
│   in charge of   │      │   in charge of   │      │   in charge of   │
│     Finance      │      │  Administration  │      │  Communication   │
└─────────────────┘      └─────────────────┘      └─────────────────┘
                                  │
                                  ▼
                         ┌─────────────────┐
                         │ Vice Principal in │
                         │ charge of education │
                         └─────────────────┘
                                  │
                                  ▼
                         ┌─────────────────┐
                         │ Teaching Director │
                         └─────────────────┘
                                  │
                                  ▼
         ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
         │     20 teachers (13 female and 7 male)     │
         └──────────────────────────────────────────┘
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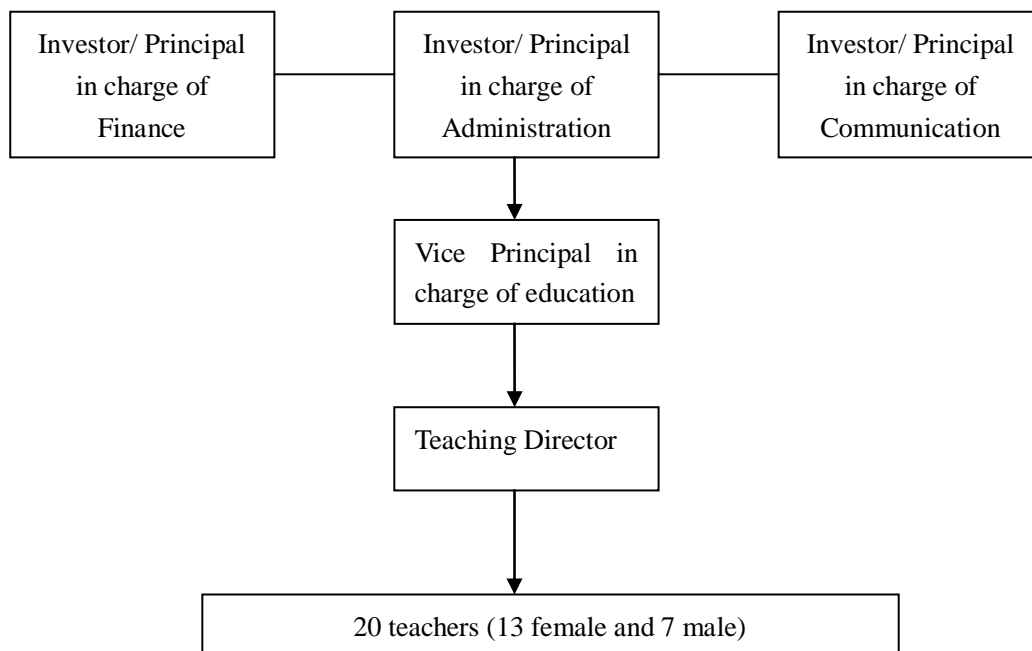
Figure 1: Chao Yang School Organizational Structure

The principals in charge of finance introduced to me about the financial management of Chao Yang School. The School was established in the year 2009, co-invested by the three principals. The total investment was RMB600, 000, each of them invested RMB200, 000. With two years operation, the initial investments have been already recovered and the school has started generating profits since this semester (Table 1). I asked the principal if he and his partners are willing to reinvest in school, the principal seemed very reluctant, he

explained implicitly:

"It's risky to run such a school. Today the school is open, it can be closed tomorrow. We are not very optimistic about the future of migrant school."

Mr. Ren, the teaching director expressed his discontent with his bosses' reluctance of reinvestment. He said:

"The more migrant schools are closed, the left ones face less competition. No matter how bad the infrastructures are, students still come because they have no other choices… After all, the bosses establish school for making money. As long as they can make money, other things can be ignored."

The Access to education is affected by both supply-side and demand-side factors (Alderman & Gertler, 1997; Gertler & Glewwe, 1992; King & Hill, 1993; Lloyd, 2005). The ever increasing high education demand of migrant children and low supply of urban public educational institutions for migrant children create the space for migrant school to manoeuvre in the niche market. In many public discussions and debates, migrant schools are put on a high moral ground for its provision of education to vulnerable and marginalized population. However, one should not overlook the other side of the coin−the for-profit nature of migrant school. The proliferation of migrant schools cannot be morally driven solely, huge market potential is the fundamental motivation for the entrepreneurs without background in education but with material resources to jump into this educational business. The ultimate goal of migrant school, as an enterprise architecture, is to generate, if not maximize, profits. Provision of public goods is not the end by itself but a means of and a byproduct in the profit-making process. Realizing the for-profit nature helps shed some lights on the understanding of the mission, culture and operation of migrant school.

Table 1: A roughly estimated balance sheet of Chao Yang School

Annual cost	RMB
School building rent fee	120,000
Teacher wages	343,200 (1,300 per month on average*12 months*22 person)
miscellaneous	n/a

Annual income	RMB
Tuition fee (insurance, uniform, book fee, and water fee are included)	792,000 (RMB990 per school year on average *800 person) Note: Tuition fees are slightly different in different grades. Grade 1 RMB960 per school year Grade 2-5 RMB980 per school year Grade 6 RMB1030 per school year
In total	792,000

3.4.3 Care center or education avenue?−Curriculum, teaching and learning

The concept of "population quality" (人口素质 renkou suzhi) is manifested both in political discourse and in every day conversation in China. According to Murphy (2004) "Quality or Suzhi derives part of its ideological potency through its reinforcement of related systems of valuation already embedded within Chinese development discourse, such as town versus country, developed versus backward, prosperous versus poor, civilized versus barbarian, and to have culture versus to be without culture", migrant population, representing the country, backward, poor, barbarian, and without culture, is seen as the low quality group and need special remedial attention. Education, among many other means, is considered an effective tool to raise the quality of population. Since 1990s Chinese government initiated educational reforms focusing on developing well-rounded individuals rather than only memorization and examination scores (Dello-Iacovo, 2009), which is

well-known as the promotion of "quality education" (素质教育 sushi jiaoyu). Curriculum reform, regarded as an essential part of quality education, has been implemented nationwide with the aim of "fostering a new generation of well-rounded people developed in morals, intellect, physical health and aesthetic appreciation" (Zhou, 2004). In this part, I explore the curriculum in Chao Yang school to understand to what extent the ambition of developing "well-rounded" students and raising the "quality" of migrant children are realized in the migrant school context.

In Chao Yang School, the traditional "major" subjects, i.e, Chinese, mathematics, English are given priorities, while the so called "minor" subjects of music, art, Physical Education are not paid adequate attention, if not ignored. Mr. Wang not only teaches his specialized subject-Chinese but also teaches arts and Physical Education. He explained the curriculum to me:

"It is obvious that music, PE and arts are not taken seriously in this school. No professional teachers of these subjects are hired, as you can see I don't have related knowledge but have to teach arts and PE as well. Not only we don't have professional teachers, but the resources are limited. Without music instruments, sport facilities and computers, many class activities cannot be organized. What we can do is to try to motivate students, arouse their interests by using the very limited resources."

To understand how the "minor" subjects are organized, I observed a physical education class and an art class. In the first half of the physical education class, students were asked to practice gymnastic exercises, which is a traditional daily exercise during morning class interval in public school. In Chao Yang School, gymnastic exercises become the only content of PE class, because very few other activities could be organized without sports facilities. In the latter half of the class, students were set free and chatted in small groups casually. The topic of the art class was drawing flower. At first, the teacher drew a flower with chalks on the blackboard. Then students were assigned into groups and encouraged to stretch imaginations and draw flowers in their own ways on the paper. In the end, a

competition was held among groups. Student representatives were invited to present their pictures in front of the class. The class burst out laughing when students interpreting pictures. The class finished in a vibrant atmosphere accompanying the hooraying of the winner group. After class, the teacher shared his teaching philosophy with me: *"Interest is the best teachers. Even if the resources are scarce, we need to motivate students' interests and passion. Who knows, maybe one of my students will become an artist in the future."*

Students demonstrating works in arts class

Chao Yang School adopts a "head teacher responsibility system" that the head teacher teaches all the subjects in a class, which is very different from public school where a teacher only teaches one specialized subject. All my teacher informants admitted that some subjects they teach are beyond their specialization and capacity and they felt difficulties in teaching. One head teacher said:

"I used to be a maths teacher in my hometown, but I have to teach English here. I have almost forgotten English at all. Now I have to restart to learn English and teach. Sometimes it's very difficult to learn English, you know we don't even have a cassette in the school. I am not sure about the pronunciations of many words…"

The inadequate teaching capacity is causally linked the students' academic performance. I taught English for the six grade students who supposed to have four years English learning experiences, however, very few students could complete a basic English conversation.

The information elicited from my student informants is somewhat puzzling. Five out of the seven students who have learning experiences both in Beijing and rural school said the curriculum in Beijing is easier than that that in their hometowns. At first glance this sounds incomprehensible, but when linking the curriculum with the quality education strategy in Beijing it becomes understandable. The high college enrollment rate of 84.6 percent in Beijing in 2010 (Yanzhaodushibao, 2010) enables schools to divert focus from examination-oriented curriculum into a quality-oriented one and cultivate students' wider interests, while the schools in backward provinces are pressured by the lower-ratio of college enrollment rates so that examination-oriented curriculum still plays a major role. The curriculum gap poses challenges for the returning migrant students. According to national education policy, student has to take college entrance examination in the place where one's Hukou is registered, so that many migrant students return to hometown in secondary school stage for the preparation of college entrance exam. Many returned students feel difficulties in adapting to an examination-oriented curriculum, some have to repeat a year to catch up with the peers.

Wondering how teachers perceive quality education in the migrant school context, I had a discussion with a group of teachers. Soon the discussion turned into a lively debate focusing on an interesting topic: Is migrant school a care center or education avenue? Some teachers held the view that education is not the priority goal of migrant school, instead the main function of migrant school is to provide a safe and caring environment for migrant children during day time when parents are busy working. The opponent teachers challenged this view by relating the Confucius value of teachers' responsibility of chuandao (传道 transmitting moral values and principles), shouye (授业 delivering knowledge and skills) and jiehuo (解惑 solving doubts of learning), claiming that the ultimate goal of any educator, no matter public or migrant school, is to provide decent education to students.

Under close scrutiny, one could see that, inside the quality-oriented curriculum shell, the educational facilities, teaching resources, and education philosophy in migrant school are

far from adequate to realize the essence of quality education to foster a new generation of well-rounded people in morals, intellect, physical health and aesthetic appreciation. Quality education has become no more than rhetoric in migrant school−the major venue to educate the "low quality" population of the country.

3.4.4 staff−Coexistence of empathy and humiliation

There are 20 teachers in Chao Yang School, 13 females and 7 male. One teacher explained to me the reason of gender imbalance as *"the wage here is too low to attract male teachers. Men cannot rely on this slender income to support a family."* Indeed, teacher's salary in migrant school is quite low. In Chao Yang School, teacher's average monthly salary is RMB1,300, much lower than the average individual monthly salary in Beijing of RMB4,672 in the year 2011 (ifeng news, 2012). In addition to low salary, teachers in Chao Yang School are not offered formal labour contract therefore don't enjoy the coverage of social security or insurance. Turnover rate is very high among teachers, 6 teachers left Chao Yang School last year to *"training institution, other private migrant school which can provide a bit higher income, companies, or back to hometown"*. All the teachers that I interviewed are not satisfied with their remunerations. One teacher said:

"The salary is too low. Being a domestic worker in Beijing is even better paid. I am afraid of sickness. Without health insurance, I cannot afford the costs of going to hospital."

Despite low income and lack of legal protection, the environment in Chao Yang School is not conducive to working. Teachers have no working spaces except classroom. It is common to see teachers reviewing students' homework outside classroom. By sharing spaces with students all day long, the teacher-student relationships become quite intimate while the relationships among teachers are distant due to lack of communication. Teachers are not equipped with any audio or visual aids, so that many education activities cannot be accomplished.

Teacher having lunch in classroom

Teacher's education level in Chao Yang School is low, some teachers have an educational standard only slightly above that of their students. Among my five teacher informants, none of them possesses teaching qualification certificate, which is a prerequisite to teach in public school. None of the five has college degree, only two have zhongzhuan (中专, equivalent to secondary technical school) diploma. I asked one of the school principals about the criteria of teacher recruitment and was told:

"Teaching qualification certificate is not a must in our school. To be honest, who with the teaching certificate would like to teach migrant school? We welcome teachers who have empathy and enthusiasm. They can learn to be a good teacher."

As the principal said, most teachers in Chao Yang School do have empathy and enthusiasm in their work and towards their students. When I asked about the motivation to teach in migrant school, many teachers mentioned *"love"*, *"care"* and *"emotional attachment"* to students. All the teachers in Chao Yang School are migrants, the identity of migrant enables teachers to develop an empathetic understanding towards migrant students and parents. In spite of empathy and motivation, some teachers blurred the boundary between discipline and humiliation and took inappropriate behaviors, perhaps unintentionally, but harm students' dignity and self-esteem. During my field work, I saw a teacher always hold

a pointed stick in his hand and beat students' palms when they did something "wrong", another teacher searched student' bags when her textbook was lost. The physical punishments that have been eliminated and forbidden in public school are still practiced in migrant school.

3.4.5 "I want to go to college"−Student's service and development

In many constructions migrant children are portrayed as homogeneous passive victims of circumstances, but seldom opportunities are given to these children to express their views and feelings. In this part, with a "listening will" (Lærke, 1998), I investigate on how these migrant children see themselves, encounter urban life and study in migrant school from agency perspective.

During my interview, seven out of the ten student informants claimed they enjoy the life in Chao Yang School and in Beijing, most students have good relationships with their peers. One student said proudly that he learned several dialects from his classmates. In migrant school, the similar family background and mix of geography help increase emotional connections and prevent bullies and discrimination. Most students said they feel happy that they can live with parents in Beijing, and visit Tiananmen Square and Great Wall, the symbolic places of the capital city. Interview results also show that the longer time children have stayed in Beijing, the less willingness they have to migrate back to hometown. Xiao Wang is 12 years old, he has lived in Beijing for eight years with his parents. In a home interview, his mother told me:

"Every time I take my son back to hometown during New Year vocation, he is unhappy and always wants to come back to Beijing. He has getting used to the life in Beijing. I am not sure if he could readapt in our hometown, you know eventually he needs to go back to study and take Gaokao (college entrance exam)."

Despite the excitement of urban life, friendships with peers, and enjoyment of family unity, many students expressed a feeling of "double absence" (Sayad, 1999). Having lived in city for a long time, migrant children are physically and spiritually estranged from their place of origin and reluctant to live a peasant life, however, the day to day experiences of living a marginalized life and difficulties in accessing social provision makes them fully aware of their differences with Beijing local children and could not identify themselves as Beijinger. Seldom do migrant children go to museums, parks, and communicate with Beijing locals, they always spend their spare time doing homework, watching TV, and taking care of little brother or sister. Confined in the narrow space of migrant school and migrant community, migrant children have difficulties in assimilation and integration.

In contrast with parents' aspirations of receiving better education in Beijing, most students, when comparing Chao Yang School and the school of hometown, said the school facilities in hometown are more advanced with *"computer room, library, laboratory, better schoolyard, and nicer building"*. The poor school facilities and teaching capacity are causally associated with students' academic performance. A quantitative research by Rozelle et al (2009) shows that the average mathematics scores of students in Beijing migrant schools is 70.31, lower than the score of 71.79 in rural school, and far below the score of 78.23 in Beijing public school.

Being aware of the unfavorable learning environment and life circumstance, migrant children demonstrate a sense of maturity beyond their age. As Lu & Zhang (2004) suggest, children who come from such families understand the difficulties of life, for that reason they are grateful to their parents and feel responsible to their families. In one of the classes I taught, I asked students to talk about their dreams. *"Shang Daxue (上大学 going to college)"* turned out to become the collective dream of migrant children as the way to escape poverty and pay back parents.

As a frequent cited slogan to justify the legitimacy of migrant school goes "one more migrant school now, one fewer prison in the future" (Yang et al, 2008). Migrant school, as

a spontaneous and self-supporting community means responding to the inadequate public provision of education, provides the potential street children an educational shelter and prevents youth crime in cities. But beyond this, one has also to think the extent to which these schools are prepared for and capable of addressing students' learning needs, developing their potentials and facilitating the realization of their dreams.

A happy class

 Showing the dreams!

3.4.6 Confrontation or collaboration?−Relationships with local government

During my field visit in August 2011, 24 unregistered private migrant schools in Daxing, Haidian and Chaoyang districts of Beijing were closed, the number of students to be displaced reached 14,000 (ifeng news, 2011). This is not the first time that the migrant schools get closed, in the year 2001 50 migrant schools in Fengtai district were closed

(Kwong, 2004) and in 2006 over 30 migrant schools were closed (Xinhua News, 2006). Retrospect the twist and turns of the migrant schools in Beijing during the past two decades, their relationships with local government have to be taken into consideration. In the early 1990s migrant school in Beijing survived and proliferated under the local education bureau's attitude of "don't ban, don't recognize". Since 2001, the dichotomy between migrant school and local authority has surfaced. In 2004 when migrant school reached its peak in numbers, out of 500 migrant schools in Beijing only 46 met government standard (Center for Educational Research, 2008). The rest majority unregistered schools have been periodically closed for violation of students' safety and health, as well as provision of unqualified education. The migrant schools, in face of survival risk, acted upon with different strategies. On the one hand, these schools recognize the importance of public relations, mobilize and harness supports of intellectuals, activists, NGOs and media who are sympathetic towards migrant children as well as parents who appreciate the schools' efforts to provide education to their children to resist the oppression and negotiate with local authority. On the other hand, the migrant schools avoid direct confrontations but take an overtly agreeing but covertly opposing strategy. They stop operating as required, soon find another location, reopen the school quietly and transfer students into new school.

To understand the latest migrant school closure from insider's perspective, I interviewed one of the principals in Chao Yang School, and he responded below:

"Beijing government is controlling the number of population. If you don't have Beijing Hukou, now you cannot buy car and apartment in Beijing, these are the population control measures towards white collar migrants. Migrant workers cannot afford car and apartment, so close migrant school is a strategy to control the number of migrant workers and children."

The principal's view was echoed by the official of Education Bureau of Beijing in an interview of a local newspaper by saying "the better education is provided, the more

people would come to Beijing." (Nanfangzhoumo, 2011). According to a report released by the Academy of Social Sciences, the population of Beijing is expected to hit 22.6 million by 2020, exceeding the official population limit set by city authorities stands at 18 million (Xinhua News, 2011). The explosive population growth in the mega cities such as Beijing and Shanghai has posed significant challenges on the resources and capacity of public service provision and transportation of the city. Despite the rationale of population control, the strategies have to be carefully considered and not built at the expense of education rights of migrant children.

In addition to the facts that operation of unqualified migrant school violates student' safety, health and education quality, as well as the principal's claim as a population control strategy, there are other interpretations of the migrant school closure. Kwong (2004) attributes to "the authority sees such schools as an encroachment on their monopoly on the provision of education". Goodburn (2009) writes "the provision of basic goods by alternative non-state actors may be seen as a threat to state legitimacy." Though the two researchers' interpretations may not be justifiable since there are registered private migrant schools operating and developing with financial and other supports of local governments, the question they pose regarding the relationships between the migrant schools as non-state public service provider and local government as the mainstream public service provider is worth further discussing.

I talked with the principal in Chao Yang School further to understand the relationships between the migrant schools and local governments:

Interviewer: "Do you have regular contacts with district education bureau?"
Principal: "Basically we are very distant with them unless they come for inspection. We don't receive subsidies from government because we are not registered. The registered schools receive 80 yuan (RMB) per student every semester, government also pays for desks and chairs, and other school supplies."
Interviewer: "Have you tried to register?"

Principal: "Yes, but It's too difficult to do so."

Interviewer: "What do you expect Beijing government do to your school?"

Principal: "I hope the government could be more tolerant, give us more space to develop. I think Beijing government could learn from Shanghai's experiences. In Shanghai, the government approves and invests in migrant school and provides financial subsidies. Governments have money but don't have enough schools for migrant children, we can provide education with their help. It's a win-win situation."

Interviewer: "In that case, you will not be the sole owner of the school. Are you ok with that?"

Principal: "Yes, we earn less money in that way. But we don't have to live in the risk of being closed. And the school can develop better…"

Just like the principal mentioned, the local policies towards migrant school vary from one city to another, the relationships between local government and migrant school are in a continuum from confrontation to collaboration. In 2008, Shanghai took an initiative of "purchase of service contracting" as a means to realize the city's "three year plan" that by 2010, 70 percent of migrant children would receive primary education in public school, 100 percent would receive junior secondary education in public school, and the rest students would receive education in the regulated private migrant school (China Youth Daily, 2011). Through this initiative migrant schools in Shanghai established contractual relationships with local government, schools receive RMB2,000 per student annually at the same time receive regulation and an annual evaluation of local education bureau (Teets, 2011). With financial supports, legal recognition and supervision, migrant schools are able to and have to take a long-term and sustainable development strategy; students are charged less or free from tuition fees and receive better quality education; and teachers are better protected legally and paid financially.

As the director of Shanghai Civil Society Administration Fang Guoping puts it "the government has already realized that it cannot function as well as civil society in some aspects such as costs, system and result" (Teets, 2011), instead of seeing non-state actors'

provision of public goods as threat to state legitimacy, the Shanghai government, through public private partnership, harnesses the strengths of non-state actors in reaching the marginalized and vulnerable groups and maintaining social stability. This innovative plurality of social service provision changes the dynamics between the local government and migrant school from a hierarchal and distant relationship to a collaborative and regulatory partnership.

Will the Shanghai experiences be replicated in Beijing and other cities in China as the principal of Chao Yang School expected? Will the relationships between Beijing authority and migrant schools change from confrontation to collaboration? The answers to these questions remain to be seen. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind the tradition of local experimentation and innovation in contemporary China. Thirty years ago, the coastal city of Shenzhen served as the experimental field for reform and opening policy. Following its successful experiences, the transformative policy was implemented nationwide. By the same token, one would reasonably expect the public private partnership in education provision to migrant children, if proves feasible and effective, could be replicated in a wider context.

3.5 Does migrant school produce migrant workers?

Reproduction theory has been widely used in analyzing education inequalities in a given country. The studies of reproduction theory in education emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, United Kingdom, and France. Foundational scholars include Bowles S & Gintis H with *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976)*, Bourdieu P with *Reproduction in Education, Culture, and Society* (1977), Willis P. with *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (1977), and Giroux, H.A with *Theories of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education: A critical analysis* (1983). The education reproduction theory, rooted in dialogue with Marxist traditions of social analysis (Collins, 2009), argues that schools are not institutions promoting equality of opportunity, rather

help maintain and reinforce social inequalities. Li (2007) points out that reproduction school can be subdivided into three branches: economic reproduction model which highlights the role played by education in the reproduction of economic and class relations; cultural reproduction model that focuses on how school education widens class disparities; and hegemonic state reproduction model that studies the state's interference in education and how schools help to realize the goals of the state. According to reproduction theory, the primary function of school is to maintain the established economic and social relations, as well as class stratification through education instead of pursuing personal development and facilitating social mobility.

Although born and developed in the West and has been criticized for neglect of the problem of agency and change (Giroux, 1983; MacLeod, 1987), reproduction theory does shed some lights on analyzing the education inequality that migrant children in China encounter and understanding the functions and unintended consequences of the migrant school, the major education container of migrant children.

As this research has discovered, there is a mismatch between the aspirations of migrant parents and migrant children in changing social status and breaking transgenerational poverty through education and the ability of their education provider of migrant school. Migrant school, though has some charitable motivation, as an enterprise architecture has its mission in generating, if not maximizing, profits. The tensions with local government make school operators neglect sustainability but focus on the realization of short-term interests. In the poorly financed, loosely managed, and low quality educational environment, the goal of "quality education" aiming to develop well-rounded individuals and raise the quality of population is hardly to be realized. By examining the migrant school in different aspects, one would find that it is difficult to define the nature of migrant school, whether it is an enterprise, a care center or an education avenue? It is also difficult to conclude the function of migrant school, whether it facilitates individuals breaking down class boundaries and realizing potential, or it, unintentionally, helps maintain even reinforce social inequalities through reproducing a new generation of migrant workers?

Blackburn & Prandy (1997) point out that the overall rate of mobility is seen as indicating the openness and fluidity of a society. The unequal opportunity and quality of education that a large quantity of migrant children experience hinder the possibility of social mobility and widen the disparities among social groups. If not addressed properly and timely, this inequality may engender grievance of migrant population and result in a decline of social cohesion.

4. CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, through the application of a triangulation research methods of participatory observation, interview and photography in a unregistered migrant school in Beijing, I have discussed the rationale behind children migration, analyzed the fundamental causes that prevent migrant children accessing public educational services, examined the education quality of migrant school in several aspects, and explored the problems, challenges and expectations of the ones inhabit in migrant school. In this chapter, I reassert that migrant children's education is not only an education issue, but an issue of human rights and social justice, an issue concerning government accountability and stability, and an issue related to sustainability and development of the country. I also envisage the development of the migrant schools, discuss their relationships with local governments, and at last raise a few recommendations of improving education provision to migration children in urban China.

4.1 A human right, a civil right, and a community right

Education right for migrant children is a human right, a civil right and a community right that has to be guaranteed and protected. According to United Nations definition, human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. Education right, as a significant dimension of human rights, are manifested and guaranteed in a number of international human rights conventions and treaties, such as "everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages" under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 (1); "primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all" under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Article 13; and "make primary education compulsory and available free to all" under Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 28 (1a). Education is recognized as a human right in itself and an indispensable means of

realizing other human rights, the deprivation of educational rights can be constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures (Sen, 2000). For migrant children, the realization of education right builds the foundation for the accomplishment of economic and social rights in the future. Human rights are universal but they can only be enjoyed within the boundary of nation states. China, when ratified The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and Convention on the Rights of the Child respectively in 1948, 2001, and 2002, has made its commitments to provide decent education to all of its citizens. In the context that the majority of Chinese children, both rural and urban, fully enjoy education rights, the migrant children who still encounter difficulties in accessing education deserve more attention and better treatment.

Civil rights are the basic social contract between individuals and the state. All citizens who enjoy civil rights must be equal before the lawmakers, or legislature; before the judges of the law, or jurisdiction; and before the executive and civil service (Baumann, 1999). The 1982 Chinese Constitution Article 46 provides that "citizens of the People's Republic of China have the duty as well as the right to receive education". The 1986 Compulsory Education Law Article 5 stipulates that "all children between 6-15 years of age are entitled to nine years of compulsory education, including 6 years primary school and 3 years middle school regardless of sex, ethnic group, race, family economic situation and religious belief". In spite of law stipulation, Chinese citizens, under the household registration system, are differentiated in the dichotomy of urban and rural for status hierarchy and enjoy unequal civil rights. Migrant children, at the bottom of the status pyramid, are less powerful in the negotiation for their civil rights. When civil rights are selectively enjoyed by some class or social groups while others pushed aside, as Rotberg (2003) suggests the social contract that binds inhabitants to an overarching polity can be breached and citizens cease trusting the state.

Community rights refer to the struggle for equality based on a particular group identity. Migrant population, as one of the largest but most vulnerable groups in Chinese society,

have persistently encountered inequality of access to resources that should be available to all members of society. Chinese policy makers are aware of the inequality and have made a series of political commitments in relation to the rights of migrant population. In 2002, the "fair treatment, reasonable guidance, sound rule, and good service" principle was proposed to eliminate institutions and policies obstructing urbanization in "The Opinions about Rural Surplus Labour Transfer by the Ministry of Agriculture" (Xinhua News, 2002). In 2006, "The Several Opinions on Addressing Issues Related to Migrant Workers" by the State Council proposed to "enable migrant workers to enjoy equal rights and duties as urban workers in the principle of people orientation and fair treatment", and "to create favorable environment and conditions for them to integrate into the cities and live in harmony with urban citizens." In 2010, the central government's No: 1 document (Xinhua News, 2010) emphasized the state's determination of resolving the problems that new generation migrant workers face. It is the first time that the term "new generation" migrant workers appeared in the government document, showing government's attention on the migrant workers born in the 1980s and 1990s, which account for over half of total migrant worker population. With the implementation of these pro-migrant policies, in recent years we have witnessed a lot of progresses in protecting the rights of migrant population such as Labour Law Enforcement Department helping 1.29 million of migrant workers get their delayed salaries and compensation (China Daily, 2011). However, there is a still gap between policy commitments and on-the-ground delivery. Migrant children, under the two-main-responsibility policy, still face difficulties in accessing public education services.

4.2 The significance of resolving migrant children's education problem for the state

China has set an ambitious goal to become a global innovative powerhouse by 2020 in its National Medium- and Long-Term Science and Technology Development Plan (2006–2020). The transformation from low spectrum of global value chain to an innovative powerhouse requires high investments on human capital to enhance labour productivity.

Building human capital for higher value-added China requires an education system that provides inclusive and high quality education for all of its citizens, including the large quantity of migrant children. Without equal access to quality education, a generation of future Chinese citizens unequipped with up-to-date knowledge and expertise will find themselves fall behind their peers in a more complex and dynamic market where the low skilled and labour intensive jobs that the old generation migrant workers take no longer available, and fall into unemployment trap and poverty trap.

One of the main obstacles in China's transition from export oriented to domestic consumption driven economy is the overly high precautionary savings among citizens due to lack of confidence in public service provision. The Chinese households saving on average constitutes almost 40 percent of disposable income according to the National Bureau of Statistics (2009), the consumption share of GDP has even fallen from 45 percent to 36 percent between 1997 and 2009 when households income increased during the same period. Among the factors contributing to the low consumption and high saving rates, lack of an effective safety net is undoubtedly a main driver. The limited coverage of public service prevents citizens, particularly large number of migrants, from consuming but holding their purse strings to save for health and children's education. In this regard, it is not only right but also wise for the state to expand provision of quality education to migrant children, so that migrant workers could be more confidently spend in the receiving cities, and contribute to the realization of the economic restructuring target to stimulate domestic consumption that Chinese government set in its 12th Five Year Plan.

As the World Bank Report (World Bank, 2012) points out, one of the major challenges that China face is managing rising expectations from citizens of what are appropriate entitlements as China becomes richer, the expectations from migrant population who are differentiated by the Hukou status are likely to be sharper. The disparities in social entitlements that the first generation floating migrants were willing to accept will become harder to justify to the second generation of permanent migrants. When the fruits of development are not shared with such a large quantity and high mobility group, social

cohesion and stability can be challenged. Chinese government, in its calling for establishing a harmonious society and achieving inclusive growth, needs to seriously consider the social needs of the migrant population and take more efforts in resolving the problem of migrant children's education.

4.3 Future development of the migrant schools

As discussed in the previous chapter, the emergence of the migrant schools is a community response to the unfulfilled demand of education for migrant children. These schools provide an education venue for the migrant children without access to public education institutions and contribute in resolving migrant children's education problem in receiving cities, in this respect they should be given recognition and credit. However, coming under scrutiny, the education quality of migrant school is far from satisfactory, as both a cause and effect these schools constantly face the risk of closure. School administrators are lack of confidence about the prospects of migrant school then divert attentions to short-term interests and profit-making at the expense of students' educational and developmental needs, the problem of inequality of quality becomes significant when the migrant schools function to reduce inequality of opportunity.

In the conversations with the principals and teachers of Chao Yang School, I understood that government supports in terms of finance, legal recognition, and supervision are of extreme importance for the development of the migrant schools. The case of Shanghai government's purchase of service contracting with the migrant schools provides some innovative thinking about the development of the migrant schools. Shanghai municipal government realizes that it cannot "do it all", recognizes its limitation in reaching migrant population and accommodating large quantity of migrant children in its public institutions, therefore makes contracts with and purchases services from the migrant schools. Under the contract, the migrant schools are able to run legitimately and free from the risk of closure, able to upgrade school infrastructure, facilities, increase teachers' remuneration with

financial aid from government, and at the same time are pressured to improve education quality under the supervision of government. In addition to direct financial and legal supports, government could also leverage its networks to establish a rotation mechanism encouraging public school teachers and volunteers to spend certain time in migrant school, provide on-the-job training for migrant school teachers and administrators to improve teaching capacity and leadership skills, and strengthen communications and exchanges between migrant school and public school.

The transformation of government-migrant school relationships from a hierarchal, distant, and confrontational one to a collaborative, regulatory and reciprocal one would help to create a win-win-win situation that that the migrant schools would benefit by developing in a healthy and sustainable manner, government would benefit by reaching its coverage of public services to vulnerable groups, and most importantly, migrant children would benefit by receiving a higher quality compulsory education and unlock development potential. However, this new relationship also poses challenges for the regulatory capacity of government and the capacity of participation of migrant school in policy process. In this new relationship, government is not only a provider and funder, but also as a regulator and facilitator to assume the role of licensing, accreditation and regulation (World Bank, 2012) of migrant school. For the government that used to be the sole provider of public goods, how to interact and collaborate with the emerging non-state public service providers and increase government accountability and transparency could be a challenge. The migrant schools, on the other hand, also face the challenge of participation and negotiation with government in educational decision making process under the changing dynamics and power relations. The migrant schools need to develop their capacity, navigate the divergent interests of different stakeholders, represent the voices of migrant population and influence educational policy, not rhetorically but effectively.

The public private partnership of migrant children education are still in infancy period in China, the relationships between local governments and the migrant schools in many cities are still distant and confrontational. Nevertheless, there is a strong tradition of local

experimentation as Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping described "wade across the stream by feeling the way" in China's development process. In the time that China strives to create a service-oriented society while facing challenges of the state's limited capacity in service provision to a vast of population, the partnership between local governments and the migrant schools provide an innovative way to diversify and expand service provision channel, and have the potential to be replicated in a wider national context. Once the migrant schools collaborate with local government and become legitimate education provider, they can utilize the resources to cultivate high quality individuals, facilitate social mobility, and contribute to the establishment of a harmonious and inclusive society.

4.4 Recommendations of education provision to migrant children

Vertovec (2007) suggests that it is only a step further to make policy evaluations and recommendations, and anthropologists should not be constrained to do so. Following his suggestion, I move a step forward from migrant school and explore some policy recommendations of education provision to migrant children.

As identified in previous chapter, the barriers that prevent migrant children from accessing public education service are multi-dimensional. First, the household registration system divides Chinese population into rural and urban types and keeps migrant children from fully enjoying educational services when they migrate into cities. Secondly, under the decentralized finance and administration system, central government has the responsibility of education policy making while receiving city government holds full responsibility for financing and policy implementation, which gives flexibility to the local governments in interpreting and practicing central government's two-main-responsibility policy that is set to address migrant children's education issue. Thirdly, some local governments worry the full provision of education to migrant children would give impetus to migrants and lead to large migrant influx, while instrumental constraints on education provision can deter incoming migration. Lastly, the social discrimination against migrant population that

entrenched in urban society, as an invisible border, also plays an important role in hindering migrant children's access to public educational services. Migrant population, living in a discriminatory environment, exhibit the weakest client power and appears to be unwilling to submit a formal complaint and seek redress (Brixi, 2009).

In response to these barriers that prevent migrant children accessing education services in receiving cities, below I raise a few policy recommendations of improving education provision to migration children in urban China.

4.4.1 Shared responsibility of central and local governments

The main responsibility the local government takes doesn't mean the exemption of obligation of central government. Central government, apart from policy making, should also provide additional financial resources to receiving cities for accommodating migrant children. The state funds for education allocated on the basis of number of Hukou residents to a large extent make local government reluctant to expand the coverage of educational services to large number of migrant children and result in the mismatch between policy commitments and on-the-ground delivery. Some cities and city districts with high concentration of migrant population are particularly under financial constraints therefore not to take a sympathetic stance towards migrant school and migrant children.

The robust and steady economic growth allows China to invest more on its social development. In the annual session of the National People's Congress in 2012, the central government decided in its budget that government spending on education will rise to 4 percent of the country's GDP (China Daily, 2012). This increase of central education budget is good news for migrant children if the budget allocation follows an equitable and pro-poor principle, ensuring the benefits reach vulnerable social groups. The central government, by sharing financial responsibilities with local governments, would be able to deliver its intended policy results more effectively and better fulfill its domestic and

international commitments of providing decent education to all of its citizens.

4.4.2 Plurality of service provision

As stated in section 4.3, it is a challenge for the state to cover and provide quality social services to the vast migrant population. Instead of solely relying on public provision, the state should encourage the participation of various non-state service providers to diversify the channels of social service provision and expand outreach to vulnerable groups. The public private partnership between local governments and the migrant schools established on a reciprocity principle would not only benefit the state and migrant school, but also enable migrant children receive accessible, affordable and high quality education and develop full potential.

4.4.3 Inclusion of migrant voices into policy making

Narayan et al (1999) point out when development interventions and government performance are approached from the perspective and experience of poor people, the world of development looks different. In the process of resolving migrant children's education problem, the voices of migrant population are critical. Though in recent years the problems that migrant population encounter has been increasingly realized and given attentions, the participation of migrant population in social policy making is still limited. During the annual National People's Congress (NPC) and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) meeting in March 2012, three migrant worker representatives from Chongqing, Guangdong and Shanghai respectively attended the meeting in Beijing and participated in the highest level development discussions, however the participation ratio is still very low considering the large quantity of migrant population. The low representation and limited power of migrant population makes the interests and demands of migrant group easily being overlooked, in this context, the participation of migrant population needs to be enhanced. With the participation of migrant

population, the education policy would be more grounded in migrant children's preferences, the difficulties of government in decision-making would be better understood and the efforts would be more appreciated, social cohesion and harmony would be improved. Through participation, migrant population can be empowered psychologically and politically, the social construction of discrimination would be gradually reduced. As Irvin & Stansbury (2004) summarize enhancing citizen participation has two tiers of benefits to consider (process and outcomes) and two beneficiaries (government and citizens), in order to tackle migrant children's education problem effectively and fundamentally, the voices of migrant children, parents, teachers and school administrators should be included in educational policy making and in the oversight of policy implementation.

4.4.4. Reform of Hukou system

If there is a normative goal, it should not be to reduce migration but to find ways in which it could take place under conditions of equality and respects for human rights (Castles, 2008). The hukou system, though its mobility function has been gradually eliminated, still remains a major tool of increasing migration costs, and a fundamental source of inequality in China, affecting migrant population's social benefits and migrant children's access to public education services. Established half a century ago, such a rigid and discriminatory urban rural dual regime is starkly incompatible with the country's urbanization and industrialization, the calling for hukou reform has become an urgent and collective requirement in china.

As many scholars and policy makers suggest, the ultimate goal of hukou reform is to delink it from social entitlements but being a simple population registration system, however, it is also commonly recognized such a reform could not happen overnight in view of the complex negotiations between central and local authorities, and between sending and receiving governments in terms of finance, administration, as well as guidance of migrant flows. In recent years, we have witnessed a series of local piloting hukou reforms

in Shanghai, Shenzhen, Zhejiang, Guangdong, and some other provinces or municipalities, this year is expected to see some breakthrough in a national scope. In March 2012, the Ministry of Public Security made a draft on new resident permit, a replacement of Hukou, and submitted to the State Council for examination (Xinhua News, 2012). In spite of the difficulties and complexities, Hukou reform is a right thing and wise thing to do in China. Once Hukou delinks access to basic social services, migrant children could enjoy full and the same education rights as their urban counterparts.

4.5 Future research suggestions: comparative and longitudinal studies

Finally, in view of the limitations of this research in terms of geographic scope and time length, I propose that comparative and longitudinal researches could be conducted in the future. Although the education difficulty of migrant children are perceived and the migrant schools are emerged in many cities in China, local policies and local policy makers' attitudes towards migrant children and migrant school vary from one city to another under the decentralized administration and finance system. The history, development, and relationships with local government of migrant school also differ from one city to another and from one individual school to another. In order to understand the holistic picture of migrant children's education in urban China and the development of migrant school in different contexts, I suggest comparative multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998; Burawoy et al., 2000) to be conducted in migrant schools of different cities in China, as well as between the registered migrant schools and the majority of unregistered migrant schools. I assume that comparative research would yield interesting and invaluable results that could be taken as a reference in policy formation and implementation locally and nationally.

Conklin (1968) argues that ethnography requires a long period of intimate study and residence in a small, well-defined community. Due to time constraints, I could only research in the field of migrant school for two months. Luckily, the familiarity of Chinese culture and society to some extent ease my engagement in the context and interactions with

my informants, the identity as a school teacher enables me to observe and participate in all sorts of school activities on a daily basis within the two months, which I hope could to some level compensate my relative short presence. However, I have to admit that a two month research is not sufficient to understand the development of migrant school during the past twenty years, nor it can thoroughly perceive the change of relationships between the migrant schools and local governments in different time periods. Therefore, I suggest longitudinal research in the future to examine the development process of migrant school from a historical perspective, I am convinced that longitudinal research has much potential in understanding the development of the migrant schools and the relationships between the migrant schools and local governments.

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6. APPENDICES

6.1 Information about interview informants

Students

Number: 10

Age: 9-15

Grade: 4-6

Gender: 5 boys and 5 girls

Siblings: 4 students have brother or sister living in Beijing, 2 students have siblings living in hometown, and 4 students are the only child in the family.

Length of stay in Beijing: 7 students stayed in Beijing over 2 years, 3 out of the 7 were born and grow up in Beijing.

Parents

Number: 10

Gender: 7 mothers and 3 fathers

Occupations: 3 domestic workers, 3 vendors, 1 construction worker, 1 chef, 1 small business entrepreneur, 1 housewife.

Monthly household income: range from RMB1500-8000, average household income is around RMB 3000.

Teachers

Number: 5

Gender: 3 female and 2 male

Age: 2 over 40 years old, 2 between 30-40, and 1 below 30.

Degree: 2 have zhongzhuan (equivalent to secondary technical school) degree, 3 unidentifiable.

Years of teaching experience: 3 out of the 5 have over 10 years teaching experiences, 1 has

3 years experiences, and 1 has less than 1 year experiences.

Teaching qualification: None of the 5 has teaching qualification.

Administrators:

Number: 5, including 3 principals, 1 vice principal, and 1 teaching director.

Gender: all of the 5 are male.

Age: all of the 5 are over 40 years old.

Degree: 2 have zhongzhuan degree, 3 unidentifiable.

Years of educational experiences: the vice principal and teaching director have over 10 years experiences in teaching and administration, 1 of the principal has 3 years experiences in a migrant kindergarten, the other 2 principals have no experiences until the establishment of Chao Yang School.

6.2 Interview questions

a. Questions for students

Theme 1: Rationale of children migration and integration

1. How long have you been in Beijing? Why did you come to Beijing?

2. Do you prefer to stay in Beijing or in your hometown? And why?

3. What are the things you like in Beijing and what are the things you dislike in Beijing?

4. What do you do in your spare time?

5. Do you have contacts with Beijing local kids? Do you consider yourself a Beijinger? And why?

6. Do you want to go back to your hometown in the future for study or living?

7. What is your dream?

Theme 2: Experiences in migrant school

8. Have you had school transfer experiences in Beijing? Why did you choose to attend Chao Yang School?

9. Do you like Chao Yang School? If so, in what aspects?

10. Do you like teachers in Chao Yang School? And why? What do you think that teachers can do better?

11. Do you get along well with your classmates?

12. Are you close with your parents? Do they pay attention to your study?

13. Do you feel any difficulties in learning?

14. In your mind, what are the differences among migrant school, public school and school of your hometown?

Theme 3: View of policies and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing

15. Have you applied or studied in public school in Beijing?

16. Do you want to study in public school? And why?

17. After graduation from primary school, are you planning to spend junior high school in Beijing or back to hometown?

Theme 4: Prospect and development of migrant school

18. What are the things in Chao Yang School you feel dissatisfied and need to be changed? If you are school principal, what will you do to improve the situation of Chao Yang School?

    b. **Questions for parents**

Theme 1: Rationale of children migration and integration

1. How long have you been in Beijing? What do you do in Beijing?

2. Why did you bring your child/children to Beijing?

3. Do you think of yourself and your child/children permanent migrants or temporary ones?

4. Do you consider yourself and your child/children a Beijinger? And why?

5. Do you want your child/children to go back to your hometown in the future for study or living?

Theme 2: Experiences in migrant school

6. Why did you choose migrant school for your child/children? Have your child/children had school transfer experiences in Beijing?

7. How do you evaluate Chao Yang School? What are the pros and cons of this school?

8. Do you think the tuition fee reasonable?

9. Are you satisfied with school infrastructure, education quality, safety and hygiene?

10. Do you have regular contacts with school teachers? Do you attend parents meeting?

11. Are you close with your child/children? Do you pay attention to his/her/their study?

12. In your mind, what are the differences among migrant school, public school and school of hometown?

Theme 3: View of policies and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing

13. Have you applied public school in Beijing for your child/children?

14. Do you prefer your child/children to study in migrant school or public school? And why?

15. Do you think there exist barriers of access to public school? If so, what are they? If the barriers are removed, would you like your child/children to attend public school or migrant school?

16. How do you evaluate policy and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing?

17. After graduation from primary school, are you planning to find a junior high school in Beijing for your child/children or send him/her/them back to hometown?

Theme 4: Prospect and development of migrant school

18. What's your opinion of the migrant school closure in this August?

19. What do you think about the role of migrant school in providing education for migrant children?

20. Are you confident about the future of migrant school? What are your expectations and suggestions for the development of migrant school?

c. **Questions for teachers**

Theme 1: Rationale of children migration and integration

1. Why do you think migrant parents bring their children to Beijing?

2. Do you consider the migrant children in Chao Yang School as Beijinger? And why?

3. Do you think students will go back to hometown or stay permanently in Beijing in the future?

Theme 2: Experiences in migrant school

4. Why did you decide to be a teacher in migrant school?

5. Do/Does your children/child study in public school or migrant school?

6. How do you evaluate Chao Yang School? What are the pros and cons of this school?

7. Are you satisfied with the working conditions in Chao Yang School? For example, salary, security, work load, training, etc. Do you have any plans to change your work?

8. What's your career development plan?

9. Are you satisfied with school infrastructure, education quality, safety and hygiene?

10. Are you satisfied with the management and leadership in Chao Yang School? If not, what do you think can be improved? Do you participate in school policy making?

11. What are the problems that you encounter in your teaching?

12. What do you think of the quality (素质 suzhi) of migrant children?

13. What do you think of the relationships among your students? Are there any bullies or discriminations in your class?

14. Do you have regular contacts with parents? Do you organize parents meeting?

15. In your mind, what are the differences among migrant school, public school and school of students' hometown?

16. Does Chao Yang School establish or maintain contacts with local government, public schools, other migrant schools, or NGOs?

Theme 3: View of policies and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing

17. Do you think there exist barriers of access to public school? If so, what are they? If the barriers are removed, do you think students will attend public school or migrant school?

18. How do you evaluate policy and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing?

19. Based on your experiences, do you think students will attend junior high school in Beijing or go back to hometowns after graduation from primary school?

Theme 4: Prospect and development of migrant school

20. What's your opinion of the migrant school closure in this August?

21. What do you think about the role of migrant school in providing education for migrant children?

22. Are you confident about the future of migrant school? What are your expectations and suggestions for the development of migrant school?

d. Questions for school administrators

Theme 1: Rationale of children migration and integration

1. Why do you think migrant parents bring their children to Beijing?

2. Do you consider migrant children in Chao Yang School as Beijinger? And why?

3. Do you think students will go back to hometown or stay permanently in Beijing in the future?

Theme 2: Experiences in migrant school

4. What is your motivation to operate Chao Yang School?

5. Do/Does your children/child study in public school or migrant school?

6. How do you evaluate Chao Yang School? What are the pros and cons of this school?

7. What is the source of funding in Chao Yang School? Does your school receive funding from government or NGOs? Is the School profitable now? Do you have any plans to invest more to improve the infrastructure and raise teachers' wages?

8. Can you introduce about the management and leadership of Chao Yang School? What are the primary focuses in your management?

9. Are you satisfied with school infrastructure, education quality, safety and hygiene?

10. What are the problems that you encounter in management?

11. What do you think of the quality (素质 suzhi) of migrant children?

12. Do you have regular contacts with parents?

13. In your mind, what are the differences among migrant school, public school and school of students' hometown?

14. Does Chao Yang School establish or maintain contacts with government, public schools, other migrant schools, or NGOs?

Theme 3: View of policies and practices with regard to migrant children education in

Beijing

15. Do you think there exist barriers of access to public school? If so, what are they? If the barriers are removed, do you think students will attend public school or migrant school?

16. How do you evaluate policy and practices with regard to migrant children education in Beijing?

17. Have you tried registering your school? If so, why failed?

18. Have you participated in education policy making process in municipal or district level?

19. Based on your experiences, do you think the students will attend junior high school in Beijing or go back to hometowns after graduation from primary school?

Theme 4: Prospect and development of migrant school

20. What's your opinion of the migrant school closure in this August?

21. What do you think about the role of migrant school in providing education for migrant children?

22. Are you confident about the future of migrant school? What are your expectations and suggestions for the development of migrant school?