The Practice of Migration Theories: Integrations' Influences on the Self-identities of Beijing Migrant Workers

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Abstract

This research explores the integration of Beipiao population influenced by existing social issues and their own perception toward self-identities. This research focuses on how migrants' integrations contribute to their self-identities and the practice of migration theories in Beijing migrant workers. The data was collected through qualitative interview and questionnaire from selected participants and was analyzed by applying migration theories. By comparing Beijing migrant workers who come to Beijing for less than 10 years, from 10 to 30 years and more than 30 years, people with different life states focused on different social issues that can largely influence their self-identities. During the practice of migration theories, part of them are found to be outdated in today's migrants of Beijing. The findings prompt a re-thinking of the life situation of Beipiao population and help them to recognize their self-identity and better integrate into Beijing society.

Keywords: Beijing migrant workers, Integration, Self-identity, Migration theory.

Table of Contents

Abstract 2

Literature Review 5

The Definition of Beijing Migrant Workers 5
Migration Theories and Models 6
The Current Situation of Beijing Migrant Workers 8
The Motivations of Beijing Migrant Workers 9
The Difficulties Beijing Mirant Workers Encounter 10
The Impact Brought by Beijing Migrant Workers 11
Methodology 12
Conclusion 13
Methodology 15

The Participants 15
Questionnaire 15
Data Analysis and Discussion 17

People who have been in Beijing for Less than Ten Years 17
People who have been Beijing for Ten to Thirty Years 23
People who have been in Beijing for More than Thirty Years 27
Comparison between Three Groups of Beipiao 31
Acknowledgements & Responses 32
Conclusion 34

References 35

Appendix A 38

The Practice of Migration Theories: Integrations' influences on the Self-identities of Beijing Migrant Workers

Beijing is in a fast-developing pace, which attracts numerous people from different places outside Beijing to migrant, and this population is growing rapidly. They promote Beijing's development, but at the same time, the large amount of population brings burdens to Beijing. The resources of the city are limited but demands are keep rising, thus some social issues are also appeared due to excessive labor force. Beipiao group attracts more and more attentions. Therefore, in recent decades, many researchers started to study on this groups from various perspective such as wages, discrimination and house renting.

However, these literatures rarely focus on how migration theories can be practiced through the internal thoughts of "beipiao". It is significant to research since the interpretation from "beipiao" themselves can help people establish more reasonable measures to improve Beijing's current situations based on the theoretical framework set by migration theories. This study will focus on how to analyze the causes of different self-identities of migrant workers in Beijing with the migration theory. This will improve the living standards of migrant workers in Beijing and help them better integrate into the Beijing society, thus promoting Beijing's development.

Literature Review

With the explosion of the world's population, the economic gaps allow people to have different levels of living, thus large amount of people leave hometowns to look for new job opportunities. For this reason, the number of floating populations has been increasing in recent years. As the capital city of China, Beijing has also become a popular city for migrant workers due to its abundant development space and opportunities. The term “beipiao” is used to refer specifically to migrant workers in Beijing. The huge number of “beipiao” not only bring faster development to Beijing, but also cause social issues for the city such as the resource shortage. As a result, the attention on “beipiao” has been growing across the country. However, the previous literatures limit on the social phenomena affecting them and they are causing. Therefore, the connections between migration theories and their inner thoughts need to be researched for next steps because it can help people find a way to make migrant workers and the local environment more harmonious by analyzing the migration models proposed.

The Definition of Beijing Migrant Workers

As the multifunctional center of China, Beijing was developing at a rapid rate after “Economic Reform and open up” was implemented in 1980s. Many young people came from all over the country to seek better progress in Beijing. In this context, the group of Beijing migrant workers grew up gradually. The word “beipiao” was used to refer to the group of Beijing workers since then. However, the definition of “beipiao” was still controversial.

The term “beipiao” first appeared in the late 1980s and referred to people from the field in the business of performing art and culture (Li, 2019). Thus, “beipiao” appeared a lot in literature and art work, and later found in some reports and the facts. (Bao, 2015). However, with the increasing number of migrant people flowing to Beijing, the coverage of the

"beipiao" became broader, and gradually expanded to people in various industries. The definition of "beipiao" has not been agreed, but it can be roughly classified into three categories. In the first category, "beipiao" refers to those who do not have a fixed account, residence and work in Beijing (Wang, 2001). In the second category, "beipiao" is defined as people who do not have a Beijing account but work and live in Beijing (Sun, 2011). In the third category, "beipiao" usually refers to young people those who work but do not live in Beijing, and most of them have a certain degree of education (Chen, 2012).

Even if the definition of "beipiao" does not have a fully unified standard, it still reflects the basic consensus on this group, that is, "beipaio" is the population who do not belong to Beijing but come to work in Beijing.

Migration Theories and Models

Due to the increasing population of migrant workers around the world, in western society, there are three terms about migration theories, including "social inclusion", "social integration" and "social adaption" (Yao, Yan, 2019). These three concepts represent similar significance but are different in the perspectives from people that come from different countries because the interpretations are distinctive in cultural circumstances. The United States and Britain tend to use the term "social inclusion", which link to the realization and protection of the rights of individual migrants, reflecting the tendency of liberalism and individualism, while France chooses to use the concept of "social integration", which fully shows that it preserves and deepens the national collective social goal. (Yao, Yan, 2019).

Even for the same concept, people have different interpretations. Canadian scholars Ratna Omidvar and Red Richmond believed that social inclusion is used to ensure that all members could enter the society equally, including children and adults. They divide social inclusion into five factors, which are value cognition, development of ability and skill, social

participation, accessibility of space and material conditions (Xinhuanet.com, 2018). Chinese scholar Cui Yan believes that the core of social inclusion refers to a movement that migrants integrate into the main group of the society and could share resources with them (Li, 2017).

Table 1. Comparative analysis of social integration dimensions (Yao, Yan, 2019).

Dimensions	Presenter	Dimensional Composition	Specific Components
2 dimensions	M.M.Gordon	Structural dimension	The constituent elements, organizational elements, mutual material interests of a group
		Cultural dimension	Values, beliefs, ideologies, ifestyles
3 dimensions	Junger-Tas	Structural dimension	Education, labor market, income. housing
		Social-cultural dimension	Social participation, social contact, individual behavior pattern
		Political-legal dimension	Legal measures, individual rights, naturalization procedures, special institutions for immigrants
4 dimensions	Ent zinger, Biezeveld	Social-economic dimension	Employment, income level, social security, education level, housing, segregation
		Cultural dimension	The attitude of migrants towards basic norms of host country or city, frequency of contact, mating choice, language skills, crime rate
		Political-law dimension	The number of migrants who have acquired nationality or right of residence, the degree of political participation, the degree of social participation
		Mainstream attitudes towards immigration	Host society's attitude towards migrants, the number of discriminations, the impact of diversity policy, the role of the media

The Current Situation of Beijing Migrant Workers

Beijing Migrant Workers are an important part of Beijing culture, and they choose to work and live in Beijing for various reasons. According to the data of 2016 national statistical yearbook, in 2015, the migration population in China has reached 247 million people, which is such a huge scale that reaches 17.97% of the total population of the whole country. In Beijing, by 2015, the resident migrant population has reached 8226,000, 37.90% of Beijing's resident population (Liu, 2018). Among the migration population in Beijing, young people aged 18-44 are a major portion (Liu, 2018). About 30% of the people in Beijing are in these situations: No fixed place, far away from hometowns, but still full of hope for owing a better life for their children and families.

Currently, the population flow in beijing-tianjin-hebei region is still composite of the transfer of migrant workers from rural areas. Through descriptive statistics, it can be found that most of the floating groups belong to rural household registration and have lower educational level (Yuan, Yi, 2019).

The Motivations of Beijing Migrant Workers

The above data shows that many people choose to migrant to Beijing, and some literature investigated about their reasons.

Ma (2015) and Dong (2015) analyze the factors that influence the likelihood of young Beijing Migrant Workers to find jobs and stay in Beijing. 1) Low psychological and economic costs of mobility. 2) Have competitive family background. 3) High rate of return on human capital investment 4) More opportunities to success.

Liu (2018) analyzed the reason from young people's perspective. 1) Beijing can meet their psychological expectation of high income and benefit their ambitious and future development (Liu 2018). 2) Due to the location advantage of the capital, Beijing, as the political and cultural center of our country, provides more development opportunities and space for young people and helps them realize their personal value (Liu 2018). 3) They tend to prefer living in Beijing permanently (Liu 2018). 4) Some are able to fit into Beijing's culture perfectly, especially for young people who have high educational level (Liu 2018).

Bao (2015) presents some reasons why most people choose to be a migrant worker in Beijing. 1) The attraction of urban city and capital city, which lead to the ample resources of education and career development (Bao, 2015). 2) The combination of various fields' key power and center (Bao, 2015). 3) Universities increase the enrollment amount of students (Bao, 2015). 4) Strict household registration system (Bao, 2015). 5) Blindness choosing the career. (Bao, 2015)

The Difficulties Beijing Mirant Workers Encounter

The huge amount of annual migrants makes Beijing labor market overload, leading to some social problems.

Fan (2014) presents some common difficulties that Beipiao faced in their lives. 1) *The household registration restriction* increases the pressure of buying a house for Beijing Migrant Workers, making the housing, a basic demand for living, difficult to meet (Fan 2014). Guo (2015) presents that one of her participants need to take at least an hour subway to get to the office because only in this way can the monthly rent expenditure be controlled within 30 percent of monthly income, enabling to save the money to buy a house in Beijing. 2) *Low income without enough income rights protection*, leading to low happiness index. After substituting the necessary expenses for rent and household, there is not much left to further improve the living standard and enjoy the life (Fan 2014). 3) *The lack of professional training before working* (Fan 2014)**.** Especially in manufacturing and service industry, without training, migrant workers usually have poor skills (Fan 2014). 4) *Household register discrimination between city and countryside* (Fan 2014)**.** Chen (2019) and Guo (2019) point out some factors influence salary: Age, education, work experience, gender, nationality, marital status, industry, occupation and company type. They think that education still widens the pay gap the most while work experience, ethnicity and occupation all add to the urban-rural wage gap between men and women.

Fan (2016) presents some difficulties that old migrant workers encounter. 1) The sense of identity and belonging to the city affects the quality of life of the elderly and their subjective willingness to settle down (Fan 2016). 2) Unable to work and perform their value (Fan 2016). 3) The lack of care from children and the society (Fan 2016).

The Impact Brought by Beijing Migrant Workers

Beijing drifters contribute to Beijing's culture and economic development from many aspects.

According to the Beijing cultural development report (2012-2013), 24.4 percent of Beijing's permanent residents have university education, far higher than the national average. The report shows that among the "beipiao" group, the "three high" group (high education background, high income and high professional) are typical representatives of the new generation (the post-80s and post-90s), who are more concerned about the growth and development of the companies they are working, the progress of the country and the society, and the seeking of individual value.

Li (2016) shows some positive impact that Beijing drifters contribute to Beijing's development. Firstly, for the migrant labor force, the increasingly open policy environment and the evolution of the household registration system help to promote its mobility and employment, while the low-skilled local labor group has a more convenient first-mover advantage due to the large-scale market demand (Li, 2016). Secondly, for labor migration, the foreign labor force with medium and high skills is the beneficiary of the increase of population migration rate (Li, 2016). Combined with the current employment reality in China, college graduates often become an important force for the population to move out and move in (Li, 2016). At the same time, they are also a representative group with higher education level and skill level (Li, 2016). Their employment status is directly related to the social and economic stability and development, so it is significant and necessary to improve the positive externality of their skill level (Li, 2016).

Methodology

In previous studies, two methods are used to collect data: previous literature and big data,

and surveys or interviews. For the first method, previous literature provides researchers with a number of macro-level policies to help them analyze the role of government and how their behavior affects people. Big data analyzed by more professional organizations to ensure its authenticity and effectiveness. For the second method, the investigation or interview is mainly applied to the case study by induction and mathematical models such as "regression data" when the sample size is much smaller, which can show data clearly based on scientific calculation. However, some methods are not very applicable for this research. Since some of the first-hand documents from the government are not that transparent, it is hard to find them directly. In addition, some mathematical models have relatively high requirements for mathematical knowledge, which is difficult to use for analysis.

In this research, semi-structured interview is applied as a method to collect the data. Since the content of interview is mostly about the migrant story of our samples, interview provides a face-to-face communication which enables them to fully express their experiences and feelings. In this way, the data can be more ample and reliable since interview offers a comfortable environment for the sample to recall and reflect on their experiences.

Meanwhile, some questions are prepared and asked during the interview to give them a direction toward the topic of self-identity which relate to our research purpose.

Conclusion

The previous literatures mainly focus on the objective factors affecting Beijing migrant workers, such as policies, circumstances, economic conditions and so on. These are all from the perspective of an outsider to evaluate the migrant workers in Beijing. However, few researchers are concerned about how Beijing migrant workers define themselves and how their self-identity reflects the related social phenomenon. As a result, the inner thoughts of migrant workers in Beijing has been ignored. However, it is very important to interpret social

integration on the perspective of their inner cognitions. Firstly, the study on identities can well explain existing data, such as the reasons they come to Beijing. Secondly, the connections of self-identities and related social phenomenon can represent the both positive and negative effects these people bring to Beijing. Thus, people can be clearer about how to project the city so that Beipiao and native people can live together harmonically.

In order to address the research gaps, in this research paper, more information from Beipiao population itself is provided to better understand this group, and the connections with those existence social issues are pointed out. Overall, two research question are raised:

1. What is the life-quality expectation before and after Beijing migrant workers between the age of 30 and 50 with high salary come to Beijing?

2. How their life-quality expectations changed with time and by the existing social problems?

Methodology

The Participants

The participants of this research are Beijing migrant workers who stayed in Beijing for different lengths of time. Most of them have middle or high annual incomes. The participants work in various fields including food safety industry, environmental protection and financial business, social media etc. They came to Beijing for a variety of reasons and have their unique experience.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire is designed (See Appendix A) for the interview, which aims to collect multidimensional information from participants. The questionnaire contains three parts: basic information, expectation and experience about life in Beijing, and opinions about the group of "beipiao".

In the first section, basic information includes the gender, hometown, marriage, educational background and years they spent in Beijing. We want to know the distribution of Beijing migrant workers from various ranges. The most important part in this section is the questions about their expected salary and real salary. It is important to know because it helps us have a brief understanding about the difference in salary. Thus, it will be easier to move to the later questions.

In the second section, we want to know the whole process of their life in Beijing. The section covers their expectations before coming to Beijing, the difficulties and gains in Beijing, and the situation of current life. These questions tend to lead participants talk about how their life have changed and the reasons for changes.

In the third section, some opened questions are designed here. The questions ask participants about their overall perspectives about Beijing migrant workers. They could talk

about the implications migrant workers have brought to Beijing and how they define the relationship between migrant workers and native people. Thus, it will be easier to relate to migrant theories from outside to inside aspects when analyzing the data.

The study also focuses on ethical issues of conducting a research. All participants received questionnaires before being interviewed, helping them get prepared. If they felt any discomfort with the questions, they can quit at any time. During the interview, they were anonymous as well. Therefore, the willingness and information of participants are respected and protected in this research.

Data Analysis and Discussion

People who have been in Beijing for Less than Ten Years

States of life. Young Beipiao all have their specific goals and high expectations toward the future life. Beipiao who came to Beijing less than ten years are normally young people. They are busying working exhaustingly for earning money and desire to gain a stable life.

They have clear goals before coming to Beijing.

1. To seek for better career development.

They believe that Beijing has a larger platform with more and better job opportunities that helps them achieve their ambitious while gaining a deeper understanding of their fields. Beijing can meet their psychological expectation of high income and benefit their ambitious toward future development (Liu 2018). They are attracted by urban city and capital city, which leads to the ample resources of education and career development and enables them to broaden horizons. This reason is consistent with what Bao (2015) mentioned in his research.

2. To stay with family and friends.

After graduation, most of their peers went to big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen, so they also believe that those cities are good choices to work. Some of their friends have already had a decent job in Beijing, so they believe that their friends can provide them with better employment resources, such as working in large companies.

3. To achieve economic independence.

They thought that living with parents was not free enough. As adults, they thought it's the time to go to the wider world and struggle on their own. Based on this reason, they wanted to go far away from hometowns. They are now putting effort to reach their goals and dreaming about having their own houses and cars.

They are confident in themselves and believe they can gain a better life and fair return through their efforts and competitive ability. Since those who choose to be a migrant worker

in Beijing are individuals with high self-esteem, they have a high self-evaluation and self-confidence, so they are willing to accept challenges and live a floating life in Beijing. They are confident that Beijing will give them a bigger stage and more opportunities, allowing them to gain a better life and fair return through their efforts and competitive ability (Du, 2013). On the contrary, those individuals with low self-esteem may give up Beipiao and leave Beijing for other places (Yang, 2016).

Integration. However, since they are relatively lack of experience and are working in a high competitive environment, they also meet many difficulties including financial, social, and psychological problems during their time in Beiijng. They are trying to integrate into Beijing society from different ways.

Economic integration. For economic integration, which includes employment, salary and social position (Xin, 2015), the responses from participants are all negative.

Those young Beipiao meet some finiancial difficulties and show low degree of economic integration through their responses. They are still experiencing financially unstable, which may be an essential difficulties for their integration.

1. All of them fail to gain the salary that excess their expectation, and half of them even obtain lower wage than they expected.

2. They also have problems of renting a house. Firstly, they are unaffordable of high rent, so they always need to move. Secondly, even after they have a place to live, they still encounter many problems relating to the small space and uncomfortableness of the house, terrible roommates, and unreliable intermediary agents. Thirdly, rent house does not feel like a home. A participant mentioned that if she has her own house, she will be willing to decorate it and be able to enjoy her life better. Fourthly, the rent is too high, so most of their wage are spent on the rent, seriously decreasing their life equality.

3. It is hard for them to find a job. Firstly, there are some policy discriminations. For

example, the employer has to hire 2 native people if they hire a migrant worker. This causes some company prefer employees that has Beijing Hukou, making them lose many employment opportunities. Secondly, companies think Beipiao are more likely to switch their jobs or asking for higher salary, so they prefer to hire native people especially for important positions such as accountant. A participant said that she was refused to be interviewed when seeking a finance job just because she does not have a Beijing Hukou. Some policies and employment limitations make them feel that they are still an outsider of Beijing society.

High economic level is the first step to integrate into a society. When the economic basis is satisfied, the further requirements of integrating into the social level, such as behavior pattern and daily life, will be generated (Xin, 2015).The financial problems they encounter make them feel a strong sense of insecurity, preventing them from having intense connection with Beijing.

Social integration. For social integration, which includes interactions and participations (Yao, 2016), both negative and positive aspects are mentioned.

Having close friends enables young Beipiao integrate to Beijing society easier and better. Most people met their friends through working. They had common interest and helped each other in working. Even though they no longer work for the same company, they still kept in touch with each other. Interviewers stated that it was valuable to know a friend who can support each other in life and work. Having close friends is an essential factor for them to enjoy living in Beijing. Those friends are diversified with different background and characteristics which also includes native people in Beijing. They share ideas and relax together, which helps them to get to know Beijing better and feel easier to integrate into Beijing society. Close friends give them happiness memories, making their Beijing lives full of small pleasures. In addition, some of them met their life partner and got married in Beijing. This decreased their loneliness and increased their happiness. They felt they are more

connected to Beijing society. Some of them had already bought an apartment with their partner and will probably live here for the rest of the life. In a way, marriage helped put an end to their wandering life in Beijing.

They feel a strong sense of belonging to Beijing and successfully adapt to Beijing's fast lifestyle. They successfully adapt to Beijing's fast lifestyle, especially for young people who have high educational level (Liu 2018). They really love Beijing, and they sometimes feel that they are just like native people. One of the participants mentioned that last year when her college friends came to Beijing, she took them to visit many famous places excitedly. She introduces Beijing culture to her friends just like how people introduce their hometown, and she felt so proud of Beijing. Others think that they have a lot of native friends, allowing them to fully integrate to Beijing society. Interestingly, even for people who disregard themselves as a Beijinger, most of them agreed that Beijing makes them have a sense of belonging. They are all depend on and familiar to Beijing environment. Both Beijing and their hometown are what they called home. Since they get used to the fast pace of Beijing and meet a lot of good friends here, they even feel awkward in their hometown and want to go back to Beijing.

For people who do not feel a sense of belonging to Beijing, they think they will leave this place for anytime. It is hard to own a house and buy a car in Beijing, making them feel that they are not belongs to here. As a result, they have a low sense of identity with the city and a low degree of psychological integration with the locals.

Psychological integration. Although they feel a strong sense of belonging to Beijing, some policies and social phenomenon make them feel that they are not completely accepted by Beijing. People and events they encountered largely influence them, and the harsh reality and injustice gradually make them lose their confidence toward both themselves and the society (Du, 2013).

They feel a sense of inferior in front of native people and have less self-esteem. The

discriminations they encountered in Beijing makes them feel that they will never be treated as a native people unless they get Beijing Hukou. They all think that native people have a sense of superiority over outsiders. Locals are well-off, and they behave inclusive because they know that nonnative people cannot compete with them. Takes finding a partner in Beijing as an example. Firstly, people in Beijing don't desire for marriage that much because they are all busying working and earning money, so many Beijing workers marry in around 30 years old. Secondly, people in Beijing has broader horizons, which means they have already seen a lot of different types of people with opposite sex, so they have higher expectations and demands toward their partner. Thirdly, for native people, they think they have advantageous background than outsiders. They prefer to find a partner that also has Beijing Hukou and have higher demand toward the outsiders, narrowing outsiders' options. Fourthly, after staying in Beijing for some period of time, people become more realistic and more concern about material conditions. The inferiority will lead to low self-esteem and be more unwilling to interact with native people, making them harder to integrate to Beijing society.

In the process of building self-identity, the self-esteem of individuals will be improved, stimulating their sense of ownership and belonging. This high self-esteem promotes their level of social and psychological integration. Individuals with a high degree of recognition of Beijing will perceive themselves more as Beijingers and improve their self-evaluation, which is also conducive to their psychosocial integration with Beijing natives, that is, they are psychologically (the depth of social integration) willing to integrate with Beijing natives. (Yang, 2016)

They feel exhausted of living in Beijing and have strong sense of loneliness. Some of them feel exhausted of Beijing's fast life style to and weather. They spend most of their time on commuting, so they don't have time to enjoy their lives, making them feel really boring. Every day after arriving at home, they have already felt very exhausting, preventing them

from making new friends. Neighbors don't talk to each other, and the family members are not around, so there is no one they can talk with, making them feel an intense sense of loneliness. They miss their family a lot, but they cannot see them face to face. Some participants also feel a sense of inferiority because they feel that they are surrounded by people who are much more competitive than them. They still have a long way to go.

Psychological integration is the last and the most important one to determine whether a person fully adapt to the local environment and society. Immigrants should first adapt to the new social environment in terms of their habits of behavior and thinking, and then achieve effective social adaptation in terms of their psychological identity (Xin, 2015).

People who have been Beijing for Ten to Thirty Years

States of life. Eleven participants had come to Beijing for ten to thirty years. Typically, most of them came to Beijing in search of a better career or to reunite with family or friends. Since they had been in Beijing for some time, they all had stable jobs. Many of them had set up families then had children in Beijing. Since their life were already in the process of finding a house and starting a family, their worries focused on buying a house or keeping their children in local schools. For people who had been in Beijing for 10 to 30 years, they had gone through the confused and anxious period of finding a job at the beginning, so they already had the financial ability to make a long-term plan for their future life.

The reasons why this group of people came to Beijing can be divided into the following categories:

1. Some participants originally went to university in Beijing, so they chose to continue working in Beijing after graduation.

2. Other participants lived far away from Beijing. They had no chance to experience a big city like Beijing, but they were not willing to stay in their hometown all the time, so they

came to Beijing with the idea of "coming out to see the world".

3. There were still some people who knew that there were various kinds of excellent talents and rich resources in Beijing. In order to broaden their horizon, they came to Beijing.

4. The rest of them could have lived well on their family's original economic conditions, but they were not willing to depend on their parents any more. In order to become more independent, they came to Beijing.

This proves from the side that compared with other provinces, Beijing has abundant resources, and people can meet more different people and opportunities in Beijing, so many people are attracted by Beijing. According to Ent zinger's analysis of the degree of social integration of the four dimensions (Yao 2019), this shows that the degree of integration of the "cultural dimension" is relatively high, because migrant workers in Beijing have a positive attitude towards the basic norms of Beijing. They believed in the potential of Beijing and were willing to meet different kinds of people in Beijing, so the degree of integration of this dimension is relatively high.

Social integration. People who have been in Beijing for 10 to 30 years mainly mentioned two difficulties in life. One was the housing problem and the other was the problem of their children's schooling. Both problems were caused by the inconvenience of the hukou.

Those without a Beijing hukou had restrictions on buying a house, preventing them from enjoying the same benefits as locals. Since most of the participants only held a work residence permit, which limited their ability to buy a house, they needed to move frequently, which was expensive and put financial pressure on them. After earning more money to buy a house, paying the mortgage became a huge financial pressure on them. As a result, housing was described by most participants as an "inevitable problem".

In addition to housing, they also had schooling problems. Since most of the participants

in this group had children, they were willing to let their children live in Beijing, where education resources were more developed, but if their children did not have a Beijing hukou, they cannot take the university entrance exam in Beijing. This made their feel excluded. Almost all the participants with children expressed concerns about the impact of hukou restrictions on their children's exams. One participant even said that if her child could not take the exam in Beijing and returned to her hometown, all her efforts for more than a decade would be in vain. Another participant also expressed that after a long struggle, his income became higher and higher, gradually solving his first two problems. However, there was nothing he can do about the hukou restrictions. He said the children could only return to their hometown to take exams or go abroad. This reflected how strict the hukou system was on the education of migrant workers' children. It’s a problem that cannot be solved even by people like him with middle and high incomes.

The problems show that the "socio-economic dimension" proposed by Ent zinger is very low (Yao 2019) is reflected in two aspects. First, the interviewers were restricted to buy a house, which is the "housing" aspect of Beijing to the exclusion of outsiders. Second, the fact that children cannot take exams in Beijing shows that the "education level" in Beijing is high, but it is not inclusive enough. There is a paradox here. Beijing's education resources are abundant, so its education dimension should be high, but Beijing's education dimension should not be high either, because the hukou policy is a disguised way to push outsiders to the regions with backward education resources. This shows that there is an imperfect part of the migration theory. It considers only the causes that directly affect this dimension, and does not consider the causes that indirectly affect this dimension.

Although the participants met many difficulties in Beijing, they also gained a lot here. Some participants mentioned that the biggest benefit was that they had a better vision and a deeper mind. This is mainly because Beijing has talented people from all over the country

and even around the world. Moreover, Beijing's educational resources are far ahead of the whole country. For migrant workers with children in Beijing, their children can get a better education in Beijing. Therefore, most of them also expressed that they would love to meet new friends in Beijing. This again proves the diversity of Beijing, where all kinds of people have it, so it is easier to find like-minded people. This shows that in the three-dimensional social integration degree proposed by Junger-Tas (Yao 2019), the "social-cultural participation degree" is relatively high. Meeting new friends in Beijing proves that "social engagement" and "social contact" are relatively numerous, so migrant workers in Beijing will not feel too lonely in interpersonal communication in Beijing.

Psychological integration. When asked whether they considered herself a member form Beijing, most of them gave a negative answer, representing their lack of sense of belonging. The participants all agreed that identity should be judged by the location of the hukou. Although they had been in Beijing for many years, they still felt adrift, so this sense of alienation made them believe they were not from Beijing. One participant mentioned the effect of hukou on the sense of belonging. Without a Beijing hukou, she encountered many of the problems mentioned above, which constantly reminded her that "she does not belong in Beijing", so hukou is an insurmountable gap for many people to change their identity. Like this interviewer, another type of participants also didn’t think they belonged in Beijing. For example, since a participant’s hukou was not in Beijing, he felt as if he would leave at any moment. Moreover, most of his friends were not native to Beijing, so his social network was not so much related to Beijing. This reflects that in the analysis of the two social integration degrees proposed by M. M. Gorden (Yao 2019), the integration degree of "cultural dimension" is relatively low, because the interviewers' insistence on choosing the identity according to the hukou reflects that Beijing cannot give them "value belief" and "ideology".

As a conclusion, in this group, everyone considered themselves not a member of

Beijing, even if they had lived in Beijing for a long time. There are two main reasons for this. All the interviewers mentioned hukou. This showed that the household registration system not only had a lot of influence on the administration, but also had a great influence on people's psychology. Many interviewees mentioned the word "root", which indicated that a person's sense of belonging usually came from the place where they grew up rather than the place where they lived later in life, which was an important aspect of their sense of belonging to Beijing. At the same time, they cannot avoid the real problems brought by hukou and the household registration, such as children's schooling and housing problems and so on. These problems brought a lot of inconvenience to their life in Beijing, which was another reason why they didn't recognize Beijing from the heart.

People who have been in Beijing for More than Thirty Years

States of life. In this interview, there are two participants who have been in Beijing for more than 30 years. The most obvious feature of the two men in this group is that they were sent to Beijing by the government or company, not chosen by themselves. They had lived in Beijing for a very long time and had settled into their current jobs and homes. As a result, they were less stressed about jobs and housing, but as their children getting older, they still needed money to worry about their children's jobs and life. The two participants in this group were in a very similar situation. As mentioned above, the only reason they came to Beijing was because their jobs were assigned to them by the government.

Economic integration. Their level of economic integration was very different from the first two groups because in this group they were mainly influenced by their work patterns.

They didn't have high expectations of income because they had no choice to decide their own work. One of the participants mentioned that his current annual income is 200,000 and 500,000 yuan, but he admits he didn't have the annual income he expected before he came to

Beijing. This is because he was assigned to work in Beijing by the government, at that time he didn't considered any plans for the future life in Beijing. Unlike recent young people, who went to Beijing with complete preparation and planning, his only goal was to be a teacher in Beijing. When asked about the difficulties, he said he had no hukou problem because the government had settled his hukou problem before returning to Beijing, meaning he had already taken the Beijing hukou. He said that the employment environment in Beijing was different now. There were two types of occupations in Beijing, one was an intra-system occupation and the other was an out-of-system occupation. Occupations in the system are arranged by the government. In their generation, most of the people who came to Beijing entered the institutional occupation, and now there are more occupations outside the system. This was how he described the workers in this system just like him: "I'm like sitting in a car that pulls me to run, but I don't care what it's like." This suggested that people assigned to work in Beijing by the government at the end of the last century were not as eager to come to Beijing as migrant workers today. The competitive pressures of the time were not as great as they are now, and they just need to settle in government-arranged jobs. However, another participant also noted that they were not completely free of financial considerations because their children were already old and they needed more money to plan for their future.

In a word, people who have been in Beijing for more than 30 years would not worry about their salary as much as the young people, but their life will be affected by their salary as well.

Social integration. The common characteristic of the two participants is that they already had Beijing hukou, so they can reduce some of the problems caused by hukou. They were given Beijing hukou when the government assigned them to work in Beijing. In their generation, they noted, hukou didn't matter as much as it does today. However, now the importance of hukou is more and more reflected. It is now too difficult for people to get a

Beijing hukou. Since they had Beijing hukou, they didn't have much difficulty integrating. That suggests that in today's increasingly competitive world, hukou may be a way for the government to protect the interests of native Beijing local people and screen out outsiders.

Psychological integration. The longer they live, the better they feel about Beijing's inclusiveness, and the deeper they feel about the reasons behind it. One visitor mentioned that because he has lived in Beijing for more than 30 years and already has a Beijing hukou, he already considered himself a member of Beijing. Another interviewer took the opposite view. He believed that Beijing belonged to a place with a large number of foreign populations, so it diluted the local culture, forming a unique culture of tolerance, which was also a culture of strangers, so that the foreign population can better integrate into Beijing. Most of Beijing's locals lived in a rich way, so they had a sense of superiority. Their natural sense of superiority made them more tolerant of the newcomers. They didn't think the newcomers can compete with them.

This showed that he believed that Beijing's tolerance of the foreign population was very high, whether migrant population or locals, but the reasons for the tolerance of migrants and locals to other migrants were not the same. Migrant workers were kind to each other because their situation was very similar, while locals were embracing migrants because of a sense of superiority. This also reflects a very contradictory point in the "mainstream society's attitude toward immigrants" of the four-dimensional social integration degree proposed by Ent zinger (Yao 2019). On the surface, "host society's attitude towards immigrants" and "the number of discriminatory behaviors" are both very less, which should prove that the mainstream society's attitude towards immigrants is very tolerant. The interviewer's mention of a deeper reason for locals' friendliness to outsiders seems to run counter to that conclusion. This proves that the current theory of immigration development is not very perfect, and people's research on the mainstream society's attitude towards immigrants should not only be reflected

in the host's actual behavior, but also focus on their psychological motivation. This made the interviewer feel that even though he had lived in Beijing for more than 30 years and had a Beijing hukou, he could not count as a member of Beijing because he was not accepted from the bottom of the heart of Beijing people. Due to the distribution of work he experienced, Beijing was just a place to live for him, which did not give him a sense of belonging.

For people who have been in Beijing for more than 30 years, their goals and work experiences were very different from those of today's young people. They had lived in Beijing for a long time, so it’s true that they can better understand Beijing's inclusiveness to migrants, but it is precisely because of this reason, they can feel more deeper than the people who have just arrived in Beijing, such as the psychological reasons that Beijing people and migrants accommodate each other. Since the two participants didn't feel they were compeletely accepted by Beijing people, they still didn't think they belonged to Beijing. This led to a very important finding. Both of them had Beijing hukou, but they still didn't admit to being a member of Beijing. Many of other participants mentioned that they did not belong to Beijing because they did not have a Beijing hukou. Indeed, the hukou system was set up to tell people where they came from and where they belonged. And these two people who had been in Beijing for more than three decades proved that this theory was no longer applicable in modern times. Due to China's rapid development, many people seek to find work in other provinces, so the hukou problem often bothers them. Some people will try to change their hukou in order to buy a house or for their children to go to school. In this case, the hukou can no longer prove their actual identities. In an era of rapid growth in the modern migrant population, the logic behind the hukou system has been changed.

Comparison between Three Groups of Beipiao

For those who come to Beijing for less than 10 years, they are not stable because they

just come to work in Beijing, so the reason why they think they don't have a sense of belonging in Beijing is usually due to economic problems. For those who have been in Beijing for 10 to 20 years, most of them have families and children in Beijing, so the restrictions on housing and children's education under the hukou make them think that they do not belong to Beijing when they describe their identity. For people who lived in Beijing for more than 30 years, even though they have already had a stable life and Beijing hukou, they still regard themselves as somewhat outsiders in the Beijing society because they view their identity from native people's perspectives and concern more about psychological aspects. These deeper reasons affect their sense of identity.

At the same time, by integrating the previous theories, we find that some theoretical dimensions can still well explain the experience of migrant workers in Beijing, which proves that these dimensions are still valid over time. Some theories cannot fully explain the degree of integration of Beijing because they ignore the dual nature of the problem or the psychological factors.

Acknowledgements & Responses

Interview limitation. It also needs to be acknowledged that interview has weakness. While doing the interview, the data might be affected by personal emotions of participants. For example, if participants are nervous, they will not be willing to completely share their real thoughts. To solve this problem, the questions in questionnaire sequence from easier ones to harder ones. It can help participants be relaxed a little bit, thus they will be more comfortable to talk.

The participants. Since our sample size is small, the participants may not be representative. We knew that our sample size was limited, so we designed the interview questions in greater detail so that we could get a deeper understanding of each participant.

The questionnaire. In order to make the participants' answers relate to the research questions, the questions in the questionnaire are mostly orientated. This may lead to some bias, affecting the reliability of the research method and the research conclusion. However, open questions are provided in the end to enable participants to further express their feelings or talk about their experience.

Conclusion

The plight of Beijing migrant workers varies by different lengths of time that they have stayed in Beijing. Those who have worked in Beijing for less than ten years usually concerned about financial problems such as salary and renting and psychological inferiority. Those who have come to Beijing for ten to thirty years are often troubled by the problems of housing and children's schooling caused by Hukou. Those who have stayed in Beijing for more than thirty years pay more attention to the root reasons of the inclusive characteristics of Beijing. Due to the different problems they face, they have distinctive degrees of economic, social and psychological integrations into Beijing, which largely influence their perception toward their self-identities and their sense of belonging. Through theoretical practice, this study reflects that most migration theories can explain the findings in the research well, but some theories are no longer applicable since they are outdated and self-contradicted. Research on the self-identities of Beijing migrant workers can help local residents and policy makers better understand the situation of migrant workers, so as to help outsiders better integrate into Beijing society and improve the urban population structure of Beijing.

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Appendix A

采访问题

1. 性别:○男 ○女

2. 家乡:_____

3. 是否有孩子:○是 ○否

4. 学历:○初中 ○高中 ○大专 ○本科 ○研究生及以上

5. 来北京的时长:_____

6. 刚来北京时期望的年收入:

○10万及以下 ○10万-20万 ○20-50万 ○50万-100万 ○100万及以上

7. 目前的年收入:

○10万及以下 ○10万-20万 ○20-50万 ○50万-100万 ○100万及以上

8. 您为什么选择来北京工作？

9. 您来北京之前对未来北京生活的期待是什么？(住房、家庭、职业发展)

10. 在北京生活期间遇到了什么困难及问题？(就业困难、户口歧视、生活不便)

11. 您是如何解决这些困难的？如果这些问题现在无解，您希望如何解决？

12. 在北京生活期间遇到了什么意料之外的收获？(人际交往、能力视野)

13. 与来北京之前的期望相比，现在的生活有什么变化吗？

14. 是什么导致了这些变化？

15. 您认为您是北京人了吗？融入北京的社会了吗？

16. 您认为像您这样到北京工作的群体给北京带来了什么影响？

对于未来的北京生活有什么期望吗？