

Moving Professionals.
Structure and Agency in the Migration and Place Decision-
making of High-skilled Chinese in Guangzhou and Dongguan,
China

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHRSSG	Bureau of Human Resources and Social Security of Guangzhou Municipality
C	Contingency coefficient
C*	Corrected contingency coefficient
DFG	German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)
GDD	Guangzhou Development District
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HKTDC	Hong Kong Trade and Development Council
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
n.y.	No year available
PRD	Pearl River Delta
PRD 6	Project “Regional activity in the wake of crisis: towards a new growth model in the Greater Pearl River Delta?”, project of SPP 1233
RMB	Renminbi
R&D	Research and Development
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SPP 1233	DFG-Priority Programme (Schwerpunktprogramm) 1233 “Megacities – Megachallenge: Informal Dynamics of Global Change”
SSL	Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

SUMMARY

30 years ago, China unveiled its 7th *Five Year Plan* (1986 to 1990) that officially underlined the commitment to shift the focus to economic upgrading and foster the development of science and education (Chicago Tribune 1985; HAGEMANN 1986). In the course of its opening-up process, China has become a major player on the world market – not only as the “factory of the world,” but increasingly also as a provider of services and producer of high-tech goods. The Pearl River Delta, located in Guangdong Province, has emerged as one of the centres of development, with its cities Guangzhou and Dongguan striving for regional, national, and international recognition. In their endeavours to upgrade their economic basis, the two cities are competing for professionals who they believe will foster economic growth.

Embedded in this context, this thesis applies a two-perspective approach. First, it analyses the attraction strategies of the municipal governments in both cities by drawing on data from expert interviews with representatives of administrative units on different levels, and external experts, and on the analysis of selected policy documents. It reveals that the cities tried to influence the migration and place decision-making of professionals by affecting diverse realms of life from work to family life, and from housing to leisure. They implemented extensive preferential policies and they (re-)organised “place”. Second, the thesis reveals the demands and preferences of Chinese professionals with regard to their past and future migration and place decisions based on a quantitative survey and qualitative in-depth follow-up interviews among professionals in Dongguan.

This two-perspective approach is theoretically embedded in the ongoing debate on the influence of structural and individual factors in individual agency. By bringing together migration with social theory, especially the reflections of GORDON DE JONG in the case of the former, and MARGARET ARCHER and ANTHONY GIDDENS as proponents of the latter, the present work embraces the role of both perspectives and thus expands current knowledge on individual migration and place decision-making. First, it acknowledges the influence of individuals themselves with their psychological and social pre-conditions, their individual perceptions, and social values, goals, demands, and preferences. Second, it highlights the influence of the structural context – the various organised and unorganised groups of people – and its constraining and enabling nature. Governmentally induced conditions, such as migration and labour market regulations or welfare provision, are given special attention. By drawing on the concept of causal power, as well as the empirical data, this thesis opens the discussion whether Guangzhou’s and Dongguan’s attraction strategies can be successful. Furthermore, it contributes to the debate whether it is generally possible to influence professionals’ migration through preferential policies.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Vor 30 Jahren untermauerte China mit der Veröffentlichung des 7. *Fünfjahresplans* (1986 bis 1990) seine Bestrebungen den Fokus auf wirtschaftliche Aufwertung und die Entwicklung von Wissenschaft und Bildung zu legen offiziell (Chicago Tribune 1985; HAGEMANN 1986). Im Laufe des Öffnungsprozesses wurde China zu einem wichtigen Akteur auf dem Weltmarkt – als „Fabrik der Welt“ – aber zunehmend auch als Anbieter von Servicedienstleistungen und Hersteller von Produktion im Hochtechnologiebereich. Das Perlflossdelta in der Provinz Guangdong mit seinen Städten Guangzhou und Dongguan, die nach regionaler, nationaler und internationaler Anerkennung streben, entstand als eines der Zentren dieser Entwicklungen. In ihrem Streben nach wirtschaftlicher Aufwertung konkurrieren die beiden Städte um Hochqualifizierte, von denen sie sich einen positiven Effekt auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung erhoffen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund verfolgt die Doktorarbeit einen Ansatz mit zwei Perspektiven. Erstens analysierte sie die Anwerbestrategien der Stadtverwaltungen in beiden Städten, indem sie auf Daten aus Experteninterviews mit Repräsentanten der Verwaltungseinheiten auf verschiedenen Ebenen und externen Experten sowie auf die Analyse von ausgewählten Strategiedokumenten zurückgriff. Diese zeigten, dass die Städte versuchten das Migrationsverhalten und die Ortswahl von Hochqualifizierten durch Einflussnahme auf verschiedene Lebensbereiche zu beeinflussen – von Arbeits- bis Familienleben, von Wohnen bis Freizeit. Sie veröffentlichten weitreichende bevorzugende Maßnahmen und (re-)organisierten „Raum“. Basierend auf einer quantitativen Studie und qualitativen Tiefeninterviews zeigte die Doktorarbeit zweitens die Bedürfnisse und Präferenzen von Hochqualifizierten in Dongguan hinsichtlich ihrer vergangenen und zukünftigen Migrations- und Ortsentscheidungen auf.

Dieser Ansatz mit seinen zwei Perspektiven ist theoretisch in der fortlaufenden Debatte über strukturelle und individuelle Einflussfaktoren in individueller Handlung eingebettet. Durch die Kombination von Migrations- und Sozialtheorien, besonders den Ausführungen von GORDON DE JONG zu Migration und MARGARET ARCHER und ANTHONY GIDDENS als Sozialtheoretiker, integriert die vorliegende Arbeit beide Perspektiven und erweitert dabei das Wissen über individuelle Migrations- und Ortsentscheidungen. Erstens erkennt die Arbeit den Einfluss von Individuen selbst mit seinen psychologischen und sozialen Vorbedingungen, seiner individuellen Wahrnehmung, seinen individuellen Werten, Zielen, Bedürfnissen und Präferenzen an. Zweitens hebt die Arbeit den Einfluss des strukturellen Kontextes hervor – die verschiedenen organisierten und unorganisierten Personengruppen – und seiner einschränkenden und befähigenden Wirkung. Regierungsgesteuerten Bedingungen, wie Regulierungen der Migration und des Arbeitsmarktes oder Wohlfahrtsprogrammen, wird dabei besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Mit Bezug auf das Konzept der kausalen Macht und in Anlehnung an die empirischen Daten regt die vorliegende Arbeit die Diskussion an, ob Guangzhou's und Dongguan's Anwerbestrategien erfolgreich sein können. Des Weiteren trägt die Arbeit zur Diskussion bei, ob es generell möglich ist, Migration von Hochqualifizierten durch Anreizsysteme zu steuern.

PREFACE

My path towards doing research in China was somewhat of a challenge but also eye-opening. During a private journey to South China in 2008, I experienced the Pearl River Delta's "'front shop, back factory' (*qiandian houchang*)"- character (XU et al. 1995: 148) by visiting the chaotic but sophisticated and aspiring cities of Hong Kong and Shenzhen. I was fascinated by the fast pace of Shenzhen's urban and economic development that seemed apparent in every corner of the city, and inspired by the mix of multi-ethnicity, globality and Chinese culture. Hong Kong, the first city I visited, had seemed to transform into a stable, gentle, and mature global metropolis with Chinese characteristics.

It was not until I had the chance to join the Priority Programme *Megacities – Megachallenge. Informal Dynamics of Global Change* (SPP 1233) in 2011 that my interest in the region found an application in a research area. The SPP 1233 was established to investigate and explain the dynamics of global change, mega-urbanisation, informal processes, governance and its link to the mega-urban contexts of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and the Pearl River Delta, China. Within the programme, the project *Regional activity in the wake of crisis: towards a new growth model in the Greater Pearl River Delta?* (2011-2013, PRD 6) contributes to an understanding of the social and economic dimensions of global change and its impacts in the Pearl River Delta (PRD). It was this project that captured my research interest in the region and provided the framework for my Ph.D. thesis. The SPP 1233, for instance, opened new doors, which led me experience and immerse myself in the exciting and rapidly changing Pearl River Delta by directing my focus to the cities Guangzhou and Dongguan. The contrast of these cities, which I had found so inspiring during my first journey to the region, later motivated and furthered my research in a direction that highlighted the contrasts between the already established metropolis of Guangzhou and the emerging megacity of Dongguan, namely economic, political, social, cultural and ecological divergences.

I am most grateful to Prof. Dr. Frauke Kraas for warmly welcoming me not only into the programme, but also into her work group in Cologne, for giving me profound insights into mega-urban research, especially in the Chinese context, and for supervising my Ph.D. thesis. I am also deeply thankful to Prof. Dr. Josef Nipper for his advice and support. It goes without saying that I benefited greatly from the advice and support of my dear colleagues from the work group at the University of Cologne and from our discussions in the weekly doctoral meetings. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Pamela Hartmann, Franziska Krachten, Madlen Krone, Gerrit Peters, Dr. Regine Spohner, Harald Sterly, Zinmar Than, and Tine Trumpp for their direct contributions, e.g. through proofreading or creating maps and graphs.

Thanks to the embedded nature of my Ph.D. thesis in the SPP 1233, a constant exchange with researchers from different disciplines was possible in all stages of my research project. As for PRD 6, several German universities took part in the interdisciplinary and international research project (see Appendix A). I drew on a supporting network in the whole SPP 1233 and thus my gratitude also goes out to my colleagues in the SPP 1233 whom supported me in my research, e.g. by supporting the data collection and helping me advance my research ideas: Dr. Tabea Bork-Hüffer, Dr. Pamela Hartmann, Andreas Krause, Birte Rafflenbeul, Harald Sterly, Benjamin Stork from the University of Cologne; Prof. Dr. Xue Desheng, Chao Ruixia, Li Chenxi, Li Wei, Li Zifeng, Liu Huaikuan, Wang Li, Wang

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Overall, writing a Ph.D. was a challenge that I was happy to accept, and one which helped me to understand my limits. *Tai Chi Chuan* brought me relaxation in times of exertion, during which I not only had the opportunity to explore a new area of study but also to develop a personal passion for a new country, its culture and its people. This period has undoubtedly instilled me with much knowledge and experience that will continue to inspire my research and my private life in the future. Thank you China for warmly welcoming me!

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Marie Pahl

PART I INTRODUCTION

1 THE COMPETITION FOR CHINESE PROFESSIONALS IN CHINA AND THE QUESTION OF PLACE ATTRACTIVENESS

The demand for high-skilled labour is widely debated in academia, the private sector, and the media internationally. In 2012, DOBBS et al., for instance, predicted a “38 [...] 40 million potential shortage of college-educated workers in 2020” (2012: preface). They have forecasted a shortage of 23 million by 2020 in China alone, despite a projected rise of 96 million professionals by that time. This rise would increase the share of professionals to 33 per cent of the labour force. At the same time, they foresee China, together with India, as becoming the most important supplier of professionals to the global labour market (ibid.: 2, 8, 36). Other institutions and scholars confirm the intensification of the “war for talents” in China and argue that the situation will make it hard for China to sustain growth rates (e.g. COOKE 2012: 21; ILO 2011: 16). The shortage of professionals already concerns both national and municipal governments at present. Several countries, including China, have issued comprehensive immigration schemes that are biased towards professionals to attract people from the pool of global professionals (CASTLES 2010: 1567). At the same time, in academia, the global competition for high-skilled labour has provoked a vibrant discussion on the characteristics and qualifications a labour force should have to achieve the intended economic advancement.

Whereas there is no internationally agreed definition of professionals, the International Organisation for Migration (2008: 494) highlights the two-sidedness of existing definitions by saying that, in a general sense, high-skilled migrants are “person[s] with tertiary education”. In a specific sense, they could have also earned the “qualification typically needed to practice a profession” by occupational experience (ibid.). Others argue in line with the extended definition that one cannot determine workers’ ability merely based on their educational attainment but should rather include extra-educational factors, such as job functions, problem-solving ability, innovativeness, or creativity (e.g. FLORIDA 2002). Indeed, measuring qualifications remains controversial (FAN 2009: 377). Due to the issue of measuring these additional factors, this thesis draws on the narrower definition by considering as professionals those people who are at least college-educated.

In this context, academic research and media publications, however, place more attention on the flows of international professionals and attempts to attract them, although labour migration flows occur predominantly between regions or cities within one country (KING & SMITH 2012: 148). Additionally, in the global competition for professionals, internal inter-city rivalry has also intensified. The increased competition leads many cities – as the “key organising unit for knowledge, human capital, creativity, and innovation” – to endeavour to enhance their attractiveness for investors and professionals (FLORIDA et al. 2012: 629). In China, the reasons for the intensified competition are multi-sided (JIANG & SHEN 2010: 307; Ni et al. 2014: 2). On the one hand, China is increasingly embedded in global economic processes, which enhances the number of competing cities on an international level. On the other hand, the westward shift of high-tech industries also creates employment opportunities in the cities of the inland provinces. Thereby, it provides incentives to professionals to stay in their home provinces instead of moving to the cities of the coastal provinces. This development has intensified

inter-city competition on a national level (YONG 2012: 54). The desire of cities for international and national relevance and recognition by investors and professionals has engendered procedures that ONG (2011: 17) calls “inter-referencing [...] practices”, in that cities emulate “the planning and development models produced in the larger, more globally connected cities [..., such as...] Beijing, Shanghai, or Guangzhou [...]” (GAUBATZ 2008: 182). This procedure, for instance, has provoked the proliferation of high-tech industrial zones as the forefront of the strategy to upgrade the economic basis providing industrial infrastructure, especially for targeted high-tech and knowledge-intensive industries (CARTIER 2001: 219; CARTIER 2002: 1514-5).

With its research focus on the two Chinese megacities of Guangzhou and Dongguan, this thesis draws attention to economic and urban developments and the related endeavours to attract professional in both a first-tier and a second-tier city. Both cities are located in Guangdong’s Pearl River Delta (PRD), an economic region known as “the factory of the world” (KRAAS 2004: 59), but also a region which is endeavouring to move up the value chain (SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2010: 57-8). To achieve this goal, the region’s municipal governments, similar to the municipal governments of other Chinese cities, are trying to attract high-skilled entrepreneurs and other professionals following the national and provincial *12th Five Year Plans* (2011-2015). Guangdong Province, for instance, announced that it aims to raise its stock of professionals to 19.5 million by the end of 2015 (QIN 2011).

In the attraction of industries, entrepreneurs, and professionals, respectively, “extra-economic factors” (JESSOP 2013: 107) play an increasingly important role. Investment in urban amenities to make cities and industrial zones more attractive to professionals, for instance, became quite popular among policymakers, not only in China (NIEDOMYSL & HANSEN 2010: 1638). This approach follows the assumption that place attractiveness and urban amenities play a role in individual migration and place decision-making. It could be argued that an increase in the flexibility of an individual’s decisions – for instance, due to technological advancements, demographic change, or economic well-being, has made place attractiveness more important in individual decision-making and thus has drawn policymakers’ attention to it (NIEDOMYSL 2010: 99). However, the empirical evidence for this assumption is still missing, and a huge debate on the topic has arisen, which is largely driven by either micro- or macro-level perspectives on migration determinants.

This thesis contributes to the discussion of the migration and place decisions of professionals by analysing migration determinants from a structure and agency perspective, which reconciles the individual and the structural perspective. It is argued that migration and place decisions are complex phenomena that are shaped by various factors. These include, for instance, individual characteristics and life course aspects that influence how individuals perceive their migration opportunities or impact on individual demands and preferences. Furthermore, structural conditions are relevant in the decision-making of individuals as they shape the environments in which individuals decide and act. Examples of these are regulations or policies in the labour and migration regimes, market conditions that shape the availability of employment opportunities, or cultural values and beliefs. Accordingly, it is important to take into consideration the historical and present contexts in the transition country of China, such as the gradually changing feature of the labour and migration regimes. The present thesis, however, focuses on the analysis of structural conditions in the study period of 2011 to 2012. Additionally,

due to the embedding of the individual into a wider social context, various other agents, individuals and groups, influence individual decisions, e.g. by imposing expectations or acting in a certain way. These structural conditions can have an impact on individual action in the sense that they might offer new opportunities and perspectives, or constrain and control individual action. Moreover, power relations in the interaction of agents and the individuals' susceptibility to power exercised by others play a role in individual agency. To embrace this variety of factors influencing individual agency, it is expedient to integrate social theory approaches, especially ARCHER's (1995) morphogenetic approach and GIDDENS' (1984) structuration theory, with the migration approaches of DE JONG and FAWCETT (1981) and DE JONG (1999). These theoretical approaches and the applied multi-method approach are employed to investigate the main research question of the thesis, which arose in the Chinese context:

How far can measures and strategies applied by local governments in Guangzhou and Dongguan, China, be effective in attracting professionals when one considers the factors influencing individual migration and place decision-making?

The following research sub-questions arise from the main research question:

Empirical questions

1. What are the migration histories of Chinese professionals in Dongguan and which factors were/are influential in previous and potential future migration?
2. How far can differences between certain mobility groups be identified, and what are the groups' locational demands and preferences, migration intentions, and reasons for migration?
3. How do local governments in Dongguan and Guangzhou, China, try to influence the migration and place decision-making of professionals? How are places designed to encourage or discourage professionals' agency?

Conceptual questions

4. Which individual factors and which structural conditions influence the migration and place decision-making of professionals?
5. How did and do factors influencing the migration and place decision-making of professionals change over time in the context of the social, cultural, political, economic, and ecological transformation in China?
6. How far can the governmental measures and strategies be effective? How could they be adapted to make them more efficient?

Accordingly, the thesis has the following research objectives:

Objectives of the empirical questions:

- revealing and analysing the past and potential future migration and place decisions of Dongguan's professionals;
- identifying different groups of action according to their mobility level and detecting their locational preferences, and migration intentions;
- exploring, understanding, and evaluating the measures and strategies applied by the municipal governments of Guangzhou and Dongguan, and the two case study high-tech industrial zones, and identifying how places are used to influence professionals' agency in the two case studies in Guangzhou and Dongguan.

Objectives of the conceptual questions:

- contributing to the theoretical approaches to better understand migration and place decision-making;
- identifying, and analysing individual and structural factors that influence the migration and place decision-making of Chinese professionals with special regard to the influence of place;
- detecting how the factors influencing professionals' migration and place decision-making change/d in the context of social, cultural, political, economic and ecological transformation in China;
- suggesting possible adaptations to increase the efficiency of the applied measures and strategies.

This thesis is structured in seven parts. After the introduction, part II illustrates the theoretical considerations taken towards understanding the migration and place decision-making of professionals. By drawing on migration-theoretical considerations and social theory, part II conceptualises migration and place decision-making. The five reasons (or motives in his words) for migration introduced by DE JONG (1999) help to identify several factors of influence in professionals' decision-making, and make it possible to further the discussion on the role of individual values and preferences in individual agency. However, DE JONG (ibid.) does not address the variety of factors influencing individual agency, and these are discussed part II by drawing especially on GIDDENS (1984) and ARCHER (1995). Thereby, it is possible to avoid overemphasis on either structural or individual factors, and highlight their interactive character, which provides the basis for reciprocal transformation. By taking account of AGNEW's (1987) concept of place, part II clarifies the role of spatial settings in individual decision-making. The critical realist notion of power and SAYER's (2012) assumption that power can only influence individuals in their agency when they are susceptible to it, further contributes to understanding if and how it is possible to influence the actions of professionals.

Part III is divided into two chapters. Chapter 3 provides insights into the economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological context in China in which Chinese professionals act. By taking account of the economic and political changes during China's transformation process since 1978, part III discusses changes in the labour regime towards a new socialist market labour regime that provides new freedoms of action, but at the same time demands more individual responsibility – for instance, in finding employment or advancing one's career. It is highlighted that these changes accompany China's reorientation towards new entrepreneurial strategies and economic restructuring in the course of increasing inter-city competition, which raises the need for high-skilled, self-directed, creative, and innovative labour. Additionally, chapter 3 discusses social, cultural, and ecological changes concerning changing values, demand, and preferences relevant in the migration and place decision-making of professionals. Chapter 4 illustrates the state of the art of strategies to attract professionals in the international and Chinese context, discusses migration determinants that influence professionals' decision-making, and provides insights into migration flows of professionals within China. Here, the role of the Chinese registration system (*hukou* system) is discussed in the context of China's transformation.

Part IV explains that the multi-method approach employed here arises from the ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism, and was most suitable for achieving an in-depth analysis of factors influencing individual migration and place decision-making. By combining quantitative and qualitative research methods, the diverse factors influencing individual agency could be best revealed. Additionally, part IV includes a critical discussion of the applied methods, and discusses ethical considerations and problems that arose when conducting research in China's political and cultural context.

The presentation of the empirical results in part V is in line with the two perspectives inherent in the research question. It firstly introduces the individual characteristics of Dongguan's professionals and their migration experience, which both influence future migration plans outlined in chapter 6. In this regard, the chapter introduces different mobility groups. Additionally, it discusses professionals' reasons for previous and intended future migration. Chapters 7 and 8 focus on the structural conditions influencing professionals' decision-making, including occupational and place-related conditions, social values and norms and the arising demands and preferences, as well as the attraction schemes and measures implemented by local governments to try to influence professionals through rules designed to encourage them, and the provision of resources.

In part VI, the empirical results are discussed separately from their description, and conclusions are drawn with regard to the theoretical considerations. In its content, part VI follows the research sub-questions 4 to 7 and is divided into four chapters. Chapter 9 discusses the nature of Guangzhou's and Dongguan's attraction strategies in the context of the theoretical considerations. Chapter 10.1 discusses the relevance of individual characteristics, the reasons, goals and motives, routines and roles in individual decision-making. Chapter 10.2 deliberates on the influence of social structures, *natural structures*, *structural* and *agential emergent entities* influencing individual agency. Thereby, attention is drawn to the role of place, and its characteristics in the migration and place decision-making of professionals is analysed with regard to the exemplified high-tech industrial zones. Chapter 11 provides concluding remarks regarding the influence of individual and structural conditions, discusses the effectiveness of the governmental measures and strategies, and puts forward suggestions to increase their effectiveness. Chapter 11.2 discusses past and possible future transformations of professionals' values, demands, and preferences in the context of changing structural conditions in China, and vice versa. Part VII provides a final evaluation on the topic and outlines implications for future research.

PART II THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2 WHAT MAKES PEOPLE MOVE? CONCEPTUALISING THE MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISION-MAKING OF PROFESSIONALS

2.1 DEFINING MIGRATION AND RELATED TERMS

Internal migration is the “relatively permanent movement of individuals or groups over varying distances to change places of residence [...]” which “occurs within the boundaries of a given country” (LONGINO 2000²: 1415) and lasts for a period of at least one year (HAN 2005²: 7). In some cases this definition is problematic as movers might change their residential location beyond jurisdictional boundaries, but remain in the same work place as long as the commuting time and expenses remain acceptable, and vice versa. Hence, in this thesis internal migration refers to those movements that entail a change of residential location and work place to another jurisdiction within a national territory (cf. GREENWOOD 1997: 651). Internal migrants are thus considered people who have changed their usual place of residence and work beyond jurisdictional boundaries. Accordingly, non-migrants include non-movers plus movers within one jurisdiction. In this thesis, only inter-city moves and rural to urban movements are considered as relevant in the context of city competition for professionals.

Return migration is defined as “[...] the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle” (GMELCH 1980: 136), after at least one year in another country (IOM 2008: 498). This definition excludes emigrants who do not intend to remain in the home country, e.g. those that come on vacation or extended visits (GMELCH 1980: 136).

Migration decision-making refers to the process of determining whether to stay in the current place of residence or to move to another city, region, or country. The decision might include the choice of staying temporarily or permanently. *Place decision-making* denotes the process of determining the future place of residence in the case where the individual intends to migrate.

Migration determinants refer to the “factors or forces existing at macro, meso, and micro levels, which affect decisions to migrate or not to migrate” (BONFIGLIO 2011: 3). The term is problematic, however, as it implies a notion of causality that externally determines individual action (DE HAAS 2011: 16). In accordance with the elaborations in chapters 2.4 to 2.6, it becomes clear that a redefined concept of determinants, which considers structure and agency interactions, is applied here.

2.2 OUTLINING AND CRITICALLY DISCUSSING THE THEORETICAL APPROACH

The two key aims of this thesis are firstly to understand professionals’ decision-making and the structural factors that enable and constrain this process, and secondly to shed light on the possibilities and modes of governing the decision-making process. The theories and concepts used in this thesis have been applied in various contexts and ways in the academic literature, and have been further developed here. Nonetheless, attention has been given to the original works with respect to the processual character of the concepts in social theory. To give due attention to recent theoretical considerations, theoretical derivatives have been incorporated in a way that best helps to understand individual migration and place decision-making.

There is a considerable number of theoretical approaches in migration theory, and migration decision-making (cf. chapter 2.3). Existing theories usually either regard migration decision-making as an individual rational choice seeking to maximise utility (micro-level approaches) or as behaviour determined by external structural conditions (macro-level approaches). Rational choice theory as an example of the former has been criticised because of its methodological individualism and the inherent assumption that a human being’s action is only driven by goal-seeking behaviour (ARCHER & TRITTER 2013). Macro-level approaches, such as the push and pull approach or the world system theory, have been criticised for their “economic reductionism” (MORAWSKA 2007: 7). These approaches regard migration solely as the result of economic mechanisms.

The ongoing debate on how to integrate both structural factors and individual agency into migration theory shows clearly that the issue has yet to be solved (BAKEWELL 2010). The *General Model of Migration Decision Making* by DE JONG (1981; 1999) provides useful insights into the influence of individual attitudes (social values) and socially structured subjective norms on the individual’s motives (as reasons) to migrate, and links migration to the life course approach (e.g. MULDER 1993; MULDER & HOOIMEIJER 1999; cf. Fig. 2.1). Whereas DE JONG perpetuates the idea of the utility-maximising individual assumed in rational choice theory, the life course approach has been criticised for presuming an “oversocialized image of man” (SKOLNICK 1983: 386). By integrating insights from social theory, namely the structure and agency debate, the present approach provides a way of overcoming the divide between micro- and macro-level approaches.

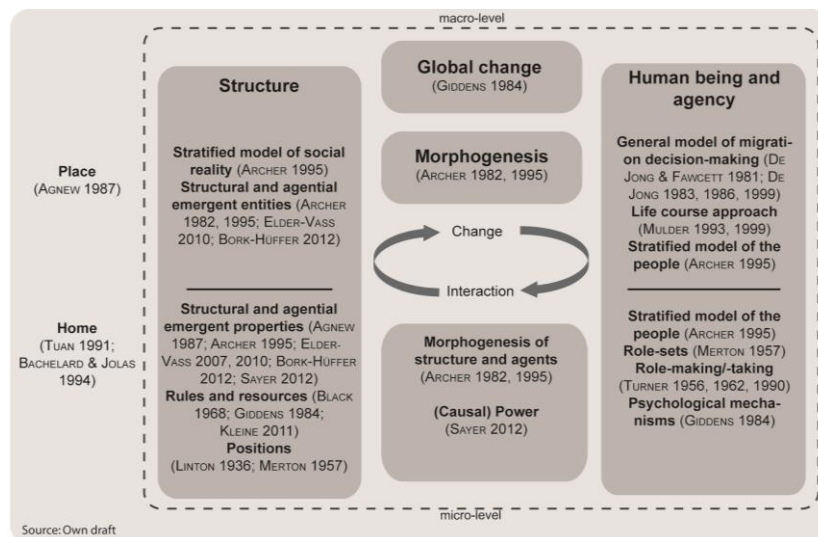


Fig. 2.1: Overview of the theoretical approaches, models, and concepts applied to understand migration and place decision-making

As mentioned, the relation of structure and agency is a widely debated and contested in social theory. The ideas of the two prominent British sociologists ANTHONY GIDDENS and MARGARET ARCHER are considered in this thesis in order to understand the relationship between the micro- and the macro-perspective (cf. Fig. 2.1). GIDDENS’ *theory of structuration* (1984), received worldwide recognition among researchers in various fields, including human geography, and especially social geography (cf. ARNOLD 1998; BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 34; PEET & THRIFT 1989). Attempts to overcome the structure and agency divide in migration theory by drawing on GIDDENS (1984) have been pre-

sented, e.g. by GOSS and LINDQUIST (1995) or MORAWSKA (2001). However, they do not sufficiently recognise the emergent and causal nature of structures (BAKEWELL 2010: 1701), which ARCHER (1995) highlights in her *morphogenetic approach* – developed mainly as a critique of GIDDENS’ *structuration theory*. So far, ARCHER (ibid.) has received far less attention in (human) geography and (geographical) migration research although both approaches provide valuable elements for the conceptualisation of structure and agency. In her *stratified model of the people*, ARCHER (ibid.) considers the human being as a purposive actor with individual intentions and aspirations, who is embedded in a larger social context which influences individual agency by shaping its social identity and bringing attention to collective interests. Though GIDDENS (1984) received criticism from several scholars for overemphasising the individual actor (e.g. KING 2010: 254), his elaborations on the individual human being and the way it takes action can rather be seen as complementary to ARCHER’S ideas. Additionally, the role concepts put forward by MERTON (1957) and TURNER (1956; 1962; 1990) help to clarify how individuals internalise different roles, and shed light on the inner conflict individuals might face when fulfilling diverse social roles. By amending ARCHER’S *stratified model of the people* with GIDDENS’ *psychological mechanisms* and the above mentioned role concepts, a more sophisticated picture of the individual actor and his/her conduct can be drawn (cf. Fig. 2.2). This approach neither overemphasises the reflexive individuals nor sees human beings as merely reacting to external structural conditions (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 36).

As a proponent of critical realist social theory and the concept of emergence, ARCHER (1995) assumes that the social contexts in which individuals act are always (at least partially) pre-structured by prior actions. Through instantiation in social interaction with each other and with structure, the social conditions are constantly maintained or transformed. ARCHER (ibid.) has been criticised for overemphasising the effects of past actions on present structure, while disregarding the impact of present action on present structure (HEALY 1998: 517-8; KING 1999: 211). Additionally, in her elaborations on the nature of structure she does not further elaborate on types of structure (cf. BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 36). However, ARCHER’S concept of emergent properties can be clarified by bringing in GIDDENS’ concepts of rules and resources modified using KLEINE’S (2011) ideas on resources, which provide complementary details on types of rules and resources. To clarify different types of rules further, this thesis additionally draws on BLACK’S (1962) typology of *rules* (cf. chapter 2.5.2, Fig. 2.1 and Fig. 2.2).

The idea of incorporating concepts of *place* into the theoretical approach, and understanding place as social structure itself, is central in this thesis and makes it possible to approach the role of place in individual agency theoretically. To gain a comprehensive picture of a given place it is expedient to consider geographical and sociological concepts of place. The geographical perspective applies a concrete and descriptive understanding that is concerned with the exploration of the nature and classification of space and the linkages between nature and space (AGNEW & DUNCAN 1989: 1). Human geographers developed concepts of place as a reaction to nomothetic geographies (e.g. TUAN 1974; RELPH 1976). In the early 1970s, place concepts found their way into political-economic geography (e.g. MASSEY & ALLEN 1984; HARVEY 1993) and into political geography (AGNEW 1987). The sociological perspective seeks to explain human agency within social processes in an abstract way, often on a national scale. Both perspectives have long been separated due to their methodological and conceptual

differences, and diverging objectives (AGNEW & DUNCAN 1989: 1). Since the early 1980s, there has been increasing attention in human geography on the relationship between place and society (BLÄSER 2005: 80; GLÜCKLER 1999; MIGGELBRINK 2002) and at about the same time several sociological scholars have worked towards the reconciliation of both perspectives (e.g. GIDDENS 1979; GIDDENS 1995²: 26-48; cf. AGNEW & DUNCAN 1989: 1). Due to the related concern to overcome the micro-macro divide, it is not surprising that claims for a wider concept of place that includes a “global sense of place” gained momentum in the 1990s (MASSEY 1993: 68). The geographer AGNEW (1987) provides a postmodern concept that conceptualises a stratified ontology of place that has been widely applied in geographic research and is the basis for the notion of place in this thesis (cf. CRESSWELL 2004: 126). AGNEW (1987: 28, emphasis added) argues that the “local social world of place (*locale*)” cannot be understood without considering the *objective* macro-perspective of *location* and the *subjective* identity of *sense of place*. TUAN’S (1991) and BACHELARD’S (1994¹⁵) ideas on *home*, also understood as house or neighbourhood, further supplement the notion of the subjective dimension of place (cf. Fig. 2.2).

The consideration of *morphogenesis* (social change) in ARCHER’S approach helps to understand the interrelation and the developments of structure and agency over time, which is especially useful in the research context of rapidly transforming societies, such as that in China, which is in the focus of this thesis. In the globalisation age, the structural contexts in which societies find themselves are increasingly embedded in global transformation processes that GIDDENS (1984) considers in his elaborations on *global change* (cf. Fig. 2.2).

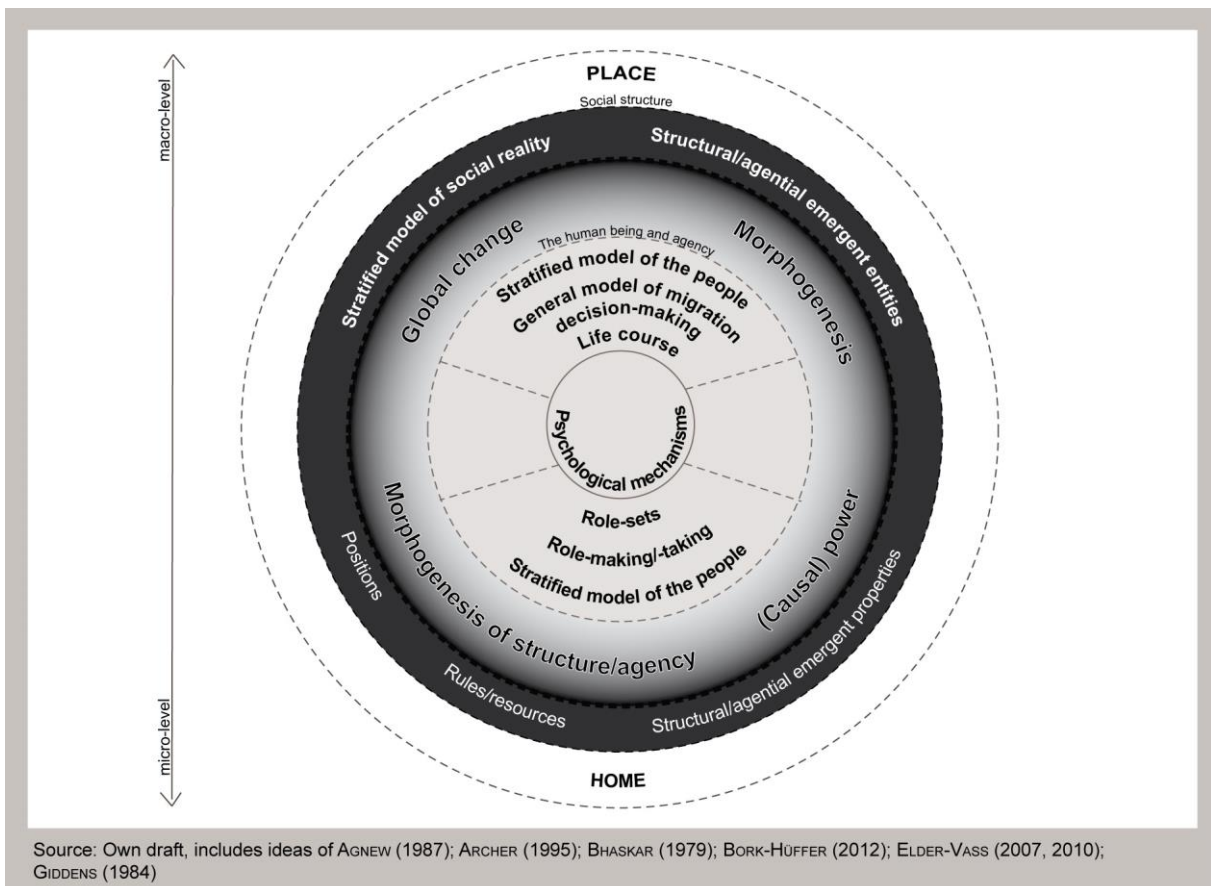


Fig. 2.2: Synthesis of the applied theoretical concepts

With her *stratified model of social reality*, ARCHER (1995) provides an account of both unorganised and organised groups of agents (*primary* and *corporate agents*), which both have an influence on the other group's action by influencing the structural conditions in which they act (passively or actively). While she draws on the critical realist concepts of *emergence* and *causal powers* to explain how structures influence individual and collective action, she remains rather vague on how corporate agents can influence primary individual conduct. To give further clarification in this regard, this thesis draws on SAYER (2012), who provides a valuable account of the concept of causal power as a connecting stratum of structure and agency (cf. Fig. 2.2).

2.3 MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING IN MIGRATION THEORY: BETWEEN MICRO- AND MACRO APPROACHES

2.3.1 Conceptualising Motives (Reasons) for Migration

Having been heavily criticised (cf. chapter 2.2), rational choice theory is still widely used in migration decision-making research and accepted by scholars if contextual factors are integrated, such as individual social values or social networks (DE JONG 1999: 277; PESCOLIDIO 1992: 1099). According to DE JONG (1999: 277) differences in individual social values, for instance, can explain why individuals make seemingly irrational decisions in certain situations. Several studies have revealed the influence of individual social values on the individual decision to migrate (e.g. FISHBEIN & AJZEN 1975; LIN et al. 2011; SCHWARTZ & BILSKY 1987). KLUCKHOHN (1951: 395) refers to social values as “[...] broad tendenc[...ies] to prefer certain states of affairs over others” that “[...] influence[...] the selection from available modes, means and ends of action”.

Borrowing from concepts of behavioural demography (e.g. MCNICOLL 1992), in his *General Model of Migration Decision Making*, DE JONG (1999; see also DE JONG & FAWCETT 1981) applies the idea of social values as a crucial element in migration research, in that it is useful in understanding structurally influenced individual agency.

In his model, DE JONG (1999: 279-85) deploys different concepts that influence migration, which he calls motives, in the sense of reasons for migration. These motives are the underlying causes for the intention to migrate. Intentions are indicators for the behavioural *tendency* one has in mind or intends to accomplish (e.g. moving or not moving). He derives the motives from MCNICOLL's (1992) fundamental concepts in behavioural demography: *preferences* – “a behaviour that is an object of choice of higher valuation or desirability than another” (DE JONG 1999: 279), *processes* – of evaluating relevant costs and benefits and of interactions, *institutions*, e.g. family, *culture*, as a provider of social constructions, and *biology*. The motives are¹ (cf. Tab. 2.2):

- (1) *Social values and goals* provide the basis for reasons for migration. DE JONG (ibid.: 282) suggests a not mutually exclusive and not-all-embracing list of social value dimensions and the resulting goals (cf. Tab. 2.1).

¹ DE JONG (1999) derives six motives in total, whereof only five are considered here. Gender roles are not considered individually as motives, as in the eyes of the author the influence of gender roles arises out of the norms that come with the roles.

Social value	Goal
Health	Preserving or improving one's physical or mental well-being, achieved, for instance, by having high air and water quality, a quiet living environment (low environmental pollution), a secure living environment, or having access to health services.
Wealth/social status	Having a high standard of living, e.g. by attaining the desired income, having a stable income, employment stability, professional success, and developing one's skills and knowledge, e.g. through education.
Affiliation	Living near family and friends and in a neighbourhood with social cohesion and common bonds to attain mutual support, to perform filial piety and fulfil familial commitments.
Life comfort/life of ease	Attaining a less strenuous and more peaceful and comfortable life, living in a pleasant and socially and morally acceptable community and home environment.
Life stimulation	Obtaining an enjoyable life, e.g. by gaining entertainment, increasing the variety in interpersonal relations.
Freedom in choices and expressions	Having choices in economic and political action; finding tolerance towards dissenting opinions and action.
Source: adapted from DE JONG (ibid.: 283)	

Tab. 2.1: Social values and goals in migration decision-making

(2) *Expectations*, according to DE JONG (ibid.: 282), are the factors that link actions to their anticipated outcomes. Without linking expectations to them, social values cannot be predictors of migration behaviour. It is not the social value itself that makes individuals move, but the expectancy of achieving one's own social values and goals.

(3) *Residential satisfaction* is often considered in empirical work as one factor influencing factor the intention to move (e.g. BACH & SMITH 1977; LANDALE & GUEST 1985; MCHUGH et al. 1990; NEWMAN & DUNCAN 1979; SPEARE 1974a; WOLPERT 1965). It is assumed that not until the current residential location causes dissatisfaction or residential stress will people consider moving (BROWN & MOORE 1970; LANDALE & GUEST 1985; SPEARE 1974a; WOLPERT 1965). In the analysis of satisfaction with the location or current dwelling, DE JONG (1999: 284) includes place of origin characteristics, such as housing, community quality, and availability of community services.

(4) *Norms* can be described as the manifestation of cultural settings, since culture, according to HAMMEL (1990: 467), is "a transitory and negotiated set of understanding [...] a constantly modified and elaborated system of moral symbols." DE JONG (1999: 284) sees family interaction and socialisation as the linking mechanisms between culture and individuals that mould migration intentions. Based on societal norms, women often inhabit different roles and possess a different social status in society than men, which can result in diverging migration decisions (DE JONG 2000: 307).

(5) *Family and friends' interaction networks* among migrants, non-migrants and former migrants are also influential. They provide information on jobs, environmental quality, entertainment opportunities, housing, community life, health care, or marriage markets (DE JONG 1999: 285). According to several empirical studies (e.g. HAMMEL 1990; HARBISON 1981; LAUBY & STARK 1988; ROOT & DE JONG 1991), the family is an important factor in migration

as it forms mutual migration-related intentions and social values, and provides family migration strategies (DE JONG 1999: 284). DE JONG (*ibid.*: 277) argues for the inclusion of friends' networks, while others even include co-workers, professional "loose ties", and organisation affiliates. Several scholars (e.g. GOSS & LINDQUIST 1995: 319; GURAK & CACES 1992) agree that networks are of crucial importance to understand migration decision-making. Despite the various approaches towards the inclusion of social networks, it becomes clear that networks shift the focus from individual decision-making to "socially constructed patterns" (DE JONG 1999: 285; see also PESCOSOLIDO 1992).

Some additional aspects are valuable in understanding DE JONG's (1999: 282) concept of individual social values and goals, namely LINDENBERG's (1996) hierarchy of goals and NIEDOMYSL's (2010: 101-4) differentiation of *needs*, *demands*, and *preferences*, which arise out of individuals' social values and goals. In his theory of subjective well-being, LINDENBERG (1996) extends the idea of the general goals by introducing a hierarchy of goals that has considerable overlaps with MASLOW's hierarchies of needs but also contains important differences (*ibid.*: 171). He substantially differs from MASLOW by saying that for the achievement of the universal goals of physical and social well-being, which individuals cannot achieve directly, there are instrumental goals in a hierarchical order. First order instrumental goals are, for instance, stimulation or activation, comfort, status, behavioural confirmation and affection (LINDENBERG 1996: 171; cf. KLEY 2011: 472). For the achievement of these goals in turn there are lower-order goals like physical activities, good housing, occupation, compliance with external norms, intimate ties, etc. (LINDENBERG 1996: 175; cf. KLEY 2011: 472). To achieve goals, people make use of individual resources, such as education, physical and mental capabilities, or social skills (LINDENBERG 1996: 175).

In the context of understanding the role of place attractiveness in migration, NIEDOMYSL (2010: 101-4) suggests a further differentiation between *needs*, *demands*, and *preferences*. Needs, according to him, are "basic requirements necessary for an endurable living" that respondents hardly explicitly refer to as they are taken for granted, at least for relatively affluent migrants, such as the highly-skilled (*ibid.*: 102). He argues, however, that *needs* are fundamental in understanding place attractiveness as "no voluntary migration will occur to places where there is no potential for surviving" and possible options for moving are narrowed down (*ibid.*). If the basic needs are fulfilled, individuals consider aspects that go beyond the necessities for an endurable life NIEDOMYSL (*ibid.*) calls these aspects *demands* – "factors that must be fulfilled for migration to take place but are not necessary for survival". He states that respondents in his empirical study referred to these aspects as the most important motives. The distinction between needs and demands is not rigid. *Preferences* he describes as "that something special' [...that] could nevertheless be compromised" (*ibid.*: 103). Preferences in comparison to needs and demands (or "general goals") are not universal but differ between individuals or even during individuals' life courses (MULDER 1996: 214). However, people are not necessarily aware of their preferences.

Scholars have widely applied the concept of motives in social science in different ways. In migration research, *motives* refer to reasons for moving. In general, motives (as reasons) refer to "a stimulus influencing a choice or prompting a person to act in a certain way" (DE JONG 1999: 281). Reasons

mark the onset of choice processes, which involves the decision to get prepared to move (MULDER 1996: 215). It would be misleading, however, to interpret the reasons named by individuals as ultimate explanations (LUNDHOLM et al. 2004: 62). Reasons are rather first-hand explanations that come to mind when being asked to explain migration decisions. The migration decision, however, is accompanied by several second-order and background reasons and factors influencing the decision (FORBES 1989: 53; LUNDHOLM et al. 2004: 62). (Pre-disposed) factors that influence migration are, for instance, age, income, or social status.

Additionally, DE JONG (1999: 281) states that possible stimuli are not only the attainment of goals, such as a higher income, a better living environment, or higher social status, and the expected social value maximisation, but can also be personality traits, migration experiences, or life course events. The life course approach assumes that individual demands, preferences, and goals change within a lifetime according to changes (events) in order, such as leaving home, marrying, giving birth to a child, departure of children, or divorce or death of spouse. The life course approach assumes that individuals are involved in intertwining careers of different life spheres, such as educational career, labour market career, family career, housing career² (JANSEN et al. 2011: 4). Individuals try to combine the goals that arise from the different careers in time and space (ibid.), whereas each career can act as a trigger for the decision to move (MULDER 1993: 24). For instance, labour market conditions in the hometown might render a move impossible whereas the ensued distance to the family might be less utile from a family career perspective. However, relocation is seen as the choice to combine all careers' goals in the short and long-term (JANSEN et al. 2011: 4). KOK (2007) argues that the life course approach is highly suited to analysing the individual interaction with demographic, economic, institutional, and social changes, which makes it a holistic approach (see also ELDER et al. 2003). DE JONG's social value-expectancy model not only received criticism for its embeddedness in rational choice theory, but also for identifying social values solely by reviewing existing literature (COOLEN & HOEKSTRA 2001: 287), and for its assumption of intentions as predictors. His model assumes that individual migration follows the endeavour to enhance (maximise) individuals' or family's well-being and implies goal-seeking behaviour (DE JONG 1999: 278-9; KLEY 2011: 472). Thereby, it overemphasises the role of the individual in decision-making. Additionally, scholars argue that intention data performs rather poorly as a predictor of future behaviour as unforeseen events might affect behaviour (GOLLWITZER 1996; MANSKI 1990).

2.3.2 Overcoming the Micro- and Macro Divide in Migration Theory

Several scholars (e.g. CHAPMAN & PROTHERO 1983: 619-21; MASSEY 1990: 5; SKELDON 1990: 149) have called for an integral approach linking micro- and macro-level factors as migration research is highly fragmented and conflicting in its conclusions (FAWCETT & ARNOLD 1987: 456; GOSS & LINDQUIST 1995: 325-6):

“[...] We need to ensure that we approach [...] the individual not from the point of view of the way time, space and society (in its broadest sense) *constrain* the behavior of the individual, but from the way in which time, space and society selectively *influence* the individual, and, just as importantly, the way the

² The housing career describes the different housing states in terms of e.g. housing tenure, quality and pricing of the dwelling and living environment (CLARK et al. 2003: 143; MULDER 1993: 24).

individual *feeds back* into (and, ultimately, *reproduces*) the society and transforms it. Similarly, when we approach the analysis from the political economy standpoint we are not talking about a simple process of *determination*, but a process which individuals and classes can and do *transform, opt out of, or avoid*. In other words, we are talking about a complete socio-economic process which, like society as a whole, depends upon people to reproduce it and which, in turn, is shaped and reproduced by it” (FORBES 1981: 76, emphasis in the original).

Several scholars have already provided attempts to incorporate both structure and agency (e.g. CONWAY 2007; MASSEY et al. 1998; RICHMOND 1988; WRIGHT 1995). *New Economics of Labour Migration* (NELM) is one integrative approach offered by migration theorists in the 1980s (e.g. STARK & BLOOM 1985; see BAKEWELL 2010: 1692). NELM sees migration not merely as an income maximising strategy, but as a collective family or household decision that increases the family’s (and individual’s) utility either by the sending of one or some household members or the movement of the whole family (DE HAAS 2011: 9; HERCOG 2008: 20). Furthermore, NELM addresses macro-structural factors such as policies, status, hierarchies, power inequalities, and social group formation that constrain and enable individual choice, and explains why migration is socially selective and geographically patterned. The approach thus considers migration as an act of agency to overcome structural constraints (DE HAAS 2011: 10), but still fails to take into account non-economic factors (CASTLES 2010: 1573). Other scholars have tried to overcome the imbalance of structure and agency in explaining migration processes by drawing on structuration theory (e.g. BAKEWELL 2000, 2008; GOSS & LINDQUIST 1995; HALFACREE 1995; MORAWSKA 2001). Thereby, migrants can be considered as people who actively decide based on their subjective social values, demands, and preferences, but it can also be shown that choice (agency) is constrained and enabled by structure (DE HAAS 2011: 16). CASTLES (2010: 1576) sees the only solution in linking migration theory to social theory and social transformation. He argues that migration is a normal aspect of social life and driver of social change (ibid.: 1567). Accordingly, migration researchers should examine how social values, norms, and preferences relevant in migration decision-making are transformed over time (BONFIGLIO 2011: 12).

Following structuration theory, GOSS and LINDQUIST (1995) take up GIDDENS’ suggestion of a two-step research approach that firstly analyses individual conduct and secondly considers structural conditions and the operation of rules and distribution of resources, including recruitment mechanisms, governmental policies, and labour market conditions. BAKEWELL (2010: 1700) points out that the methodological dualism they apply makes it difficult to see how the structural conditions emerge over time and are analytically distinct from the social actors whose agency they condition. He further argues that, although they claim to follow structuration theory, the structures they describe “have more than virtual existence, even some *causal power*” (ibid.: 1701, emphasis added).

It is argued in this thesis that the goal of linking structural conditions with individual decision-making, in order to understand the complexity of migration processes can be accomplished best by combining the ideas of GIDDENS’ (1984) elaborations on individual agency and ARCHER’s (1995) understanding of social structure and her morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle, as introduced in the following chapters. Drawing on DE JONG’s (1999) elaborations on the reasons for migration, (see above) and considering the suggestion to link migration decision-making with the structure and agency debate, the author suggests the conceptualisation of key determinants in migration decisions in Tab. 2.2, which will be further elaborated on in the following chapters.

McNicol (1992)	De Jong (1999)	Own conceptualisation	
Institutions	Family network	Structure	Features of the natural environment Emergent agential and structural properties and entities
Culture	Family norms Gender roles		
Preferences	Intentions Social values and goals Satisfaction	Individual agency as a person	Goals, social values, needs, demands, and preferences Satisfaction with current location Expectancies of other locations
Processes	Evaluating expectancies Social interaction	Individual agency as an actor	Motives Routines Migration experience
Sources: Includes ideas of ARCHER (1995); DE JONG (1999); GIDDENS (1984); MCNICOLL (1992); NIEDO-MYSL (2010)			

Tab. 2.2: Key determinants in forming migration intentions

2.4 THE HUMAN SUBJECT AND ITS INDIVIDUAL ACTION

In critical realism³, the human subject inhabits a central position in the analysis of social reality. In her concept of the subject, ARCHER (1995) follows a stratified ontology. She assumes that the embodied subject, and not just the society, is an emergent, causally consequent, and socially generative phenomenon (ARCHER 2000: 254, 261ff; SHILLING 2005: 13). According to SHILLING (2005: 13, emphasis in the original), critical realists argue that the “embodied subject is possessed not only of a physical boundary and a metabolic network, but of feelings, dispositions and an embodied consciousness. These emerge through its evolution and development as an organism and which together enable humans to intervene in and make a difference to their environment, to exercise *agency* [...]”. Human subjects are “self-aware and thus capable of reflecting upon themselves and their environment, which they understand to be something other than the self” (ARCHER 2000: 261). They are hence not only the product of external forces such as social groups, but are able to make their own judgements and adjust their perspectives and action accordingly (KING 2010: 257).

2.4.1 The Emergent Individual

ARCHER (1995) argues that the precondition for existence as a human subject is to possess a *body*. Even though the body does not constitute the person, “it defines *who* can be persons and also constraints *what* such persons can do” (ibid.: 287-8, emphasis in the original). The body thus is the centre of the acting self (cf. Fig. 2.3). Being a proponent of emergentism, ARCHER (ibid.) argues in favour of a stratified nature of social reality, including personal psychology. Accordingly, she presumes that the mind is emergent from the body (ibid.: 102). The body can be described as the centre of the *physical senses* and of the *mind* that in turn is the centre of psychological mechanisms and hence gives rise to consciousness (cf. Fig. 2.3; ARCHER 1995: 255; BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 40). GIDDENS (1984: 7, 45-49) differentiates between three different psychological mechanisms: the *discursive* and the *practical consciousness* and the *unconsciousness* with the neurological mechanisms of *perception*, *memory*, and *recall* (cf. Fig. 2.3).

³ ROY BHASKAR developed the philosophy of science of critical realism in the 1970s in his books *A Realist Theory of Science* (BHASKAR 2008) and *The Possibility of Naturalism* (BHASKAR 1979). Other relevant advocates of critical realism cited in this thesis are MARGARET ARCHER, DAVE ELDER-VASS, ANDREW SAYER, and ANTHONY KING.

Consciousness refers to the ability of actors to describe their activities and their reasons for acting in a certain way – “being able to put things into words” (ibid.: 45). The *discursive consciousness* enables actors to think about their action, to describe it, to actively govern it and talk about it reflectively (WERLEN 1997: 154). Intentional action, for example, takes place in the discursive consciousness (GIDDENS 1984: 6). Reaching a certain goal, fulfilling expectancies, or acting in line with certain *needs, demands, or preferences* to reduce dissatisfaction and elaborate on the reasons, requires that actors reflect on their often competing goals and their knowledge that suggests how to best achieve them (FAULKNER 2002: 740). Human beings are “purposive agent[s], who both ha[...ve] reasons for [...their] activities and [...are] able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them)” (GIDDENS 1984: 3). Accordingly, intentional action refers to “an act which its perpetrator knows, or believes, will have a particular quality or outcome and where such knowledge is utilised by the author of the act to achieve this quality or outcome” (ibid.: 10). This knowledge is gained in the process of what the actor perceives consciously. GIDDENS (ibid.: 47) describes perception as “temporal ordering devices shaped by, yet shaping, the movements and orientations of the body in the context of its behaviour”. In the discursive consciousness, individuals use modes of *recall* that enable them to verbally express their consciously internalised perceptions (ibid.: 49).

He further distinguishes *discursive consciousness* from *practical consciousness*. “Practical consciousness consists of all the things which actors know tacitly about how to ‘go on’ in the contexts of social life without being able to give them direct discursive expressions” (ibid.: xxii). Practical consciousness involves a mode of *recall* that agents can access (non-verbally) but are not able to report on. This knowledge is stored in what GIDDENS (ibid.: 45-9) calls *memory*, which describes the “knowledgeability of human agents” (ibid.: 49). GIDDENS (ibid.) refers, for instance, to the term *routines* as being rooted in the practical consciousness. These “established modes of accustomed daily life” (ibid.: 60) denote all actions that are “done habitually” (ibid.: xxiii) and which “sustain a sense of ontological security” (ibid.: 282). The reasons for these habitually conducted actions first need to be discovered or rationalised⁴ before actors can express them verbally (ibid.: xxiii). In addition, *experience* in the sense in which it is introduced by DE JONG (1999; cf. chapter 2.3) is rooted in the practical consciousness. GIDDENS (1984: 45) defines *the unconscious* as being the opposite of *consciousness*. Hence, the unconscious refers to an actor in a given context as “not being able to give verbal expression to the prompting of action”. The causes of action arose from what actors have perceived unconsciously. Actors do not have direct access to these perceptions as they are “‘blocked off’ – or very rapidly ‘forgotten’” (ibid.: 48). The unconscious thus refers to modes of *recall* that actors are not able to report on (ibid.: 48-9). According to GIDDENS (ibid.: xxxvii), motivations or *motives* for action, for instance, that emerge through the internalisation of shared social values, are rooted in the unconscious. Following GIDDENS (ibid.), in this thesis motives denote individual attitudes that are pre-disposed by the individual’s social background. According to GIDDENS (ibid.), actors are not able to report on them (WERLEN 1997: 152). It is important here, to distinguish between motives in the sense of reasons that individuals can elaborate on (as described by DE JONG 1999), and motives in the sense of intrinsic

⁴ The “rationalization of action” refers to the ability of actors to maintain a theoretical understanding of underlying reasons of their actions (GIDDENS 1984: 5, 376). Not until the reasons are rationalised can actors inform others about them.

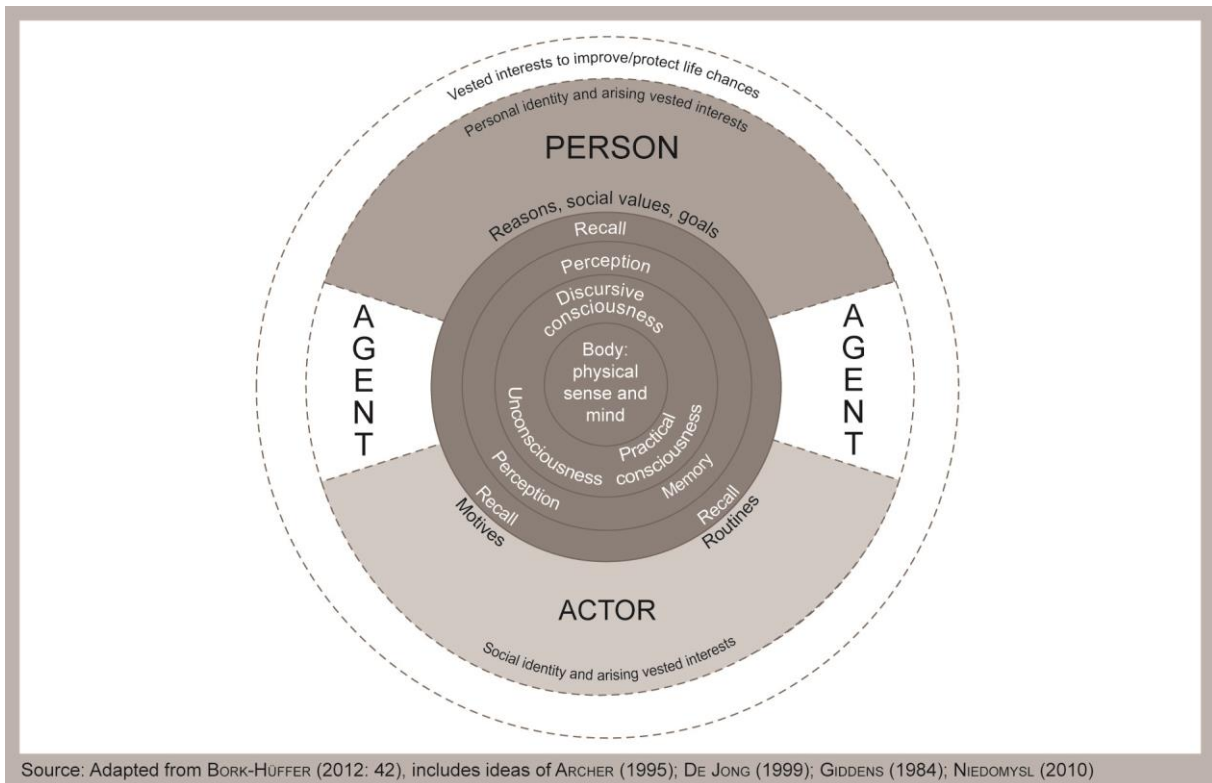


Fig. 2.3: Individual action of human beings influenced by individual’s characteristics

principles that individuals cannot report on (as described by GIDDENS 1984). In the following, the first definition is referred to as reasons, and the second as individuals’ *intrinsic principles*.

GIDDENS has been widely criticised for his overemphasis on knowledgeable and the reflexivity of actors (cf. KING 2010: 254), and for the mere differentiation of human beings by their knowledgeable, e.g. by ARCHER (1995: 131). The introduction of the emergent nature of human beings with their psychological mechanisms, however, is of great importance in understanding the complex construct of individual action. According to ARCHER (ibid.), however, the further differentiation of human beings is inevitable.

2.4.2 ARCHER’S Stratified Model of the People: Persons, Actors, and Agents

ARCHER’s (ibid.: 256-7) *stratified model of the people* further distinguishes between *persons* (individual human beings), and *actors* (social beings), and conceptualises the *agents* as a connecting stratum. This stratification provides a concept for analysing human beings as (a) individuals with a continual *sense of self* and a *personal identity* – emergent from *consciousness* – that is “aware of its persistence and progress through time” (*person*; ibid.: 282), and as (b) individuals who are influenced by the socio-cultural system in which they are born (*actors*). Additionally, the stratification makes it possible not only to identify different types of actors but also to consider collective action such as social movements, collective conflicts, or corporative control by introducing (c) *agents* (cf. Fig. 2.3).

Deducing from PEIRCE, ARCHER (2003: 112) elaborates that the person comprises three aspects: the ‘Me’ that is the past self, the present self (‘I’) and the future self (‘You’), which all change over time. The ‘I’ is composed of things that the previous ‘Me’s’ have induced. The features of the ‘Me’ are alive in the present as representing objective restrictions to future projects that are “entertained by

the ‘I’ for the ‘You’” (ibid.: 116). The present self has to reflexively examine its “ultimate concerns” and re-evaluate on the opportunity costs it is willing to pay for accomplishing its aims. In this process, the internal conversation is essential as it “is where the ‘I’ re-directs itself to continuing with a project or rescinds a commitment and re-directs the ‘You’ along different lines” (ibid.). In the internal conversation the present ‘I’, which projects for the future self (‘You’) and is at the same time conditioned by the past self (‘Me’) speaks to itself. The analytical stratification of the person allows us to “understand how the succession of internal deliberations (which always look both forward and back) reflexively shape the trajectory of the ‘I’ across the life course” (ibid.: 115). This morphogenesis of the person occurs in each person’s lifespan. By reflecting on these different egos, persons try to guide the trajectories of their ‘I’ and create their personal project of life, such as the internalised project of survival or the projects that derive from or consolidate personal identity. Future contingencies, however, can always redirect or disrupt such trajectories (ibid.). Without this mediating mechanism – the inner conversation – it is difficult to understand that individuals are active subjects that are shaping their own lives (ibid.: 116).

ARCHER (ibid.) distinguishes the person from the actor by stating “that the human being *per se* has no particular interests to bring to any role and to be innovative about, whilst the Actor has only those interests which come with the role” (ARCHER 1995: 256, emphasis in the original). As actors, human beings can gain a *social identity* by observing themselves in certain social *roles* and seeing those in a personified way (ibid.: 276; cf. Fig. 2.3). Actors gain new social roles by reflecting on their experiences in the natural, practical, and social realm (AL-AMOUDI 2013: 197). The array of roles, however, which is available to a person at a certain point in time, determines who becomes an actor and, if so, what kind of actor the person becomes. “[...N]ot everyone can succeed in becoming an actor – that is finding a role(s) in which they feel they can invest themselves, such that the accompanying social identity is expressive of who they are as persons in the society” (ARCHER 2000: 261). A social role, according to TURNER (1968: 552, cited from 1990: 87) is “a comprehensive pattern of behaviour and attitudes, constituting a strategy for coping with a recurrent set of situations, which is socially identified – more or less clearly – as an entity. A social role is played recognisably by different individuals, and supplies a major basis for identifying and placing persons in a group, organisation, or society”. Roles bring certain *vested interests* that determine the way in which individuals act (ARCHER 1995: 276). *Social identities* only apply when people can identify themselves with the roles, e.g. the role of an unemployed person. Otherwise, there is an absence of social identity (ibid.: 256-7). It is the distinction between the personal and the social identity that makes it possible that the person reflects on the social identity (ibid.: 292).

Similar to MERTON (1957), who introduced the concept of *role-sets*, ARCHER (1995: 275) postulates that social roles always operate in sets. With reference to LINTON (1936: 114), MERTON describes that each person in a society occupies several social positions and that each of these positions is associated with not a single role but with a *role-set*⁵. Furthermore, ARCHER (1995: 280) postulates that actors are more than “the objects of roles”, which refers to the concept of role-taking/role-making by TURNER (1962) in that he differentiates between two types of actor’s responses to role expecta-

⁵ LINTON refers to the term *status* that was later commonly termed *position* (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 41).

tions. In the process of role-taking/role-making, different actors mutually define role relations by “testing conception one has of the role of the other” (ibid.: 23). The process “may or may not include adoption of the standpoint of the other as one’s own and may or may not be reflexive” (TURNER 1956: 316). The outcome of the testing process can be (a) the stabilisation of the role when the actor fulfils the mutually defined expectations regarding the behaviour in this role and adopts the role in a tentative and stepwise manner (*role-taking*), but can also lead to (b) the modification of the actor’s own role by re-interpreting the expectations that come with the role (*role-making*; TURNER 1962: 23). The different “performances” of the same role lead to re-definition of roles through the process of morphogenesis (ARCHER 1995: 186). Role-making can also be the result of role conflicts that arise from the distinct roles a person enacts. The different roles might imply diverse normative expectations that can collide (ibid.: 275-6). If persons have a sufficient sense of self to recognise that by performing all of these roles, role clashes might naturally arise, they will probably try to avoid this conflict by redesigning or reinterpreting some of these roles (ibid.: 284). Less reflective persons will, in the case of a conflict, either act conforming to expectations or will fall short of expectations and might give up one/some of the positions and the corresponding roles. Besides role-taking, *reference groups* that TURNER (1956: 328) defines as the “generalized other” have an especially high level of influence on the individual’s action. Individuals use the reference groups as an orientation for evaluating themselves and their own actions. They can act conforming to the reference group even if they do not feel they belong to the group (MERTON 1968: 288). The fact that individuals can occupy diverse positions and respond to several role expectations makes it rather difficult to make predictions on the action’s outcome and makes it more difficult for individuals themselves to make decisions or to describe why they acted in a certain way. Furthermore, actors are not necessarily aware of the different roles they enact and of the external expectations that come along with these roles. Accordingly, the *practical consciousness* and *the unconscious* partially influence actors’ reactions to role expectations (BORK et al. 2011: 43).

Besides the differentiation of person and actor, ARCHER (1995: 277) also distinguishes *agents* (cf. Fig. 2.3). She states that we become agents before we become actors. Through agency, individual human beings become related to other social beings as agency is the “mediating mechanism which accounts for who, out of the total population, acquires which role(s) within the total role array [... and which asks] why they (individual human beings) do what they do when the role does not require them to do it” (ibid.: 256). Agents, in contrast to actors, cannot occupy personified social roles, as they exist only as groups or collectivities. That is why agents can only appear in plural, whereas actors and individuals exist in singular (ibid.: 256, 258). The collectivities (or the primary agents as ARCHER names them) are bonded as they are “sharing the same *life chances*” (ibid.: 257, emphasis in the original) – defined as “prior distributions of material resources” (ibid.: 202). Sharing the same life chances means having or lacking the same privileges, for example as females or males, as locals or foreigners or as members of the middle class or working class. She states that, “we are always born into a system of social stratification [...]” (ibid.: 277), which basically means that all individuals have different life chances at birth. Thus, “[...] ‘privileges’ and ‘underprivilege’ are regarded as properties that people acquire involuntaristically and *not* as roles that they occupy through choice” (ibid., emphasis in the original). Accordingly, collectivities are pre-grouped in certain *positions*. Each of these positions brings *vested interests* that in turn bring “*motives* for the reproduction of advantages or the transfor-

mation of disadvantages” (ibid.: 204, emphasis added). With this phrase, ARCHER (ibid.) states that agents are eager to enhance or sustain their life chances during their lifetime (cf. Fig. 2.3). In the process of decision-making, individuals in their analytical role as agents, as like actors, weigh the vested interests against one another and against their social values (ibid.: 282), whereas these interests need to be distinguished from the actor’s interests that originate in the actor’s roles or the person’s individual interests. The most crucial action is indeed “*interest-governed but not rule-governed* [...as] rules simply do not extend to where some of their primary interests lie” (ibid.: 259, emphasis in the original).

Primary agents neither openly express their interests nor organise their strategic ambition in society or in existing collective institutions (ibid.). In contrast to this type of agent, she distinguishes corporate agents on the institutional level and populations as collectives on the system level. In their action, corporate agents follow certain vested interests, and try to make primary agents act conforming to those. Accordingly, the main difference between primary and corporate agents lies in their organisation. Primary agents at a specific point in time can be corporate agents at another (ibid.). Corporate agents articulate and organise in self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements, or defensive association (ibid.: 258). According to ARCHER (1995), it is the corporate agents, who are acting actively towards a certain outcome or aim. However, primary agents are not merely “objects to whom things happen” (ibid.: 260).

2.5 CONDITIONING ACTION: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS EMERGENT ENTITIES AND PROPERTIES

In sociology there has been a long debate about the conceptualisation of social structure (ELDER-VASS 2010: 79-86). According to PORPORA (1998) there are four different conceptions of social structures that can be distinguished: a) patterns of aggregated behaviour that are stable over time, associated with methodological individualism; b) law-like regularities that govern the behaviour of social facts, which is characteristic of methodological collectivism or sociological holism; c) structure as a system of social relations among social positions, which is “[...] most characteristically associated with the Marxian tradition” (ibid.: 343), but has been taken up with some minor modifications by several other scientific orientations, such as network theory and critical realism, including ARCHER’S (1995) and ELDER-VASS’ (2010) approaches; d) structure as rules and resources, advocated in GIDDENS’ *structuration theory* and BOURDIEU’S *practice theory* (ELDER-VASS 2010: 83-6). The first two conceptualisations can be disregarded in this thesis in line with PORPORA (1998: 347-8) and ELDER-VASS (2010: 83-4) as they overemphasise either the individual’s or structure’s influence on human agency. The last two conceptualisations (the second in its critical realist understanding) will be discussed in the following chapters with the aim of reconciling the two approaches using the partly modified ideas of BORK-HÜFFER (2012) and ELDER-VASS (2010).

Critical realists define structures as the “causal powers of social wholes” (ELDER-VASS 2010: 85) and by that refer to the enabling and constraining influence of structures on human action. The enabling and constraining nature of structures can be explained with the concept of emergence that ARCHER (1995) applies to her concept of structures. ARCHER (1995: 71, 175) sees structures as being instantiated in “*emergent entities*” and “*emergent properties*” (cf. Fig. 2.4). She defines emergent entities as “specific configurations of their component structures, where the emergent features of the for-

mer derive from the relations between the latter” (ibid.: 172). ELDER-VASS (2007: 28-9, emphasis in the original) adds to this definition that an emergent entity is “a whole [that] can have properties (or powers) that are not possessed by its parts [...]“. Emergent properties thus are the “‘component elements’ [...] arising from the relations between structures that constitute a particular system [understood as emergent entity]” (ARCHER 1995: 172). ELDER-VASS adds that emergent properties are

“[...] the causal powers of the entities, [which] arise from the organisation of the parts. [...]Its (the emergent entity’s) characteristic properties or powers depend *both* on the presence of its characteristic parts *and* on their being organised into the characteristic structure of the higher-level entity” (ELDER-VASS 2007: 28-9, emphasis in the original).

Hence, social entities, such as groups or organisations (corporate agents) "have powers irreducible to those of individuals [...]" (SAYER 2010²: 119) that are *emergent* because they emerge from the properties and powers of the constituent parts (SAYER 2012: 184). Consistent with the stratified ontology of social reality, ARCHER (1995: 9, 172) assumes that not only structures or groups possess emergent properties but individuals themselves, and that these emergent properties in turn possess their own causal powers. However, individuals who are members of a group or organisation (corporate agents) cannot possess properties that emerged from the group formation in isolation (ARCHER 1982: 475).

ARCHER (1995: 175) distinguishes between three different types of emergent properties and entities: structural, cultural, and agential entities and properties. Structural emergent entities are *unorganised collectivities or conglomeration of populations*, in opposition to agential emergent entities that are *organised collectivities* (cf. Fig. 2.4 and 2.5). The analytical differentiation of the cultural influence on human action from the influence of structural and agential emergent entities, however, seems not tenable as culture like structure emerges through the conglomeration of individual human beings. Whereas it is important to consider the influences of cultural systems on human action, the distinction in terms of their emergence cannot be promoted as they both emerge through the interaction of primary and corporate agents (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 50; ELDER-VASS 2010: 117).

Taking into account BHASKAR’S (1979) and BORK-HÜFFER’S (2012) elaborations, another type of structure – natural structures – need additional consideration in the conceptualisation of structure. Accordingly, the following classification is suggested, including three general types of structures that are distinguished in regard to their emergence (cf. Fig. 2.4; BHASKAR 1979: 38, 175; BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 47):

- (a) Natural structures – referring to *material features of the natural environment* that can or cannot emerge independently from a human being’s action, and can or cannot be influential on an individual’s action. Accordingly, natural structures not only include the pre-given material features of the natural environment, such as vegetation, or environmental resources, but also the natural environment as transformed by individual and collective action – the human-induced material setting, such as parks or water reservoirs;
- (b) Social structures that arise from human beings’ exploitation of or interaction with the features of the natural environment, and that ARCHER (1995) and ELDER-VASS (2007) call *structural emergent properties and entities*;
- (c) Social structures that have their origin in the social sphere, i.e. structures deriving from the various influences on human beings that are situated in a social context (e.g. a multitude of

other actors, social roles), and that ARCHER (1995) and ELDER-VASS (2007) term agential emergent properties and entities.

Natural structure	Natural emergent entities	Material features of the natural environment (natural and human-induced), e.g. (A) Vegetation (B) Waterbodies (C) Air			
	Natural emergent properties	(a) (b) (c) Environmental quality (e.g. of air, recreation areas)			
Social structure	Structural emergent entities	Primary agents (D) Unorganised collectivities , e.g. Norm circles, in-groups, reference groups Knowledge systems Cultural systems		Agential emergent entities	Corporate agents (E) Organised collectivities (F) Established systems of rules (G) Organisation of social time-space
	Structural and agential emergent properties	Allocative resources	(d) (e) (f) (g) Means of material production Material features of the environment Produced goods Geographical resources Cultural resources embodied state objectified state institutionalised state	Authoritative resources	(d) (e) (f) (g) Human relations Authoritative power
				Rules	(d) (e) (f) (g) Regulations Instructions Precepts Principles

Note: The letters indicate the related entities and properties, capitals indicate entities, e.g. (A) and small letter indicate their properties, e.g. (a)

Source: Own draft, includes ideas of AGNEW (1987); ARCHER (1995); BHASKAR (1979); BORK-HUFFER (2012); ELDER-VASS (2007, 2010); GIDDENS (1984); KLEINE (2011)

Fig. 2.4: Classification of social structure

2.5.1 Structural and Agential Emergent Entities

Whereas ARCHER (1995) defines *structural emergent entities* as unorganised entities without clearly exemplifying them, ELDER-VASS (2010) offers a helpful concept to identify different types by introducing the term *norm circles*, which are groups holding normative beliefs or dispositions to endorse certain actions (cf. Fig. 2.4; *ibid.*: 122). Individuals have a commitment towards one or most probably several norm circles to endorse and enforce certain ways of acting according to the norms advocated by a certain norm circle. The causal power of the norm circle arises from the sum of the people that foster the norms by acting conforming to it, i.e. the relations between the norm circle’s members and the emergent property of the norm circle (institutions in ELDER-VASS’ words, *ibid.*: 124). The causal power is the capacity to influence the action of individuals (cf. chapter 2.6.2). Due to their “collective intention to support the norm”, the members of the norm circle tend to more actively support the norm than they would do without sharing the collective intention (*ibid.*: 123). The internalisation of structures in the form of beliefs, social values, etc., according to ELDER-VASS (*ibid.*: 122) corresponds to GIDDENS’ understanding of how rules influence action (cf. chapter 2.6; GIDDENS 1984: 17-24), and to BOURDIEU’S account of *habitus* that indicates that beliefs can be held consciously and discursively by individuals, but can also be internalised unconsciously (BOURDIEU 1990: 52-65). Other related examples that function similarly to norm circles are HOFSTEDE’S (2001²: 225) *in-groups* or TURNER’S reference groups (cf. chapter 2.4). In-groups, or “we”-groups, create an involuntary belonging of individuals that is predetermined at birth. Examples are family, which can also include the extended family,

with grandparents, aunts, and uncles or even neighbours, housemates, co-villagers or servants, or collegial networks. HOFSTEDE's (ibid.: 226) argument that these groups are "the major source of one's identity" concurs with ARCHER (1995), who says that social identity is dependent on the diverse social roles individuals hold (cf. chapter 2.4).

Three different types of agential emergent entities are identifiable (cf. Fig. 2.4 and 2.5; cf. BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 50): *organised collectives of human beings*, *established systems of rules*, and the *organisation of social time-space*. According to ARCHER (1995: 324), *organised collectivities of human beings* are organised groups (corporate agents) that inhabit their own emergent properties, such as knowledge, or power (cf. chapter 2.4). ARCHER (ibid.) delineates *established systems of rules* by providing the example of the education system of England. Other examples are political or financial systems, housing systems, labour or migration regimes (cf. chapter 2.3). These kinds of systems are more or less dependent on the organisation within a nation state or political authority and thus stand in contrast to the more openly appearing and unorganised systems of structural emergent entities, such as knowledge systems, cultural systems, norm circles, in-groups, or reference groups.

The *organisation of social time-space* as defined by GIDDENS (1984: 258) refers to the temporal composition of spatial unit in which the society acts, such as nation states, regions, cities, or economic zones that show properties that can vary over time and according to who defines them. Due to the centrality of the concept of space/place in this thesis, a detailed reflection of *social time-space* as the organised spatial unit is expedient⁶. AGNEW's (1987: 28) conceptualisation of place helps to specify this type of agential emergent entity. He differentiates between *locale*, *sense of place*, and *location*. He refers to the material setting of action and social interactions as *locale* and addresses a cognitive dimension by referring to a *sense of place* that he sees as the subjective and emotional attachment or identification with certain places. He sees place as more than an object (ibid.: 27). Action gives rise to "structures of feeling – the meanings and social values which are lived in works and relationships" (WILLIAMS 1984⁷: 329), or a "felt sense of quality of life at a particular place and time" (ibid.: 63). The possibility to identify oneself with a certain place in difference to another place makes place the "'object' of identity for a 'subject'" (AGNEW 1987: 27-8). The sense of place is not necessarily restricted to the local scale. It can be projected on a regional, national, or international scale, giving the place a transregional or international importance (ibid.: 28). From a humanist geographical perspective, the feeling of home becomes a central role in the sense of place (CRESSWELL 2004: 24). A home, house or neighbourhood, as a "small-scale *locale*" is a "place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness (GIDDENS 1995²: 40, emphasis added). "Home, more than anywhere else, is seen as a center of meaning and a field of care [...which even] acts as a kind of metaphor for place in general [...as it] acts as a first world or first universe that then frames our understandings of all the spaces outside" (CRESSWELL 2004: 24; cf. BACHELARD & JOLAS 1994¹⁵: 4; TUAN 1991). In other words, the feelings of individuals concerning their immediate surroundings (housing or neighbourhood), also frame the *perception* of the wider world around them, i.e. if they are satisfied with their home, e.g. with their housing situation, for example, it is more likely that they *perceive* the wider place around

⁶ It is expedient here to draw on the more tangible and specified notion of *place*, rather than the abstract notion of *space*. Regarding the conceptualisation of space refer to e.g. SOJA (1989).

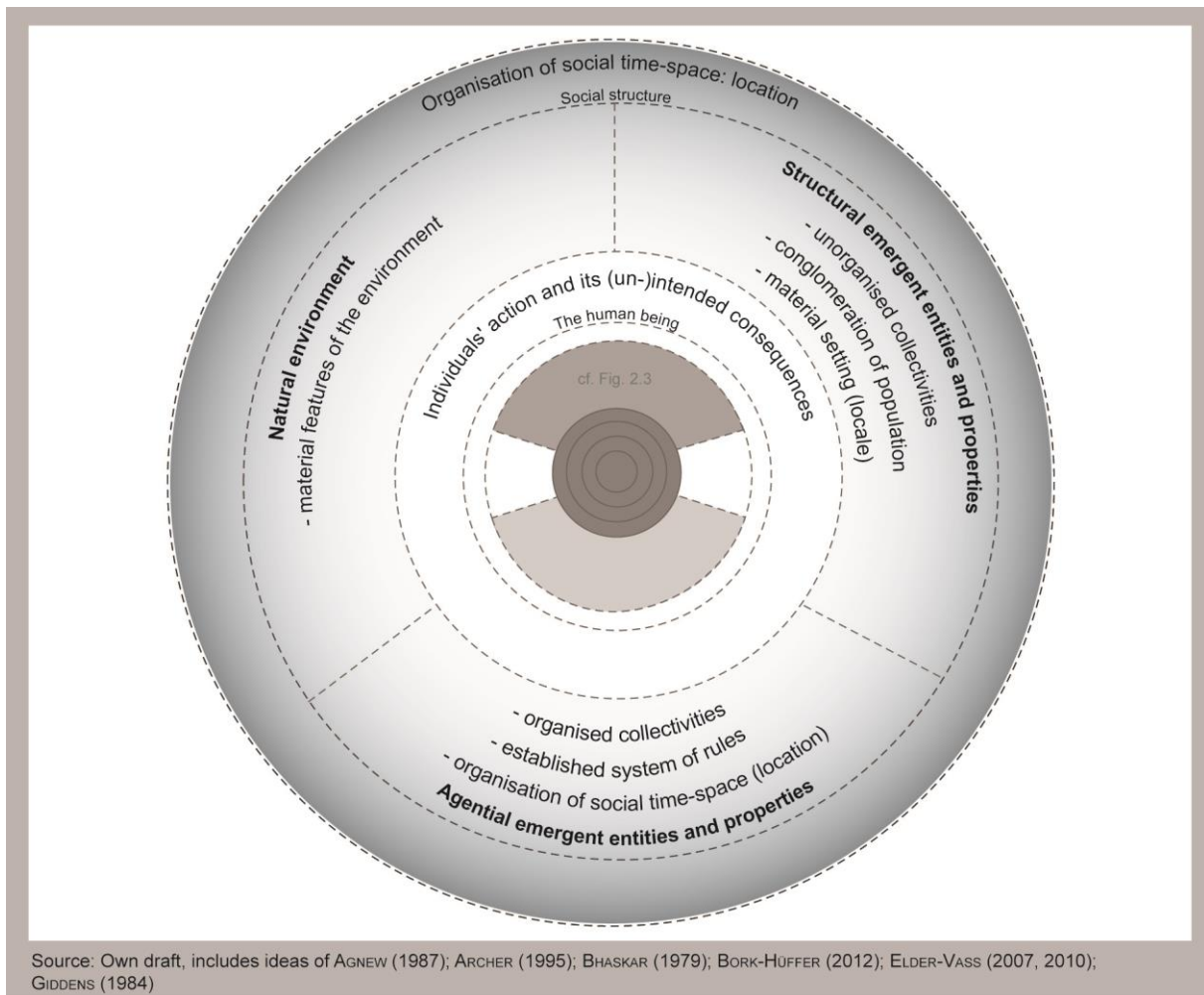


Fig. 2.5: Individual’s action influenced by social structure

them positively. AGNEW’s *sense of place* draws connections to GIDDENS’ psychological mechanisms of the unconsciousness and the discursive consciousness (cf. chapter 2.4). As a third dimension, he introduces the term *location* that refers to the geographical area embedded within the macroscopic social, economic, and political surroundings of the setting: “‘the face-to-face society’ of *locale* in which action is embedded is in its turn embedded within a wider ‘territorial society’” (AGNEW 1987: 27).

By referring to *location* as the place that contains external structural conditions that form the *locale* (and the individual sense of place) and influences individual action, AGNEW (1987) acknowledges the critical realist notion of individual action being constrained and enabled by a wider social context:

“[...p]ractice is necessarily situated in time and space. This is one link to social structure. Places in which activities occur are the product of institutions, which are in turn produced by structure. Place, then, provides the context in which agency interpellates social structure. Rather than epiphenomenal to society, place is central to its structuration” (ibid.: 31).

Place as location is the unit in which reproduction (morphostasis) and transformation (morphogenesis) take place (ibid.: 27). He further states that the three elements are all interrelated and are only understandable in combination:

“[...L]ocale is the core geosociological element in place, but it is structured by the pressures of location and gives rise to its own sense of place that may in certain circumstances extend beyond the locality” (ibid.: 28).

The *location* is, firstly, the unit in which agents and structure interact. Being a social time-space, the location, secondly, becomes an agential emergent entity itself, and thus influences individual action and the individual’s *sense of place* and the material setting of the natural environment – the *locale* (cf. Fig. 2.5). The *locale* and the *sense of place* in turn can influence the *location*. The *locale* as a structural emergent entity can influence individual action and the structural conditions (cf. Fig. 2.5). Being social structure themselves, the *location* and *locale* can change over time (morphogenesis) as they always depend on which individual or collective defines/reproduces them (cf. chapter 2.5.1). In other words, places as structural and agential entities influence individual action and the individual’s perception of the place (sense of place), and are in turn influenced by both. Additionally, a place depends on other structural and agential entities, e.g. unorganised or organised collectivities, who define it (place as location), or who influence its material setting (place as *locale*; cf. Fig. 2.5).

2.5.2 Emergent Properties

According to ARCHER (1995: 118, 259), emergent entities possess emergent properties. ARCHER (ibid.) again differentiates between structural and agential properties. She only defines structural emergent properties by their “*primary dependence upon material resources*, both physical and human” (ibid.: 175, emphasis in the original), or as she also puts it, they “entail material resources” (ibid.: 177). It can be argued in accordance with GIDDENS (1984: 258) that emergent properties are not only dependent on material resources, but on what he terms *authoritative* and *allocative resources*. Accordingly, authoritative and allocative resources are defined here as two types of emergent properties.

Authoritative resources “derive from the co-ordination of the activity of human beings” (ibid.: xxxi), such as the capacity to organise *social time-space*, namely *authoritative power* (ibid.: 258). By attributing the “transformative capacity [of] generating command over persons or actors [...] objects, goods or material phenomena” to them, GIDDENS (ibid.: 33) actually refers to *causal power* itself – the capacity to influence agency (cf. chapter 2.6.2). He classifies *allocative resources* as *material features of the environment*, *means of material production* and *produced goods*. With his concept of material features of the environment, he refers, for example, to raw materials or material energy sources. According to ARCHER (1995), material resources include not only physical resources but also human beings themselves. Building on the ideas of ALSOP and HEINSOHN (2005), and KLEINE (2011), a further elaboration of the concept of resources is considered necessary here⁷. Besides material and natural resources, KLEINE (ibid.: 123) argues for the recognition of: a) *Geographical resources*, i.e. resources of space, including the practical consequences of location and relative distance and intangible qualities of location; b) *cultural resources*, which can be derived from BOURDIEU’S “cultural capital” (1986: 243) and exist in three states: the embodied state (this state refers to the habitus individuals’ develop during their life), the objectified state (referring to objects possessed by agents like paintings, instru-

⁷ KLEINE (2011: 123) suggests eight different types of resources. Not all of them are adopted here as they are partly repetitive to GIDDENS’ types of resources.

ments, personal monuments, and the institutionalised state, such as prestige attached to it, for instance, or a certain place or social position (cf. Fig. 2.4).

Additionally, *human relations* between individuals can be regarded as another type of authoritative resource. Agential emergent properties, according to ARCHER (1995: 71), have their origin in group interactions between corporate and primary agents. They partly consist of what GIDDENS (1984: 258) terms *production/reproduction of the body* and which refers to the organisation and relation of human beings in congregations. Thus, *human relations* within the system of interaction of individuals are another type of agential emergent property (ARCHER 2000: 7). Human relations of hierarchical order between individuals of different social status (associated with the social position; cf. chapter 2.4) are one example (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 48). Their property of influencing individual agency thereby arises out of their *authoritative power* they have over other agents, such as in parent and child relations.

The third type of agential emergent properties is *rules* (cf. Fig. 2.4). GIDDENS (1984: 21) defines rules as “techniques or generalized procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practice”. In his elaboration GIDDENS (*ibid.*) mainly focuses on the distinction if rules are formulated or not, and he defines formulated rules as “those [rules] that are given verbal expression as canons of law, bureaucratic rules, rules of games and so on – are thus codified interpretations of rules rather than rules as such” (*ibid.*: 21). Agents might not be (fully) aware of unformulated rules as they are only present in their practical consciousness or unconsciousness (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 49; BOURDIEU 1990: 39-40). Agents might thus not be able to recognise their influence on their own action.

BLACK (1962) offers a helpful classification that distinguishes types of rules⁸. He categorises rules into (a) *regulation*, (b) *precepts*, (c) *principles*, and (d) *instructions*, (*ibid.*: 115): (a) Regulations refer to “something laid down by an authority” (*ibid.*). This not only refers to state authorities, such as a legislature or judge, but also can include parental authority determining rules for children, or the authority of a university on students. *Regulations* involve hierarchically contrasting agents, such as the “promulgator”, who determines the conditions in which the performing agents act (*ibid.*); (b) *precepts* are directives that determine which action is morally or prudently appropriate and is commonly referred to as norms; (c) *principles* are commonly accepted beliefs about the nature of truth that build on cultural or scientific knowledge and that have an influence on an individual’s action; (d) *instructions* are advice or guidelines on how to act in the most suitable way for certain situations. If the individual is disobedient to the rules, only the noncompliance of regulations and precepts can, but not necessarily will, be sanctioned by other agents (BLACK 1962: 110-4; BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 49-50).

ARCHER (1995: 87) critically reviews GIDDENS’ structuration theory (1984) by remarking that it reductively sees (structural) properties⁹ as rules and resources. In the concept of structure presented

⁸ Although BLACK (1962) builds his typology of rules on the analysis of language, parallels can be drawn to GIDDENS’ (1984) rules as formulations/non-formulations. What GIDDENS (2008) describes as formulised rules are “implicit rules” in BLACK’S (1962) typology, “rules that nobody has ever formulated” (*ibid.*: 100). Thus, it seems appropriate to make use of both concepts of rules (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 49).

⁹ GIDDENS (1984) does not include the concept of emergence. However, he differentiates, with similar connotations to ARCHER (1995), between *structural properties* and *structural principles* (*ibid.*: 17).

here, structures are emergent entities and properties, whereas the emergent properties/causal powers emerge from the interplay of the entities' parts. The difference to the GIDDENS' assumption lies in the critical realist account of emergence: Rules and resources (as structural and agential emergent properties) emerge from the composition of the emergent entities' parts. Based on this exemplification of structural and agential emergent properties, one can argue that contrary to ARCHER's definition given in the beginning, no clear separation between structural and agential emergent properties is possible (cf. Fig. 2.4). An agential emergent entity's properties, such as the government, for instance, also depends on the resources it has available. The properties of a structural emergent entity, such as the norm circle of the family, can also arise out of inherent human relations or can be dependent on the rules determined in the circle.

2.6 LINKING STRUCTURE AND AGENCY AND EXPLAINING CHANGE: THE MORPHOGENETIC/MORPHOSTATIC CYCLE OF STRUCTURE AND OF AGENCY

GIDDENS (ibid.: 244) contributes to the understanding of societal change by indicating that societies are embedded in wider "intersocietal systems" that are characterised by "connections between societies of different structural type". He further elaborates that change in "world time", which can also be understood as global change, is one important "influence of varying forms of intersocietal system" on societies (GIDDENS 1984: 245; cf. BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 62). These various interconnections and exchanges between societies are increasingly fostered in the course of space-time compression, e.g. through novel information and communication technologies or innovative developments in transportation modes that might in turn influence the magnitude and pace of change (ibid.).

ARCHER (1995) explains change (morphogenesis) with her *morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle*. Thereby, she tries to overcome the divide between objectivism and subjectivism, or rather the duality between the individual and the society, and the conflict between the microscopic versus the macroscopic perspective in sociology. Besides the morphogenesis/morphostasis of structure, ARCHER (ibid.) distinguishes the morphogenesis/morphostasis of culture and of agency, which are more or less autonomous from each other, but yet interacting cycles (cf. Fig. 2.6; ibid.: 212). As explained in chapter 2.5, in this thesis, no distinction is made between structural and cultural elaboration, which is why the morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle of culture finds expression in the morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle of structure.

The process of re-shaping societal conditions is what ARCHER (1982) calls *morphogenesis*, a term that was first coined by BUCKLEY (1967⁶: 58) referring "to those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, structure or state" that "*has an end-product, structural elaboration*" (cf. Fig. 2.6; ARCHER 1982: 458, emphasis in the original). In opposition, BUCKLEY (1967⁶) introduces the term *morphostasis* taken up by ARCHER (1995), "which refers to those processes in complex system-environment exchanges that tend to preserve or maintain a system's given form, organization, or state" (BUCKLEY 1967⁶: 58). Fig. 2.6 illustrates the continuous morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle of structure and agency, in that previously elaborated structures and agents are transformed through the process of social interaction that then results in structural and agential elaboration (morphogenesis or morphostasis of structure and of agents; ARCHER 1982: 458).

The morphogenetic cycle helps to understand situations of stability or change in a society, the formation of collective action, and as ARCHER (1995: 201) states “the morphogenetic task is to supply an account of how the powers of the 'parts' condition the projects of 'people' – involuntarily but also non-deterministically, yet none the less with directionality.” The morphogenetic cycles thus also help to explain how reflective actors individually and collectively reproduce and transform the complex social world, drawing on resources, or rather on constraining or enabling structural emergent powers.

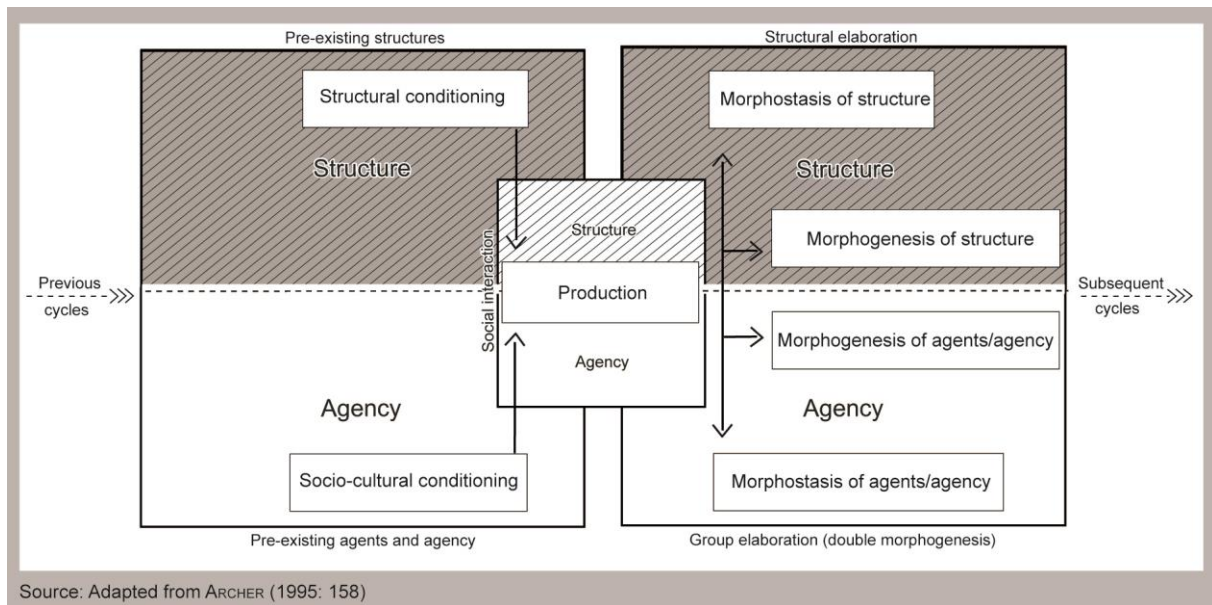


Fig. 2.6: The interaction of structure and agency in the morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle of structure, agents, and agency

2.6.1 Structural and Agential Elaboration as a Result of Social Interaction

Social interaction between agents or groups (primary and corporate agents) is key in the transformative cycle as it is the only mechanism that governs stability or change (cf. Fig. 2.6; *ibid.*: 260). ARCHER (*ibid.*) defines social interaction between corporate and primary agents in reference to BUCKLEY (1967⁶: 125) as a “system of interlinked components that can only be defined in terms of the interrelations of each of them in an ongoing developmental process that generates emergent phenomena – including those we refer to as institutional structure”.

Corporate agents as active followers of certain aims or outcomes are the main players in forming new social realities (*morphogenesis*) or acting towards the stabilisation of existing social realities (*morphostasis*; cf. chapter 2.4). Both processes influence the conditions in which primary agents act. Primary agents and populations, however, even though seemingly being passive agents (ARCHER 1995: 260), are also reshaping structure, although not in a purposeful manner, but by their mere size (cf. chapter 2.5). Corporate agents and primary agents thereby constrain and enable each other’s action (*ibid.*: 260, 265). ARCHER (*ibid.*: 260, emphasis in the original) states that

“Corporate Agency thus shapes the *context* for all actors (usually not in the way any particular agent wants but as the emergent consequence of Corporate interaction). Primary Agency inhabits this context, but in responding to it also reconstitutes the *environment* which Corporate Agency seeks to control. [...] Corporate Agency thus has two tasks, the pursuit of its self-declared goals, as defined in a prior social

context, and their continued pursuit in an environment modified by the responses of Primary Agency to the context which *they* confront.”

As there “is no doing without consequences”, all individuals are in some way shaping the social reality for all agents, thus inducing stability or change, if only by merely being physically or numerically present (ibid.: 259).

ARCHER (ibid.) assumes that structure and agency are, on the one hand, the outcome of past actions and, on the other hand, can influence subsequent action (cf. Fig. 2.6). Thus, the same individuals are precedent to later structural elaboration (ibid.: 75). Accordingly, structural elaboration is not only determined by prior structures, but also by the acting individual itself: “such elaboration is co-determined by the conditional influence exerted by antecedent structures together with the autonomous causal powers of current agents” (ibid.). Because agency as the driving force of further elaboration of structure ceaselessly transforms structural settings, the interaction subsequent to earlier structural elaboration will be different from prior interaction (ARCHER 1982: 458). Additionally, agency and agents can reshape in the process. Accordingly, agency is:

“[...] the end-product of the '*double morphogenesis*' in which collectivities of human beings are grouped and re-grouped as they contribute to the process of reproducing or changing the structure or culture of society. In this way, they also maintain or change their collective identities as part and parcel of maintaining or transforming the socio-cultural structures which they inherited at birth” (ARCHER 1995: 255, emphasis in the original).

Hence, structures and agents are “conjoint products of interaction” as they are continually (re-) producing and transforming one another: “agency is shaped by and reshapes structure whilst reshaping itself in the process” (ibid.: 274). Fig. 2.6 shows how the continuous morphogenetic cycles of structure and of agents/agency are interlinked. Agency conditioned by prior structure can reproduce (morphostasis) or transform (morphogenesis) structure to generate new structures, and reproduces or transforms itself in the process (morphogenesis of agents and agency).

Social actors emerge through *triple morphogenesis*, i.e. through double morphogenesis of agency in which primary and corporate agents are re-grouped and on top of that through the process of developing a social identity by taking different roles and coordinating the diverse expectations which come with these roles (cf. chapter 2.4; ibid.: 275, 255-56). With his concept of norm circles and the idea of internalisation, ELDER-VASS (2010) specifies what ARCHER (1995) only broadly addresses in the socio-cultural conditioning of groups. He elaborates that social structures, such as rules or norms, do not directly influence action but have causal powers (due to their emergent properties) to influence individual social values, dispositions, or motivations, and these in turn influence human beings' actions as described in ARCHER'S morphogenetic cycle (ELDER-VASS 2010: 125). Hence, social structure is internalised by individuals in the form of individual knowledge (or what he describes as its near equivalents – social values and dispositions; ibid.: 142). With some ontological adaptation, namely the distinction between social structures and individuals' social values¹⁰, ELDER-VASS (ibid.) reconciles the

¹⁰ According to ELDER-VASS (2010: 138-43), the ontological distinction offers an approach to solving one of ARCHER'S major critiques towards structuration theory. She argues that through central conflation of structure and agency “[...] neither ‘structure’ nor ‘agency’ have independent or autonomous or anterior features [...]” (ARCHER 1995: 101), as structure becomes a part of the people (STONES 2001: 184). This contradicts the

concept of embodied structures with a critical realist concept of structures as emergent properties and entities. Accordingly, individual actors internalise normative structures to create their own social identity. Normative compliance thereby is “voluntary compliance” as it is not caused by the pressure exerted by the norm circle, but by an individual’s memory about past situations and pressures in the form of social values and dispositions (ibid.: 125).

Whether the result of the agents’ doing is a morphostatic or a morphogenetic scenario depends on the result of the interaction between corporate and primary agents. As ARCHER (1995: 265) puts it: “All change is mediated through alterations in agents’ situations: Corporate Agents alter the context in which Primary Agents live and Primary Agents alter the environment in which Corporate Agents operate] [... and thus they] constrain and enable one another”. ARCHER (ibid.: 262) describes the systematic influence of primary agents as being solely “demographic”. “There are too many or too few (to feed or to fight), in the right or the wrong places, which can create problems for the (morphostatic) goals of the Corporate Agents” (ibid.). Consequently, social change results from aggregate effects produced by the primary agents in combination with the emergent properties possessed by corporate agents. Social change thus never engenders a situation as was intended by any of the agents (ibid.: 265).

As a concluding remark, it can be pointed out that social theory contributes to the understanding of the interlinkages and the interplay between human subjects and the social and non-social conditions they live in, and their transformation over time and space. Thus, it can be argued, according to BORK-HÜFFER (2012: 62), that social theory can potentially help to explain other kinds of human-influenced transformations, such as political, economic, cultural or human-induced environmental change. Accordingly, social theory and ARCHER’s morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle goes beyond social change, which is usually the focus of sociological studies and is relevant to the analysis of globally scaled phenomena – relating to the five dimension of global change as categorised by JOHNSTON et al. (1995).

2.6.2 Social Interaction as the Process of Governing Individual Conduct

ARCHER (1982; 1995) describes social interaction between primary and corporate agents as the process in which corporate agents can influence primary agents’ conduct by shaping the social conditions in which both act. According to ARCHER (1982: 465), there can be three sources of interaction (apart from unintended consequences): The confluence of desires of different parties, power induced compliance, or reciprocal exchange. The latter she describes as an interdependent relation between two parties that have joint control over the disputed subject, which results in balanced transaction. It stands in contrast to the powerful implementation of change/stability (ibid.: 482). ARCHER (1995: 333) argues that the two most important elements of social interaction are collaboration between agents and resources. According to her, resources determine, for instance, which agents have useful power relations or have access to institutions to induce change or stability. Resources and other types of structural and agential emergent properties are thus important in executing power (cf. chapter 2.5). Accordingly, actor’s positions (as primary or corporate agents) determine who has access to resources and power to

emergentist ontology in which agents and structures are interrelated but separated, and may possess causal powers on their own.

form and change rules (*authoritative power*¹¹; cf. chapter 2.5.2), and thus has the power to change or stabilise social reality (cf. BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 53). As in the process of *double morphogenesis*, social positions can undergo re-grouping (cf. chapter 2.6.1; ARCHER 1995: 186), e.g. an employee can step up the occupational hierarchy and become an entrepreneur, and also the accessible resources can change during one's lifetime. The distribution of resources, such as wealth, sanctions, or expertise, is indeed of great importance in the process of restructuring power relations as it governs who has access to *authoritative power* and who can distribute power/resources to other agents to achieve his/her own vested interests. To clarify the influence of structures on human action further, the critical realist concepts of causal power are important. The term power is used in various ways. In everyday language, power can refer to non-social processes and refers to situations in which "some change is made to happen, or perhaps prevented" (SAYER 2012: 181). Thereby, in everyday language and in this thesis it is not "the capacity to achieve a given effect" which is meant, but "the tendency to lead toward it under certain suitable, contingent conditions" (ibid.: 182-3), as an actor can possess the power to induce change, but can still fail to achieve the intended outcome.

Thereby, power relations are not rigid but can continuously be changed by people, because agents as constituent beings (not only of physical parts but of different social roles and positions, etc.) also possess the power to change (ARCHER 1995: 90). From a critical realist perspective, it is thus important to mention that power, as dependent on the relation between different social strata, always presupposes some notion of causality (SAYER 2012: 181). *Cause* then refers to "whatever produces change" (ibid.). Thus, *causal powers* are the "capacity [...] to affect the behaviour of individuals" (ELDER-VASS 2010: 124). Due to their emergence out of different components, structures possess emergent properties and thus causal powers – the power to change, i.e. the power to generate a *tendency* of action in individuals. Causal power can be, for example, the power of an institution to allocate resources, or the causal power of structures to influence individual perceptions and beliefs. Additionally, critical realists argue that power is not merely a matter held by people, but can also be possessed by material objects, such as walls, borders, infrastructure, etc., that are difficult to manipulate and might even constrain powerful actors (2012: 183).

The activation of power or the susceptibility of actors to power is dependent on the relation to other actors because all actors have their own powers and susceptibilities (ibid.: 186). The power of a city government to attract professionals, for example, depends on the resources other city governments have available to attract professionals. If the individual uses his/her causal powers, the way the causal powers influence the related actors depends on the other actors that can block, override, modify, or reinforce the initial actor's action. Due to their consciousness, human beings can partly control the intervention in their course of action, and can control how much other agents push and pull them (ibid.: 182). In other words,

"[...] change is never simply the product of a particular object's causal powers but always also depends on the powers and susceptibilities of what it confronts, then for it to be possible for any object to be al-

¹¹ ARCHER (1995: 300) calls authoritative power "bargaining power". However, the former, following GIDDENS' term of *authoritative resources* (cf. chapter 2.5.2), is more apposite here. The degree of authoritative power is determined by the corporate agents' emergent properties.

tered or shaped in a particular way, it must be the kind of object that is susceptible to such shaping” (ibid.: 187).

Additionally, as multiple power relations and causal powers, e.g. diverse roles, influence individuals, the action actually taken depends on the personal evaluation of the different tendencies created in individuals in the particular context (ELDER-VASS 2011: 153-4). Accordingly, the effects of causal power on individual subjects can vary considerably as it depends on the subject’s causal powers and the degree of susceptibility.

2.7 INDIVIDUAL AGENCY AND THE OPPORTUNITIES TO INFLUENCE IT

Individual action, e.g. migration and place decision-making, is influenced by individuals themselves and by external conditions. Thus, the conditions for action include first the person’s physical composition, personality, individual social values and goals, needs, demands, and preferences, and the resulting satisfaction and expectancies to achieve or act in line with these. Additionally, actors’ motives and agents’ collective interests play a role in individual action (cf. chapters 2.3 and 2.4 and Fig. 2.5). Second, the effects resulting from individual interaction with other agents and structural conditions – influences resulting from the natural environment, structural and agential emergent entities and their properties (cf. chapter 2.5) – influence individual action. Besides all these external influences, however, it is still the human being who is performing the action – that is taking the final decision on how to act in certain situations. Migration is thus the result of reflexive individuals undertaking conscious action within structural conditions, as the “articulation of [...structures] which presents constraints and opportunities to individual action” (GOSS & LINDQUIST 1995: 344-5). In internal conversations, reflexive subjects try to establish a “*modus vivendi* at the nexus between their voluntarily defined priorities and the socially determined characteristics of the contexts that they now confront” (ARCHER 2003: 244, emphasis in the original).

Because individuals are entangled in various power relations due to the different social roles they hold in the social environment and the various social relations, they maintain to other individuals, individual agency might lead to the intended outcome in some cases, but in other cases it can also result in unintended consequences. Both outcomes, however, have an influence on subsequent structures and action: Individuals are both, the subject to power and the object of power (MARKULA & PRINGLE 2006: 138), which makes power a constraining and enabling force (AL-AMOUDI 2007: 553). Due to their consciousness, they can decide how much they are influenced by other agents’ causal powers and thus partly control the intervention in their course of action (SAYER 2012: 182). Thus, individuals not only evaluate situations based on their moral standards or social values, but also consider the various power relations arising in social interaction with other agents. In most cases, they are free subjects that decide on the influence of other agents’ causal powers on their own agency, due to their different susceptibilities to power. Thus, governing the conduct of agents is only possible to a limited degree.

PART III STATE OF THE ART

3 CHINA'S MORPHOGENESIS: THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE

The Chinese transformation process started in 1978 after almost 30 years of Maoist socialism which had pursued a centrally administered economy, and is still continuing in the form of socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. Besides economic changes guided by the central government, the transformation also included changes in the labour and migration regimes¹², as well as social and cultural changes that resulted in the changing values and preferences of Chinese citizens – these are central to this thesis. The reforms and the opening-up process in all dimensions of change, which were, in the early years, decisively driven by reformer Deng Xiaoping and his programme of the “four modernisations,” are still in progress in China due to the gradual character of the changes (cf. Tab. 3.1). That the transformation is still in progress can be seen when one looks at recent changes, such as the mitigation of family planning regulations in 2013, or recent changes in the household registration system (*hukou*; cf. Tab. 3.1).

The socioeconomic transformation in China is a complex phenomenon that will be discussed here in the context of several reform steps which are relevant to the subject of professionals in China. Tab. 3.1 provides an overview of selected reform steps which are relevant for understanding and contextualising intercity competition and the need for professionals in the Pearl River Delta cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan. The following chapters address changes in national labour and migration regimes, economic development in China and the Pearl River Delta towards a high-tech¹³ industrially dominated economic basis, and the related establishment of high-tech industrial zones and the arising need to mobilise a high-skilled labour force. The shortage of professionals and the need to attract them eventually leads to the question of their social values, aspirations, and preferences towards their living place which in turn are influenced by social and cultural values, such as the endeavour to foster self-development and career advancement (cf. chapter 3.2.1), group affiliations, for example to family and colleagues (cf. chapter 3.2.2), and values related to housing in a more general sense (cf. chapter 3.2.3).

¹² Regimes can be defined as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations (KRASNER 1983: 2). Thus, the concept of migration regimes contains what BHASKAR (1979: 40–41, emphasis in the original) calls a “position-practice system”, a set of “*positions* (places, functions, rules, tasks, duties, rights, etc.) occupied (filled, assumed, enacted etc.) by individuals, and of the *practices* (activities, etc.) in which, in virtue of their occupancy of these positions (and vice-versa), they engage” (cf. GOSS & LINDQUIST 1995: 345).

¹³ In the Chinese context, the term ‘high-tech’ or ‘high technology’ is not clearly defined. The official denotation of high-tech enterprises is mainly based on three factors: (1) concentration on research and knowledge-intensive business sectors; (2) possession of sufficient capitalisation, adequate organisation structures, and market potential; (3) corporate management which is done by highly educated people (GU 1996: 479; LIEFNER 2006: 95). High-tech areas mainly involve industries, such as electronics and information, bioengineering and pharmaceuticals, air- and spacecraft, energy and its conservation (WALCOTT 2003: 47; cf. SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2010: 57).

Year	Reform measure	Explanation
1977	Deng Xiaoping's coming to power; launch of the programme of 'four modernisations': agriculture, industry, science/engineering, defence (SPENCE 2001 ² : 765-73)	Deng Xiaoping becomes the father of China's transformation process and reevaluates human capital, e.g. by enacting the programme that e.g. called for professionals in science to realise the 'four modernisations' (HSU 2007: 159).
1978	National agreement on the transformation of the economic policy	Agreement that laid down the redirection of economic policy by applying a gradual approach that in the medium-term should lead to the combination of market and planned economic elements.
1979	Reform of foreign trade	Reform that fostered the establishment of the Special Economic Zones in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen and allowed the establishment of joint ventures between Chinese and foreign investors in the zones. The reform laid the basis for the economic prosperity of the southern Coastal Regions (SPENCE 2001 ² : 788-91).
1980	Ratification of the 6 th Five Year Plan (1981-1985)	The 6 th Five Year Plan included the goals of a) controlling population growth by promulgating family planning regulations ('One-child-policy') as China's population exceeded one billion inhabitants (SPENCE 2001 ² : 799) and b) of guiding urbanisation by permitting restricted migration and transfer of the <i>hukou</i> status to towns and smaller cities which is thought to have influenced the size distribution of Chinese cities (AU & HENDERSON 2006: 557; SPENCE 2001 ² : 799-806; GRANT 1989).
1985	Expansion of the concept of Special Economic Zones by 14 coastal cities and the island Hainan; establishment of the <i>Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region</i> (HUANG 2007: 244-5; SPENCE 2001 ² : 820-1)	The expansion resulted in the development of high-tech development zones that provide tax relief and other benefits to targeted foreign investors and the development of the <i>PRD Open Economic Region</i> as a zone to support trade and investment. With increasing economic prosperity in the Coastal Regions, rivalry arose among the inland regions that feared to lose out in the economic expansion (SPENCE 2001 ² : 820-1). Internal migration mainly to the Coastal Regions began.
1986	Resolution on the liberalisation of land law (advancements 1988, 1998, 2004; HERRLE et al. 2008: 42)	Under the new land law, land remained state-owned and inalienable but became tradable with temporary land use rights. This gradual liberalisation was supposed to foster investment and facilitated the development of growth clusters in certain industries in selected areas which increased competition between locations in the Pearl River Delta.
1988	Release of the Implementation Plan for a Gradual Housing System Reform in Cities and Towns	Formulated goals were a) housing commercialisation according to the principles of socialist planned market economy, b) encouragement to buy houses or build for themselves to solve the housing shortage and improve people's housing conditions (WANG & MURIE 1999: 148).
1992	Deng Xiaoping's tour to South China and Special Economic Zones (<i>nanxun</i>) (HOFFMAN 2010: 7)	"Political landmark" that marked "a new era" and accelerated reforms (WONG & ZHENG 2001: 3, 7). Reforms in the assignment system were initiated to achieve a more market-based regime to distribute labour force (HOFFMAN 2010: 9).
1992	Adoption of replacing the term planned economy by socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics at the 14 th Party Congress	The change in national political and economic guidelines provided the opportunity to distribute political power and mobilise the formerly immobile workforce which was perceived as important to foster economic development (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006b: 44; SCHÜLLER 2000: 141).

Tab. 3.1: Selected reform steps in China's transformation process

Year	Reform measure	Explanation
1994	Publishing of the policy paper <i>The Decision on Deepening the Housing Reforms</i> (specification in 1998; WANG & MURIE 1999: 155-63)	The commercialisation of housing in the early reform years had deepened the housing shortage especially in the cities, as people's incomes were still low and housing prices high. This mismatch left many commercial housing units that had mushroomed after the early reform empty. Changes in the housing reform included e.g. the distribution system of housing or the establishment of a dual housing provision system with a social housing programme for middle and low-income households and commercial housing for higher income households (WU et al. 2007: 53).
2002	Announcement of the intention to abolish the <i>hukou</i> system on the 16 th Party Congress	Following the intention to abolish the <i>hukou</i> system, in 2005, plans were published to begin with the abolition in 11 of the 23 provinces in 2006 (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 23). The gradual abolition was to balance the urbanisation process and social inequalities, but has created an education-selective system by facilitating internal migration especially for professionals.
2008	Launch of the One Thousand Talents Scheme by the Central Organisation Department of the Communist Party of China	The scheme targets the attraction of 2,000 professionals in the next five to ten years to foster economic development and upgrading (ZHAO & ZHU 2009: 35).
2009	Adoption of financial stimulus package in the course of the world economic crisis (586 billion US-Dollar)	By adopting the stimulus package, the central government targeted at fostering economic stability by reducing the imbalance in economic development. Its adoption resulted in governmental investments in infrastructure especially in inland regions. Being economically more vibrant, the inland regions became the target of internal migration flows which increased the labour shortages in the Pearl River Delta (CHAN 2010: 671).
2013	Endorsement of a guideline-policy by the <i>Standing Committee of the National People's Congress</i> to relax the family planning regulations	Policy allows couples, of whom one is an only child, to have two children. The guideline was implemented in 29 provinces in late 2014 (MU 2014a).
2014	Announcement of <i>hukou</i> reform	To reduce pressure on large cities and encourage the urbanisation of smaller cities, the <i>hukou</i> reform abolished restrictions in small cities (<1 million) and relaxed restrictions in medium-sized cities (3-5 million). In many megacities a points system was introduced that makes access to welfare and social benefits in big cities even more selective (GOODBURN 2014; MU 2014b).

Source: Adapted from HARTMANN (2013: 97), based on CHAN (2010); DENG (1985); DONG & XU (2009); FAN (1997: 620-8); GOODBURN (2014); GRANT (1989); HEBEL (2006a: 23-4; 2006b: 44); HERRLE et al. (2008: 42); HOFFMAN (2010: 7-9); HUANG (2007: 244-5); HSU (2007: 159); LI et al. (2014); MU (2014a; 2014b); OECD (2008: 45, 307); SCHÜLLER (2000); SPENCE (2001²: 765-829); YAO (2010); WANG (1999: 100-69); WONG & ZHENG (2001: 3,7); WU et al. (2007: 53); ZHAO & YANG (2012); ZHAO & ZHU (2009: 35); ZHAO (2014).

Tab. 3.1: (continued)

3.1 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MORPHOGENESIS: FROM SOCIALIST STATE TOWARDS ENTREPRENEURIAL STRATEGIES, A POST-SOCIALIST LABOUR REGIME AND THE NEED FOR PROFESSIONALS

3.1.1 Spatially Selective Transformation: Special Economic Zones as New Economic Spaces

The political and economic changes were implemented selectively in terms of region. The coastal regions benefited more from the ownership reforms and experienced more rapid transformation, whereas the central and western provinces lagged behind (LIN & HU 2011: 728). In the coastal provinces Guangdong and Fujian, the national government established the first special economic zones that enabled the national government to control foreign direct investment easily and profit from international market forces. In 1984, the national government opened another fourteen coastal cities to foreign investment and in 1985, five open economic regions were designated, including the *Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region* (cf. Tab. 3.1; HUANG 2007: 245). The designated zones gave special incentives to foreign companies to invest and cooperate with domestic firms. Tax reductions within the zones made the area especially attractive to investors (PEREIRA 2003: 12). Through the influx of mostly rural migrants, urbanisation processes have been especially intense in the Open Economic Regions, such as the Pearl River Delta¹⁴, and have laid the basis for continuous prosperous development which continues today (KRAAS 2004).

DENG (1985: 26) saw the special economic zones as a medium to introduce technology, management, and knowledge by training “a large number of competent people” and foster China’s economic advancement and influence in the world. The first investments came from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 1990s, but the investment’s origins became more diversified in the following decades (CRANE 1994: 76). Stemming from export processing zones in western countries, widely established from the 1970s onwards to achieve greater economic openness, in China special development zones and their counterparts have mushroomed especially in the coastal regions since the 1990s, creating “zone fever” (CARTIER 2001: 205). GE (1999: 1) defines export-processing zones as a “geographic area within the territory of a country where economic activities of certain kinds are promoted by a set of policy instruments that are not generally applicable to the rest of the country,” a definition adequately applicable to its Chinese counterparts. WU et al. (2007: 153, 154) argue that the creation of these new urban spaces enabled the national government to adopt special policies that allow a “more localized urban governance” and to apply experimental strategies in investment and the attraction of professionals that can be transferred to other places in the case of their success. The zones apply special incentives (e.g. tax relief, duty-free export and import, exemption of labour laws, etc.) to attract mainly foreign investment for export production (JAUCH 2002: 102). Accordingly, ONG (2006: 102) calls these urban spaces “new space[s] of exception” or “new capitalist spaces”. The establishment of the special economic zones laid the foundation for the emergence of urban clusters and regional disparities in eco-

¹⁴ The PRD has no clearly defined boundaries. In the definition used here the area encompasses the cities Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Dongguan, Foshan, Zhongshan, Zhuhai and part of Huizhou and Zhaoqing. This area corresponds with the region defined as the *Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region* in 1985 (cf. Tab. 3.1; cf. SCHRÖDER 2012: 57).

conomic and population development. Although the Chinese national government had already tried to counteract these spatial differences in development in the 1980s by promulgating family planning regulations and measures to guide urbanisation by constraining the growth of large cities, regional disparities remain prevalent today (cf. Tab. 3.1; AU & HENDERSON 2006: 557; SPENCE 2001²: 799-806).

The Special Economic Zones were at the forefront of China's economic opening and political restructuring. Whereas early economic endeavours to transform made China an important manufacturing location for worldwide export, in recent years many cities have been eager to upgrade their industrial basis towards human capital-intensive and knowledge-intensive industries, as described in the following chapter with regard to the whole country and the Pearl River Delta and its cities Guangzhou and Dongguan. High-tech industry zones, as the successors of the early industrial zones, play an important role in this endeavour (cf. chapter 4.2.3).

3.1.2 From Labour-intensive Manufacturing towards Human-capital and Knowledge-intensive Industry?

China's Endeavour to Change the Industrial Basis

In the beginning, China's economic integration into the global market was mainly based on the rapid development in the labour-intensive manufacturing industries. On the one hand, China became one of the most important investment destinations of foreign capital with one of its major profiteers being the PRD. On the other hand, China developed itself to the "factory of the world" for labour-intensive commodities, such as electronics, textiles, and clothing, in the process of relocation of low-end processing from Hong Kong first to South China and since the mid-1990s further North. As early as the 1980s and especially since its entry into the WTO in 2001, China applied strategies to enhance its research and innovation capacity and move towards a more knowledge-based and service-based industry, with a focus on high-technology enterprises (WU & GAUBATZ 2013: 122; ZHAO & YANG 2012: 291). The economic upgrading¹⁵ of the industrial sector to remain competitive on the global market and sustain economic growth became the prevalent strategy in China, and especially in its early prospering coastal regions. In the *11th Five Year Plan* (2006-2010), the aim of shifting away from rapid GDP growth towards "sustainable and inclusive growth" and from an export-oriented economy driven by foreign investment towards one that is based on the domestic market and technology and human capital-intensive industries was formulated (CPGPRC 2011: n/a). However, the implementation failed,

¹⁵ Economic upgrading refers to a "qualitative change in the economic activity of firms, regions, countries, or groups of countries" (LIEFNER 2014: 27). On the company level, it refers to the capacity "to make better products, to make products more efficiently, or to move into more skilled activities" (PIETROBELLI & RABELLOTTI 2006: 1). According to HUMPHREY (2002: 1020), different types of economic upgrading can be identified: Process upgrading refers to the operation to make the production process more efficient by restructuring the production system or by adopting advanced technology. Product upgrading means the promotion of a more sophisticated product range. Functional upgrading describes the adoption of new functions to enhance the practices used in production activities, and intersectoral upgrading denotes the move to another production cluster to diversify the production activities. The term strongly connotes to the value chain and global production networks as it refers to a change in economic basis towards more productive or profitable activities and towards becoming a more technology and human capital-intensive economy.

partially due to the world economic crisis. The international financial crisis in 2008 hit the country's economy harder than the Asian crisis in 1997 due to the country's higher openness to and interdependencies with international markets. Accordingly, an end was put to the rapid and careless economic growth and new sources of economic development were urgently needed (WU & GAUBATZ 2013: 122-8; ZHAO & YANG 2012: 289). Accordingly, the aims were rescheduled in the *12th Five Year Plan* (2011-2015; Asia Business Council 2011: 4; CALLAHAN 2013: 69-71).

An important measure in starting China's upgrading process was the establishment of the *National Torch Programme* in 1988 by the *Ministry of Science and Technology*, a formalised scheme to support the establishment of high-tech industries and foster entrepreneurial activity by providing infrastructure in industrial and science parks. Since the mid-1980s, high-tech industrial zones¹⁶, university science cities, and technology business incubators were established within the National Torch Programme to provide infrastructure, platforms for business contacts, agglomeration advantages, and regional spill-over effects for industry and science interactions and spin-offs of public research organisations (LIEFNER 2006: 99-100; Torch High Technology Industry Development Center n.y.). The concept of high-tech industrial zones follows a "cluster-development" strategy that is aimed at attracting international and domestic expertise to establish high-class institutions, as well as attracting experts to the zones and thereby foster economic upgrading (ONG & COLLIER 2005: 340). The procedure of establishing high-tech industrial zones was intensively fostered in the 1990s (OECD 2008: 45).

Moving Up the Value Chain: The Case of the Pearl River Delta and Its Cities Guangzhou and Dongguan

Due to its strong focus on export, and labour intensive industry, the PRD was particularly affected by the global financial and economic crisis in 2008, leaving thousands of migrants, mostly working in the low-value-added manufacturing industries, without employment due to the overnight closure of enterprises. However, the "financial tsunami", as the 2008 economic crisis was named in the PRD, hit the region during a planned economic upgrading process targeting the shift of the economic structure towards higher value-added services and high-tech industries (SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2012: 98-9; cf. SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2010: 57-8). Increasing competition from other parts of China and Asia and rising labour costs jeopardised the PRD's position as the world's manufacturing region, making the need for new development strategies even more obvious (Asia Business Council 2011: 2; WUTTKE 2011b: 365).

The two cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan show different economic upgrading trajectories. Guangzhou as Guangdong province's capital was the administrative and manufacturing centre already before the reform-era, and has been one of the major recipients of foreign investment since the 1980s

¹⁶ Several terms are used to describe the high-tech industrial zones that emerged: *High-tech industrial zones*, *High and New Technology Development Zones*, *Economic and Technology Zones*, *Science and Technology Industrial Parks*, *Industrial and Science Parks* or *Science and Technology Parks* (LIEFNER 2006: 100). For simplicity's sake, in the following the term high-tech industrial zones is used. High-tech industrial zones are classified according to the administrative rank of the approving authorities which is either China State Council, i.e. central government in the case of national-level zones, or the provincial level governments in the case of the provincial-level zones (WANG 2007: 7). The high-tech industrial zones' management functions as the administrative unit, either on municipal or provincial level. Hence, the zone's Administrative Committee can decide about business-promoting benefits, such as tax reliefs or rent reductions.

(ENRIGHT et al. 2005: 43). Dongguan's industrial career as a manufacturing city only began with the opening-up process. Starting in the early 1990s, Guangzhou's municipal government, headed by Major Li Ziliu, determined an ambitious development strategy to modernise the economic structure and transform the city into a modern and international metropolis by 2005. Thereby, the development plan was a direct response to the intensifying competition from other PRD cities and coastal regions and a means for the whole province to catch up with the industrially advancing cities in East Asia. Accordingly, instead of concentrating on old themes, such as the upgrading of light industry and the textile industry, the plan suggested establishing Guangzhou as a financial, commercial, and service centre not only in South China, but in the wider Asia-Pacific region (CHEUNG 1996: 129-32). Since then, Guangzhou has intensely developed its high-tech industries and service sector, and has tightened its leading economic position in the Pearl River Delta. Nowadays, Guangzhou is the leading centre in the PRD for a range of services, such as software, domestically oriented logistics, and distribution (CHAN 2006: 502; ENRIGHT et al. 2005: 45-6).

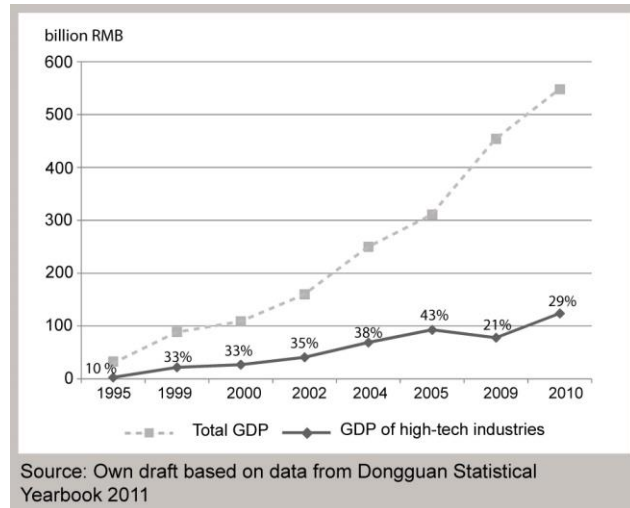


Fig. 3.1: Dongguan's GDP and high-tech industries contribution in per cent (main years between 1995 and 2010)

Dongguan best reflects the rapid economic development and urbanisation of the PRD, developing from a poor village in 1979 to the region's manufacturing hub (WU & GAUBATZ 2013: 121-2; YANG 2007: 92). In the 1980s and early 1990s, Dongguan acted as the "back factory" (XU et al. 1995: 148) for Hong Kong being involved in labour-intensive processing and the assembly of food, clothing, and home electronic goods. Beginning in the mid-1990s, the city developed as a hub of electronics production driven by Taiwanese and Hong Kongese investment becoming the world's largest supplier of computer peripherals (CHEN 2007a: 11; YANG 2007). Due to its spontaneous and explosive urban expansion and its location between the region's major metropolitan cities Hong Kong, Shenzhen, and Guangzhou, Dongguan became a wide-spread, "peri-urbanised" city (LIN 2006). It encompasses 32 districts and towns where most of the industrial activities are located and gained city status only in 1984 (BARLETTA et al. 2008: 4395; LI 1997: 1006). With its urbanisation majorly driven by the influx of migrants, Dongguan has a high percentage of migrants (78 per cent) – 6.4 million with a total population of 8.2 million (China Labour Bulletin 2011; WU & GAUBATZ 2013: 122).

Since the beginning of the millennium, Dongguan's government has invested in upgrading their industrial structure and helping enterprises to develop high-end services, innovative industries, and own brands. This reorientation can be seen as a direct response to industry relocation and closure due to rising wages, land and rent prices, and overall costs for enterprises in the city that especially occurred in the aftermath of the global financial and economic crisis that had especially hit Dongguan due to its export-oriented economy (GUO & FENG 2009: 70-7). Dongguan's upgrading attempts have seen some initial results. The high-tech industry share of Dongguan's total GDP rose from 10 per cent

in 1995 to 43 per cent in 2005, and only experienced a slight downturn in 2009 were its share reached only 21 per cent due to the economic downturn after the financial crisis (cf. Fig. 3.1). In 2010, the role of the high-tech industries in the GDP rose again to 29 per cent. Nonetheless, Dongguan's economic upgrading process remains challenging. Especially the financial crisis of 2008 has shown the vulnerability of Dongguan's enterprises. Accordingly, the city is trying to further upgrade and move industries towards high-tech production, and promote the establishment of research and development (R&D) institutions to decrease the dependency on the export market, raise product quality and competitiveness (cf. QIU 2013).

For the upgrading of the economic structure, in both Guangzhou and Dongguan, professionals have gained increasing attention from city governments. To increase their competitive advantage and their relevance as knowledge hubs, both cities are concentrating on the establishment of high-tech industrial zones (CHEN 2005: 72-3; CHEN 2007b: 184). The cities' spatial proximity yields a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, they are benefiting from inner-regional cluster effects, and on the other hand, they are competing with each other for investment, mobile capital, and worldwide economic relevance. Before outlining the restructuring strategy in more detail (cf. chapter 4.2.3), the transformation process in the housing sectors, the government strategies to mobilise professionals and the professionals' interprovincial migration behaviour are addressed.

3.1.3 Transforming the Socialist Labour Regime

Basic institutional changes, such as the transition from a socialist labour regime as a leading element of the planned economy to a new socialist market labour regime, were particularly important in China's transformation towards a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. Having an impact on Chinese society in general, these changes also influenced the way in which professionals' private and working lives were organised. The socialist employment system was based on a set of institutions that followed the logic of Leninist tradition, and included Marxist socialist ideology and Soviet practice. Socialist China actually comprised two different socialist labour regimes, the work units (*danwei*), and the rural collective units that chained rural workforce to the rural areas. In combination with the *hukou* system (cf. chapter 3.2), the political institution of the work units, helped to control and guide the population. The goal was to control population flows to direct the labour force where the state assumed it was most needed. A strong rural-urban divide, a segmented labour market, uneven regional development, and little flexibility and freedom of choice in employment and residential locations were the results. Nonetheless, it was also a highly inclusive labour regime that created full-employment and comprehensive welfare (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a; HOFFMAN 2010: 53; LIN 2011: 144; PUTTERMAN & DONG 2000: 410-1). The urban labour regime was represented by various components, such as enterprise specific work training, the membership in a work unit (*danwei*) with its social security and benefits, such as housing, education, health care, or old age support to working people and their families, and a work assignment system directed by the central labour bureau (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 25; LIN 2011: 143; PUTTERMAN & DONG 2000: 410).

Thereby, the work unit had a strong influence on the people's life courses. It was not only an element that organised work relations, but also engaged in private matters, such as marriage and family planning (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 16). With the erosion of the work units as the provider of social

services and benefits, the social welfare system underwent substantial changes that are still in progress. The financing and responsibility have been shifted from the employers and the national government to the individual employees themselves, directly and indirectly by payment of taxes, and to the local governments. The new welfare system, according to a so-called White Paper issued in 2004, comprises five areas ranging from social security (e.g. old-age and unemployment support, medical services), to social welfare (for elderly, children and disabled people), a social care and placement system that guarantees, for instance, a minimum standard of living to urban residents, and housing services (e.g. a low-rent housing system (cf. chapter 3.1.5; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 29-30; IOSPCRC 2004)). However, in the course of these reforms, the social welfare system has loosened its scope, providing only a small fraction of services and benefits compared to during pre-reform times. Pensions, health, and education benefits increased until the early 2000s, while housing, food assistance, and supplementary payments decreased (GAO 2006). The withdrawal of the state from public services was accompanied by an increase in costs, e.g. through the privatisation of service providers. Moreover, due to the *hukou* system, the access to services and benefits is restricted to local-*hukou* holders and employees in formal employment relations (cf. chapter 3.1.5). This development, however, is not the only source of discrimination of non-local workforce that occurs in the new socialist market labour regime (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006b: 22, 28; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 30-8; HUANG 2007: 249). “Migrants are geographically segregated, politically ignored, and financially discriminated” (ZHAO 2005: 305; cf. chapter 3.1.5) as will be discussed in regard to professionals in this thesis.

In the pre-reform era, the employment system was deeply intertwined with the educational system as the latter was closely connected to the production sector. The major aim of education was to produce primary educated and trained workers for manual work (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 19-20). Access to further education was distributed according to academic performance, assessed by the entrance examinations, family class-origin, and the student’s own political loyalty (DENG & TREIMAN 1997: 394; SHIRK 1982: 41; UNGER 1982: 12-6). Higher education, however, struggled under political repression in pre-reform China. Universities had been shut in 1966 and in the 1970s, and qualified young people had been sent to work and be politically aligned in the villages. These measures created the “lost generation”, the youth raised during the Cultural Revolution (BONNIN 2006: 250). Most of the educated youth were rusticated not before 1978 to re-enter the urban labour market. Nonetheless, education is traditionally highly valued in Chinese culture as an element of human culture (*wenhua*), civilization (*wenming*), and quality (*suzhi*) and an opportunity to advance one’s bureaucratic status (BONNIN 2006: 251-2; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 19-20). In pre-reform China, the government managed all college and university graduates and allocated state-positions that guaranteed lifelong employment and job stability. The state considered graduates as cadres (*ganbu*) and thus the personnel bureau (*renshiju*) instead of the labour bureau (*laodongju*) managed them. The personnel bureau was responsible for managing people in clerical, technical, managerial, and engineering positions from educational institutions, such as universities, and colleges. This procedure generated the distinction between ‘talent’ markets (*rencai shichang*) and labour markets (*laodong shichang*). Most graduates were assigned to urban state-level work units which provided a higher salary or subsidised housing in the city (CHILD 1994: 157-82; HOFFMAN 2010: 53-5).

Another challenge in the transformation process was that new markets in the reformed production regime, such as the international investors in joint ventures, required different human resources from the state-owned companies. With the emergence of joint ventures and private companies, human resources were evaluated according to their “quality” – expertise, skills and knowledge. Thus, the new socialist market labour regime requested workers to find their own jobs, as employment was no longer allocated by assignment institutions, but regulated through market forces. From now on, professionals needed to take care of their own careers (HOFFMAN 2010: 56). These changes gave the professionals new freedom of choice and more autonomy regarding their employment location and their moves were guided by their specifications, skills, personality, education background, and vested interests. In the course of these reforms, having a career became accepted “[...] in the name of individualized success, local development, and national strength” (HOFFMAN 2010: 60; cf. HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 26). A major reform step in the transformation process was the state’s withdrawal from political and economic control by opening the system of labour allocation and employment. This measure resulted in the emergence of a labour market in the early 1980s with the redistribution of employment, more flexibility and less job security (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a).

In 1985, DENG (1985: 8) recognised that the processes of allocating labour force in the pre-reform era had been fairly ineffective and that new mechanisms were needed to use the professionals’ qualities in developing the country’s economy:

“We do have talented people, but the problem is how to organize them properly, arouse their enthusiasm and give scope to their ‘talents’. On the one hand, there is a great demand for scientists and technicians. On the other hand, there are cases of serious waste, because they are not assigned enough work due to poor organization, or cannot apply what they have learned or put their specialized skills to best use. We should consider the problem of organizing and managing scientists and technicians, because the present method of management does not work. How to use their ‘talents’ and use them properly is quite a problem.”

After Deng’s tour to the *Special Economic Zones* (SEZ) reforms of the assignment system were initiated to achieve a more market-based distribution regime of the labour force (cf. Tab. 3.1). These changes included a selection system of “‘mutual choice’ (*shuangxiang xuanze*)” that allows graduates and employers to decide about employment locations and hiring, the establishment of job fairs for exchange between graduates and employers and professional exchange centres to facilitate job exchange between state-dominated, private, and foreign sectors, and the promotion of face-to-face interviewing (HOFFMAN 2010: 2).

Additionally, with changing labour regimes, the education system turned out to be insufficient in terms of the quantity and quality of the workforce it had produced (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 33). In 1999, eleven per cent of the citizens had no schooling and one-third had received only primary education. Only a small share of 4 per cent were college or university graduates (LU et al. 2002: 29). The newly founded private and state-owned enterprises, however, needed a skilled and high-skilled workforce with managerial and technical skills to foster renewal towards early secondary and later tertiary sector industrialisation. Increasing investment in higher education and profound reforms resulted in a rapid expansion of higher education institutions, increasing numbers of university graduates and the increased quality of graduates (FLORIDA et al. 2012: 629; LIU & SHEN 2013b). Since the government’s strategic decision to expand higher education in 1999 (cf. Tab. 3.1), the number of undergraduate and

graduate students has risen by 30 per cent each year, and the number of graduates has almost quadrupled since 2004 (LI et al. 2011: 516; LI et al. 2014: 567). Nonetheless, in 2010, the proportion of Chinese with tertiary education was still comparably low. 8 per cent of Chinese had tertiary education but the share is expected to rise to 33 per cent in the next two decades (DOBBS & MADGAVKAR 2014: 206). Accordingly, COOKE (2012: 21) argues that the vast investment in education has not reduced the ‘talent’ shortage. Also LI and QIAN (2011: 147) emphasise a “structural labour shortage” that first occurred in late 2004 in the Pearl River Delta, the southeastern part of Fujian Province and the Yangtze River Delta peaked again in 2009 when China was recovering from the global financial crisis and steadily recorded economic growth again (cf. Tab. 3.1).

Whereas workers with lower educational levels were available, the demand for high-skilled workforce exceeded the supply by private and state-owned enterprises. Thereby, firms faced difficulties especially in filling senior management positions (COOKE 2012: 22; OECD 2008: 54).

Additionally, the increase in college and university graduates has resulted in high unemployment rates among graduates. In 2009, the unemployment rate among graduates was 12 per cent, whereas the national unemployment rate was only 4.3 per cent. In 2010, 25 per cent, or roughly 1.5 million of the 6.3 million students that graduated during the last year, were unemployed. The difficulties in finding jobs increased dissatisfaction among graduates (COOKE 2012: 21; HUBER et al. 2011: 979; LI et al. 2011: 517). However, not only was the high unemployment, but also the structure of the higher education system held responsible for the graduates’ dissatisfaction and the labour mismatch. HUBER et al. (2011) found in their study on dissatisfaction among students that higher education institutions in China do not adequately prepare students for pursuing a career after graduation. COOKE (2012: 23) argues that the key problem in fostering the quality mismatch of professionals is the structure of the Chinese educational system. Higher education institutions focus on the conveyance of theoretical knowledge and teach the solving of abstract problems instead of the development of practical skills, and independent, critical, and creative thinking. Students, who are educated in a passive way of learning, face difficulties adapting to the Western type of thinking and working found in foreign firms (cf. also OECD 2008: 41; ONG & COLLIER 2005: 344). A McKinsey Survey from 2005 confirmed that fewer than 10 per cent of the Chinese job candidates were suitable to work in a foreign company due to their lack of practical skills and the relatively low creativity among Chinese students (ZHAO & ZHU 2009: 40).

When one considers the numerous qualified university graduates that face difficulties in finding employment, the mismatch between the supply of workers and the educational system and the production regime becomes apparent (e.g. COOKE 2012: 23; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 33). It is widely

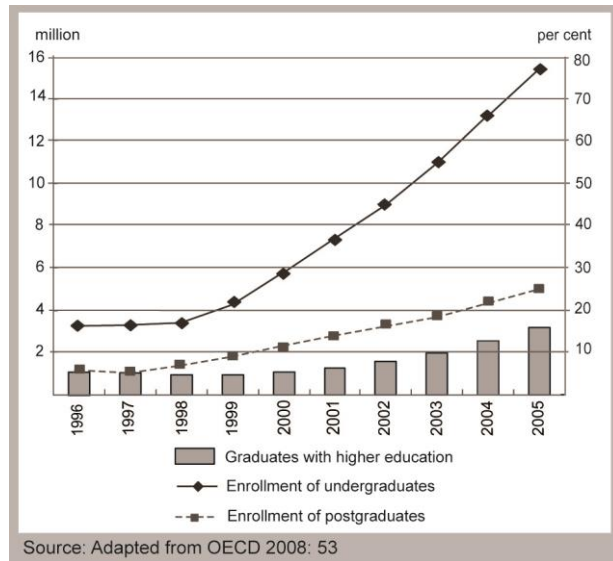


Fig. 3.2: The expansion of the higher education system in China (1996-2005)

recognised that the shortage of a high-skilled labour force and the relative low quality and efficiency of a workforce harms China's production and innovation capacity. It is argued that this issue must be solved to enable them to compete on an international level (COOKE 2012: 44; OECD 2008: 53).

DOBBS and MAGAVKAR (2014) argue that China faces an increasing inability to raise the number of high-skilled workers to meet the growing demand from the service sector and high-tech industries. Despite the increasing number of graduates, they see the issue of providing enough labour and filling the mismatch between the skills offered by workers and those required by employers as even worsening due to declining birth rates and the high number of workers near retirement age employed in China's advanced economies (*ibid.*). Another prevalent issue is the brain drain to overseas. In total, only 33 per cent of all Chinese who went abroad for studying returned to China in the period from 1978 to 2010 (NBSC 2011; China Infobank 2012). Additionally, it is argued that many of the high-skilled return migrants are not top-level professionals. Accordingly, the repatriation of thousands of Chinese overseas graduates has not alleviated the shortage. Besides that, the numbers are lower than hoped, and companies are also not very satisfied with the performance of overseas returnees in general (COOKE 2012: 23, 29; ZHANG & HOU 2011). Furthermore, COOKE (2012: 23) argues that China's one-child policy has created a generation of young people who "are spoiled by their family, dependent, unwilling to endure hardship but eager to have early success" and high earnings. This development is contradictory to the collectivist social values of Chinese culture (SCHARPING 2007³: 70).

3.1.4 New Modes of Governing Professionals: Urban Entrepreneurism, City Competition, and Neoliberal Techniques

The cities' endeavours to upgrade their economic basis, as described in the previous chapter, further intensified the competition for professionals as professionals are needed as entrepreneurs of high-tech companies and as the high-skilled workforce in the industry. With the new need for professionals and the emergence of a new type of professional (*cf.* chapter 3.1.1), new guiding and managing mechanisms were required. A shift in the Chinese governance techniques from instruction to guidance can be seen in the *Eleventh Five-Year Plan* (2006-2010) in that the term *jihua* (plan) was replaced by the term *guihua* (plan). Both terms refer to "plan", but whereas *jihua* implies detailed state planning and intervention, *guihua* means regulation and more overall supervision by means of a "guideline program" (SIGLEY 2006: 503; *cf.* CALLAHAN 2013: 70). HOFFMAN (2010: 60) argues that this reorientation has generated new methods of governing that "[...] produce new standards of behaviour (e.g., a professional, who is globally oriented), new understandings of a work ethic (e.g., one that is profit oriented and self-enterprising), and new assessments of value (e.g., valorization of urban talent over rural migrants)". She adds that these new choices – the freedom of choice – given to professionals and all Chinese citizens, may it be in term of finding a job, housing or a partner, are, following FOUCAULT's concept of governmentality¹⁷, new "techniques of governing adopted in the post-Mao government" that

¹⁷ Especially critical realists have critically discussed FOUCAULT's concept of governmentality. ARCHER (2013: 153, emphasis in the original) criticises FOUCAULT'S concept of power by arguing that it is not acceptable to endorse the self-government model as "*self-government* is a form of social organization that requires a centralised structure – one greatly more efficient than any of our historical exemplars – and the active support of those affected by its regulations". In her morphogenetic approach, ARCHER (2013: 161) attributes social actors

make individuals self-enterprising subjects (ibid.: 12). What ONG and ZHANG (2008: 2-3) call “socialism from afar” – “a particular articulation of neoliberalism” – has encouraged professionals to apply self-monitoring, self-maximising, and self-normalising technologies that guide them, for instance, to live healthy, to strengthen their expertise or to contribute to China’s economic advancement (cf. chapter 3.2.1).

The existence of “neo” or “advanced” liberalism in China, however, is highly debated in the scientific literature. HUI (2004), for example, sees the emergence of “neoliberal ideology” in the reforms towards the expanded and privatised market and decentralised power. KIPNIS (2007), by contrast, argues that an overuse and reification of the term has emerged. He criticises the perception of neoliberalism as merely an ideology that the state uses to self-motivate and self-discipline its citizens. Instead, he argues for the particularisation of the techniques (policies, or traditions of thoughts) used in neoliberalism (ibid.: 388). ROFEL (2007: 159) also argues for the complex nature of neoliberalism in China, for instance by saying that China was not “confronted with a uniform bundle of neoliberalism” when entering the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Neoliberalism cannot be seen as “a coherent set of principles” (ibid.), which supports the pluralisation of the term (ibid.: 2). Additionally, the discussion on the application of neoliberalism in a developing country’s context should move beyond the idea that “China is ‘in transition’ and ‘not yet’ neoliberal” (HUI 2004; cf. HOFFMAN 2010: 15).

HUI’s (2004) argument clearly draws attention to the discussion of neoliberalism as Western philosophy. KIPNIS (2008: 282-4) argues, for instance, that technologies of self, such as self-discipline and self-cultivation, were also seen as governing techniques by Confucius, Mao Zedong, or Mahatma Gandhi. Whereas one of Mao’s central governing slogans was that of “self-reliance” (*zili gengshen*), he as an anti-capitalist most-probably did not refer to self-reliance in terms of preparing the individual for market culture. However, it still shows similarities to the theme of an individual’s self-responsibility in privatisation schemes that are often referred to as neoliberal governmentality (ibid.: 283). Confucius argued for the self-governing technique of self-discipline by first cultivating one’s own personality and increasing one’s own knowledge, before regulating one’s family and the state (LEGGE 1861: 221-3). Accordingly, Chinese governance is rather a combination of Maoism, Confucianism, the Legalist techniques of harsh governance and Western influences. Thereby, HUI (2004: 21) argues that in “the Chinese version of neoliberalism” the state is indeed critical of neoliberalism but finds itself in “complex mutual dependence” between state policy and market mechanisms and not in “fundamental conflict” (cf. HOFFMAN 2010: 18).

ONG and ROY’s (2011) “worlding practices” are helpful to identify the variety of neoliberal techniques applied in the Chinese regime of governing. They refer to *inter-referencing practices* that in contrast to the concrete instantiating in the *modelling* practice “refers more broadly to practices of citation, allusion, aspiration, comparison, and competition” (ONG 2011: 17). Accordingly, neoliberal-

some degree of self-governance by “forming ‘projects’ for making their way through the social world” but states that they are far from being “paradigms of *self-government*” (ARCHER 2013: 162, emphasis in the original). The fact that most of the agents do have the unimpaired ability of reflexivity, such as planning, decision-making, budgeting, clarifying, or self-monitoring, does not make them solely self-governing (ARCHER 2013: 162). By admitting the reflexive subject in his later work, FOUCAULT, however, seems to be more or less congruent with this approach.

ism in their point of view becomes “‘mobile technology’ that unfolds in a shifting terrain of borrowing, appropriations and alliances” (ROY 2011: 311). To exemplify these practices they use the example of Chinese coastal cities were “Shenzhen is Hong Kongized, Guangzhou is Shenzhenized, and the whole country is Guangdongized” (CARTIER 2001: 242). Deng Xiaoping’s tour through Southern China (cf. Tab. 3.1 and chapter 3.1.4) resulted in the call for “building a few Hong Kongs” along the coast (SONG 1991: 13). In the “development fever” (CARTIER 2001: 242; cf. chapter 3.1.4) Chinese cities, and Asian cities in general, have begun to compete among themselves by providing improved working and living conditions to attract professionals and investment, and foster economic development (ONG 2011: 18).

Geographers, such as HARVEY (1989; 2005) or PECK and TICKELL (2002), argue that neoliberalism – referring to entrepreneurial city management, privatisation, deregulation, and the extension of market logics to the provision of urban services – has shaped urban spaces and landscapes. The reorientation of urban governance towards entrepreneurship can be seen as a result of reduced spatial barriers and the resulting movement of people, goods, money and information. Consequently, local governments have to maximise the attractiveness of their specific locales “as a lure for capitalist development” and attract investment to sustain local economic growth (HARVEY 1989: 5). In the struggle to enhance their “competitive position” within the “division of consumption” (ibid.: 9), cities apply a variety of measures, including the creation of new urban spaces for living and working, leisure, or consumption, to attract and retain professionals, and increase place competitiveness.

In China, urban entrepreneurialism has become an equally prominent way of governance as in Western countries (WU 2007a: 382; WU & ZHANG 2007; WU et al. 2007: 193-230). China’s institutional context, however, is different to other countries. It consists of a top-down political system and a decentralised urban governance system that facilitated the emergence of the “new urban governance” one which empowers the local state (WU et al. 2007: 157; cf. MORRISON 2010: 4). The development of the decentralisation of power that has occurred since the 1980s reassigned responsibilities for investment and economic development from the central government to provincial and municipal governments, and helped to enhance the economic performance of enterprises and local governments (GOLLEY & SONG 2010: 2; LIN & YI 2011: 59). Together with the processes of scaling down power, authority, and resources from rural counties, townships, and villages to municipal level, the municipal governments could greatly increase their decision making power. Thus, they have the means to adapt various strategies of capital accumulation, such as the annexation and merging of surrounding rural districts, and towns to expand their jurisdictional territory. This territorial expansion has been applied in many metropolitan areas, such as Guangzhou and Dongguan. The PRD is one of the earliest examples for the re-scaling of political powers (SETO 2004: 15).

This process came along with the introduction of the “‘system of fiscal responsibility’ (*caizheng baoganzhi*)” in the early 1980s under which provincial governments were allowed to retain surplus revenue after a lump-sum payment (LIN & YI 2011: 53). Changes in the land law first undertaken in 1986 had allowed trading with temporary land use rights, which made it possible to rent land to investors on long-term leases, with the local governments receiving all revenue from the land transaction (cf. Tab. 3.1). A substantial share of municipal governments’ revenue nowadays is accounted for by

selling land use rights. Therefore local government are incited to support economic development to attract further investment and to increase land prices (HERRLE et al. 2008: 42; MORRISON 2010: 5; TANG et al. 2011: 851-4; WU & ZHANG 2007: 117). WU et al. (1997: 1853) argue that the land reform in 1986 has significantly changed the urban structure in cities, such as Guangzhou and Dongguan. They say that the initiation of the land-leasing system has fostered urban spatial growth as real-estate developers preferably promote construction in suburban areas due to the higher living quality and the mostly unrestricted availability of space. This corresponds with the changing of residential preferences in recent years (cf. chapter 3.2.3).

Additionally, local governments have been granted greater economic autonomy as they no longer have to have their local municipal plans and strategies approved by central governments (WU & ZHANG 2007: 717). However, the municipal official's activities are still influenced by their superior governments as those play a major role in determining the municipal official's career development. As the enhancement of local development has become a top priority on the agendas of government officials, greater economic performance of the city-region corresponds with the local leaders' chances of being promoted. This mechanism increases the incentive for local government officials to promote the place competitiveness of their municipality (MORRISON 2010: 5; WU 2007a: 383).

Regardless of the profound changes in China's regulatory regime towards facilitating the application of place competitive strategies on the local level, WU et al. (2007: 196) argue that one needs to be careful with applying the term entrepreneurship in the Chinese city context. Yet, reforms have enabled the state to act as a market player that uses market instruments to achieve political agendas. Nonetheless, reforms, including the decentralisation of decision and planning power, have not necessarily given the full financial responsibility to the local state. Local governments rather appear to be market players who lack financial discipline and public accountability, and are careless about capital cost and market demand, which creates a tendency towards overspending and unwise investments.

Nonetheless, the hunger for investment and economic development has increased the inter-city competition within China that again has enhanced the need for place promotion (ibid.: 159). Although inter-city competition is not a new phenomenon in China, as it existed in a hidden form also in the socialist state, it has become explicit since the beginning of the reform era (ibid.: 204). Widely cited definitions of competitiveness, such as the one of the *Chinese Academy of Social Science*, highlight the importance of attracting investment. Here, competitiveness is

“[t]he relative ability of a city in comparison with other cities to attract, compete for, sustain, control, and utilize [capital] resources, and the ability to grab and control markets in order to create value for the city and provide [prosperity] to its residents” (ibid.).

In this regard, WU et al. (ibid.: 159) observe “a new style of governance”, one that focuses on the specific requests of investors that are assumed to perceive the business environment as better in a good-looking city with good infrastructure. This development makes competition also a matter of city image and amenities provided in the cities. Again the experimental spaces for testing these new strategies are often the special development districts, free trade zones, or high-tech business zones that are mushrooming all over the country (cf. chapter 3.1.4).

Confronted with intercity competition, the Chinese municipalities are pressured to enhance not only their city's economic base, but also to reduce potential skills and labour shortages in order to provide employees for private sectors and state-owned enterprises (JESSOP & SUM 2000: 2304; MORRISON 2014: 5). As pointed out by McKinsey and Company (2005), the lack of sufficient high-skilled workers – in terms of quantity and quality – significantly impedes China's rise beyond labour-intensive manufacturing (FARRELL & GRANT 2005: 10; see also COOKE 2012: 21). The high-skilled shortage and retention problems (cf. chapter 3.1.1) have created a “war for talents” (COOKE 2012: 21). Accordingly, Chinese cities aspire to become “talent hubs” and work hard to attract a skilled labour force, including domestic and foreign ‘talents’ to sustain economic growth (SHEN 2010: 1; cf. MORRISON 2014: 5). FLORIDA et al. (2012: 645) argue in this regard that the free distribution of professionals is still restricted by governmental regulative policies, the *hukou* system, that further accentuate the supply and demand mismatch. The *hukou* system and the associated impediments will be discussed in the following chapter in order to provide background knowledge to discuss the *hukou* system as an instrument in the attraction of professionals in chapter 4.2.2.

3.1.5 Relaxing the *Hukou* System

To understand the governing mechanisms of professionals applied in Chinese cities, one needs to take into consideration the influence of the *hukou* system on Chinese migration. This chapter provides an introduction to the major characteristics of the *hukou* system and its changes since the beginning of the transformation process. Already Deng Xiaoping (1984: 305) had argued that to support national and local development the major task was to discover and promote professionals even if the government had “to bypass certain regulation[s]”. He pled for the unimpeded flow of professionals to use human capital more efficiently and to inspire new ideas (cf. HOFFMAN 2010: 59). Consequently, policies controlling the change of *hukou* were gradually relaxed, starting in the early 1980s.

The *hukou* system characterises China's citizens, firstly, according to their place of residence (*hukou suozaidi*) that is ascribed at birth, usually according to the mother's place of residence. Secondly, all Chinese citizens hold a *hukou* status (*hukou leibie*) that can be agricultural (*nongye*) or non-agricultural (*feinongye*), according to their place of residence. This status is simplistically called rural or urban *hukou* (CHAN 2009: 201-2; CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 821-3). The *hukou* status grants social benefits and access to welfare services, such as health care, free public education, low income housing and better access to jobs or business licenses, only in the registered residence, and only to local *hukou* holders (AU & HENDERSON 2006: 556-7; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006b: 25; LIN 2011: 146). Thereby, an urban *hukou* provides better benefits and entails a higher social status to the *hukou* holder (CHAN 2009: 210-3). Accordingly, WU and WANG (2014) argue that migrants in Chinese urban areas, exemplified using the cities Shanghai and Beijing, obtain limited citizenship rights, impairing access to social benefits and welfare, compared to local residents (cf. ZHANG 2010). According to their results, the migrant population also becomes more diverse which indicates a shift from the local/non-local divide towards an urban/rural divide. Both, migrants and local residents holding a rural *hukou*, have less access to social benefits and welfare, particularly pension and unemployment insurance. Urban migrants are better off in obtaining social benefits, such as insurance than local rural residents as they are better educated and accordingly more often employed in the state sectors. Hence, the education

attainment and other market-related factors, matter in migrants' rights attainment. In contrast, for local residents the effect of education is less obvious. GOODBURN (2014: 5) argues in contrast, that recent reforms of the *hukou* system weaken the rural-/urban divide by giving local rural *hukou* holders that usually live in the urban periphery access to urban services, formerly only open to local urban *hukou* holders. The *hukou* system also has a profound influence on the duration of migration, which is why it a distinction is often made between temporary (*liudong*) and permanent migrants (*qianyi*). Permanent migrants are migrants that manage to obtain a local *hukou* in their migration destination. Temporary migrants, often described as the "floating population" do not have a local *hukou* (FAN 2008: 22; cf. AU & HENDERSON 2006: 557).

Although the idea of registering population has a long history, the current *hukou* system was developed in the 1950s primarily for collecting statistics for tax collection and conscription purposes and ensuring public security (CHAN 2009: 199; GOODBURN 2014: 2). Although not primarily a migration regulation instrument, the *hukou* system became efficient in controlling migration and accomplishing state interests by providing the state with the means and information to secure social and political order and other related objectives (CHAN 2009: 198; CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 819-21). Migrating to another place of residence is legal only when public security authorities have approved and registered it (CHAN 2011b: 81). Even today, one of the regulating mechanisms applied by the national government is the control of *hukou* conversion from an agricultural to a non-agricultural *hukou* (*nongzhuanfei*) which includes "policy" (*zhengce*) and "quota" (*zhibiao*) controls. Policies determine the qualifications needed to change the *hukou* status to non-agricultural, and the quota decides on the number of possible changes. Changes are only granted for good reason, for instance, if they serve, or are not at odds with state interests and policies. The original criteria for the change of *hukou* to non-agricultural were the recruitment by a state-owned enterprise, enrolment in a higher education institution, promotion to a senior administrative job, or migration for personal reasons, such as sick or disabled spouses or parent (CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 823-7; CHAN et al. 1999: 427). Later policy changes also enabled relatives of high-skilled Overseas Chinese or investors from Hong Kong or Macao, domestic investors, professionals, management and technical staff and their close relatives, who worked in innovative sectors or were employed by investors, and other people that made significant contributions to the urban economy to get a non-agricultural *hukou* (cf. chapter; CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 834). Changing one's *hukou* remains difficult also for educated migrants, as it often requires employer sponsorship and might take several years (cf. chapter 4.2.2; WU & WANG 2014: 794).

It is argued that the *hukou* system lost much of its effectiveness in controlling migration and segmenting the labour market in the opening-up process due to several relaxations, suggesting its abolition soon (cf. Tab. 3.1; CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 820; FAN 2009: 370; GOODBURN 2014; HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 23; LIU & SHEN 2013b; ROBERTS 2012). For instance, many cities have introduced a temporary registration permit (*zanzhuzheng*) that allows migrants to migrate to the cities legally (WU & WANG 2014: 787). CHAN and BUCKINGHAM (2008) revealed that many changes in the *hukou* system since the late 1990s have only led to marginal improvements.

The previous chapters have outlined economic and political changes in the course of the transformation that led to a reevaluation of education, skills and knowledge. Not only did the spatially selective

economic opening and the endeavour to foster economic upgrading towards knowledge-intensive industries influence professionals' opportunities. Changes in the labour regime towards a new "freedom of choice" and new types of governance applied in the competition for professionals also heightened the expectations towards them in regard to their contribution to the economic transformation, and influenced professionals' private and working lives and societal norms and social values in general, as will be shown in the following chapters.

3.2 CHANGING SOCIAL, CULTURAL VALUES AMONG THE NEW PROFESSIONAL SUBJECT

In addition to economic and political implications, China's transformation also had an influence on the social values of professionals, and thus their decision-making (cf. chapter 2). The following chapters outline the consequences of the revaluation of professionalism that have led to professionals' endeavouring to invest in their qualifications, have revealed changes in professionals' private lives, including familial and housing situation, and have affected their perception of their living situation, including the environmental conditions that are likely to influence their migration and place decision-making.

3.2.1 Improving One's Culture and Quality: Professionals and their Career Aspirations

In Maoist China "de-differentiation" and "de-professionalization" of society (STOCKMAN 2000: 216) was eagerly promoted, aiming for an equal society and citizen's educational level (*wenhua shuiping*), by condemning bourgeois, individualist, and intellectual manners. Since the re-establishment of market mechanisms, a reassessment of the citizens' education and culture (*wenhua*) and quality (*suzhi*) has taken place by acknowledging its importance in China's future prosperity, importance for individuals' and cities' economic and social gains, making the citizens' improvement "not an end in itself, but [...] geared towards the vary aim of Chinese reform (BAKKEN 2000: 59-60; cf. HOFFMAN 2010: 104, 107). The idea is simple; if people's *wenhua* and *suzhi* improve, they are more valuable and attractive to global investment and better able to generate more profits. To increase personal life chances and to contribute to the country's development, the idea of improving one's *wenhua* and *suzhi* became embedded in individuals' minds and agency.

The concern of improving one's *wenhua* and *suzhi*, however, is embedded historically in Maoist self-cultivation (*xiu shen*) practices in that improvement was achieved, for example, by studying the Confucian classics, by painting, poetry, and proper behaviour, self-study and self-criticism (HOFFMAN 2010: 106, 115). In contrast, modern China's self-improvement practices are deeply embedded in market liberalisation by giving professionals more freedom of choice regarding job assignments, career development and training measures (cf. chapter 3.1.4).

Whereas self-improvement or self-development (improvement of *wenhua*) is regarded as investment in education and training, self-cultivation (improvement of *suzhi*) indicates proper ways of behaving, e.g. no spitting during the Olympic Games. In addition, the latter involves several other aspects, such as employee's abilities, experiences, and achievements, suitability, family background, residency status, gender, morality, and psychology. Additionally, being a person with *suzhi* also means to be a person of *wenhua* (HOFFMAN 2010: 109-11; HSU 2007: 175; KIPNIS 2006: 304; MURPHY 1999: 2; YAN 2003: 496). As the educational attainment (*wenhua shuiping*) in the eyes of many Chinese companies does not necessarily represent the professionals' effectiveness, and for Chinese profession-

als education alone did not guarantee high salary and well-respected jobs, both concepts became strongly interlinked (HOFFMAN 2010: 103, 108). This development has shifted the responsibility of professionalisation from the collective to the individual – from central authorities to the young professionals and the municipal governments attracting them (HOFFMAN 2010: 10, 104; LIU 2008: 200).

The idea among professionals to develop themselves to help China prosper and the integration of this concern for the nation, for their employer, or for their family into their own individual career is what HOFFMAN (2010) calls “patriotic professionalism”. Today’s professionals are torn between fulfilling their own dreams, handling possible unemployment, managing family pressure and duties, and fulfilling their social responsibility (ibid.: 98). Their major concern became to foster their self-development (*ziwo fazhan*), have a career, increase their experience, and use their abilities gained in their studies in their future job, to have good salary, and to find a place where their potential for development and their opportunities (*jihui*) would be best (ibid.: 82-7). Entrepreneurism became a pivotal concept in this regard, as many Chinese professionals are motivated to establish their own business to help their country develop (MALIK 1997: 108).

Accordingly, over the past decades, *wenhua* and *suzhi* became central concepts not only for professionals’ individual behaviour and choices but also for parents that devote excessive attention to their children’s *wenhua* and *suzhi* and in governance processes in China. For instance, enterprises and local governments justify human resource decisions or development projects by claiming that they contribute to raising the quality of the workforce or the cities’ population in general (ANAGNOST 2004: 197; KIPNIS 2007: 388). Indeed, rural migrants are often blamed for the “low quality” of the population. In common usage, the notion of “lacking quality” is discriminatorily connoted not only to rural migrants, but also to litterbugs, short people, the near sighted, or poorly dressed people (KIPNIS 2007: 388; cf. YAN 2003: 495-6).

3.2.2 Groups of Orientation: The Role of the Family and Other Social Groups for Chinese Professionals

To understand Chinese professionals’ decision-making it is important to consider the role the family plays in Chinese society. In pre-Maoist China, the attachment to the family was greater than it is today. Back then, “the family provided the basis for the social order. The family was not only an agent of socialization – charged with care of the young. It also assumed economic, religious, and social welfare responsibilities for extended family members” (GRANT 1989: 17). The introduction of a new family law in 1950 weakened these precepts of mutual support, e.g. by prescribing monogamy and free choice of spouse without interferences from the family. Thereby, the communist party endeavoured to decrease the role of family relations and extended kinship ties as major sources of support and control in favour of the work units and village communes and its collegial networks (GRANT 1989: 21-22; LOCKETT 1988: 487). Industrialisation, urbanisation, and changes in working life have further decreased the role of the family and extended kin.

The one-child policy and the new marriage law, both introduced in 1980, further transformed social organisation and increased the importance of the nuclear, egalitarian family (GRANT 1989: 21-5; SCHARPING 2007³). Several scholars argue that one-child families, on the one hand, often have a

stronger interest in their only-child's education leaving the child's daily life "much framed by how to reach the goal of entering a university, preferably a prestigious one" (LIU 2008: 193). In what ONG (1996: 748) calls "family biopolitics", families interfere in children's educational, work, or family planning matters to "foster the steady accumulation of economic and symbolic capital – that contributes to the family's prosperity and honor". Although the one-child policy has been gradually relaxed and has been even abolished in some areas (cf. Tab. 3.1; SCHARPING 2007³: 56-7), the nuclear family remains an important source of welfare and support that brings unquestionable duties for the young (HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 39; LOCKETT 1988: 487), including young professionals, and creates what FONG (2004) calls "filial nationalism".

3.2.3 Chinese Professionals' Housing and Neighbourhood Values

The abolition of the work units and the extended freedom of choice gained in the course of the transformation, also engendered new aspirations among Chinese citizens regarding their housing situation relevant in professionals' migration and place decision-making. Housing separate from their parents and especially home ownership, symbolising married and family life, became the new, middle-class dream also among professionals (HOFFMAN 2010: 138; WU & WANG 2014: 787). Many Chinese increasingly consider housing prices and environmental qualities in their living environment. There used to be a saying: "prefer a bed in the central city to a house in suburbia" (WANG & ZHOU 1999: 280), which reflects the appreciation of the inner cities as the better location compared to the suburbs due to the greater supply of facilities. Since the 1990s, this perception has changed, as people, especially the middle-income class, put more emphasis on housing prices, environmental, and living quality. This revaluation supports the construction of high-class and moderate-income housing, including luxury villas and gated communities, in the suburbs enabling the car-driving middle and upper class that professionals often belong to fulfil their dream of homeownership on green field sites, often merely as second homes (FENG et al. 2008: 84; LOGAN 2008: 141, 145; WU 2007b: 6; WU et al. 2007: 285). Hence, gated communities – walled housing development with guarded entrances – became a popular housing type mushrooming since the reform area. In China, these "enclosed neighbourhoods" are often high-end private residential developments, some with luxury facilities, and others with only basic amenities (HUANG 2006: 508).

The concept, however, is not new in China. Traditional Chinese "courtyard houses" (*siheyuan*) in pre-revolutionary China and socialist work-units had an enclosed form. Nonetheless, they gained a new popularity in times of free housing choice. Some studies argue that gated communities have seen high demand in China for similar reasons to the United States. In both countries, the endeavour to socially separate and enjoy "club"-like lifestyles with privately provided public services and amenities and security concerns drive the spatial separation in gated communities (HUANG 2006: 509; WU 2005). In China, the rising social and economic inequality emerging in the course of the reforms led to increasing crime rates and growing security concerns that contributed to the proliferation of gated communities (HUANG 2006: 509; MIAO 2003). HUANG (2006) argues that beyond aspirations for high-end lifestyles and security concerns, the Chinese strong collective sense and the state's desire to politically control its citizens has contributed to the rise and wide distribution of gated types of housing as

will be discussed in the case of the high-tech industrial zones in Guangzhou and Dongguan in the empirical chapters.

3.2.4 **Morphogenesis in the Ecological Sphere: Increasing Ecological Awareness?**

The increasing importance of the living environment and quality of life among Chinese professionals may also constitute a change in ecological awareness among Chinese citizens in general, and professionals in particular, especially in the context of environmental degradation in Chinese cities. The rapid economic growth following the initiation of the reform area has compounded China's ecological problems, such as resource degradation, deforestation, or the environmental pollution caused by industrial production and individual consumption, such as individual car use. According to the World Bank, China is home to 16 of the world's 20 most polluted cities. Moreover, in 2005 only about a third of Chinese cities met national air quality standards and more than 75 per cent of river water in China's urban areas is unusable for drinking or fishing (ECONOMY 2007: 40, 43; SMYTH et al. 2008: 547-8). Many cities also face severe traffic congestion, and increasing air quality problems, making life in the city more stressful. Furthermore, the environmental burden has increased human and economic costs, leaving many people suffering from pollution-related diseases.

Yet, many Chinese, including Chinese professionals, know little about ecology and environmental issues, and the aesthetic and ethical valuation of the natural environment is low, mirroring Confucian tradition thought. Accordingly, in many citizens' eyes, economic development and wealth creation, be it the country's or an individual's, has priority over environmental protection. Nonetheless, environmental awareness is growing especially in major urban areas and among professionals due to environmental campaigns and the coverage of environmental topics in popular media. Many, however, tend to think of air or water pollution in their surrounding areas and nearby rivers, and related health problems, when referring to environmental degradation (HARRIS 2006: 6-8). Additionally, SMYTH et al. (2008) revealed that the environmental conditions in China's cities have an influence on the residents' well-being. According to their results, cities with high atmospheric pollution, environmental disasters, and traffic congestion show lower levels of well-being among their inhabitants than those with greater access to parkland. This trend reflects the increasing preference for suburban areas that provide more recreational opportunities and less stressful lives (cf. chapter 3.2.3). Guangzhou and Dongguan with its high rates of non-methane hydrocarbons which are responsible for severe air pollution are cities of the first kind (BARLETTA et al. 2008), however, both show higher virescence rates in the suburban neighbourhoods assumed to be attractive to professionals as discussed in the empirical chapters on the attraction strategies in the high-tech industrial zones.

In the previous chapter, it was possible to outline that China's transformation not only implied profound economic and political changes that resulted in a revaluation of professionalism but also fostered far-reaching social and cultural changes that influence professionals' lives and their decision-making. The next chapter delineates the strategies applied internationally and in China to influence professionals' place and migration decision-making and thus to increase the stock of professionals. Drawing on this knowledge, the case studies from Guangzhou and Dongguan will be illustrated and evaluated.

4 MOVING PROFESSIONALS: INTERNATIONAL AND CHINESE STRATEGIES IN BUILDING A PROFESSIONALS' STOCK

The intensified inter-city competition among Chinese cities for investment, high-tech enterprises, and the related need for professionals (cf. chapter 3.1.4) has not only evoked the expansion of the higher education sector and improvement of colleges and university education (cf. chapter 3.1.1). Municipal governments also try to redistribute the labour force internally in their favour and try to attract foreign professionals, as well as repatriating Chinese overseas professionals to enhance their internal and international competitiveness and recognition (COOKE 2012: 28). Thereby, the governments consider Chinese overseas professionals, who were educated and trained in international universities and companies, as especially valuable for the economic development of the country (QIN 2011), but professionals who graduated in China are also of interest.

The endeavour to attract professionals and thus influence migration flows, raises the question of the factors influence professionals migration as discussed in chapter 4.1. DEWIND and HOLDAWAY (2008: 15) argue that these factors which are similar in international and in internal migration. Despite the vast amount of academic literature on migration determinants¹⁸ (e.g. ARANGO 2000; BAKEWELL 2010; MASSEY et al. 1998), DE HAAS (2011: 7) argues, however, that the research has made little progress in recent decades. The idea of linking migration theories with the structure and agency debate (cf. chapter 2) makes it possible to reveal individual and structural migration determinants. On an individual level, reasons for migration, preferences, social values, and personal characteristics that change over the life course are influencing professionals' migration and place decisions (cf. chapter 4.1). On a structural level, national and local policies that directly influence migration (migration policies) or that try to shape the economic, social, or political contexts within the country more generally (non-migration policies), are of crucial importance. Chapter 4.2.1 discusses these in an international perspective. Chapter 4.2.2 draws attention to Chinese migration policies, such as the *hukou* system and national attraction schemes and chapter 4.2.3 focuses on non-migration policies, such as place-making, and policies that provide housing to professionals. This integrative approach makes it possible to connect research on migration policies with that on migration determinants more strongly, which has not yet been achieved (cf. DE HAAS 2011).

4.1 MOVING PROFESSIONALS: INDIVIDUAL FACTORS IN MIGRATION DECISIONS

The intention to migrate is of major interest for policy makers in the competition for professionals. Migration intentions (and the determinants behind them) have been empirically addressed so far either by measuring the expectations of goal attainment when moving (e.g. DE JONG 2000), as moving plans (e.g. ANDERSEN 2008; CLARK & LEDWITH 2006; KALTER 1997) or by asking the respondents of their aspirations, desires, or preferences (e.g. CZAIIKA & VOTHKNECHT 2012; DE JONG 2000; LANDALE & GUEST 1985; LU 1998; SPEARE 1974b; cf. KLEY 2011: 471). However, the intention to migrate is dif-

¹⁸ If one reconsiders chapter 2's explanations, the word "determinants" seems misplaced as it implies the possibility of full determination of an individual's action. Nonetheless, the term is used here in the sense of factors that merely have an influence on but do not fully determine migration as it is commonly used in the literature (cf. chapter 2.1 for a definition of migration determinants).

difficult to make out, as even if respondents say at a certain point in time that they intend to migrate, they could still change their mind again after the interview. Therefore a more sustainable way to investigate migration and the opportunities to influence it is by understanding the migration determinants and individual needs, demands, preferences, social values, and resulting reasons for migration, and expectancies towards other locations. This chapter gives a broad overview on different foci in the research on migration determinants, before turning to the study results from China in the next chapter.

4.1.1 Migration Determinants in an International Perspective

The role of individual characteristics in migration decisions has been highlighted in a vast amount of literature (e.g. CADWALLADER 1992; CUSHING & POOT 2004; GREENWOOD 1997). Typical life course elements, such as age, marital status, or children are found to have an influence on migration decisions. People in their early to mid-twenties are most mobile, and migration rates decline steadily in the years after (GREENWOOD 1997: 655), and marriage and the embeddedness in family relations tend to discourage migration (DA VANZO 1981: 112-5; MINCER 1978). It is argued that neighbourhood affiliation and family ties and other location-specific capital, e.g. homeownership, the presence of children and second earners hinder migration and decline migration propensities (e.g. CORRADO et al. 2011; DA VANZO 1981: 113; KALLAN 1993). Additionally, the proximity of family, friends, and relatives is not only expected to deter migration, but also guides the selection of location as it determines the availability of assistance, psychological benefits, costs of job relocation, and also increases information availability, e.g. on available jobs or housing, and social integration that creates a feeling of belonging (cf. RITCHEY 1976: 375).

The role of individual needs, demands, and preferences towards their living place, such as employment opportunities, the presence of family and friends, or location-specific amenities, has already attracted scholarly attention. Several scholars have highlighted the role of economic job-related factors in migration decisions, referring, for instance, to the influence of employment opportunities in general (e.g. ARNTZ 2010), and the growth of employment opportunities in the secondary and tertiary industries in particular (e.g. CADWALLADER 1992: 54), unemployment rate (e.g. DAVERI & FAINI 1999; FACHIN 2007; SALVATORE 1977), or earnings (e.g. BORJAS 1989; CADWALLADER 1992: 53). Other authors highlight the importance of non-job related economic factors in migration decisions, such as housing prices and the cost of living (e.g. ANGULO & MUR 2005; CADWALLADER 1992: 53; CSERES-GERGELY 2005; GREENWOOD 1997: 658; PARIKH & VAN LEUVENSTEIJN 2003; WHISLER et al. 2008).

In the late 1970s, the importance of economic variables, mainly wage and employment opportunities, was challenged by several authors who highlighted the role of location-specific amenities, such as feature of the natural environment (e.g. weather conditions), social and cultural amenities (e.g. restaurants and theatres) and the quality of social life, e.g. tolerance or openness (e.g. GRAVES 1979; KNAPP & GRAVEST 1989; MUESER & GRAVES 1995). In recent decades, the idea of amenities in driving migration decisions has gained increasing academic attention (FERGUSON et al. 2007; FLORIDA 2002; GLAESER et al. 2001). GLAESER et al. (2001), for example, states that the success of cities in attracting human capital-rich people largely depends on their ability to provide services and consumer goods attractive to the targeted population. FLORIDA (2002) argues that cities have to attract the “creative class” to succeed as its presence further improves the urban life quality because it supports the emer-

gence of social and cultural amenities and increases tolerance in the city. Many authors have drawn on the quality of life debate in explaining place attractiveness, highlighting the importance of recreational areas, public safety, and environmental quality (CADWALLADER 1992: 55; ETZO 2008: 9; KALLAN 1993: 406).

Despite the increasing academic attention, the influence of amenities has been highly debated in the international academic literature. Some scholars are less outspoken on the influence of amenities on the migration-decision (e.g. ARNTZ 2010; GREENWOOD 1997; NIEDOMYSL & HANSEN 2010), while others directly question the argumentative logic behind the amenities-migration hypothesis (SCOTT 2010; STORPER & SCOTT 2009). Drawing on their findings from the United States, GREENWOOD and HUNT (1989) claim that employment opportunities are far more important in explaining inter-city migration than location-specific amenities. Others suggest that both, economic and quality of life-related amenities, are important determinants (e.g. CLARK & COSGROVE 1991; PORELL 1982). STORPER and SCOTT (2009) criticise the amenities approach in general arguing that the amenities discussion over-emphasises individual locational choice by explaining migration merely in terms of preference-seeking behaviour.

So far, research on determinants lacks a focus on non-migrants and potential migrants (DE JONG 1999: 282). CZAİKA and VOTHKNECHT (2012), for instance, found out that migrants have a higher “capacity to aspire” than non-migrants, which makes them more likely to migrate again. Nonetheless, they argue that migrants did not gain this capacity by their migration experience, but have it due to their often younger age, higher education attainment, or their advantageous socio-economic background. The present thesis not only focuses on the factors influencing migrated professionals’ migration and place decision-making, but also considers professionals who have not migrated yet but might be willing to do so in the future, as retaining resident professionals is equally important for building a stock of professionals as attracting new ones.

Whereas research on international migration determinants can be helpful to get a first impression of how professionals decide whether to migrate or not, and which place to migrate to, it remains difficult to infer from one country to another. Accordingly, the next chapter outlines the state of the art on the migration determinants of Chinese professionals.

4.1.2 Migration Determinants in Chinese Professionals’ Migration

STILLWELL (2014: 1) highlights that the factors determining migration differ from country to country. Accordingly, it is dangerous to infer from study results acquired in other countries, especially from the Western world and especially in the case of China that has long been outside the influence of Western culture and has only opened up gradually in recent decades (cf. chapter 3). Nonetheless, Chinese research on migration determinants has been widely influenced by international foci in the field.

Previous studies have largely focused on the influence of institutional factors, such as the *hukou* system, and economic factors, such as labour market conditions, on migration processes (e.g. FAN 2002; FAN 2008; LI 1997; SHEN 2013) or concentrated on individual characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, gender, or family composition (CHIANG et al. 2012; FAN 2003; HE & GOBER 2003). The literature on economic determinants in Chinese interprovincial migration is numerous and wide in its

focus (e.g. FAN 2005; LI 1997; SHEN 2013). Several studies have revealed that labour migration, especially that of professionals, is mainly driven by income differences between the provinces and cities and employment opportunities and that people migrate to places with high wages and good job chances (LIU & SHEN 2013b; NBSC 2012a: 48; QIAN & STOUGH 2011: 173). The studies by CHIU et al. (2002) and RYNES et al. (2004) highlight the importance of payment and benefits in employee's job choice and turnover behaviour and argue for the role of financial rewards in the retention and motivation of Chinese professionals (cf. COOKE 2012). LIU and SHEN (2013b) reveal that professionals, especially managers and bachelor degree holders, are more sensitive to wage differences and to employment opportunities, establishing a link between educational attainment and job-related factors. High-skilled migrants, they found, are also less sensitive to unemployment rates as they are willing to take greater risks. ZHU and CHEN'S (2010: 263) results show that in the floating population's decision to settle down, it is household income that matters rather than the individual income. These results indicate the role of the household or family in migrants' future planning. In general, LIU and SHEN (2013b) argue that high costs of living deter the inflow of high-skilled migrants (cf. FU & GABRIEL 2012), but moving to high-wage cities is even more important to them, regardless of the costs of living. Low cost-places, according to their results, are more attractive to retire-age and high-skilled people with children. The Manpower Group revealed that for two-thirds of Chinese professionals career development opportunities are the major reason to change the employer. Only 15 per cent indicated that their main reason for leaving was better payment and benefits elsewhere (Manpower China 2006: 6).

ZHU and CHEN'S (2010: 262-3) study also shows that fixed working contracts have a positive influence on the intention to settle permanently, suggesting the importance of employment stability. Nonetheless, they argue that the impact is only significant with a contract length of more than three years. LUI and SHEN (2013b) revealed that the ownership structure of the economy, represented by the share of employment in state-owned enterprises and state controlled listed enterprises, and foreign direct investment per capita, has an impact on migration decisions. Their results show that cities with high foreign direct investment per capita and those with high shares of employment in state-owned enterprises are attractive to professionals. QIAN and STOUGH (2011: 177), however, question that in the Chinese case specialisation in high-tech production leads to the attraction of professionals, which they explain by the fact that high-tech industries in China mostly concentrate on more tradition technology-intensive production rather than innovative and knowledge-intensive production activities.

The role of location-specific amenities has gained little attention so far, but the discussion on the role of amenities versus economic factors has also reached China (e.g. FLORIDA et al. 2012; LIU & SHEN 2013b). Several authors agree that in China job-related factors are more important than location specific amenities and quality of life factors (e.g. FLORIDA et al. 2008; LIU & SHEN 2013b; QIAN & STOUGH 2011). They argue that although China's professionals experience a higher living standard than lower-skilled Chinese, they have not yet crossed a certain income threshold that makes an enjoyable life their major concern (FLORIDA et al. 2012: 637; LIU & SHEN 2013b; QIAN & STOUGH 2011: 177). LIU and SHEN (2013b) foresee, however, that an increase in professionals' wage levels might lead to more attention given to living standard and quality of life issues. Some recent studies reveal a first indication of which location-specific factors might become increasingly important in the future.

Existing research has revealed, however, that locations that have a better urban environment, and a relative abundance of educational, medical, and cultural facilities and an abundance of public green spaces are attractive to professionals, although the impact of amenities is less than that of economic factors (FLORIDA et al. 2012; LIU & SHEN 2013b; QIAN 2010). Several studies have revealed that especially the presence of universities plays a key role in human capital distribution (FLORIDA et al. 2012: 637; QIAN 2010). FLORIDA et al. (2012: 638, 644) and QIAN (2011: 174), however, argue that the effect of universities largely applies in the retention of professionals rather than in their attraction. In their job-seeking activities and in embracing opportunities, graduates in China are more reliant on their networks acquired during their studies and other location related advantages. This dependency increases their job opportunities when staying in their place of study. Accordingly, it is easier for cities to retain local university graduates than attracting those from other regions. In addition, high-tech firms are more likely to locate in cities with many universities as these provide human capital that generates new ideas and technology (FLORIDA et al. 2012: 639, 644). Opportunities for children's schooling are, according to LIU and SHEN's (2013b) results, only of secondary importance to professionals. Life course differences also only apply for some amenities. For instance, professionals close to retirement are more attracted by provinces with good medical services (ibid.).

Several studies highlight the importance of migration networks, such as friends, family, or relatives, with regard to the respective destination in the migration decision, and in increasing the migration propensity of potential rural migrants (e.g. ZHANG & LI 2003; ZHAO 2003). WANG and FAN (2006) stress the role of family demands as an important reason for rural to urban migrants and argue that, for instance, ailing or elderly parents oblige some migrants to return home. A pioneering study investigating determinants for the Chinese floating population to settle down in their destination city, which also highlights the role of personal characteristics, is that of ZHU and CHEN (2010). Concerning migrants' individual characteristics, their results suggest that female, young, unmarried, and better-educated floating migrants are more likely to settle down in the cities they migrated to. They assume younger migrants to be more resilient in facing the challenges of the life in cities, and argue that unmarried migrants do not need to consider family members in their decision to settle down. In general, they argue that the settlement intention of the floating population is positively related to the number of family members, be it spouses, parents, or children, in the destination cities. Well-educated migrants, often those that do not work in the manufacturing sector, they argue, commonly provide knowledge and skills required in the cities and face a more stable employment situation than provided in the manufacturing industries. This fact has a positive influence on settlement intention (cf. ZHU 2007). LIU and SHEN (2013b) add that bachelor degree holders are less likely than college degree holders to stay in their home province in the first place as they tend to have more chance to find a job in distant places. Thus, they highlight the role of higher educational attainments in migration. Furthermore, their results reveal that high-skilled people are often found in places with high unemployment rates, which they explain by the higher competitiveness on the job market and greater flexibility compared to lower skilled people. Furthermore, ZHU and CHEN (2010) found that migrants are more likely to settle down when they migrated to cities in their home province, probably due to the smaller geographical and cultural distance. This result is in line with previous and later findings (e.g. LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHU 2007). LIU and SHEN (2013b) add to the discussion that older and child-bearing Chinese and Chinese,

who care for their parents, are less likely to leave their home province in the first place. Accordingly, the place of origin and the proximity to the migrant's hometown matters in the migration and settlement intention. Moreover, ZHU and CHEN (2010: 262) reveal that entrepreneurs often intended to establish their own business in their place of origin after gaining experience in other locations.

Other factors highlighted by scholars with regard to migrants' place-decision making are the size of the city and the housing conditions in the destination city (LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHU & CHEN 2010). LIU and SHEN (2013b) and ZHU and CHEN (2010: 264) argue that populous provinces and places with higher administrative status are more attractive to Chinese migrants' in general and high-skilled Chinese in particular. They do not provide any explanation but it can be assumed that large cities provide a wider range of employment opportunities and a vast number of amenities. ZHU and CHEN (ibid.) additionally revealed that the housing conditions in the destination city have an impact on the settlement behaviour. When the conditions are poorer than in the place of origin, migrants are less likely to settle down. They argue that similar to the household income as an importance determinant, the migrants' aspiration to provide comfortable housing conditions not only for themselves but also for the family before settling down permanently suggests the importance of the household in migrants' place-decision making. CHIU (2002) revealed that housing provision by employers is important to Chinese professionals.

In general, the discussion on migration determinants lacks embeddedness in the process of social change (CASTLES 2010: 1570). Therefore this thesis draws a more holistic picture of migration that is influenced by individual and structural conditions (cf. chapter 2). Here, besides socially shaped social values, demands, and preferences, the role of the government and its policies is in focus. By actively attracting a high-skilled labour force and trying to fulfil their demands and preferences, organisational agents, such as the government provide conditions that might motivate migration. Their role will be clarified in this thesis.

4.2 MOVING PROFESSIONALS: STRUCTURAL ENABLEMENTS AND CONSTRAINTS

4.2.1 The Role of (Non-) Migration Policies in Guiding Migration: An International Perspective

In recent years, international migration has been the dominant focus in migration research, especially in regard to high-skilled migration where 'brain-drain' and 'brain gain' and the attraction of the "new Argonauts" (SAXENIAN 2006: 99) are of major concern to researchers and politicians (CASTLES 2010: 1567; COOKE 2012: 20-1; DEWIND & HOLDAWAY 2008: 15; FAN 2009: 369; HICKEY et al. 2013: 6; KING & SKELDON 2010: 1619). Nonetheless, in 2007, 85 per cent of the national governments worldwide expressed their concern about the patterns of population distribution in their countries (UN 2009: 41). Compared to the late 1970s and 1980s, policies on internal migration receive less attention in academia (FAN 2009: 369; SKELDON 2007: 17). Additionally, research foci are one-sided as scholars mainly address rural-urban movements as a result of economic disparities or movement between regional labour markets in industrialised countries (e.g. ANH 2003; FREY 1992; JONES 1990: 207-28; UN 2011; cf. DEWIND & HOLDAWAY 2008: 15; GREENWOOD 1997: 650; SKELDON 2007: 18). The limited research on internal migration, however, disregards its relevance for migration scholars and policy-

makers. Worldwide, significantly more people move within their own country than internationally. In 2012, in China alone about 262.6 million Chinese migrated internally as opposed to merely 232 million people internationally (2013) (UN 2013: 1; cf. NBSC 2012a). Especially labour migration flows are dominant in inter-regional and inter-city migration as the “Chinese mass migration” shows (KING & SMITH 2012: 148; cf. HICKEY et al. 2013: 6; KING & SKELDON 2010: 1619; MANNING & BHATNAGAR 2006: 54).

As international and internal migration has become a widespread phenomenon, decision-makers in both, developed and developing countries, have increasingly highlighted the importance of regulating migration by launching diverse policies (GREENWOOD 1997: 647). Migration policies can be defined as “laws, rules, measures, and practices implemented by national states with the stated objective of influencing the volume, origin, and internal composition of migration flows” (DE HAAS 2011: 25). They can be launched by multiple stakeholders, such as governments, international agencies, or civil society groups and shape the conditions of work and the livelihoods of migrants (HICKEY et al. 2013: 7). Whereas in the academic discourse in the 1970s and 80s, internal migration policies¹⁹ were often discussed separately from international migration policies, nowadays scholars (e.g. KING & SKELDON 2010: 1637) argue for an integrative discussion of both perspectives. They argue that they “share a number of empirical, conceptual and theoretical concerns with policy implications at local, national and supranational scales” (HICKEY et al. 2013: 6). The process of globalisation has created strong linkages between internal and international migration that need to be reflected in policies. If the pool of internal professionals is exhausted or poor in quality, for instance, countries may seek to attract an international labour force to satisfy their demand (SKELDON 2006: 24).

As the factors influencing migration are complex, almost every policy can have an impact on population movements, but some are more obvious or stronger than others (SKELDON 2007: 4). A distinction can be made between direct migration policies – explicitly designed to alter migration flows, e.g. by migration restrictions (migration policies) – and indirect policies (non-migration policies). In the latter, the impact on migration is secondary to the actual policy’s goal. Examples are policies on labour market conditions, economic growth, welfare, or education (BONFIGLIO 2011: 9; FINDLEY 1977: 8). Indirect policies often aim at improving the conditions at the origin or destination, e.g. by providing public services and amenities or land reforms. As they consider broader migrant motivations, they are more likely to influence migration (OBERAI 1983: 11). There are different degrees to which the policies affect migration: (a) prohibit or reverse migration; (b) channel or redirect it to other areas; (c) encourage or discourage migration from/to other areas; (d) compel migration (FINDLEY 1977: 8).

Encouraging migration policies tend to be highly selective, attempting to attract migrants based on their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Accordingly, many migration policy agendas have been driven by the *Migration and Development (MAD)*-Nexus, arguing that migration, especially of professionals, is important for economic and social development (e.g. ASEAN 2007; DE HAAS 2010; FAIST 2008; IREDALE et al. 2005; RAGHURAM 2009; UNDP 2009; cf. HICKEY et al. 2013: 20).

¹⁹ Policies during that time were often referred to as targeting “population (re-)distribution” (FUCHS & DEMKO 1981: 70).

This concentration creates administrative systems with “differential modes of treatment of population, which aim to maximize the returns on doing what is profitable and to marginalize the unprofitable” (CASTEL 1991: 294). However, the *MAD-Nexus* debate mostly focuses on international migration and the impact of overseas migrants on their home country. By using the examples of the immigration policies of Canada, Australia, and the United States, KOSLOWSKI (2014), for instance, differentiates between supply-driven and demand-driven policy approaches towards selecting immigrants that cause different outcomes. One supply-driven approach is the “human capital model” with a points system emphasising education and language²⁰ KOSLOWSKI (ibid.: 12) argues that the success of skills-based (or supply-driven) versus employer-sponsored (or demand-driven) selection depends on the targeted duration of immigration. Skills-based systems, he argues, are more likely to result in permanent immigration. This differentiation of policy approaches makes clear that the target of policies needs to be clearly defined to achieve the intended goal. CHALOFF and LEMAÎTRE (2009: 4), in contrast, argue that the supply-driven models have shown their limits in recent years because the governmental authorities (although in some cases in cooperation with the industries) select immigrants. They see a rising responsibility for selecting migrants on the employers’ side. In this way, immigrants are selected based more on the qualifications and experience actually needed by enterprises. RUHS (2011) found that supply-side restrictions are commonly applied in permanent immigration programmes. Demand-sided restrictions more occur in temporary migration programmes.

Other migration policy agendas have been driven by the normative discourse of *Universal Human Rights (UHR)* that is also connected to the above-mentioned nexus by differentiating migrants by their assumed contribution. Studies that connect to the UHR discourse have focused on treatment and rights of migrants in host countries, which includes the provision of social and welfare services (e.g. access to health care and education), and have thus highlighted migrant’s exclusion and marginalisation (HICKEY et al. 2013: 8). RUHS (2011) found that migration policies put fewer restrictions on high-skilled migrants, and grant more rights to them than to lower skilled migrants. In his review of labour immigration programmes he discovered that social rights, such as unemployment benefits and social housing, and residence and family rights, including the spouse’s right to work, direct access to citizenship, time limit, and security of residence are most commonly granted to professionals (ibid.: 43). DE HAAS et al. (2014) argue that modern migration policies are usually about *selection* and *quality* more than about controlling *quantities*. They collected a list of policy tools to categorise types of policies (cf. Table 5).

BREHM and SAVING (1964) highlight the role of the government in guiding migration by providing welfare services. They suggest an impact of geographically varying welfare benefits on migration, concluding that welfare recipients in the United States react to governmental incentives. Thereby, they argue that welfare benefits are a form of income for beneficiaries and thus support the hypothesis that migration is income-driven. Several other authors have acknowledged this understanding of welfare services as indirect wages and the role of it in migration (DE JONG et al. 2005; KHOUDOUR-CASTÉRAS

²⁰ Another supply-driven approach is the “neo-corporatist model” that uses a points system to select required occupations selected by the government. The third approach is demand-driven and gives employers the opportunity to select professionals from the international stock.

2008; KOETTL 2006; KUREKOVÁ 2011). KUREKOVÁ (2011) argues that these benefits function as indirect wages and social insurance, and are especially important to people that make decisions as family members. Additionally, she points to the states' opportunities to guide migration by widening opportunities for potential migrants through welfare system policies. Analysing migration between Central and Eastern European countries, which due to the free movement of labour within the EU, can be compared to internal migration, she found that older migrants and those with families were more often leaving countries with poorer unemployment insurance and facilities supporting the family and health care. She further argues that health care and education provision is most important in attracting migrants as they affect the citizens' everyday lives and their future prospects. KHOUDOUR-CASTÉRAS (2008) found that an increase in indirect wages by establishing an insurance system in Germany before World War I resulted in declining emigration rates. Following this line of argument, other migration scholars have emphasised the need to invest in migration origin's institutions, for instance, to reduce migration from developing countries, and to facilitate return migration (HOLZMANN et al. 2005; cf. KUREKOVÁ 2011).

Policy area	Policy tool	Policy goals and benefits
(Legal) entry and stay	Institutional capacity	Establishment of new governmental bodies to guide migration and assist migrants
	Policy documents	E.g. action plans, strategies, reports that attempt to be influential in a specific policy area
	Recruitment/assisted migration programmes	E.g. migration schemes or agreements between governments or between a company and a government to organise the recruitment of workers
	Free mobility rights	Free right to migrate within the country
	Permanent residency	Integration, e.g. by providing access to social benefits
	Quota	Numerical target of certain population groups
Integration	Points system	E.g. access to work, visas, or permanent residence
	Access to social benefits	E.g. to social security, health system, education system, unemployment benefits
	Housing integration programmes	Supply of housing or financial support
	Reintegration/return programmes	Includes actual assistance to return and measures to foster the reintegration, e.g. financial or institutional support

Source: Adapted from DE HAAS (ibid.: 23-7)

Tab. 4.1: Selected encouraging migration policies applying to internal high-skilled migrants and their family members

In general, JONES (1990: 273) and SKELDON (2007: 18) assess the efficiency of these policies as fairly low, either due to their political unsustainability or their constricting nature towards economic policies pursued by governments. More recently applied measures, first in the Western world but increasingly often also in other parts of the world, are city initiatives to improve the quality of life and sustainability of cities to make them more attractive to potential migrants (UN 2009: 42-3). Inter-city competition, which is definitely not a new phenomenon, and the cities' endeavour to increase their location advantages play a major role in this regard. Their target, here, is the attraction of enterprises and professionals, who work in them. In this respect, TIEBEN (2005: 10-1) refers to the importance of providing not only hard economic, objectively measurable factors, including human capital sources, employment opportunities, or the level of payment but also soft locational factors. He differentiates between enterprise-related factors, such as career opportunities or city image, and employee-related

factors, such as the location's image, environmental quality, recreational value, or quality of education facilities.

JONES (1990: 276) evaluates the prospects of "people-to-job" initiatives as rather low compared to relocation packages offered by private employers to higher-skilled personnel. In general, policies that try to prohibit, channel, or compel migration require stronger measures than those encouraging or discouraging migration. DE HAAS (2011: 5) argues that states influence the composition and patterns of migration flows rather than its volumes and long-term effects. BONFIGLIO (2011: 9) adds that non-migration policies, such as investments in higher education or tax relief, may have a greater influence on the volume of migration flows than migration policies as they influence more general processes of social, economic, and political change (cf. CZAİKA & DE HAAS 2013; DE HAAS 2011: 24). That is why more attention has been paid to them recently (SKELDON 2007: 18). The selection of policy, however, not only depends on the degree to which the government wants to affect its population distribution but also on the resources available for policy implementation (FINDLEY 1977: 8). In the evaluation of migration policies, however, it is necessary to distinguish between *policy effects* and *policy effectiveness*. An effect is "a change which is a result or consequence of an action or other cause" (STEVENSON 2010³: 560) and in respect to migration policy it is "the actual impact of a particular law, measure or regulation" (DE HAAS 2011: 25), that is the *actual result*. *Policy efficiency* refers to "the extent to which policy objectives have been met" (CZAİKA & DE HAAS 2013: 491). Thus, it also relates to the *desired result* and considers policy objectives (cf. DE HAAS 2011: 25).

This chapter has shown that policies to influence migration can be various in their kind and focus. They can be designed to directly influence migration (migration policies), but can also indirectly influence migration (non-migration policies). The next chapter introduces both kinds of policies launched in China: The *hukou* system, not purposefully designed to alter migration, became one of the most important policies concerning migration (cf. chapter 3.1.5). The attraction strategies applied on the national, provincial, and municipal levels can be regarded as direct migration policies.

4.2.2 Migration Policies in China: Changes in the *Hukou* System and National Attraction Strategies

Flexibilising the Hukou System

To understand today's policy context in China and the measures taken by Chinese governments to guide professionals' movements in the country, it is important to point out the role of the *hukou* system in internal migration in China. Whereas chapter 3.1.5 highlighted the changes in the *hukou* system in a historical perspective, the following chapter focuses on changes undertaken by Chinese governments on different levels to attract professionals. In the course of China's transformation, continuous administrative changes have given more power to local governments. In *encouraging* migration policies, they focus on attracting wealthy, highly educated people whom they assume will contribute to their cities' economic development and the ongoing structural reorientation of the Chinese economy as highlighted in the *MAD-Nexus* (cf. chapter 3.1.2 and 4.2.1; CHAN 2011b: 98). Already in the late 1980s, some provinces, such as Anhui and Hunan, started to sell urban *hukous* to people with selected qualifications, including relatives of high-skilled Overseas Chinese, professionals and technical staff

and their close relatives, who work in developing areas, or outstanding persons and their close relatives, who make significant contributions to the urban economy. This measure was especially applied in small cities and special economic zones (CHAN & ZHANG 1999: 836-40). In recent years, some local governments have started to formulate sets of “entry” qualifications that are similar to international immigration policies in the “human capital model” (cf. chapter 4.2.1). They give the right to permanently migrate according to particular pass marks (GRANSOW 2012: 16). Guangdong Province was among the first of them. Here, migrants have to accumulate sixty points to become registered as urban households. The government ascribes points according to individual qualification (cf. Tab. 4.2), conditions of participation in social insurance, such as old-age, medical, or unemployment insurance and social contribution, for instance, by donating blood, volunteering in youth services, or receiving county-level awards. The violation of birth planning policies or the commitment of a crime has a negative influence on the number of points ascribed (ibid.: 34). These measures are designed not only to attract professionals, but also incentivise migrants to stay permanently (ibid.: 16). Similar to the early measures applied in the late 1980s, local governments apply recent flexible *hukou* administrative systems, and other incentive policies especially in high-tech industry zones. The allocation commission of the zones decides on the qualifications needed to apply and together with resident firms selects the local *hukou* awardees. Hence, the criteria vary across the zones and even within one city (FAN et al. 2009: 1651).

GRANSOW (2012: 16) argues that in these flexible *hukou* allocation systems city status is not officially ascribed as in the *hukou* system, but can only be achieved by individual competition. Intra-provincial migrants are prioritised for *hukou* transfer (*nongzhuanfei*), while inter-provincial migrants and informal migrants have few chances to gain a local *hukou* (GOODBURN 2014: 5). ZHANG (2010) argues that the municipal governments apply the strategy of awarding local *hukous* and accordingly “rights to the city” in the competition for professionals and wealthy migrants (cf. *UHR*-discourse in chapter 4.2.1; ibid.: 129). FAN et al. (2009) argue that this selective allocation of *hukous* intensifies skills-based and social segmentation within certain sectors that are especially targeted by local governments. Following this line of argument, LIU et al. (2014: 51) expect that high-skilled migrants are less constrained by the *hukou* system and are more likely to move and settle down in large cities.

Recent reforms of the *hukou* system in 2014 have additionally contributed to this segregated entry system. In small cities (less than 1 million inhabitants) the *hukou* will be removed, restriction in medium-sized cities (3 to 5 million inhabitants) will be relaxed, and based on the points system in other provinces, such as Guangdong, new qualifications will be set for all megacities leaving big cities as restrictive as they are for certain types of migrants. Due to the selection of migrants according to their education and wealth, legal settlement in China’s megacities will remain inaccessible for the majority of migrants. Local governments determine the criteria for the points system ““on the basis of the overall load-bearing capacity and the needs of economic and social development”” (GOODBURN 2014: 4; cf. MU 2014b).

Level 1 Indicators	Level 2 Indicators	Level 3 Indicators	Guidance on Scores	Implementation Explanations	
Individual qualification	Educational level	Junior high school	5 points	The person should provide a certificate of the highest degree and cannot accumulate points from lower degrees.	
		High school, technical, or vocational school	20 points		
		College	60 points		
		Bachelor's degree and higher	80 points		
	Vocational qualifications or professional, technical title		Junior workers, jobs of rank 5 of workers and service (personnel) in institutions	10 points	The person should provide a certificate of the highest skills or technical title and cannot accumulate points from lower degrees.
			Mid-level workers, jobs of rank 4 of workers and service (personnel) in institutions	30 points	
			High-level workers, jobs of rank 3 of workers and service (personnel) in institutions, junior title	50 points	
			Technical teachers, jobs of rank 2 of workers and service (personnel) in institutions, mid-level title	60 points	

Source: Adapted from GRANSOW (2012: 23-4)

Tab. 4.2: Overview on the points ascribed according to selected individual qualifications

Several studies that investigate migration determinants in Chinese professionals' migration and place decision-making have highlighted the role of the *hukou* system. FLORIDA et al. (2008; 2012) and QIAN (2010), for instance, highlight the role of openness and tolerance in professionals' location-decisions. They define openness as the proportion of population without a local *hukou*, whereby a high level of regional openness implies a high tolerance of and low barriers to entry for immigrants. FLORIDA et al. (2012: 639, 645) argue that low barriers to professionals in China are useful in gaining economic prosperity as open and diversified regions are also more attractive to high-tech firms than relatively closed and homogeneous regions. ZHU and CHEN (2010: 264) reveal that migrants of the floating population with a non-agricultural *hukou* have a greater intention to settle down permanently in the destination city. They explain this result by the restricted access to social housing or children's education for non-local *hukou* holders. LIU and SHEN' (2013b) results support this finding. They found that educational facilities in potential migration destinations are more attractive to local *hukou* holders. These results highlight the importance of the *hukou* system in guiding migration flows and settlement patterns (cf. LI & FLORIDA 2006; LIU & SHEN 2013b).

Chinese National Professional Attraction Schemes

In 2008, the *Central Organisation Department* of the *Chinese Communist Party* launched the *One Thousand Talents Scheme* that targets the attraction of 2,000 professionals of any nationality in the next five to ten years (cf. Tab. 3.1). The recruited professionals are supposed to work in national key innovation projects, university laboratories, high-tech industrial zones, science parks, or state-owned

institutions. Here, the top-level academics and experts in the areas of science and engineering finance and banking, operations and risk management are supposed to contribute to innovation and production development or should establish their own business (COOKE 2012: 29).

Professionals' recruitment already started in the 1990s, particularly targeting high-skilled Overseas Chinese. Earlier programmes were, for example, the *100-Talent Plan* by the *Chinese Academy of Social Science* or the *Yangtze River Scholar Scheme* by the *Ministry of Education* that attracted more than 15,000 researchers in the last 15 years. In contrast to these programmes, the *One Thousand Talents Scheme* has a broader scope by focussing on a wide range of professionals including those (a) with academic titles equivalent to professor at internationally prestigious universities and institutions; (b) that work as senior management staff in well-known international companies or banking institutions; or (c) that have developed innovative technology or obtained patents and established their own business abroad. Additionally, the new scheme offers a more generous package, including a one-time relocation allowance of one million RMB, internationally competitive salaries, and welfare benefits. Several organisations can apply to recruit professionals through the scheme, including central government-owned enterprises and high-tech industry zones. Furthermore, professionals can directly apply to several government institutions (ZHAO & ZHU 2009: 34-7).

Local governments also became more interested in attracting high-level professionals as they recognised their importance for local enterprises (ibid.: 40). Recruitment fairs, get-together events, and 'talent' markets for overseas and domestic professionals became a common strategy applied by local governments to attract overseas scholars and students to return to China and domestic professionals to come to their cities to occupy key managerial and professional positions in state-sponsored institutions and establishment (COOKE 2012: 29; HOFFMAN 2010: 62-73). The strategies and programmes applied in Guangzhou and Dongguan are discussed in the empirical chapters.

4.2.3 Non-migration Policies in China: Place-making and "Indemnity Housing" Strategies

Place-making in the Competition for Professionals: Creating New Industrial and Living Places in China

Similar to the developments in countries internationally (cf. chapter 4.2.1), in its endeavour to attract professionals China has also focused on new mechanisms, strategies, and practices that have heralded a change in the physical and social conditions in Chinese cities (cf. chapter 3.1.4). The strategies included more entrepreneurial policies, place-making strategies, such as the construction of modern high-rises (e.g. *dasha*), the redesign of public squares (*guangchang*), or the beautification (*luhua*) of the inner city and the adoption of specific urban images. Urban models adopted from other successful "world cities" became an important source of inspiration for how to develop the city with greater success. Just as Deng Xiaoping announced on his tour to Hong Kong and Singapore, Hong Kong became a model of prosperity and Singapore the model for development and "good public order" that China might "surpass" (CARTIER 2001: 210; cf. HOFFMAN 2010: 40). The decentralisation of urban governance and the management structure in the course of the transformation (cf. chapter 3.1.4) facilitated the local adaptation of place-making strategies (HOFFMAN 2010: 41). Municipal leaders obtained the possibility to develop the cities distinct from other cities and made them competitors for "world status", and "global importance", investment, and professionals (ibid.: 42). The development of new

commercial centres, modern central business districts, and high-class residential areas targeting the new middle class, including young professionals and foreign experts, play a part in the redevelopment of the Chinese modern city. Crucial in the promotion of the city, and especially in fostering the city's economy, is the creation and encouragement of high-tech industry zones (cf. chapter 3.1.2).

High-tech industry zones are spatially enclosed areas that encompass several neighbouring or adjacent areas. About 76 per cent of the national-level high-tech industry zones are located in the close outskirts of Chinese metropolitan areas. Different urban patterns have developed due to the different location of zones. Some zones that are located in the direct hinterland of the cities became “twin cities” of the central city, such as *Shanghai Pudong New Area* or *Guangzhou Development District*. Many of the zones that are located in the more remote suburban areas emerged as new towns similar to “edge-cities”, for example *Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park* in Dongguan (WANG 2007: 117).

Special policy treatment turned the zones into attractive locations for investments in infrastructure, housing, public facilities, and land acquisition keeping the “zone fever” alive, and creating a “one city, multiple zones” pattern (cf. chapter 3.1.4; *ibid.*: 70). By the end of 2012, there were 105 national high-tech industrial zones in China and numerous provincial zones, both with even growing numbers (LIN 2013: 226; THRIDC n.y.). Starting in 1991, in Guangdong several high-tech industry zones were established following the strategic plan to develop “three nodes and one belt” (LU & WEI 2007: 237). Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Zhongshan were supposed to become the three high-tech centres of Guangdong, and a high-tech belt was to be developed from Guangzhou to Shenzhen. Accordingly, in Guangzhou and Dongguan, being located between Guangzhou and Shenzhen, a great amount of the agricultural land has been converted into development land for the establishment of high-tech industrial zones (WANG 2007: 117; YEH & LI 1999: 384). Today, Guangdong has nine national-level high-tech industrial zones whereof all are located in the PRD (cf. Fig. 4.1). These zones became the engines of economic growth and upgrading of the region (LU & WEI 2007: 238; WANG 2007: 66).

The establishment of high-tech industry zones is closely linked to the creation of living space. High-tech industry zone's authorities are following a new trend by putting the focus on developing the zones to not only industrially oriented but combined working-living spaces encompassing all functions of everyday life, including residential and commercial use, entertainment, leisure, and recreation purposes (WANG 2007: 72-4; WUTKE 2011a: 366). Thereby, the administrative structure of the zones facilitates the mobilisation and amassment of financial funds for place-making. In many cases, the *Administrative Committee* governing the zones holds land-use rights for building plots prepared

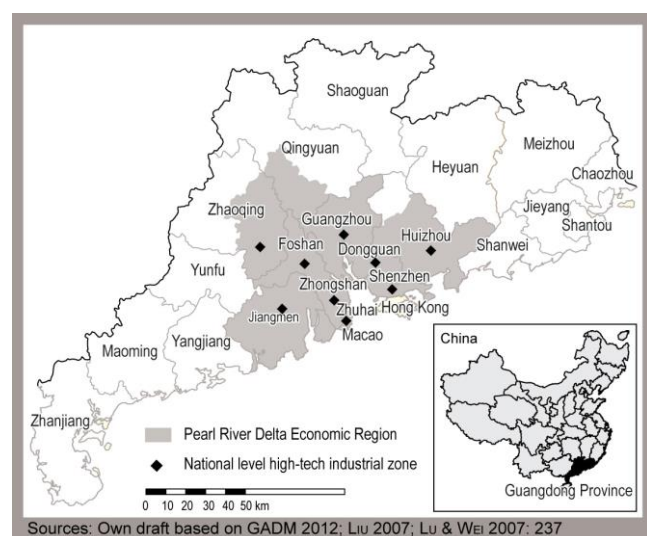


Fig. 4.1: High-tech industrial zones in Guangdong

for economic development. The Committee can use the land in hand as a security for potential financiers and can mobilise higher real capital funds. These funds can be used for investments in infrastructure, community facilities, other urban establishments, and preferential policies for professionals. This financial independence can trigger a process of place-making that improves the zones' built-up environment (WANG 2007: 62-3).

HARVEY (2006: 101) argues that investments in urban infrastructures are necessary to accumulate capital flows. The concentration of transport infrastructure, housing for workers, office buildings, shopping malls, leisure facilities and education, or health care facilities "entails the production of urbanization as a spatially-ordered physical framework within which capital accumulation can proceed" (ibid.). Thereby, the investments in infrastructure need to be well conceived and aligned for the targeted companies, but also need to be appealing to the right kind of labour force.

Local governments assume that high-tech industries and the employed professionals require a different working and living environment than the manufacturing industries which were formerly targeted (WONG & TANG 2005: 314). According to FLORIDA (2000: 43), besides advanced infrastructure, so-called "new economic amenities" should be available that provide "[...]arge numbers of visibly active young people, [...]asy access to a wide range of outdoor activities, [...]a clean, healthy environment and commitment to preserving natural resources for enjoyment and recreation, [...]a lifestyle that is youth-friendly and supportive of diversity". Local governments in China try to achieve these conditions by promoting comprehensive, diverse, and city-like structures in the high-tech industry zones.

The awareness of the relevance of city-likeness of the zones has its origins in the failure of earlier *Economic & Technology Development Zones (ETDZ)*, a subtype of high-tech industry zone which concentrates on foreign investment in joint ventures. The majority of the earlier ETDZs were located in desolate sub- or exurban wastelands or on islands. In the early phase, the zones had mutual difficulties that arose, on the one hand, from their distance to the central city. They were located tens of kilometres away, which created unacceptable commuting distances, considering that the private car was not as widespread as in today's Chinese cities. On the other hand, the zones were too purely industrial and showed no functional diversification. Additionally, the zones were built on land where no infrastructure and facilities existed, which made the initial establishment extremely expensive. As everyday living facilities, such as schools and playgrounds for children, cultural and social facilities, or shopping facilities were missing, these "enclave-like zones" (WANG 2007: 73) were deserted places, especially during night-time. The consequence was a lack of investors and professionals, who were willing to invest and work in the zones. Dalian ETDZ made a pioneering step in the 1990s by developing the zone comprehensively (HOFFMAN 2010: 40). The development of the ETDZ with housing, retail, commerce, tourism, and other services created an appealing town at the seaside that made the zone one of the major targets of foreign investment. Dalian ETDZ has become a model for other high-tech industry zones (WANG 2007: 73).

The idea to develop comprehensive economic zones, however, is not new in China. Already the early SEZs established in the 1980s (cf. chapter 3.1.4) were experimental spaces for improving living standards by providing welfare and service facilities, recreation and cultural amenities and housing to

increase attractiveness for national and international investors (PHILLIPS & YEH 1987). The combination of industrial, commercial, and residential functions in today's high-tech industry zones, in contrast, takes place on a considerably smaller scale not encompassing whole municipalities but city districts. Its novelty arises from the diversity and exclusiveness of the built environment. What becomes clear, as WUTTKE (2011a) argues, is that high-tech industrial zones continue to serve as "experimental sites in the country's ongoing transition", whereas they have accomplished their "historical mission of serving as experimental areas for the implementation of open policy in China" (WONG & TANG 2005: 314).

Building "Indemnity Housing" in the Competition for Professionals

Housing is a central aspect in welfare provision (KEMENY 2001: 55-6). On the individual level, housing is a necessity that also plays a major role in defining living standards and lifestyle. Especially for migrants, housing is essential in adjusting to a new environment. Residential characteristics, such as tenure and conditions of dwelling, access to facilities and services, and geographic location determine their quality of life (CHUI 2002: 222; WU & WANG 2014: 785). The idea of improving housing conditions and access to housing as an entrepreneurial strategy to support place competitiveness has gained little attention in academia so far. In policy discourse in Western countries, however, this has been discussed and adopted in practice, especially for public-sector workers. In the USA and England, for instance, governmental support for targeted workers arose in response to increasing concerns about the impact of housing affordability on labour shortages and its effects on place competitiveness. It was feared that the lack of affordable housing and the pressure on public services could reduce cities' or regions' competitiveness (MORRISON 2014). Accordingly, an "active social policy" that involved a system of direct support to workers was applied, as RACO (2008: 739) shows in the case of United Kingdom's key workers programme. The USA provide a wide range of programmes designed to provide housing assistance to public-sector workers that operate at federal, state, and local level. In other Western countries, the provision of housing has not yet gained governmental attention in policy discourse on city competitiveness. The existing programmes have been criticised for their ineffectiveness in solving the affordability problem as the gap between housing prices and income remained too wide (MORRISON 2014).

In China, the provision of indemnity housing (cf. chapter 3.1.5) is considered increasingly essential in increasing place competitiveness, and became a policy initiative in many cities (CHEN 2011; MORRISON 2014; WANG 2011). Especially the acute affordability crisis²¹ in China's first-tier cities has deepened the need to intervene in the urban housing market and provide housing support to targeted professionals (MORRISON 2014; WANG 2011). In 2007, the national government extended its state- or employer-sponsored housing programmes. They use the term "housing indemnity" (*zhufang baozhang*) to refer to their efforts to provide housing not only to low-income households but also to

²¹ The imposition of a savings tax in the late 1990s fuelled expectation of a devaluation of savings and made real estate one of the major investment items. The bursting of the stock market bubble in 2002 intensified this development and furthered the development of a real estate bubble (WU et al. 2007: 53-4). Housing prices became a major concern of the urban public with young people feeling priced out of the housing market and middle-class families worrying about depreciating housing assets (NAUGHTON 2010: 6).

new employees and high-skilled people in their “indemnity and comfortable living project” (*baozhang xing anju gongcheng*). Thereby, “indemnity housing” (*baozhang xing zhufang*) refers to all kinds of subsidised housing. Nonetheless, only since 2010 has the central government promoted the so-called “public rental housing” (*gonggong zulin zhufang*), which is rental housing provided by either public or private agencies with government controlled rents. This programme targets lower to middle-income households, new employees and professionals with stable employment and a local residence registration in the city (*hukou*; YI & HUANG 2014: 296).

Thus, similar to the USA and the United Kingdom, scholars argue that low-cost housing remains mainly accessible to state-sector workers and is out of reach for many households (HOFFMAN 2010: 138; MORRISON 2014). Only a small proportion of high-skilled migrants often working in high-tech industrial zones have access to these programmes leaving most migrants relying on employer-provided temporary housing, such as dormitories, that often provide poor housing conditions, or private housing solutions (cf. chapter 4.2.3; HUANG 2012: 953; HUANG & TAO 2014: 17; WU & WANG 2014: 788; YI & HUANG 2014: 308). The local implementation of the indemnity housing policies is still very recent and in progress, and needs further assessment and study, as can be seen in MORRISON’s (2014) survey on the affordable housing strategy in Shenzhen.

Building on the existing knowledge of indemnity housing programmes, the present thesis gives insights into the strategies used to provide indemnity housing applied in high-tech industrial zones in Guangzhou and Dongguan, contributing to a better understanding of the nature and effectiveness of the policy schemes to increase competitiveness in the war for Chinese professionals. The outline of existing internal migration patterns given in the following chapters clarifies the city governments’ endeavours to redirect professionals’ migration.

4.3 MOVING PROFESSIONALS: PROFESSIONALS’ MIGRATION PATTERNS

4.3.1 Chinese Internal Migration

Internal migration has played a significant role in China’s economic transformation. Economically booming regions, such as the PRD, have especially benefited from the influx of often rural and lower-educated migrants working in the manufacturing industries that mushroomed in the region (also referring to non-*hukou* migration, or floating population CHAN 2011b: 83-4; CHAN et al. 1999: 425).

For the restructuring of industries towards high-tech, knowledge and human capital-intensive industries, a different type of labour force is needed – well-educated people, who in some cases were educated abroad and who often originated in China’s urban areas tending to move through government and formal channels. Some of them officially changed their *hukou* status to their migration destination, and refer to *hukou* migrants (cf. chapter 3.1.2; CHAN et al. 1999: 425). The number of *hukou*-migrants remained relatively stable from 1982 to 2006 but experienced a slight decrease relative to the size of the Chinese population. The stability of the number of *hukou* migrants and their high percentage in urban areas reflects the government interference in *hukou* conversions across city, town, and township boundaries (CHAN 2011b: 85).

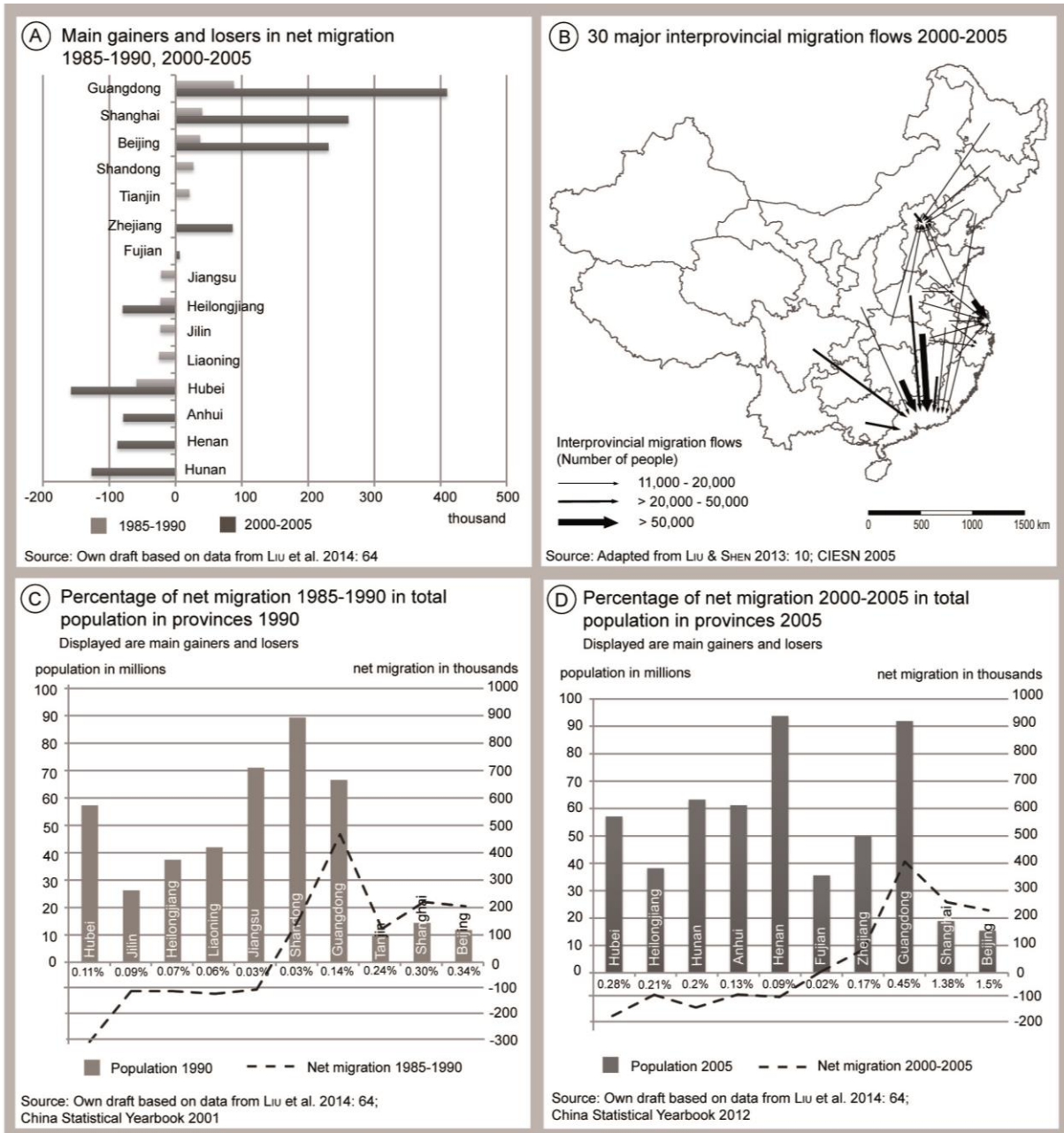


Fig. 4.2: Interprovincial migration of Chinese professionals 1985-1990 and 2000-2005

The exact number of people migrating internally is difficult to ascertain because many people migrated to the cities without acquiring a temporal residence permit and further necessary documents (CHAN 2007; CHANG 1996). Additional problems arise from the easily misinterpreted statistics due to inconsistencies in key data over time (cf. chapter 5.2.2; CHAN 2011b: 81). Additionally, although a large body of literature has analysed internal migration in China (e.g. CHAN et al. 1999; FAN 2008; LIANG & MA 2004), few authors have differentiated according to the migrants' educational level (e.g. LIU & SHEN 2013a: 3).

Interprovincial migration flows reversed after the reform, with people moving from the Central and Western provinces to the economically prosperous coastal ones, especially to Guangdong, Beijing, and Shanghai. These provinces experienced a brain gain, especially through non-*hukou* migration (FAN 2009). The migration patterns show differences according to the migrants' education level.

While the less educated tend to migrate to the coastal provinces, the more educated are especially attracted by the knowledge-based and advanced service industries in China's major growth centres (STILLWELL 2014: 2-3). Due to the high concentration of high-tech industries in comparison to labour-intensive ones in China, the professionals are more concentrated. Whereas from 1985 to 1990 Guangdong, Shanghai, and Beijing attracted most educated migrants, from 2000 to 2005 Guangdong and Shanghai remained the major destination of high-skilled workers in China, followed by Beijing (cf. Fig. 4.2A and D). Hubei Province had the highest out-migration of high-skilled Chinese in the latter period, that together with Hunan had many higher education institutions but few employment opportunities to offer (LIU & SHEN 2013a; LIU et al. 2014: 63-4). Accordingly, among the coastal regions, only Guangdong, Shanghai, and Beijing so far managed to become professional migration destinations (cf. Fig. 4.2A and D). Nearly, all interior provinces, including Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, suffered from brain drain (LIU & SHEN 2013a; LIU et al. 2014: 65).

However, whereas Guangdong is the leading destination in terms of absolute numbers between 1985 and 1990 and between 2000 and 2005, in relation to the total province's or municipality's population, Guangdong ranked only fourth between 1985 and 1990 and only managed to move up to number three in relative numbers between 2000 and 2005 (cf. Fig. 4.2C and D). Accordingly, Guangdong's higher-education based human capital intensity is lower than in other provinces and municipalities. In 2000, only 3.8 per cent of Guangdong's total population had a college degree or above compared to the

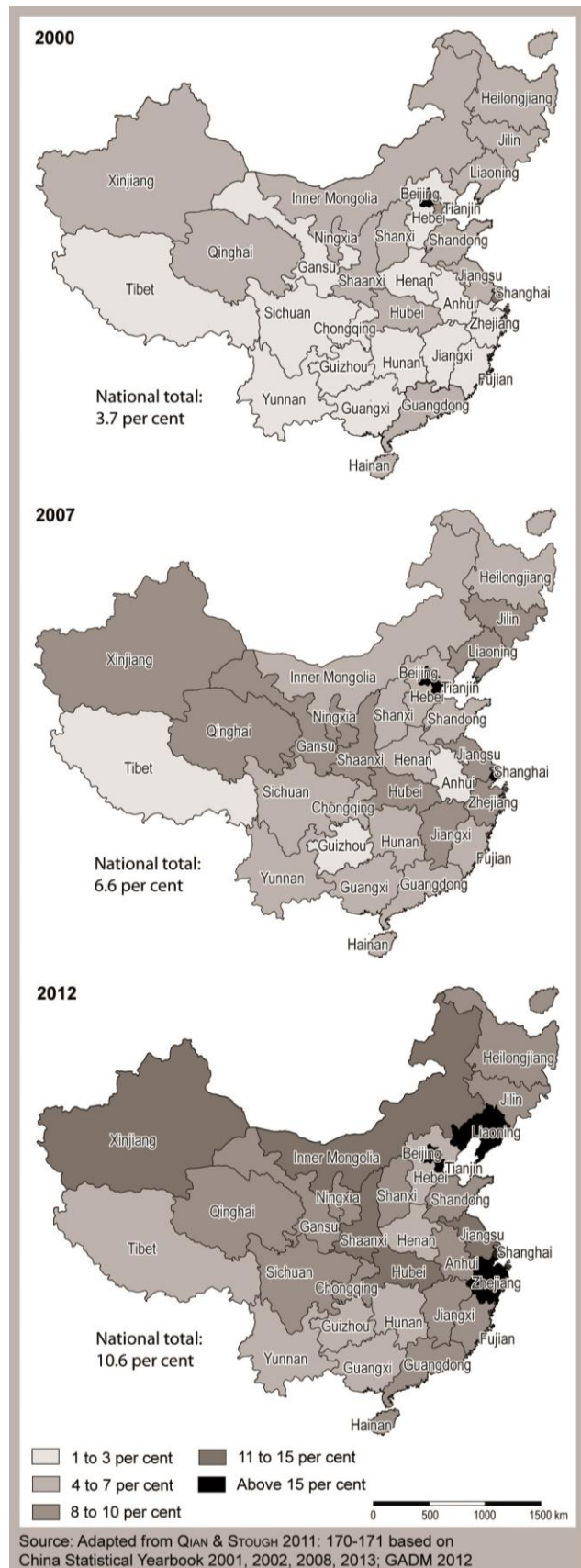


Fig. 4.3: Percentage of people holding a college degree or above in China's provinces and municipalities 2000, 2007, and 2012

provinces/municipalities with the highest human capital intensity Beijing (16.2 per cent), Shanghai (10.9 per cent), and Tianjin (9.2 per cent) and a national average of 3.7 per cent (cf. Fig. 4.3). In 2007, Guangdong managed to increase its human capital intensity to 6.5 per cent. Nonetheless, in this period all provinces experienced a significant growth in the absolute number of people with a higher education and of the human capital intensity, echoing China's expansion of the higher education system and resulting in a national human capital intensity of 6.6 per cent (cf. chapter 3.1.1 and Fig. 4.3).

In 2012, with 9.8 per cent Guangdong's human capital intensity was even lower than the national average of 10.6 per cent (cf. Fig. 4.3). Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin showed skyrocketing shares of 37.4 per cent, 23.1 per cent, and 22.8 per cent, respectively. These numbers show that Guangdong, even though the main gainer in professionals in absolute terms, so far did not manage to improve its human capital basis substantially and cannot keep up with destinations such as Beijing, Shanghai, or Tianjin. These patterns indicate the strong ability of China's major megacities to attract and retain human capital (QIAN & STOUGH 2011: 170-1). One reason for this, according to QIAN and STOUGH (ibid.: 175), is the advantageous political status under the national government that guarantees extensive benefits and preferential policies. Beijing, for instance, is home to some of the best educational institutions and health care facilities that might attract professionals (ibid.: 170-1). In 2010, Guangzhou and Dongguan had a human capital intensity of 15.4 per cent and 8.2 per cent, respectively. Compared to the provincial average of 7.9 per cent in 2010, the two cities had comparatively high human capital intensities (GPBS & GSONBS 2012). Hence, Dongguan's labour force is clearly less human capital intensive compared to Guangzhou's but even Guangzhou cannot keep up with the major megacities Beijing and Shanghai in terms of human capital intensity. However, despite their disamenities, such as high-housing prices, air pollution, and traffic jams, China first-tier cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and also Guangzhou, became a major destinations for professionals (LIU & SHEN 2013b).

4.3.2 Return Migration of Professionals to China

Besides nationally educated professionals, since the early 1990s, the Chinese national, provincial, and municipal governments have been eager to attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*²²) as they perceive them as especially valuable for the local economic development and economic upgrading process. They might bring back know-how and Western technology (ZWEIG & CHUNG 2008: 75). Especially students and researchers, who studied or worked abroad after graduation, are the focus of beneficial policy changes and privileges. In consequence, the number of high-skilled Overseas Chinese that returned to China (high-skilled return migrants) increased over the years. However, beginning in the late 1990s, the percentage of high-skilled return migrants decreased drastically whereby possible explanations are rather complex. Even though China's economy performed comparably well after the Asian financial crisis in 1997 (DE HAAN 2010: 72), the insecure economic situation and rising unemployment also caused by system reforms in the labour market between the late 1990s and the early 2000s provided rather unattractive economic conditions for high-skilled return migrants, who had to compete for fewer jobs (CAI & WANG 2008: 24; cf. PAHL et al. to be submitted). Furthermore,

²² *Huaqiao* means "Chinese sojourner abroad". The term includes all Chinese living in a foreign country irrespective of their occupation and educational attainment (WANG 2000: 70).

the economy in the United States where many Chinese went to study steadily improved in the late 1990s and provided more job opportunities. This development fostered the brain drain (GUO 2003: 7).

In the early 2000s, the number of high-skilled return migrants began to increase significantly as a result of stabilised economic conditions and increasing policy efforts. Whereas in 2001 it was only 15 per cent that returned after their graduation, numbers started to increase steadily again. Thus, in 2010, there were about 47 per cent that had already returned. Although the Chinese government is eagerly trying to reverse the brain drain especially to famous destinations such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada or Australia, some scholars argue that policies are only partly successful (e.g. CAO 2008). In total only about 33 per cent of all high-skilled Overseas Chinese returned to China over the whole period of 1978 to 2010 (cf. Fig. 4.4; PAHL et al. to be submitted). ZHAO and ZHU (2009: 35) argue that China has managed to extend its pool of high-skilled return migrants in recent decades. By 2007, more than 1.2 million Chinese in China had studied abroad. Estimates say that more than 200,000 Chinese have been working in developed countries after receiving education there, including 67,000 who have titles equivalent to assistant professor, and 15,000 equivalent to associate or full professor.

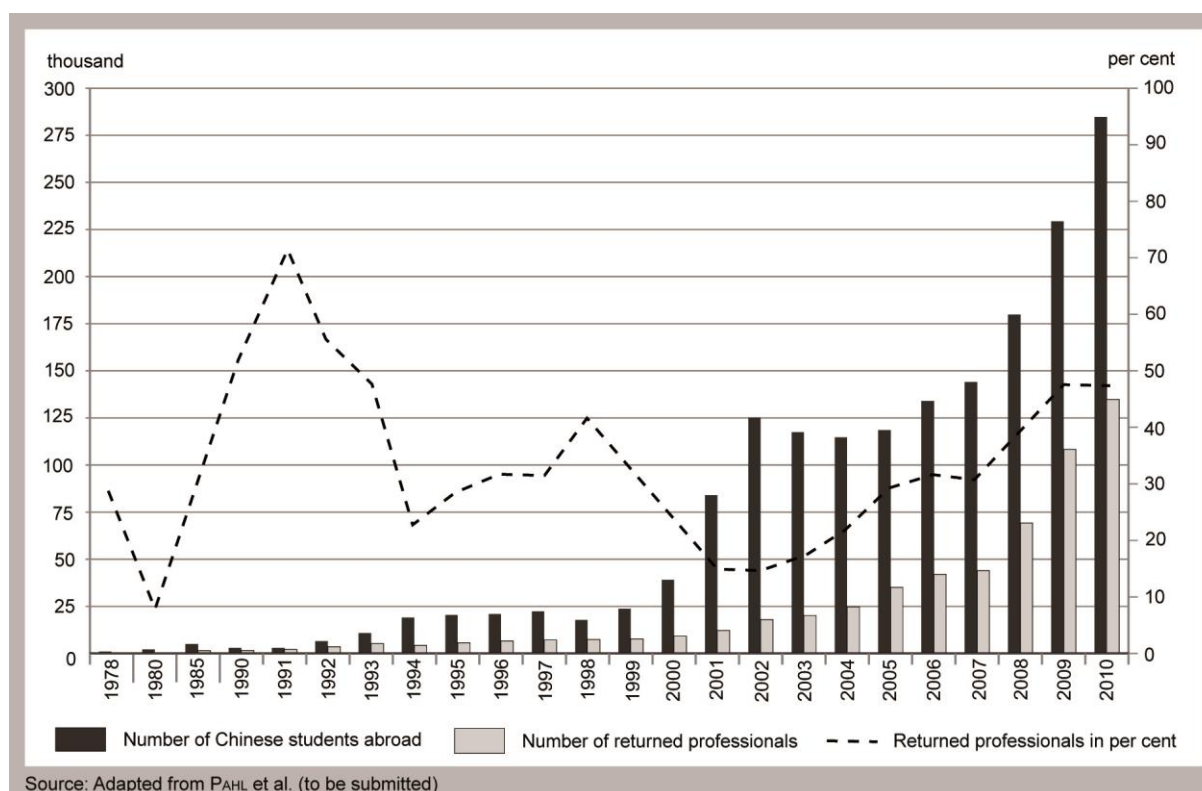


Fig. 4.4: High-skilled return migrants in China and their percentage of the total number of Chinese students abroad (1978-2010)

The Guangdong provincial government and the cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan are similarly eager to attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese to return to China and settle down in the province, and those that had already settled elsewhere in China. In 2011, the provincial government announced that the whole region of Guangdong aims to attract additional 10,000 high-skilled Overseas Chinese in the coming years to foster the economic development. More favourable policies are supposed to extend creating a more competitive and liberal environment for high-skilled Overseas Chinese (QIN 2011).

Accurate statistics on the total number of high-skilled return migrants in both the province and the cities are rare. It is estimated that about 35,000 high skilled return migrants live in Guangzhou. According to the 2010 census, Dongguan has in total about 6,100 Chinese return migrants, whereof the majority are highly skilled (cf. PAHL et al. to be submitted).

The previous chapter has clarified the intensive and diverse attempts by Chinese governments to attract professionals of various kinds. Drawing on knowledge of the internal and international migration patterns of Chinese professionals, the chapter gives some first impressions on the effectiveness of these policies. Using the case studies of two high-tech industry zones, the empirical part of this thesis will analyse locally applied attraction strategies in Guangzhou and Dongguan. To clarify the methodological approach applied to analyse not only the cities' attraction strategy but also factors that influence local professionals' decision-making, the next chapter introduces the methodology and methods applied.

PART IV METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

5 CRITICAL REALISM: AN APPEAL FOR MULTIMETHOD RESEARCH

ARCHER's (1995) approach to understanding social reality follows a critical realist perspective. In ontological terms, critical realism assumes that the social reality, whose causal mechanisms it tries to explain, is diverse, structured, stratified, and transformable and objectively existing (BHASKAR 1998: xi). In epistemological terms, critical knowledge is a socially constructed concept that is relative according to the observer (BHASKAR 1998: x; DANERMARK 2002). To reveal and understand complex, and stratified social phenomena, such as migration and place decisions, critical realists call for "[...] 'critical methodological pluralism,'" and see the "[...] need to overrule the categorizing of methods in quantitative and qualitative terms" (DANERMARK 2002: 2). This claim is in line with fairly recent reconciliations in the controversial debate between proponents of qualitative and quantitative methods, a debate which dates from the end of the 19th century.

It is argued here that both quantitative and qualitative methods play a role in revealing the ontological depth of social reality and identifying its causal mechanisms. That is why a multimethods approach is the most appropriate one to apply (cf. BAKEWELL 2010: 1704; DE HAAS 2011: 30; IOSIFIDES 2011: 13; YEUNG 1997: 56-7). Thereby, the quantitative research strand provides "causal descriptions" while the qualitative research strand offers "causal explanations" (SHADISH et al. 2002: 10; cf. IOSIFIDES 2011: 13). Quantitative methods are useful in highlighting regularities and relations between social objects, e.g. between policies and migration. (BAKEWELL 2010: 1705; SAYER 2010²: 179; YEUNG 1997: 57). Qualitative research can promote the quantitative strand through "[...] its ability to get 'closer' to reality" and by putting quantitative results in the social context (IOSIFIDES 2011: 12). Qualitative methods generate knowledge about individual perceptions, meanings, experiences, situations, and social positions. It allows for capturing the "quality" – the way in that individuals and structure, and the structure itself is interrelated – that determines the causal powers that can be exerted and exercised under certain circumstances and conditions. Qualitative research emphasises individual statements in the social context, captures the underlying process and the complexity of causal mechanisms, and can thus contribute to an in-depth analysis of stratified social realities (IOSIFIDES 2011: 12, 15; YEUNG 1997: 57).

BHASKAR developed the critical realist stance in the 1970s. The notion has been developed further and has recently experienced a renaissance. Thus, it has slowly risen out of its primarily British tradition, and became an international and multidisciplinary philosophy of science (ALVESSON & SKÖLDBERG 2009²: 39-40; BAKEWELL 2010: 1704; BHASKAR 1998: ix). The realist school of human geography emerged in the 1980s and became "the major approach to science in human geography" in the same decade (PEET & THRIFT 1989: 17). It gained a stronger foothold in the 1990s but seemed to have more or less disappeared again in recent years (cf. YEUNG 1997: 52, 70). A similar development of critical realism occurred in migration research, where its application is very limited (e.g. O'BRIEN & ACKROYD 2012; cf. BAKEWELL 2010: 1704; YEUNG 1997: 56). However, the realist philosophy provides valuable guidance to research in human geography and migration research as "[...] it holds out hope of healing the division between theorists and empirical workers [...]" (SARRE 1987: 10; cf. YEUNG 1997: 70).

This thesis tries to understand and explain professionals' migration and place decision-making by applying a critical realist perspective to socially embedded individual action. Thereby, understanding "involves being able to elucidate the meanings that situated human beings hold in regard to their own lives and that inform their actions within their own worldly places" (CLOKE 2004: xiv). Explaining "involves being able to answer 'why' questions by specifying causal processes combining to generate particular human geographical phenomena" (ibid.). The critical realist methodology requires a deductive, in-depth, and separated observation and identification of (a) the macro-structures, such as national migration regulations, labour market and so forth, and the conditions under which they arise; and (b) the individual's migration and place decision-making on the micro-level in relation to their interpretation of place, and then the resulting attempt to identify entities' and individuals' properties, i.e. the ways in that they influence one another.

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

In critical realism, triangulation is one way of combining multiple methods in a multimethod approach (DE HAAS 2011: 30; YEUNG 1997: 64-5). Triangulation describes the combination of data sources, methods, researchers, research objects, local or time-wise settings and theoretical perspectives applied to capture a phenomenon (FLICK 2011³: 249). Data triangulation describes the integration of different data sources, differentiated by time, space, and person. According to DENZIN (1970), here, the same phenomenon is observed at different points in time, at different locations and by different people or groups of people. Due to time and cost constraints, of the different ways of triangulation only data and methodological triangulation are applied here (for a detailed overview refer to ibid.: 297-313).

Additionally, following the critical realist requirement of deductive research (DREIER 2009²: 164), this thesis applies a theory-led research design with quantitative research methods at its centre, complemented by a qualitative strand. To remain open to the plurality and complexity of perspectives on migration and place decision-making, in a first step an inductive explorative research phase was conducted from August to December 2011. During this phase, the research was conceptualised, methodology and methods were selected and prepared, and the research area was explored in the first research stay in China from October to December 2011 (cf. Fig. 5.1 and chapter 5.1.1). In the first empirical phase from January to July 2012, the theoretical approach was reconsidered and the methodology and methods critically reviewed. Moreover, the first phase of data collection took place, which included the preparation of the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews, and resulted in the conduct of the main survey (cf. Fig. 5.1 and chapter 5.1.2). The main survey partly took place during the second research stay in China from April to July 2012. In the second phase of data collection, the quantitative data was processed and qualitative interviews conducted, building on the preliminary quantitative results (cf. Fig. 5.1 and chapter 5.1.3). This phase partly took place during the third research stay in China from October to November 2012. Again, in the process of data collection and proceeding, the theoretical approach was reconsidered further, while constantly critically reviewing the methods. The embedding of the research project in the Priority Programme *Megacities – Megachallenge: Informal Dynamics of Global Change* made it possible to constantly exchange with SPP 1233 members, especially of the PRD 6-project, during all research phases. While in the first two project phases of PRD 6 (2007-2009, 2009-2011) low and medium workers, respectively, were the focus of the research, the present

thesis contributes to the third project stage's focus on the high-skilled labour force by investigating the governance processes of attracting professionals aimed at achieving economic upgrading in the region.

The required separate investigation of the research objects – professionals' decision-making and its underlying structural conditions – could best be achieved by triangulating different research methods. Accordingly, the research design included a survey, follow-up interviews, and expert interviews to gain knowledge on professionals' migration and place decision-making in the case study cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan and the selected high-tech industrial zones. The survey among professionals in Dongguan aimed at understanding the professionals' previous migration to Dongguan, their intentions for future migration, and aspects determining future migration and place decisions (cf. chapter 5.1.2). The survey was guided by the following sub-research questions:

- *Who* had migrated before and *who* intended to migrate again?
- *How many* professionals intended to migrate?
- *Where* do they intend to migrate?
- *What* are the reasons for former and future migration intentions?
- *What* are the demands and preferences in their place decision?
- *What* is the influence of governmental policies on their migration and place decision?

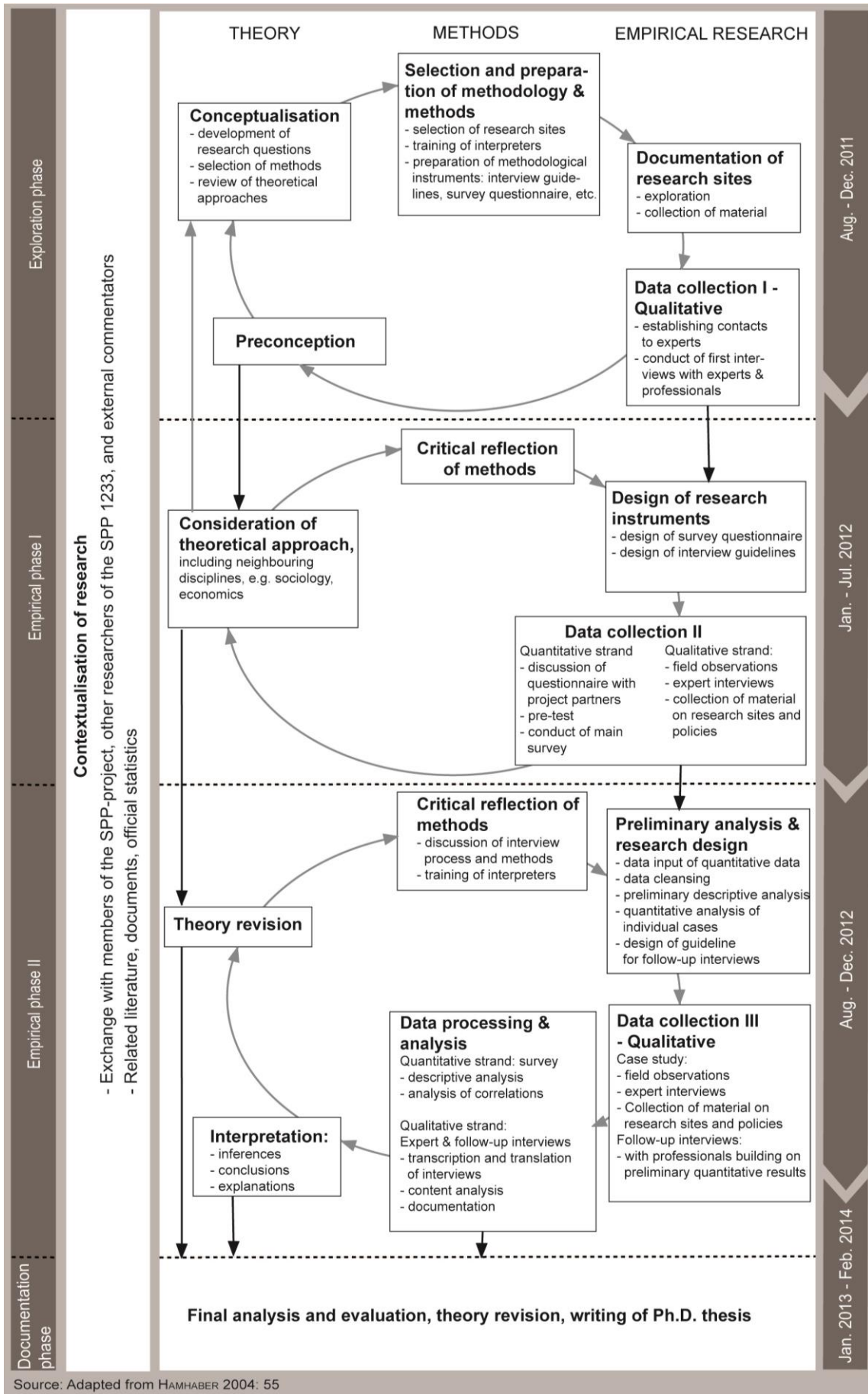
In follow-up interviews with professionals, who had participated in the survey, the interlinkages between professionals' action and the underlying structural conditions were investigated (cf. chapter 5.1.3). The interviews aimed at answering the following main questions:

- *Why* do Dongguan's professionals intend to migrate?
- *Which* underlying social values influence their place-related demands and preferences and their migration decision in general?

By means of expert interviews, which provide a tool for case study research to achieve an in-depth understanding of complex interrelations (YIN 2009⁴), two *agential emergent entities* and their *emergent properties* were investigated: first the municipal and zone's governments and their attraction strategy (*organised collectivities*), and second two high-tech industrial zones as *location (organisation of social time-space*; cf. chapter 2.5). The application of expert interviews aimed at answering the following sub-questions:

- *Why* does the government try to influence professionals' migration?
- *How* does the government try to influence professionals' migration?

In accordance with the methodological considerations, the research design had an open, but theory-led, and processual character. Accordingly, the research process passed through the hermeneutical circle, which delineates the interaction between theoretical and empirical research (cf. Fig. 5.1; LAMNEK 2005⁴: 62-6). The following chapters describe in more detail how the research design was implemented.



Source: Adapted from HAMHABER 2004: 55

Fig. 5.1: Research design

5.1.1 Exploration Phase

In a first selection process of methodology and methods (cf. Fig. 5.1), qualitative methods were chosen to be most adequate in the exploration phase to discover and generate theoretical assumptions about the research subject and develop preliminary research questions (KLEINING 1982: 288). According to the first draft of the research questions, the interview guideline for the first semi-structured interviews with professionals was developed. The interviewees were selected by theoretical sampling (GLASER & STRAUSS 1979: 98) which allows for an undefined size of the sample and a redefinition of the selection criteria for the interview partner (LAMNEK 2005⁴: 187-8). Accordingly, a variety of interview partners with various backgrounds and perspectives could be integrated into the exploration process, including professionals and experts. As several Chinese interpreters were assisting with the expert and qualitative interviews, before every interview they were trained and briefed regarding the survey's background, the target of the interview and the methodological procedure during the interview (cf. Fig. 5.1). The interviews were conducted either in English or in German and voice-recorded after requesting permission from the interviewees. Following each interview, the Chinese interpreter or the German student assistant transcribed the recording. Providing a glimpse into relevant aspects in professionals' migration and place decision-making, the preliminary analysis of the first batch of interviews made it possible to reconsider and specify the research object and questions, generate empirically-based ideas for the quantitative survey, and rework the interview guidelines for the follow-up interviews.

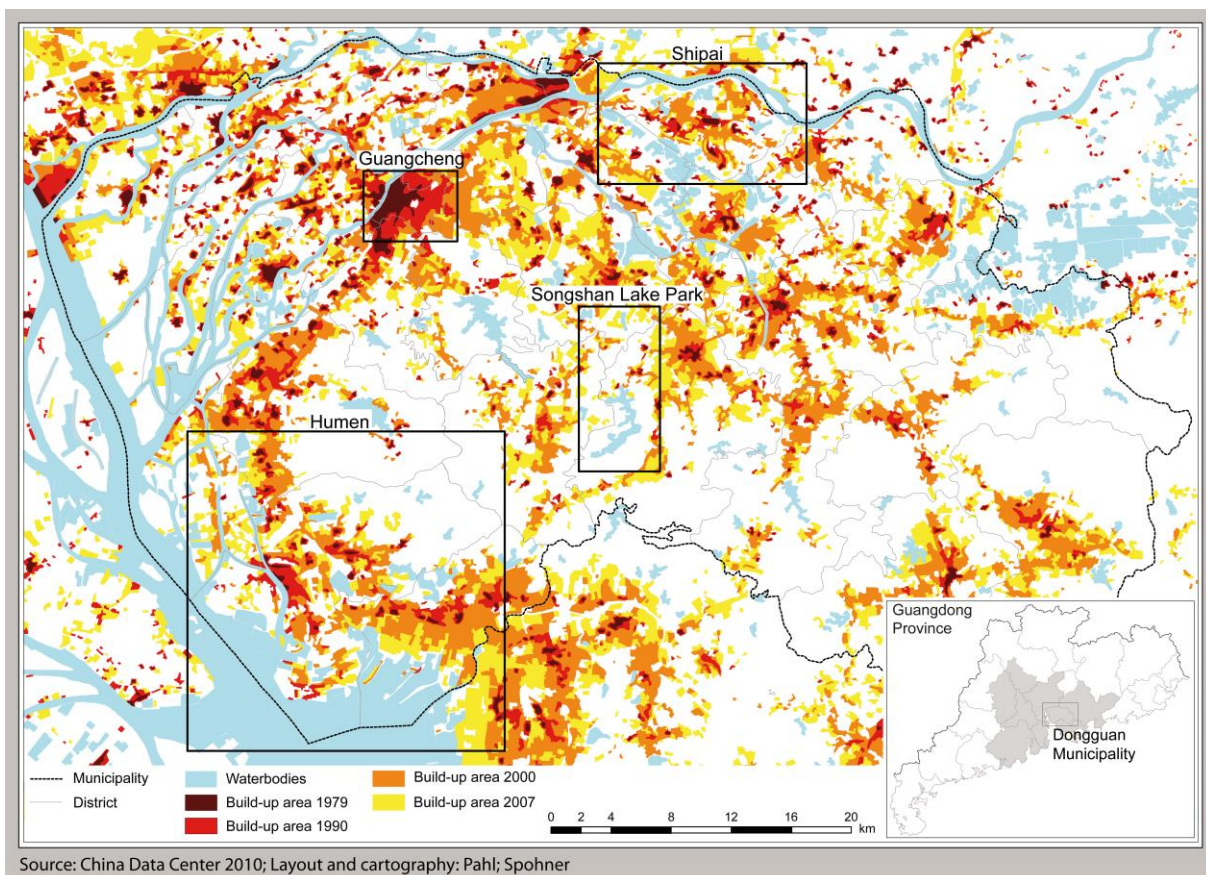


Fig. 5.2: Location of the research sites for quantitative survey in Dongguan

Due to the size and diversity of the Pearl River Delta as a research area, it was decided to select representative cities as research areas for the thesis. Guangzhou was selected as the capital of Guangdong Province and a city that has long established its position as an economically vibrant location in the region and (inter-)nationally. Dongguan was selected, due to its fast-paced economic development and recent upgrading efforts (cf. chapters 3.1.2 and 8.1). The semi-structured and expert interviews of the explorative phase with professionals were conducted in Guangzhou and Dongguan. In the further course of the project, it was decided to conduct the quantitative survey in Dongguan, due to a university project headed by the project partner Prof. Dr. Xue Desheng, which provided access to

companies. The research sites were selected by the Chinese project partners based on cluster sampling (MEIER KRUKER & RAUH 2005: 53) in which the whole research area (Dongguan) was divided into several smaller research sites according to their development level. The towns or districts Shipai, Humen, Guangcheng, and Songshan Lake Park were selected (cf. Fig. 5.2). All study sites were locations encompassing enterprises in need of professionals. Humen and Songshan Lake Park were the towns/areas with the highest development levels according to the GDP and the number of R&D enterprises in Dongguan, in addition to their high upgrading intentions. Songshan Lake Park represented a newly developed area, which had only started urbanising (cf. Fig. 5.2).

Humen and Shipai represented settlements which developed before the beginning of the opening-up process. However, both had expanded in size after 1978 but especially until 2000 (cf. Fig. 5.2). In contrast to Humen, Shipai was selected as an example of a less economically developed town in Dongguan (DMSB & DSONBS 2012; YEUNG 2001: 126). Guangcheng exemplified the central districts in Dongguan. In contrast to the other central districts²³, it had had been developed before 1978 and majorly expanded in size by 1990 (cf. Fig. 5.2). It was the political and economic centre until the municipal government relocated to the new CBD Nancheng, but is still home to many enterprises (P16; LI & SIU 1997: 69). The concentration on four research sites made it possible to collect in-depth knowledge and information, which could not have been compiled in the same way for a wider range of districts and towns.

²³ Besides Guangcheng District, the central district encompasses Dongcheng District, Guangcheng District, Nancheng District, and Wanjiang District.



Fig. 5.3: Location of the two case studies in Guangzhou and Dongguan

First interviews with governmental experts during the exploration phase revealed the relevance of preferential policies in the government's strategy to attract professionals and gave an initial idea of the policies' nature and magnitude. The high-tech industrial zones Guangzhou Development Park and Songshan Lake Park in Dongguan were selected as research sites for case study research as they were selected by the cities' governments to support the cities' economic upgrading and thus both had advanced governmental policies to attract professionals (cf. chapter 8 and Fig. 5.3). First excursions to the research sites took place to gain an overview on the areas. Later in the research process, observations were conducted gaining information on the following aspects (cf. Tab. 5.1):

- Structure and development of neighbourhoods and industrial areas (structure of built environment)
- Prevalent functional use (mixed use in commercial quarters, industrial use, residential use)
- Services offered to the local residents and employees (housing, road and transport infrastructure, retail, health care, education facilities, and leisure)

Additionally, first material on the case study research sites was collected and contacts to experts were affirmed or established to prepare for the empirical research phase (cf. Fig. 5.1).

5.1.2 Empirical Phase I: Quantitative Research Design, Conduct of the Survey, and Qualitative Research Design and Case Study Research

The critical reflection and reconsideration of the theoretical approach revealed that it was expedient to apply a diversity of methods in the further research process (triangulation of methods). In doing so, the research design met the requirements of the diverse and complex phenomena focussed in the research. Besides a quantitative survey, the following methods were chosen for the case study research: documentation, qualitative interviews, and observations (cf. Tab. 5.1). The following chapters outline the procedure in the quantitative and qualitative research strand in the first empirical phase.

Quantitative Strand

The quantitative survey targeted the economically active population (18 to 55/60 years²⁴) with a college or university degree. Thus, the sample included employees, who are "all those workers who hold the type of job defined as 'paid employment jobs'" (ILO 1993: n/a) or entrepreneurs, but excludes housewives/husbands, graduates seeking employment, and other non-working people. The professionals were distinguished as being either high-skilled migrants (including inter- and intraprovincial migration) or high-skilled non-migrants (resident in Dongguan since birth).

The standardised survey was the main research instrument to obtain information on the sociodemographic and socio-economic composition of professionals in Dongguan and their migration experience, reasons for migration, future intention, and other determining aspects for their migratory lives (see above). In order to make the relevant aspects of the professionals' migration and place decision measurable in a questionnaire, they were operationalised using variables. These variables were partial-

²⁴ Students enter the higher education institutions on average at the age of 18 (SHENG 2014: 11). The youngest respondent in the survey was 19 years old. The retirement age in China is 55 years for women and 60 years for men (ENDRES 2008: 37).

ly described further by indicators, e.g. the variable educational level was described by the indicators “high school degree”, “college degree”, “bachelor degree”, or “master degree” (ATTESLANDER & CROMM 2006¹¹: 40-4). To make it possible in the analysis to identify the social values underlying the professionals’ reasons for migration and the aspects they considered in their place decision, these social values and aspects were operationalised using various variables on the city and neighbourhood level, as shown in Tab. 5.2. Although only professionals’ inter-city moves were of interest in this thesis, and thus the aspects they find important in a potential future city, the respondents were also asked to evaluate aspects regarding their neighbourhood according to their importance. It was assumed that some aspects, such as a sense of community or the availability of gated housing, would be less important on the city-level than on the neighbourhood-level, but would still be important in the living environment and the decision where to move to. The categories addressed in these questions were deduced from an intensive literature review and the empirical results from the explorative phase.

The aspects were addressed in different types of questions according to their information content (MEIER KRUKER & RAUH 2005; REUBER & PFAFFENBACH 2005: 69-75). The questionnaire contained closed questions to gather the respondents’ tendencies and reasons, and open questions to get explanations for their choices. Questions on attitudes, for instance, were designed with a Likert-scale, which is useful for gathering the respondents’ opinions or evaluations in graded terms (1 to 4 in the case of this research; DIEKMANN 2008¹⁹: 240-4; REUBER & PFAFFENBACH 2005: 71). Questions regarding reasons were designed as closed multiple choice-questions or as open questions. The structure and content of the questionnaires and single questions were discussed with Prof. Dr. Frauke Kraas, Prof. Dr. Xue Desheng, Dr. Pamela Hartmann, Dr. Arman Peighambari, and former colleagues from GESIS – Leibniz Institute for Social Sciences.

Source of evidence (method)	Application in the field
Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quantitative survey among professionals in Dongguan.
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expert interviews focused directly on case study topics; Expert interviews providing insights from external sources to give causal inferences and explanations; Follow-up interviews aimed at explaining the quantitative results.
Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigation of the attraction process by visiting job fairs or other related events; Inspection of sample apartments provided to professionals; Observation of neighbourhood structure (built environment, functional use, population structure and quantity), physical features of the environment (noise, air quality, greening); Observation of the context of the interview situation, e.g. facial expressions and reactions of the interview partner.
Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative documents, proposals, or other internal records; Formal studies or evaluations of the same “case”, including academic publications and news reports; Official and semi-official statistics, e.g. statistical yearbooks; Postscripts of observations and qualitative interviews; Email correspondence, personal documents, such as diaries, or notes.
Sources: Adapted from DIEKMANN (2008 ¹⁹ : 563-75), HARTMANN (2013: 71), YIN (2009 ⁴ : 8-13, 101-114)	

Tab. 5.1: Applied research methods

The Chinese student assistants at the Sun Yat-sen University translated the questionnaire into Chinese. The translation was double-checked and retranslated by the Sun Yat-sen University’s exchange

students at the University of Cologne and Chinese colleagues at the University of Cologne. The survey was conducted as a paper and pencil questionnaire and the Chinese research partners distributed the questionnaires to the respondents. After the survey had been completed, a research team of Chinese student assistants translated the answers to open questions given by respondents. A Chinese colleague at the University of Cologne partly double-checked the translation.

However, misinterpretations might have occurred during the data collection and the interpretation of the results. The term *environment* (*huanjing*), for instance, in Chinese refers to *surrounding* or *circumstances* which fits well in questions regarding the living environment, but less so when asking about the environmental quality (cf. HARTMANN 2013: 73). The term neighbourhood (*linli*) was used in the survey to refer to the spatial dimension of neighbourhood which would have been best translated with the Chinese term *juminqu* (residential area). This definition excluded the community aspect in a neighbourhood, which has a strong implicit connotation of communitarianism, social cohesion, and common bonds (YIP 2014: 2). This aspect was included by asking about the importance of a sense of community in the neighbourhood. Nonetheless, no definition of the term neighbourhood was given in the questionnaire, which is common practice in neighbourhood research (cf. LEE et al. 1994; LU 1998). There-

Social Value	Variables' factors on city and neighbourhood level
Health	Health facilities Environmental quality Natural amenities Peaceful and quiet environment Security Living conditions
Wealth/ social status	Work opportunities Career opportunities Price of housing House ownership Education facilities Foreigners or high-skilled Overseas Chinese in vicinity Social diversity and complexity City image Reputation of neighbourhood
Affiliation	Proximity to spouse and children Proximity to parents Proximity to friends Like-minded people in vicinity Sense of community Friendly neighbourhood Child friendliness Tolerance towards minorities Public spaces Feeling of isolation
Life comfort/ life of ease	Natural amenities Environmental quality Peaceful and quiet environment Proximity to workplace Location Daily shopping facilities Long and medium-term shopping facilities Traffic situation Public transport facilities Tolerance towards minorities
Life stimulation	Cosmopolitan atmosphere Leisure facilities (sports, entertainment, cultural) Events Public spaces Appearance of city Gated housing area Unique character Beauty of streets and buildings
Freedom of choice and expression	Tolerance towards minorities Cultural diversity and complexity
Source: Own draft, includes ideas of DE JONG (1999: 283; cf. chapter 2.3)	

Tab. 5.2: Operationalisation of social values

fore the respondents applied their own definition of the term, which might have differed from the survey's definition. Although in the Chinese sense the term neighbourhood commonly also refers to the spatial dimension, it still follows a more narrow interpretation by applying a defining criterion of neighbourhood, which "was not an abstract notion of space, but specific relationships to recognized (*renshi*) households" (JANKOWIAK 1993: 103, emphasis in the original). Accordingly, the term primarily refers to the direct neighbours on the nearby lane, in adjacent residential units sharing the same courtyard, or at its most restricted notion to the neighbours on the same floor to which daily contact is maintained (*ibid.*: 102). This notion makes it difficult to differentiate between neighbour and neighbourhood (FORREST & YIP 2007: 51). Additionally, some questions, such as that on the likelihood of quitting the current job, were not formulated straight, which might have led to misinterpretations on the side of the respondent. Further methodological limitations will be addressed in chapter 5.2.

Before the Chinese research team distributed the questionnaire in the randomly selected companies, a pre-test among high-skilled acquaintances and friends was conducted and the questionnaire was reworked according to their comments and suggestions. In the main survey, the response rate was nearly 100 per cent. However, questionnaires were excluded from the analysis in cases where the respondent filled in less than one-third of the questionnaire or in cases where the respondent did not fulfil the sample's requirements. The unwillingness to fill in the questionnaires completely might have arisen from the long and complex nature of the questionnaire, which many respondents complained about in the comments section of the questionnaire. The exclusion of all incomplete questionnaires would have decreased the sample size largely and valuable data would have been ignored in the analysis. Therefore, the sample size is indicated for each variable separately in the text or figures.

Qualitative Strand

In the first empirical phase, the case study research in the two selected high-tech industrial zones in Guangzhou and Dongguan was at the centre of the qualitative research strand. Experts were consulted in formalised²⁵, guided interviews (ATTESLANDER & CROMM 2006¹¹: 131-3) in which they shared their knowledge not as a private person but as an expert in a certain area of expertise. Experts, who directly worked in the case study's context, or experts, who could provide insights from an external perspective to give causal inferences and explanations, were of interest. Observations helped to understand the attraction process of professionals applied in the two high-tech industrial zones and the cities in general (*cf.* Tab. 5.2). The observations included visiting job fairs and recruitment fairs and other events (*cf.* Tab. 5.2). To understand the nature of the preferential policy, and especially the strategy to offer housing, professionals' housing areas were inspected. In observations, the neighbourhood structure and physical features of the environment of the case study areas were investigated. The documentation method included the collection and discussion of administrative documents, proposals, or internal records on the governmental policies. Formal studies on the two case studies, including academic publications and news reports were collected to gather information and evaluations of the development in the case study areas. Official and semi-official statistics, such as statistical yearbooks, provided general information on the developments of the research areas. Impressions of the interview situation,

²⁵ "Formalised" refers to interviews that were appointed, and possibly recorded, and took place in a purposefully created interview situation (HARTMANN 2013: 72).

the interviewee and the surroundings in the interview setting and information gained in observations were noted down in postscripts subsequent to the interview or observation. These notes were then revised to structure and summarise the information (FLICK 1995: 107-8; MAYRING 2002⁵: 94-7). The resulting summaries helped to evaluate and reflect on the observations and qualitative interviews (see below). Another documented source of information was email correspondence, or personal documents, such as diaries or notes.

5.1.3 Empirical Phase II: Qualitative Follow-up Interviews and Data Analysis

Qualitative Follow-up Interviews: Design and Process

The critical reflection on the applied methods helped to specify the research instruments for the second empirical phase, which was aimed at a deeper understanding of the causal mechanisms found in the quantitative preliminary analysis. The preliminary analysis of the quantitative data contained a preliminarily descriptive analysis and an analysis of individual cases (FLICK 2004⁶: 385-6). According to the results of the analysis and the theoretical considerations, the interview guideline for the in-depth interviews (LAMNEK 2005⁴: 371-2) was developed. Accordingly, it was possible to address critical or interesting respondents' answers in the follow-up interview and to encourage the interviewees to explain, reconsider, or revise their answers. Additionally, the interview guideline contained open questions. In some parts of the guideline, it seemed useful to include questions that invited the interviewees to explain a certain aspect freely. Due to the generally open structure of the questions, the interviewees were able to address aspects that the interviewer had not considered in the preceding theoretical and methodological reflections.

In its content, the guideline followed the quantitative survey and addressed similar topics in several sections. The structure of the questions remained similar in all interviews. The first section addressed the interviewees' work and life situation to get an impression beyond the information gained in the quantitative survey. The interviewees were asked to elaborate on their satisfaction with their former and current living situations and living areas, the influence of the *hukou* system, and their perception of a labour shortage in the region. The second section addressed the governmental strategies to gain deeper knowledge on the preferential policies and its influence on migration and place decisions. The third section addressed the interviewees' demands and preferences regarding a potential city destination for future migration, their current neighbourhood, and their moving intentions. Addressing these aspects was necessary to clarify the reasons for their migration thoughts and the causal mechanisms behind their preferences and location decision. The last section aimed at understanding the interviewees' perception of their own living area compared to other potential places of residence. Additionally, they were asked about the high-tech industrial zone Songshan Lake Park as a potential residential place.

The sampling of interviewees was based on the quantitative survey. Those respondents of the quantitative survey, which noted that they were willing to do a continuative interview, were contacted either by email or by telephone. With those, who were still willing to participate in another interview, personal or telephone meetings were arranged. The interviewees chose the interview location, which was in most cases adjacent to or in the interviewee's living environment. This procedure allowed for a

relaxed interview situation in a familiar setting for the interviewees in which they were able to talk openly about their perceptions, reasons, and wishes. All interviews were conducted in Chinese, though some interviewees spoke some English. Speaking in Chinese, however, the interviewees were able to express themselves more profoundly on their perspective, ideas, and thoughts, which would have not been possible in English. The interpreter translated the questions into Chinese and the interviewees' answers back to English so that the interviewer was able to react to the interviewees' answers and comments and probe further. Postscripts were written after each interview as described in chapter 5.1.2.

Analysis of Quantitative Data

In order to answer some of the sub-research questions a quantitative analysis with SPSS 22 was conducted. The aims of the analysis were:

1. Analysing the migration history of Dongguan's professionals, their living and working situation and satisfaction with their living place;
2. Analysing selected structural conditions of Dongguan's professionals' migration and place decision-making and the arising demands and preferences;
3. Identifying groups with different migration/mobility levels and analysing differences between the groups regarding their characteristics, their perceived reasons for moving to Dongguan and their migration intentions, aspects of their living and working situation, and their demands, preferences and social values;
4. Analysing correlations between professionals' migration intentions and governmental incentives.

Descriptive analysis was used to achieve the first two and the last aim. Bivariate frequencies were calculated using cross tables. To test the bivariate correlations of the variables the contingency coefficient (C) was used, due to the nominal and ordinal scale of the survey's variables (BROSIOUS 2013: 432-3; BURKSCHAT et al. 2012²: 258-62). The following null and alternative hypothesis applied (BAHRENBERG 2010⁵: 244):

H₀: There is no correlation between the variables x and y.

H_a: There is a correlation between the variables x and y.

No generally valid benchmark is determined for the interpretation of C values. However, a continuum that ranges from 0 (no correlation) to 0.5 (medium correlation) to 1 (complete correlation) is suggested (MARTENS 2003²: 112). Another indicator is the significant level of the Chi square test as it reveals whether a correlation is significant. Only if the test shows a significant correlation, was C calculated. The significance levels are $\alpha = 5$ per cent, 1 per cent and 0.1 per cent (BAHRENBERG 2010⁵: 175). The contingency coefficient, however, never reaches the value 1, which is why strong correlations are not measurable. Therefore the corrected contingency coefficient was calculated (C*), which also ranges from 0 (no correlation) to 1 (correlation) but can reach 1 (MARTENS 2003²: 113).

Whereas C* calculates if variables are intercorrelated, the corrected standardised residuals describe the manner of the correlation. The standardised residuals were interpreted as follows:

>3.29 = very large positive residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.001$, extremely disproportionately high)

- 2.58 to 3.29 = large positive residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.01$, very disproportionately high)
- 1.96 to 2.57 = positive residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.05$, disproportionately high)
- 1.96 to -2.57 = negative residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.05$, disproportionately low)
- 2.58 to -3.29 = large negative residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.01$, very disproportionately low)
- >-3.29 = very large negative residual (significant on a level $\alpha \leq 0.001$, extremely disproportionately low)

As the contingency coefficient is based on Chi square, the same requirements apply: The variables need to be categorical, the analysed data consists of frequencies, not scores, not more than 20 per cent of the cells should have expected frequencies of less than 5, and no cell should have an expected frequency lower than 1, and the pairs of randomly selected observations need to be independent (PETT 1997: 185, 234). The analysed data meets all these requirements, except for the random selection. Due to theoretical consideration, and the easier interpretation of Chi square, some of the data categories were combined to four or fewer categories (cf. Tab. 11.2 in appendix C). In those cases in which no theoretical indications were given, fringe groups were combined or small fringe groups were deleted (HOWITT & CRAMER 2011⁵: 157). Tab. 11.3 in appendix C displays the values of the analysis with the corrected contingency coefficient (C*). The variables for the analysis were chosen according to theoretical considerations.

Following the third aim, groups of cases were classified by means of cluster analysis using two variables – the average duration in locations and the distance of the respondent's home province to Guangdong. The first variable was double-weighted, due to its higher importance as a mobility indicator. The precondition of having no missing values was solved by excluding all affected cases (STEINHAUSEN & LANGER 1977: 177). The second assumption of variable's independency was neglected (cf. BAHRENBERG et al. 2008³: 264), due to the relevance of both variables in analysing the level of mobility.

Agglomerative hierarchical clustering analysis was chosen because all integrated variables had ordinal scale-level. In several steps it groups the cases with the lowest diversity, respectively clusters those cases, which increase the heterogeneity the least, until only one cluster remains. The chosen cluster solution should ensure the highest possible intra-cluster homogeneity and inter-cluster heterogeneity (BACKHAUS 2008¹²: 420; SCHENDERA 2008: 23). The Ward method was chosen as fusion algorithm because it is widely used and reliable in finding partitions and the right number of clusters and can be used not only for metric but also for ordinal or even nominal variables (BACKHAUS 2008¹²: 415, 420, 444). However, it is criticised for seeking to achieve equally-sized groups and is poor at detecting small or elongated clusters (SCHENDERA 2008: 26). As the proximity measure, the squared Euclidean distance was used.

In a next step, the optimal number of clusters was identified with the elbow-criterion, which measures the information loss during the clustering. The 4-cluster-solution was chosen, as the coefficient distance between step 368 and 369 increases by 121 per cent, which would have led to a relatively high loss of information compared to the steps before. There are also content-related arguments for the 4-cluster-solution: A greater number of clusters would have been difficult to interpret when integrating only the factor of mobility. A smaller number of clusters would not have provided enough differentiation between the groups.

It is advisable to verify the cluster solution. Firstly, because the result of the hierarchical analysis depends on the order in which cases are clustered (BAHRENBURG et al. 2008³: 267-8). Secondly, the hierarchical cluster analysis is critical when applied to samples with many cases ($n > 250$). The iterative k-means cluster analysis, which is more suitable for larger samples, is thus an appropriate optimising measure of the first cluster solution (cf. BACKHAUS 2008¹²: 444; BAHRENBURG et al. 2008³: 268). It regroups the clusters so that the centroid of every case is at the lowest possible distance to the cluster centroid. In the present cluster analysis, after the optimising analysis the cluster solution did not deviate from the original result, which supports the original procedure.

Based on the resulting mobility groups, an analysis of contingency tables was conducted to detect associations with other variables of the survey, which are displayed in Tab. 11.2 in appendix C. Firstly, it was analysed if there was a significant correlation. Secondly, the strength of correlation was of interest (cf. Tab. 11.3 in appendix C).

Processing and Analysis of Qualitative Data

All interviews²⁶, including the semi-structured, the expert, and the follow-up interviews, were transcribed with the software f4. The interviews were transcribed into English. In the process of transcription minor grammar-corrections were made, however, the content was not altered²⁷. Speech elements, such as elisions, assimilations, and prosody were neglected. Paralinguistic elements, e.g. laughing, were only documented when relevant for the evaluation of the given information. Accordingly, the qualitative data analysis was based on texts as empirical data in the form of transcripts and postscripts.

The analysis of the qualitative interviews and additional material was conducted with structured qualitative content analysis (MAYRING 2009⁷: 471-3). The aim of the structured analysis was to extract structured contentual aspects from the empirical material. A gradual procedure was used, which included the definition of deductively generated categories, prime examples, and coding rules (MAYRING 2002⁵: 118-9). Two separate categorisation systems were generated for the analysis of the expert interviews and the follow-up interviews. The coding software MaxQDA was useful in screening the interviews and assigning representative text passages to the categories. To make the interpretation and argumentation process of the empirical analysis more replicable, references to all qualitative interviews were indicated by codes (P = Professional, E=Expert; cf. appendix B). In cases where professionals provided general information on the research area, their statements were treated as expert information and indicated as P#/E.

5.2 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE APPLIED APPROACH

5.2.1 Critical Realism and its Shortcomings

First critical points in the applied approach arise from the philosophical stance, which the present research design is following. Other constraints are of a methodical or cultural and ethical nature.

²⁶ Detailed overview on all interviews in appendix B.

²⁷ Additionally, quotes of interview statements were partly modified using the following indications: [text]: added or changed words to increase intelligibility of the statement; (text): author's note to increase intelligibility of the statement; [...]: omission of sentences or words.

Critical realists postulate that a central task of the researcher is to first identify the study object to make clear which research methods are most appropriate (DANERMARK 2002: 70). Although critical realists acknowledge the “*relativity of our knowledge*” (BHASKAR 1998: x, emphasis in the original), they seem to neglect the fact that the definition of the research object, and following other research steps, is always influenced by preunderstanding, paradigmatic and methodological assumptions, or political interests and the researcher’s interpretation. Thus, by identifying the research object, e.g. governmental policies as social structure, the researcher might unconsciously follow a certain interest in finding the causal mechanisms. Hence, there is a risk that the revealed empirical patterns are erroneously taken as causal explanations (ALVESSON & SKÖLDBERG 2009²: 45). Another issue arises out of the definition of the research object by the researcher. Due to the ontological depth of social reality, parts of it exist independently of human perception and experience, i.e. individuals unconsciously reflect on them and are influenced by them but cannot report on them (cf. chapter 2.4; IOSIFIDES 2011: 9). Accordingly, empirical results deduced from interviews with individuals can only partly reveal the causal mechanisms which influence the individuals’ actions. As ARCHER (1998: 199) puts it: “We do not uncover real structures by interviewing people in-depth about them”. Hence, the strong claim of critical realists to grasp reality becomes problematic, as most causes remain invisible to researchers (ALVESSON & SKÖLDBERG 2009²: 44). The present research tries to react to this problem by applying a predominantly theory-led approach, which identifies social structures not only based on respondents’ statements but by considering former research, theoretical approaches, *and* individuals’ perception, ideas, and viewpoints. Nonetheless, theory-led research based on quantitative survey methods also remains problematic, as social structures are difficult to quantify (DE HAAS 2011: 30). Accordingly, the triangulation approach applied here is the best solution to come close to understanding social reality.

What is reasonable from a methodological perspective, however, remains critical from a methodical point of view as the triangulation of methods requires the equal application of all applied methods (FLICK 2004⁶: 391). Yet, regarding the individual perspective, the present research was primarily carried out following quantitative research methods and was only complemented by qualitative guideline interviews. To compensate for this dominance of quantitative methods, expert interviews were conducted to further identify social structures. The triangulation of methods yields some other issues. Data from different sources might conflict, especially in the case of contradicting results. Then it becomes difficult to decide which result should be seen as the “truth” (YEUNG 1997: 64). In addition, triangulation might be constrained by restricted access to different data sources, time and monetary resources, or to research areas, especially in different political and ethical settings. The following chapter discusses these settings in regard to the research environment in China.

5.2.2 Cultural and Political Restrictions in Research and Ethical Considerations

China is a challenging place for fieldwork. Research, especially in the social sciences, is still restricted for foreigners (BRADY 2000: 960; THUNO 2006: 258). Restrictions on research include research topics, methods, access to official statistics, documents, scientific publications, interview partners, study areas, and the facilitation of research stays (SVENSSON 2006: 9-17). Furthermore, the accuracy of official statistical data is questionable. Thus official statistical data lacks precise description of collection and

sampling methods, applied indicators and units of analysis, which makes it difficult to evaluate its validity and scope. Changes in the definitions of analytical units, e.g. city boundaries, according to state guidelines or state policies are another issue which impedes the research process, resulting, for instance, in diverging population figures (BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 136; CHAN 2007: 384). These limitations all are constraints for approximating the research topic from different perspectives.

Foreigners are especially distrusted when conducting research on critical topics (BRADY 2000: 960; SVENSSON 2006: 263). However, the present research topic, the attraction of professionals in high-tech industrial zones, did not seem to be of the delicate kind in the eyes of authorities and respondents. Rather the researcher experienced it to be a topic which officials were eager to foster as it indicates the forward-looking and liberal-minded nature of governmental strategies. Nonetheless, “[...] research topics dealing with social and political issues can be regarded as sensitive, depending on the timing and framing of the research” (SVENSSON 2006: 263-4), and also according to the perspective of the researcher. Government officials in the two case study zones presented the governmental strategy for the zones uncritically and non-reflectively, and were unable or unwilling to express personal opinions. A diverging, more critical point of view on the part of the researcher could have increased the perceived sensitivity of the topic and raised reluctance among the interviewees to share information and additional interview contacts. Accordingly, critical questions were avoided in the expert interviews, giving rise to the tendency to conduct mainly uncritical, “officially accepted fieldwork” (HANSEN 2006: 87; cf. also PING & PIEKE 2005: 117, 221). Access to critical opinions on the research topic, in general, was difficult to impossible, presumably due to the politically restrictive setting in China. Accordingly, insights into critical perspectives were mainly gathered in international scientific publications, media reports, and through informal discussions with international scholars. Official documents, in turn, had to be treated with caution bearing in mind that they were written following a political agenda or other specific purposes (CLARK 2005²: 69-70; MORRISON 2014: 18).

When it came to interviews with professionals, the cooperation with Sun Yat-sen University was of great importance for establishing contacts. Local student assistants supported the research greatly, e.g. with their ability to speak the local language (Cantonese) in interviews. Thereby, they increased the interviewees’ trust and ability to express themselves as they could speak in their mother tongue and not in Mandarin. With their local knowledge when reflecting on the interviewees’ answers, they helped with the contextualisation of interview statements. The presence and role of a foreign researcher needs critical reflection. Whereas MATT (2009⁷: 579-80) argues that working in one’s own cultural setting is problematic, due to a lack in personal distance to the study subject, BERNARD (2006⁴: 375) sees diverging personal characteristics as constraining: “Personal characteristics make a difference in fieldwork. Being old or young lets you into certain things and shuts you out of others. Being wealthy lets you talk to certain people about certain subjects and make other avoid you. Being gregarious makes some people open to you and makes others shy away. There is no way to eliminate the ‘personal equation’ [...]” (cf. BORK-HÜFFER 2012: 134). Accordingly, some interviewees reacted appreciatively concerning the interest of the international research team in their personal opinion or were even keen on talking to a foreigner, e.g. to improve their language skills or extending their knowledge about foreign countries. Some interviewees became more intimate in the interview situation, due to the foreign background of the researcher (cf. THUNO 2006: 255-6), others tended to be distrusting and cau-

tious. These diverging settings created interview situations with either rather fluent conversations and comprehensive answers, or reluctant conversations with short answers. To reduce the impact of the personal characteristics on the survey results, the Chinese interpreters were intensively trained to provide comprehensive information on the survey background (cf. Fig. 5.1). Postscripts were written to reflect on the interview situation, possible problems, and the honesty of the answers (cf. chapter 5.1.2). Additionally, the interviewee was given the opportunity to choose the interview location to make them feel as comfortable as possible (cf. chapter 5.1.3). To avoid ethnocentrism (HOFSTEDE 2001²: 18) in the design of the survey, the questionnaire and interview guidelines were discussed with the Chinese research partners during various stages.

The intercultural cooperation itself, however, created challenges, due to different research traditions and cultural expectations. The fairly positivistic orientation in the selection of research methods among Chinese academia implies a focus on quantitative research methods. The fact that Chinese authorities are more biased towards quantitative research seems to reflect their disregard of qualitative research as a method (THOGERSEN & HEIMER 2006: 16). Accordingly, the Chinese interviewers were less familiar with qualitative research methods which resulted in unconscious reduction of translation processes, reduced transmission of information, and premature interpretations. Moreover, the language barrier contributed to the above mentioned issues. Despite the introduction of the interviewer into the research methods, the interview process often remained hard to follow for the foreign researcher. Thus, diverging styles in conducting research methods could not be fully reconciled. The respective Chinese interviewer shaped the interview process and content. Additionally, the interview process was often interrupted, interviews took longer, it was more difficult to develop an intimate atmosphere between the interviewer and the interviewee (see above). Due to the time taken for translations, the interviewer dominated the interview process more than intended in qualitative interviews (LAMNEK 2005⁴: 351). To reduce the impact on the study results, the interview content and situation was reflected after each interview, but still a heightened sensitivity in regard to validating the research findings was required when interpreting the results (MORRISON 2014: 18).

PART V EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

6 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE, AND MIGRATION EXPERIENCE AND INTENTION OF DONGGUAN'S PROFESSIONALS

6.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROFESSIONALS' SAMPLE

The following chapter presents socio-demographic information about the professionals' sample. In total, the sample included 440 cases of professionals employed in a company or operating their own company in Dongguan, whereof 54 per cent were male and 46 female (n=439). More than half of the professionals were aged 26 to 35 years, 37 per cent were 19 to 25 years old (cf. Fig. 6.1). The professionals aged above 35 were fewer (11 per cent) which is in line with recent studies that made evident that Dongguan, and also Guangzhou, especially attract a young labour force (cf. LI & QIAN 2011: 150-1). More than half of the respondents were not married which is not surprising if one considers the high number of young professionals in the sample (cf. Fig. 6.1). The marital status correlated highly significantly with the respondents' age. Older professionals were more often married. This is not surprising when one looks at the marriage age in China. In Shanghai in 2010, for instance, the average marriage age was 26.5 years for women and 28.8 years for men (JACKA et al. 2013: 52). Chinese people with higher educational levels tend to marry later (DAVIN 2007: 90). The marital status also correlated highly significantly with having children. In total, only about one-third of the respondents had children (cf. Fig. 6.1).

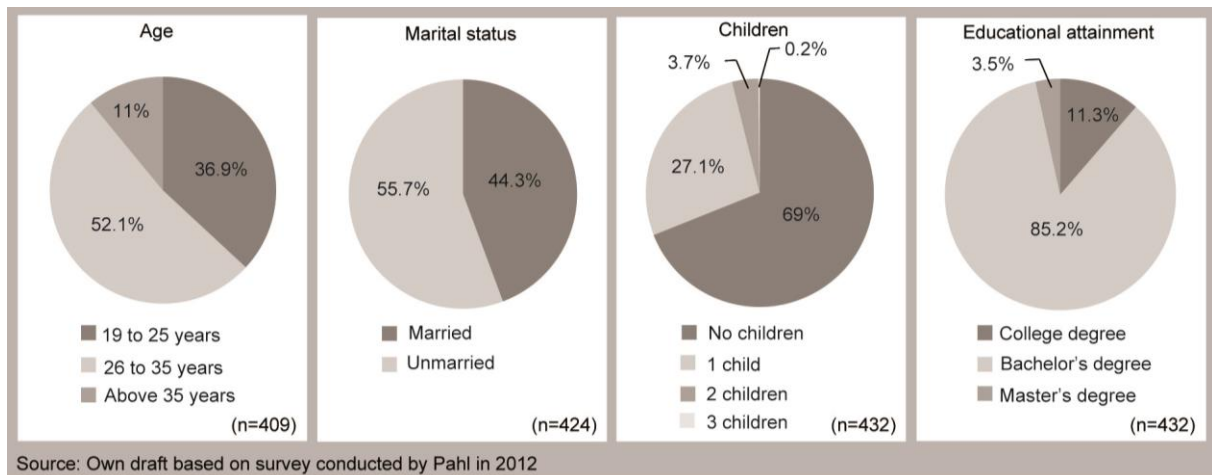


Fig. 6.1: Socio-demographic composition of the professionals' sample

The majority of respondents had a bachelor's or equivalent degree (85 per cent; cf. Fig. 6.1). Only 3.5 per cent had a Master's or equivalent degree, and 11 per cent got a degree from junior college which is regarded as higher education and is ranked below a bachelor's degree (TSE & LEE 2003: 109). More than half of the interviewed professionals considered themselves as 'talents' (63 per cent; n=416). Only about 15 per cent said they were not 'talents' and 23 per cent were not sure about their status as a 'talent'. However, there was no significant correlation with educational attainment. Only one per cent of the polled professionals were entrepreneurs (n=424).

Whereas this chapter summarised the socio-economic characteristics of the sample, the next chapter will introduce the migration background of the professionals. The professionals' migration history

will allow for a classification of the professionals according to their degree of mobility. This classification will be introduced. Additionally, reasons for migration mentioned by the professionals will be given.

6.2 MIGRATION HISTORY OF DONGGUAN'S PROFESSIONALS AND ITS REASONS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE MOBILITY GROUPS

This chapter addresses the migration history of the professionals, classifying them according to their degree of mobility, and elaborates on the reasons for migration. Almost half of the respondents were born in Dongguan (46 per cent; n=437) and about two-thirds were from Guangdong province (cf. Fig. 6.2; n=431), whereof 73 per cent were from Dongguan. 64 per cent of the Dongguan locals had never migrated (n=400). The migrant professionals from Guangdong had moved to Dongguan from a wide range

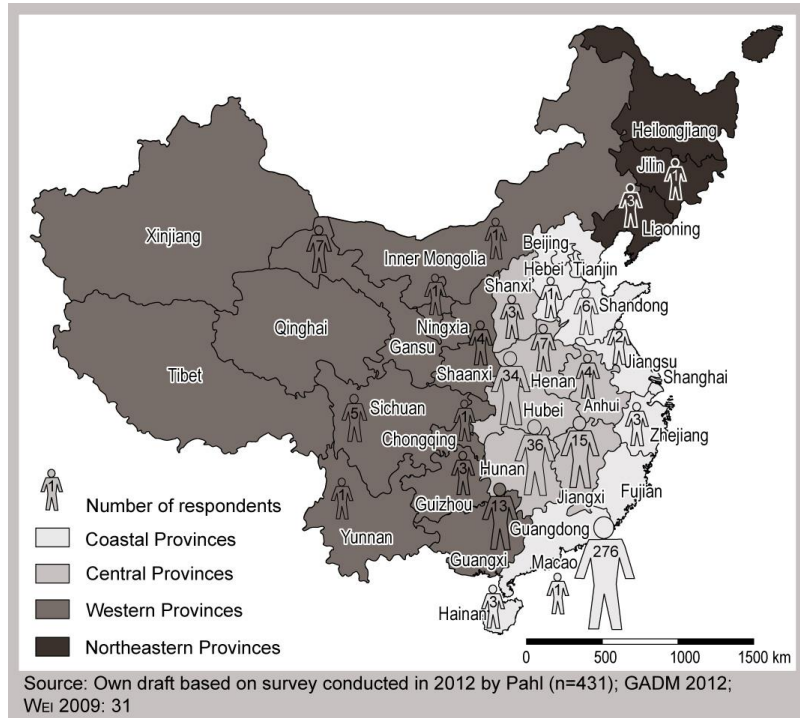


Fig. 6.2: Home provinces of the polled professionals in Dongguan

of different cities, such as Maoming, Guangzhou, or Heyuan. Among the migrant professionals, who came from provinces other than Guangdong, almost all (90 per cent; n=154) originated from Western, Central or Northeastern Provinces, which are less economically developed than the Eastern (or coastal) regions (cf. Fig. 6.2; WEI 2009: 31-2).

Among the migrant professionals about two thirds had been living in Dongguan for less than one to five years (65 per cent; n=199). 19 per cent had lived in Dongguan for six to ten years, and 16 per cent had been resident in Dongguan for more than eleven years. According to the average duration that the professionals lived in different places in China and other countries and the distance of their home province to Guangdong, professionals groups with different mobility levels and characteristics could be identified (cf. Fig. 6.3):

- The *immobile* professionals were all born in Dongguan and had never moved. They were older than the other groups (significant correlation but no significant residuals). The immobile professionals had children similarly often to the permanently settled and settled professionals, but more often than the mobile professionals (no significant correlation).
- The *permanently settled* professionals lived on average 11 to 26 years in their places of residence. About two thirds of them came from Guangdong, whereof 46 per cent were locals from Dongguan; the others came from neighbouring provinces. They were of a

similar age to the immobile ones, and thus older than the professionals in the other two groups (significant correlation but no significant residuals). More than two thirds did not have children which is similarly often to the immobile and settled professionals, but less often than the immobile ones (no significant correlation).

- Among the *settled* professionals two thirds had lived on average 11 to 26 years in their place of residence, 37 per cent had lived on average for 6 to 10 years in one place and a small group of professionals moved more often and stayed only 2 to 5 years on average in one location. 71 per cent came from provinces farther than 1500km away, other originated from provinces 1000 to 1500 km away from Guangdong. There were no local settled professionals. The settled professionals were slightly younger than the immobile and the permanently settled ones, but older than the mobile professionals (significant correlation but no significant residuals). Only about one third of the settled professionals had children, similar to the immobile and permanently settled, but more often than the mobile ones (no significant correlation).

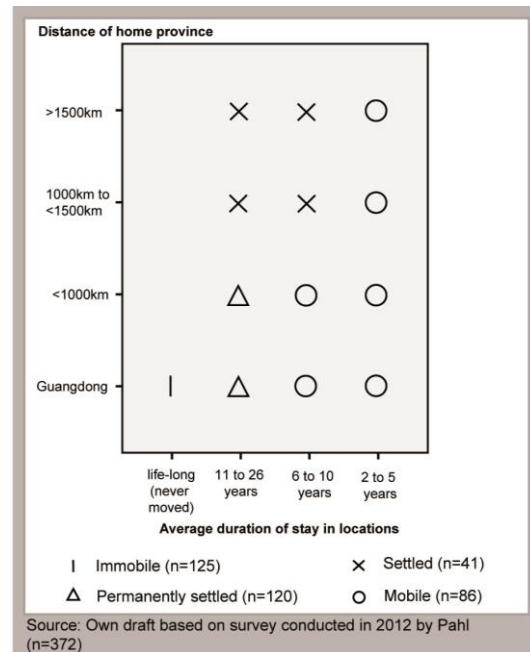


Fig. 6.3: Characteristics of the mobility groups

- The *mobile* professionals moved more often than the professionals in the other group did. 16 per cent had moved every 2 to 5 years to another place of residence. The others had resided on average 6 to 10 years in each place. The mobile professionals came from variant-distant provinces, but included 28 per cent professionals born in Dongguan. They were disproportionately often young and disproportionately seldom old, and they were most often childless (81 per cent, no significant correlation).

The reasons why the professionals had moved to Dongguan were diverse (cf. Fig. 6.4). However, good work and career opportunities were the two most important reasons for nearly all migrant professionals. An interviewee explained that Dongguan provided good work opportunities, due to the economy developing well in Dongguan, which he could not easily find in his home place:

“[T]he economy is developing well here [in Dongguan]. The economy is not developing well in my hometown. If you do not have some relatives to help you in your hometown, you would not have many employment opportunities. It is hard to develop yourself [in your hometown]. There are more chances outside” (P12).

The reasonableness of housing or rental prices in Dongguan was similarly important for the professionals in their migration decision. 80 per cent of the migrant professionals also named the appearance of the city as a very important reason to move to Dongguan.

The professionals also regarded social factors, such as achieving proximity to parents, to spouse and children, and to friends, and the provision of education facilities as comparably less important when moving to Dongguan. When one considers that 80 per cent of the migrated professionals had their parents living in their hometowns it is not surprising that the proximity to them was not a reason for many professionals to move to Dongguan (n=409). The lower importance of living close to spouse and children, and of the provision of educational facilities as a reason to come to Dongguan can be explained with the high share of migrant professionals who were unmarried and had no children (cf. Fig. 6.4). The migrant professionals rather considered the provision of other facilities, such as health care, leisure, and shopping as very or quite important (cf. Fig. 6.4). Aspects regarding the perception of the city, e.g. the atmosphere of the city, or the city image and its location were less important in the decision to move to Dongguan (cf. Fig. 6.4). An interviewee explained that Dongguan did not have a cosmopolitan atmosphere which is why it could not attract him. Other reasons, such as his family and the development chances Dongguan provided were more important than the atmosphere:

“I came to Dongguan not because of its cosmopolitan atmosphere, because I know it does not have a good cosmopolitan atmosphere. It is the world factory, but just a factory. The cosmopolitan atmosphere is about culture and communication. I came to Dongguan not because of it. I came here because of my family and my life experience” (P15).

Another interviewee explained that the reasons why he came to Dongguan were rather diverse. His first reason was a job opportunity that suited him as a graduate, but he also liked the company culture, and the living environment in Dongguan, which put less pressure on him than in other cities:

“The earliest reason was a [job] chance for me when I was about to graduate, a job opportunity that suited me. After I accepted the job, there were two reasons: On the one hand, the company’s culture and the development of the company were good. On the other hand, Dongguan gives me less pressure” (P6).

About two-thirds of the professionals in Dongguan held a local *hukou* (cf. Fig. 6.5). Not surprisingly, the registration status correlated highly significantly with the status as a local citizen. An extremely disproportionately high number of locals were local *hukou* holders and vice versa. However, about a quarter of the local *hukou* holders were non-locals (cf. Fig. 6.5). The *hukou* of the majority of the local professionals with a local *hukou* was rural. Most migrant professionals with a local *hukou* status had an urban *hukou*. About one third of the professionals had a non-local *hukou*, either rural or urban (cf. Fig. 6.5). Accordingly, almost two thirds of the migrated professionals who had a non-local *hukou* status were non-*hukou* migrants (cf. chapter 3.1.5). The share of professionals having experience of studying or working abroad was rather low. Only 3.5 per cent spent time in a foreign country for at least one year (n=374). Most of the professionals (83 per cent) with overseas experience had studied

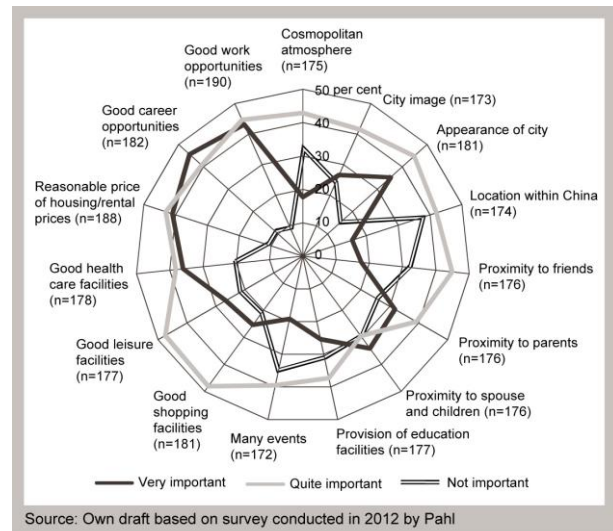


Fig. 6.4: Reasons for moving to Dongguan

abroad, 8 per cent had worked. The most popular country for a stay abroad was Hong Kong. Others stayed in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Japan, or Singapore. In the following chapters the professionals' working and living situations, their migration attitudes, social values and preferences will be further analysed also with reference to their mobility level.

This chapter has shown that the sample of professionals included many local professionals and those originating from Guangdong or adjacent provinces who had never or only rarely moved to other places. However, a smaller but substantial share of professionals also came from faraway provinces and some showed high mobility rates. The share of professionals with overseas experience, however, was low among the sample professionals. The next chapter addresses the professionals' migration intention and the reasons behind it.

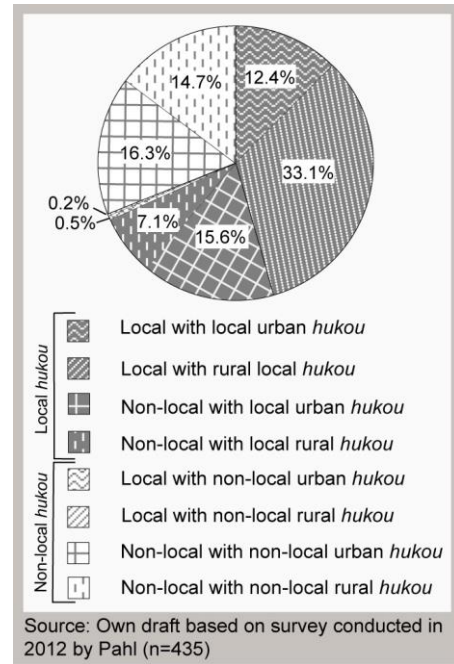


Fig. 6.5: *Hukou* status of local and migrated professionals

6.3 MIGRATION INTENTION OF DONGGUAN'S PROFESSIONALS AND ITS REASONS

The next chapter discusses the migration intention of the polled professionals in Dongguan. To better understand the aspects which motivate them to leave Dongguan, it addresses the reasons for their migration thoughts. About one-third of the respondents had thought about leaving Dongguan (n=402), whereof 22 per cent had thought about moving to another city, and 10 per cent had thought about moving to another country. The migration intention significantly correlated with the migration history of the respondents. Those respondents who had not migrated before, disproportionately less often thought about migration. The migration intention also correlated highly significantly with the mobility groups. The residuals show a disproportionately low number of immobile professionals thought about migrating. A disproportionately high number of mobile professionals thought about migration. Additionally, the migration intentions significantly correlated with the respondents' home province. However, the residuals only show that professionals from provinces with a distance of less than 1000km (excluding Guangdong) were more likely to think about migration.

The main reasons why the professionals thought about moving were poor career opportunities, high housing or rental prices, the poor environmental quality, and the security situation in Dongguan (cf. Fig. 6.6). Most professionals said they thought about moving because of poor career opportunities in Dongguan. They wanted to develop themselves and enhance their experience and skills (P7; P9; P14). Similarly, many of the respondents said the housing or rental prices in Dongguan were too high. An interviewee explained that in China in general prices for living, including for housing, were too high. The high prices were the reason why he thought about moving to America, where he perceived salaries to be higher and prices lower (P11). More than two thirds of the professionals said that the poor environmental quality in Dongguan made them think about moving, and a similar number ex-

plained that the security situation in Dongguan had made them think about leaving the city. 70 per cent of the professionals thought about moving, due to the city's atmosphere. Interviewees also complained about missing cultural diversity (P15), or about the tense relationship between migrants and locals (P12). An interviewee explained:

“Other people consider you as migrant people. I cannot endure it, so I do not like to stay” (P12).

Almost two thirds of the respondents thought about moving, due to poor work opportunities in Dongguan. To live closer to their parents was a reason for less than half of the professionals to think about migration. Living closer to spouse and children was a less mentioned reason, because most respondents were either not married or already lived together with their family (cf. chapters 6.1). An interviewee from Jiangsu Province explained that living close to his family would be the major reason for him to move (P9). Other interviewees explained that Dongguan was too far from their hometown (P9; P10). An interviewee said he had to travel far distances when visiting his family during festivals or holidays. Accordingly, he had planned to go back to his hometown after gaining work experience in other parts of China, and in different companies. Well-experienced, he thought, he could find a similar or better job in his hometown (P9).

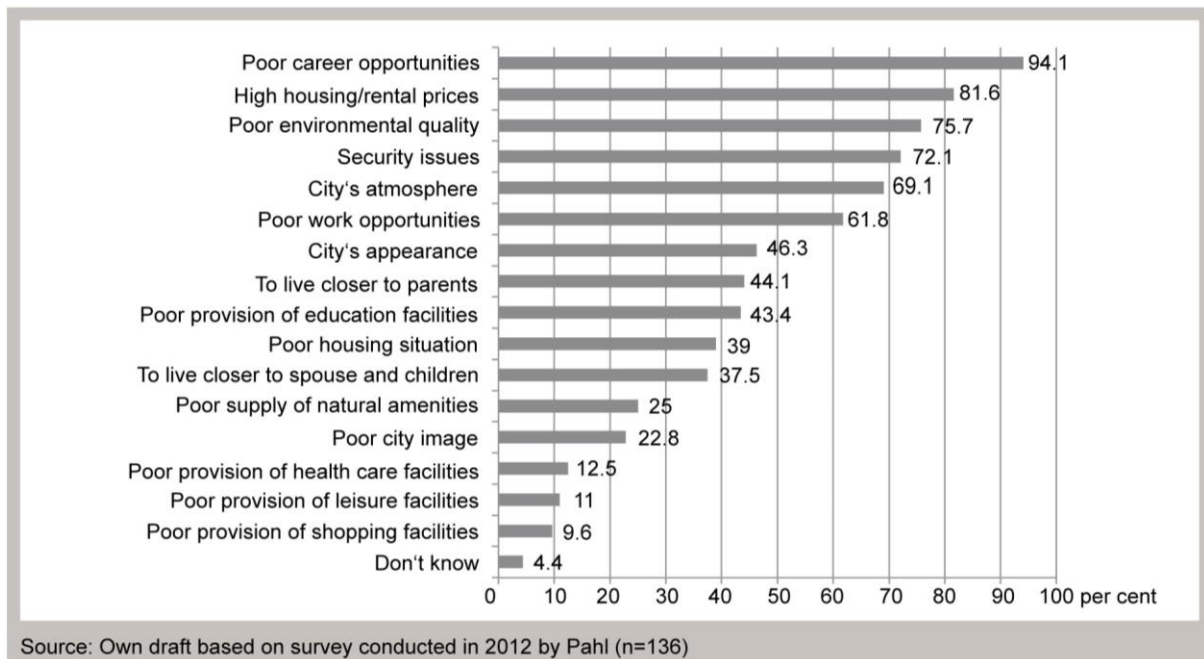


Fig. 6.6: Main reasons why professionals thought about moving (multiple responses with maximum three answers)

The quantity and quality of facilities in the city was a less important reason for the professionals' migration intention. The provision of education facilities was a comparably important reason for migration thoughts of the respondents (cf. Fig. 6.6). A poor housing situation was a reason for more than a third to think about migration. However, only 18 per cent of the respondents mentioned they thought about moving due to their current housing situation (n=399). 9 per cent were unsure. The reasons why the respondents thought about leaving their current residence were diverse. 20.5 per cent said their living environment in general was poor, and 18 per cent said their living conditions in general were poor. 14 per cent explained that their residence was too crowded, 9 per cent each said that the rental price was too high, and the residence was too far from their workplace, respectively. For 7 per cent

family reasons were the cause of thinking about leaving the residence, and 5 per cent each said they thought about leaving due to a noisy living environment, a poor security situation, poor provision of public facilities, and work-related reasons, respectively. 2 per cent mentioned that they thought about leaving their residence due to a depressing atmosphere.

Other interviewees explained why they were reluctant to leave Dongguan. An interviewee, who was a local resident, explained that he feared losing social status when migrating to a different city (P11). Another interviewee said that he did not see many differences among the cities or regions in China which was why he thought about moving to America (P11). He added that he would anyway not move until his children were grown. Now it was not convenient for him to move to another place (P11).

In conclusion, poor career opportunities, high housing prices, the environmental quality, and the security situation in Dongguan induced the professionals to think about leaving Dongguan. Poor work opportunities and the opportunity to live closer to their family, and home place were other important reasons for the professionals to consider migrating. Among the facilities, the poor provision and low quality of educational facilities most influenced the professionals' intention to migrate. Regarding their living situation, some professionals considered moving due to their residential and living environment, which they perceived as poor. The reasons to stay were, for example, apprehension about losing social status or the perception that other cities in China did not provide better living conditions.

Whereas the previous chapters have reviewed the migration situation of the whole sample, the next chapter is based on the classification introduced in chapter 6.2, and will exemplify the four mobility groups. Thereby the situation and way of thinking prevalent in the four groups will become clearer.

6.4 EXEMPLIFYING THE *IMMOBILE*, *PERMANENTLY SETTLED*, *SETTLED* AND *MOBILE* PROFESSIONALS

6.4.1 The Immobile Local

The immobile local Lu Jiang²⁸ was 27 years old and lived with his wife and child in Humen. He was born in Dongguan, and had never moved. He was living in an apartment, which he owned himself and in which he lived for one year. Before buying the apartment on loan, he stayed with his parents who lived in Humen as well. He often saw his parents, especially his mother, who took care of his new born while he was working. He worked in a bank that was five minutes' walk from his residence. He perceived his position as honourable, but experienced a lot of work pressure, due to low number of colleagues who were qualified to help him with his work (P11).

He was quite happy to live in Dongguan, and was quite satisfied with his residential area and current housing situation. He explained that there were no problems with living in Humen, however, it was difficult for him to compare, as he had never lived anywhere else (P11). He had considered moving to another place, but he was not sure about it, because Chinese cities all appeared similar to him (P11). He explained that instead he thought about moving to America if he got a good chance (P11).

²⁸ Name changed.

According to him, prices in America were lower, such as for housing, and the working hours much less than in China (P11). Nevertheless, he would only be moving when his children were grown. However, when moving to another city he feared losing the social status he had in his current living place. Accordingly, he was reluctant to move:

“To me, I think my social status is fine now, but if I move to another city, I have to take a risk that my social status might change, and I have to work very hard. So I suppose that everywhere [...there is] competition, there are not many differences. Now I have a good social status, so I do not want to take the risk” (P11).

In addition, he mentioned that even though the cultural atmosphere in Humen was not as good as in other PRD cities, Humen provided the same facilities, just slightly fewer (P11). In the future he wished for a house with a private garden in a neighbourhood where many children lived who could play with his child (P11).

6.4.2 The Permanently Settled Short-distance Migrant

The permanently settled short-distance migrant Zhou Xiaolong²⁹, aged 28, lived with his wife in accommodation in Songshan Lake Park, which his employer provided for lower rent. He had one child, which was living with his parents in his hometown in Hubei Province. Mr. Zhou held a local urban *hukou*, which the government offered to him when he moved to Dongguan in 2006 (P6). He had moved only once, from Hubei Province to Dongguan because of a job offer that was attractive to him then as a graduate. First, his company was located in Humen until it moved to Songshan Lake Park in 2009. He accordingly changed his residence.

When he first came to Dongguan, he did not consider aspects regarding the living environment much, such as if his neighbourhood was friendly or whether the city had a good atmosphere. After living in Dongguan for six years, he decided to stay in the city. Accordingly, the aspects he perceived as important in the city and his neighbourhood had changed (P6). He put more weight on aspects regarding his living environment.

Mr. Zhou was quite happy to live in Dongguan. Firstly, he liked his work and Dongguan provided many self-development chances for him. Secondly, Dongguan, in his eyes, offered a good living environment. He explained that Dongguan gave him less life pressure. The pace of life in Dongguan, according to him, was slower than in Hong Kong or Guangzhou with its tall buildings and fast life (P6). Nonetheless, he mentioned that he was dissatisfied with the situation between locals and migrants. Having migrated himself, he complained about migrants, who, in his opinion, had a low quality and would cause security problems, such as robberies (P6).

Mr. Zhou had never thought about leaving Dongguan again, even though he preferred living in his hometown. He said living in his hometown felt more like home, because of his parents and relatives being close. However, his hometown could not provide similar work opportunities (P6). Instead, he considered bringing his child to Dongguan for studying when it was older. Now, he explained, his child was still young and he and his wife were rarely able to take care of it, due to the incomplete facilities in Songshan Lake Park. Additionally, his parents had just retired and wanted to help with tak-

²⁹ Name changed.

ing care of the child (P6). So, even though he had a local *hukou*, which he considered as important for accessing childcare and education facilities, he did not think about bringing his child to Dongguan yet (P6).

As he wanted to stay permanently in his company, and in Dongguan, he planned to buy a house. He said that in the dormitory he did not feel at home:

“The feeling to live at home is different from living in the dormitory. I always feel that I am living outside. Of course, we will decorate the dormitory better and cleaner. We try to make it as comfortable as at home. I think it is above average” (P6).

Nonetheless, he did not consider Songshan Lake Park as a location for his future home, even though he considered the environment as beautiful, and the living conditions as comfortable and safer than in other towns in Dongguan (P6) and although he saw the area advancing in the future (P6). The facilities in Songshan Lake Park were, according to him, not very convenient. It was lacking daily, and especially medium-term shopping facilities. For staying permanently, however, these facilities were essential to him (P6). He wanted to buy a house in Nancheng District instead. Here, he would find better supporting facilities for his child and his parents whom he considered bringing to Dongguan as well (P6).

6.4.3 The Settled, Long-distance Migrant

The settled long-distance migrant Wu Ying³⁰ was not married and had no children. 28 years old Mr. Wu had a rural non-local *hukou* from Shandong Province and came to Dongguan in 2009 for work. He had moved only once in his lifetime and that was to Dongguan. However, before coming to Dongguan he had also considered other cities as a destination, such as Hangzhou or Suzhou. Nonetheless, his current boss had offered better work conditions, such as a higher salary and good accommodation, than other companies in those cities. In Mr. Wu’s opinion, his current company provided the best self-development prospects (P10).

Mr. Wu said he was very satisfied staying in Dongguan. Compared to other PRD cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen, the working pace was slower, which made working in Dongguan comparatively relaxing (P10). He was quite satisfied with his residential area and his current housing situation. He lived in Songshan Lake Park where he perceived the environment as beautiful, and the air quality as very good. However, shopping facilities were not convenient in his opinion (P10). He was living in a shared apartment with colleagues in Songshan Lake Park, which the company provided for a reduced price. However, he had a single room of 30 square meters for himself. He explained that he had many friends in his compound, including his neighbours and colleagues. They spent much time together after work or at weekends (P10).

However, he did not decide yet whether he wanted to stay in Dongguan permanently. His first choice, in the case of better career development chances, was to go back to his hometown to live with his parents, who needed his support, due to their age (P10).

“Chinese are reluctant to be away from home, especially people who live in north China. Now my parents are getting old. If I had a chance, I would like to work in my hometown” (P10).

³⁰ Name changed.

On the other hand, he considered buying a house in Dongguan, in the future (P10). Though not having children yet, he considered aspects such as access to services and education facilities for his children in his place decision. He perceived a local *hukou* as important in that regard (P10).

6.4.4 The Mobile, Long-distance Migrant

The mobile, long-distant migrant Wang Meilin³¹ was unmarried and childless. She was 27 years old, originated from Gansu Province, and had a non-local rural *hukou*. She had moved five times in her lifetime, always work-related. In 2008, she moved from her hometown Lanzhou to Beijing for a new job, her company sent her to Fujian Province in 2009 and to Shanxi Province in 2010. In 2011, she moved to Shaanxi Province from where she moved to Dongguan in 2012. In the survey, she mentioned that she was quite happy living in Dongguan, and that she was quite satisfied with her residential area, and her current housing situation. She had lived in a company dormitory in Songshan Lake Park, sharing a room with two colleagues, and had paid a reduced price. Nonetheless, she mentioned that she had thought about moving to another city. At the time of the follow-up interview, she had already moved to Shenzhen. Although the living environment in Songshan Lake Park, in her eyes, was better than in Shenzhen, she preferred Shenzhen to Dongguan (P8). She said that Shenzhen was offering more self-development opportunities, due to the larger variety of international enterprises (P8). She perceived the transportation in Shenzhen as better than in Dongguan, which was inconvenient due to the lack of a subway (P8). Moreover, she had disliked the security situation in Dongguan. She explained that in Dongguan the local people would discriminate against migrant people, such as her:

“The local residents do not like migrant people. They discriminate against migrant people. Their manner when we communicate is so different. We do not understand their language and they do not care about our feelings” (P8).

In Shenzhen, she perceived the security situation and the relationship between locals and migrants as better:

“Shenzhen is a bigger city. The economy is more advanced, and the level of civilization is higher. There are a lot of differences” (between Shenzhen and Dongguan; P8).

In Shenzhen, she lived in a rented apartment, which was located in the city centre. “In Dongguan I was living in the suburbs” (P8). In the future, she wished to get married, buy a house, and live with her loved ones.

This chapter discussed the background and migration intention among the whole professionals sample and the classified mobility groups. The reasons for migration thoughts were presented from the professionals’ perception. The next chapter draws attention to structural factors in professionals’ migration decision-making to get an idea of the influencing factors beyond those mentioned by the professionals themselves.

³¹ Name changed.

7 STRUCTURAL FACTORS IN PROFESSIONALS MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING: TOWARDS PROFESSIONALS' PLACE DEMANDS AND PREFERENCES

7.1 OCCUPATIONAL AND PLACE-RELATED CONDITIONS

The next chapter provides insights into the occupational and place related conditions that the professionals found themselves in. It describes the working and living situation of the professionals in Dongguan and elaborates on their satisfaction with their situation, factors assumed to have an influence in their migration and place decision-making (cf. chapter 2.3). The chapter not only describes the professionals' direct situation, their work and living conditions, but also draws attention to the wider conditions in the PRD and the expectations that the professionals have towards other locations, another factor assumed to influence their decisions (cf. chapter 2.3).

7.1.1 Working Situation of Professionals in Dongguan

The following subchapter presents the occupational and working situation of the professionals and their attitudes towards their job situation. About one-third of the respondents were administrative support workers which according to the *Job Classification Guide 2010* by the *U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission* (2010) includes, for example, telephone operators or billing and posting clerks. 16 per cent were technicians. Only 4.5 per cent were officials or managers (n=406). However, 40 per cent had managerial responsibility in their position (n=403).

Although it was not possible to correlate the educational level with the income, due to low frequencies, a tendency is evident from the descriptive analysis. The master graduates had a slightly higher income than college and bachelor graduates who had an almost similar income. Age had a significant impact on the income. However, the interpretation of the residuals only shows that younger professionals disproportionately often had a low income and disproportionately seldom had a high income. The descriptive analysis implies that the older respondents more often had a higher income than younger professionals. Additionally, the income also significantly correlated with the professionals' work experience. Not surprisingly, a disproportionately high number of career entrants had a low income. The majority perceived their salary as low (45 per cent), slightly fewer professionals said it was mid-level (42 per cent) and only a few respondents perceived it as high (2 per cent). Some were not sure how to evaluate their income level (10 per cent; n=413). Although the correlation of the income with the perception of the income was not possible, due to low frequencies, the descriptive analysis implies that, not surprisingly, the professionals with low income perceived their salary more often as low than the middle and high income groups.

15 per cent of the respondents were career entrants (n=392). Others mentioned they had come to Dongguan as graduates (e.g. P3). More than one-third of the respondents stayed on average less than one to two years in the same company (37.5 per cent; n=400). This group of respondents includes career entrants and respondents who changed their job quite frequently. Another third stayed for three to four years on average in the same company. One third of the professionals stayed more than five years on average in the same company. About one third of the respondents walked to work and one third went by car (n=440). 17 per cent went to work by public transport and 16 per cent went by bicycle. For more than half of the respondents it took less than 10 minutes to get to work, 39 per cent

needed less than 30 minutes to get to work and the minority (6 per cent) reached work after 30 to 90 minutes (n=398).

The next subchapter describes how the professionals perceived their working situation, especially in comparison to other PRD cities. Thereby it draws attention also to general conditions in the PRD, such as the labour shortage, and its influence on the working situation of the polled professionals in Dongguan.

7.1.2 Professionals' Perception of the Working Situation in Dongguan

Nearly three quarters of the respondents were quite satisfied with their job (73 per cent; n=417). Some interviewees compared the working situation in Dongguan with that in other PRD cities, such as Guangzhou, or Shenzhen saying it was more satisfying, although there were fewer work and career opportunities in Dongguan (P1; P4; P9; P10; P15). Some described that the working pace was slower than in other cities and thus that the working situation was more relaxing (P4; P10). An interviewee said he was quite satisfied with the working conditions in Dongguan. In Dongguan, companies more often cared about the provision of accommodation and food than companies in other cities, such as Guangzhou (P5). Another interviewee mentioned that Dongguan provided him, as a career entrant, with good career opportunities:

“Actually, I feel good working here (Dongguan). I had a good chance after my graduation to come here. At first, I applied for a position relating to hardware. Then the company had a position relating to software, so I applied for this. And my company was willing to offer me this chance, so I feel really happy. Doing projects needs experience. At that time, I had only been in the company for a month, but the boss was willing to support me. Now my first project is about to be done. A graduate student like me can be lucky to work here” (P1).

Although nearly two thirds of Dongguan's professionals did not think that there was a labour shortage in their profession (n=414), some respondents described the structural labour shortage, meaning not a lack of labour in general but of professionals having an influence on their own working situation. An interviewee said that, due to the labour shortage in his company, his workload was higher and he had to withstand a lot of pressure at work and experienced delayed or cancelled paid leaves. Others explained that it seemed to be difficult to hire enough professionals, and companies needed to put in a lot of effort to attract more professionals, especially for junior positions, and in the industry sector (P5; P9; P11; P16). An interviewee said:

“There is some kind of labour shortage in our company. It is hard to employ people who can work in junior positions. It has a big influence in our human resource department. We have a lot of pressure, because we cannot employ enough people within the fixed time. [...] Especially in the industry sector it is very hard to employ workers” (P5).

Some respondents also provided explanations for the perceived labour shortage. A respondent perceived that one of the reasons for the labour shortage was the high competition for professionals among the neighbouring PRD cities, especially the competition with the economically well-developed cities of Guangzhou and Shenzhen which, according to the respondent, provided more career development opportunities:

“[...]he reason is that Guangzhou and Shenzhen is close to Dongguan, and many professionals who graduated from famous universities, will choose to develop themselves in these advanced cities, very few

people will consider coming to Dongguan. That is probably one of the reasons for the labour shortage” (P16/E).

According to the professional’s perception, Dongguan provided good career and work opportunities especially for career entrants. This perception is also confirmed by the high percentage of career entrants in the sample and the high fluctuation among the professionals in the sample. Many of them had worked in their first company for not more than two years (cf. chapter 7.1.1).

The satisfaction with the current job correlated significantly with the intention to migrate. The residuals, however, did not reveal any specifications. Although there was a difference in migration intention among the mobility groups, there was no significant correlation between the professional’s mobility level and the job satisfaction and also the descriptive analysis revealed no major difference among the professionals’ groups. The immobile, permanently settled, and settled professionals were almost similarly satisfied with their jobs. The mobile professionals were slightly more dissatisfied. Therefore it is not surprising that in total most respondents were likely to stay in their current job (68 per cent; n=397). Almost two thirds even intended to stay in their current job for a long time (63 per cent). Additionally, about 80 per cent each did not perceive the job situation as being different in other parts of the PRD (n=362) or in other parts of China (n=355). This perception is probably one reason why most of Dongguan’s professionals did not think about changing their current job. Although there was no significant correlation between the mobility level and the likelihood of quitting their job, the descriptive analysis revealed an interesting difference. The immobile professionals were the least likely to quit their job compared to the other groups (74 per cent; n=340). Among the permanently settled professionals, a similar number were not very or not at all likely to leave their current company (69 per cent; n=120). The settled professionals were more likely to quit their job than the immobile and permanently settled, but less likely than the mobile professionals. The latter were most likely to change their current job. To conclude, although the professionals perceived Dongguan as providing fewer working and career opportunities than other PRD cities most of them were satisfied with their working situation. Many professionals perceived the lower work pressure as satisfying. Only some perceived a structural labour shortage that had an influence on their own work pressure.

The next subchapters address the living situation of the professionals and elaborate on the professionals’ perception of it. Thereby it not only differentiates according to individual characteristics, such as age, marital status, or the status as parents but also includes a spatial perspective by revealing different living situations in relation to the respondents’ districts.

7.1.3 Living Situation of Professionals in Dongguan

Most respondents lived in Humen (35 per cent) and Shipai (26.5 per cent; n=376). 16 per cent and 15 per cent lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns Dalang and Dalingshan and the central districts, Guangcheng, Nancheng, Dongcheng, and Wanjiang, respectively (cf. Fig. 7.1). The district correlated highly significantly with the mobility level of the professionals. The interpretation of the residuals shows that the number of immobile professionals who lived in Shipai was very disproportionately high (50 per cent of all professionals in Shipai; n=92). Disproportionately few settled professionals lived in Shipai. Very disproportionately few immobile professionals were living in the Central districts. Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring districts had a disproportionately high

share of settled and a very disproportionately low share of immobile professionals. The descriptive analysis additionally revealed that Humen also had a high percentage of immobile professionals (37 per cent; n=111), however, this proportion was smaller than in Shipai (no significant residuals). The mobile professionals mostly lived in the central districts, which had the highest share of them among the districts (34 per cent; n=65, no significant residuals) followed by Songshan Lake and the neighbouring towns (31.5 per cent; n=54, no significant residuals). An extremely disproportionately high number of career entrants were living in

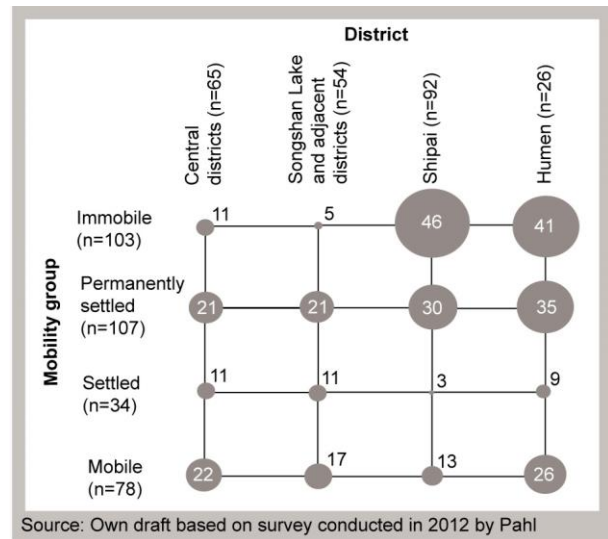


Fig. 7.1: Distribution of mobility groups in different districts and towns in Dongguan

Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (highly significant correlation). The respondents' residential district also correlated highly significantly with the type of living place. The descriptive analysis revealed that in total more than a third of the professionals lived in their own apartment or house, and 16 per cent stayed in the place owned by their parents or family. Similarly many professionals rented a place. Almost one third of the respondents stayed in accommodation provided by the employer (cf. Fig. 7.2). The interpretation of the residuals showed that extremely disproportionately many professionals in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns lived in company accommodation and extremely disproportionately few in Shipai (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). In contrast, Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns had disproportionately few professionals who lived in their own, or rented apartments, and very disproportionately many respondents who lived in apartments owned by family members (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). In Shipai, the number of professionals living in their own apartment was very disproportionately high. The descriptive analysis revealed tendencies for the other two areas, namely the central districts, and Humen. In Humen (n=114), most professionals lived in their own house or apartment (30 per cent, no significant residuals). In the central districts, most respondents lived in their own house or apartment (37 per cent; n=62), followed by professionals, who stayed in company apartments (31 per cent, no significant residuals; cf. Fig. 7.2).

The living situation also correlated highly significantly with the respondents' age, marital status and with the status as parents. The 19 to 25-year-old respondents extremely disproportionately seldom lived in their own apartments and very disproportionately often in company accommodation. The respondents who were 35 years old and above were extremely disproportionately often homeowners and disproportionately seldom lived in family members' apartments or company accommodation (cf. Fig. 7.2). Married professionals extremely disproportionately often lived in their own apartment and very disproportionately seldom in company accommodation. Unmarried respondents in turn very disproportionately often lived in company accommodation and extremely disproportionately seldom in self-owned accommodation (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). As respondents who were married extremely disproportionately often had children (cf. chapter 6.1), respondents with children also extremely disproportionately often lived in self-owned apartments than childless respondents and very disproportio-

ately often in company accommodation. The number of childless respondents who lived in self-owned accommodation was very disproportionately low (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). Moreover, the living situation correlated highly significantly with the living place of respondents' parents. The descriptive analysis showed that in total one third of the professionals lived with their parents. Another half had their parents living in the same city. Those respondents who had their parents living in the same city very disproportionately often lived in their own apartment, extremely disproportionately often lived in a family member's place, and extremely disproportionately seldom lived in rented or company accommodation. Respondents, who had their parents living not in the same city, very disproportionately often lived in rented apartments and extremely disproportionately often stayed in company accommodation (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). They also extremely and very disproportionately seldom, respectively, lived in self-owned accommodation and accommodation owned by family members (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1).

Additionally, the living place of the parents correlated highly significantly with the mobility level. The respondents who were living with their parents in the same city extremely disproportionately often were immobile professionals. Permanently settled and settled professionals lived disproportionately and extremely disproportionately, respectively, often not with their parents in the same city. The interpretation of the residuals did not reveal a significant distribution for the mobile professionals. Due to low frequencies of professionals, not living with their spouse and children in the same city no correlation was calculated for the mobility level and the living situation of the family. The descriptive analysis revealed, however, that in total 87 per cent stayed with their spouse and children (n=190).

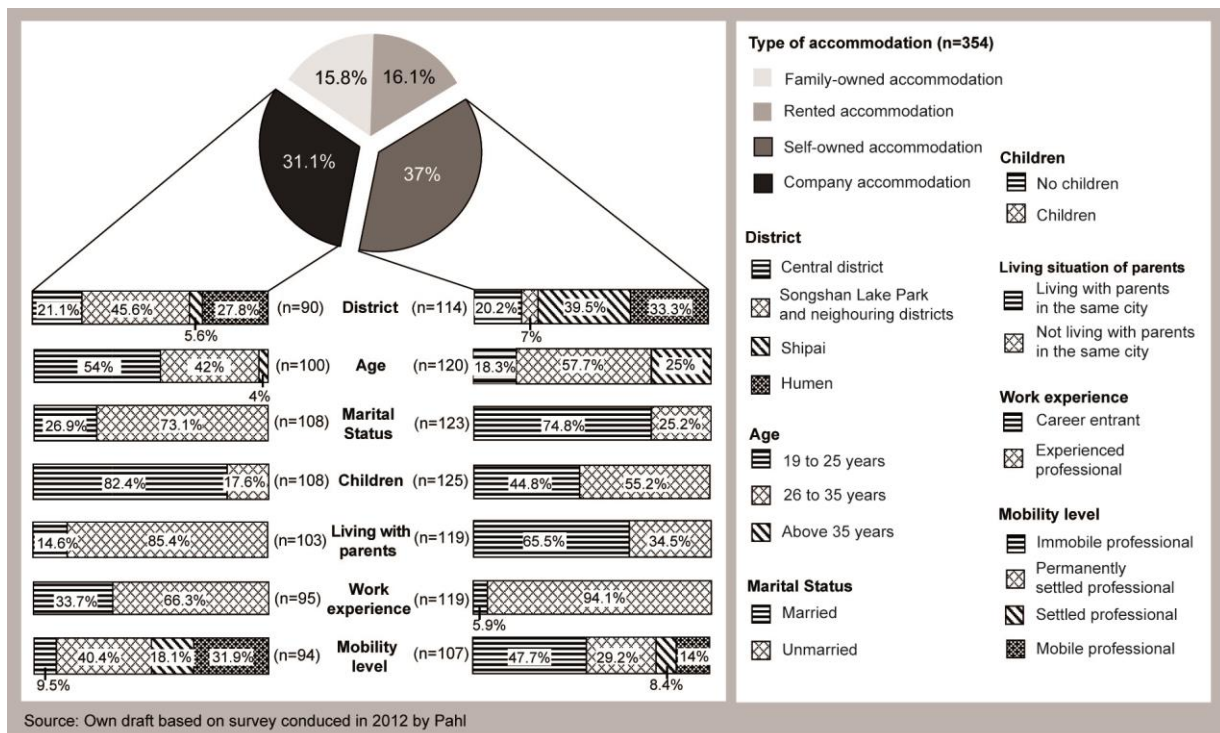


Fig. 7.2: Attributes of professionals living in company and self-owned accommodation

Furthermore, the living situation of the professionals correlated highly significantly with the respondents' work experience and the mobility level. According to the residuals, extremely disproportionately many career entrants lived in company accommodation and very disproportionately few in their own apartment or house. This result is not surprising when one looks at the impact of the age on the type of living situation (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). Immobile professionals extremely disproportionately often lived in their own apartment and very disproportionately often in family members' apartments but extremely disproportionately seldom in rented or company apartments.

		Independent variable				
		Living situation				
		Self-owned apartment or house	Accommodation owned by parents /family	Rented accommodation	Company accommodation	
Dependent variables and their categories	District	Central districts				
		Songshan Lake and neighbouring towns	-	--	-	+++
		Shipai	++			---
		Humen				
	Age	19 to 25 years	---			++
		26 to 35 years				
		≥ 35 years	+++	-		-
	Marital Status	Married	+++			--
		Unmarried	---			++
	Children	Children	+++			--
		No children	--			
	Living with parents	In the same city	++	+++	---	---
		Not in the same city	--	---	++	+++
	Work experience	Career entrant	--			+++
		Not career entrant				
	Mobility level	Immobile	+++	++	---	---
Permanently settled						
Settled			-			
Mobile		-				

For the C* social values refer to Tab. 11.3. Symbols: +++ = very large positive residuals (extremely disproportionately high); ++ = large positive residuals (very disproportionately high); + = positive residual (disproportionately high); --- = very large negative residuals (extremely disproportionately low); -- = large negative residuals (very disproportionately low); - = negative residual (disproportionately low); Source: Survey conducted in 2012 by Pahl.

Tab. 7.1: Correlation's characteristics of the living situation with various dependent variables

Settled professionals lived disproportionately seldom in family members' apartments, and mobile professionals disproportionately seldom in self-owned apartments (cf. Fig. 7.2 and Tab. 7.1). These results might be explained by the fact that there were many locals among the immobile professionals, who extremely disproportionately often lived in self-owned apartments and family members' accommodation but extremely disproportionately seldom in rented or company places (highly significant correlation).

More than half of the professionals who stayed in company accommodation got the room or apartment free of charge (54, per cent; n=335). Less than half got it for a reduced price (45 per cent). However, the rental price per square meter paid by professionals living in apartments rented on the

open market were even slightly lower than those paid in company accommodation. More than half of the professionals in apartments rented on the free market paid less than 6 RMB/m² or 6 to 10 RMB/m² (57 per cent), others paid up to 20 RMB/m². Among the professionals in company accommodation it was one third who paid up to 10 RMB/m² (n=47).

The average floor space per capita among the professionals in Dongguan was 26 m² per capita which is almost as high as the worldwide average of 31.6 square meter floor space of residential buildings in urban areas in 2010 (UNDP 2013: 68). In the Dongguan sample, the majority of respondents had between 20 and 29 m² floor space for themselves (24 per cent; n=254). These results coincide with the average floor space in Chinese cities in 2010 (cf. Fig. 7.3; YI & HUANG 2014).

The shares in the middle-ranges are also similar to the living situation in Chinese cities in general in 2010. Nonetheless, the two extremes are divergent from the situation in Chinese cities in general. Whereas in Chinese cities in 2010, 28 per cent lived in accommodation larger than 40 m², in Dongguan it was only 21 per cent. In turn, those respondents at the lower end were more numerous in Dongguan (cf. Fig. 7.3). Almost all professionals were sharing their accommodation (98 per cent; n=364). 19 per cent of the professionals had a second abode (n=436), whereof 9 per cent each were located in Dongguan, Foshan, and Guangzhou. Others had a second residential place, for instance, in Shenzhen, Maoming, or Shantou.

Although no correlation could be calculated with the facilities existing in the neighbourhood or the conditions in the neighbourhood and the current living districts, due to low frequencies, the descriptive analysis revealed a tendency of available facilities and conditions in all districts. The majority of the respondents said their neighbourhood provided education facilities, such as schools, training institutes, or universities. The majority of the respondents in the central districts (78 per cent) said medium- and long term shopping facilities, such as malls, were available in their neighbourhood (n=9), compared to only about one third in Humen (36 per cent; n=33), less than one third in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (29 per cent; n=7), and 17 per cent in Shipai (n=23). The majority of respondents in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (67 per cent; n=7), said daily shopping facilities, such as groceries, were available in their neighbourhoods; however, this was the fewest respondents compared to the other districts and towns. In each district or town, according to the majority of respondents, health care facilities, entertainment facilities, such as restaurants, or bars and cultural facilities, such as theatres or museums, were not available in their neighbourhood. In each case, the highest share of respondents was living in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns. According to the majority of respondents, their neighbourhoods in all four districts were not accessible by public transport. In Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns, the highest share of respondents said their neighbourhood was not accessible by public transport (80 per cent; n=5). Sports facili-

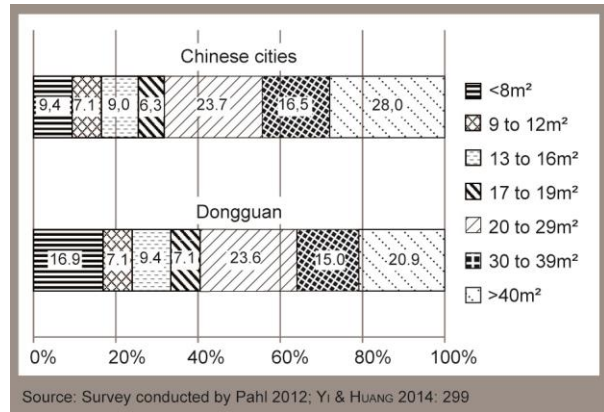


Fig. 7.3: Floor space per person in Chinese cities and among the professionals in Dongguan

ties, such as sport fields, or indoor sport halls, and public spaces, such as squares, and pedestrian areas, were available in the majority's neighbourhoods in Songshan Lake Park and neighbouring towns, and the central districts.

The living environment in their neighbourhoods was quite different in the four areas. All respondents who lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns said it was safe in their neighbourhood (n=8), compared to three quarters in Shipai (n=24), about two thirds in Humen (68 per cent; n=38) and only about half of the respondents in the central districts (55 per cent; n=11). Respondents who lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns also said their neighbourhood was cleaner (87.5 per cent; n=8), and more peaceful and quiet (87.5 per cent; n=8) than the respondents in the other districts and towns. Fewest respondents from the central districts said their neighbourhood was clean (54.5 per cent; n=11) and most respondents in Shipai perceived their neighbourhood as the least peaceful and quiet. Respondents from all districts and towns said the streets and buildings in their neighbourhood were not beautiful. Shipai still had the highest share of respondents saying the streets and buildings in their neighbourhood were beautiful (36 per cent; n=22). Compared to the other districts and towns most respondents in Songshan Lake Park said their neighbourhood was not child-friendly (100 per cent; n=5) according to the number of facilities available for children, such as playgrounds, nurseries, and schools. The central districts, in contrast, had the highest share of respondents saying their neighbourhood was child-friendly (44 per cent; n=9). Interestingly, the highest share of professionals who felt a sense of community in their neighbourhood were living in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (57 per cent; n=7). Only 10 per cent of the respondents living in central districts perceived a sense of community in their neighbourhood, which was the lowest share among the different towns and districts (n=10).

Although there was no significant correlation between the feeling of a sense of community and the living situation, it is interesting to look at the descriptive frequencies. Interestingly, most respondents who felt a sense of community in their neighbourhood were living in company accommodation (50 per cent; n=18; not significant). The results of the qualitative interviews endorse this tendency. Some respondents who lived in company accommodation in Songshan Lake Park said they spent much time with their colleagues (P7; P9; P10):

“[We get along p]retty well, we often talk and laugh, sometimes we go out to have supper together, we play ball together on weekends, and we hang out together. It is harmonious” (P7).

“[...M]y free time, I will spend it with my friends. [...] I have many friends in *Lvhe Jv* [company accommodation], like my neighbours and my colleagues. I have many good friends. We always hang out together, such as riding bicycle, playing badminton, playing soccer, and so on. And we help each other” (P10).

Other respondents who lived in company accommodation in Songshan Lake Park, and Shipai, however, said they had hardly any contact with their neighbours and colleagues and were missing a sense of community (P2; P4; P8; P15). A respondent said that she was living in a dormitory in Songshan Lake Park during the week and left for her own apartment in Dongcheng (central districts) at weekends to stay with her husband (P4).

The feeling of a sense of community did not significantly correlate with the feeling of isolation. Nonetheless, the descriptive analysis shows that respondents who felt a sense of community in their

community also more often had not felt isolated in the last twelve months (53 per cent; $n=77$) than those who were missing a sense of community in their neighbourhood (47 per cent). The feeling of isolation, however, very significantly correlated with the living place of the respondents' parents. Those respondents whose parents lived in the same city disproportionately seldom had felt isolated in the last twelve months, and those respondents whose parents lived in the respondents' hometowns had disproportionately often felt isolated. The living place of the spouse and children had no significant influence. The feeling of isolation also significantly correlated with the district in which the respondents lived. The interpretation of the residuals, however, only shows that the respondents who had felt isolated in the last 12 month disproportionately often lived in the central districts. The descriptive analysis further reveals that also a high share of respondents who had felt isolated had lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (not significant). The mobility groups also very significantly correlated with the feeling of isolation. The interpretation of the residuals, however, only reveals that the immobile professionals had disproportionately often felt isolated in the last 12 month. Nonetheless, although not significantly correlating, the highest percentage of respondents who had felt isolated ($n=118$) in the last twelve months were also living in company accommodation (34 per cent), whereas the lowest share lived in accommodation owned by their parents or family members (19.5 per cent). In general, respondents who had felt isolated in the last twelve months were very disproportionately seldom very happy to live in Dongguan.

In conclusion, many settled and few immobile professionals lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns. Shipai and Human had high shares of immobile professionals. In Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns, most respondents resided in company accommodation. Shipai had high shares of professionals living in self-owned apartments. Mostly career entrants who lived in company accommodation. Professionals in company accommodation were younger than homeowners, were more often unmarried, and childless. Additionally, immobile professionals more often lived in self-owned accommodation than mobiles. In total, 28 per cent of the respondents lived in accommodation which was too small according to the World Health Organization (WHO) health and comfort standards.

According to the results, in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring districts daily shopping, health care, entertainment, and cultural facilities were more rarely available than in other districts and towns. The area was also less accessible by public transport. In contrast, sports facilities and public spaces were available in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring districts. The respondents perceived the area as safer, cleaner, and more peaceful and quiet, and more often felt a sense of community than respondents in other districts and towns. However, fewer respondents than in the other districts and towns said it was child-friendly and comparably many respondents had felt isolated in the last twelve months. In general, respondents more often perceived a sense of community when living in company accommodation, however, they more often felt isolated in them. Generally, professionals felt less isolated when living with their parents, which fewer professionals did who were in company accommodation than in self-owned accommodation.

7.1.4 Satisfaction with the Current Living Place and Situation

More than half of the professionals were very or quite happy to live in Dongguan (19 per cent and 40 per cent; n=409). Many said that the living environment in Dongguan was good (P4; P5; P6; P13; P15). An interviewee said:

“In fact, the economy in Dongguan is advanced. To me Dongguan is a rich and prosperous city. Despite the security problem, I think the happiness index in Dongguan is pretty high” (P14).

Many interviewees explained that in Dongguan they felt less life pressure than in other PRD cities, such as Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Shenzhen, referring, for instance, to the less crowded environment in Dongguan, lower housing prices, or a slower pace of life (P4; P5; P6; P9; P15):

“[...] Dongguan gives me less pressure. For example, Guangzhou and Hong Kong give me a lot of pressure, [due to] like the tall building and the fast-speed life. In the contrast, Dongguan does not have such fast-speed life. It makes me feel more comfortable” (P6).

Another 40 per cent were not very or not at all happy to live in Dongguan. The reasons were diverse (n=19). Almost half of the respondents complained about a lack of social belonging (47 per cent), which refers to the problem of social integration of non-locals in Dongguan (cf. chapter 7.2.4). 42 per cent of those who were unhappy said the reason was the security situation and the imbalanced social situation in Dongguan. Many interviewees said they felt unsafe and uncomfortable in many areas of Dongguan (P4; P6; P8; P9; P12; P13; P14; P15; P16). An interviewee concluded:

“Dongguan’s biggest problem is that the security [situation is] serious” (P14).

An interviewee explained that she perceived it as dangerous to go out in the evening, especially as a woman. Another interviewee mentioned that her poor perception of the security situation in Dongguan had been the major reason why she had been reluctant to come to Dongguan in the first place (P4). Some interviewees argued that the security problem in Dongguan was related to the high percentage of migrant workers in the city (P6; P16):

“[...]T]he local people do not like migrant people, and there are a lot of migrant people. They do not have high quality, so the security problem is severe. There are many robberies. They drive motorcycles to rob people who are waiting for buses. I have not come across these things, but my colleague was robbed once. So I think I am lucky” (P6).

Other interviewees were more optimistic about the security situation in Dongguan. They said that the security situation had improved during the last five years, which, according to an interviewee, was due to the prohibition of motorbikes (P4; P10).

Almost a quarter of the respondents disliked the housing prices and general housing situation in Dongguan (21 per cent). Some interviewees perceived the housing prices as too high (P7; P11):

“It (the housing price) is very high, compared to the payment. [...] If I try to work and buy my house, it may take twenty years, about fifteen years to twenty years [...]. I think, in other places I can earn my house in two years or maybe one year I get my own house. That's a big difference” (P11).

Other interviewees disagreed by saying that it was much easier to buy a house or apartment in Dongguan than in other cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen. The price of commodities and the pressure in the housing market were lower in Dongguan than in other cities (P4; P11; P15).

16 per cent of the respondents complained about the poor education situation for children. Similarly many said Dongguan was too far from their family and few disliked the general conditions in the

city which, for instance, refers to the environmental conditions, and the public transportation situation (5 per cent). Many interviewees referred to the environmental pollution which in their eyes was heavy, due to the high number of factories located in Dongguan, and because of the high number of migrant workers who litter waste on the street (P9; P12; P14; P15):

“Environment pollution is severe in Dongguan, because Dongguan is an industrial city. There are factories everywhere. Secondary industry is the main part of Dongguan’s economy. There is a lot of heavy metal pollution. The factories produce a lot of waste” (P14).

An interviewee even said he wanted to leave Dongguan, due to the poor environmental conditions:

“[...T]he environment here is bad. If my hometown develops well, I will choose to go back to my hometown. [...] The environment and the air quality is good there, it makes me feel happy. [...] I feel very uncomfortable, very depressed. [...] Here [in Dongguan], I cannot see stars and moon, I cannot distinguish morning and evening. It makes me feel depressed and uncomfortable. I am breathing with difficulty. [...] The air quality is so bad that people cannot live here any longer” (P12).

Some migrated professionals explained that the local residents had prejudices towards them (P8; P12; P15; P16):

“I am a migrant. My neighbours are local residents [...]. I cannot get along with them. [...] We come from different places. We cannot have a close relationship. The relationship between neighbours cannot be harmonious as family. [...] Local residents do not speak to us. If you stand in front of their door, they might think that you were going to steal their things. They do not trust us” (P12).

In general interviewees complained about the situation between locals and migrants in Dongguan where migrants were often discriminated against, e.g. by being denied access to welfare and public facilities (P12; P15; cf. chapter 7.2.4):

“I can feel it (intolerance) all the time. For example, our children go out to play. Local residents are singing and dancing there. If the children touch them, the children will be beaten” (P12).

Some interviewees described that they could not get along with the local residents well, e.g. that they faced difficulties integrating into the local culture (P5; P15):

Interviewer: “Is there anything else you do not like about living in Dongguan?”

Interviewee: “It is very hard for migrant people to integrate into the local culture.”

Interviewer: “What kind of issues do you face?”

Interviewee: “Firstly the language, secondly, the eating habit, [...] thirdly, the culture.”

Interviewer: “So, what is different about the culture in Dongguan compared to in Hubei Province (home province of the respondent)?”

Interviewee: “The culture in Hubei Province is that the relationship between each other is harmonious, but Dongguan is very pragmatic. It is very hard for local resident to accept migrant people” (P5).

However, the interviewee explained that he was willing to integrate into the local culture:

Interviewer: “Do you wish for more contact to Dongguan people?”

Interviewee: “No problem, I would like to.”

Interviewer: “Why would it be better to know more Dongguan people?”

Interviewee: “You can have more chances to know the local conditions and customs, including their culture. What we know now is just what we heard from others. We are rarely in contact with local residents, including their culture and in life [...]” (P5).

The transportation situation was another important reason why many interviewees said they were unhappy in Dongguan. The transportation system was not convenient (P8; P9) and not advanced (P1; P4; P8; P9; P12). They complained, for instance, that the frequency of busses was too low, especially

Independent variables and their categories		Dependent variable			
		Happiness in Dongguan			
		Very happy	Quite happy	Not happy	Not at all happy
Migration intention	Yes	---			+
	No	++			
Mobility level	Immobile	+			--
	Permanently settled				
	Settled				
	Mobile	--			
Living situation	Self-owned	++			
	Rented	--			
	Owned by family				
	Company				
Living place parents	Dongguan	+			-
	Other place	-			+
Feeling of isolation	Yes	-			++
	No				-
Job satisfaction	Very satisfied	+++		-	
	Quite satisfied				+
	Not satisfied				
	Not at all satisfied				+++

For the C* social values refer to Tab. 11.3. Symbols: +++ = very large positive residuals (extremely disproportionately high); ++ = large positive residuals (very disproportionately high); + = positive residual (disproportionately high); --- = very large negative residuals (extremely disproportionate low); -- = large negative residuals (very disproportionately low); - = negative residual (disproportionately low); Source: Survey conducted in 2012 by Pahl.

Tab. 7.2: Correlation's characteristics of the happiness to life in Dongguan situation with various independent variables

late-night. Accordingly, waiting times were long and buses overcrowded (P1; P9; P12). Others complained that there was no subway built yet and hoped the transport situation would improve when the subway was finished (P8; P1; P4). According to an interviewee, who faced difficulties going to other districts and towns within Dongguan, even taxis were not available enough.

Others complained about the changing bus fares, e.g. during public holidays and festival seasons, and about fast drivers (P2; P15). Another interviewee complained about the poor transportation planning, which led to traffic jams during commuting hours, but remained optimistic:

“[...] The transportation planning of Dongguan is not very good. For instance, near the office buildings, there are a lot of traffic jams during commuting hours. Now the light rail is being built, maybe the problem will be relieved. But until now the situation is not good” (P16).

Happiness in Dongguan very significantly correlated with the intention to migrate (cf. Tab. 7.2). The residuals revealed that professionals who had felt very happy living in Dongguan, extremely disproportionately seldom thought about migrating. Professionals, in contrast, who were not at all happy in Dongguan disproportionately often thought about migrating. Not surprisingly, the happiness in Dongguan also very significantly correlated with the mobility groups (cf. Tab. 7.2). The residuals showed that immobile professionals who less often thought about migrating, were disproportionately often very happy, and disproportionately seldom not at all happy to live in Dongguan. This result goes in line with the fact that the happiness in Dongguan is also very significantly correlated with the status as a local resident. Locals were disproportionately often very happy to live in Dongguan compared to

non-locals and disproportionately seldom thought about migrating. The mobile professionals were very disproportionately seldom very happy living in Dongguan. The happiness in Dongguan also very significantly correlated with the living situation (cf. Tab. 7.2). Homeowners were very disproportionately often very happy to live in Dongguan. Renters were very disproportionately seldom very happy. The living place of the respondents' parents also had a highly significant impact on the happiness in Dongguan (cf. Tab. 7.2). The interpretation of the residuals shows that those respondents' whose parents lived in the same city were disproportionately often very happy and disproportionately seldom not at all happy and vice versa.

The feeling of isolation in the last 12 months also had a highly significant impact on happiness in Dongguan (cf. Tab. 7.2). The respondents who had felt isolated in the last 12 months felt disproportionately seldom very happy to live in Dongguan and very disproportionately often not at all happy. The respondents who had not felt isolated felt disproportionately often not at all happy. Moreover, the satisfaction with the job correlated highly significantly with happiness in Dongguan (cf. Tab. 7.2). Respondents who were very satisfied with their jobs extremely disproportionately often were very happy to live in Dongguan and vice versa.

Although happiness with respect to living in Dongguan did not correlate significantly with the living district, the descriptive analysis indicates a tendency. Those professionals who were very happy living in Dongguan, most often lived in Shipai, secondly often in Humen. Most professionals who were unhappy lived in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns (cf. chapter 7.1.6). Many dissatisfied professionals also lived in the central districts. These results contradict the interviewees' comments. They said that

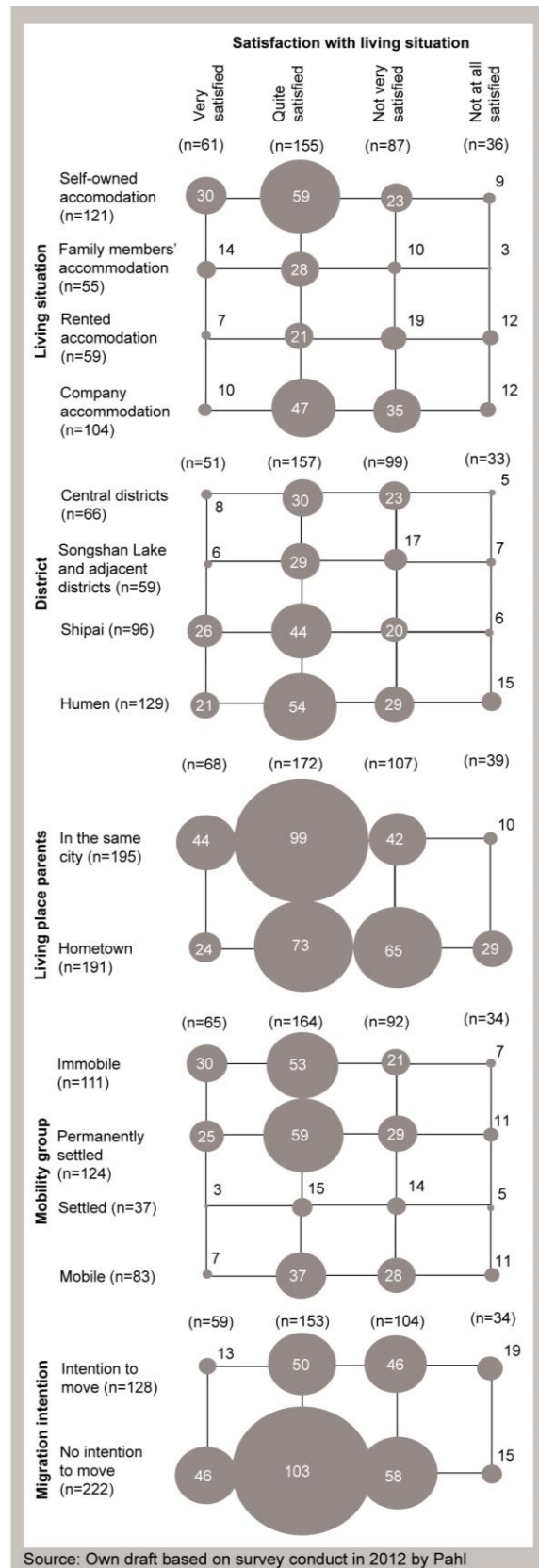


Fig. 7.4: Professionals' satisfaction with the current living situation in relation to the type of living place, district, living situation of parents, mobility level and migration intention

the living conditions in the towns were different to those in the central districts (P5; P15). According to them, the life in the towns was simpler, less relaxing, and less safe than in the central districts. They said they also faced more environmental pollution and the living environment was dirtier:

“The centre of the city is quite different from the towns. The centre of the city is relaxing and clean, and it is more civilised. The social security is not good in the towns because there are many factories, the environment, social security and the transportation is not good. [...] Most of the towns [provide poor conditions], except Chang’an and Humen, which are advanced towns” (P15).

Happiness with living in Dongguan also correlated highly significantly with both the satisfaction with the current neighbourhood and the current living situation. In general, the respondents were similarly satisfied with their residential area and with their current living situation as with living in Dongguan. Those respondents who were very happy living in Dongguan, extremely disproportionately often were satisfied with their residential area and their living situation and vice versa.

Additionally, the satisfaction with the residential area and with the living situation correlated highly significantly. Those respondents who were very satisfied with the residential area were extremely disproportionately often very satisfied with their living situation and vice versa (cf. Tab. 7.4). The interpretation of the residuals indicated that renters were disproportionately often not at all satisfied and respondents who lived in company accommodation were disproportionately seldom very satisfied with their living situation (cf. Fig. 7.4). The quantitative results, however, also indicate that most respondents liked the company accommodation’s living environment (46 per cent; n=28), e.g. because of the high security, or the good social environment. Others liked the proximity to the workplace (39 per cent). Almost one-third each said it was convenient to live in company accommodation and that they liked that the accommodation was cheap or free (29 per cent). Nonetheless, almost a quarter did not like it much to stay in company accommodation (23 per cent) and 16 per cent did not like it at all (n=239). About two-thirds said they disliked the living conditions in the company accommodation:

“Of course, the feeling of living at home is different from living in the dormitory. I always feel that I am living outside. Of course, we will decorate the dormitory better and cleaner. We try to make it as comfortable as at home. I think it is above average” (P6).

Others mentioned that they felt bored living in company accommodation. They missed a sense of belonging, or felt isolated. The statement of an interviewee assessed the living situation in a company dormitory by saying that it was good for now, but that he would like to change accommodation in the future to achieve more personal freedom:

“I am living with three people [...]. It is quite good to live here for me. However, I will consider moving out in the future, because it is freer. I do not feel very free to live with so many people” (P1).

In Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns, respondents extremely disproportionately often lived in company accommodation compared to in the other districts (cf. chapter 7.1.3). Although the correlations were not significant, the descriptive analysis indicates that respondents in Songshan Lake Park were also less satisfied with their living situation and with living in Dongguan in general. As the share of homeowners was largest in Shipai, followed by Humen (cf. chapter 7.1.3), it is not surprising that people there were most satisfied with living in Dongguan (no significant correlation). In the central districts, the share of homeowners was higher than in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring towns, but also the share of professionals staying in company accommodation was higher than in Shipai and Humen (cf. chapter 7.1.3). Although there was no significant impact, the descrip-

Independent variables and their categories		Dependent variable			
		Satisfaction with living situation			
		Very satisfied	Quite satisfied	Not satisfied	Not at all satisfied
Living situation	Self-owned apartment or house				
	Accommodation owned by parents/family				
	Rented accommodation				+
	Company accommodation	-			
Living situation parents	In the same city				-
	Not in the same city				+
Mobility level	Immobile	+			
	Permanently settled				
	Settled				
	Mobile	-			

For the C* values refer to Tab. 7.1. Symbols: + = positive residual (disproportionately high); - = negative residual (disproportionately low); Source: Survey conducted in 2012 by Pahl.

Tab. 7.3: Correlation's characteristics of the satisfaction with the living situation with various independent variables

tive analysis reveals that professionals here were also more dissatisfied with their living situation and with living in Dongguan in general than professionals in Shipai and Humen.

The living place of the respondents' parents also had a highly significant impact on the satisfaction with the living situation. Professionals who lived with their parents in the same city were disproportionately seldom not at all satisfied with their living situation. The professionals whose parents lived in their hometown were disproportionately often not at all satisfied. The professionals' mobility level also significantly correlated with the satisfaction with the living situation. The mobile professionals were disproportionately seldom very satisfied compared to the immobile professionals (cf. Tab. 7.3). This result is in line with the highly significant correlation of the satisfaction with the living situation with the status as local residents. Locals were disproportionately often very satisfied with their living situation, which is not surprising if one considers that all immobile professionals were locals. Although the satisfaction with the living area had a significant influence on the migration intention, the interpretation of the residuals did not reveal significant results. The descriptive analysis showed that only about a quarter of the very satisfied professionals said they thought about moving (22 per cent), one-third of the quite satisfied, about one third of the not satisfied (38 per cent), and more than half of the not at all satisfied professionals (56 per cent, cf. Fig. 7.2). However, when asked if they would migrate due to their living situation, more than two-thirds of the respondents said they would not (70 per cent) and for only 20 per cent the living situation was a reason to move. To conclude, more than half of the respondents were satisfied with living in Dongguan which may be explained with the lower life pressure they perceived in Dongguan compared to other PRD cities. However, many respondents argued they were dissatisfied, due to diverse reasons: a lack of social belonging, the bad security situation, and imbalanced social situation caused by the high percentage of migrants living in the city. The respondents were also dissatisfied because of high housing prices, poor

provision of education facilities, environmental pollution, the transport situation, or the long distance to their hometown and family. Respondents in Songshan Lake Park and the neighbouring districts were most often unhappy with their living situation and with living in Dongguan in general (no significant correlation). One reason for this was that most respondents here lived in company accommodation. In Humen and Shipai where people were more satisfied with living in Dongguan (no significant correlation), many respondents either stayed in their own apartment or house or in accommodation owned by family members.

7.1.5 Professionals' Perception of Dongguan's Living Situation and Quality Compared to Other PRD Cities

Most respondents perceived Huizhou and Jiangmen as unattractive cities to live in (38.5 per cent, and 32 per cent, respectively; $n=247$). Many respondents also named Zhongshan and Foshan as unattractive cities (19 per cent, and 18 per cent, respectively). An interviewee outlined that Huizhou's, Zhongshan's, and Jiangmen's economies were less developed, and were advancing very slowly. However, Huizhou, according to him, had more development potential than the other two cities which is why he said it was not as unattractive:

“Why Huizhou, Zhongshan, and Jiangmen are unattractive? Firstly, these three cities' economies are developing slowly, but now Huizhou is better. Because Guangzhou and Shenzhen are going through a bottleneck period, many investments will choose Huizhou step by step. So Huizhou is not unattractive. Its status is rising. I think Zhongshan and Jiangmen are unattractive because of their underdeveloped economy” (P16).

16 per cent perceived Dongguan as unattractive, 11 per cent Guangzhou, and 6 per cent each in the case of Shenzhen and Zhuhai, respectively. In the eyes of one interviewee, for instance, Zhuhai provided fewer working opportunities than other cities (P8). Nonetheless, most respondents named Shenzhen as an attractive city in the PRD to live at (83 per cent), followed by Guangzhou (78 per cent; $n=358$). Many respondents also perceived Dongguan as an attractive living place (63 per cent). Almost one-third said Zhuhai was attractive as a living place. According to some interviewees, it was attractive, due to its good environmental conditions, low density of people and cars, and relaxing atmosphere (P14; P15). A respondent said, for instance, that he preferred Guangzhou or Shenzhen to Dongguan. However, similar to other interviewees, he perceived housing prices to be lower in Dongguan (P5; P15; cf. chapter 7.1.4).

Other interviewees added that also the living costs and living pressure were comparatively high in Guangzhou and Shenzhen, and wages not correspondingly higher. It made these cities less suitable for living (P10; P14; P15). Due to the better housing and living conditions, in the eyes of another interviewee, many people chose to buy houses in Dongguan (P16). Some respondents mentioned that although Dongguan was a good place to live, it provided less work, and career opportunities, fewer opportunities for self-development, and a less advanced working environment, than Shenzhen or Guangzhou, where more companies were located, and people could find many opportunities to develop themselves (P1; P8; P10; P14; P16):

“If only for living, I would not choose to move to Shenzhen and Guangzhou, the life pressure is big. However, if for work I might be living there. Actually, Dongguan is a really good place. However, there are less working chances than in Guangzhou and Shenzhen” (P1).

Other respondents confirmed his statement by saying that they perceived Dongguan as still less economically developed than Shenzhen and Guangzhou but added that the economy was developing constantly (P8; P15; P16):

“The main difference among these three cities is that two of them are developed, Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Shenzhen’s economy is stronger. Dongguan is just like their back garden” (P16).

An interviewee, who wanted to open a company in the electronic industry, mentioned that he preferred Shenzhen as a location for his enterprise as he could better benefit from clustering effects. Shenzhen, in his perception, had many companies in the sector and more advanced facilities, such as a supplier network (P13). Nonetheless, an interviewee observed that Dongguan was still more economically developed than other cities in Guangdong Province (P4). An interviewee added that there were differences in development among the different districts and towns in Dongguan which made some areas more attractive to live in than others:

“Dongguan is a special city, it only has one downtown, others are towns, but all the towns are advanced, but they are not as advanced as downtown. So I like hanging out to downtown with my friends. However, it is still not as busy as Tianhe District and Yuexiu District in Guangzhou” (P2).

However, in the opinion of an interviewee the lower population density in Dongguan in comparison to in Guangzhou made Dongguan more attractive as a living place (P16). Others observed that the atmosphere in Dongguan was not as good as in Guangzhou or Shenzhen, where the atmosphere was more cosmopolitan. In Dongguan, it was more like in a village (P4; P5; P11; P14; P 15; P16):

“It (Dongguan) does not have a good cosmopolitan atmosphere. It is the world factory, but just factory. Cosmopolitan atmosphere is about culture and communication” (P15).

“Shenzhen and Hong Kong can be considered as international cities. In Dongguan, regardless of the quality of population and the degree of economic development, the overall social atmosphere is not good enough. Although I can see many overseas-funded enterprises, and many people invest here, and comparatively many foreigners, who live in Dongcheng District, Dongguan is not an international city yet” (P16).

Other interviewees supported this statement by saying that in Shenzhen or Guangzhou the social coherence and tolerance, e.g. towards migrants, and cultural diversity was better than in Dongguan (cf. chapter 7.1.4). According to some interviewees, in cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen, many migrants and people with other backgrounds were living together, so these cities were more open and showed a higher level of civilisation which made them more attractive in the eyes of some professionals (P8; P12; P14; P15):

“Compared to Guangzhou and Shenzhen, Dongguan is more closed. [...] Guangzhou and Shenzhen are more open. They can accept different cultures. [...] In Dongguan, there are many people from different provinces, but in Guangzhou and Shenzhen, there are many people from different countries. I can contact with different people there. [...] [Accordingly,] Shenzhen has a cultural diversity. [...] Dongguan is more traditional. [...] Its cultural atmosphere is not very open. [...] Compared to Guangzhou and Shenzhen, Dongguan does not show cultural diversity. The cultural atmosphere is worse” (P15).

In addition, an interviewee described the interpersonal atmosphere in Guangzhou as better. There, he saw many people of all ages spending time together in numerous parks and on the street (P15). The security situation was also better in Shenzhen than in Dongguan, according to an interviewee (P8).

According to an interviewee, the lower state of development in Dongguan also related to the provision of facilities which, according to him, was lower in Dongguan than in other PRD cities:

“If it is less developed, many public facilities cannot be offered to us. For example, Guangzhou and Shenzhen can offer [...] convenient transportation, like subway, and other public facilities. [...] these facilities are not enough. Shopping facilities are not enough in underdeveloped places” (P16).

Other interviewees confirmed that the provision of facilities was not as good as in other PRD cities, referring, for instance, to the transportation network and provision of sports facilities (P8; P11; P15):

“Guangzhou is more developed and urbanised. There are many recreational facilities, shopping facilities and educational facilities in Guangzhou. So Dongguan is worse compared to Guangzhou. But as a whole, Dongguan has the facilities which Guangzhou has just fewer than in Guangzhou” (P11).

Many professionals said that the transportation system in Dongguan was not as advanced as in other PRD cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen (P1; P4; P8; P9; P12). However, others in contrast said that the transportation and traffic system in Guangzhou was often overcrowded, leading to traffic jams, for instance. In Guangzhou, according to an interviewee, it was always crowded with people and cars which was why it would take him longer to get to the city centre from farther distances (P14). Additionally, some interviewees said the situation in Dongguan had already improved during the last few years, such as the living standard, and would be developing more and more. They were optimistic that it would further improve (P15; P16):

“I came to Dongguan two years ago. Since then I find that, mainly the roads, the transportation improved. [...] The social security, the environment, and the transportation in Dongguan is becoming better. Like the Shipai road here, it used to be in a mess. Now it is repaired. There will be a metro here. [...] There are more traffic police. The traffic police can help to improve the traffic. [...] And all the towns will develop better, because the central city is developing well, but the towns do not develop very well, I believe it will become better. [...] It becomes more like a city instead of a town” (P15).

To conclude, many respondents experienced more economically developed PRD cities, such as Shenzhen and Guangzhou, as more attractive, due to the better work and career changes. Cities that they perceived as economically poorly developed were rather unattractive, e.g. Huizhou, Jiangmen or Zhongshan. Zhuhai, for instance, provided attractive environmental conditions, which were convenient for living. However, it remained unattractive to some respondents, due to few work opportunities. Some respondents also named Dongguan as an unattractive city, e.g. as it provided fewer career opportunities or fewer facilities than other cities, or due to the tense situation between migrants and locals. For living, however, many liked Dongguan, because it provided less life pressure, due to the lower population density and fewer cars, and also lower housing prices. Furthermore, many respondents were optimistic that the provision of facilities, which they described as fewer than in other PRD cities, would be improving and that the living conditions in Dongguan would be better in the future.

7.1.6 Professionals' Perception of the Living and Working Situation in Songshan Lake Park

Many interviewees, including residents and non-residents of Songshan Lake Park, perceived the living environment in Songshan Lake Park as good, although more simple than in the Central Districts of Dongguan (P5; P6; P7; P13; P15; P16). The reasons for this perception were diverse. Many interviewees referred to the good environmental quality in the area. They perceived the air as clean, the environment as beautiful, and said there was little traffic noise (P4; P6; P7; P9; P10; P16). The good environmental quality, for instance, made it convenient for recreational purposes, such as cycling, hiking, or barbecuing – and made the atmosphere generally more relaxing (P4; P7; P9; P16; P15):

“The greening rate there is high, that is the main reason. All the companies there are high-tech companies, so the pollution here (Songshan Lake Park) is not heavy. The houses here are low-density residential buildings. [There are] not many cars. Additionally, there are many nice areas. People can have many places to go. So it is very comfortable to live there” (P16).

“I came to Dongguan because of Songshan Lake Park. The environment here is good, compared to Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Here, it is more relaxing, and the air quality is good” (P4).

Others endorsed the argument that living in Songshan Lake Park was good as it was less crowded with people and cars than other places in Dongguan and the PRD (P4; P7). Again others described the security situation as good, and better than in other districts and towns in Dongguan (P1; P6):

“In Songshan Lake Park, the security management is good. I have been here for more than half a year, and I have not seen any robberies. But outside Songshan Lake, such as Liaobu and Fushan (Central Districts), the security situation is not good” (P1).

Some respondents also perceived the working situation in Dongguan as better than in other districts (P2; P5):

“The working environment is better [...]. The government has a better plan on supporting enterprises and the whole area compared to other towns. It is a national high-tech industrial zone, the government made a lot of effort” (P5).

An interviewee mentioned that in Songshan Lake Park there were more high-tech industries, top-end, and international companies than in other parts of Dongguan. This is why they perceived that it provided more career development opportunities than in other locations in Dongguan (P2).

The interviewees were discordant about the transportation situation in Songshan Lake Park. Some said the transportation system was good. There were many routes, frequencies were high enough, the modes of transportation were not overcrowded, and the connections to other places in Dongguan were good (P2; P7; P9). Others, in contrast, said the transportation situation in Songshan Lake Park was poor. There was no metro and few buses and they faced long waiting times (P1; P4; P5; P7).

Again others did not like the living environment, and atmosphere in Songshan Lake Park, complained about the quality of the residences, and missed a sense of community (P2; P5; P15):

“Songshan Lake Park is an industrial area, it is not like a community. We all living in the factory” (P2).

“I do not think this place is suitable for life. I think it is more like an apartment or a dormitory of the government. [...] Most important is that the quality of residents should be higher, [...] the educational level should be higher, [because] then I can communicate with them well” (P5).

Another respondent related the poor atmosphere in Songshan Lake Park to the low number of people living in the area (P15). However, he remained optimistic that more people would be moving to Songshan Lake Park in the near future. One professional mentioned another issue relating to the missing sense of belonging. In the interviewee’s opinion, people in Songshan Lake Park were lacking a feeling of home (P5):

“How to say, because Chinese people always think the place does not belong to themselves. I think they miss a sense of belonging [in Songshan Lake Park]. They do not feel at home” (P5).

One reason for this, according to him, was that there were many weekend-commuters living in Songshan Lake Park:

“[...] Few people consider it as their home. You can see many employees who leave at weekends. [...] They bought houses in Dongguan City (central districts), Guangzhou, or Shenzhen [to stay there at weekends]. Only some low and medium-income employees stay in Songshan Lake Park at weekends” (P5).

Many interviewees also complained about the poor provision of facilities in the park's area. Shopping facilities were fewer than in other districts and towns, especially medium and long-term shopping facilities, which were, according to an interviewee, essential when one wanted to stay permanently (P3; P6; P4; P5; P6):

“It is not convenient for shopping in Songshan Lake Park. There are few supermarkets. Large goods and daily necessities are expensive, and there is not much choice. If I want to buy some large goods, I have to go to another town, it is not convenient” (P5).

Others said shopping facilities were too far away. It was inconvenient to get there (P7; P14). Another interviewee, whose child was living with his parents in another city, described the poor provision with education facilities:

“He [his child] is young, so it is not convenient for us to take care of him, because we are living in Songshan Lake Park. The facilities here are not completed. And my parents just retired, they want to help me to take care of my child” (P6).

Another interviewee complained about poor provision of entertainment facilities (P1):

“First, it should have more entertainment areas [...]. It is rural here, there is only Songshan Lake Creative Life City (entertainment area with restaurants and amusement facilities) nearby. The entertainment facility could be better” (P1).

Again another interviewee was more optimistic when saying that there were schools, hospitals, and recreation facilities provided, but admitted that it was not very many. However, the situation, according to her, was improving (P4). Others still hoped for these improvements (P2). Other respondents complained about the high housing prices in Songshan Lake Park (P4; P16):

“There are many villas in Songshan Lake Park. The house price [...in Songshan Lake Park] is three to four times higher than [... in the central districts], and it is even more expensive to live near the lake” (P16).

However, he added that he would move to Songshan Lake Park if his economic ability would allow. An interviewee said the housing price was high, due to the good environmental quality, the low density of people and cars, and the high-quality of the people (P4). Another interviewee, who lived in Songshan Lake Park, however, said in a few years he would buy a house in Dongguan, but he would prefer to buy it in the central districts, as it was more convenient and comfortable to live there. He was planning to bring his parents and children to Dongguan and was hoping for better supporting facilities (P6). Some of the interviewees were convinced that the situation in Songshan Lake Park would improve in the near future. They said, for instance, that the shopping facilities would be more convenient and developed, more people would be living in Songshan Lake Park, there would be more real estate development and the housing prices would further increase (P10; P6). Another interviewee expected that the park would be more comprehensive with a coherent community (P2).

In conclusion, many respondents perceived the living environment in Songshan Lake Park as better, but more simple than in other districts and towns in Dongguan. They mentioned the cleaner and more beautiful environment, less noise pollution, and said it was safer. Additionally, some perceived the work and career opportunities as better, due to the agglomeration of high-tech companies. Others, in contrast, complained about the quality of residences, and a lack of a sense of belonging and feeling of home. The provision of facilities, especially daily shopping and education facilities was poor according to some respondents, and in their eyes, also the housing prices were too high in Songshan

Lake Park. Nonetheless, many respondents thought the living conditions in the zone would improve in the near future.

This chapter described the working and living situation of the professionals in Dongguan and addressed their satisfaction with it. Thereby, it considered the professionals' expectations towards other cities in China and worldwide as well as their perception of the situation in Dongguan, with special regard to the study area Songshan Lake Park. The next chapter draws attention to the role of social values as discussed in the theoretical chapter 2 in professionals' migration and place decision-making.

7.2 PROFESSIONALS' SOCIAL VALUES REGARDING THEIR LIVING AND OCCUPATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

As social values were identified as influencing factors in individual's action and decision-making (cf. chapter 2.3), the next chapter addresses social values among the professionals in Dongguan, derived from the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews. The analysis of the social values of Dongguan's professionals followed the operationalization described in chapter 5.1.2. Accordingly, the following chapters examine the social values of Dongguan's professionals relevant in their migration and place decisions. When asked about their future wishes, several aspects were addressed (n=241). Firstly, respondents mentioned aspects which referred to career and occupational success (cf. chapter 7.2.1). Almost a quarter mentioned that their career and skills development, a better job, or success in their work was important to them (22 per cent; cf. chapter 7.2.1). A similar number of professionals said they wished for wealth, or a higher salary (21 per cent each). Only a minority mentioned they wanted to work harder to achieve their goals (3 per cent), wished for greater job stability (2.5 per cent) or hoped for more economic development in Dongguan which would provide them with more work opportunities (2 per cent). Some said they wanted to open their own business. For others it was also important to have a fulfilling job. The job should not be boring, but satisfying, comfortable, and should make them happy. Some respondents mentioned that besides career development they aimed to develop themselves, such as gaining a stronger personality, gaining knowledge, and life experience (cf. chapter 7.2.1). Secondly, respondents referred to aspects which related to their personal, families', or society's well-being: 15 per cent wished for happiness, harmony, and stability, and 13 per cent for personal or family's health. For some respondents the issue of health also related to success in their work: Only if they were healthy, could their working life be successful. Thirdly, respondents named aspects, which related to their housing situation (cf. chapter 7.2.3). Home ownership and the decrease in housing prices was important to 9.5 per cent of the respondents, and 2 per cent said they wished for an improved living environment. Fourthly, aspects regarding the family and social belonging were important to the professionals. They wished for good education provision for their children (6 per cent), wanted to live with their family (4 per cent), and hoped to marry and have a family in the future (3 per cent). Fifthly, aspects regarding social status and benefits were important to the professionals (cf. chapter 7.2.4). They wished for a local *hukou* and more equal treatment of locals and non-locals (2 and 1 per cent). Lastly, the respondents named diverse other aspects, such as a better security situation, improved working conditions, or proximity to the workplace. Some respondents were concerned about their future, hoping that they did not have to worry about their future prospects, and wishing for fur-

their persistence to deal with their life situation. The following chapters present some of the named aspects that need detailed explanation.

7.2.1 Career, and Self-development Aspirations

Career prospects were very important or important to nearly all the respondents (49 and 45.5 per cent; $n=380$). Only to a few was their career not important (6 per cent). There was no significant correlation between the importance of career development and the age and mobility level of the respondents. However, the descriptive analysis shows that to older professionals their career development was slightly less important than to younger professionals. Immobile professionals were similarly interested in career development to the mobile professionals. To the permanently settled professionals, however, career development was least important, followed by the settled professionals. The qualitative interviews support the tendency that careers were more important to younger professionals. Interviewees of all age groups except for the professionals above 35 years said that the career opportunities in a city were very important to them (P1; P8; P9; P14; cf. chapter 7.3). Some also said they wanted to start their own company, or had tried to do so already (P5; P13). The qualitative interviews additionally showed that the mobility group had no major influence on the importance of career development.

For nearly all professionals gaining skills and receiving training for their job was very important or important (50 and 34 per cent; $n=392$). There was again no significant correlation between age and mobility level, and the importance of enhancing one's skills and ability. The descriptive analysis showed that to older professionals it was less important to enhance their skills than to younger professionals. Similar to the career aspirations, it was more important to the immobile and mobile professionals to enhance their capabilities than to the permanently settled and settled professionals.

Many respondents and interviewees referred not only to career development but mentioned that self-development was very important in their life (P5; P6; P7; P9; P10; P12; P14; P16). By that, they referred not only to career development or enhancement of their skills, but also to gaining life experience, or developing and strengthening their personality:

“[...]t [self-development opportunities] means personal development, and choice, for example, except getting a job, establishing a business has a large influence on a person” (P5).

“[...] I am young, so I always have new ideas. I want to go to another place and make myself strong” (P7).

Some interviewees explained that culturally diverse living situations could help them to develop themselves. An interviewee outlined that the strong foreign connections of Guangdong Province – for example the high percentage of foreign companies in Dongguan which employ many Chinese who have returned from overseas after working or studying – provided the opportunity to get to know more about western countries, and by that develop themselves. By improving their own cultural and education level (*wenhua*), and quality (*suzhi*), some said they wanted to contribute to China's growth. One respondent explained more generally that qualifications were very important for China today:

“Whole China cares about the educational background, so no one would trust your ability if you did not have a high academic qualification” (P14).

In conclusion, many respondents perceived career prospects and opportunities to develop their skills as very important in their lives. Among the young professionals, success in work was even more

important. However, the professionals desired not only success in work but especially aimed to develop and enhance their personality and life experience, which in turn could benefit them in their career development. The will to improve their educational level and quality in general was even stronger among younger professionals.

7.2.2 **Familial Bonds and Sense of Belonging**

Familial bonds and a sense of belonging was another aspect frequently mentioned by the professionals as important in their migration and place decisions. Almost all professionals strongly agreed or agreed that they wanted to live with their family, namely spouse and children and parents (50 and 42 per cent; n=405). Similarly many said that it was very important or important to them to live close to their parents (48 and 36.5 per cent; n=395). The importance of living with one's parents correlated highly significantly with the importance of supporting the parents. Those professionals who perceived it as very important to live close to their parents, disproportionately often thought it was very important to support their parents and vice versa. Accordingly, one reason why the professionals wanted to live close to their parents was to support them, for example, when they got old (P10). A respondent, for instance, explained that he wanted to buy a house so that his parents could have a comfortable life when they were old. The qualitative interviews revealed that those professionals who had children perceived it as more important to live close to their parents. An interviewee, for instance, explained that his mother took care of his child during weekdays when he was at work (P11). Not surprisingly, it was even more important to the professionals to live close to their spouse and children (n=398).

The qualitative interviews revealed that to support one's children was an important factor as well. Many professionals cared about the living environment their children lived in when growing up. They tried to avoid negative influences, and cared about the social insurance and education of their children and described an influence on their place decision (e.g. P4; P5; P6; P9; P12; P14; cf. chapter 7.3):

“[...] I have to consider education: Are there any schools near my house? Is my apartment too far away from my workplace to be home early? I have to balance these two aspects” [...] (P9).

An interviewee explained that there was a story told in China about a mother who moved to different places many times just to provide the best environment for her child to grow up (P5). Another interviewee elucidated that parents would be mostly delighted when they got comments about their children's success and excellence rather than about their own. Accordingly, she explained that parents would work very hard to enable their children to get a good education and a bright future and would try to find the best location for their children to grow up (cf. chapter 7.2.4; C2).

Many interviewees also wanted to go back to their hometown in the future (P9; P10; P12). Some were already sure about their decision to move back, others said they considered it. Some said they first wanted to gain more experience abroad as their hometown provided few development opportunities (P9), others said it was their first choice to go back to their hometown if they could find work there (P10). An interviewee said more generally:

“Chinese are reluctant to be away from home [...], especially people, who live in North China. Now my parents are getting old. If I had a chance, I would like to work in my hometown” (P10).

Some interviewees explained that it was inconvenient to live far away from their hometown, as they had to go home far distances for festivals or holidays (P9; P15). Another interviewee explained that it was not only the spatial distance but also the cultural distance, which made it difficult for him to live in a city which was far from his hometown. He added that he mostly socialised with people from his hometown with whom it was easier to communicate (P15; cf. chapter 7.2.4).

To conclude, the survey and interviewees revealed that the family was of great importance for the respondents. Supporting their parents and children was one of the most important aspects in their lives. The professionals, for instance, put a lot of effort into raising their child and predetermining their children's future. Living far away from their hometown, they perceived it as unavoidable to enhance their work experience and foster their careers but many preferred living close to their place of origin and considered returning in the case of work opportunities or after gaining enough work experience elsewhere.

7.2.3 Making Oneself at Home: The Importance of Affordable Housing and Home Ownership

Home ownership was very important to the respondents (n=381). The majority of the respondents mentioned that it was very important or quite important to them to own the place they were staying in (53 and 33 per cent). The importance of home ownership correlated highly significantly with the living situation of the respondents. Home ownership was very disproportionately important to respondents who lived in their own apartment or house. Renters disproportionately seldom said that homeownership was important to them. The importance of home ownership also correlated highly significantly with the importance of having a high salary. Those respondents who perceived home ownership as very important said disproportionately often that a high salary was important to them. Some respondents added that they wished their salary to grow faster than the commodity prices. Accordingly, the affordability of housing was a big issue.

There was also a significant correlation between the importance of home ownership and marital status. Although the analysis of the residuals revealed no results, the qualitative interviews revealed that home ownership was important for getting married (P9; P15):

“It is a must to buy an apartment. [If I am married there must be housing. I have to consider housing. I must consider buying a house first instead of renting a house” (P9).

“Buying a house is as important as getting married. It is very important. [...] Buying a house has a strong relation with finding a partner. [...] The house price will not decline. It is a measure to invest. I want to buy a house as soon as possible. [...] Because many girls ask their boyfriends to buy houses when they get married, at least pay the down payment. Of course, some girls do not, especially people from other places, but local people always buy houses before getting married” (P15).

Another aspect that related to home ownership was the wish to settle down permanently, and to gain a feeling of home. A respondent explained that he wished to buy a house, get married, and live with the ones he loved. An interviewee explained that home ownership was important to feel at home with the family:

“Because of family, and Confucianism. All Chinese people, when we get married, we need to have a place to live. To feel like you have a family” (P9).

Another interviewee added that as long as he felt at home, he was fine with his accommodation (P15). For others, home ownership related to supporting their parents (P1). Accordingly, to gain a feeling of

being at home it was important to the professionals to own the accommodation they were staying in, live with their family, including spouse, children, and parents. However, these social values changed over the life course, as home ownership and settling down permanently was still less important to younger professionals who said they did not care about it yet, but would in the future. According to the statement of a 24-year-old interviewee, getting married and the related requirements were currently less important to him:

“[...] I do not have to worry about housing problem because I did not get married yet. And I do not have to worry about child’s education. So when I get married, I have to consider more” (P9).

To conclude, home ownership and the proximity to one’s family was important to the respondents to gain a feeling of home and belonging. Younger professionals mentioned that they did not care about owning an apartment or home but that they would do so in the future when they were married, had children, and had elderly parents who needed their support.

7.2.4 Social Benefits, Social Status and Quality: The Influence of the *Hukou* System and Migrant’s Social Belonging

Another important aspect mentioned by the respondents related to the social status, and “quality” of people in the living environment and the social benefits associated with it. Some interviewees, for instance, explained the importance of social diversity in their neighbourhood. They mentioned that social diversity, and a more diverse atmosphere in the city, and in their neighbourhood was important to them (P12; P13; P15; P16). An interviewee explained that the social diversity, the mixture of people with different backgrounds, attitudes, and knowledge, would help him realise his own personality:

“Social diversity is [...] associated with different people. [It] can improve my *bianyi* ability (ability to change). [...] It means you can realise what kind of person you are” (P13).

Another interviewee mentioned that the social status and background of her neighbours was important to her. She explained that she would feel lonely if she did not have much in common with her neighbours, which was, according to her, the case if the neighbours came from different places (P4). Others disagreed that social diversity was important. A professional said that his life was so simple that he did not know why he would need social diversity (P10). Another interviewee, who migrated from Guangdong Province, wanted to keep his living environment as simple as possible (P14):

“Social diversity? It would be better if the environment was simple. Social diversity means there are different kinds of people. It will be complicated. If I lived in a community owned by the university or government, people, who live there, have same background. We would have a common language. I think social diversity means there are all kinds of people. [...] I do not like this [kind of] environment. I hope the environment can be simple. I do not like that kind of social diversity” (P14).

Other interviewees, however, explicitly mentioned that integration into the local community was very important to them when considering staying permanently in a place (P5; P15). For an interviewee integration meant that he was in good and intensive contact with local inhabitants. He argued that if locals and migrants would communicate regularly and intensely, they would better understand each other’s situation, and there would be fewer conflicts. Indeed, many of the interviewed professionals complained about a lack of tolerance towards migrants and people with a lower social status (P4; P8; P12; P15); others mentioned that tolerance towards minorities was important (P4):

“The local residents have a strong sense of being local people. They discriminate against migrant people. [...] So it is very hard to get along with them. [...] There is a gap between migrant people and local residents, e.g. regarding the language. Although I can speak Cantonese, there are some differences remaining. Some habits are so different” (P15).

Indeed, the relation between migrants and locals was dominated by prejudices on both sides. A migrated professional from Hubei Province, for instance, described what he thought about local people from Dongguan (P5):

Interviewee: “[...] Very few local Dongguan people would work in factories. They own real estates or shops.”

Interviewer: “Where do Dongguan local people work?”

Interviewee: “Local resident do not have to work. They have their houses to rent to factories or workers, and they have some bonus, so they rarely work. [They get] many bonuses every year.”

Interviewer: “What kind of bonuses do they get?”

Interviewee: “[...] Like the land, and shareholding economy in the village. Every villager has share, the bonus of shareholding economy” (P5).

Another migrant from Guangdong province said: “[...] The local people are usually rich, most of them” (P15). A local professional explained that he felt insecure when living with migrants because of their ascribed attitudes:

“Some people are narrow-minded, if I did not tolerate them, I would feel pain. [...] Minority people tend to remember the bad things you have done to them. So if you do not treat them well, they will harm you” (P13).

In this regard, many interviewees also mentioned the “quality” (*suzhi*), which is associated with the educational and cultural level (*wenhua*) and the degree of civilisation (*wenming*) of the people they lived with to be important (cf. chapter 3.2.1). An interviewee explained that he did not care about where his neighbours came from, as long as they had a high quality:

“I do not care whether the neighbours are from different countries. [...] I do not care where my neighbours come from. I just care about their “quality”. If they have good characters, I do not mind. [...] It is not complicated. But if my neighbours’ manner was bad, I would feel the community is not safe. So I do not care where they come from” (P16).

In the perception of other interviewees, however, migrants, “like people from Hunan or Henan Province and so on” (P15), in general were people with a low “quality”. An interviewee said that the low quality of migrants was the reason for Dongguan’s security problem (P16; cf. chapter 7.1.5). Another professional mentioned that, due to the low “quality” of migrant people, it was difficult to get along with them (P15). Many other interviewees had a similar opinion, arguing that the people who surrounded them had an influence on them. If their neighbours or people in their environment had a low “quality”, they would negatively influence the respondents and their families, because of the different behaviour and attitudes (P4; P5; P12; P13; P14; P15; P16):

“Actually, your neighbours determine your social status. If you live in a better community with some high-level neighbours, it shows your social status and personal reputation and your accomplishment. I think a successful person should live in a harmonious and better community. It has a big influence on your children and your whole family. [...] Because your children are living in the community, the environment will influence them. If their friends are children of migrant workers, they might have a bad influence. They will influence my children. If your neighbours are entrepreneurs or government officials, their children might have good influence on my children. That is why the environment is very important to a family and their children” (P5).

Some interviewees argued that living close to people with a low quality made them feel unhappy and insecure. Additionally, their families and friends would be anxious about their safety (P4; P14):

“I just hope to live close to high quality people. I do not want to live close to low quality people, because they are rude. I will not feel happy to live close to them. I hope to live in the university campus. Because people, who live there, have a high quality. I think the environment is beneficial for both, myself and my child. [...] The atmosphere can influence me. If I lived close to many high quality people, I can read more books. My child would like studying if it grew up in this atmosphere. The environment can influence people. If you lived in an urban village or slum, your neighbours might have bad influence on you. If you lived closed to high quality people, your child might have more chance to become a high quality person, too” (P14).

The interviewees argued that the high “quality” of their neighbours and people in their living and working environment could affect them positively. Being surrounded by people with a high educational and cultural level, experience, and knowledge could support their self-development and own quality. Another professional explained that in China the location of the residence was of major importance to many people. She explained that many people would, for instance, choose the location of their residence firstly according to the price and secondly, due to the proximity to education facilities, especially universities. They expected the number of high-skilled people who could have a positive influence on their children to be higher there: “They feel that when their children always see the ‘talents’, their children will become ‘talents’.” According to her, in the location with proximity to education facilities the housing prices were higher (C2). Some interviewees also argued that the presence of foreigners and Chinese who had returned after living overseas, could have a favourable influence on them (P4; P5; P13; P14; P15; P16):

“For example, it is good for children to learn English, when they get along with foreign people. Generally, foreigners and returned overseas have a high quality, so they can improve the atmosphere of the community” (P15).

“[...] I think the presence of foreigners and *haigui* people (Chinese nationals with overseas experience) supports cultural diversity. It can help us to widen our horizon, change the life style, and foster new ways of thinking. It is a cultural exchange, which is somewhat important. [...] I can learn from the foreigner because this can help me to development myself” (P14).

In addition, some migrant professionals also perceived discrimination from officials. They argued that because of their social status, which was associated with their *hukou* status, governmental authorities treated them differently from locals (P6; P12). An interviewee from Hubei Province outlined that he had found a school for his child to go to for now but was not sure what the future would bring when his child needed middle school education. He explained, similar to other interviewees (e.g. P6), that the access to education facilities for migrants’ children was more difficult and complicated to achieve than for locals’ children. He explained he was dependent on the cooperativeness of local officials:

“I have solved the child’s education problem now, but I do not know what is going on in the future. My child will go to middle school soon. The policy in Dongguan is not clear. I have to apply [for schooling], and it (getting a school for his child) is very complicated. You [need to] ask other people to help you. You can do nothing if they are not positive. [...] It is not easy. Migrants are regarded as a nuisance by locals” (P12).

Some interviewees argued that especially access to good schooling (i.e. public schools) was easier with a local *hukou* (P4; P5). They explained that entering a public school was better for their child, as it provided better educational resources, paid more attention to the development of each student, and facilitated the children’s access to university education:

“I think the children’s education is important, including the college entrance examination system. There is a limited number of children who can go to public school. If my company does not help me to solve the problem, it is very hard for non-endemic *hukou* people to go to public school in Dongguan. The educational resources of public schools are better, the quality of teachers is higher, and as a whole, in China, the level of teachers in private school is lower. [...] The quality of non-government funded school is worse” (P5).

Another interviewee was eager to integrate into Dongguan’s local culture and hoped for a local *hukou* which would support his integration. People would prefer to communicate with those who had the same cultural background, like the same language and habit (P5); an observation confirmed by another migrant professional’s statement:

“When we open a company or a restaurant, we would hire the people, who come from the same place, or ask them for help. We contact with each other in personal life and business very often” (P15).

Furthermore, he added that administrative issues would be easier to solve with a local *hukou*, such as getting visas (P5). Accordingly, some interviewees wanted to apply for a local *hukou* (P5; P6; cf. chapter 4.2.2). However, an interviewee, who originated from Hubei Province, said that the entrance barrier to a local *hukou* was too high for him which was why he had decided not to apply:

“It (local *hukou*) does not have much influence. There is a policy for us to apply for local *hukou*, but we do not want to. If you want to apply for it, you have to buy a house, and the house price is pretty high. And I got nothing, why should I apply for it. [...] I think it is not worth it. I have to work hard all my life to buy a house” (P12).

The results indicate that the social status and cultural background had a strong influence on how people were perceived by others. Prejudices against migrant people and their quality were common among local people and among other migrants, depending on their own home province. Local and migrant professionals tended to separate their private and working life, due to several reasons, including a feeling of insecurity or bad influence on one’s own educational and cultural quality. Additionally, the professionals perceived a strong influence of the household registration status (*hukou*) on access to benefits, such as education for children, or public welfare. Many interviewees cared a lot about these benefits.

7.3 ARISING PLACE-RELATED DEMANDS, AND PREFERENCES OF PROFESSIONALS

When asked to evaluate certain aspects according to their importance in their decision for a city, the professionals named security, work and career opportunities, housing/rental price, environmental quality and the appearance of the city as the most important aspects (above 95 per cent evaluated them as very or quite important; cf. 7.5A). These aspects can be regarded as the professionals’ demands which need to be fulfilled in the city they would move to.

Security in the city was the major demand of the professionals in the decision for a city. Security even had the highest percentage of professionals, compared to other aspects, saying it was very important (66 per cent). In total 93 per cent mentioned it was very or quite important to them. The qualitative interviews confirmed that the professionals demanded a safe place to live in (P4; P9; P12). An interviewee even mentioned that the public security situation in Dongguan was one reason why she did not want to come in the first place (P4). Another interviewee explained that if he felt unsafe in his place of living, it would affect his daily activities, such as shopping:

“If you live in a disordered community, and the public security is bad, you are afraid of going out. You are worried about everything. You have to worry about going to the bank or shopping. It is very tiring. [...] A gated community is better. It does not let strangers in, and there is security” (P12).

In total, 71 per cent preferred to live in a neighbourhood which provided gated housing. They felt safer when they lived in a community which was gated and that had security patrols (P4; P5; P13; P14; P15). In their concrete living situation, almost all professionals said it was very or quite important to them to live in a gated community (39 and 44 per cent; $n=381$). However, the provision of gated residential complexes was a less important aspect in the neighbourhood compared to other aspects (cf. Fig. 7.5D).

The professionals' great demand was good work and good career opportunities. An interviewee explained the strong interrelation of the working and living environment:

“Actually, working and living have a strong relation: I will not move to another city just because of living environment, I cannot survive without a good working opportunity” (P1).

Good work and career opportunities were very important to almost all professionals (cf. Fig. 7.5). In the qualitative interviews, it became clearer that a promising occupational future in Dongguan would keep them from moving (P1; P8; P9; P12; P14). The professionals further explained that the opportunities to develop themselves, i.e. improving their educational and cultural quality, and gaining experience, was important in the migration and decision for a city (P6; P7; P10; P12; P14; P16):

“The main reason is that the economy is developing well here (Dongguan). The economy is not developing well in my hometown. If you do not have some relatives to help you in your hometown, you would not have many employment opportunities. It is hard to develop yourself there. There are more chances outside” (P12).

Not surprisingly, most respondents also agreed that they preferred to live in a city where they could find a good job (43 per cent agreed somewhat; $n=407$). However, the majority only somewhat agreed and only few disagreed, which supports the relevance of non-job-related aspects (49 and 6 per cent).

Another interviewee explained that better work, career, and self-development opportunities would increase the chances for him to improve his living situation in general. He was eager to have a better life in the future. Accordingly, it was not only temporary benefits motivating him, but he also considered his future development and conditions in his decision for a city (P14). The importance of work opportunities significantly correlated with the importance of a high salary. The interpretation of the residuals, however, only revealed that those respondents who perceived the work opportunities as not important, very disproportionately often also did not think that a high salary was important.

The professionals named reasonable housing prices and rental prices as additional demands (cf. Fig. 7.5A). Almost all professionals said housing prices were very or quite important to them. Home ownership was very important to the professionals as it strongly related to starting a family (cf. chapter 7.2.3). Accordingly, housing prices, which they perceived as low enough that they could afford to buy their own apartment or house and would be able to redeem during their lifetime, were very important to nearly all of the professionals. 85.5 per cent of the professionals strongly or somewhat agreed that it was important to them to live in a city where it was easy to find good housing at a reasonable price ($n=400$). The importance of reasonably priced housing significantly correlated with the importance of a high salary. The interpretation of the residuals, however, revealed no results. The descriptive analy-

sis, however, revealed that for almost all professionals a high salary was very or quite important to many professionals (57 and 39 per cent; n=392). The importance of a high salary significantly correlated with the professional's age. However, the interpretation of the residuals only revealed that professionals between 19 and 25 years old disproportionately often said that a high salary was not important to them. The descriptive analysis additionally revealed that the age group of 26 to 35 years old perceived a high salary as more important than the other age groups, followed by the professionals above 35 years (not significant). The qualitative interviews supported this tendency. A 33-year-old interviewee mentioned that not only the price of housing was important but also the general living costs, and confirmed that he weighed up the costs and the salary when choosing a city to live in (P14).

Many respondents also demanded good environmental quality in their potential future city. Almost all professionals perceived environmental quality as very or quite important (cf. Fig 7.5). An interviewee mentioned that if the environmental condition was good, e.g. the air quality, he would feel happy. Otherwise, he felt uncomfortable and depressed (P12). Also in their neighbourhood, the professionals demanded a clean environment (cf. Fig. 7.5).

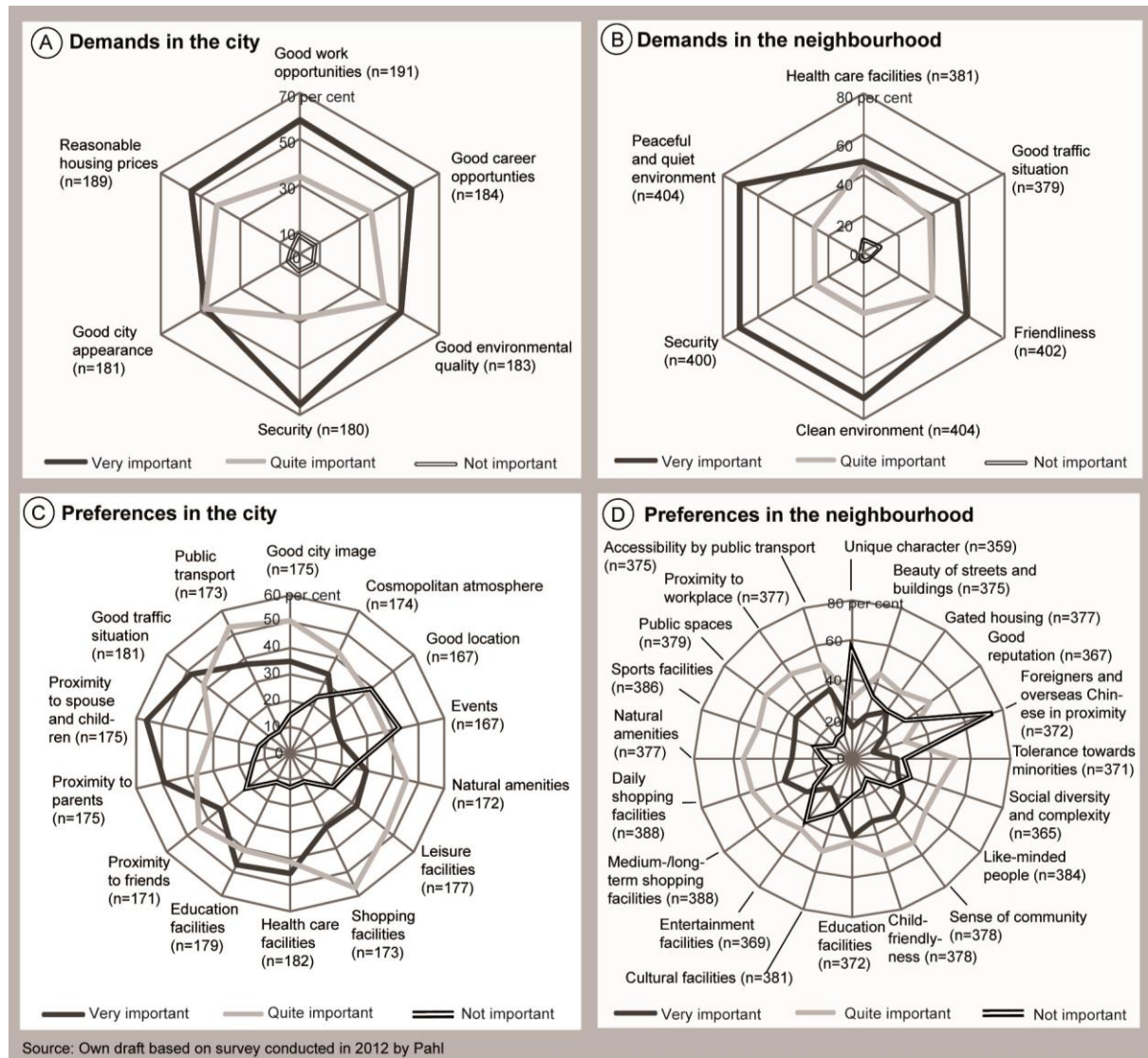


Fig. 7.5: Professional's demands and preferences in a potential city and in the neighbourhood

The least important, but still a required aspect, was the good appearance of the city. Comparably few, only less than half named it as very important. However, in total 95 per cent said it was very or quite important to them in the city they would move to (cf. Fig 7.5A). An interviewee explained that a beautiful city would attract him (P7). On the neighbourhood-scale, however, the beauty of streets and buildings was one of the least important aspects (cf. Fig. 7.5D). An interviewee explained the aspects, which, in his opinion, influenced the beauty of a place. Interestingly, he outlined that the beauty of his built-up environment also influenced his perception of how safe and comfortable it was to live in the place:

“In fact, beautiful buildings and streets are a part of the living environment [...]. A good environment includes surrounding buildings, history and culture, human atmosphere and security situation. When you live in a beautiful environment, you feel safe and comfortable. You will not feel that you are living in the slum or urban village” (P14).

Other interviewees explained what they perceived as a beautiful build-up environment (P13; P15):

“Six-lane roads with seascape are beautiful. [...] There should be trees on both sides, than it looks comfortable. Buildings like the *CCTV Tower* (TV tower in Beijing) are beautiful” (P13).

Another interviewee mentioned that he also liked a unique character in cities, because it presented the different cultural characters of the places:

“Firstly, there should be some chairs for people to rest. Then the greening should be good. Then it is more beautiful. Buildings, they should be neat, but they should have their own characters, like the colour and so on. Meanwhile, they should not be out of order. [...] Streets from different towns can be different. They can have different characters. They do not need to be built the same as the buildings of big cities. For instance, the *Qilou* (commercial arcade house) in Guangzhou is beautiful, and it has its own culture” (P15).

More than half of the professionals, however, rated the uniqueness of the neighbourhood as not important (cf. Fig. 7.5D). Accordingly, it was the least important aspect for the professionals in their neighbourhood.

Besides security and cleanliness of the environment, Dongguan’s professionals additionally demanded a peaceful and quiet environment, a friendly environment, a good traffic situation, and health care facilities in their neighbourhood (cf. Fig. 7.5B).

For almost all professionals the proximity to their spouse and children was very or quite important in their decision for a city. Other aspects that regarded the social network of the professionals were comparably a little less important (cf. Fig. 7.5C). Many professionals also perceived the proximity to their parents as very or quite important. Some interviewees explained that when disregarding the working opportunities it was important to them to live close to their families (P6; P9):

“Without regard to work, of course we would rather stay at home. Because it is not just a house, my parents and other relatives are living there” (P6).

Moreover, interviewees mentioned that the proximity to their family created a feeling of home, which was very important to them in their living place (cf. chapters 7.2.2 and 7.2.3). An interviewee explained that living close to the family, which for some migrated professionals in Dongguan was only achievable by going back to their hometowns, was important to feel a sense of belonging and home:

“How to say, because Chinese people always think the place does not belong to them. Without sense of belonging they do not feel at home” (P5).

In contrast, the proximity to friends was less important than the proximity to the family (cf. Fig. 7.5C).

The importance of having the spouse and children in proximity correlated highly significantly with the importance of education provision, such as schools, universities, and training institutes. Those professionals who perceived the proximity to their family as very important, very disproportionately often rated the provision of education facilities in the city as very important and vice versa. If one considers that the support of their children was very important to the professionals (cf. chapter 7.2.2), it is not surprising that also the provision of educational facilities was also important to them in the city. The interviewee, for example, cared about the number of education facilities and about the quality as their children's education was important to them (P2; P4; P5). An interviewee explained that he was planning to bring his child to Dongguan next year and that he intended to stay there permanently. Nonetheless, he said that it was only possible if his child's access to education was secured (P5). However, slightly fewer professionals than on the city level said that the provision of education facilities was important to them in their neighbourhood. Child-friendliness, determined, for example, by the number and quality of playgrounds, nurseries, or children playing in the neighbourhood (P11), was similarly important to the respondents (cf. Fig. 7.5C and D).

The traffic situation was also important to many professionals in the city. Nearly all professionals said a good traffic situation was very or quite important to them. Additionally, public transport facilities in the city, and the accessibility of the neighbourhood by public transport were important to many professionals. The accessibility of the neighbourhood by public transport was also important but little less than the other aspects (cf. Fig. 7.5C and D).

The provision of facilities other than education facilities was also important to the professionals, but was less important than social network aspects and the traffic and transportation situation. Most important were health care facilities, followed by leisure and shopping facilities. Public events, such as festivals, fairs, or markets were comparably less important (cf. Fig. 7.5C). In their neighbourhood, the professionals most cared about public spaces, daily shopping facilities, such as groceries, sports facilities, such as sports fields or indoor sport halls, and natural amenities for walking, cycling, or picnicking. The latter was comparably less important in the city in general (cf. Fig. 7.5C). Medium shopping facilities, such as malls, were slightly less important in their neighbourhood than daily shopping facilities. Entertainment facilities, such as restaurants or bars, and cultural facilities, such as theatres or museums, were still important to many respondents, however, less important than other facilities. Access to facilities, such as educational or health facilities, or to public welfare, was also important to the professionals in their decision for a city. The household registration, which was perceived as important for access to public services and welfare, was also important in the decision to settle down permanently. More than half of the professionals said that their *hukou* status had an influence on their decision to settle down (52 per cent; n=231). The others perceived the *hukou* status as not influential in the decision for a city.

The city image and the atmosphere of the city were also important to many professionals in their decision for a city (cf. P6). An interviewee explained that if the city had no international flair, there would be fewer people with different cultural backgrounds, and he had fewer chances to communicate with those. The contact to people with different cultural backgrounds, however, could widen his horizon and thus improve his educational and cultural quality (P8; cf. chapter 7.2.1). The social diversity

and complexity was also important to the professionals in their neighbourhood, but less important than facilities, and social network aspects (cf. Fig. 7.5D). On the neighbourhood level, the professionals, however, cared even more about a sense of community and like-minded people in their neighbourhood. The sense of community in their neighbourhood was important to a similar number of respondents as the existence of public spaces, and daily shopping facilities (cf. Fig. 7.5D). The interviewees explained that good contacts to their neighbours made them feel more integrated and less lonely, especially when few relatives lived in the city (P4; P7; P9; P15). Others explained that neighbours would help each other in the case of difficulties which they very much appreciated (P13; P15; P16):

“There is a good relationship between neighbours. A strong community can maintain good relationship between neighbours. If there is some contradiction, the community can help to solve the problem. So I value the harmonious environment in the community” (P16).

Another interviewee explained that he did not care about the relationship with the neighbours yet, as he did not own the place he lived in. If he bought a place for living, he would consider the relationship with the neighbours and the quality of the neighbourhood (P15). The tolerance towards minorities in the neighbourhood and the reputation of the neighbourhood was a little less important to the professionals (cf. Fig. 7.5D; chapter 7.2.4). The location of the city was least important on the city-level. To have foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chinese living in the neighbourhood was least important to the respondents. The majority even said it was not important to them (cf. Fig. 7.5D).

Regarding their living situation, to many professionals said it was important that the neighbourhood they lived in was close to their workplace (cf. Fig. 7.5D). However, almost half of the professionals did not prefer to live in company accommodation (n=377). The reasons why they did not want to live in a company accommodation were diverse (n=79). 15 per cent mentioned they disliked the poor living conditions, and poor provision of facilities. An interviewee, for instance, hoped for an air conditions to be installed in the dormitory. A similar number disliked the limited opportunities to stay with their families in the company accommodation. 6 per cent each mentioned that they missed privacy, or disliked the overcrowded living situation in company accommodation. An interviewee explained that he preferred to have more space for himself and more privacy, e.g. by having a living room and a single bedroom (P2). 4 per cent each said it was inconvenient, or they missed a sense of belonging in the company accommodation, respectively. 2 per cent each said the quality of life was lower, and that they disliked living with other people, except family, respectively. An interviewee explained that she preferred to live in an apartment by herself, as she would be freer, and she could cook for herself, for instance (P2). 43.5 per cent in turn said they would prefer to live in company accommodation. 34 per cent liked the low price of company accommodation (n=28). 28 per cent said that it was convenient, and 20 per cent liked the proximity to the workplace, which corresponded with the convenience of the living situation. 13 per cent liked the high security that, according to them, was provided in company accommodation, and 9 per cent liked the good infrastructure, and living environment. Another 4 per cent said they preferred to live in company accommodation because of the good social environment (cf. chapter 7.1.4). An interviewee, who lived with his family, explained that he would get more chances to communicate with his colleagues if he lived in company accommodation which he said was good about living in company accommodation (P16).

81 per cent said that roominess was very or quite important for them in their living situation (n=392), and 39 per cent mentioned that it was very or quite important to them to have a house with a private garden (n=375). However, more than half of the respondents did not expect any luxury equipment in their apartment or house (54 per cent; n=374).

To conclude, in the city that they would choose for living, professionals most demanded good work and career opportunities, security, affordable housing prices, and a good environmental quality. They preferred to live close to their families, wished to have good traffic and transportation situations, and especially cared about education, and health care facilities. Aspects regarding the social network of the professionals were very important. The professionals most preferred to live close to their spouse and children, secondly to their parents and thirdly to their friends. An interviewee explained:

“How to say, a person is not only a working identity, he is also a social person. This is very important to employees” (P5).

The traffic situation and public transport system was similarly important to the professionals. However, slightly fewer respondents mentioned it as very important as the proximity to their spouse and children, and parents. Regarding the facilities, in a potential city the availability of health care facilities and shopping facilities was most important, compared to daily shopping facilities, public spaces, sports facilities, and natural amenities. Social contacts and a sense of community were also important to many professionals in their neighbourhood. The tolerance towards minorities, and the reputation of the neighbourhood was also important to the professionals. Uniqueness of the neighbourhood and the beauty of streets and buildings were least important to the professionals.

In their neighbourhood, the professionals demanded a peaceful and quiet environment, safety, a clean environment, friendliness among neighbours and in the community, and good health care facilities, and a good traffic situation. They especially preferred to have numerous and qualitative daily shopping facilities, public spaces and a good sense of community, and liked to live in proximity to their workplace, wished to live in a neighbourhood, which was well connected with the public transport system, and liked to have many natural amenities in their vicinity. The opinion, towards living in company accommodation was divergent among the professionals. Some said they disliked the living conditions, with missing privacy, poor facilities, and crowded rooms. Others said it was convenient to live in company accommodation, because it was close to work and cheap. In general, the professionals did not want much luxury, such as houses with private garden or luxury equipment, but many wished for more privacy and space for themselves to live a private life.

7.3.1 Demands and Preferences in Professionals' Life Courses

In order to find out if the demands and preferences of the professionals changed over their life course, all demands and preferences described in chapter 7.3 were tested for correlations. Only the variables importance of security in the city (city sec), importance of foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chinese in the neighbourhood (nei for), importance of child-friendliness in the neighbourhood (nei chi), and importance of proximity of the workplace to the neighbourhood (nei prox wo) showed significant positive or negative residuals with the life course variables children and age (cf. Tab. 7.4; see below). No significant residuals were calculated with the life course variable of having children. Additionally, the variables importance of the traffic situation in the city (city traff), importance of work opportuni-

ties (city wo), importance of career opportunities in the city (city car), importance of gated housing in the neighbourhood (nei gat), and importance of child-friendliness in the neighbourhood (nei chi) correlated significantly or very significantly, respectively, with the marital status of the respondents (cf. Tab. 7.3).

Dependent variables and their categories		Independent variables and their categories		
		Importance security in the city		
		Very important	Quite important	Not important
Children	Children		+	
	No children			
Age		Importance like-minded people in neighbourhood		
		Very important	Quite important	Not important
		19 - 25 yrs		
	26 - 35 yrs			
	≥ 35 yrs			
Age		Importance foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chinese in neighbourhood		
		Very important	Quite important	Not important
		19 - 25 yrs		
	26 - 35 yrs			
	≥ 35 yrs		-	
Age		Importance child-friendliness in neighbourhood		
		Very important	Quite important	Not important
		19 - 25 yrs		
	26 - 35 yrs			
	≥ 35 yrs			
Ag		Importance of proximity to workplace		
		Very important	Quite important	Not important
		19 - 25 yrs		
	26 - 35 yrs			
	≥ 35 yrs			+

For C* values refer to Tab. 7.3. Symbols: + = positive residual (disproportionately high); - = negative residual (disproportionately low).

Tab. 7.4: Correlation’s characteristics of the demands and preferences with life course variables

In addition, the importance of gated housing in the neighbourhood (nei gat) and the importance of child-friendliness in the neighbourhood (nei chi) correlated significantly with having children. Those respondents who had children disproportionately often said that security was quite important to them in their decision for a city. No further specification of the correlation was possible with the interpretation of residuals. Child-friendliness was less important to younger professionals (19 to 25 years). A disproportionately high number of young respondents said that child-friendliness in the neighbourhood was not important to them. Younger professionals rather cared about like-minded people in their vicinity and the proximity to their workplace. A disproportionately low number of young professionals perceived it as not important to live in a neighbourhood with like-minded people and disproportionately few young professionals perceived the proximity of their neighbourhood to their workplace as not important. Older professionals (above 35 years) cared less about the proximity to the workplace. Disproportionately many older professionals said that the proximity of their neighbourhood to their workplace was not important to them. They also cared less about foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chi-

nese in their vicinity. Disproportionately few older professionals said that to have foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chinese living in their neighbourhood was quite important to them (cf. Tab. 7.4).

To conclude, few demands and preferences significantly correlated with the life course variables age, marital status, and children. Security in the city was more important to those respondents who had children. Younger professionals cared less about child-friendliness. They rather cared about like-minded people in their neighbourhood and the proximity of their neighbourhood to their workplace. The latter was disproportionately often unimportant to older professionals. In addition, the proximity to foreigners and high-skilled Overseas Chinese was less important to older professionals.

7.3.2 Place Preferences and the Mobility Level: Mobile, Settled, Permanently Settled, and Immobile Professionals

The cluster analysis revealed different mobility groups (cf. chapter 6.3). In particular, the demands and preferences of these groups, especially the mobile professionals who most often thought about leaving Dongguan and the indecisive settled professionals might be of interest to policy-makers. Accordingly, the demands and preferences described in chapter 7.3 were tested for correlations with the mobility level. However, no significant correlations were found for the different mobility groups. Accordingly, only a descriptive analysis was possible and the results presented in this chapter are not significant.

The mobile professionals especially considered aspects regarding work and career development and conditions. Work and career were more important for the mobile professionals' decision about which city to move to than for the settled, permanently, and immobile professionals. For the settled professionals, work and career opportunities were more important than for the two rather immobile groups. 69 per cent of the mobile professionals (n=45), and 59 per cent of the settled professionals mentioned that work and career opportunities were very important to them in their decision for a city (n=22). Among the immobile and the permanently settled professionals it was 59 per cent (n=63), and 54 per cent respectively (n=34). 67 per cent of the mobile (n=42), and 55 per cent of the settled professionals perceived career opportunities as important (n=20), compared to 55 per cent, and 50 per cent, respectively, among the permanently settled (n=62) and immobile professionals (n=34). Career development, however, was most important to the settled professionals (61 per cent very important; n=33), followed by the immobile (49.5 per cent very important; n=99), the mobile (47 per cent very important; n=78), and the permanently settled (44.5 per cent very important; n=119). Earning a high salary was also most important to the settled professionals and the mobile professionals. The immobile professionals least cared about earning skills and receiving training, compared to the other groups. Additionally, the mobile professionals, and settled professionals most cared about the proximity to work in their neighbourhood, compared to the other groups.

Mobile professionals also especially cared about the financial aspects of housing and family. Housing and rental prices were more important to the mobile professionals than to the other groups which is not surprising when one considers the higher percentage of immobile and permanently settled already owning a house or apartment already (immobile: 39 per cent, permanently settled: 36 per cent, settled: 28 per cent, mobile: 29 per cent). Together with the settled professionals, they perceived the proximity to their parents and to friends as more important than the permanently settled and immobile

professionals. Compared to the other groups, the mobile professionals also considered health care facilities, and a peaceful and quiet environment in their neighbourhood as more important in their migration decision.

In turn, although the proximity to spouse and children was important to all professionals' groups the mobile professionals cared less about it although they least often lived with their spouse and children (cf. chapter 7.1.3). Together with the settled professionals, the mobile professionals considered aspects regarding the city representation as less important, including the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a city, the city image, and events organised in the city, such as fairs, festivals, and markets. Shopping facilities were also less important to them in their decision for a city than to immobile and permanently settled professionals. In their neighbourhood mobile and settled professionals cared less about a clean environment, friendliness among neighbours, and about the reputation of the neighbourhood. A scenic landscape in the neighbourhood was less important to the immobile than to the other groups. A mobile interviewee explained that he did not care about the reputation of the neighbourhood too much yet, as he was just renting a place. If he bought a house and settled down, he would consider the reputation, and would pay more attention to the relationship with the neighbours, because he would live there for a long time (P14).

In conclusion, the descriptive analysis shows that mobile and settled professionals cared more about work and career opportunities in a city. The settled professionals especially considered career opportunities compared to the other groups. Mobile professionals also cared more about work-related aspects, such as a high salary, and self-enhancement, and the proximity to the workplace. They also more often said that housing prices were important to them, which can be explained by the lower percentage of mobile and settled professionals who were not yet homeowners. Mobile professionals also considered the proximity to parents and friends as more important than the other groups. Moreover, they cared more about health care facilities, and a peaceful and quiet environment. The mobile and settled professionals cared less about aspects regarding the city marketing and perception, such as the city image, the city's atmosphere, or events. In the neighbourhood, mobile and settled professionals considered shopping facilities, cleanliness of the environment, friendliness among neighbours, and the reputation of the neighbourhood as less important.

Whereas the previous chapters have described the professionals' living and working situation and their satisfaction with it as well as their individual social values, demands and preferences that influence their migration and place decisions, the next chapter addresses the influence of local government measures. Thereby, it first discusses the attraction strategy in the two case study cities Guangzhou and Dongguan and second it elaborates on the two case study high-tech industrial zones in the cities to understand the attraction strategies in more detail.

8 AGENTIAL CONDITIONS IN PROFESSIONALS' MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISION-MAKING: GOVERNMENT'S INFLUENCE IN GUANGZHOU AND DONGGUAN

8.1 THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY OF PROFESSIONALS ATTRACTION IN GUANGDONG'S CITIES GUANGZHOU AND DONGGUAN

The following chapter introduces the attraction strategy for professionals applied in Guangzhou and Dongguan which follow provincial guidelines. Following the national strategy, in its 12th Five Year Plan (2011-2015; hereinafter referred to the “the plan”) Guangdong Province announced its target of accelerating economic development, creating a modern industry system and innovation-driven province, and making professionals³² the new engines of development and growth. According to the plan, the attraction of professionals is of major importance in this endeavour. By the end of 2015, the province aims to create a professionals' stock of 19.5 million professionals in the whole province (QIN 2011). To achieve this goal, several projects and programmes were implemented that will be discussed using the examples of the PRD cities Guangzhou and Dongguan (for the cities' upgrading strategy cf. chapter 3.1.2). Thereby, the provincial government targets different types of professionals. The terms used to describe the targeted population, however, are diverse and not clearly defined. Primarily, the aim is to attract professionals with an outstanding, innovative business idea, which includes, for instance, innovative technology, or patents. This type is called *leading, high-level, or high-calibre professionals* (E4). “Leading talents” (*lingjun rencai*) or “high-level talents” (*gaocengci rencai*) selected as profiteers of one of the governmental attraction programmes often have a high or special educational attainment, such as a Ph.D. or study experience in a foreign country (E1). Professionals who had studied in a foreign country or gained work experience abroad (*haigui*) get specific attention in governmental policies. The target until 2015 is to attract 10,000 high-skilled Overseas Chinese to establish their business or foster innovation in the province. A government official in the *Bureau of Human Resources and Social Security of Guangzhou Municipality (BHRSSG)* explained the importance of attracting high-skilled Overseas Chinese:

“More and more Chinese young men go overseas to study [...]. If you do not attract them to come back to China, the foreigner will use them. So you use your resources to send them out, but they are used by the foreigners. That is a waste. Why let these kinds of resources stay outside? If we attract them to come back to China, it is very good” (E7).

However, the provincial and municipal governments are also concerned about attracting and retaining “normal talents”, e.g. those that hold a bachelor's or master's degree from a Chinese university, to sustain the supply of a high-skilled labour force in the targeted high-tech companies (E1; E4; E7). Additionally, governmental policies target foreign experts and professionals with outstanding academic titles who can contribute to the key science and technology projects (QIN 2011).

8.1.1 Moving Professionals: Guangzhou's Attraction Strategy

Guangzhou and Dongguan as two cities in Guangdong Province show different upgrading trajectories (cf. chapter 3.1.2). In the opinion of a government official at *BHRSSG*, Guangzhou used to have an

³² In Chinese government jargon, professionals are often called talents (*rencai*; cf. E1; E7).

advantage in attracting professionals, especially high-skilled Overseas Chinese, as it started its upgrading strategy as early as the late 1980s in contrast to other cities, such as Dongguan, that began their upgrading endeavour around the millennium and only then invested in attracting professionals:

“When they (Guangzhou’s political leaders) started, the other cities were still sleeping. Guangzhou awakened, because Guangzhou has a very long history of overseas connections, maybe the first Chinese to study abroad are from Guangzhou. So Guangzhou created very advanced policies for that time to attract the overseas Chinese to come back to Guangzhou, to China. But in the early 2000s, about 2000, the other cities woke up. So they spent more money or resources to attract the returnees” (E7).

As the city finds itself in strong competition with its close neighbours and with other Chinese first-tier and international cities, he argued that Guangzhou needs to continue its upgrading efforts:

“Although Guangzhou is improving very fast, the traditional industry is not enough to support the sustainable development in the future. So the industry must be developed to a new, higher level. [...] If you take a wider look at Guangdong Province, it happens the same. The same things happen in Dongguan, Zhongshan, and Shenzhen. Every local government wants to do the same things just to attract more high-level [professionals] to expand their talent resources” (E7).

Nowadays, he even sees Guangzhou lagging behind in the attraction of professionals compared to other cities and provinces, such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, or Jiangsu Province:

“Actually, Guangzhou's pace of attracting the talents is much behind other provinces or cities, such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, Jiangsu Province. Just in recent years, we are trying to catch up. So the local government, compared to the past, spends more money or resources in this kind of project” (E7).

To increase its efforts, in its current *12th Five Year Plan* (2011-2015) Guangzhou illustrates its strategy to become a national and internationally recognised city and sustain economic growth by accelerating its industrial transformation (cf. chapter 3.1.2). To enhance its competitiveness and improve its economic performance, the plan gives priority to the development of a professional’s pool and suggests the implementation of the *Long and Medium-term Outline Program of Talent Development of Guangzhou*³³ (hereinafter “the outline programme”) issued in 2010. It outlines the strategy of professionals’ attraction and support until 2020. According to the outline programme, Guangzhou’s strategy is to become a regional and national professional hub, which provides services and resources not only to South China but also to the whole country and increase China’s relevance in the international market (PGGM 2011). The city follows the “four highs strategy” that focuses on attracting high-level professionals and high-end industries, on providing high-social value services and on establishing high-quality living and working environments (PGGM 2010b: n/a).

To achieve these goals, the plan suggests improving the mechanisms of professionals’ attraction, management, cultivation, selection and appointment, and allocation. In general, strategies should be created to be more open, inviting, and flexible and policies should be supportive to professionals to establish their own business. A governmental officer at *BHRSSG* said that there are various policies which focus on the attraction of different levels of professionals in Guangzhou:

“Generally, recently the local government has responded to the big projects started by the state and provinces and has local talent policies and has spent more money on these kinds of projects. We have a series of talent policies aimed at different levels of [...]professionals]. The lowest level [of talents who are tar-

³³ The programme follows the national and provincial goals of the *Guideline of Nation’s Mid-term and Long-term Talent Development* and the *Guideline of Guangdong’s Mid-term and Long-term Talent Development* that are guideline documents to implement to *12th Five Year Plan*’s objectives.

geted], is what we call technician, a skilled technician, because the whole delta, including Guangzhou, it is a factory of the world. So we need a lot of technician skill, very skilled technicians to lead the improvement of manufacturing industry. [...]he highest level includes those like the professors, for example, in your university [in Germany] or in America, maybe they have the title of professor in foreign countries [...], state academician, who are on the highest level or maybe on the highest level are the Nobel Prize winners. This year we introduce three Nobel Prize winners to Guangzhou and they have cooperation with local institutes” (E7).

In general, the municipal government supports businesses and scientific projects that focus on R&D innovation and new technologies, leading personnel, young professionals, and high-level return migrants. In line with the national policies, such as the *One Thousand Talents Scheme* (cf. chapter 4.2.2), for instance, two major policies, the *100 Leading Talents for Creation and Enterprise* and the *Attracting Ten-Thousand Overseas Talents* are furthered (cf. Box 8.1). Other policies apply for leading professionals without overseas experience, such as the policies *Cultivation of High-quality Talents*, *Promotion of Young Talents*, or *Supporting Program for University Students' Business Start-up (AC-GDD 2010d)*. These preferential policies provide diverse benefits to successful applicants as a governmental office at *BHRSSG* describes:

“If you are starting a business in Guangzhou and the government thinks the plan is very good it will directly give you money and you do not have to pay it back, it is free [...]. The government will give you 500,000 Yuan to buy a house here and give you another 500,000 Yuan to do research and if your children want to study here, the government will give you the, what we call the nationalities right (local *hukou*). [...] If your wife is seeking employment, the government will recommend some jobs for her, arrange a job for you and even the government will give you some money for your medical care. Everything you can imagine [...], or even permanent residence, everything” (E7).

The overarching goal is to shape a sound and favourable environment in which high-level professionals can develop their ideas and knowledge, an environment in which their expertise and skills are fully tapped and put to best use. According to the plan, innovative-driven high-tech industrial zones play a major role in providing infrastructure for the targeted professionals, including Guangzhou Development District with its subsection the *Guangzhou High-tech Development Industry Zone (GHDIZ)*. These zones are supposed to set up pilot projects and thus remain experimental spaces in Guangzhou’s upgrading endeavour. As a government official in Guangzhou Development District explained, they want to try everything to attract professionals “This is the phase in China in which everything is tried. We do not know if it is right, but we want to try. This is a new way in China. China’s way to modernity” (E4). She describes the strategy as a trial-and-error procedure in which the provinces and cities establish high-tech industrial zones to see if it can be as successful as in other Chinese and international cities (E4).

The overall objective is to build a variety of knowledge and innovation zones that specialise in the production, transfer, application, and distribution of knowledge. The idea is to create a business and research atmosphere that inspires professionals’ economic activities:

“I think for scholars, no matter if they want to start business or do research, one very important thing is the atmosphere. For example, if I want to do research, I cannot do it by myself, I want to hire an assistant, a group of people, because we want to discuss or do something in a team. So this kind of research atmosphere is very important” (E7).

Furthermore, platforms for international professional exchange should be fostered to enhance international business activities and attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese to invest in Guangzhou, e.g. job fairs and conventions (cf. Box 8.2; PGGM 2010b; PGGM 2011).

Box 8.1: Policy examples in the attraction of overseas Chinese in Guangzhou

The goal is to increase the number of professionals with a junior college degree or above from 1.9 million in 2008 to 4 million in 2020 (33 per cent of the total working-age population). Additionally, the municipal government wants to attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese to return to make Guangzhou an international professionals' hub. However, the municipal government not only intends to increase the total number of professionals but also to improve the quality and structure of professionals (PGGM 2010b). The policies *Attracting Ten-Thousand Overseas Talents* and *100 Leading Talents for Creation and Enterprise* exemplify the nature of Guangzhou's attraction endeavours.

Attracting Ten-Thousand Overseas Talents

The municipal government launched the policy in 2010 as a means of fulfilling the goals of the *Long and Medium-term Outline Program of Talent Development of Guangzhou*. In contrast to the policy's name, it aims to attract 50,000 high-skilled Overseas Chinese holding a master degree or above or working in senior technical and managerial positions in internationally renowned enterprises and institutes of higher learning to initiate business by 2020. Besides business activities, the attracted high-skilled Overseas Chinese can also engage in projects with flexible time duration in the form of research task collaboration, lab opening, technical consultation, part-time service, and academic exchanges. To achieve the target enterprises and government institutes are encouraged to hold special recruitment fairs for high-skilled overseas professionals abroad on a regular basis (cf. Box 8.2). Additionally, the policy supports the construction of national-level innovation and business centres for high-skilled return migrants with the objective to build fifteen to twenty professional bases at the municipal level. Furthermore, the policy promotes the establishment of service management centres for high-skilled return migrants to provide personalised and one-stop services (ibid.).

100 Leading Talents for Creation and Enterprise

The municipal government launched the policy in 2011 as a means of fulfilling the goals of Guangzhou's *12th Five Year Plan (2011-2015)*. It targets the attraction of 100 leading Chinese professionals from overseas by 2015. The programme grants supporting measures and preferential policies to high-skilled return migrants that successfully applied for the programme. The programme grants benefits during a five-year period, such as (GMHRSSB 2011; PGGM 2010a):

- (a) Business-supporting benefits
 - Free office space (between 100 and 500 m²)
 - Annual subsidy for personal income tax (300,000 RMB)
 - Lump-sum start-up capital (between 1 and 5 million RMB)
 - Lump-sum payment for settling down (between 300,000 and 1 million RMB)
 - Professional trainings
- (b) Living-supporting benefits
 - Local *hukou* (granted life-long)
 - Rent-free apartment
 - Schooling allowance in public schools for professional's children
 - Employment recommendations for spouse
 - Physical examination

Besides providing infrastructure for business activities, the plan highlights the importance of creating comfortable and relaxed living and working environments by enhancing the level of culture, education, medical care, and social services in the city. Thereby, the citizens' general well-being and their economic prosperity should be increased (PGGM 2010b; PGGM 2011). The provision of housing solutions for targeted professionals is one strategy applied by the municipal government. A governmental officer at *BHRSSG* explained the different actors who are involved in providing housing to professionals: the companies and the governments on different levels:

“The local government has several ideas about how to design the projects [to attract professionals], such as providing housing conditions [...]. This project has different levels. The lowest level is [the provision of housing] by their employers, because the employers have built houses or bought houses or rent them [to their employees]. The other level is the governance level. The government will give money to support

Box 8.2: Job fairs, conventions and other events in the attraction of overseas professionals

Both, *Guangzhou* and *Dongguan Municipal People's Government*, organise fairs and conventions to attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese to return to their cities to establish businesses or contribute to the cities' innovative capacity. The purpose of these events is to provide a platform for high-skilled Overseas Chinese and local companies to exchange, create business linkages, foster employment, inform about preferential policies, and create a sense of belonging among already high-skilled Overseas Chinese to retain them in the cities (OCS 2011; E7). The municipal governments support the high-skilled Overseas Chinese in their journey by providing subsidies for travel expenses (C2).

The *Guangzhou Convention of Overseas Chinese Scholars in Science and Technology* was first organised in 1998 and since then is held once a year in December. The main organisers are the *Ministry of Education*, the *Ministry of Science and Technology* and the *Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security*. The convention is a national platform for exchange with high-skilled Overseas Chinese open for all regions and cities in China. The event includes exhibitions, negotiations, forms, and workshops (ibid.). The cities of *Guangzhou* and *Dongguan* present themselves and their high-tech industrial zones *Guangzhou Development District* and *Songshan Lake Park* at the fairs to attract high-skilled Overseas Chinese to invest in the zones. They provide, for example, information on other high-skilled Overseas Chinese's business activities in the high-tech industrial zones. The *Guangzhou Municipal Government* sees the convention as a platform for communication between companies and potential employees and the creation of job opportunities (E3; E7).

In 2012, the *Dongguan Overseas Scholars Association* has established an annual meeting for high-skilled return migrants from their association to enhance their local business networks and exchange with potential employers or with each other about their business ideas. Additionally, the association holds regular events, such as Christmas Parties, for members. These events are supposed to create a free atmosphere that should help the high-skilled return migrants to solve cultural adaptation problems and feel a sense of belonging. The governmental association sees the events as one of their retention strategies in the competition for high-skilled Overseas Chinese (E8).

[...professionals] to buy or rent a house. [...] Additionally, the government builds housing estates and rents them to companies [...]. And even the district governments, the administrative level below the city government, like *Yuexiu*, *Tianhe*, or *Haizhu* [author's note: districts in *Guangzhou*], if they say these people is what they want as they create revenues for the local budget, they will spend a lot of money to solve the housing problem for [...them]" (E7).

Another recently introduced strategy is to allocate local *hukous* to professionals according to their education attainment. Following the provincial policy guidelines, *Guangzhou* has implemented a points system, which grants local registration to people who have reached 60 points (cf. chapter 4.2.2). According to local news reports, by March 2013, 6,000 people have gained a local *hukou* status which, however, remains a minuscule share of the eight million migrant workers who make up about half of *Guangzhou's* population (LI 2013).

8.1.2 Moving Professionals: Dongguan's Attraction Strategy

Following the national *12th Five Year Plan's* strategy, also *Dongguan* tries to change its growth model and speed up structural adjustments in the industrial base (cf. chapter 3.1.2; QIU 2013). *Dongguan* municipal government's target to become an innovation city involves the establishment of R&D centres set up by universities – mainly from *Guangzhou* – to establish branches in the city. This strategy is supported by an increase in the R&D budget from 1.15 to 1.5 per cent of the local GDP (CHAN 2011a). The municipal government has put even stronger efforts into achieving the target since the financial crisis in 2008 (cf. chapter 3.1.2). In the eyes of local government officials, *Dongguan's* endeavour to upgrade its industrial basis, however, remains challenging, especially if one considers the slowing economic growth in the city. Whereas *Guangdong Province* showed a growth rate of 8.2 per

cent, Dongguan achieved only 6.1 per cent, the lowest in the whole province (HKTDC 2014; QIU 2013). According to a government official, the problem lies in the ownership structure of Dongguan's enterprises. Dongguan has a high share of foreign-invested companies that would have the potential to foster economic upgrading but have no interest in bringing in innovation and technology. He argued that for them Dongguan is the manufacturing hub, which enables them to cheaply produce their goods for the international market. The local companies, he stated, do not yet have the capacity and knowledge to upgrade. Accordingly, the municipal government puts more effort into supporting local companies' endeavour to upgrade. Since the economic crisis, the government official has seen an increased upgrading attempt among local firms (E1). Yuan Baocheng, the mayor of Dongguan, addresses similar concerns at the annual meeting of the *National People's Congress* in 2013: "It is more like climbing a mountain. We have started upgrading industries since the global financial crisis in 2008, but there is still a long way to reach the top of the mountain" (QIU 2013: n/a).

Dongguan's *12th Five Year Plan* (2011-2015) highlights the importance of attracting professionals to Dongguan to support the economic upgrading process, e.g. by establishing companies in the high-tech sector. The plan suggests increasing the number of professionals to 1.57 million by 2015 (CHAN 2011a). Thereby, the municipal government targets professionals with different qualifications (ACSSL n.y.a: 38; GDIP 2010):

Leading professionals:

- (1) Academicians of the *Chinese Academy of Science* or the *Chinese Academy of Engineering*, specialists who enjoy special state subsidy, national or provincial young and middle-aged specialists with outstanding contributions, academic or technical leaders, Ph.D. tutors, post-docs and Ph.D.s.;
- (2) Professionals, aged below 50, who have self-owned intellectual property rights and scientific, innovative, and profitable techniques or scientific achievements;
- (3) Professionals holding a Ph.D., or a master's degree from a university abroad who have scientific research achievements in a certain field;
- (4) Professionals, aged below 50, with senior technical or management qualifications.

"Normal" professionals:

- (5) Professionals, aged below 40 years, with middle-level technical qualification and a vocational diploma; those with a college diploma can be aged 45 or less; those with an undergraduate diploma can be aged 50 or less years;
- (6) Professionals, aged below 45, with a bachelor's degree or above;
- (7) Professionals, aged below 35, who held a vocational/college diploma, special technique, and one-year employment of excellent performances (starting from the valid date of social insurance).

A government official in Songshan Lake Park, however, sees difficulties in attracting professionals. He argued that Dongguan is less attractive than other PRD cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen, due to the lower availability of public facilities and poorer living conditions (E1). The *12th Five Year Plan's* objectives show that the municipal government has realised its disadvantages regarding the

living environment. In the plan, the municipal government wants to address the lack of infrastructure and urban services (e.g. public transport, to make the living environment more attractive to professionals and increase their quality of life). Additionally, in contrast to previous uncontrolled urban growth that had provoked urban sprawl, urbanisation should be concentrated in the main city centre, which includes the Central Business District and the three major towns Houjie, Humen, and Chang'an. The municipal government plans to upgrade the existing network of highways and intends to build a local light rail to link up with the inter-city railways and high-speed railways. With the emphasis on public transport, the city starts to replace the over-reliance on private cars that has evolved with the extensive urban sprawl (CHAN 2011a). Moreover, the *12th Five Year Plan* intends to focus on developing an ecologically friendly economy (QIU 2013). Furthermore, Dongguan municipal government has introduced a comprehensive preferential policy scheme to make the city more attractive to professionals (ACSSL n.y.a: 38-9):

- (a) Professionals with doctoral degrees or above receive living allowances of 2,000 RMB per month from the day they registered as a job seeker in Dongguan; the maximum allowance period is twelve months from the date of registration;
- (b) Professionals, who are categorised according to the first and second type and have had an employment contract with a Dongguan company for at least five years, can receive settlement allowance (allocated across five years in equal amounts):
 - 1 million RMB for academician of the *Chinese Academy of Science* or the *Chinese Academy of Engineering*;
 - 200,000 RMB for specialists enjoying special state subsidy, national, or provincial young and middle-aged specialists with outstanding contributions, academic or technical leaders, and Ph.D. tutors;
 - 100,000 RMB for university professors and post-docs;
 - 60,000 RMB for Ph.D. and 2nd-type professionals;
- (c) 3rd-type leading professionals who start a business with certain conditions receive a lump-sum payment of 50 per cent of the costs of devices and instruments bought for the company (max. 200,000 RMB);
- (d) The children of leading professionals with certificates issued by the municipal personnel authorities can study in the high-quality kindergartens or schools in Dongguan without any extra fees;
- (e) Spouses of leading professionals can get assistance in finding employment, self-employed spouses can get staffing assistance from local human resource agencies free of charge;
- (f) Leading professionals and 5th, and 6th-type professionals can choose to change their *hukou* status to Dongguan, the same applies to their family members (cf. Box 8.3).

Box 8.3: Residence registration (*hukou*) policy for enterprise staff

Since 2008, the municipal government has been awarding local *hukou* statuses to convince professionals to stay in Dongguan permanently (LI 2013). Since mid-2010, the municipal government has adopted the points system for the allocation of local registration statuses following the province's guideline (cf. chapter 4.2; ROBERTS 2012). Additionally, enterprises can apply for a local *hukou* for their employees. The employees need to fulfil the following conditions (E1; ACSSL n.y.a: 41-2):

- Hold a college degree or above;
- Hold leading position in the enterprise for at least 3 years;
- Obtain a *Technician Qualification Certificate* and a *Worker Qualification Certificate*, or high-level certificate (issued by *Department of Labour and Social Security of Guangdong* or the *Labour Bureau of Dongguan*, respectively);
- Own a patent, invention, or knowledge technique;
- Hold a granted title such as “*Model Worker*”, “*Excellent Worker*”, “*Excellent Mobile Party Member*”, or hold a “*Scientific Research Achievement Award*”;
- Possess a regular living place in Dongguan and a temporary residence permit (cf. chapter 3.1.5);
- Aged below 50 years (for male), aged below 40 years (for female);
- Be covered by an endowment insurance for up to five years;
- Be healthy;
- Comply with family planning policies;
- Not be involved in illegal activities or organisations banned by the state government;
- Having paid individual income tax of at least 150,000 RMB in the aggregate in Dongguan for three consecutive years.

Technical professionals with medium-level professional qualifications, or professionals and management staff with a college background that are short in labour supply, or technical professionals that have been working in Dongguan for over ten years and have had social insurance for at least five years can also apply.

The number of employees the enterprise can apply for depends on the revenue paid by the company, the investment made and/or the duration of the company's existence:

- Enterprise that have operated in Dongguan for at least five years and invested at least 20 million RMB since their establishment can apply for a local *hukou* for four employees;
- Enterprises that paid aggregate tax of at least 3 million RMB in three consecutive tax years can apply for a local *hukou* for six employees;
- Enterprises that have been designated by state or provincial authorities as high-tech companies, have been operating in Dongguan for at least five years, and have invested at least 10 million RMB since its establishment can apply for a local *hukou* for four employees.

8.2 “NEW SPACES OF EXCEPTION” IN THE PEARL RIVER DELTA: TWO CASE STUDIES FROM GUANGZHOU AND DONGGUAN

As pointed out in chapters 4.2.3 and 8.1, high-tech industrial zones play a pivotal role in Guangzhou's and Dongguan's attraction strategy. In these two cities, several national and provincial zones have emerged in recent years. However, two national-level zones play a leading role in this regard and will thus be taken as examples to illustrate the developments and policies in the two cities: *Guangzhou Development District* (GDD) with its high-tech section and *Dongguan Songshan Lake Science and Technology Industry Park* (hereinafter referred to as Songshan Lake Park or SSL). Thereby, a focus is laid on the urban transformation in the zones from purely industrial zones to new urban spaces.

8.2.1 Case Study I: Guangzhou Development District

Established in 1984 by Guangzhou's municipal government as *Guangzhou Economic and Technological Development District* (GETDD) the *Guangzhou Development District* (GDD) was the first state-

level development zone in China. Similar to the SEZs, Guangzhou's municipal government established the predecessor of Guangzhou Development District in the outskirts of Guangzhou to prevent possible negative impacts on the society and economy in the urban economic centre of Guangzhou. In its early years, the zone was a mono-functional zone targeting secondary industry sectors and foreign direct investment (WUTTKE 2011b: 134). In the meanwhile, however, Guangzhou Development District became of strategic importance in making Guangzhou a modern, high-tech industry based city.

Guangzhou Development District was established by combining four national-level economic zones³⁴ in 2002 (cf. Fig. 8.1). Since Guangzhou's administrative restructuring in 2005, Guangzhou Development District covered the area of the newly established Luogang District. Since then, the zone has been administered by two authorities that preside over different departments: the district government of Luogang and Guangzhou Development District Administrative Committee (E5; cf. SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2011: 54-6). In the course of the amalgamation, the mono-functional structure of the zone was dismissed, as not all of the zones were able to fulfil the economic expectations coming with their imposed specification, allowing investment, for instance, from the booming investment sector (WUTTKE 2011b: 139). In February 2014, however, Guangzhou again reorganised its administrative divisions, merging Luogang and Huangpu District into the latter (cf. Fig. 8.1). The new district government is located in the former Luogang government building in the centre of Guangzhou Development District (Luogang New Town; Fig. 8.1). The administrative unit of Guangzhou Development District remains the same whereby the Administrative Committee's decision-making power remains within the former boundaries of Luogang District (Southern Metropolis Daily 2014).

Following the municipality's upgrading endeavour, Guangzhou Development District became an important hub for high-tech industries, including chemicals, electronics, pharmaceuticals, food products, metallurgy and metal processing, and automobile industry. Thereby, the Administrative Committee is especially interested in attracting internationally known companies and has managed to attract companies, such as Panasonic, Intel, IBM, Sony, Volkswagen, Honda, Nestle, etc. (ACGDD n.y.a; SHENG 2007). 3000 companies are located in the zone in total whereof 109 are internationally-known companies and 700 have high-skilled Overseas Chinese involvement (E4). Business-related infra-

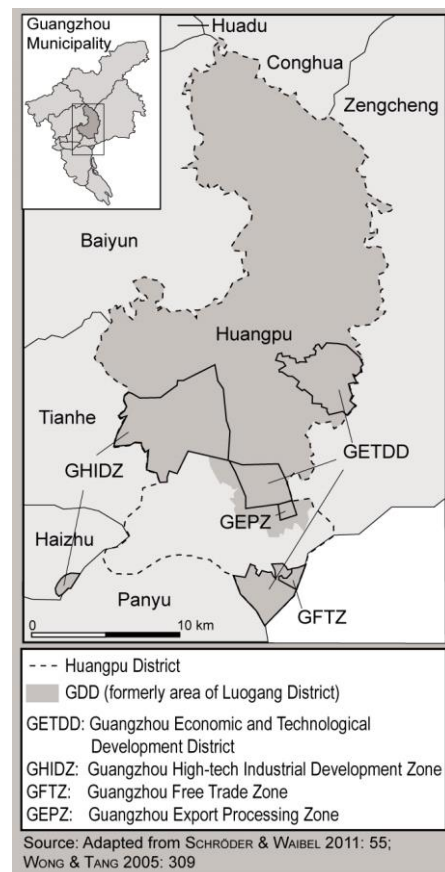


Fig. 8.1: Huangpu District with the four economic areas

³⁴ The four economic zones are *Guangzhou Economic and Technological Development District* (GETDD), established in 1984, *Guangzhou High-tech Industrial Development Zone* (GHIDZ), established in 1991, *Guangzhou Free Trade Zone* (GFTZ), established in 1992, and *Guangzhou Export Processing Zone* (GEPZ), established in 2000 (SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2011: 54).

structure provided includes R&D incubator zones, business zones for high-tech industries in general and high-skilled Overseas Chinese entrepreneurs in particular, such as the *Guangzhou Entrepreneur Park for Overseas Chinese Scholars* established in 2001, innovation centres, such as the *Guangzhou Torch Hi-tech Innovation Center* founded in 2001, and several research institutes.

Whereas in 2005 Guangzhou Development District had a permanent population (local population and permanent migrant population; cf. chapters 3.1.5 and 4.2) of 196,000, the share of permanent migrants was only 16.5 per cent (cf. Fig. 8.2). In 2010, the population increased to 374,100 with nearly half of the population being permanent migrants (cf. Fig. 8.2; *ibid.*). In 2009, over 100,000 professionals with a college education or higher, including 10,000 with a master's and Ph.D., and about 1,500 high-skilled Overseas Chinese were working in the zone. Additionally, 700 enterprises were founded by high-skilled Overseas Chinese, and 13 people, who established business in the zone, were awardees of the national *Thousand Talents Programme*. Since 2009, the zone has made efforts to implement a leading professional programme and 15 leading professionals have already been selected (cf. chapter 8.2.3; E4; ACGDD 2010d; ACGDD n.y.a).

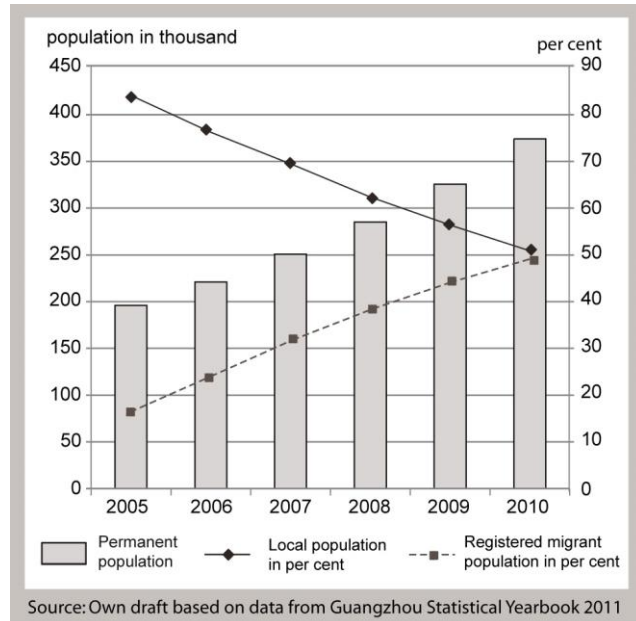


Fig. 8.2: Permanent population in GDD and the share of locals and permanent migrants

8.2.2 Case Study II: Songshan Lake Science and Industry Park in Dongguan

Established in 2001, Songshan Lake Park in Dongguan is seen as the pioneer in and major driver of the city's economic and social transformation. Thereby, its establishment can be seen as a reaction to the 1997 financial crisis, which revealed the vulnerability of the Asian tigers' economies and made economic changes necessary (E1). The zone was built on greenfield-site in a strategic location in the Guangdong-Hong Kong Economic Corridor in the Eastern PRD between the major cities in the region: Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Hong Kong (E3). The zone is named after the Songshan Lake, which is an eight square kilometres large water reservoir built in the 1950s. About 20 per cent of its area is covered by forest and greening area (E2; ACSSL n.y.a). It is located in three towns in Dongguan: Liaobu in the north, Dalingshan in the West, and Dalang in the East (cf. Fig. 8.4).

In contrast to Guangzhou Development District that encompasses different sections for primary, secondary, and tertiary industries, Songshan Lake Park is exclusively for high-tech industries. The zone contains about 290 enterprises, including large and medium-size headquarters and R&D-oriented enterprises, among which there are some internationally known enterprises, such as *Huawei Technologies* (ACSSL n.y.a). The zone is divided into four parts (cf. Fig. 8.4): the Northern District is designed to be the major base for high-tech companies, R&D centres, and corporate headquarters. The business core area is located around the lake (administrative area; cf. Fig. 8.3 and 8.4). The Administrative



Fig. 8.3: Facilities in Songshan Lake Park's Central District: The administrative area with offices of the Administrative Committee (left); Dongguan Returned Overseas Personnel Pioneer Park (right)

Committee tries to attract internationally known companies in sectors, such as electronic information, bio-technology, and high-end manufacturing, to establish business in this part. The central district is the education and R&D-oriented area that combines the functions of administration, businesses, education, R&D, commerce, residence, and tourism. The Central District encompasses the *Science Park* that is the core zone for service facilities and includes office facilities, R&D centres, training, and service facilities for entrepreneurs, especially with an overseas background. Additionally, the *Dongguan Returned Overseas Personnel Pioneer Park* was built in 2003 (cf. Fig. 8.3), the *Dongguan Ph.D. Pioneer Park* established in 2007. The latter provides platforms for Chinese with overseas background and Ph.D. holders to establish businesses and the *Virtual University Park* are located in the Central District (E3; ACSSL n.y.a). The Eastern District provides a platform to implement large-scale industrial projects and the Lake-side District is the area for corporate headquarters and R&D centres, and for leisure and tourism facilities.

In 2010, Songshan Lake Park became a national-level high-tech industry zone (E2; IOPGDC 2013). This status guaranteed Songshan Lake Park various benefits, such as additional financial resources, more attention and support from national and provincial-level authorities, or from national and international entrepreneurs and universities that want to establish branches in the zone (E1; E3). Being of national importance, the zone is also supposed to set an example concerning urbanisation processes, agricultural development, ecological security, and a maritime strategy for the whole country (YU 2014: 112). In 2012, Songshan Lake Park had a registered permanent population of 38,000 people, slightly increasing its inhabitants since 2011 by 700 people.

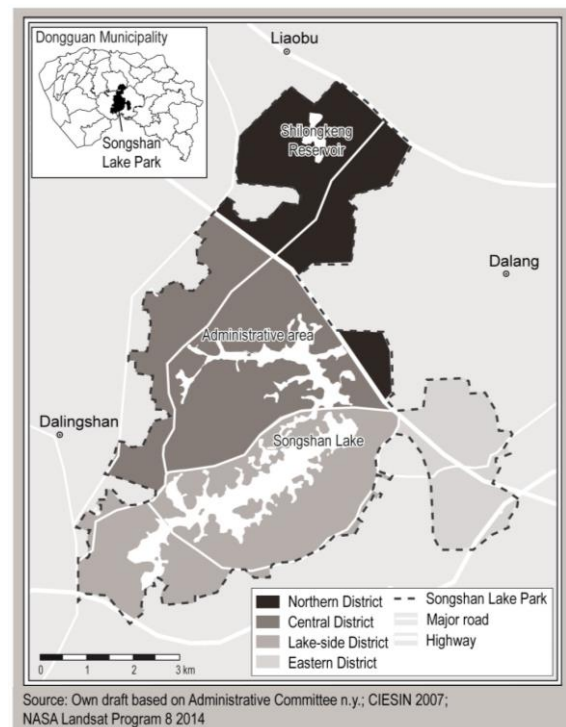


Fig. 8.4: Songshan Lake Park with its four districts

8.2.3 High-tech Industrial Zones' Strategy to Attract Professionals

Fig. 8.5 shows the process of professionals' attraction in the two case study high-tech industrial zones. The attraction process in both exemplified zones is mostly similar. The *actual professionals' pool* presents the leading and "normal" professionals currently working in the zones and the *targeted professionals' pool* indicates the targeted number of leading and "normal" professionals to be attracted within a certain time period. Both Administrative Committees target the attraction of professionals internationally, nationally, and on a provincial level. The attraction process described here, however, only applies to Chinese professionals. Although both zones also target foreign professionals, they are not taken into consideration here as different attraction strategies apply to them. On an international level, they want to attract Chinese professionals with study or work experience from another country, including Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. They are assumed to bring new ideas and internationally renowned new technology and thus especially contribute to the economic upgrading process in the cities (E3). In the case of Guangzhou Development District, for instance, the planning objectives for professionals with overseas experience (high-skilled Overseas Chinese) is to attract 20 leading professionals who meet the *One Thousand Talents Scheme* conditions (cf. chapter 4.2.2), 100 overseas leading professionals with innovative capacity, and 3,000 "normal" professionals with overseas experience (cf. Fig. 8.5; ACGDD 2010b). In addition, professionals without overseas experience are of interest to the zones. The Administrative Committees attract them on national and provincial levels. In the case of Guangzhou Development District, for instance, the planning objective is to attract 100 leading professionals who will master international leading technology and who will lead the industry upgrading and attract or train 1000 professionals with major technology skills. As for the "normal" professionals, the Administrative Committee plans to cultivate 10,000 high-skilled professionals within the next five years (cf. Fig. 8.5).

The *recruitment* of professionals also takes place on all levels (cf. Fig. 8.5). For recruiting high-skilled Overseas Chinese, the major channel is the contact to governmental agents, such as Chinese embassies, to establish contacts to resident high-skilled Overseas Chinese' companies. Within the Administrative Committees, special government officials are responsible for attracting high-skilled Overseas Chinese in certain groups of countries. The interviewed government official in Guangzhou Development District, for instance, explained that she regularly, usually once a year, visits the United States and Canada to advertise Guangzhou Development District's preferential policies and attract investors (*zhao shang*) among the high-skilled Overseas Chinese to establish businesses in Guangzhou Development District (E4). For the attraction of high-skilled Overseas Chinese, the zones additionally work together with overseas associations, such as the *Dongguan Returned Overseas Association*, that invite high-skilled Overseas Chinese to certain events (cf. Box 8.2). Moreover, together with the Administrative Committees, these organisations hold regular meetings where they invite companies and high-skilled Overseas Chinese to establish business contacts and create employment opportunities (E4). Similar meetings are organised by the Administrative Committee for professionals without overseas experience who are company owners and who are potentially interested in establishing a branch or a new company in the zone (E4). Similar to these kinds of meetings are the fairs and conventions organised by the Administrative Committee, sometimes in cooperation with other governmental bodies (E4; cf. Box 8.2). According to a government official in Guangzhou Development District, fairs,

however, are mainly organised to attract “normal” professionals. According to her, they were not the right way to attract leading professionals (E4). The ways of establishing contacts to companies to participate in these meetings and events are various. Besides receiving contact details by cooperating with governmental and private agencies, they use networks of company owners who already established enterprises in the zones (E4).

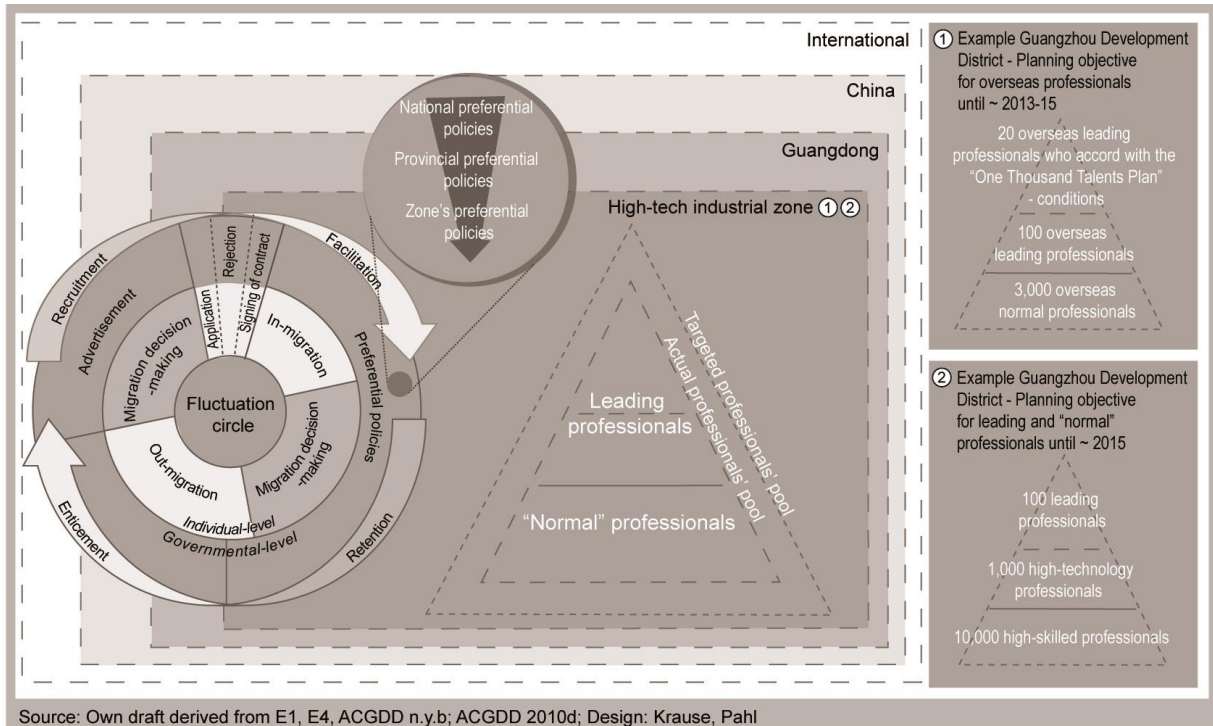


Fig. 8.5: The process of professionals' attraction in the exemplified high-tech industrial zones

Recruitment via education facilities, mostly universities, is a major channel in attracting professionals without overseas experience (E1; E3). The Administrative Committees organise meetings to which they invite companies and graduate students to establish employment opportunities. In some cases, companies also go directly to the universities to recruit graduates (E3). Due to the problem of retaining high-skilled employees in the zones, which is especially severe in Songshan Lake Park, recruitment of local university graduates became a major channel in the attraction of “normal” professionals. As a government official in Songshan Lake Park explained, the local graduates were more familiar with the working and living conditions in the zone which is why they were easier to retain and preferred by companies in the zone (E3).

Professionals who are allowed to open a company in the zones can apply for further benefits in the scope of preferential policies for leading professionals offered in both high-tech industrial zones. The idea is to make it more attractive for professionals to establish a company in the zones by *facilitating* establishment (cf. Fig. 8.5). Thereby, the zones are eager to attract investors who successfully establish a company – leading professionals – and want to retain them in the zones. The Administrative Committees also support the professionals to get access to funds and benefits also for the national and provincial schemes, such as the *One Thousand Talents Plan* (E3). This procedure shows that the zone's preferential policies are highly intertwined with policies on the national, provincial and city levels (cf. chapters 4.2.2, 4.2.3, and 8.1). The preferential policies applied in the two high-tech indus-

trial zones are in line with that issued by the municipal governments (cf. chapter 8.1). Songshan Lake Park is following the policies issued by Dongguan Municipal Government and has made only minor additions to their preferential policies for the zone (cf. chapter 8.1.2). They, for instance, provide rent-free office space of max. 60 square meters to every company that is approved to be opened in the zone for two years. Additionally, Songshan Lake Park provides housing subsidies to awardees of the preferential policies schemes. The awardee can choose between buying an apartment in the zone's residential estates for a reduced price or receiving a lump-sum payment in case they want to buy a residence elsewhere in Dongguan (E3). In accordance with municipal policies, the professionals and their family members can get a permanent residence status (*hukou*) and spouses can get support in finding employment. For professionals without a local *hukou*, it is difficult to get access to local schools for their children (cf. chapter 3.1.5). When made an awardee of the preferential policies, the leading professionals' children can enrol in local schools and go to local kindergartens provided in Songshan Lake Park (E1; E2). To implement the preferential policies and the development plan's strategy they are given financial resources from the municipal government (E1). A government official argued that preferential policies are especially important for Songshan Lake Park, as the zone, in his opinion, was less attractive than the larger cities Guangzhou and Shenzhen:

“We are not like Shenzhen and Guangzhou. They are big cities [...] but we are not. So we have to give some financial support. We have the money. [...] So we create appetisers to attract them to come here” (E3).

Guangzhou Development District also follows the municipal government's policies but has issued its own policies with partly diverging treatment of leading professionals (cf. Box 8.4). According to a government official in *BHRSSG*, Guangzhou Development District is financially better off than the municipal government and thus can provide a more attractive policy treatment (E7). On the one hand, Guangzhou Development District receives funds from the municipal government for supporting the upgrading and attraction strategy. On the other hand, they finance the preferential policies through the revenue they receive from the companies in the zone (E4).

The allocation of preferential policies to leading professionals in both zones follows three major steps: After the *application* of the professionals, the responsible department within the Administrative Committee reviews the application and *approves* or *rejects* it. In the case of approval, both parties *sign a contract* about the funding and implementing the founding of the business (cf. Fig. 8.5). The department is in charge of reviewing the application regarding the feasibility of the business idea, its innovative capacity, the novelty of the business idea and technology involved, the experience, expertise, and former performance of the applicant in the field of business, the applicant's ability to organise, manage, and coordinate the project and the availability of enough financial resources (E1; E3; E4; ACGDD n.y.b). Several interview appointments are scheduled to conduct the review process (E4). Additionally, a government official in Guangzhou Development District, who was involved in reviewing the applications, explained that she not only considered the above-mentioned aspects but also examined the applicants' moral loyalty. The awardees should not only be interested in making money but in positively contributing to the economic development in the zone (E4). Another government official in Songshan Lake Park explained that, though beneficial, study or work experience abroad was not the major criteria for being selected (E1). Moreover, to be approved, the professionals must own at

least 30 per cent of the company (E4), and the professionals should at least hold a position as deputy general manager. The company should not be older than two years to ensure the novelty of the technology and know-how (E4).

Furthermore, the professionals need to fulfil one of the following requirements (ACGDD 2008):

- (1) Possess an independent intellectual property or internationally acknowledged science or technology achievement with great market potential and broad economic prospects that can fill a gap in China;
- (2) Have worked abroad in scientific or technological fields, act as a pace-setter of an international discipline or scientific and technological field, possess the ability to lead the industrial development at the international forefront;
- (3) Act as a pacesetter of national key disciplines.

In the model-case, after signing the contract, the company starts settling in the zones. However, in reality, many companies have already established their offices when applying for preferential treatment (cf. Box 8.5). In the case of Guangzhou Development District, the companies can decide in which section they want to be located as the preferential policies apply to all of them. However, most entrepreneurs choose to establish their company in the *GHIDZ* as it provides the best infrastructure for high-tech companies (E1; E4). In the process of establishing the company, the administrative department monitors and examines the implementation process and controls how the funds are utilised. They also assist in solving implementation problems. The establishment process should not exceed two years. The project funds are allocated according to the implementation stages and based on the pro-

Box 8.4: Guangzhou Development District *Leading Talents Policy*

In 2008, the Guangzhou Development District issued the *Leading Talent Policy* that, after successful application, provides preferential treatment to leading professionals (cf. Fig. 8.5). The policy grants benefits during a five-year period and for which professionals have to apply separately, such as (ibid.):

- (a) Business supporting benefits:
 - Start-up capital, allocated in six stages (up to 6 million RMB);
 - Annual subsidy for personal income tax (50 per cent of personal income tax);
 - Rent-free office space (between 100 and 500 m² for three years);
 - After three years successful company existence and revenue of 50 million RMB in three years lump-sum house purchasing subsidy of 1 million RMB (only for professionals, who settled in GDD, after tax).
- (b) Living-supporting benefits
 - Local *hukou* for professionals and their families (granted life-long);
 - Free apartment (80 square meters for single professionals, 150 square meters for professionals with family);
 - Lump-sum settlement subsidy for professionals, who settle in the district (20,000 RMB);
 - Lump-sum settlement subsidy for professionals' families (10,000 RMB);
 - Employment recommendations for family members (only for those that registered residence in GDD);
 - Schooling allowance in public schools for professional's children (bonus scores in entrance examination for children of high-skilled return migrants);
 - Transportation subsidy (2,000 RMB/month);
 - Health and medical service card for priority treatment in GDD's hospitals within the special medical service organisation, health care and physical examination at professionals' home once half a year, track record of professionals health conditions;
 - Cultural and sport service card to freely use designated facilities.

gress (E1; E3; ACGDD n.y.b). A government official in Songshan Lake Park admitted that it is a long process to get funding in the high-tech industrial zone and that it is not easy (cf. also Box 8.5). He stated that his task was to prevent the establishment of companies in Songshan Lake Park that were likely to fail. Most of the entrepreneurs who applied in Songshan Lake Park were establishing companies for the first time. In his opinion, they lack the required experience to establish a successful enterprise. Despite his attempts, the percentage of companies failing in Songshan Lake Park remained relatively high (E1). He also admitted that personal relations (*guanxi*) were important in the application process. When company owners in the zone suggested other entrepreneurs, their chances of being selected increased (E1).

About 10 per cent of the applicants are approved as awardees of preferential treatment (E1). In Guangzhou Development District, each year there are about 100 applications by leading professionals and about 10 to 20 are approved. The number of awardees depends on the quality of the application. There is no fixed number (E4). Currently, 31 companies get benefits. Most of the awardees have overseas experience (E4). However, about half of the leading professionals, who apply for preferential treatment, stem from Guangzhou. After staying abroad for several years, they are eager to return to their home area which in the eyes of a local government official is a great advantage for attracting leading professionals (E4).

Within their preferential policies, Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park mainly focus on attracting leading professionals. They do not award benefits directly to “normal” professionals. Instead, the Administrative Committees allocate benefits via the company in which the professional is employed (E1; E4). Accordingly, the process displayed in Fig. 8.5 works slightly different for “normal” professionals than for leading professionals. In the case of “normal” professionals, companies in the zones can suggest employees from their companies for funding and other benefits, such as a local *hukou* or access to local schools for their children. The Administrative Committees select the professionals according to their experience, educational attainment, and position in the company and approves or rejects the application (E4).

Financial resources are then transferred via the companies, not directly to the employees (E1). However, they can only be recommended when working in the company for at least 3 years which is supposed to hinder job fluctuation (E3; E4). There is no contract signed between employees and the Administrative Committees as in the case of the leading professionals. In Guangzhou Development District, this policy has been applied since 2011 (E4). In companies of leading professionals two employees maximum can be recommended. In the case of older companies that are not awardees of preferential treatment the amount of revenue paid to the Administrative Committee or the amount of investment in the zone decides the number of employees who can be recommended (cf. Box 8.3; E4).

From Monofunctional towards a Multifunctional High-tech Industrial Zone: Creating Urban Spaces in the Guangzhou Development District

To support the strategy to attract professionals, besides providing preferential treatment to selected professionals, Guangzhou Development District’s objective is to become an integrated, urban sub-centre in Guangzhou’s eastern growth corridor. This idea follows Guangzhou’s concept plan from

Box 8.5: Case studies of entrepreneursMaterial Processing Company in Guangzhou Development District

Mr. Wang (names changed) had opened a material processing company involving laser techniques in the Guangzhou Development District in 2011 together with his business partner Ms. Feng. They had both returned from Germany after studying and working there for several years (C1; C2). Mr. Wang held seven patents (C1). At the time of the interview, Mr. Wang and his company were given 100 square meters of office space free. However, he was about to sign his contract about further preferential treatment within the *Leading Talents Policy* (cf. Box 8.4) to get additional benefits. For the application, he attended six interviews of several hours' length and his business idea was evaluated intensively. He competed with 193 other entrepreneurs, whom he perceived to have similar qualifications as himself. He experienced it as very difficult to be approved for preferential treatment. After signing the contract, he would get additional preferential treatment within a five-year period. First, the office space would be upgraded to 500 square meters. In his opinion, this offer would save him money that he could use to develop further technology and advance his company. Second, he got an apartment in the *Science City* free. He was planning to move next month, however, only for four days a week. At weekends, he would stay with his wife in Guangzhou. In his opinion, the apartment in GDD provided many advantages to him, as he would have more time to work and could fully concentrate on developing his business idea and foster his research. Additionally, the quiet environment would help him to concentrate on his work. Third, he would receive a sports service card that allowed him, for instance, to join the tennis club free that besides offering free usage of the courts also organises outdoor activities. Additionally, he explained that being a member of the club gave him the opportunity to establish contacts to local company owners and government officials. These business relations were very important to him for establishing and advancing his company in the future as in China, according to him, a successful business depended on personal relations. Fourth, he would receive a health and medical card that gave him 20 per cent discount on hospital treatments. Fifth, he would get a payment of 2,000 RMB each month as compensation for transportation expenditures. Additional offers included tax reductions for goods bought overseas, such as technical equipment for the company (C1).

However, the prospect of receiving preferential treatment was not the reason for him to establish the company in GDD. He explained that he was not aware of the possibility to receive preferential treatment beforehand (C1). He and his business partner considered several other locations for establishing their business. In the end, they considered GDD as the best location as it was close to their home places and as they liked the governmental authorities' high efficiency and its problem-solving capacity. They perceived the authorities as supportive, for instance, when it came to financial problems and as non-corrupt (C1; C2). Mr. Wang also saw disadvantages, however. He perceived the governmental processes, for instance when applying for funding, as quite slow (C1). Additionally, it was difficult for them to hire personnel (C1; C2). Besides the fact that due to financial limitations they could not pay the expected wages, also locational issues arose (C1). Ms. Feng explained that the quality of the local people in Luogang District was low, which was why they could only rely on attracting people from elsewhere (C2). Additionally, both perceived the location of GDD with its distance to Guangzhou's central districts and the lack of housing as negative factors in attracting personnel (C1, C2). Ms. Feng perceived that people especially from the central district in Guangzhou had better options than working in GDD. They could find employment that was closer to their living place, which they preferred because they would not like to travel to GDD (C2). To solve the housing problem, they rented apartments that they provided to their employees free. The apartments cost 2000 RMB per month and were located close to the company. Ms. Feng explained that she expected the apartments to be attractive to employees due to the proximity to the company. In her perception, many employees preferred to live close to the workplace (C2). Some of their employees, however, preferred living in Guangzhou. To them they provided additional 500 RMB on top of the 4500 RMB monthly wage for accommodation and food. Mr. Wang complained about the high labour costs and saw disadvantages for his small company compared to larger ones as their financial resources were limited and he could not offer high wages and benefits to employees (C1). Ms. Feng perceived that most people preferred working in larger companies as they offered more stable jobs. Accordingly, they had to pay higher wages and provide better working conditions (C2). Additionally, Mr. Wang and Ms. Feng provided medical insurance for their employees (C2).

Box 8.5: (continued)

Ms. Feng also got accommodation provided by the company. She liked the good environmental conditions in GDD, with the good air quality and the high greenery rate. However, she still did not like living in GDD very much. She explained that the public transportation was inconvenient, for example, as there was no subway connecting GDD to Guangzhou's central districts, such as Tianhe. For a free public bus that she had often used she now had to pay. Additionally, she complained about having hardly any shopping facilities around. She said there were only small shops, which made her go shopping outside the district. Additionally, the rents, she explained, were similarly high to in Guangzhou's central district, which made it unattractive to live in GDD. Accordingly, she said that she would prefer living in the city centre of Guangzhou. However, she saw the facilities in GDD improving in recent times. There were more shops, restaurant, and cultural facilities, such as a cinema, and a hospital emerging (C2). However, to her, GDD was attractive to work in but not to live in, especially on a permanent basis (C2).

Comic-design company in Songshan Lake Park

Mr. Chen is an entrepreneur in Songshan Lake Park and together with four partners established a new branch of their cartoon-design company in 2012. They already had a branch in Guangzhou. Accordingly, he was living in Guangzhou at that time, where he originated from, but as he was responsible for establishing the Dongguan branch, he would move to Dongguan. However, he was not sure yet whether to stay in a hotel or rent an apartment. In the case of enough financial resources, he would also buy a residence in SSL. He perceived SSL as an attractive place to live because of its beautiful environment and the good educational resources for children. However, in his eyes, the commercial facilities were not well developed yet. However, he was confident that in a few years it would be developed. Accordingly, he saw no problem in moving to SSL.

Before deciding to settle their company branch in Dongguan, they also considered locations other than SSL for their new branch, such as Panyu or Conghua but they settled in Songshan Lake Park due to the proximity to the toy producing factories. He explained that Dongguan was the best location as it was famous for its manufacturing industry. Additionally, SSL offered them 60 square meters office space free for two years, which, in his eyes, was attractive when establishing a company. Additionally, they were planning to apply for further benefits. However, the prospect of getting additional benefits was not the reason for them to come to Dongguan. The disadvantage he saw in SSL as a company location was the difficulties they would face in hiring people. As he explained, in contrast to Dongguan, in Guangzhou the comic industry was an established industry, which is why many experienced workers were living there. They were planning to attract employees from the Guangzhou branch. Additionally, they thought about hiring Dongguan labour force and training them according to their requirements. He explained that most of the employees in their Guangzhou branch were new graduates. They were mostly concerned about having accommodation. Accordingly, when asking them to move to Dongguan, they would offer rent subsidies of about half the rent of an accommodation. He explained that due to the higher rental prices in Guangzhou, many employees were currently living in accommodation with 4-5 colleagues. In Songshan Lake Park, the rents were cheaper. Due to the rent subsidy and the lower rental prices, they could afford higher-standard residences, which he thought would convince them to come to work in the Dongguan branch. Due to the work experience they gained when working in the Guangzhou branch, some employees could also get higher positions in the new branch, which would grant them higher salaries. In the eyes of the entrepreneur, they offered their employees a career-development platform. Additionally, to create a sense of belonging among their new employees, they would organise company events, such as sports activities, to create a sense of social belonging. Market recognition of their products was one condition of the Administrative Committee to let them open a company in SSL. Accordingly, they start an advertising campaign in the local TV. For every minute they advertise their products on TV they get 2,000 RMB subsidies from the Administrative Committee.

2000 with its strategy to foster “expansion in the south, optimisation in the north, advance in the east, and linkage in the west” (XU & YEH 2003: 371) and the idea to create a polycentric city (ACGDD 2010c). In line with this objective, the *Regional Plan* of Guangzhou Development District (2007 to 2020) focuses on two aspects, the development of functional clusters (cf. Tab. 8.1 and Fig. 7.4) and on specific infrastructure projects to increase the attractiveness of the zone's business environment and the zone's urban qualities. Thereby, the idea is to merge industrial, commercial, and residential func-

tions. The major aims of the Guangzhou Development District *Regional Plan* are to make the zone (ibid.):

- (a) a new city that meets the requirement of Guangzhou as South China's metropolis and a modern regional metropolis;
- (b) a new green ecological town ideal for business and living;
- (c) a new zone with an optimised industrial structure to facilitate the whole city achieving its strategic target of modernisation;
- (d) the major base of the foreign-oriented economy in Guangzhou;
- (e) the major base of science and technology innovation and development in Guangzhou.

The idea of creating a multifunctional urban space reaches back to the master plans from 1998 and 2000 for establishing the *Science City*, a section within the *GHIDZ* providing living, commerce and business functions (cf. Fig. 8.8; SCHRÖDER & WAIBEL 2010: 72). In 2003, the plan to make Guangzhou Development District a mixed-use area, integrating commercial, industrial, and residential use was concretised and applied on a wider scale. The Administrative Committee put forward a plan of building a new city zone covering 45 square kilometres in the central area of Guangzhou Development District accommodating residences for 300,000 people. This idea was reformulated in Guangzhou's 11th Five Year Plan (2006-2010) and Guangzhou Development District's *Regional Plan* (2007-2020). The aim is to design key areas for the high-tech industrial development and residential use in Guangzhou Development District. According to the Administrative Committee, the zone should be built as a new city with complete supporting facilities and distinctive features. As the deputy director of Guangzhou Development District Liu Yuelun said in 2007, the provision of comprehensive and high-quality urban functions and amenities was pivotal in the attraction of professionals. He described the provision of residences for leading and "normal" professionals working in the high-tech industries as a crucial aspect in this regard. Thereby, according to him, it was not only the demands and preferences of the professionals themselves but also those of their spouses, children, and parents which were to be considered in the strategy of attracting professionals. Accordingly, emphasis should also be put on facilities for the whole family, including, for instance, facilities for leisure activities, shopping, and education (ACGDD 2010c; SHENG 2007). The short-term plan was to establish an urban core area until 2010. The central area (*Luogang New Town*) was planned to be an administrative and comprehensive service centre integrating administration, culture, education, sports, residence and business-supporting facilities that provide quality of life for professionals and a favourable investment environment for entrepreneurs (cf. Tab. 8.1 and Fig. 8.8). Although there are research institutions located in the new town, the area is considered the core area of the urban sub-centre, providing comprehensive urban functions. *Luogang New Town* encompasses some of the sport facilities built for the Asian Games in 2010 and provides libraries and museums, such as the *Folk Custom Museum*, and other cultural facilities, such as the *Tangtou Arts Village*. Additionally, in 2012, a cinema opened (cf. Fig. 8.6; E4; ACGDD 2010c; SHENG 2007).



Fig. 8.6: Sports facilities provided in Luogang New Town: NBA Sports Arena

part of Guangzhou Development District (cf. Fig. 8.8). The *Knowledge City* is managed and financed by a joint venture between the Singaporean company *Singbridge* and the Administrative Committee and is modelled on *Suzhou Industrial Park* and *Tianjin Eco City*. It is solely concentrating on high-tech industries, providing comprehensive urban function, including industrial, commercial, and residential use and a variety of urban amenities (SSGKCID 2012).

According to the official website so far, the whole Guangzhou Development District encompasses four senior high schools, seven junior high schools, 40 middle schools, and 26 primary schools with 30,171 students, three public kindergartens with 925 children³⁵. Moreover, there are six private middle and primary schools with 4,354 students, and 23 private kindergartens with 3,663 children. Regarding higher education institutions, Guangzhou Development District provides four colleges and universities, four adult education schools, 37 vocational education, and training organisations, 18 community education schools, six community schools and eleven community education workstations. In addition, there is a Japanese and an American School located in the zone (E4; ACGDD 2010a).

Cluster	Function
Luogang Central Area (Luogang New Town)	Multifunctional economic centre of the zone with administrative and residential buildings, educational facilities, leisure facilities for sports- and cultural activities.
Science City	Hub for technology-intensive industries and research institutions.
Jiufo Area	Residential town and model zone for technology-intensive agriculture.
Zhenlong Area	Town integrating ecological industry, residence and modern services, leisure and entertainment.
Tianlu Lake Area	Recreation area, tourist amenities and research institutions.
Yonghe Area	Industrial zone focusing on electronic product manufacture, food, fine chemical and light processing industry.
East Area	Industrial zone focusing on chemical, food, electronics, steel and automobile manufacturing.
Xiangang Area	Foreign-funded industrial zone, port logistics and bonded processing base.

Source: Administrative Committee of GDD (2010c)

Tab. 8.1: Functional cluster according to the *Regional Plan (2007-2020)*

³⁵ The numbers are based on data from 2006.

In accordance with the *Plan of Guangzhou for Rail Transit Construction from 2010 to 2015*, the metro system is being planned to be extended to better connect Guangzhou Development District with Guangzhou's urban core until 2015. So far lines No. 4 and No. 5 connects Guangzhou Development District with the rest of the city, however, line No. 4 is planned to be extended to *Guangzhou Science City*. The planned lines 7 and 9 will additionally connect Guangzhou Development District with the central city in East-West and North-South directions, respectively. Furthermore, Guangzhou Development District is connected with Guangzhou central city by 15 bus lines (ACGDD 2010d; MCCGZ 2012). Three of the lines were free until 2011 (C2; cf. Box 8.5).

The provision of residential buildings plays a central role in attracting professionals to Guangzhou Development District. The strategy of building housing in the zone began around the 2000s when the Administrative Committee built residences for local farmers as compensation for taking their farmland for construction purposes (E4). Most of these farmers, however, do not live in these residences but rent them to professionals. Nowadays, different housing categories are available in the zone. Within the “public rental housing” (*gonggong zulin zhufang*) scheme (cf. chapter 3.1.5) the Administrative Committee provides rental housing and housing for sale built by the government (E4). The Administrative Committee controls the rents and housing prices. The only residential complex of its kind so far, however, is the *Scientists Apartment* (cf. Fig. 8.7) – a hotel apartment estate offering rented furnished apartments offered primarily to leading professionals and visiting business people for a certain period but also available on the free market. It is built by the Administrative Committee and the Luogang district government in 2009 and managed by *Guangzhou Keyu Investment and Management Co. Ltd*. The complex provides 700 apartments of five different kinds ranging in size and equipment. The complex offers cleaning, medical, and daily services, such as food delivery, housekeeping, or laundry, and security service. Commercial services are also provided within the estate, including two Western and Chinese restaurants, travel services, and a small shop. Another two supermarkets are located a 15-minutes' walk outside the estate. Additionally, there are leisure facilities provided on the estate, such as an outdoor swimming pool, fitness and sauna clubs, and sports courts, and business facilities, such as a meeting room (E5; ACGDD n.y.c).

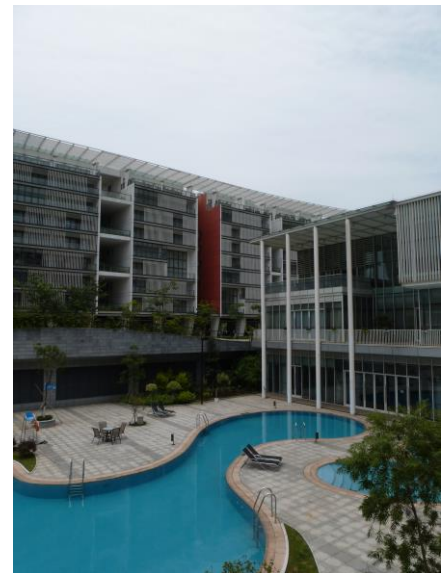


Fig. 8.7: Scientists Apartment in Guangzhou Development District

All residences in Guangzhou Development District's estates are available on the free market. Private investors constructed most of them (cf. Fig.8.8; E4). These constructions include different types of buildings, including high-class apartment buildings and villa residences and middle-class apartment buildings. An example is the *Vanke Town* located in *Luogang New Town*. It is a comprehensive gated community that provides different housing types, including separate villas, joined villas, western-style houses and high-rise buildings. The estate is planned to be a comprehensive gated community although not all urban functions and services are provided yet. However, several supporting facilities are in planning, including a 24-hour shop, a community clinic with drugstore, community service centre, kindergarten, and a swimming pool. On their website, the Administrative Committee not only advertises luxury housing estates in the zone but also those in adjacent districts (ACGDD 2010d). Besides luxury housing estates, the Administrative Committee recently built some middle-class buildings that target professionals with a medium-income (SHENG 2007). A third type of housing provided in Guangzhou Development District is residential buildings for employees in resident companies. The buildings are rented to companies that provide free or lower-rent accommodation to their employees (E4; SHENG 2007). However, usually it is not a single company that rents the whole residential complex but several different companies (P10/E).

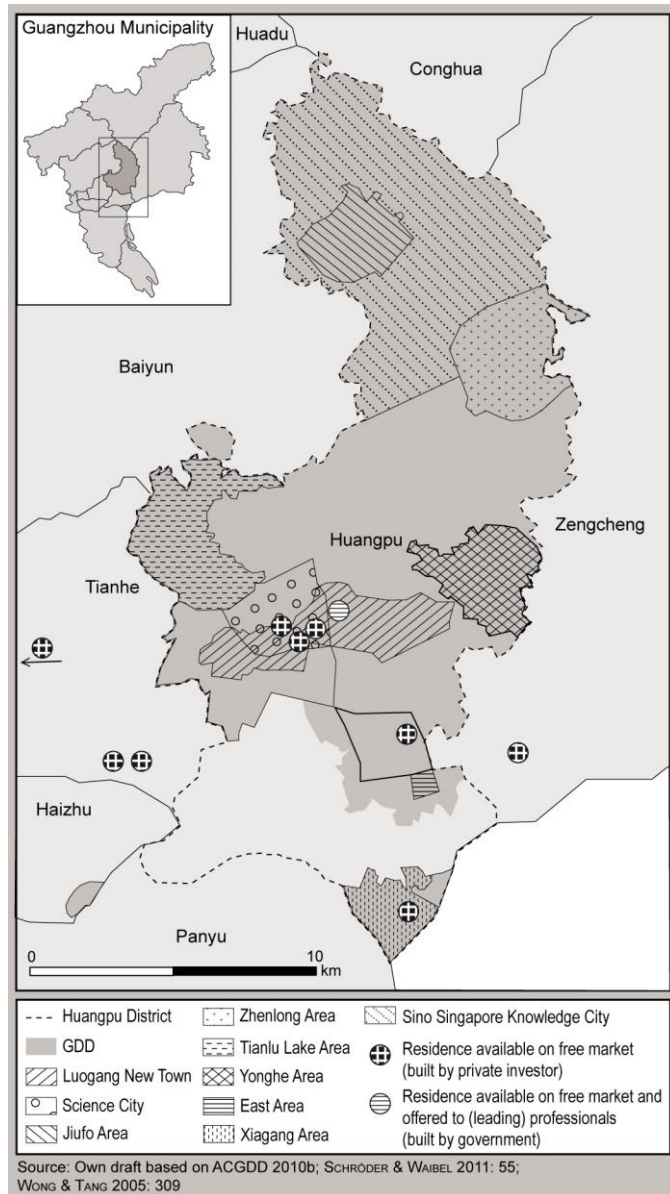


Fig. 8.8: Functional clusters and housing estates in Guangzhou Development District

A government official in the Administrative Committee saw a huge demand for housing especially among employees of companies in Guangzhou Development District, as they would prefer to live close to their workplace (E4). In general, she argued that the demand for residences in the zone exceeds the number of available units although the prices for buying real estate are similar to the prices in Guangzhou's central districts (E4). Thus, the Administrative Committee is planning to build more residences (E4). She said the number of residences would be increasing substantially over the next 5-6 years (E4). However, she perceived major restrictions on building houses and thus making Guangzhou

Development District a comprehensive urban area in the development plan of Guangzhou Development District. In the development plan, Guangzhou Municipal Government determined the area where it is allowed to build houses. These are, according to the government official's opinion, limited and permissions are difficult to get (E4).

Another important factor in making Guangzhou Development District a comprehensive and livable urban place is improving the area's environmental quality. According to the deputy director of the administrative committee, Guangzhou Development District is expected to contribute to Guangzhou's efforts to fulfil the expectations that come with its nomination as a "model city of environmental protection in China" in 2006. Accordingly, the Administrative Committee accelerated the establishment of environment infrastructure facilities, raised management standards, and improved the environment. To advance the environmental situation in the zone and make it an environmentally protected zone, they constructed, for instance, sewage drainage systems, and established an online monitoring system to observe the amount of wastewater discharged by companies. In 2004, the Administrative Committee established a bureau to guide the environmental development of the zone and supervise the zone's environmental quality. Despite the efforts, the zone still faces severe environmental issues that demand further commitment. Accordingly, in addition to raising funds and reshaping administrative divisions, Guangzhou Development District is planning to raise the threshold for highly polluting industries and increase punishments for polluters. Additionally, the green coverage rate should be increased, for instance, by creating parks in the zones, such as the *Science City Central Park*, *Tianlu Lake Forest Park*, or the *Luogang Xiangxue Park*, and establish "ecological corridors". According to the deputy director, these measures have resulted in increasing satisfaction among residents with the environmental situation in Guangzhou Development District. In total, the green coverage is about 45 per cent and the forest coverage in the whole zone is about 51 per cent (ACGDD 2010c; MCCGZ 2006). To support their strategy, on their official website the Administrative Committee not only advertise the simple administrative structure in the zone, the well-developed infrastructure, and the advantageous geographic location within China, but also the beauty of the landscape with the *Tianlu Lake* and other scenic spots and in general an eco-friendly area of living (ACGDD 2010a).

Establishing the "Intelligent Songshan Lake"

Songshan Lake Park also follows the strategy of making the zone a comprehensive urban area (E1). In a meeting in 2011, the deputy director of Songshan Lake Administrative Committee Liu Ning presented the *Outline of the Development Plan for "Intelligent Songshan Lake"* as the key policy in this regard. He pointed out that the idea is to increase the quality of life for all Dongguan people by improving the management and service quality in the zone and making it a comfortable and high-quality place to live and work. By doing so, the Administrative Committee hopes to make the living and working environment more attractive for professionals. The development plan is further divided into 5-year periods, whereas the first stage focuses on improving the governmental industry, and social services and the ecological environment in the zone by enhancing the number and quality of recreation areas. Accordingly, the Administrative Committee focuses on enhancing the number and quality of public facilities and services, such as medical and health services, public transportation, housing provision, or education facilities (ACSSL 2011; ACSSL 2012). A government official in the Administra-

tive Committee foresaw that in the next ten years Songshan Lake Park would develop like other well-developed high-tech industrial zones, such as *Suzhou Industrial Park*. He admitted that this involves a lot of planning and construction, but he explained that they have already built a lot of infrastructure (E1). Besides extensive infrastructure for business and R&D activities, several urban facilities have emerged, for instance, supermarkets and small stores opened that mainly provide short-term necessities, some restaurants opened, and a number of sports facilities were built. Regarding cultural facilities, there is one library located in the core area in the Central District (cf. Fig. 8.4). Several other service facilities are also located in the zone, including postal and communication services, health services, banks, hairdressers, beauty salons, and photographers (cf. Fig. 8.11). Furthermore, he explained that the Administrative Committee not only focuses on improving the environment exclusively for professionals, but also considers the demands and preferences of professionals' families, including spouses, children, and parents, due to the high importance of the family in the Chinese society (E1). Accordingly, the Administrative Committee supports the establishment of education facilities and kindergartens, which according to them were the best in Dongguan. The Administrative Committee, for instance, established the *Songshan Lake Ming Yu Kindergarten* in the core area in the Northern District (cf. Fig. 8.4 and Fig. 8.11). It includes a pre-school nursery, and entertainment facilities, such as an ice rink, a dance studio, or an art room. Three primary schools and a middle school are located in the zone's area. Three universities have already established branches in Songshan Lake Park, including the university *Dongguan Institute of Technology*, the *Dongguan Vocational and Technical College*, and *Guangdong Medical College* (cf. Fig. 8.11; E1; ACSSL 2014b).

However, most of the facilities, especially shopping and entertainment, are located in the two core areas in the Northern District around the *Shilongkeng Reservoir* and in the Central District around the administrative area (cf. Fig. 8.11). In the two core areas, for instance, there are two commercial centres. The *Creative Life Pavilion*, opened in 2009, is located in the Northern District and includes a shopping centre and business platform for products made in Dongguan and several smaller shops for daily necessities and some medium-term goods, e.g. computer hardware or bicycles, several restaurants, a community health centre, banks and communication and postal services. Another commercial centre is located in the Central District close to the administrative area. The *Great Wall Family Commercial Centre* combines shopping, dining, and entertainment (cf. Fig. 8.9; E3; E2; ACSSL 2009;



Fig. 8.9: Commercial centres in Songshan Lake Park; *Creative Life Pavilion* (left), *The Great Wall Family Commercial Centre* (right)

ACSSL 2014b; ACSSL n.y.a). Additional facilities, which the Administrative Committee refers to on their website, belong to the adjacent towns Dalang, Dalingshan, and Liaobu or nearby villages (cf. Fig. 8.4 and Fig. 8.11). Additionally, the Administrative Committee promotes its natural resources for recreational and leisure purposes on their website and in government brochures and publications (e.g. ACSSL 2014b; ACSSL n.y.a). They highlight the beautiful scenery of the Songshan Lake, the zone's parks, such as the *Yuehe Lake Park*, the *Central Park*, or the *Songshan Lake Flower Park* or natural sights, such as the Songshan Lake itself.

Another important aspect in their strategy to make Songshan Lake Park a liveable place and attract and retain professionals is to improve the security situation in the zone (cf. Box 8.6). By introducing advanced information technology, the Administrative Committee tries to strengthen the efficiency of the police forces (ACSSL 2012). Moreover, they increased the frequency of police controls in the zone's area and established additional police checkpoints (cf. Fig. 8.10). According to a government official, with these measures they created a better security situation than in other towns and districts in Dongguan (E3). Furthermore, the Administrative Committee is planning to extend the public transport facilities, which they themselves described as poor (E3). Currently, there are seven bus lines in the zone connecting it with the adjacent towns of Dalingshan, Dalang, and Liaobu. They run between 6:30 am and 9:30 pm (cf. Fig. 8.11). Most of the bus lines are running in the two urban centres in the Northern District and the Central District. However, in recent years the Administrative Committee extended the public bus system to connect also the Lake-side District and the Eastern District (cf. Fig. 8.4 and Fig. 8.11). Additionally, the Administrative Committee together with Dongguan's municipal government and the city government in Shenzhen and Guangzhou is planning to build a metro that connects Songshan Lake Park with the adjacent cities and the city centre of Dongguan.

However, according to a government official in the Administrative Committee it would take at least five years to complete the metro system (E3). However, due to the size and dispersion of the area, a government official saw problems in extending the public transport system (E3). Besides the problem of size, according to him, there is an issue of responsibilities. The authority for operating and developing the transport network lies in the different towns of Dongguan. He thinks that so far the different towns are poorly connected (E3).

Solving the problem of housing by providing housing solutions is a key aspect in improving the living environment for the professionals and their relatives in Songshan Lake Park (E1). The government officials see many advantages for the professionals and other people buying houses in Songshan Lake Park. On the one hand, they argued that the living costs are lower than in cities, such as Shanghai, Beijing, or Guangzhou. On the other hand, in their opinion, the good environment would attract many people to buy or rent residences in the zone (E2; E3).



Fig. 8.10: Police checkpoint in the Central District

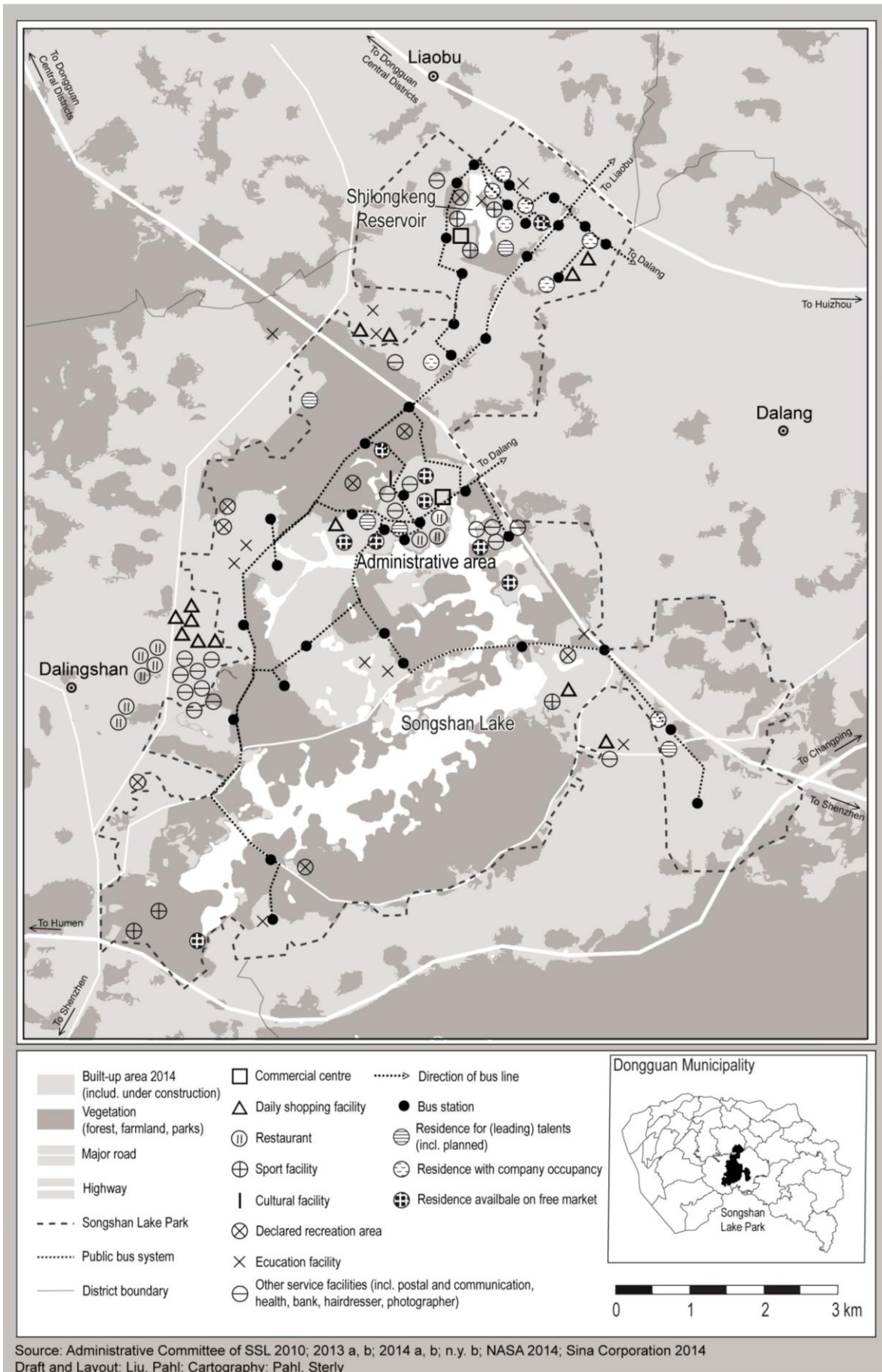


Fig. 8.11: Public facilities and services available in Songshan Lake Park according to the official website

Within the “public rental housing” (*gonggong zulin zhufang*) scheme (cf. chapter 3.1.5), the Administrative Committee provides rental housing and housing for sale built either by public or private agencies with governmental controlled rents and housing prices. In those indemnity housing units apartments are offered to leading professionals, including high-skilled return migrants, either for rent or for buying (cf. Fig. 8.11; E3). One example is the planned housing estate *Happiness Garden* (*xingfu xiaoqu*). Being a high-tech industrial zone of national importance, Songshan Lake Park received additional funding from the Dongguan municipal government, including 500 million RMB to improve the zone’s infrastructure for high-skilled return migrants. Accordingly, it is planned to build the residential area *Happiness Garden*, which gives priority to high-skilled return migrants for renting or buying apartments. The construction was supposed to begin in 2011 and the residential complex will be completed by late 2014. The complex will include 300 apartments to be offered to high-skilled return migrants at a lower rate than the market price, or for sale asking them to pay just the proportional construction costs of the apartment (cf. PAHL et al. to be submitted; E1; E2). Other apartment complexes also give priority to professionals, including high-skilled return migrants. The *Moonlight Lotus Residence* (*Yuehe Ju*), for instance, was built by the Administrative Committee and was put into use in 2009. It is a 12 to 19-storey complex with 671 units located south of the *Shilongkeng Reservoir* (ACSSL 2014b). Other complexes built in the indemnity housing scheme are the *Lotus Apartment Complex* (*Jilian Gongyu*), *Pine Lake Garden* (*Songhu Huayuan*) in the core urban area of the Central District or *Taiwan Technology Garden* (*Taike Huayuan*) in the Eastern District (cf. Fig. 8.4).

Whether these housing offers are attractive to professionals remains unclear. According to two of the zone’s administrative officers, the demands and needs of professionals are not exactly known (E1; E2). An officer stated: “Maybe it (apartment houses) is attractive. There is a chance [that the residences are attractive to them] but if you do not build [houses] there is no chance” (E1). Another officer said: “You have to plan for the future, not only for three to five years. It is not possible that if it turns out to be more returnees you then build another building complex” (E2). In his opinion, additional buildings would cause no harm. However, a government official pointed out that “the houses, which are going to be built here, are very cheap and the environment is very good so we do not have any concern about whether it will be sold out. In the case of fewer returnees than expected who want to live in the zone, we can still sell it to other people” (E1; cf. PAHL et al. to be submitted). The comment



Fig. 8.12: Residential complexes in Songshan Lake Park: *Moonlight Lotus Residence* (left), *Pine Wave Apartment* (right)

clarifies that there is no clear distinction between the housing units built for leading professionals and those available on the free market. In case there is too little demand from leading professionals to live in the provided housing units, the Administrative Committee will sell the apartments on the free market. Other residential complexes are built by private companies and are solely available on the free market. Many of these residences target high-income people and besides standard apartment complexes also provide luxury villa houses, such as *SSL No.1 Garden Apartment (Wanke Songshan Hu Yihao)* and *Rainbow Creek Garden (Wanke Hongxi Nuoya)* in the Central District opposite the administrative area, or *Purple Sandalwood Villa (Zitan Shan)* in the South-Western part of the Lake-side District (cf. Fig. 8.11). The demand for apartments in housing estates available on the free market and those rented to companies is high although the housing prices on the free market are much higher than in the city centre of Dongguan³⁶. A government official of the Administrative Committee explained this situation with the good environmental conditions in the zone (E2; ACSSL n.y.a).

The third type of housing provided in Songshan Lake Park is apartment complexes for company occupancy, which are also either built by the government or by private investors (cf. Fig. 8.11). The idea is to provide apartments and dormitories, which can be rented by companies that want to provide housing for their employees. The employees' dormitories are divided into two categories: 2 to 8-person standard rooms and single apartments. The residential units can also be either rented or purchased. To facilitate the daily life of the employees, these complexes are often designed with comprehensive urban functions, including canteens, convenience stores, sports playgrounds, and other facilities (ACSSL n.y.a; ACSSL n.y.b). The complex *Pine Wave Apartment (Songtao Gongyu)* in the Northern District, for instance, is equipped with restaurants, a post office, and other living facilities. By providing housing solutions also for employees in Songshan Lake Park, the Administrative Committee supports resident companies in attracting and retaining "normal" professionals and thus tries to limit the labour shortage in the zone. An additional problem, according to a government official is the short duration employees remain in Songshan Lake Park's companies although many are Dongguan locals. He assumed that the poor public transportation situation is one reason for that. Living in the

Box 8.6: Security situation in Dongguan

Dongguan is known for its relatively high crime rate compared to other cities in China. Whereas in the 1980s Dongguan had a low crime rate, with the influx of migrant workers especially in the 1990s, the crime rate increased. A survey among 30 Chinese cities, including Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Dongguan indeed revealed that between 68 and 88 per cent of the crimes were committed by migrants. Since about the 2000s, the municipal government has taken measures to improve the situation in Dongguan (YE & LEGATES 2013: 56; YEUNG 2001: 149). From 2005 to 2010, the number of registered crimes decreased by 17.2 per cent from 44,641 to 36,965 cases. However, whereas the number of murders decreased by 20.7 per cent in the same period, it still remains high with 69 murders in 2010. In addition, whereas the number of robberies decreased by 44.8 per cent, and the number of car thefts decreased by 78 per cent, the number of rapes increased by 26.3 per cent, home breaking increased by 11.5 per cent and fraud by 257 per cent (DMSB & DSONBS 2011). Additionally, in the perception of many professionals Dongguan remains a city with a poor security situation (cf. chapter 7.1.4).

³⁶ According to administrative officers, the price per m² in Songshan Lake Park is around 20,000 RMB whereas the price for housing with a comparable standard in the city centre is only around 10,000 RMB per m². Other sources show that the prices differ from about 11,000 RMB in Songshan Lake Park to 8,000 RMB per m² in the city centre (SouFun Limited 2013).

zone would make the employees less dependent on means of transportation (E3; ACSSL 2014b; ACSSL n.y.a; ACSSL n.y.b).

Although there is a variety of housing types available in Songshan Lake Park, in the opinion of a government official on the Administrative Committee, so far there are not enough housing complexes built to satisfy the demand of the lower-income people. Accordingly, more buildings are planned to be built in the indemnity housing scheme in the future (E3).

Between Competition and Cooperation: The Two PRD Cities Guangzhou and Dongguan

The elaborations on the strategy in Guangzhou and Dongguan and in the two exemplified high-tech industrial zones made clear that both cities are taking similar approaches to attracting different kinds of professionals, including leading professionals and “normal” professionals. On the one hand, both cities are following provincial guidelines that target increasing the competitiveness of the whole province and that aim to make Guangdong Province a regional, national, and international professionals’ hub. Thereby, the cities benefit from regional spill over effects in the supply of a labour force and intend to share their professionals’ pool with neighbouring cities. Guangzhou’s municipal government, for example, promulgated its endeavour to foster an integrated development among the nine cities in the PRD. According to the PRD cities’ plans, they intend to expand their inter-city transportation network, for instance, by upgrading the high-speed rail and metro system in the PRD to foster the exchange of labour resources among the cities (E4; PGGM 2010b). Dongguan’s municipal government, for instance, intends to create a one-hour commuter zone to the neighbouring cities and a half-hour commuter zone within the city (CHAN 2011a). On the other hand, the cities are competing with each other for professionals to work in the cities’ high-tech companies and to establish businesses in the cities. From the interviews with government officials in Guangzhou and Dongguan, it became clear that they compare the development and economic and living conditions in their cities with those of the neighbouring PRD cities. According to the government official in Guangzhou, the city emulates cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Shenzhen. He even called them Guangzhou’s rivals (E7). Dongguan’s municipal government sees its competitors, with cities such as Guangzhou and Shenzhen, more on the level of the PRD (E1). A government official in Dongguan, for example, described Dongguan as less rich and therefore less attractive for companies, due to fewer investments in business infrastructure and also noted that there were fewer urban facilities which make life in the city more comfortable (E1). External experts also saw differences in the attractiveness of Dongguan and Guangzhou compared to other first-tier cities in China. Local news reports revealed that Dongguan’s R&D budget is still very much behind the level achieved in Guangzhou and Shenzhen (CHAN 2011a). The Hong Kong Trade and Development Council (HKTDC) reviews that Dongguan’s subsidies for leading professionals, such as the relocation subsidy, are still lower than those of Shenzhen and other Chinese cities (HKTDC 2013). An expert from a China-based recruitment agency confirms the strong competition for professionals between the PRD cities, naming Shenzhen as the most attractive city for professionals in the region:

“We find that many candidates prefer Shenzhen, because it is more modern, more pleasant, medical support is better, education is better here. So Guangzhou from that perspective, however, is rating quite high” (E6).

8.2.4 Evaluating the Attraction Strategy

The last few chapters illustrated that the municipal government's idea behind issuing preferential policies is to provide more attractive working and living conditions to professionals. Thereby, the policies address different aspects concerning the professionals' working and living environment, such as housing, the situation of the family, or the professionals' financial situation. To understand the nature of the preferential policies, it is interesting to look at government officials' opinions on what is important to professionals and which factors might influence their migration and place decisions. Additionally, insights into the experts' perspectives provide useful ideas on possible adaptations of the policies, especially when one considers external experts' opinions on what is important to professionals. The first section in this chapter gives an idea of these two perspectives. The second section gives insights into experts' evaluation of the preferential policies and the last section looks into the professionals' perception on the policies.

Migration Determinants: An Experts' Perspective

The interviewed governmental and external experts addressed several aspects which they thought were important to professionals. An expert in a China-based recruitment agency argued that whereas she perceived salary as still an important factor, it was not the only driving force, especially in terms of retention. She argued that the majority of professionals in China are not fundamentally underpaid and most people who are in stable jobs realise the advantages of their working conditions, e.g. having a network of nice colleagues. Not until there are some fundamental issues in their current job, e.g. disproportionately low salary, do Chinese professionals think about leaving their job (E6). In the eyes of the experts, instead of salary, it is rather career and development prospects, the quality of employers, the size of businesses and the nature of jobs that matter in Chinese professionals' migration and place decision-making:

“[...]it is not only about money, it is about learning, it is about developing, it is about position, it is about the title. [...] It is about s]ome exciting challenge, temporary challenge, a project, [...] a specific job like building a plant or [...] something a bit special” (E6).

She argued that cities such as Guangzhou and Dongguan offer less high-ranking positions, due to the fewer number of headquarters compared to Shanghai, Beijing, or Shenzhen. It is mostly positions for regional managers that are being offered, which is not the kind of position professionals would move for:

“If you are offered a regional job and not a headquarters job people are not interested in moving. Unless they have a good reason, which is family, or they are from the [...place] and therefore want to return there” (E6).

However, in the eyes of a government official in Guangzhou, the city has the advantage of providing an academic atmosphere, which, in his opinion, is important for professionals who want to establish businesses, as it provides the opportunity of professional exchange. Accordingly, he saw the city's high number of universities and research institutes as an important factor in attracting professionals. Nonetheless, he admitted that Guangzhou still has potential for improvement regarding the number of institutions (E7). Additionally, the recruitment agency's expert saw a tendency among senior professionals of having more interest in working for local firms again, due to the smaller size of the compa-

ny, which provides more opportunities of leadership, or the sense of pride for locally based development (E6).

Some experts also addressed the importance of family relations and obligations in choosing a place of residence. In their eyes, collectivism and related social values are still strong among Chinese professionals. This creates a strong will of belonging, which creates a strong endeavour of belonging to the family, or other groups (E1; E4; E6). Family obligations are therefore understood as caring for the family's well-being and catching up with their needs, e.g. by being successful in their job (E6). A government official, however, argued that the concern and obligation towards the family and the parents decreased among leading professionals compared to normal professionals. The former are more interested in their careers and care less if they live together with their parents, for instance (E4).

Moreover, environmental quality is an issue addressed by the interviewed experts as being important for professionals. The expert from a China-based recruitment agency explained the rise of what she called "nice cities", such as Suzhou or Qingdao, which attract professionals, due to their better environmental conditions and quality of life factors. In cities, such as Beijing, they increasingly face problems attracting professionals due to the severe environmental situation. She saw an increasing awareness concerning environmental issues gaining relevance in professionals' location decisions (E6).

Experts' Perception of the Attraction Strategy in Guangzhou and Dongguan

From the interviews with different experts, the effectiveness of Guangzhou's and Dongguan's policy efforts remained unclear. A governmental officer at *BHRSSG* in Guangzhou explained that it is difficult to evaluate the success in the short-term, but he sees some first positive effects:

"The Guangzhou government is waiting to spend the money, a huge amount of money on this kind of things. But the effect is very hard to evaluate. For a very short period, I think [it is...] impossible to say [if it is] successful, but in a comparatively long period, maybe five or ten years, I think it could be more obvious [if it is successful]. [...] So far, I cannot say successful, because we have a lot of things to do. But the effect began to become apparent little by little. For example, some famous academicians or Nobel Prize winners started to notice the existence of Guangzhou. So they come to Guangzhou to talk about cooperation. I think it is a very good start. And the city government has also to make these policies more and more perfect, make it more and more practicable for the leading talents who they want to recruit" (E7).

He continued to explain that it is difficult to evaluate the success of the government's policies as he sees the professionals' migration decision as a very individual choice. However, in his eyes, attracting much different kind of professionals would bring at least some leading professionals with outstanding knowledge and skills to the city:

"The government spent the money, more money on this kind of project. More and more people, I mean the [... high-skilled Overseas Chinese], they started to notice that Guangzhou has a higher attractiveness for them, because Guangzhou is always among the most attractive cities in China. [It is] in the top list. And our rivals are limited. I can tell you, [it is only cities] like Beijing, Shanghai, or Shenzhen, just a few cities. Most of the cities are much lower. Guangzhou is one to compete with the highest-level cities. We have our advantages. [...] I think Guangzhou's advantage is that it has many universities [...]. That is what we call atmosphere, academic atmosphere, but I do not think it is enough. [...] And the [high-skilled] return [...migrants], when they choose which city they want to stay, it is [a] very individual [decision] [...] If I want to start business in Guangzhou, maybe the whole social system, such as the financial system, I need it very easy to get money from the market or even very good living conditions. Even the temperature of this city is important to me, because I used to live in the northern part of China. Guang-

zhou is very hot. So I cannot get used to it... maybe [that is] one of the reasons. So it is very individual, but there is one route [for us to take]: The more talents I gather, the more highest-level talents might be [...among them]" (E7).

Nonetheless, he saw potential for improvement in the current policies, as he perceived an unbalanced supporting structure in the governmental policies. He argued that in recent years the policies have mainly focused on the attraction of high-skilled Overseas Chinese. Only recently have the governments noticed the importance of "inland" professionals:

"To tell the truth, the talent policy is biased towards [... high-skilled return migrants], because the government spends some extra money on them, but recently the local governments realised this kind of problem. So they even spend extra money on all talents... what we call our inland talents" (E7).

An expert from a China-based recruitment agency saw rather fundamental problems in how professionals are attracted in Chinese cities:

"There is a fundamental gap at this point in time of professionalism and the way attracting policies are put in place. It is one thing to subsidise but then you need to get a number of things right in your process. And I do not think this has been done. This does not exist. At best, they are working with local recruitment firms, which are more working with relationships, with who they know, other than having a real organised approach to finding talents and easily moving them where they should be moved. [...] They are learning and it is step by step, at the end of the day it is painful but it [attraction of professionals] did not happen. I am not saying it is impossible [...]. They will learn in the same way as I think other Asian countries have learnt. And...no it is just a matter of getting started now they will need help [...]" (E6).

She especially saw a problem in attracting professionals to high-tech industrial zones:

"So when they look for people they have to [...] compete also on a worldwide basis with other countries wanting these people and they have to find these people [...], move them from international firms to local firms, move them from overseas into these parks (high-tech industrial zones). [...]they are simply not able to do that [...] because it is relationship-related, and that means they do not have the means to, the knowledge, the know-how, the best practices to [...]implement] the recruitment process. They are not able to also, to define their social value proposition, why should they work here other than here or here where they are. From all steps in the process they are not sourcing, they are not creating a social value proposition, they are not working well enough on the compensation" [...]" (E6).

However, she added that besides attracting professionals to the high-tech industrial zones, the challenge of creating a unique identity and attracting professionals with unique skills was an even bigger issue (E6). In general, she saw difficulties in recruiting professionals to Guangzhou, mostly because of lower salaries than in China's first-tier cities but she also perceived spatial characteristics as a possible reason:

Interviewer: "How attractive to you think Guangzhou is as a job location for Chinese high skilled?"

Interviewee: "The salaries are lower, generally speaking. [...]they are probably 10-20 per cent lower. So there is the cost of living of course, which is also a bit lower."

Interviewer: "Lower compared to where?"

Interviewee: "Shanghai, Beijing, or now of course it is higher than Zhuhai or cities in the vicinity but it's not easy to bring back people to Guangzhou from our major markets. [...]E]ven from Hong Kong people do not come here. Why? Is it because it is considered an old city? Old industries, local industries, could be. [...] I think honestly it is more the salary and the career opportunity, more than the environment itself. Compared to Shenzhen we find that candidates, lots of candidates prefer Shenzhen, because it is more modern, more pleasant, medical support is better, education is better here. So Guangzhou from that perspective is quite, is rating quite high" (E6).

A government official at *BHRSSG* confirmed that the number of applicants for municipal policies was lower than expected (E7). In addition, China's secondary cities, such as Dongguan, faced prob-

lems in attracting professionals, the Chief Executive Officer of a China-based recruitment agency argued. According to her, the problem lay in the lack of size and world-class status and the limited number of international organisations. Instead, it was mostly local companies in those cities, which were less attractive to professionals (E6).

When asked to evaluate the success of the strategy to make the two high-tech industrial zones a comprehensive urban area, government officials in both zones admitted that the living and working environment provided is not yet attractive enough. They argued that so far too few facilities such as shopping facilities, residential units, and public transportation linkages are available to make the zones attractive for professionals (E1; E3; E4). An official explained the problem of unfulfilled expectations among the professionals as many of them had a good image of Songshan Lake Park providing high environmental quality but when moving there noticed the lack of infrastructure:

“[Living spaces and] public transportation, [...] I think that are the two main important [aspects] here. I think this is important to attract people to come here. When they first come here, they think this place is quite good, quite beautiful, quite quiet and they get in here and found: ‘Ah, there is nothing here’. This [the environment] is nothing you can just... you cannot just look at the place forever” [...] (E3).

Accordingly, in the opinion of some government officials, the direction of the attraction strategy was right but more investment in housing estates, shopping facilities, and public transport facilities was needed (E4). An official in Songshan Lake Park argued for more patience when assessing how successful the strategy was. In his opinion, the area needed more time to develop towards a comprehensive urban area. He already saw many improvements concerning the infrastructural development. In 10 years, he argued, the area would be very attractive for professionals, especially due to the proximity to several universities (E1). He explained that he had seen similar developments in other high-tech industrial zones, for instance, in Singapore where it took them several years to establish comprehensive facilities and services (E1). He explained that especially the area around the lake was very charming (E1). Other locations in contrast, for instance, that of the newly planned residential estate *Happiness Garden*, were less attractive in his opinion. Accordingly, the location for housing estates needed to be chosen more carefully (E1).

Other government officials in both zones saw more fundamental issues as only a matter of time and effort. An official in Guangzhou Development District mentioned that the vacancy rate in residential buildings in the zone was about 20 per cent which she explained was due to housing speculation. Many owners of houses and apartments would keep the residences unoccupied, due to rental prices and expectations of increasing housing and rental prices. Buying apartments in Guangzhou Development District, she explained, became a major investment strategy (E4). Additionally, officials in both zones explained that few professionals wanted to live in the zone, even though they got apartments offered at a lower rent. It was mostly government officials and employees living in the zones (E3). Company owners were rarely interested in living in the zones. Many of them, but also of the employees, preferred to commute every day from Dongguan downtown, and Guangzhou central district, respectively. Many also had a second apartment in Songshan Lake Park, or Guangzhou Development District, respectively and stayed in those during the week but had their families living in the central areas (E2; E4). A government official admitted that the residences provided were attractive during working time but not attractive for living (E1). As the professionals could choose freely how to use

their housing subsidy, i.e. where to buy an apartment, many preferred buying or renting a place in the city centre. According to a government official, this phenomenon occurred because of different reasons: On the one hand, the zone's area was still not attractive enough to them as the number of facilities remained limited (E1). On the other hand, they could find cheaper housing in the city centre as the housing prices there were half the price of those in Songshan Lake Park which deterred them from living in the zone's area (E2; E3). Also in the eyes of the government official housing was expensive in the zone and thus not available to normal employees (E2). The concern of the Administrative Committee was that, just as in other development zones in China, professionals rented the apartments provided to them to other employees, as they themselves preferred living outside the zone (E1; E2). In addition, a government official mentioned that the housing offers were especially attractive to new graduates rather than to older professionals (E1).

Another issue mentioned by government officials was that of distance. An official thought that the zone was attractive but that it was just located too far from the city centre. She explained that many of the professionals' families were living in Guangzhou and that the professionals did not want to spend much time traveling to work (cf. Box 8.5; E4). The chief executive of a China-based recruitment agency also mentioned the issue of distance when trying to attract professionals to high-tech industrial zones (E6). What concerned her even more, however, was the challenge of creating a unique identity to attract unique professionals which she thought was especially big for high-tech industrial zones compared to the cities, such as Guangzhou or Dongguan (E6). Moreover, in the case of the Guangzhou Development District, which allows for the establishment of high-tech and traditional industries, an official explained that the environmental pollution caused by traditional industries remained an issue, which deterred professionals from living in the zone (E4).

Another government official in Songshan Lake Park criticised the nature of preferential policies in general. In his opinion, the preferential policies were poorly designed as, for example, the size of office space offered was too small to be attractive (E1). In contrast, he argued that the preferential policies for high-skilled return migrants were enough and the policies should not be extended. He questioned the economic contribution of the high-skilled return migrants, especially those of high-skilled return migrants in recent years who in his opinion had a lower quality than the high-skilled Overseas Chinese who returned in earlier times (E1; cf. Pahl et al. to be submitted). Additionally, he explained that the funding and other benefits were not the most important resource the zone offered. More important, in his opinion, were the networks and business connection companies can get via the zone (E1). Another official in Songshan Lake Park agreed by saying that, for instance, the high-skilled return migrants did not have the business relationships, which were needed to establish businesses when they returned to China, and that they would not know how to deal with the government and thus needed the assistance provided in the zone (E3).

Professionals' Perception of Preferential Policies in Dongguan and their Influence on Professionals' Decision-making

The opportunity of getting preferential treatment from the governmental was not very well known among Dongguan's professionals. Only 37 per cent of them had heard about the preferential policies applied by local authorities (n=413). The number of those profiting was even lower. However, one

third of the respondents got offers from the Dongguan government when moving to the city (n=215). Most got a service card for medicine and health care (47.5 per cent), and 43 per cent said their children received access to local education facilities, benefits normally reserved for residents with a local *hukou*. However, to 43 per cent of the awardees a local *hukou* was offered by the government once they moved to Dongguan (cf. Fig. 8.13).

Benefits regarding housing in Dongguan were diverse. 28 per cent of the awardees got accommodation offered at a cheaper rental price, 20 per cent received a housing purchasing subsidy, and 13 per cent were offered free accommodation for a certain period. 13 and 8 per cent, respectively, were offered support in the job search of family members or received a service card for cultural and sport facilities, respectively. A relocation subsidy was only offered to 5 per cent of the profiteers.

64.5 per cent said that the offer of benefits influenced their decision to move to Dongguan (n=62). Especially influential, in the eyes of the respondents, was the prospect of getting access to local public schools for their children and receiving a housing purchasing subsidy (27 per cent each; n=11). The other offers were influential to only few respondents. The offer of accommodation for a reduced rental price was also mentioned as influential, however, only by 9 per cent. 47 per cent said that it would have influenced their decision if they had had offers from the government (n=128). 8 per cent were unsure and 25 per cent perceived no influence. Most respondents perceived the access to education facilities for their children and the housing purchasing subsidy as most influential (35 per cent each; n=23). 9 per cent perceived the offer of free accommodation as potentially influential in their decision to move to Dongguan. Only very few respondents (4 per cent) perceived a local *hukou* and an accommodation for a lower rent as influential. Additionally, respondents mentioned that a social insurance, welfare services in general, and good working opportunities would have been influential offers in their decision. Whereas offers from the government had been influential in their decision to move to Dongguan, no significant correlation was found between the receipt of preferential policies and the intention to leave Dongguan.

Offers from the company were more common in Dongguan. 62 per cent had received benefits from their company when starting their job there (n=405). Most respondents were offered housing benefits (n=242). 44 per cent received free accommodation, 30 per cent were offered accommodation at a reduced price, and 25 per cent were offered a housing purchasing subsidy. Other benefits included service cards for medicine and health care facilities, relocation subsidies, employment recommendations for family members, access to education facilities for children and service cards for cultural and sports facilities (cf. Fig. 8.13). 62 per cent of Dongguan's professionals said that the company offers influenced their decision to take the job (n=241). According to the respondents' answers, the housing offers were also most influential in their decision to take the job. Most influential was the offer of free accommodation (6 per cent), followed by housing purchasing subsidies (5 per cent), and accommodation at a reduced price (3 per cent). In addition, the offer of health insurance was also influential to 5 per cent of the respondents and 2 per cent mentioned access to education facilities for their children as influential. An entrepreneur in Guangzhou Development District explained her concerns with the offer of employment recommendations for spouses. In her opinion, the employment of spouses, often wives, was difficult in the zone. Mostly, wives were less educated than their husbands and faced difficulties

finding employment in the zone with mostly high-tech industries looking for high-skilled employees. Accordingly, the professionals preferred to locate their families outside the zone. The unbalanced social situation, in her eyes, made it difficult to make the zone a city itself (C2).

Additionally, in several realms the respondents saw a need for action by the local government. The concern of the majority of the respondents related to the economic prosperity of the city and arising chances for themselves to enhance their economic opportunities. The respondents, for instance, hoped for the industrial transformation to be successful in Dongguan so that more high-tech industries would settle in Dongguan and that more professionals could be attracted to support the process. A respondent hoped that the government could speed up the attraction of investment to improve the business environment in Dongguan. Some respondents saw the industrial upgrading directly related to their own employment and career opportunities. Furthermore, several respondents were hoping for improved working conditions, such as increased salaries and more career opportunities in the city. Others hoped for improved livelihoods in Dongguan and the Pearl River Delta in general with better living and working conditions. A respondent mentioned that he wished the government would improve all people's livelihoods instead of ranking them according to their skills and knowledge. Another respondent mentioned a similar aspect by urging the government to also consider poor residents in Dongguan to achieve peaceful and content living conditions. Besides economic conditions, respondents also suggested that the government should improve the living environment in Dongguan, including the traffic and security situation, and environmental quality, and should counteract high housing prices. Thereby, a respondent mentioned that the government should improve the environmental conditions as soon as possible and another one appealed to the government to reduce noise pollution.

Other respondents mentioned their wish that the government would take action to solve the inequalities between migrant and local residents. They wished for better conditions for migrants, for instance, by conceding better access to welfare services for themselves and their families and wanted equal treatment of migrants and locals in Dongguan. Several respondents wished the problem of *hukou* would be solved as it denied them access to welfare and civil rights. A respondent suggested that the policies towards the migrant population in Dongguan should be more open and appealing. Other respondents wished for better treatment, such as increased welfare services and subsidies, in general. They urged the government to reflect upon the people's needs instead of only considering economic development and prosperity. In the qualitative follow-up interviews, one respondent complained about the high complexity of governmental policies and programmes. By referring to policies that would allow his child to attend a local public school, he mentioned that for him it

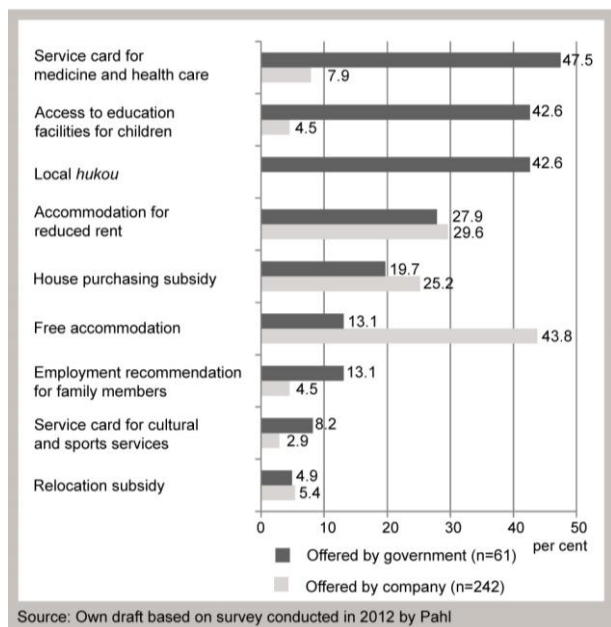


Fig. 8.13: Benefits offered by the local government and companies

was not clear how to apply for benefits from local policies and that it was too complicated for him without the help of others (P12).

The last two chapters have described the results from the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews with professionals in Dongguan and from the expert interviews to learn about the influencing factors on professionals' migration and place decision-making and the attempts of attracting professionals implemented in Guangzhou and Dongguan. The next chapters will discuss these results by giving a short summary of the results and relating those to the theoretical considerations presented in chapter 2. The concluding remarks in the last chapter will finalise the discussion by making comparisons to the situation in other countries and making suggestions for future research.

PART VI DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS

9 MOVING PROFESSIONALS TO GUANGZHOU AND DONGGUAN**9.1 CHARACTERISING THE CITIES' ATTRACTION STRATEGIES**

The attraction strategies of the cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan and their high-tech industrial zones have been discussed in chapter 8. There it became clear that the cities' municipal governments and the Administrative Committees applied different attraction schemes and procedures for leading and "normal" professionals. Whereas leading professionals directly applied to the Administrative Committees and, after being approved, signed contracts with the Administrative Committees, the distribution of preferential treatment to "normal" professionals was organised via the companies the professionals were employed by (cf. chapter 8.2.3). However, the nature of preferential treatment was similar for both kinds of professionals. The preferential policies were aimed at attracting professionals by allocating *emergent properties* to single professionals. In other words, the idea was to influence professionals' decisions by giving them the opportunity to increase their emergent properties, which the governmental bodies assumed to be attractive as it helped professionals to fulfil their overall goal of increasing their *life chances* (cf. chapters 2.4, 10.1.2, and 11.3.1). The preferential policies were building on the idea that not only structural and agential emergent entities can possess emergent properties, but the individual professionals themselves, which ARCHER (1995) postulates (cf. chapter 2.5). It is argued here that only the attribution of properties to the professionals themselves makes it possible to influence their decisions individually. Only if professionals have the chance to increase their life chances by improving their access to resources or extend their human relations, will they be convinced about their action, and can be attracted to settle permanently. If the attraction strategies can be successful, however, will be discussed in the following chapters by first analysing in more detail the way in which the municipal governments in Guangzhou and Dongguan and the Administrative Committees in the high-tech industrial zones tried to influence professionals (cf. chapter 9.2). Chapter 10.1 analyses the influence of individual characteristics on the migration and place decisions of professionals and its transformative character. In chapter 10.2, the influence of structural conditions on individual agency is discussed and chapter 11 gives concluding remarks on the success of the attraction strategies and the role of high-tech industrial zones in attracting professionals.

9.2 ORGANISED COLLECTIVITIES AND THEIR PROPERTIES: GOVERNMENTAL ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE PROFESSIONALS' AGENCY

The analysis of the attraction strategy as described in chapter 8 revealed that different *social structures* were involved in the governmental attraction strategy (cf. Fig. 10.1). All governmental levels drew on their *emergent properties* in shaping the attractiveness of the cities Guangzhou and Dongguan for professionals. National governments' decisions in the course of the transformation regarding the *organisation of social time-space*, for instance, had an influence on the properties of the locations Guangzhou and Dongguan. The decision to establish the *Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region* in 1985 provided the best conditions for the two cities to foster their economies (cf. Tab. 3.1). The development of the PRD as a prosperous economic region, known both nationally and internationally, provided additional *properties* to the region and thus to the two cities, such as the *means of material produc-*

tion (e.g. money) or *produced good* (e.g. infrastructure). Thereby, the cities were able to foster their endeavour of upgrading the economic basis towards the high-tech sector and create employment opportunities in the high-tech industries. Additionally, as economically prospering cities, the cities had the means to shape the cities to make them more attractive to professionals. Hence, they used their *properties* to influence the organisation of social time-space that, as an agential emergent entity, itself obtains properties that can influence individual agency. The cities had the properties (e.g. means of material production, authoritative power) to establish high-tech industrial zones with advanced technical and social infrastructure. They made these zones “new spaces of exception” (ONG 2006: 102) by applying “inter-referencing [...] practices” (ONG 2011: 17; cf. chapter 3.1.4). In their development strategies for the zones, both Administrative Committees referenced international high-tech zones, especially in Singapore. They compared the developments in their zones with that of other zones, and thus competed in the international endeavour to become successful high-tech industrial zones and cities. In the case of Guangzhou Development District, the Administrative Committee even applied *modelling practices* by referring openly and directly to Singaporean high-tech industrial zones. They established the *Sino-Singapore Knowledge City* in a collaborative project with a Singaporean company (cf. chapters 3.1.4, 8.2.3, and 8.2.4).

From the analysis of the expert interviews, it became clear that by enhancing the *geographical resources* of the cities and the high-tech industrial zones, the municipal governments and the Administrative Committees tried to make the places more attractive to professionals. They used their *authoritative power* and their *means of material production*, for instance, to improve the environmental qualities of the places. In their development plans, both Administrative Committees determined the aim of establishing places with a high environmental quality, set regulations to protect the environmental conditions, and introduced technologies to report and decrease the environmental pollution. Furthermore, the results show that they invested in improving the number of natural amenities by establishing parks or developing recreational spaces, such as the lakeside of the Songshan Lake. Additionally, in Songshan Lake Park they tried to improve the living conditions by improving the security situation, e.g. through police patrols (cf. chapter 8.2.3). In doing so, the governmental bodies also tried to increase the *cultural resources* of the places: They expected a high environmental quality or good security situation to improve the image of the zones. Especially in the case of Guangzhou Development District, this strategy was driven by the idea that the zone used to be mainly for noisy and dirty manufacturing industries. They also tried to advertise these new images by referring to the advantages of the zones, for example, on their website or in investment guides. In addition, the Administrative Committees tried to advertise the good image of the *locale* – the material setting in the high-tech industrial zones, such as prestigious schools or hospitals, which they thought would be attractive to professionals (cf. chapter 8.2.3). By influencing the image of the high-tech industrial zones, the Administrative Committees also endeavoured to impact on commonly accepted beliefs – *principles* –, such as that Dongguan had a high crime rate or was a manufacturing hub (cf. 10.1.2, Box 8.5 and Box 8.6).

The exceptionality of the high-tech industrial zones by which the Administrative Committees tried to attract professionals also found expression in the establishment of preferential policy schemes. Preferential treatment was allocated on all governmental levels from national government in the national policies, such as the *One Thousand Talents Scheme* (cf. chapter 4.2.2), to the Administrative

Committee-level (cf. Box 8.5). The analysis revealed that the national, provincial, and municipal governmental bodies and the Administrative Committees used their *properties* in their attraction strategy: By means of their financial resources (*means of material production*) and their *authoritative power*, they changed *established systems of rules*, such as by inventing preferential policy schemes. (cf. chapter 8). With these schemes, they tried to increase the professionals' *produced goods* and thus gave individuals the chance to increase their life chances as endeavoured by individuals (cf. chapter 2.4.2). To exemplify, due to their authoritative power to influence the established systems of rules, they had an influence on the housing market, e.g. by constructing residential buildings for leading and "normal" professionals. Accordingly, they could determine the prices of housing, and provide housing to professionals for a lower rent, or grant housing purchasing subsidies. Thereby, they endeavoured to support professionals in solving the problem of housing, and enabled them to increase their wealth and life chances (cf. chapters 2.4, 3.1.5, and 7.1.4): Government officials especially perceived housing in the zones as attractive as it provided better environmental quality than other cities. The environmental quality was perceived as important, as they detected an increasing environmental awareness among professionals (cf. chapter 8.2.4). The allocation of housing in the form of housing purchasing subsidies or rent-free accommodation could also increase the professionals' *cultural resources* by increasing their social status as homeowners instead of as renters. Becoming integrated into the local society by obtaining a local *hukou* could additionally increase their social status and thus their cultural resources. In addition, the local *hukou* provided access to *produced goods*, such as health care facilities or schools.

Additionally, in their preferential policy schemes, governmental bodies drew on the professionals' endeavour to increase their social affiliation (*human relations and precepts*). They assumed that granting similar preferential treatment to the awardee's spouse and children would help professionals to fulfil their familial commitments to support their family socially and financially and to reach their aim of enhancing their *guanxi* (cf. chapter 8.2.4). Enhancing *guanxi* was also facilitated by the Administrative Committees. Being awardees of preferential treatment offered access to Administrative Committees' support in establishing companies, and provided access to business networks in the zones. The Administrative Committees' attempts to create an attractive business environment, not only for industries, but also for research institutes (cf. chapter 8), for instance, arose from the belief that an academic atmosphere would be attractive to entrepreneurs. Hence, the Administrative Committees fostered the establishment of science sections and educational facilities, especially universities, in the zones, which facilitated interaction between company owners and scientists. Additionally, the Administrative Committees were able to establish contacts to other company owners in the zones and thus helped professionals to further increase their human relations (cf. chapter 8.2.4).

In conclusion, the governmental bodies in Guangzhou and Dongguan tried to influence professionals' agency – encourage them to move to their industrial zones and stay permanently – by giving them the chance to increase their individual properties and thus their life chances. Thereby, they applied two strategies. First, they used their properties to organise *social time-space* (*location and locale*) in a way that they presumed to be attractive to professionals. Second, they influenced the established system of rules (preferential policies) and thus granted benefits to the professionals.

10 MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISION-MAKING OF PROFESSIONALS: AN INDIVIDUAL DECISION?

As outlined in chapter 2, and the state of the art of migration determinants in chapter 4.1, the dispute on the role of individual versus structural conditions in human agency has a long history. Whereas meanwhile it is widely agreed that both individual and structural factors are relevant in individual action, many studies still fail to realise the whole picture. This tendency becomes clear, for instance, when studies follow the question of *jobs versus amenities* (e.g. GREENWOOD 1989; LIU 2013; NIEDOMYSL 2010; SCOTT 2010). The present study argues from a structure and agency perspective that it is rather difficult, or nearly impossible to answer the question of individual versus structurally conditioned decisions, as it is always a variety of factors which influence individual agency. This perspective is discussed in a theoretical context in chapter 2, and further analysed in the following chapters by reference to the empirical data presented in part V. Thereby, this thesis' idea is to draw a full picture of the variety of enabling and constraining factors in the migration and place decision-making of professionals in the case of professionals in Dongguan. Nonetheless, the author is aware that it was not possible to ascertain all factors which have an influence. The reasons for that were, first, it was a question of ascertaining the variety or analysing certain aspects in depth. The research focus, however, lies on how governmental bodies try to influence professionals' decisions, which is why also in the data gathering and analysis the focus was on this topic. Second, it is difficult to ascertain the variety of factors of influence as some of the professionals' motives or perceptions remain in their unconscious, which was why they could not elaborate on them (cf. chapter 2.4). Third, it goes beyond the scope of the study to analyse all factors. Therefore among the organised collectives only governmental bodies were analysed.

The role of other corporate agents was disregarded. Other influential corporate agents might be trade unions or non-governmental organisations that fight for the employees' work conditions, and thus make a place more attractive or unattractive to professionals to work at, or social organisations. Community centres could also be influential as they might create a sense of community and make professionals, especially migrants, feel integrated into society and create a sense of belonging among them. Additionally, the author is aware that the selected research focus on the governmental attraction mechanisms and the kinds of questions asked, and the manner in which they were asked, biased the empirical data and results. The bias remained although an attempt was made to counteract it by applying explorative interviews and qualitative in-depth interviews in order to remain aware of new aspects (cf. part IV). Accordingly, the presented influential factors remain a narrow excerpt of reality. Furthermore, due to the constant morphogenesis of social structure (cf. chapter 2.6), the results remain a snapshot of the reality at a certain point in time (cf. also critique of HOFSTEDE's social value study in chapter 3.2).

The determinants that influence individual migration and place decisions identified in the empirical data were threefold. First, individual characteristics had an influence on the migration intention and the potential locational choice:

- *Perception* of living and working situation;
- Ability to *recall* experience;

- Current state of knowledge (*memory*);
- Personal *social values, needs, demands, and preferences*;
- Actor's *motives, routines, and role-sets*.

Second, the qualitative and quantitative interviews revealed the influence of structural conditions on the migration and place decisions of professionals: an influence of structural and of agential emergent entities and properties. The following structural emergent entities and properties had an influence (cf. Fig. 10.1):

- *Primary agents/unorganised collectivities (e.g. norm circles) and their properties: cultural resources, human relations, authoritative power, and principles and precepts.*

Natural structure	Natural emergent entities	Material features of the natural environment (natural and human-induced)			
	Natural emergent properties	(A) Vegetation (B) Waterbodies (C) Air <hr/> (a) (b) (c) Environmental quality (e.g. of air, recreation areas, vegetation, waterbodies)			
Social structure	Structural emergent entities	Primary agents (D) Unorganised collectivities (Norm circles, e.g. family, colleagues, friends)			
	Emergent properties	Allocative resources	Authoritative resources	Rules	
	Agential emergent entities	Corporate agents (E) Organised collectivities (National, provincial, municipal government / Administrative Committees) (F) Established systems of rules (Housing and labour markets, <i>guanxi</i> system, migration regime) (G) Organisation of social time-space (locale, location)			
	Agential emergent properties	Allocative resources	Authoritative resources	Rules	
		(d) Cultural resources institutional state (e.g. prestige of positions and roles: martial status, job position)	(d) Human relations (e.g. as migrant/local, entrepreneur/employee, parent/child) Authoritative power (e.g. to organise rules or places)	(d) Principles (e.g. beliefs about cities) Precepts (e.g. family commitments, <i>guanxi</i> & <i>hukou</i> system)	
	(e) Means of material production (e.g. money) Cultural resources (e.g. image and prestige of governmental bodies and their work) (g) Produced goods (e.g. infrastructure) Material features of the environment (e.g. „normal“ professionals) Means of material production (e.g. wages) Cultural resources (e.g. prestige, image and meaning of the location and facilities) Geographical resources (e.g. location, security situation, social status)	(e) Authoritative power (e.g. to organise place, to influence established systems of rules) Human relations (e.g. <i>guanxi</i>)	(e) Regulations (e.g. labour & migration laws and legislations) (f) Housing market - Regulations (e.g. determining supply and demand) Labour market - Principles (e.g. beliefs of self-responsibility, <i>suzhi, wenhua</i> and <i>wenming</i>) Guanxi system - Principles (e.g. beliefs of need to increase <i>guanxi</i> in order to increase life chances) Migration regime - Principles (e.g. perception of migrants) Regulations (e.g. laws and legislations on distribution of social welfare)		

Note: The letters indicate the related entities and properties, capitals indicate entities, e.g. (A) and small letter indicate their properties, e.g. (a)

Source: Own draft, includes ideas of AGNEW (1987); ARCHER (1995); BHASKAR (1979); BORK-HÜFFER (2012); ELDER-VASS (2007, 2010); GIDDENS (1984); KLEINE (2011)

Fig. 10.1: Structural influences on the migration and place decisions of professionals

Agential emergent entities were multifold and had diverse properties:

- *Corporate agents/organised collectivities* (governmental bodies) and their properties: *means of material production, cultural resources, authoritative power, human relations, and regulations*;
- *Established systems of rules* (e.g. housing market, migration and labour regime, *guanxi* system) and their properties: *regulations, and principles*;
- *Organisation of social time-space* (organisation of place) and its properties: *produced goods, material features of the environment, means of material production, cultural resources, and geographical resources*.

The next subchapters discuss the individual (chapter 10.1) and structural factors (chapter 10.2) that influence professionals' migration and place decision-making in more detail.

10.1 INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISION-MAKING OF PROFESSIONALS

10.1.1 Psychological Pre-conditions

The analysis of the individual factors in professionals' migration and place decision-making revealed that the professionals' *perception* of their living and working situation in Dongguan and their perception of the situation in other Chinese cities, namely their *expectations*, had an influence on their migration and place decisions. To exemplify, those professionals who were happy in Dongguan, less often thought about migrating than unhappy professionals. As the professionals were able to discursively elaborate on the reasons why they felt happy or unhappy living in Dongguan or satisfied or dissatisfied with their living situation, it became clear that they used forms of *recall* that were rooted in their *discursive consciousness* (cf. chapters 2.3.1 and 2.4). Yet, of course, there were reasons the professionals could not elaborate on showing that they were rooted in their *unconscious* perception. However, the variety of reasons why they were happy or unhappy in Dongguan or satisfied or unsatisfied with their living situation (cf. chapter 7.1.4) suggests that these reasons were not only individual decisions based on personal goals but were influenced by a variety of individual and structural factors. The quantitative analysis revealed, for instance, that those professionals, who had their parents living in the same city, were more happy living in Dongguan, which implies the role of *norm circles*, such as the family, on the professionals' decision (cf. chapters 2.5.1 and 10.2.2). In addition, the individual perception of the living and working environment in other Chinese or international cities, such as housing prices or career or work opportunities, had an influence on professionals' decisions indicating the role of individual factors (cf. chapter 7.1.4). The professionals gained these perceptions of the conditions in other cities during their own visits to these cities. Thus, they could discursively recall on their perception and consider it in their decision-making. Alternatively, the professionals considered perceptions of other agents that became commonly agreed beliefs – *principles* (cf. chapter 10.2.2). Despite the influence of the structural conditions that appears in these examples, however, in the end the individual took the decision to come to Dongguan, to stay there or to move. Hence, the individual perception of the situation and the weighing up process of the different influences against each other were pivotal in forming the final intention or taking the final decision.

Furthermore, in the survey and the interviews, professionals were able to discursively *recall* their past migration experience which pointed to another individual factor in migration and place decisions. For instance, the quantitative interviews revealed that professionals, who had not yet migrated in their lives – immobile professionals –, less often thought about migrating (cf. chapters 8.2 and 8.3). They could not draw on experience; for instance, they did not know how moving would influence them and their families, and had no direct comparison of life in other cities, and thus were more reluctant to migrate. Although some of these professionals also thought about migrating, they were more careful in formulating their intention (cf. chapter 8.4). Professionals, who had migrated regularly, such as the mobile professionals (cf. chapter 8.2), had experience in adapting to a new living environment and could compare the living and working conditions in different cities, and thus intended to migrate more often (cf. chapter 8.3).

Moreover, it was shown that the professionals were influenced by their *memory* – their knowledge at a certain point in time, which was the third psychological mechanism identified in theory (cf. chapter 2.4.1). To draw on their memory, the professionals used forms of *recall* applied in their *practical consciousness* (cf. chapter 2.4). This practical knowledge can refer to rather theoretical understandings of *regulations* – rules laid down by authorities – or *principles* – commonly accepted beliefs (cf. chapters 2.5.2 and 10.2). The quantitative and qualitative interviews revealed, for instance, that the minority of the professionals in Dongguan knew about the preferential policies of the government that they could benefit from when successfully applying (cf. chapters 8.2.4, and Box 8.5). Nonetheless, the majority of those professionals, who got offers from the municipal government when moving to the city, said preferential treatment influenced their decision to move to Dongguan. This situation exemplifies that although preferential treatment had an influence on the professionals' decisions (cf. chapter 10.2.3), many professionals did not know about the possibility to receive additional benefits through preferential policies. Thereby, it is clear that Dongguan's professionals could only be influenced by those offers they knew about. Nonetheless, the example shows that the recall in the practical consciousness of the professionals played an important role in their decision-making.

10.1.2 Professionals as *Persons*: Reasons and Goals towards Maintained or Increased Life Chances

In the quantitative and qualitative interviews, the professionals were able to discursively report on the *reasons* for their decision to move to Dongguan in their (analytical) role as a *person*, which indicates their role as individual factors in professionals' decision-making (cf. chapter 2.4). In the quantitative survey, for instance, most professionals emphasised structural conditions of the labour or housing market, namely work and career opportunities in Dongguan, and the housing and rental prices in Dongguan. Aspects that concerned the city itself, such as the atmosphere or the offer of public events, were comparably less important in their decision to move to Dongguan. The reasons why professionals thought about migrating from Dongguan to another city or country were again structural conditions of the labour and housing markets. Also important were career opportunities which they perceived as poor in Dongguan, and housing and rental prices that they perceived as high. The variety of reasons that were ranked as very important or important by the professionals in the quantitative survey indicates, however, that it was rather difficult for the professionals to specify their reasons. The qualitative

interviews endorsed this assumption as the professionals explained that the reasons for moving or intending to move again were diverse rather than easily explainable in only a few keywords (cf. chapters 6.2 and 6.3). Their difficulties with specifying the reasons for moving to and from Dongguan point to the variety of influencing factors on their decision-making as discussed in the structure and agency approach applied in the thesis (cf. chapter 2).

Nonetheless, the reasons named by professionals in the first place were first-hand explanations that directly came to the professional's mind when asked for causes for their past action or intended future action. However, several second-order and background causes influenced the migration decision (cf. chapter 2.3). Besides the professionals' role as a person in which they decided based on their personal goals, the professionals were influenced by the analytical role as an actor. As actors, the professionals were influenced by the *social position* or *social roles* they occupied in society. These roles entailed expectations that came with the certain societal positions which were directly linked to *precepts* existing in unorganised collectivities, such as norm circles. The pressure to fulfil these expectations from the various roles the individual occupies – the *role-set* (cf. chapter 2.4) – had an influence on some professionals' decisions as will be discussed in chapter 10.2. Other professionals were less susceptible to the expectation brought to them by other actors (cf. chapter 9.2).

Additionally, the professionals' *goals* and the underlying *social values* impacted on their migration and place decision-making. By fulfilling their goals and acting according to their social values, the professionals maintained or increased their life chances as the overall aim of the individual human being, by maintaining or enhancing their emergent properties (cf. chapter 2.4). The professionals' goals and social values became visible in the *demands* and *preferences* the professionals unveiled when asked for the aspects that were important to them in their place decision and in their work environment (cf. chapters 7.2 and 7.3). Thereby, professionals elaborated on their demands and preferences but not explicitly about their *needs* as they took these for granted (cf. chapter 2.3). Even though structural conditions and other agents influenced them (cf. chapter 10.2), the professionals set their goals based on an individual evaluation of their situation and their expectations for the future. The individual goals were influenced by several social values as outlined by DE JONG (1999): *Health, wealth and social status, affiliation, life comfort and life of ease, stimulation, and freedom on choices and expressions* (cf. chapter 2.3). In the following subchapters, the role of these social values in professionals' decision-making will be discussed.

Maintaining and Improving Health

The analysis of the study results indicated that the professionals in Dongguan were eager to maintain or improve their health situation, which became clear in the importance of three different aspects: the environmental quality, the living situation and conditions, and the security situation. In professionals' migration and place decision-making the social value of improving or maintaining their *health* was strongly related to the environmental quality of their current place of residence and potential other cities, and the professionals' perception of it. The professionals aimed to preserve or improve their physical and mental well-being that in their eyes was negatively influenced by the poor air quality in Dongguan. A poor environmental quality made some of them depressed and was unbearable for oth-

ers. A good environmental quality contributed to their happiness in Dongguan and positively influenced their intention to stay in the city.

The high importance of the environmental quality among the professionals made the high environmental quality a demand for many professionals – an aspect that had to be provided to make the professionals stay in a certain place or choose a certain city as a future place of residence (cf. chapter 2.3). The professionals especially referred to the air quality and to waste on the street. Some professionals attributed the poor air quality to the industrial production in Dongguan, and the existence of waste on the street to the high percentage of migrants because they thought migrants would litter on the street (cf. chapter 7.1.4). The environmental quality was one of the most important aspects the professionals considered in the place decision and one of the major reasons why they intended to migrate. However, a high environmental quality is not necessary for survival, and thus is not a *need* (cf. chapter 2.3), which is why the professionals were able to bear the situation of poor environmental quality for a limited period. Those professionals who perceived the environmental conditions as poor, and therefore were dissatisfied with their living environment (cf. chapter 7.1.4), still lived in Dongguan at the time the survey was conducted. In the long run, however, poor environmental conditions increased their intention to migrate. The environmental quality in the professionals' neighbourhoods was even more important to them than the environmental conditions in the city in general, as the quantitative interviews revealed (cf. chapter 7.1.6, 7.3, Box 8.5). In the case study high-tech industrial zones, but also in other places in the PRD, such as Zhuhai, many professionals perceived the air as cleaner and the traffic pollution as lower than in other districts and towns, which made those places more attractive to them and indicated the importance of the environmental quality in the professionals' decisions. Additionally, factors, such as the scenery's beauty, the lower density of buildings, its qualification as an area for recreational purposes furthered the zones' attractiveness and professionals' satisfaction (cf. chapter 7.3 and Fig. 7.5C and D). All these factors made their lives more relaxing, had a positive influence on their physical and mental well-being and thus influenced their migration and place decision-making in favour of these places.

Besides the environmental quality, the quality and quantity of health care facilities were important for maintaining and improving the health conditions of the professionals in Dongguan. Only if the professionals had facilities provided and had access to them (cf. chapter 3.1.5 for the *hukou* status and its influence on the access to social services), could they maintain or improve their health. The endeavour to improve health conditions explains why the provision of health care was one reason for professionals to move to Dongguan (cf. chapter 6.2) and why many professionals *demanded* health care facilities in their neighbourhood (cf. chapter 7.3).

Moreover, the importance of the living situation and conditions perceived by many professionals arose from its influence on their health conditions, e.g. the mental well-being. So did many professionals complained that the living conditions in company accommodation were poor, referring to limited privacy, space, and opportunities to live with their families (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Many professionals stayed in accommodation that was too small according to the WHO standard (WHO 2004: 17-9). Living in accommodation with at least 14 m² is almost enough to increase general satisfaction, to feel comfortable and to stay healthy. Many professionals had more than 14 m² for themselves. Some pro-

professionals, however, also lived in accommodation that provided less than 14 m², which increases the likelihood of comfort problems related to acoustical, environmental, and functional aspects (ibid.). According to the Chinese national governments' aims, all urban Chinese should live in accommodation with at least 13m² of space for themselves. Accordingly, some professionals in Dongguan faced housing difficulties also according to Chinese standards (YI & HUANG 2014).

Furthermore, the security situation had an influence on the professionals' chances to maintain or improve their health. Whereas most professionals feared robberies, others did not dare to go outside when it was dark and felt threatened in their personal security. Some professionals mentioned that they were unhappy living in Dongguan due to the security situation or had considered not moving to Dongguan because of it (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Accordingly, the security situation was one of the major reasons why professionals thought about migrating (cf. chapter 6.3) and the major *demand* of professionals in the city they would choose to live in (cf. chapter 7.3). The professionals' perception of the security situation in other places also had an influence on their decision. They referred, for instance, to the good security situation in Shenzhen or Songshan Lake Park, which positively influenced their satisfaction with their living situation and thus their mental well-being (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.1.6). The importance of the professionals' goal of maintaining or improving their health conditions in their migration and place decision was also reflected in the way they observed the security situation in Dongguan. It can be assumed that experiencing improvements in the security situation in recent years, as some professionals did, made them stay in Dongguan although they still saw deficits at present (cf. chapters 7.1.4 and 7.1.5). Additionally, the relevance of their goal was reflected in their living preferences. Many, especially those with children, preferred to live in gated communities, as they perceived it as safer, a common reason for Chinese (cf. chapters 3.1.5 and 7.3). Accordingly, it can be expected that in the life course of the younger professionals, aspects that affected their future children's living environment would become even more important than they already were.

Maintaining and Increasing Wealth and Social Status

The social value of achieving *wealth and social status* was also influential in the migration and place decisions of professionals. It was reflected in the reasons why they had moved to Dongguan, in their intention to migrate, and in the demands and preferences in a potential city and in their neighbourhood (cf. chapters 6.2, 6.3, 7.1.2 and 7.3). The social value related, for instance, to the goal of having a high standard of living or contributing to the family's or China's economic advancement. Accordingly, many professionals' endeavoured to have a high salary, job stability or professional success through developing and strengthening their personality, skills, cultural level (*wenhua*) and their quality in general (*suzhi*; cf. chapters 3.2.1 and 7.2.1) and made their migration and place decisions accordingly (cf. chapters 7.1 and 7.2, 10.2.2). As many professionals were aware that it was their personal responsibility to achieve their professional goals in their lives and care for their own and their family's financial well-being due to the recent changes in China's socialist labour regime (cf. chapter 3.1.3), many evinced a high level of work motivation and high flexibility in their migration planning and decisions (cf. chapter 7.2).

The importance of work and career opportunities in the professionals' migration and place decisions additionally emphasised the role of the social value of maintaining or increasing wealth and so-

cial status in their decisions. On the one hand, good work and career opportunities were among the major reasons to move to Dongguan (cf. chapter 7.1.1) and on the other hand, poor career opportunities were one of the major reasons why professionals intended to migrate. In addition, the satisfaction with the current job had an influence on the migration intention (cf. chapters 2.3 and 7.3). To achieve their goal of maintaining or increasing their standard of living, also development opportunities, and opportunities to foster their *wenhua* and *suzhi*, and to gain experience were important in the migration and place decision, relating to the social value of maintaining or increasing social status (cf. chapter 7.1.2).

Additionally, the fact that the professionals considered their children's opportunities to enhance their educational and cultural level (*wenhua*) and quality (*suzhi*) as important factors influencing their migration intention (cf. chapter 6.3) highlights the role of the social value of maintaining or enhancing social status. Many professionals, for instance, were unhappy living in Dongguan when the provision of educational facilities for their children was poor, or they did not have access to them (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Others wished for good educational facilities for their children in the future to provide them with the best opportunities to develop themselves (cf. chapter 7.2). Thereby, the access to public schools was especially important to many professionals as these were perceived as providing better conditions, due to qualified teachers and more chances to access universities afterwards (cf. chapter 7.2.4). Even though some did not have children yet, they considered the provision of educational facilities in their migration and place decisions (cf. chapter 6.4). Some only considered staying permanently in places where the access to educational facilities for their children was secured (cf. chapter 7.3). Furthermore, many considered the social composition of the neighbourhood as important – few migrants and many returned high-skilled Overseas Chinese was considered positive, due to their ascribed low and high *wenhua* and *suzhi*, respectively – as they perceived a negative influence on their children's *wenhua* and *suzhi* (cf. chapters 7.2.2, 7.2.4, and 7.3). Accordingly, the educational level and the quality of the people living in their neighbourhood influenced their satisfaction with the residential area, and hence their migration and place decisions. Fostering their children's self-development and life chances and thus their own life chances as their children could support them when the professionals got old, was a prevalent endeavour among the professionals that influenced them in their migration and place decisions (cf. chapter on increasing wealth and social status and 3.2.2 and 7.3). In the eyes of the professionals, the above-mentioned factors all played a role in determining their social status, which they wanted to at least maintain or enhance.

In a more general sense, the importance of the composition of people in the professionals' resident city revealed the role of the social value of maintaining or enhancing wealth and social status in professionals' decisions. The fact that the city image and its international atmosphere was important to some professionals as it attracted and provided a higher diversity of people, which in turn was good for their own self-development, additionally supports this result. Whereas the cultural complexity and diversity was an aspect that many perceived as important in their neighbourhood (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.3), the evaluation of people according to their *wenhua* and *suzhi*, however, made clear that many professionals did not care about a balanced social and cultural living environment with people of different social statuses and cultural backgrounds. They perceived it as important to live close to their

peers or to people who had a higher *wenhua*, *suzhi*, or social status to maintain or improve their own social, occupational, or financial status.

In the perception of many professionals, the *hukou* status also had an influence on their chances of maintaining or increasing their social status and their standard of living. First, the *hukou* status determined access to social services and benefits (cf. chapters 3.1.5, 7.2.4, and 7.3). Second, the *hukou* status influenced the professionals' social status as migrants. Migrants were not only perceived as having a lower quality (see above), but many of them felt discriminated against not only in their access to social services and benefits, but also due to their different treatment by locals (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.2.4). However, whereas some professionals wished for a local *hukou* to enhance their social status and an equal treatment of local and migrant professionals (cf. chapter 7.2), the professionals were of two minds concerning the influence of the *hukou* status on their decision to settle down permanently (cf. chapter 7.3). Nonetheless, the *hukou* status remained a hot topic in the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews highlighting the role of the social status in professionals' migration and place decisions.

Furthermore, the importance of housing aspects, such as housing or rental prices and cost of living, in the professionals' migration history and future intention (cf. chapter 6.2 and 6.3) supports the result that the social value of maintaining or enhancing wealth and social status was important in migration and place decisions. The professionals perceived that these aspects influenced the standard of living they could attain in the city and their opportunities to get married and thus their wealth and social status (cf. chapter 7.3). Thereby, also the expectations the professionals had of the housing prices and costs of living in other places were influential in their decisions (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.1.6). Additionally, the importance of the opportunities in a city to become homeowners and thus also increase social status compared to remaining tenants or inhabitants of company accommodation (cf. chapter 7.1.4) showed that the professionals considered aspects of social status and wealth as important. Thus, following their goal of maintaining or enhancing wealth and social status, a city that denied them home ownership, a high salary and low costs of living was less attractive to them (cf. chapter 7.2.3).

Maintaining and Expanding Social Affiliation

To achieve social affiliation was another social value important in professionals' decision-making. Its importance was revealed by many professionals' endeavour to live close to their families, or to have social bonds to their neighbours or colleagues, to achieve a network of mutual support (*guanxi*). Whereas the proximity to the family and friends was less a reason to move to Dongguan, it was especially important as a reason for migration intentions of those professionals whose parents, spouses, and children lived elsewhere (cf. chapter 6.2). Being far from their hometowns was not convenient for them to maintain and enhance their personal bonds to their families but also to their home culture (cf. chapters 6.3 and 7.2.2). These results indicate the importance to many professionals of living in their hometown due to their personal relations and cultural belonging and highlight the role of this social value in their decisions. The hometown was the major source of identity to many professionals, which the place of residence could hardly provide in the long-term (cf. chapter 4.1.1). Additionally, aspects of social belonging and filial piety played their part in strengthening their endeavour. Many professionals said that living close to their families was important to them as it made them feel at home and

they had a sense of socially belonging (cf. chapters 7.2.2, 7.2.3 and 7.3). Furthermore, urban amenities that indicate the child-friendliness of a neighbourhood, such as playgrounds, nurseries, and schools, were also considered in the professionals' decisions, supporting the result that the professionals' orientation towards a group, the nuclear family, including the parents, and thus their endeavour to strengthen social affiliation was strong (cf. chapter 3.2.2).

Furthermore, the importance of opportunities for social interaction, such as public spaces, a sense of community or like-minded people in the neighbourhood to feel integrated and get neighbourly support (cf. chapter 7.3) further supported the result that the social value of social affiliation was of relevance in professionals' decisions. Younger professionals who were less likely to be married, perceived the proximity to like-minded people as even more important than their older counterparts. It can be assumed that after marriage, the proximity to like-minded people decreases in favour of the family; a result that becomes relevant when considering that the cities' attraction strategies especially targeting an older, more experienced and less mobile labour force, instead of young, inexperienced and highly mobile professionals. Furthermore, the issue of the perceived lack of integration of migrants (cf. above and in chapters 7.1.5 and 7.2.4) and the importance of tolerance towards minorities in a city under consideration for staying in permanently additionally showed that the topic of social affiliation was relevant in many professionals' decisions.

Maintaining or Achieving Life Comfort

Maintaining or achieving life comfort in the sense of an easy life was another social value that influenced the professionals' decisions as could be seen in different aspects that the professionals perceived as important. They, for instance, aimed to attain a less stressful and more peaceful life, which they, for instance, perceived in Dongguan due to its lower working pace or in Songshan Lake due to its good environmental conditions and the low density of people and cars (cf. chapter 7.1.2, 7.1.5 and 7.1.6). The availability of natural amenities, a high environmental quality, and a peaceful and quiet environment can be assumed to have positively influenced the professionals' stress level. A reduced stress level probably had an influence on maintaining or achieving life comfort (and on their health; cf. chapter above on health). Some professionals also perceived the provision of accommodation and food by the Dongguan companies as influential in their decisions as in their eyes it decreased their stress-level as they did not have to take care of these aspects themselves (cf. chapter 7.1.2). Additionally, a poor security situation in their living area negatively influenced their stress perception (cf. chapter above on health), which was also one reason why many professionals perceived living in gated communities as important. Living in a gated community was perceived as especially attractive because it made many feel safer, instead of increases in their life comfort as revealed by other studies (cf. chapter 3.1.5). Accordingly, the importance of the stress-level in a city as determined by the working conditions, the availability of facilities and services, the environmental conditions, the security situation, and the density in the city showed that the social value of life comfort influenced the professionals' decisions.

Furthermore, the results of the importance of facilities and services, such as daily, medium-term and long-term shopping facilities in proximity, or a convenient traffic situation and public transportation system, suggest that the professionals were keen on achieving life comfort. Many professionals,

who lived in Songshan Lake Park, for instance, were dissatisfied with their living environment because they perceived the shopping facilities as too few or too far away to be convenient to reach. Especially medium-term and long-term shopping facilities were missing. They also compared the availability with that in other districts and towns in Dongguan, which they perceived as higher (cf. chapters 6.4, 7.1.3, and 7.1.6). Some professionals explained, however, that all kinds of shopping facilities needed to be available to make them stay permanently (cf. chapter 7.1.6). Additionally, complaints about frequent traffic jams on their way to work or about the low frequencies of buses and the preference for a good and convenient traffic system showed that achieving life comfort was important to many professionals (cf. chapters 7.1.4 and 7.3). The fact that only few professionals went to work by public transport (cf. chapter 7.1.1), supports their perception that the public transport system was inconvenient and hindered their endeavour to maintain or enhance life comfort.

In addition, many professionals perceived the proximity to the workplace as important as it increased their life comfort. They regarded those living environments as poor that did not provide proximity to the workplace and thus felt dissatisfied there, i.e. for the time being many liked living in company accommodation (cf. chapters 6.3, 7.1.4, and 7.3). The proximity to the workplace was a little less important to older professionals, which supports the assumption that among older and more experienced professionals the importance of work and careers decreased in favour of the family. Younger professionals are assumed to still consider work-related aspects more than older professionals as they still have to form their career path. Moreover, older professionals were more likely to be married and have children. Living close to the workplace mostly meant living in company accommodation, which did not suit the older professionals and their family's demands and preferences. The knowledge about the difference in preferences can be important for local governments when readjusting the attraction strategy. The importance of the aspect of integration and social acceptance in the host society as mentioned earlier in this chapter additionally highlights that the professionals endeavoured to increase their life comfort.

Maintaining or Achieving Life Stimulation

Another social value that influenced the professionals, although less so than the other social values, was to maintain or achieve stimulation in life. The endeavour of some professionals to have an enjoyable life, e.g. by gaining entertainment, by increasing their variety of interpersonal relations or by having access to leisure facilities supported this result (cf. chapter 7.3). To exemplify, the poor provision of entertainment facilities, for instance in Songshan Lake Park, was a reason for complaints. Although aspects, such as public places or a good appearance, that in the eyes of the professionals contributed to their life stimulation (cf. chapters 6.3 and 7.3), the social value of life stimulation was a less important one compared to others. So were entertainment and cultural facilities less important than other facilities (cf. chapter 7.1.6), public events were even least important and the cosmopolitan atmosphere was mentioned as important in life stimulation by only few professionals (for some cosmopolitan atmosphere implied proximity to people with different cultural backgrounds that could widen the professionals' own horizons, cf. chapter 7.3 on wealth and social status above).

Nonetheless, life stimulation was not only mentioned in regard to the quality and quantity of facilities and services, and was thus still an important social value in the professionals migration and place

decisions. For some professionals not only their free time provided opportunities for stimulation but they also aimed at stimulation during their work. Whereas most professionals aimed at getting a good job to secure their wealth or enhance their social status (cf. chapter on wealth and social status), to some professionals it was important to have a fulfilling job, one that was satisfying, comfortable, and exciting (cf. chapter 7.2).

By having the opportunity of using leisure facilities, visiting public spaces, or by living in an environment that provided attractive and unique architecture, or a cosmopolitan atmosphere, some professionals perceived that they could obtain an enjoyable life and find stimulation. However, whereas leisure facilities were important to the professionals, sports more so than cultural and entertainment facilities, aspects that related to the appearance of the city were only important in a potential future city, not in the professionals' concrete living situation. Here, they did not care much about the appearance, such as the beauty of the streets and buildings or a unique character.

Maintaining and Achieving Freedom of Choice and Expression

The social value of maintaining or achieving freedom of choice and expression was a critical topic to address in the quantitative survey and qualitative interviews due to the restrictive political situation in China. Therefore it could not be addressed in the quantitative survey directly. Instead, it found expression by asking the professionals for their perceived importance of tolerance towards minorities and cultural diversity and complexity that implied the importance of tolerance towards dissenting opinions, social and cultural backgrounds and action. Despite the difficulties in investigating its importance in the professionals' migration and place decisions, the results indicate that it was still an important social value.

The professionals endeavour to promote not only their wealth and financial well-being but also the family's and the nation's prosperity, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, illustrates the role of the new freedoms of choice in China's labour regime, and also in Dongguan's professionals' decision-making (cf. chapter 3.1.4). Thereby, many professionals perceived that as long as cultural diversity helped them to achieve their goal of enhancing their wealth and social status, they evaluated it as positive in their living environment. That is as long as cultural diversity implied living close to high-skilled people with different cultural backgrounds and experiences, it was perceived as positive. Living with people of different social status and backgrounds, for instance, in a community with many migrants of different status and educational levels, however, was not targeted by many professionals (cf. chapter on wealth and social status). Thus, the wish of many migrated professionals to be integrated as mentioned earlier in this chapter also implied the wish for increased choices, for instance, regarding social services in particular and their living place in general. The fact that for some, it was even an option to go back to their hometown where they were not regarded as migrants and had the status of local residents with all the benefits shows the importance of the social value of freedom of choice and expression. Others considered moving to cities with more open and tolerant people, like Shenzhen and Guangzhou (cf. chapters on life comfort and 7.1.5). This result supports that FLORIDA's (2002) assumption that openness and tolerance lowers the entry barriers in Western cities, and shows that it also applies in the Chinese case (cf. FLORIDA et al. 2012: 631).

10.1.3 Professionals as *Actors*: Motives, Routines, and Role-sets

In their roles as *actors*, the professionals' decisions were also influenced by their *motives* and *routines*. As motives are rooted in the unconsciousness, the professionals were not able to express them verbally (cf. chapter 2.4). However, the variety of reasons that was mentioned by the professionals in the quantitative survey shows that the reasons were multifold and the professionals could rarely decide which reason was the most important. Another explanation why the professionals mentioned such a variety of reasons might be that the pre-given categories in the questionnaire did not match their individual causes fully. Accordingly, underlying internalised motives might have influenced the professionals but they were not able to express them in the additional open section of the question.

Routines had a more obvious influence on professionals' decisions. The empirical analysis revealed different groups of professionals that were distinguishable according to the average duration they stayed in different locations and the distance of their home province (mobility groups; cf. chapter 6.2). Professionals who had lived for short durations in one city had moved often already, and thus had a lot of migration experience or routine of migrating. These mobile professionals more often intended to migrate to another city or country. Accordingly, the routines they developed in migrating had an influence on the probability whether they would migrate again. The local professionals that had never migrated had no experience or routine in migrating, which might have been one reason why they less often thought about migrating to another place. They were used to their living environment in Dongguan and preferred to stay (cf. chapter 6.3). The routine of living in their hometowns Guangzhou or Dongguan in the context of their local culture and with their family and friends was also a reason for high-skilled Overseas Chinese to move back to Dongguan (cf. chapter 8.2.3).

10.2 INFLUENCES ON THE MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISIONS OF ACTORS: NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, STRUCTURAL AND AGENTIAL EMERGENT ENTITIES AND PROPERTIES

10.2.1 The Influence of Natural Structure

As already discussed in chapter 10.1.2, the environmental conditions in the cities and the professionals' residential area had an influence on their migration and place decision making. Accordingly, natural structures had an influence on the professionals' decisions. The *material features of the environment* were identified as the natural structure's entity (cf. Fig. 10.1 and chapter 2.5). The *properties* or *causal power* with which the *material features of the environment* influenced individual agency were its geographical resources, such as the environmental quality or the vegetation (cf. Fig. 10.1). Thereby, the *material features of the natural environment* not only included the pre-given conditions, but had been transformed in previous circles of the *morphogenesis of structure*. The *social interaction* of agents had transformed the pre-given natural structure in various morphogenetic circles (cf. Fig. 2.6 and chapter 2.6). Agents that were involved in the transformation were first, *organised collectivities*, namely governmental bodies, and second *unorganised collectivities*, the population living in the research area (cf. chapter 2.5.1). Using the examples of Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park, chapter 8 shows that different governmental bodies on national, provincial, and municipal levels created the idea and strategy of providing high-tech industrial zones. These zones not only provided infrastructure for the establishment of industries but constituted comprehensive urban areas with

recreational and leisure functions. Therefore the development of the zones' areas which naturally provided a wide range of natural amenities, such as natural vegetation, as recreational and tourist hotspots was included in their strategy. Thereby, the zones were not only supposed to provide an attractive *locale* for investors and professionals, but act as recreational areas for the whole cities. The government and private investors established golf courses, hiking trails, parks, or developed promenades along the lake for recreational use. Additionally, governmental bodies on different levels influenced the environmental quality, such as the air or water quality, by launching regulations to combat environmental pollution caused mainly by traditional industries in the cities and zones (cf. chapter 8.2.3). Second, the resident population and visitors influenced the features of the natural environment by using the natural amenities and recreation facilities and enhancing or decreasing its properties, e.g. by making it popular among other agents or by littering.

Accordingly, the quantity and quality of the natural environment and its features had an influence on how the professionals perceived the area and how satisfied they were with living there. By means of their properties, natural structures had an influence on professionals' decision-making. However, different agents – organised and unorganised collectivities – could positively or negatively influence the natural feature's properties so that their influence on professionals' decisions was increased or decreased.

10.2.2 The Influence of Structural Emergent Entities and their Properties and their Causal Power: Social Interaction in Norm Circles

As structural emergent entities that had an influence on professionals' decision-making *norm circles* as *unorganised collectivities*, as defined in chapter 2.5.1, were identified in the quantitative survey and qualitative interviews. The most important norm circles identified in the migration and place decision-making of professionals were the nuclear family, including parents, the citizens of Dongguan, and Chinese society as a whole. The unorganised collectivities' properties to influence professionals' decisions were threefold.

First, *human relations* and the entailed social positions/social roles that possess different *authoritative power* influenced professionals. In contrast to ARCHER's (1995) elaborations that *agential emergent properties* originate in social interactions between corporate and primary agents, the empirical results revealed the relevance of human relations between members of unorganised collectivities. The interactions between primary agents engender a relation between agents with different social roles and social statuses. The difference in social esteem inherent in these hierarchical relations entailed the causal power to influence individual agency (cf. chapter 2.6.2). Examples of social roles that entailed different statuses are, for example, the social relations between migrants and non-migrants, parents and children, employers and employees, or homeowner and renter. Migrated professionals, for instance, perceived that they had a lower level of esteem in Dongguan, which resulted in discrimination by locals or governmental policies. Elaborations of local professionals confirmed that migrants were perceived as citizens with a lower *wenhua* and *suzhi* (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.2.4). Accordingly, migrant professionals thought about enhancing their social status by either migrating back to their hometowns, by migrating to other cities, which they perceived to be more tolerant towards migrants, or by fostering their integration, e.g. by communicating in the local language Cantonese, or attempting

to get a local *hukou* status (cf. chapters 6.3, 7.1.4, 7.1.5, and 7.2.4). Other professionals, in their role as children, perceived that they could enhance their social esteem by supporting their parents. In their role as parents, some hoped to increase their status through the success, *wenhua*, and *suzhi* of their children. Accordingly, in their place decision many considered the supportive nature of a place for their children's future development, e.g. by considering the availability of and proximity to educational facilities and the characteristics of their neighbours (cf. above and chapters 7.2.2 and 7.3). Some professionals that were employed in companies in Dongguan were also eager to establish their own company to increase their occupational status and authoritative power. Others tried to increase their social status by fostering their career chances and thus getting a higher position (cf. chapters 7.1.2 and 7.2.1). Many professionals were also influenced by the prospect of increasing their social status by buying their own property and becoming homeowners instead of renters. Housing prices were very important to the professionals in their migration and place decisions (cf. chapter 7.2.3).

By increasing their social status, the professionals also increased their own emergent properties and life chances – their *cultural resources* in the *institutionalised state* – by which again they had the power to influence other agents' action (cf. chapters 2.5.2 and 2.6.2). By enhancing their job position or establishing a company, they could enhance their social status, e.g. by becoming managers or company owners. Thereby, they could increase their own properties (e.g. authoritative power or means of material production). Increased properties gave them the opportunity to try to influence other professionals in their migration and place decision, i.e. to influence other professionals to move to the high-tech industrial zones and work in their companies. Examples are the property of *means of material production*, for example, that they could distribute to professionals, e.g. in the form of rent-free or cheaper company accommodation, or *human relations* to colleagues (*guanxi*) that they could provide by organising activities (cf. Box 8.5). However, only due to the endeavour of single professionals to enhance their properties to improve their life chances and the possibility of single professionals possessing *emergent properties*, did it become possible for company owners to try to influence potential employees' action (cf. chapters 2.5.1 and 2.6.2).

The influence of social roles and positions strongly related to the second and third property of unorganised collectivities. Norm circles influenced professionals by means of two types of *rules*: *precepts* and *principles* (cf. chapters 2.5.2, 7.1.5, 7.2.4, and 7.2.2). *Precepts* that are commonly referred to as norms are associated with certain social roles. Precepts, for instance, defined the social status that came with a certain social role, as migrants, parent, employer, or homeowner (see above). For example, due to the precepts of Dongguan's society as a norm circle, some local professionals perceived migrants as citizens with a lower *wenhua* and *suzhi* and treated them differently. Other precepts that influenced professionals' decisions were properties of the family. In their role as parents, children, or spouses, some professionals felt obliged to support their family socially and financially, especially their spouses, children, and parents. To many professionals, for instance, it was important to support their parents, especially when they were old. This social value influenced their place decisions and other actions. Some professionals wanted to move back to their hometowns, and others thought about bringing their parents to Dongguan when they had settled their lives there, e.g. when they had bought a house in which they could live with their family (cf. chapter 7.2.2). In addition, the support of their children was morally anchored in precepts, which influenced the decisions of many professionals by

carefully selecting the living environment according to the neighbourhood structure or the availability of educational facilities (cf. chapter 7.2.2 and see above). The precept that owning a residence was important for getting married and attaining a certain social status made many professionals consider the housing prices in a place as very important (cf. chapter 10.1.2 on the importance on increasing wealth and social status). Hence, they considered the housing prices in their place decision, for instance, by comparing the prices in different cities to calculate their chance of buying a house there (cf. chapters 7.2.3 and 7.3). Furthermore, precepts that defined the importance of establishing and maintaining human relations (*guanxi*) were important in professionals' decisions. The professionals' perception of needing *guanxi* to establish business or to access social benefits made professionals stay in their hometown in the case of local professionals or make them tempted to move back to their hometowns where migrant professionals perceived their *guanxi* to be stronger (cf. chapters 6.4 and 7.2.2 and Box 8.5).

Principles as accepted beliefs, which build on cultural or scientific knowledge, were another property through which norm circles influenced the migration and place decision-making of professionals. Principles that were identified in the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews included beliefs about certain cities, including Dongguan and other Chinese cities, such as Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Beijing, or Shanghai. Some professionals, for instance, believed that the larger Chinese cities, such as Guangzhou or Shenzhen, provided better work opportunities, were more tolerant towards migrants, or had better traffic and public transport systems (cf. chapter 6.4). In the survey and the interviews, it did not become clear whether these beliefs were based on their own experience, on other individuals' experiences (*instructions*) or if they were common beliefs (*principles*). It can be assumed that both their own experience, and knowledge they gained in personal conversations with other individuals and the media, influenced their decisions. These beliefs about the conditions in other cities and the comparison with their own living and working conditions made some believe that the conditions in other places were better and they decided to move there (cf. chapter 6.4). Others believed Dongguan to be the better place to fulfil their demands and preferences. In addition, the principle that Dongguan's public security situation was poor influenced many professionals. Some had heard about the poor security situation in Dongguan and had considered not moving there in the first place (cf. chapters 7.1.4 and 7.3). Others felt limited in their daily activities and thus were dissatisfied with their living environment and considered moving (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Moreover, the belief that Dongguan was a manufacturing hub that provided good infrastructure in the production industries, such as supplying companies, had an influence on professionals' place decisions. For example, establishing a company in a location that provided good infrastructure was attractive to entrepreneurs (cf. Box 8.5). The *promulgators* of the precepts and principles were other agents the professionals had contact with, including groups of people or single persons who were part of the norm circle in which the precepts were (re-)produced.

10.2.3 The Influence of Agential Emergent Entities and Properties and their Causal Power

Governmental Bodies as Organised Collectivities and their Properties

Governmental bodies on national, provincial, municipal, and local levels as *organised collectivities* were one *agential emergent entity* that influenced professionals' migration and place decision-making.

Authoritative power, means of material production, rules, human relations, and cultural resources were the properties by which they tried to influence professionals' decisions (cf. Fig. 10.1). First, due to their status as the ruling organised collective the governmental bodies on different levels possessed the properties of *authoritative power* and the *means of material (re-)production* to, for instance, organise *social time-space* (place). Governmental bodies on a provincial level (Guangdong Province) together with the bodies on municipal level (Guangzhou and Dongguan) decided on the establishment of the high-tech industrial zones Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park. The municipal government formed the Administrative Committee to guide the formation of the zones and take administrative power over the organisation of the zones. Since then, the zone's Administrative Committees have had the authoritative power to organise, for instance, the *material setting (locale)*, and the *produced goods* in the zones, by fostering or allowing infrastructure projects. By (dis-)allowing professionals to open companies in the zones, they used their authoritative power to organise the *material features of the environment* (cf. chapter 8.2.3). The municipal governments, however, kept some authoritative power to approve areas that can be used for certain infrastructure projects, such as housing as described in the case of Guangzhou Development District (cf. chapter 8.2.3).

Additionally, governmental bodies on different levels had the authoritative power to influence *established systems of rules*: the migration and the labour regime, and the housing market. In the course of the transformation process starting in 1978, the governmental bodies, for instance, influenced the migration regime by relaxing the *hukou* system and the labour regime towards more self-responsibility in developing one's career, finding employment, or having access to welfare systems (cf. chapters 3.1.1 and 3.1.4). By formulating and following *rules* in the form of *regulations*, governmental bodies on all levels influenced the conditions in which professionals acted. Examples are labour laws and legislations, e.g. on wage levels, or measures to reduce economic disparities in the country by directing companies to establish branches in inland provinces, or migration laws and legislations, e.g. the *hukou* system that determines who is allowed to legally migrate and who gets access to public benefits and services (cf. chapter 3.1.5). The provincial governments, for instance, changed the regulations of the *hukou* system by introducing the idea of a points system that distributed local *hukous* by educational level and morality. Accordingly, the municipal governments and the Administrative Committees adopted the points system and distributed local *hukous* to selected professionals (cf. chapters 4.2.2 and 9.2). Moreover, in the course of the transformation process, governmental bodies changed regulations in the housing market, such as that housing was no longer a public good provided in the work units, but that Chinese citizens, including professionals, had to care of their own accommodation. Although a general withdrawal of the government from the provision of housing occurred during the process, the government still formulated regulations that guided the provision of public housing in programmes. One example is the *indemnity and comfortable living project (baozhang xing anju gongcheng)* that granted housing to professionals (cf. chapter 3.1.5). The quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews revealed that many professionals were influenced by these regulations as further discussed in chapter 11.3.2).

Furthermore, by having the *authoritative power* and the *means of material production* to determine the regulations for preferential policies, governmental bodies provided the opportunity to get access to emergent properties to professionals. For example, they provided access to means of material

(re-production) in the form of housing subsidies, to local *hukous*, or to human relations to enhance *guanxi* (cf. chapters 8 and 9.2). The influence of the preferential policies on the migration and place decisions of professionals, however, was less clear in the empirical results. On the one hand, the minority of professionals knew about the opportunity to receive preferential treatment within policy schemes (cf. chapter 8.2.4). On the other hand, the majority of professionals said that some offers³⁷ they received from the government when moving to Dongguan influenced their moving decision. Except the prospect of getting access to local schools for their children and of receiving housing purchasing subsidies, the offers had only a minor influence. The case of the two entrepreneurs in Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park are worth discussing in this regard (cf. Box 8.5). One of them, Mr. Wang, had not known about the opportunity to receive preferential treatment when deciding for Guangzhou Development District as a location for his company. For the other, Mr. Chen, the prospect of receiving preferential treatment was also not the reason why he decided to open the branch of his company in Songshan Lake Park. However, after receiving preferential treatment, both perceived the offers as attractive. They perceived that receiving free office space was attractive while establishing a company, as it saved money that was urgently needed to be invested in furthering their company and its services. Mr. Wang additionally perceived that the offer of a rent-free apartment would save him time that he could invest in establishing his company. The quiet environment in the zone would help him to concentrate on establishing new ideas, and the sports card provided him access to business networks to increase his *guanxi* that he perceived as important for the success of his company. Accordingly, in the perception of the entrepreneurs, the preferential treatment helped them to increase their properties, such as means of material production, produced goods, or human relations. These properties helped them to enhance their life chances, largely by following their goals of enhancing their wealth and social status by establishing a successful company (cf. chapter 10.1.2).

In addition, many professionals who had not received offers from the government when moving to Dongguan, had said that offers would have been influential. Again it was largely the prospect of getting access to local schools and receiving housing purchasing subsidies. Furthermore, the prospect of getting accommodation free was influential in their opinion. The opportunity of getting a local *hukou* or accommodation for a lower rent was only influential in few professionals' opinions. Whereas the entrepreneurs perceived a positive influence of receiving preferential treatment on staying in the zones, the quantitative data did not reveal a correlation between receiving preferential treatment and the migration intention. The influence of the attraction strategy, including the preferential policies, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 11.2.

Besides, through regulations that impacted on professionals, the Administrative Committees influenced professionals by increasing their social interaction with other agents with the property of *human relations*. The Administrative Committee provided access to networks of other company own-

³⁷ In the survey and the interviews, it did not become clear whether these offers by the government were allocated within a preferential policy scheme. As the majority of the respondents said they had received offers from the government, but few knew about the preferential policies, it can be assumed that either the professionals were not aware that these benefits were offered within a preferential policy scheme or that they were allocated through a different channel, which both would explain why few professionals did not know about the schemes. In the expert interviews, however, no other channel of distribution was revealed.

ers in the zones or to scientific personnel in the research institutions in the zones. Especially entrepreneurs perceived these opportunities to increase their *guanxi* as helpful in establishing business. However, the influence on their migration and place decisions could not be revealed clearly. Additionally, the Administrative Committees possessed the property of *cultural resources* in the institutionalised state. The image and prestige of their administrative work influenced professionals to establish businesses in Guangzhou Development District, for instance (cf. Box 8.5).

Established Systems of Rules: Labour and Migration Regime, Housing Market and Guanxi System

As indicated in chapter 11.3.1, *established systems of rules* had an influence on the migration and place decisions of professionals. The identified impacting established systems of rules were the migration and labour regime, the housing market, and the *guanxi* system. The labour regime influenced professionals, for instance, through the *principles* it determined. The commonly accepted belief that professionals were responsible for their own occupational future, their wealth, and social status made professionals care about their careers and financial situation, and their educational and cultural level (*wenhua*) in particular and quality (*suzhi*) in general (cf. chapter 7.2.1). Accordingly, many professionals considered work and career opportunities as most important in their migration and place decisions. Those cities that provided good work opportunities with high wages and good self-development opportunities towards fostering their career were most attractive to many professionals (cf. chapters 7.2 and 7.3). Accordingly, the regulations that determined the wage levels, for example, such as laws on a minimum wage which differed on different levels as provinces, municipalities, or regions set their own minimum wages (COONEY 2013: 80), influenced professionals' decisions. However, many professionals were also aware that not only the wage level was important but also the costs of living that determined the wage level in a city (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.3). Furthermore, legislation that laid down an equalising economic development strategy to bring economic prosperity also to the inland provinces could influence professionals in their future migration decisions. Some professionals mentioned that if their home provinces would provide better work opportunities, they would go back there (cf. chapters 6.3, 6.4, and 7.2.2).

The migration regime had an influence on professionals' decisions by means of the properties of *regulations* and *principles*. The migration regime's regulations that determined professionals' civil rights, for instance, the right of legal migration or the access to public services and benefits (cf. chapters 7.1.3, 7.1.4, 7.2.4, and 9.2 and Fig. 10.1), was important to many professionals. Many professionals without a local *hukou*, for instance, perceived that they had limited access to public services and welfare. Many of them were especially worried about access to educational facilities for their children in local schools, especially public schools that they perceived as better (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.2.4). Although few professionals had their spouses and children living in other cities, some mentioned that they would only bring their child to Dongguan if the access to schools was secured. Bringing their children, however, implied staying permanently (cf. chapters 7.1.3 and 7.3).

Thereby, in general, the migration regulation mechanisms inherent in the *hukou* system are similar to those applied in other countries to regulate immigration (cf. chapters 4.2.2). First, the (flexibilised) *hukou* system is driven by the discourse of *Universal Human Rights (UHR)* distributing different civil

rights to local citizens and migrants, and recently also selectively to different types of migrants according to their expected contribution to local economic development. Similarly, international migration policies are built on this discourse (cf. chapter 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). Second, the flexibilised Chinese *hukou* system (cf. chapters 4.2.2 and 8.2.3) applies similar selection categories to the “human capital model”-approach, applied, for instance, in Canada. Both are based on points systems selecting (im-)migrants according to their educational attainment (and language skills in the Canadian and moral aspects in the Chinese example). Similar points systems are applied in other countries, such as Australia or the United States (cf. chapter 4.2.1). Accordingly, one could speak of a “globalisation of migration policies”. The Chinese case, however, stands out due to the special circumstances the *hukou* system creates compared to other countries, which is why China can apply similar measures internally that other countries can apply only to international migrants.

The influence of the regulations regarding the allocation of local *hukous* in the points system was diverse among the professionals. Some mentioned that they wished to attain a local *hukou*, for instance, to feel integrated into the local society. Other mentioned that the opportunity to gain a local *hukou* did not have an influence on their decision to settle down permanently. The reason was that the entrance barrier to attain a local *hukou* was too high. The diverging perspective among the professionals reflects the varying answers of the professionals in the quantitative survey. About half of the respondents mentioned that their *hukou* status was influential in their decision to settle down permanently, and the other half said it was not influential (cf. chapters 6.4 and 7.2). These results are similar to what has been discussed in media reports and in other academic studies. Their results show that professionals were not interested in attaining a local *hukou*, for instance, because they wanted to retire in their hometowns, which was less attractive when they lost their local *hukou* there. Others already had a local *hukou* in more prestigious cities, such as Shanghai or Beijing (BREZNITZ & MURPHREE 2011; ROBERTS 2012).

Additionally, the migration regime created *principles* that influenced professionals’ decisions. Many professionals, for instance, perceived migrant people as possessing a lower quality (*suzhi*) and level of civilisation (*wenhua*). Many perceived that the migrants’ low quality also decreased their own and their children’s chances of increasing their quality and fostering their self-development, which was why some professionals mentioned that they did not want to live close to migrants and living in a place with many migrants made them feel unhappy. Moreover, some felt insecure living close to migrants, as they perceived them to be criminals. However, some professionals differentiated between different kinds of migrants and perceived that only some of them had a “low quality”, e.g. the migrants from certain provinces that were perceived to be economically less developed and to be home to many lower-qualified people (cf. chapters 7.2.1 and 7.2.4). As many migrants felt discriminated and not integrated, they mostly spent time with other migrants. However, some wished to integrate into the local society and made their integration a condition for staying permanently (cf. chapter 7.2.4 and 10.1.2). Furthermore, the migration system with its *hukou* regulations impacted on local professionals as they perceived their social status, access to public services and welfare, and their *guanxi* as decreasing when moving to other cities (cf. chapter 6.4).

These results are in line with other scholars' findings that revealed the influence of the *hukou* system on the migration and place decision-making of migrants (cf. chapter 4.2.2). Similar to FLORIDA et al. (2012: 639, 645) and QIAN (2010), for instance, the results of the thesis indicate that openness and tolerance towards minorities was important especially in migrated professionals' decisions (see above). Additionally, scholars have argued for the role of civil rights, such as access to public services and welfare, that also had a strong influence in the case of the professionals in Dongguan (cf. LI & FLORIDA 2006; LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHU & CHEN 2010: 264). Despite its continuous relaxations, the results indicate that the *hukou* remains an impediment to migration and divides Chinese citizens into local *hukou* and non-local *hukou* holders, and hinders China from "becoming a modern, first-world nation and global leader" (CHAN 2009: 216; cf. LIU & SHEN 2013b). Especially China's large cities are restrictive by controlling the access to public services and the urban welfare system (LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHANG & TAO 2012). CHAN and BUCKINGHAM (2008) argue that the new entry conditions under the more "entrepreneurial" approach of the local municipal governments have actually intensified the discrimination of poorer, less educated migrants to obtain a local *hukou* in the cities (cf. CHAN 2011b: 98). The establishment of selective *hukou* awarding systems clearly shows that the government is using the *hukou* system in the competition for professionals and the presented study results indicate its importance in preventing the brain drain, at least in the large cities (LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHANG 2010; ZHANG & TAO 2012).

The housing market as another *established system of rules* influenced professionals by means of *principles*. In the course of China's transformation, the system of housing provision was opened to private investors (cf. chapter 3.1.5). Accordingly, the housing market followed the rules of the market that determine the prices of houses. Cities or areas, where the demand for housing was high, had higher housing prices than those with a low demand. In Songshan Lake Park, for instance, housing prices were about double the price of those in Dongguan's city centre (cf. chapter 8.2.3). In addition, some professionals perceived the housing prices in Guangzhou as higher than in Dongguan (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Nonetheless, as mentioned in chapter 9.2, the housing market was also regulated by national, provincial, and municipal governments that invested in housing themselves, and hence influenced the housing prices. The determined rental and buying prices for apartments governmental bodies built for professionals were often lower than on the free market. Additionally, changes in the system of housing provision in the course of the transformation had increased professionals' responsibility to care of their own housing. Whereas in Maoist China housing had been provided by the government in the work units (cf. chapter 3.1.5), at present people have to take care of their accommodation more or less by themselves. As shown in chapter 10.1.2, the housing prices had a major influence on the migration and place decisions of professionals. For some professionals, who perceived the prices as even higher in other Chinese cities, the housing prices in Dongguan were a reason to stay in the city. For others, the housing prices were a reason to consider migrating because they perceived they could never afford buying a residence in the city (cf. chapter 7.2.4).

The last *established system of rules* that was identified as having an influence on professionals' decisions was the *guanxi* system. It influenced professionals by its *principle* that personal relations were necessary, for instance, for successfully establishing a company or finding employment. Accordingly, professionals were eager to enhance their *guanxi* by choosing the location that provided the best

environment to achieve this. An entrepreneur, for instance, perceived Songshan Lake Park as a good location to enhance his business relations that would help him to make his company a success. Some professionals preferred staying in their hometown Dongguan due to the personal relations they had in the city (cf. chapter 7.2.4 and Box 8.5).

Places as Organisation of Social Time-space: The PRD, Dongguan and Guangzhou and their High-tech Industrial Zones

In its analytical state as *location* and *locale*, place as organised in social time-space also influenced the migration and place decision-making of professionals by its properties of *produced goods, material feature of the environment, means of material production, geographical and cultural resources* (cf. chapter 2.5.2 and Fig. 10.1). The *locale* and its produced goods, for example, influenced professionals' decisions. The provision of transportation infrastructure and the availability of service facilities, for instance, were a reason for complaints by some professionals. Professionals, who lived in Dongguan in general, and in Songshan Lake Park in particular, for instance, complained about the poor provision of public transport facilities. Some were unhappy living in Dongguan due to their perception of the public transport system and considered the system in other PRD cities as more convenient. Additionally, they perceived the public transportation system as important in a potential city, and cared about the accessibility of their neighbourhood by public transport (cf. chapters 7.1.4, 7.1.5, and 7.3). Similarly, some professionals were unsatisfied, as they perceived the provision of public facilities and services in Songshan Lake Park as insufficient, such as the provision of shopping, entertainment, or educational facilities. The quantity and quality of facilities in their living environment was important to many professionals. They cared especially about educational and health care facilities, but also other facilities, such as shopping facilities had an influence on their decision whether to stay permanently (cf. chapters 7.1.6 and 7.3). Furthermore, different locales provided a variable stock of housing. The demand and supply of housing for renting or buying determined the housing prices that were important to many professionals (cf. chapter 10.1.2). As shown in chapter 8, in Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park, for instance, housing was rare. Its scarcity increased prices and hindered professionals from finding housing, which made the place less attractive for living there permanently (cf. also Box 8.5).

The *material features of the environment* in the *location*, such as the high-tech industrial zones, influenced the decisions of professionals who thought about establishing a company. The labour shortage that became especially obvious in the high-tech industrial zones, but was severe in the cities in general (cf. chapters 3.1.1 and 8.2.3), became an issue also for company owners in the zones (cf. Box 8.5). They faced problems finding employees, due to several reasons, such as the great distance of the zones from the central city areas and the poor provision of housing. Moreover, professionals perceived the number of people living in the high-tech industrial zones as important to feel satisfied with the living environment. Some explained, for instance, that they liked living in places that were less crowded with people as they perceived it as less stressful (cf. chapter 10.1.2). Others complained about the low number of people living in Songshan Lake Park, for instance, as, in their opinion, it had a negative influence on the atmosphere in the zone and made them feel less satisfied (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 7.1.6). The *means of material production* of the location influenced professionals' decisions, for instance, by providing high wages. As the wage level was important to many professionals, places that

provided higher wage levels were more attractive to them and had the property of influencing professionals' decisions (cf. chapter 10.1.2).

Furthermore, *locations* influenced professionals' decisions by their *geographical resources* that were the immaterial quality of place and by *cultural resources* in the institutionalised state. First, the location of a place had an influence on professionals' decisions. The peripheral location of the high-tech industrial zones, for example, influenced professionals' willingness to live and work there, which made it difficult for professionals to attract employees. The location of a city, e.g. in general or Dongguan in particular, within China, however, that could have benefited them as they could quickly reach other prospering cities, such as Guangzhou and Shenzhen, e.g. for work, had a minor influence on professionals' migration and place decisions (cf. chapters 6.2 and 7.3). Second, the local circumstances, such as the security situation influenced many professionals' decisions (cf. chapters 7.1.4 and 10.1.2). Third, the *location* influenced professionals' decisions by providing emergent properties to them. Due to the regulations and principles of the migration regime (the *hukou* system) (cf. chapter 3.1.5), the location provided professionals with the emergent property of gaining certain benefits or a social status as a local resident. Accordingly, to some professionals staying in their hometown was most attractive, and they were less likely to move elsewhere where they would lose these emergent properties (cf. chapter 6.4).

Moreover, *locations* influenced professionals' decisions by means of their cultural resources. Locations possessed a certain image or prestige that had an influence on professionals. Shenzhen, for instance, had the image of being the city of migrants where migrants were not discriminated due to the high tolerance of the population towards people with other backgrounds. Especially to professionals with a migration background, this image was attractive as they expected not to be discriminated. Guangzhou and Shenzhen had the image of being international cities with many foreigners and a large migrant population. Here, professionals perceived that they could benefit from the cosmopolitan atmosphere as they perceived social interaction with foreigners or returned high-skilled Overseas Chinese as beneficial for their own *wenhua* and *suzhi* (cf. chapters 7.1.5 and 10.1.2). Dongguan had the image of being the manufacturing hub of the region, which was attractive to company owners, who relied on supplier in the manufacturing industries (cf. Box 8.5). Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park had the image of environmentally rich places providing good air quality, peaceful working and living environments and a wide range of natural amenities, which was attractive to professionals (cf. chapters 7.3 and 8.2.4). Additionally, locations had the prestige of being professionals' home place, places professionals related to a sense of belonging and home. Due to this feeling, many professionals preferred to go back there after gaining experience in other cities or when their home provinces provided more work opportunities (cf. chapter 7.2.2). Furthermore, certain facilities provided in the location, such as public schools, had the image of providing better conditions and opportunities for children. Schools in Songshan Lake Park, for instance, had the reputation of being the best schools in Dongguan (cf. chapter 8.2.3). Many professionals were influenced by the availability and quality of educational facilities and by the access to those (cf. chapters 7.1.4, 7.2.1, and 7.3).

The empirical results have revealed that, on the one hand, places as structural and agential emergent entities have an influence on professionals' decisions. Furthermore, place is important as the *lo-*

cation in that social structure and individual agents interact in the process of the morphogenesis of social structure (cf. chapter 2.5.1 and Fig. 2.5). On the other hand, primary and corporate agents influence places and their properties through their action. Primary agents influence, for instance, the attractiveness of places to other professionals. For example, by deciding to live in a certain place or not, making it lively or empty. Professionals as entrepreneurs influence the attractiveness of places by providing employment opportunities. Corporate agents, such as governmental bodies, influence the attractiveness of places by shaping their material setting (*locale*) through infrastructural developments. Accordingly, places show three characteristics as outlined by MASSEY (1991: 29). First, places are not static as they consist of social interrelations that themselves are flexible. Hence, places are highly dynamic and transformative (processuality). Second, places are unique as each place shows different properties that emerge from its individual parts, e.g. a different *locale* or a different organisation of social time-space. In addition, they are transformed by individual and collective action that in turn is influenced by the specific circumstances of each place. Third, places have multiple identities as they, on the one hand, influence individuals' *sense of place* and, on the other hand, are influenced by individual action that depends on individuals' *perception* and *sense of place*.

11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

11.1 INDIVIDUAL AND STRUCTURAL FACTORS IN THE INTERNAL CONVERSATION

By discussing the empirical results, chapter 10 showed that professionals' agency was influenced by various factors, including individual characteristics and attitudes, and *natural structures*, *structural* and *agential emergent entities* that influence individual agency by means of their *emergent properties*. Thereby, it became clear that a distinction between *structural* and *agential emergent* and *emergent properties* as suggested by ARCHER (1995; cf. chapter 2.5) was not expedient (cf. Fig. 10.1). Instead, *allocative and authoritative resources*, and *rules* were properties of both structural and agential emergent entities (cf. chapter 10.2). Especially the fact that professionals could possess properties themselves (cf. chapter 2.5) made professionals' agency very individual acts. They followed individual *goals*, *demands*, and *preferences* towards increasing their *life chances* and their pursued individual *vested interests*. *Precepts* that came with the various roles professionals occupied, e.g. as parents or children, as employees, as migrants, or as awardees of preferential treatment also influenced them (cf. chapter 2.5.2 and 10.1). Thereby, in their *internal conversations* (cf. chapter 2.4), individuals reflected on their present 'I' by evaluating their current working and living situation (cf. chapters 7.1.1 and 7.1.3.), which was the result of previous agency of the professionals' 'me'. Thus, they reflected also on experiences they made as their past selves ('me'), e.g. regarding previous migration or their previous lives in other cities (cf. chapter 6.2), to evaluate their current situation and make decisions whether to stay temporarily, permanently, or move to another city (cf. chapters 10.1.1 and 10.1.3). Additionally, in their decisions, they considered their future 'you' and the life chances their action could bring in the future to their future selves. They weighed their *social values*, arising goals, and the expectations coming with their social roles against each other and acted in the way that they perceived to best fulfil their possibly contradicting goals. Some professionals, for instance, were torn between fulfilling their family commitments of supporting their families and their goal of increasing wealth and social status by investing into their *wenhua* and *suzhi*. Hence, they were torn between their consideration of moving

to their hometowns where their families lived, and gaining work experience in Dongguan (cf. chapters 7.2.1 and 7.2.2).

Thereby, the above mentioned social values and individual goals were also influenced by the social context the professionals lived in. As discussed in chapter 3.2.2, the social values of *affiliation* and *wealth/social status*, for instance, are deeply rooted in the Chinese culture and go back to Confucian traditions. Thereby, in this thesis it was possible to reveal pivotal social values that influenced many professionals in their agency: (a) Wealth and social status, which included not only the goals of achieving personal wealth but also prosperity of the family and the nation and resulted in different goals, such as the endeavour for self-development, achieving a well-paid and prestigious job or buying property; and (b) affiliation that resulted in goals, such as living close to the family, buying property to support the aging parents, or caring for the education of one's children.

These results are in line with results of other studies (cf. chapter 4.1.2). It was shown that work-related factors, such as a high-salary or good work opportunities, were of major importance to Chinese professionals, more important than quality of life aspects, such as gaining stimulation and comfort in life (cf. FLORIDA et al. 2008; LIU & SHEN 2013b; QIAN & STOUGH 2011). However, it can be argued following other scholars' line of argument, that either in the life course or in the course of increasing wealth, e.g. by increasing salaries, quality of life factors, such as stimulation and comfort in life could become more important. A reason for this could be that many Chinese professionals had not yet crossed a certain income threshold to put the goal of achieving an enjoyable life first (cf. FLORIDA et al. 2012; LIU & SHEN 2013b; QIAN & STOUGH 2011). However, the importance of work-related factors was largely influenced by the structural context the professionals acted in. For example, they not only cared about their personal wealth but also about the prosperity of their families and the nation as a whole. Additionally, promoting the strong endeavour of fostering their careers arose out of the structural conditions, e.g. the importance of the people's *wenhua* and *suzhi* in achieving social status in Chinese society.

Furthermore, they not only cared about high wages but also about living costs and living conditions when choosing a place to settle permanently (cf. FU & GABRIEL 2012; LIU & SHEN 2013b). Thereby, it was important to many professionals to provide housing solutions not only for themselves but for their families, including spouse, children, and parents (cf. ZHU & CHEN 2010), as their endeavour to maintain and enhance their social affiliation was important to many professionals (cf. ZHANG & LI 2003; ZHAO 2003). Accordingly, it was also important in many professionals' decisions to settle down permanently to have their family members living in the same place (cf. ZHU & CHEN 2010). The social value of social affiliation was also a reason why many professionals preferred living in cities that were close to their hometowns due to the smaller geographical and cultural distance (cf. LIU & SHEN 2013b; ZHU 2007; ZHU & CHEN 2010). Their endeavour to maintain and enhance social affiliation also made many professionals consider educational facilities for their children in their migration and place decisions. Other studies revealed that universities were of major importance here, due to the opportunities they provided to professionals to find employment (cf. FLORIDA et al. 2012; QIAN 2010). The present study revealed universities' influence in regard to their children's self-development, as universities were perceived as an indicator of a neighbourhood with many "high-quality" people (peo-

ple with high *wenhua* and *suzhi*). Additionally, professionals perceived the availability and access to educational facilities for their children as majorly important, which is contradictory to other study's results (cf. LIU & SHEN 2013b).

It needs to be born in mind, however, that these social values are under constant transformation (cf. chapters 2.6 and 11.2). Thereby, it is not only the ruling parties (agential emergent entities) that have the causal power (emergent properties) to transform structures, but every individual with his/her emergent properties and action contributes to either the *morphostasis* or *morphogenesis* of social structure (cf. chapters 2.6 and 11.2). By deciding to move back to their hometown to fulfil familial commitments, professionals contribute to the stabilisation of the norm circle of the family and its *precepts, principles, cultural resources, and human relations*. Other professionals considered their personal career development as more important than fulfilling familial commitments, and perceived it as less important to live with their families, especially their parents. They were less *susceptible* to the norm circles' properties and thus contributed to the morphogenesis of the above-mentioned properties of norm circles (cf. chapter 2.6.2).

Furthermore, chapter 10 revealed the importance of place in the migration and place decision-making of professionals. While the academic dispute about the importance of employment opportunities versus spatial characteristics, such as urban amenities, has long dominated the discussion on migration determinants, and scholars argued that employment opportunities are more important than place (cf. chapter 4.1; e.g. HANSEN & NIEDOMYSL 2009), the present thesis argued for the relevance of place in individual migration and place decision-making. However, it applied a more holistic understanding of place that follows AGNEW's concept of place. It understands place, on the one hand, as the locations in which social structure and individuals interact and as social structure itself. If one understands place as one agential structural entity, it becomes clear that it possesses the causal power to influence individual action and can be changed by it and vice versa (cf. SAYER 2012: 184). Accordingly, "geography facilitates or constraints action" (ibid.: 182; cf. chapter 2.5.1) and "place [...m]atters" (ADAMS et al. 2001: xviii). Professionals move to places that provide them with the opportunity to enhance their life chances and to achieve a life that best fulfils and suits their personal social values and the expectations coming with their roles. Places that provide these opportunities to the professionals' satisfaction are more attractive to them and they are more likely to move to those or stay permanently. When places do not or no longer provide these opportunities, maybe because the professionals' social values, goals, and vested interests changed in their life course, they might move. In the Chinese case, many professionals considered cities as attractive that provided many career and work opportunities and self-development opportunities. However, many still did not consider staying permanently in Dongguan although they perceived that the city provided these opportunities. Accordingly, for the time present they considered career and work opportunities as more important than, for instance, familial commitments. However, in the long term, or in their life course, other factors, such as familial commitment, became more important. Additionally, many other factors had an influence on the migration and place decision-making of professionals, such as housing prices, living costs, environmental quality, or life pressure that all had a part in their decisions.

11.2 MORPHOGENESIS OR MORPHOSTASIS OF SOCIAL VALUES, DEMANDS AND PREFERENCES IN THE MIGRATION AND PLACE DECISION-MAKING OF PROFESSIONALS – AN OUTLOOK

Based on the theoretical elaborations on social values, demands, and preferences being transformed or maintained in ARCHER's morphogenetic/morphostatic cycle (cf. chapter 2), the next chapter presents some first insights into whether professionals' social values are currently in morphogenesis or morphostasis. A full evaluation of the morphogenesis of professionals' social values in the past and future is difficult to give, as it would require long-term studies with several data gathering stages over time. Based on HOFSTEDE's (2001²)^{38 39} analysis of societal norms (*percepts*; cf. chapter 2.5.2) in which he contrasted individualistic and collective orientations⁴⁰ in Chinese society, however, Tab. 11.1 shows some examples drawn from the empirical data in which tendencies of morphogenesis from the traditional Chinese collective orientation towards individual orientation are exemplified. Whether professionals, who acted contradictory to what was structurally anticipated, were only individual players or whether they obtained a critical mass to induce morphogenesis in the social, economic, political, cultural, or ecological realm, can only be seen in the long term. As individual agency remains based on the individual evaluation of the context in which professionals act (cf. chapter 2), their future agency is difficult to foresee. However, it was possible to reveal tendencies towards morphostasis or morphogenesis using examples that show the hybridisation⁴¹ of collective and individual orientations among the Chinese professional subject (cf. Tab. 11.1). HOFSTEDE's contrasting of the collective and individually oriented society thereby does not represent real societal states, but is used here as oversubscribing descriptions to exemplify societal propensities. Thus, the categorised characteristics of societal

³⁸ Although HOFSTEDE (ibid.) conducted his survey among employees at the internationally operating company IBM, his analysis provides not only insights about employment mentalities but includes extra-occupational situation, such as familial matters, group behaviour or political systems and legislation.

³⁹ HOFSTEDE's study has been critically discussed by several scholars. MALTBY et al. (2011: 446), for instance, criticise the conceptualisation of culture as a static entity that neglects its transformative nature (see HOFSTEDE 2001²: 11, 34). HOFSTEDE (ibid.) can be criticised from a structure and agency perspective for giving too much consideration to the influence of structure and thereby disregarding an individual's reflexive decision-making ability (cf. chapter 2.6.2; HARTMANN 2013: 58-9). ROBINSON (1983) criticises the limited representativity of HOFSTEDE's study. The focus group of middle-class employees working in multinational companies does not represent society as a whole as they have a higher socioeconomic status and are under the influence of Western company culture. MEAD (1994) describes HOFSTEDE'S survey results as becoming obsolete too quickly as they only show snapshots of society's cultures which are, especially in times of globalisation, rapidly changing. TAYEB (1996) criticises HOFSTEDE's methodology for building only on quantitative questionnaires, which is according to him rarely adequate to understand cultural values (MALTBY 2011: 446). Accordingly, the results of the present survey can only be regarded as a case study of a certain focus group (professionals) at a certain point in time. There is no claim made that the results speak for the whole of Chinese society or other groups. To counteract a lack of depth of data, both quantitative and qualitative methods have been conducted to understand the structural conditions influencing migration decisions.

⁴⁰ An individualistic society is according to HOFSTEDE (ibid.: 225) "[...] a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: Everyone is expected to look after him/herself and her/his immediate family only". The collectivistic society is "[...] a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (ibid.).

⁴¹ The term hybridisation refers to diversified cultural conditions between individualism and collectivism that can be found in almost all aspects of life in China, including the economy, work, employment markets, family, housing, etc. and can be regarded as a result of the all-encompassing transformation process taking place in China (cf. chapter 3; HARTMANN 2013: 57).

norms and values in Tab. 11.1 are rather generalising and can only be regarded as extreme manifestations of the individualistic and collectivistic society.


Collectivism	 Hybridisation	Individualism
Societal norms and social values		
In the society in general		
In a society, people are born into extended families or clans, which protect them in exchange for loyalty (in-groups)	For many professionals the nuclear family, including parents, was the major group of orientation. Whereas especially young professionals were eager to enhance their work experience and career chances and thus spent much time with colleagues and friends, in the long term many still considered family issues in their migration and place decision and the proximity to friends was less important. However, among leading professionals the importance of the family was decreasing in favour of their career. Some cared less about living with their parents, for instance. These results suggest tendencies of morphogenesis from collective towards individual orientations in family relations of the professionals.	In society, everyone is supposed to take care of him- or herself and his or her immediate family only
Collective orientation	In their endeavour to develop their career, many professionals not only thought about their own economic prosperity but also cared about their family's financial well-being and the development of China, which implied a collective orientation. However, some also said that they hoped Dongguan, for instance, to develop economically and to foster the economic upgrading process so that the city would offer more and better work and career chances to the professionals. Accordingly, whereas many professionals cared for the development of the nation, their personal prosperity seemed important too which indicated tendencies of morphogenesis towards self-orientation.	Self-orientation
In the family		
Horizontal integration: People relatives or clan members live with or close to each other Vertical integration: care for worship of ancestors aged relatives	For many professionals the proximity to their parents and the chance to support them was very important. Some were planning to unite their family after working a couple of years in Dongguan, either by returning to their home place or bringing their parents and/or spouse and children to Dongguan. Many professionals, however, cared more about living with their close family than with their parents, which implies changing social values compared to traditional orientations (cf. chapter 3.2.2). This indicated change is also suggested by the fact that the professionals did not mention the proximity to other relatives that hence seemed to be of minor importance.	People live in nuclear or one-parent families Aged relatives should care for themselves; ancestor unknown or irrelevant
Opinions predetermined by in-group	To which extent the professionals' migration and place decisions were influenced by agential emergent entities, such as in-groups or norm circles, was not possible to assess, as the influence remains very individual for every professional due to different preconditions and individual evaluations. However, the empirical results revealed that the influence of the nuclear family and parents was strong in China, which influence the personal opinions of professionals. A slight decrease of the influence of the family was revealed among leading professionals which suggests tendencies that the professionals took into consideration their personal opinions increasingly more often.	Personal opinions expected

Tab. 11.1: Morphogenesis of social values from collective to individual orientation – some examples

Part VI Discussion and Synthesis

Collectivism	 Hybridisation	Individualism
In the work situation		
Importance of provisions by company	<p>Many interviewees perceived the provision of services by the company, such as accommodation, catering, or sports activities, as important. Company benefits were especially important to younger professionals that just entered the labour market and did not have a family yet. In the long term, many wanted to live with their families in their own house. Accordingly, compared to the embeddedness of professionals in work units in Maoist China, which reduced personal life activities to a minimum (cf. chapter 3.1.5), the results suggest that Dongguan’s professionals in present-day China were more oriented towards their personal lives with their families. For them, the importance of provisions by companies arose more out of personal life convenience than out of employee’s affiliation with the company indicating a tendency towards the individual orientation in their work situation.</p>	Importance of employees’ personal life
More importance attached to training and use of skills in jobs	<p>To many professionals the opportunity of enhancing their skills and using them in their job was very important as it strongly related to enhancing their <i>wenhua</i> and <i>suzhi</i> and thus their social status. Although only few professionals said so, it was also important to professionals to find a challenging, satisfying, and existing job. Whether their individual agency results in morphogenesis towards the preference for more freedom and challenge in the job is difficult to assess.</p>	More importance attached to freedom and challenge in jobs
Staying with one company desirable	<p>Most professionals intended staying in their company for a long time and had no ambitions to change their current job. However, some professionals had changed their jobs frequently already and were eager to continue doing so. Their individual agency might induce morphogenesis towards the ambition to frequently change jobs in order to enhance one’s individual career.</p>	Staying with company undesirable
Interesting work as important as earnings	<p>Earnings were of major importance to many professionals in Dongguan, which shows their individual orientation in this regard. Only few professionals were hoping for a job that was satisfying and exciting indicating also tendencies towards a collective orientation among the professionals.</p>	Earnings more important than interesting work
Knowing the right people most important for career	<p>As the empirical analysis revealed, <i>guanxi</i> was an important aspect in career development and establishing business. In their migration and place decision-making, opportunities to maintain or enhance their <i>guanxi</i> were important to many professionals. The expert interviews revealed that entrepreneurs were attracted via personal connections of company owners that had already established a company in one of the high-tech industrial zones. In addition, for the selection of awardees of preferential treatment, personal relations to company owners in the zones were also important. Additionally, employees for the zone’s companies were often recruited in the local universities. These examples show that personal relations and connections still played a major role in professionals’ occupational and career chances and suggest tendencies towards collective orientations in the labour regime.</p>	Ability most important for career

Tab. 11.1: (continued)

Collectivism	 Hybridisation	Individualism
Employees act in the interest of their in-group, not necessarily of themselves	The empirical analysis showed that the nuclear family, including parents, was the most important norm circle in whose favour many professionals acted. Many professionals explained that they were planning to move their families to Dongguan or return to their home place to be with their families. Owning an apartment was an important aspect for getting married. Accordingly, housing prices and the prospect of buying a house in a city were majorly influencing the professionals' decisions where to live permanently. These results indicate tendencies towards collective orientations in the professionals' collegial agency.	Employees supposed to act as "economic men"
Relatives of employer and employees preferred in hiring	As mentioned above, in the recruitment process of leading professionals personal relations and connections were of great importance. In awarding preferential treatment, professionals with connections to the zones were preferred and entrepreneurs were preferentially recruited through personal and business connections of company owners in the zones, indicating a tendency towards a collective orientation in hiring procedures.	Family relationships seen as a disadvantage in hiring
Sources: Own draft, includes ideas of HARTMANN (2013: 58) and HOFSTEDE (2001 ² : 226-7, 236, 244)		

Tab. 11.1: (continued)

As discussed in Tab. 11.1, the family as a norm circle as defined by ELDER-VASS (2010, cf. chapter 2.5.1) had a major influence on many professionals' decisions. Although among some of the professionals the influence of the family was less obvious, there was no clear tendency marking the morphogenesis from collective to individual orientations – from traditional to modern social values (cf. HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 32). However, professionals, who live with their parents after marriage, do not necessarily act according to their family social values. In the context of high unemployment rates among young professionals, low wages especially for career entrants and high housing prices, many young professionals' agency is influenced by a lack of *means of material production* (cf. chapter 2.5.2). The lack of financial resources fosters coresidence with parents and thus enhances traditional family social values. Furthermore, especially in dual earner households, childcare is a critical issue, which they often solve with the support of their parents (cf. chapter 6.4). Accordingly, many professionals choose to live with their parents although thereby not necessarily following their social values of maintaining or enhancing familial affiliation (cf. HEBEL & SCHUCHER 2006a: 32; LOGAN et al. 1998). *Non-normative* coresidence, e.g. coresidence that is driven by the goal of enhancing or maintaining comfort in life or wealth, is argued to be on the rise especially when the children of the one-child families are grown up and marry (PIMENTEL & LIU 2004).

By using the example of the social value of *social affiliation*, it becomes clear that the reasons for morphogenesis or morphostasis of social values are often multifold, not least because of the variety of factors that influence individual agency (cf. chapter 2). It is critical to draw simple conclusions on the correlations of individual agency and their goals, demands, and preferences. The aim of the present thesis was to give a broad idea about the social values, demands, and preferences that play a role in the migration and place decision-making of professionals. On the one hand, the author is aware that it is not possible to ascertain the full variety of influential factors, not in the scope of this thesis and probability not beyond its scope. Instead, this thesis concentrated on ascertaining the factors that might be influenced by policy decision-makers in order to make attraction strategies of Chinese cities more

effective. On the other hand, when following the aim of providing a comprehensive picture, there is a danger of lacking analytical depth in the case of the single social values and goals revealed. Based on the present results it would be expedient to conduct further research on the role of single aspects, such as the family, environmental conditions, or homeownership in the migration and place decision-making of professionals without disregarding the whole variety of influencing factors.

11.3 THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENTAL ATTRACTION STRATEGIES

11.3.1 High-tech Industrial Zones – Places to Maintain or Enhance One's Life Chances?

The strategy applied in Guangzhou and Dongguan and their high-tech industrial zones to attract and retain professionals included various aspects that were linked to the professionals' endeavour to maintain or enhance their life chances (cf. chapter 8). By providing professionals with the chance to maintain or increase their life chances, as done, for example, by launching preferential policies, they tried to convince professionals to move to the zones and stay permanently (cf. chapters 2.4 and 9). The strategy of designing attractive places in the high-tech industrial zones makes clear that the government's emergent property of authoritative power to influence social-time space was also central in the attraction strategy. Based on DE JONG (1999), chapter 10.1.2 revealed six social values that were important in Dongguan's professionals' migration and place decisions and the resulting individual goals that they followed to maintain and enhance their life chances: *health, wealth and social status, social affiliation, life comfort, life stimulation and freedom of choice and expression*. Following these results, this chapter analyses the potential which high-tech industrial zones provide to professionals to maintain and enhance their life chances, using the example of Songshan Lake Park (cf. chapter 8.2.2).

Health: Improving Physical and Mental Well-being?

In the eyes of many professionals in Dongguan, Songshan Lake Park provided comprehensive opportunities to maintain and even enhance their physical and mental well-being when moving to or living in the area due to its high environmental quality, the relaxing living environment, the variety of natural amenities or the good security situation. For example, many professionals felt the security situation in Songshan Lake Park to be better than in other districts in Dongguan, which made them feel safer and less reluctant to pursue their leisure activities (cf. chapters 7.1.3 and 7.1.6). Especially in comparison to other districts in Dongguan or other cities in China, the professionals perceived the living environment as suitable for maintaining their health and enhancing it.

Wealth and Social Status: Good Work and Career Opportunities and Access to Affordable Housing?

According to some professionals, Songshan Lake Park provided better work and career opportunities than other towns and districts in Dongguan and other places in China, such as the professionals' hometowns, and thus gave good opportunities to enhance wealth and social status (cf. chapter 10.1.2). Accordingly, the governmental strategy of making the zone a high-tech industry hub to be considered as a potential work location by professionals seems to be successful. Other opportunities to enhance their social status that were offered in Songshan Lake Park, such as the opportunity to attain a local *hukou* status and the opportunity of becoming homeowners, made the area additionally attractive as both aspects were considered important by professionals. The Administrative Committee not only

allocated rent-free accommodation, apartments for a lower rental or purchasing price or housing purchasing subsidies but also engaged in the construction of residential buildings, renting them to companies that wanted to provide company accommodation to employees (cf. chapter 8.2.3).

Other factors, however, argue against the success of the strategy. Due to the still comparably high housing prices, it is questionable whether many of numerous career entrants in the zone (cf. chapter 7.1.1) could afford to buy an apartment in the zone, which could foster their wish to stay permanently (cf. chapter 7.1.4). Additionally, it turned out that many professionals preferred not to live in Songshan Lake Park for convenience reasons and rather bought apartments in the central districts, and followed a dual household strategy, or became second home owners (cf. chapters 7.1.4, 7.1.6, and 8.2.3). Other studies have also revealed the tendency among profiteers of subsidised housing policies to become second homeowners by renting the subsidised housing unit to other people and staying in a place elsewhere (HUANG 2011). Accordingly, the governmental housing subsidy scheme seemed to be only slightly effective. The fact that many professionals perceived their stay in Songshan Lake Park as temporary shows that Songshan Lake Park was not the future home for many of the professionals (cf. chapter 6.4).

Social Affiliation: Fulfilling Familial Commitments?

For many professionals Songshan Lake Park was not the ideal location for maintaining and enhancing their familial affiliation. Some perceived the facilities needed for their children as too few (cf. chapters 7.1.3 and 7.1.6), others lacked a sense of belonging or community in Songshan Lake Park (cf. chapter 7.1.6). Compared to the other districts and towns, many professionals perceived Songshan Lake Park as providing a sense of community, especially those in company accommodation where they spent much time with their colleagues (cf. chapter 7.1.3). Living in company accommodation for many was only a temporary solution as they targeted homeownership (cf. chapters 7.2.3 and 10.1.2) or because the collegial atmosphere substituted the proximity to the family only for some time (cf. chapters 3.2.2, 7.1.4, and 7.2.2). From this perspective the policies and endeavours in Songshan Lake Park failed to achieve the ultimate goal of attracting professionals permanently. Although promising, also the zone's strategy of providing preferential treatment to professionals' family members also did not convince many professionals to bring their families and thus to stay permanently, mostly as they perceived the facilities in Songshan Lake Park as incomplete (cf. chapter 6.4).

However, Songshan Lake Park was a good location for maintaining and enhancing business affiliations, e.g. as it provided access to networks of company owners, including access to potential supplier companies and scientists, which was important to entrepreneurs to foster their company's future success (cf. chapter 8 and Box 8.5). Thus, the zone was attractive to entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, it remains questionable whether the area can become a sustainably attractive place when only attracting businesses but not the people themselves. Thereby, it would merely remain an industrial zone but would not become a city itself as targeted by the Administrative Committee.

Life Comfort: Towards a Peaceful Life?

Regarding the chances of maintaining or increasing life comfort provided in Songshan Lake Park, the professionals made contradicting statements relating to the aspects of public facilities, public transport, and housing opportunities. Therefore, a concluding evaluation on this social value remains difficult.

Many professionals, for instance, complained about the poor provision of facilities, especially medium shopping facilities, in Songshan Lake Park, which they perceived as too few, too far away and not accessible by public transport. Daily products were available but expensive (cf. chapters 7.1.3 and 7.1.6). In this regard, Songshan Lake Park provided too few opportunities to maintain or even enhance life comfort to be attractive to professionals. Concerning public transport, Songshan Lake Park provided chances to maintain and enhance their comfort in life to some professionals, e.g. to those that perceived frequencies of modes and the number of routes as high, and the number of people using them as low. For others it provided few chances of life comfort, as they perceived low frequencies and routes and the lack of a metro connection (cf. chapters 7.1.6 and 7.3). However, the fact that many professionals were confident that the provision of facilities would improve in the future, also gave them hope to receive more chances to enhance their life comfort in Songshan Lake Park in the future – probably a reason why professionals had decided to come to and stay in the area.

Concerning the living situation, Songshan Lake Park provided opportunities to some of the professionals to enhance their life comfort at least on a temporary basis, namely professionals that had the opportunities to live in company accommodation and were satisfied with it (cf. chapters 7.1.4 and 7.3). However, as those were mainly unmarried and childless (cf. chapter 7.1.3), one needs to question the success of the Administrative Committee's strategy as it targeted especially older experienced professionals. Furthermore, unmarried and childless professionals are likely to change their preferences in their life course towards an area with opportunities for home ownership and children's development.

Life Stimulation: Towards an Enjoyable Life?

Similar to other facilities, Songshan Lake Park provided only few opportunities for maintaining life stimulation, e.g. by providing entertainment facilities, mainly restaurants and leisure facilities, such as sport courts. As some professionals complained about the poor provision, and even said Songshan Lake Park appeared like a rural area (cf. chapter 7.1.6), especially compared to other districts in Dongguan, it can be concluded that Songshan Lake Park did not provide the opportunity to enhance life stimulation when moving to the area. However, stimulation in life and the goal of maintaining and achieving an enjoyable life was a little less important to the professionals. Therefore, the lower attention paid to it in the attraction strategy might have only a limited influence on its success.

Freedom of Choice and Expression: A Tolerant and Diverse Place?

The acceptance of migrants in Dongguan in general was poor (cf. chapter 7.1.4). The situation of migrants was not majorly different in Songshan Lake Park from that in other districts in Dongguan. In contrast, freedom of choice and expression and the related goal of living in an area with tolerance towards minorities and social diversity and complexity were very important to the professionals (mainly those with a migration background; cf. chapter 10.1.2). Thus, it can be concluded that the Administrative Committee that put no effort into addressing the discrimination of migrants but in turn contributed

to its continued existence by enforcing the selective allocation of access to social services and facilities, failed in providing opportunities to maintain or enhance freedom of choice and expression. This failure turns into an immense shortcoming when one considers that an increase in the professionals' stock is not only possible by retaining local professionals but only by attracting professionals from other provinces – professionals with other values, cultures, and traditions. Additionally, by targeting the attraction of high-skilled people that are likely to earn a higher salary and have a higher social status than their less educated counterparts, they contributed to the social fragmentation of Dongguan city.

11.3.2 Guangzhou's and Dongguan's Attraction Strategies – Success or Failure?

Using the examples of Songshan Lake Park and Guangzhou Development District (cf. chapter 8), it was possible to expand the knowledge on the strategy followed in many Chinese cities to establish high-tech industrial zones and make them comprehensive urban areas by providing diverse urban facilities, such as housing, recreation, or education. At the same time, Guangzhou's and Dongguan's municipal governments and the zones' Administrative Committees tried to make them outstanding areas compared to the urban cores by offering high environmental quality and secure and luxurious residential areas. In their strategy, high-tech industrial zones have been criticised for not providing comprehensive urban facilities, e.g. by WONG (2005) in the case of Guangzhou Development District; for example insufficient cultural and recreational facilities, such as community halls, sports centres and libraries. Whereas other scholars argue that the Administrative Committees have come closer to achieving this aim over the past years at least in Guangzhou Development District (e.g. WUTTKE 2011), evaluations of the developments in high-tech industrial zones remain based on assumptions of what the targeted professionals might expect in their living environment. By providing an in depth discussion of Chinese professionals' social values and goals in life and their demands and preferences relevant in their migration and place decision-making and the opportunities Songshan Lake Park offers to professionals, this chapter 11.3 provides a comprehensive picture of the attractiveness of high-tech industrial zones as living and working places.

In this regard, offering environmental conditions that gave the professionals the chance to maintain or enhance their health conditions, especially compared to other places in Dongguan, which professionals generally perceived as polluted and harming their physical and mental well-being, was a promising approach. Many professionals mentioned that they liked Songshan Lake Park due to its good environmental conditions. When one considers the increasing awareness about environmental degradation occurring in many Chinese cities, this strategy may be promising also in the future. Especially among the targeted high-skilled Overseas Chinese, an increased environmental awareness was observable (cf. Box 8.5). The provision of secure living environment achieved by means of security management and gated communities, also seemed to meet the demands of professionals, especially when one considers the professionals' perception of the security situation in Dongguan. As outlined in chapter 8.2.3, a similar situation was found in Guangzhou Development District where the Administrative Committee also concentrated on offering a good environmental quality. The security situation there, however, showed different characteristics. Yet, the Administrative Committees in both zones concentrated on providing luxury residential complexes with comprehensive security management to

satisfy the expected preferences of leading professionals. However, high vacancy rates as revealed in the case of Guangzhou Development District should make the Administrative Committees reconsider their housing strategy towards the provision of residences affordable to a broader public. Whereas housing speculation is not only a problem in high-tech industrial zones but in many Chinese cities (cf. chapter 3.1.5), it remains inevitable to solve this problem in order to make the zones livable places.

Good work and career opportunities were one of the major reasons why professionals came to Dongguan. Thereby, many professionals perceived Dongguan as a place that provided good opportunities for career entrants. After gaining work experience, many professionals wanted to either move on to other cities or back to their hometowns. Songshan Lake Park was perceived as one of the best places to find employment in the high-tech industry and was thus attractive to many professionals. In general, however, many professionals in Dongguan were satisfied with their job although they perceived other PRD cities as providing better work and career opportunities. They especially liked the lower working pace in Dongguan. Accordingly, many were likely to stay in their current jobs, some even for a long time. Additionally, many did not perceive the work opportunities in other cities as much different. Nonetheless, professionals with more migration experience (mobile professionals) and those with slightly more migration experience that originated from far distances (settled professionals) were more dissatisfied with their jobs and thus more often thought about moving elsewhere. Accordingly, professionals, who had lived in many other places and originated from more distant provinces, were more difficult to retain, probably because they had higher expectations and could better compare it to other places. The other professionals – immobile and permanently settled – either were locals or came from adjacent provinces. It can be assumed that their willingness to stay in Dongguan partly arose from the proximity to their hometown and home culture. Accordingly, the availability of good work and career opportunities, seem to largely have an influence on those professionals, who either were locals or lived close. For other professionals, work and career opportunities alone did not seem to convince them to stay permanently. To enhance its stock of professionals sustainably, however, it is important to retain not only those professionals, who originate from Dongguan or feel embedded into the local culture as they are from Guangdong or adjacent provinces in South China. It is necessary to also be an attractive place to all Chinese professionals, including the mobile ones that are more difficult to retain. Work and career opportunities alone do not seem to be convincing enough though.

This assumption is supported by the fact that many professionals perceived it as important to maintain and enhance their social affiliation. Thereby, they not only cared about living close to their families or enhancing their *guanxi*. They also perceived it as important to live in their hometowns where they felt culturally embedded. Dongguan and also Guangzhou and their high-tech industrial zones provided the opportunities to professionals to bring their families by supporting the family's settlement by means of preferential policies. The zones also provided chances to professionals to enhance their *guanxi* by providing access to business networks. However, as shown in the case of Dongguan, the governmental authorities failed to make all professionals with a migrant background feel at home and integrated into the local culture. Whereas attaining a local *hukou* made some professionals feel that they got access to social welfare and services, however, it hardly acted as a means of reducing the barrier between migrants and locals. One thing became apparent: Without solving the severe situation of migrants in Dongguan who face discrimination and disrespect daily, Dongguan and

Songshan Lake Park will face fundamental problems attracting professionals with a migration background permanently. It will be especially difficult to attract those highly targeted leading professionals that are also offered many chances in other cities, such as Shenzhen or Guangzhou. Many professionals perceived those cities as more open-minded and experienced with the integration of migrants. The further relaxation of the *hukou* system would be a first step towards achieving a more tolerant and equal society in Dongguan and also in Guangzhou (cf. chapters 3.1.5 and 4.2.2). The barriers for attaining a local *hukou* seemed too high to some professionals, but access to social welfare and services, however, was very important to many.

Nonetheless, possessing local *hukous* would hardly solve the migrants' problem of feeling not tolerated and distrusted by local residents alone. Instead, the governmental bodies need to increase their efforts to foster migrants' integration. To provide equal opportunities, to foster mixed residential areas, or to support mutual social activities are familiar claims known from integration debates in countries worldwide that face problems in integrating immigrants. Thereby, achieving the integration and toleration of people with other backgrounds, attitudes, or orientations and thus attaining social and cultural diversity and complexity is a crucial factor in achieving economic prosperity and hence the upgrading of Guangzhou's and Dongguan's economy. Several scholars have argued that diversity and tolerance stands in strong relation to the economic performance of a city or region in China and worldwide (e.g. FLORIDA 2002; INGLEHART & WELZEL 2005; JACOBS 1962; OTTAVIANO & PERI 2005; QIAN & STOUGH 2011; QUIGLEY 1998). Whereas professionals contribute to economic development, they are attracted by a diverse and open-minded society, as shown internationally and in the case of Dongguan's professionals. Central in attracting Chinese professionals to Dongguan and Guangzhou is to make them feel at home, which for many professionals required proximity to their families. On the other hand, it can only be achieved by making them feel tolerated, integrated and wanted, not only by governmental bodies, but also by the local society as a whole.

Furthermore, many professionals perceived Songshan Lake Park still as an industrial area providing housing mainly in dormitories. Indeed, many professionals, who lived in Songshan Lake Park, lived in company accommodation, which they perceived as convenient but only as temporary solutions. Although there were also single company apartments or company accommodation for families, the governmental bodies should increase their efforts to provide more permanent housing solutions, e.g. by offering apartments for sale. Thereby, offering housing purchasing subsidies instead of apartments for rent or free on a temporary basis is more expedient for attracting professionals permanently. Homeownership had a positive influence on the migration intention.

Maintaining or enhancing comfort and stimulation in their lives was also important to the professionals. By providing company accommodation, Songshan Lake Park, for instance, offered proximity to the workplace, which was important to many professionals. The perceived lack of facilities, such as shops, and educational or cultural facilities, was a concern of many professionals. They cared more about educational facilities, especially for their children, and about health, shopping and recreational facilities. Cultural facilities, such as theatres or museums, and open events, such as fairs, festivals, or markets were mentioned less as being important in professionals' lives, which mirrored the situation in Songshan Lake Park. However, making high-tech industrial zones, such as Songshan Lake Park and

Guangzhou Development District, comprehensive urban areas that do not attract professionals only on a temporary basis and for work-purposes, but rather for living, a comprehensive supply of urban facilities would be needed. Whereas many professionals in Dongguan were still young and considered work and career opportunities as most important, in their life course other factors might become more important. A revaluation in the life course might make them search for a neighbourhood which is not only suitable for working but also for living. The strategy of improving the provision of facilities and expanding public transport connection to the central city in both zones, thereby, seems to be pivotal in helping the professionals to enhance their comfort in life.

The accessibility of the residential area by public transport was of major importance to them. However, good public transport connections also increase the attractiveness of commuting to the high-tech industrial zones day-to-day, which many professionals do at present. The high number of commuters can only be reduced by making the zones similarly or even more attractive than the inner city areas. Better transport connection would also reduce the disadvantaged location of the zone, which made it difficult for company owners to attract employees. Whereas the peripheral location of many high-tech industrial zones was attributed as being the reason for their failure in the 1990s (e.g. WONG 2005; ZHANG 2000), Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park could become sub-centres of the increasingly poly-centric cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan (cf. WUTTKE 2011a: 366).

Whilst the attraction strategies in Guangzhou and Dongguan with their preferential policies have been formulated and implemented only in recent years, it is difficult to evaluate their effectiveness yet, a fact acknowledged also by government officials in Songshan Lake Park and Guangzhou Development District. Some of them were aware that professionals' migration and place decisions were very individual decisions and thus difficult to influence (cf. chapter 8.2.4). Scholars also disagree regarding the success of nation and lower-level programmes in reversing China's professionals shortage and reversing the brain drain (CAO 2008; ZHAO & ZHU 2009: 41). Whereas the *One Thousand Talents Scheme*, for instance, is expected to be more successful than earlier programmes, it has also been criticised for the non-transparency of its recruitment procedure and concentration of already returned professionals rather than the active attraction of new professionals from abroad (ZHAO & ZHU 2009: 41). COOKE (2012: 28) argues that with national-level measures, governments so far have concentrated more on reducing the labour shortage in the state sector and have more or less neglected the need in the private sector. Others question the policies' success especially in attracting professionals, for example, the policy of allocating local *hukous* to professionals (BREZNITZ & MURPHREE 2011: 191). WANG (2007: 70) even argues that the "zone fever" has promoted the proliferation of too many different policies in too many high-tech industrial zones, and that the central government should not be hesitant in "cleaning up NSDZs (High-tech Industrial Development Zone⁴²)".

This argument supports the impression that arose from the empirical analysis that the preferential policies in Guangzhou Development District and Songshan Lake Park were very complex and that preferential treatment was difficult to get. Many professionals in Dongguan did not know about the opportunity to get preferential treatment. In Guangzhou, for instance, the number of applicants for

⁴² High-tech Industrial Development Zone is another term for high-tech industrial zone.

preferential treatment was lower than expected. On the one hand, this situation might show a discrepancy between the governmental policies and the needs and preferences of the professionals. In their attraction strategy, they followed the logic of trying everything and hoping it would work out (cf. chapter 8.2.4). To consider the professionals' demands and preferences, however, is of major importance to attract them permanently. In order to attract not only young professionals, as so far has largely been done at least in Dongguan, but older, more work-experienced professionals the attraction strategies should consider the changing demands and preferences in the professionals' life courses (cf. chapters 7.3.1 and 10.1.2). Similar to other studies in which only minor differences in the life course regarding the preferences of urban amenities were revealed (cf. LIU 2013), the empirical analysis in this study showed only a minor relation between the demands and preferences of professionals and their life courses. However, slight differences were revealed that might make the decisive difference. Nonetheless, although it is important to consider the professionals' demands and preferences when trying to influence their migration, it is important to consider that the aspects professionals mentioned when being asked for the factors based on which they would choose a city are solely hypothetical. Only in the actual decision situation, are the actual factors revealed. Thus, studying the professionals' migration intentions, as done in this study, had the drawback that professionals in the end might consider different aspects in their decision as said in the questionnaire or interview. The study of the reasons for previous migration (migration to Dongguan is the case in this study) can only partly mitigate this issue.

On the other hand, the limited reach of the city's preferential policies shows that it would be sensible to advertise them more openly rather than mainly recruiting potential leading professionals via governmental networks and *guanxi* relations of leading professionals already existing in the zones. In doing so, preferential policies could become more a means of attracting professionals rather than retaining them. Furthermore, drawing on SAYER's (2012) idea of *susceptibility* to power (cf. chapter 2.6.2), one needs to consider that professionals' migration and place decisions remain based on the individual evaluation of the situation and the context in which the professionals make their decisions. Whether they are susceptible to the governmental attempts to influence their decisions by means of preferential policies and the (re-)organisation of place remains different for each individual. Professionals' responses to policies are not rational decisions but decisions that are influenced by various factors. The above mentioned issues and circumstances make it even more difficult to assess the effectiveness of Guangzhou's and Dongguan's attraction strategies and to influence professionals' agency in general.

The results not only apply to the two case study of Guangzhou and Dongguan but are also relevant for other countries that are attempting to attract professionals. It was possible to show that governmental strategies in Guangzhou and Dongguan showed similarities to international migration policies. Hence, similar issues in the permanent attraction of professionals, such as regarding the integration of immigrants, might arise and similar solutions could be found. Nonetheless, there are limitations of generalising from the conditions in one city to that of others, as the case study reflects a particular set of social realities (cf. MORRISON 2014: 17). However, inferences drawn from conflating migration theories with social theory are relevant also in other countries' contexts. Due to the diversity of factors influencing professionals' migration and place decision-making and the required susceptibility to

adopted measures, it was argued that in general it remains difficult to attract professionals not only in China but internationally. Policies that more generally influence the structural conditions, such as the employment situation or the possibility to live with one's family, seem more effective. Many professionals in Dongguan, for instance, were most attracted by places that provided good career and work opportunities and chances to develop themselves. In the long term, they also highly valued places that gave them the chance to live with nuclear family members, ideally also with their parents. Material resources, such as monetary subsidies or accommodation, were rather "nice-to-haves", as shown for instance in the case of entrepreneurs in Songshan Lake Park and Guangzhou Development District. Additionally, due to the transformative nature of the social context in which professionals decide, policies need to be fairly flexible to best react to the changing influencing conditions of individual decision-making.

PART VII FINAL CONCLUSION

The present thesis addresses a topic that has gained increasing attention internationally – in academia and among political decision-makers. In the increasing competition for professionals most attention, however, is paid to the international migration of professionals, be it in policies striving to encourage immigration of highly educated migrants or in academic literature. The Chinese case draws a different picture. By drawing on the case of Chinese professionals, it was possible to show that governmental bodies on different levels put emphasis on attracting professionals internally in order to upgrade their pool of professionals. Chinese national, provincial, municipal, and local governments implemented diverse strategies addressing various realms assumed to be important for attracting Chinese professionals. Thereby, they targeted not only professionals from abroad where they have studied or worked but also from other cities and regions in China. Chinese governments, however, paid little attention to the actual demands and preferences of the professionals. They, for instance, planned housing estates without considering the housing demand among professionals.

This work contributes to a better understanding of the migration and place decisions of professionals by drawing on a structure and agency perspective. Besides structural factors, such as migration or labour regulations or the organisation of place, it is argued that it is important to take into account the professionals' demands, preferences, and social values when trying to understand and influence individual agency. Existing migration theories often fail to acknowledge the variety of influencing factors in migration and place decisions. They are often tracked, for instance, in the dispute about the importance of employment- versus amenity-related factors. The conflation of DE JONG's model of migration decision-making and NIEDOMYSL's extension of needs, demands, and preferences with social theory, namely ARCHER's morphogenetic approach and GIDDENS' structuration theory, provides a way out of this one-sided perspective. It has helped to understand professionals as active decision-makers who are influenced by a range of factors.

It was possible to highlight the role of individual characteristics and psychological mechanisms, namely individual perception, recall, and memory, and different types of consciousness – one perspective in explaining why individual decisions are so diverse. ARCHER's analytical distinction between persons, actors, and agents clarified another perspective. In the double morphogenesis of agents, professionals become agents by occupying various social roles – MERTON's role-sets. It is the individual, however, that decides which role expectations to fulfil and which to disregard. The different roles professionals take, for example, as parents or children, employees or migrants, and the individual evaluation of role commitments, make professionals' decisions additionally diverse and difficult to influence.

For identifying structural conditions that influence professionals' decisions, ARCHER's analytical distinction between structural/agential emergent entities and properties is useful as it helps to untangle the complex social reality. By applying her approach, it was possible to clarify that agential and structural entities (e.g. norm circles or established systems of rules) have the power to influence individual agency by means of their properties (e.g. rules, resources, human relations). Amendments drawn from GIDDENS' types of structures or BLACK's typology of rules were helpful in specifying these properties. Furthermore, the role of place understood as social structure itself was highlighted. Place played a role as the sphere in which agents interact with each other and with social structure, as the material setting

and in its organisation. Using the examples of the Pearl River Delta cities of Guangzhou and Dongguan and two of its high-tech industrial zones, it was possible to reveal the importance of place in governmental attraction strategies and in professionals' decision-making.

Individuals' endeavour to enhance their properties and thus their life chances presumed by ARCHER, was central in understanding why professionals were eager to migrate elsewhere or to stay in Dongguan. Professionals thought about migrating when they perceived a possibility to enhance their enabling properties, such as their means of material (re-)production (e.g. money) or their social status, and/or decrease constraining properties when moving. They considered staying when assessing their life chances as highest in their current city. In general, only the fact that professionals are eager to maintain or enhance them, make it possible to attract professionals by distributing properties, such as housing, a local *hukou* or access to social welfare and public services in the Chinese case. This argumentation clarifies that despite all the structural influences which influence individual decisions and their demands, preferences, and social values, in the end, it is the professionals themselves that take the decisions whether to migrate, stay temporarily or permanently. Additionally, it was argued that it is the individual susceptibility to government's causal powers that decides whether governmental offers are attractive or not.

The transformative nature of social structure assumed in social theory was shown to be important too when trying to attract professionals. Through the action of individuals, organised and unorganised agents which transform social structure, professionals act in an ever-changing social context. This condition makes them decide based on different structural conditions with different intended and unintended outcomes. Therefore when trying to attract professionals permanently, it is important to consider the possibly changing professionals' demands, preferences, and social values, and structural factors, and readapt the attraction strategy accordingly. ARCHER's theoretical explanation of morphogenesis additionally made it possible to identify different realms of change that influenced professionals' decisions in the transformation country which is China, and to give an outlook on possible future changes of professionals' demands, preferences, and social values.

The central argument of the thesis that the factors influencing the migration and place decisions of professionals are diverse and difficult to reveal in their entirety, clarifies that questions of employment opportunities versus urban amenities are not answerable. Using a multi-method approach by combining quantitative and qualitative methods, it was possible instead to reveal the central social values that play a role in Chinese professionals' decision-making. When choosing a place to stay permanently, Chinese professionals largely considered their family as a group of orientation – nonetheless, the nuclear rather than the extended family as in Confucian tradition. Many professionals took into account familial commitments, such as supporting parents, living with a spouse and children, and providing a suitable environment for children to grow up. In the latter case, the quantity and quality of urban amenities, especially education facilities, played an important role. Nonetheless, many professionals were eager to first extend their work experience in Dongguan before moving back to their hometown, or before bringing their family to live with them. The high importance of work and career opportunities among the Chinese professionals interviewed in Dongguan reflected the relevance of self-development, education, and civilisation. It was argued that its relevance arose in the course of Chi-

na's transformation towards a new socialist labour regime and the accompanying endeavours to advance the economy. Dongguan's professionals followed the social value of maintaining and enhancing their personal but also their families' and the nation's wealth and social status. Thereby, not only the relevance of employment opportunities was explained but also the importance of home ownership, salary, or the *hukou* status. Urban amenities, in comparison, played a minor role in professionals' migration and place decisions, but it was argued that with increasing wealth its role would most probably increase. The increasing environmental awareness that became obvious among Dongguan's professionals was one example that was drawn on in the thesis.

The results not only apply to the case study cities, but are also relevant for other countries that strive to attract professionals. It was argued that due to its unique migration regulation mechanisms inherent in the *hukou* system, the Chinese case shows similarities to international migration schemes that encourage high-skilled immigration, but try to deter unwanted migrants. However, there are limitations of generalising from the conditions in one city to that of others, as the case study reflects a particular set of social realities (cf. MORRISON 2014: 17). Nonetheless, inferences drawn from conflating migration theories with the structure and agency perspective are relevant also in other countries' contexts. Due to the diversity of factors influencing the decision-making of the professionals and the required susceptibility to adopted measures, it was argued that it remains difficult to attract professionals in general. Furthermore, the transformative nature of social conditions which professionals act in requires flexible policies.

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH COOPERATION PARTNERS

The present thesis was conducted in the frame of the research project *Regional activity in the wake of crisis: towards a new growth model in the Greater Pearl River Delta?* (2011-2013), which is part of the Priority Programme *Megacities-Megachallenge: Informal Dynamics of Global Change* (SPP 1233), financed by the Germany Research Foundation (DFG). Several researchers of the Institutes of Geography at the University of Cologne, Hannover, and Gießen, the Kiel Institute of the World Economy and the School of Geography and Planning at the Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China took part in the project.

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APPENDIX B: OVERVIEW ON QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Overview on expert interviews in the exploration phase, empirical phase I and II (Ex = Explorative interview, E = Expert, P = Professionals, C = Company Owner)

Type	No.	Location of interview	Gender
Ex	1	Dongguan	m
Ex	2	Dongguan	m
Ex	3	Dongguan	m
Ex	4	Guangzhou	m
Ex	5	Guangzhou	f
Ex	6	Guangzhou	f
Ex	7	Dongguan	f
Ex	8	Guangzhou	f
Ex	9	Guangzhou	f
Ex	10	Guangzhou	f
Ex	11	Guangzhou	f
Ex	12	Dongguan	f
Ex	13	Dongguan	m

Type	No.	Institution	Job position	Number of interviews	Total duration in minutes
E	1	Administrative Committee SSL	Government official	3	170
E	2	Administrative Committee SSL	Government official	1	70
E	3	Administrative Committee SSL	Government official	1	40
E	4	Administrative Committee GDD	Government official	3	240
E	5	Guangzhou Keyu Investment and Management Co. Ltd	Employee	1	45
E	6	Recruitment Agency	Chief Executive Officer	1	60
E	7	Guangzhou Municipal Government, Bureau of Human Resources and Social Security of Guangzhou Municipality	Government official	1	90
E	8	Dongguan Overseas Scholars Association	Government official	1	90

Type	No.	Questionnaire No.	Location of interview	Gender	Mobility group
P	1	14	Songshan Lake Park	m	Permanently settled
P	2	17	Songshan Lake Park	m	Mobile
P	3	58	Wanjiang	f	Settled
P	4	85	Songshan Lake Park	f	Mobile
P	5	90	Songshan Lake Park	m	Mobile
P	6	98	Songshan Lake Park	m	Permanently settled
P	7	103	Guangzhou	m	Mobile
P	8	104	Shenzhen	f	Mobile
P	9	129	Songshan Lake Park	m	Settled
P	10	134	Songshan Lake Park	m	Settled
P	11	244	Humen	m	Immobile
P	12	362	Humen	m	Permanently settled
P	13	366	Humen	m	Mobile
P	14	496	Shipai	m	Permanently settled
P	15	520	Shipai	m	Mobile
P	16	533	Guangcheng	m	Immobile

Type	No.	Interview Partner	Position in Company	Number of interviews	Total duration in minutes
C	1	Entrepreneur in GDD	Founder	2	80
C	2	Entrepreneur in GDD	Co-founder	2	120
C	3	Entrepreneur in SSL	Founder	1	50

APPENDIX C: TABLES

Abbreviation	Name of variables (number of categories)	Names and grouping of categories	Sample size (n=440)
age	Age in years (3)	Categories: "19 to 25", "26 to 35" " ≤ 35 "; the number of respondents aged above 35 is relatively small (n=46; "19 to 25" n=151, "26 to 35" n=212).	n=409
mar stat	Marital status (2)	Categories: "Yes", "No".	n=423
child	Children (2)	Categories: "Yes", "No".	n=432
local	Migration status (2)	Categories: "Local", "Non-local"; computed from the respondents' hometowns, home province and the year of migration to Dongguan.	n=436
hom prov	Home province (24)	Categories: "Jilin", "Liaoning", "Inner Mongolia", "Ningxia", "Gansu", "Sichuan", "Shaanxi", "Yunnan", "Chongqing", "Guizhou", "Guangxi", "Henan", "Anhui", "Shanxi", "Jiangxi", "Hubei", "Hunan", "Shandong", "Jiangsu", "Zhejiang", "Hebei", "Hainan", "Guangdong", "Macao".	n=431
district	District of current home (4)	Categories: "Central districts", "Songshan Lake and neighbouring districts", "Shipai", "Humen"; other districts were excluded due to low frequencies.	n=376
hshd reg	Household registration (4)	Categories: "Urban local", "Urban non-local", "Rural local", "Rural non-local".	n=438
hap dg	Happy living in Dongguan (4)	Categories: "Very happy", "Quite happy", "Not happy", "Not at all happy".	n=409
mov exp	Moving experience (2)	Categories: "Yes", "No", computed from the number of moves within China and international and migration status.	n=426
th mov	Thought about moving (2)	Categories: "Yes", "No".	n=372
city hou p	Important in city: Prices of housing or rental price	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=189
city prox f	Important in city: Proximity to spouse and children (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=175
city traff	Important in city: Good traffic situation (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=181
city work	Important in city: Proximity to workplace (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=191
city car	Important in city: Career opportunities (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=184
city sec	Important in city: Security (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=180
city edu	Important in city: Education provision (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=179
liv sit	Living situation (5)	Categories: "Yes, I have many own apartment", "Yes, I have my own house", "No, my parents/family own the place", "No, I am renting a place", "No, the place I am staying at is provided by my employer".	n=354
liv par	Living place of parents (2)	Categories: "In the same city", "In hometown".	n=407
nei gat	Important in neighbourhood: Gated housing area (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=377
nei chi	Important in neighbourhood: Child-friendliness (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=378
im ho own	Importance of home ownership (3)	Categories: "Very important", "quite important", "Not important"; due to theoretical considerations three categories were formed out of the original four.	n=381
sat nei	Satisfaction with residential area (4)	Categories: "Very satisfied", "Quite satisfied", "Not satisfied", "Not at all satisfied".	n=420
sat hou	Satisfaction with current housing situation (4)	Categories: "Very satisfied", "Quite satisfied", "Not satisfied", "Not at all satisfied".	n=411
imp pr pa	Importance of spatial proximity to parents (4)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important", "Not at all important".	n=395
imp sup	Importance to support parents (4)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important", "Not at all important".	n=423
feel iso	Feeling of isolation (3)	Categories: "Yes", "No", "Don't know".	n=418
income	Income (3)	Categories: "200 RMB to 2000 RMB", ">2000 RMB to 5000 RMB", "5000 RMB to 15000 RMB".	n=259
car entr	Career entrant (2)	Categories: "Yes", "No", computed from number of companies and years in company; career entrants were professionals that only stayed for one to two years in their first company.	n=392
sat job	Satisfaction with current job (4)	Categories: "Very satisfied", "Quite satisfied", "Not satisfied", "Not at all satisfied".	n=417
imp hi sal	Importance to get high salary (3)	Categories: "Very important", "Quite important", "Not important"; formed out of 4 categories due to low frequencies in fringe groups.	n=392
clu mob	Clusters of mobility groups (4)	Categories: "Immobile" (n=125), "Permanently settled" (n=120), "Settled" (n=41), "Mobile" (n=86).	n=372

Tab. 11.2: Description of variables used in the testing of correlations

	age	mar stat	child	local	hom prov	district	hsl d reg	hap dg	mov exp	th mov	city hou p	city prox f	city traff	city work	city car	city sec
age		0.714***											n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
mar stat	0.714***		.843***										.345**	.265*	.266*	.303*
child		.843***														
local							.520***	.262**		.304***						
hom prov										.236*						
district								n.s.								
hsl d reg				.520***												
hap DG				.262**		n.s.				.304***						
mov exp										.252*						
th mov				.304***	.236*			.304***	.252*							
city hou p																
city prox f																.536***
city traff	n.s.	.345**														
city work	n.s.	.265*														
city car	n.s.	.266*														
city sec			.303*													
city edu												.536***				
liv sit	.466***	.557***	.492***	.775***		.484***		.305**								
liv par								.363***								
nei gat	n.s.	.229**	.188*													
nei chi	.203*	.236**	.207*													
imp ho own		.184*														
sat nei								.572***								
sat hou				.325***		n.s.		.567***								
imp pr pa			n.s.													
imp sup																
feel iso						.253*		.302***								
income																
car entr						.354***										
sat job								.462***		.221*						
imp hi sal	.229**										.300*			.351*		
clu mob	.227*		n.s.	.826***		.402***		.295**	.816***	.347***						

*p≤ 0.05, **p≤ 0.01, ***p≤ 0.001, n.s. = not significant on a level p≥ 0.05

Tab. 11.3: Variables with significant correlations (C* values)

	city edu	liv sit	liv par	nei gat	nei chi	imp ho own	sat nei	sat hou	imp pr pa	imp sup	feel iso	income	car entr	job sat	Imp hi sal	Clu mob
age		.466***		n.s.	.203*										.229**	.227*
mar stat		.557***		.229**	.236**	.184*										
child		.492***			.207*				n.s.							n.s.
local		.775***						.325***								.826***
hom prov																
district		.484***						n.s.			.253*		.354***			.402***
hsl d reg																
hap DG		.305**	.363***				.572***	.567***			.302***			.462***		.295**
mov exp																.816***
th mov														.221*		.347***
city hou p															.300*	
city prox f																
city traff																
city work															.351*	
city car																
city sec																
city edu																
liv sit			.760***			.407***		.312**			n.s.		.422***			.502***
liv par		.760***						.342***			.250*					.644***
nei ex hou																
nei chi																
imp ho own	.407***														.373***	
sat neigh								.891***								
sat house	.312**	.342***					.891***									.275*
imp pr pa																
imp sup									.460***	.460***						
feel iso		n.s.	.250**													.270**
income													.294*			
car entr		.422***														
sat job																n.s.
imp hi sal					.373***											
clu mob		.502***	.644***					.275*			.270**			n.s.		

*p≤ 0.05, **p≤ 0.01, ***p≤ 0.001, n.s. = not significant on a level p≥ 0.05

Tab. 15: (continued)

ERKLÄRUNG

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