# MIGRATION



#### PERCENTAGE OF **MIGRANT WORKERS' WAGES IN ARREARS**

2008-4.1% 2009-1.8% 2010-1.4% 2011-0.8% 2012-0.5% 2013-0.8%

41% OF MIGRANT WORKERS WORK OVER 8 HOURS PER DAY

85% OF MIGRANT WORKERS WORK OVER 44 HOURS PER WEEK 268,940,000

Rural Migrant Workers in 2013

#### **INCOME**

Average monthly migrant worker 2.609 **RMB** 

Average monthly expenses

Average monthly cost of housing

#### **INDUSTRIES**

32% Manufacturing 🦪 22% Construction

11% Wholesale and Retail 6% Logistics and Postal Service

6% Lodging and Catering

11% Residents' service, Repair and other services

12% Other industries 🙀 🗶 📺 🖀 🕻

#### **INSURANCE**

16% of migrant workers have participated in the pension insurance system

29% have safety insurance

18% have medical insurance

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#### **AVERAGE WORKING TIME**

10 months per year 25.2 days per month 9 hours per day

Source: Migrant Workers Monitoring Survey Report of 2013, National Bureau of Statistics of PRC

**BOARDING SCHOOL FEES FOR** CHINESE CHILDREN IN THE US: APPROX. 32,000 USD A YEAR

#### **BUYING CITIZENSHIP** WITH INVESTMENTS AND JOBS

Greece= € 250,000 Portugal= € 500,000 US= \$500,000-1,000,000 and create 10 jobs



64% of Chinese individuals with a personal wealth of over six million RMB expressed interest in emigrating

66% of those say they would consider obtaining a foreign passport

51% of China's super rich say they would prefer to emigrate to the US

8% of China's super rich have placed more than 50% of their wealth overseas

4,200 Chinese women gave birth in the US in 2008

women gave birth in the US in 2012

Immigration and Chinese High Net Worth Individuals 2014, released by the Hurun Report in conjunction with Visas Consulting Group



中国人去哪儿?从农民工进城、文青逃离都市到境外移民,一场空前的人口大迁移正在中国社会热闹得进行着。

China is a nation transformed: urban landscapes swell to the brim with rural citizens hoping to make their fortune, the newly rich run from the chaos of the metropolitan rat race, and many of the truly wealthy look for solace outside of China's borders. This change has had its ups and downs, but it cannot be denied that the people of China are migrating en masse and that the consequences of this mass migration are being felt everywhere—even though the true costs may not be felt for decades to come. The key revolution of China this decade has been economic, one in which a society mills freely about the nation and abroad to seek a fortune or future unthought-of in previous generations. For China's cities, this means a great deal, chiefly that the rural population are searching for a lifestyle and a fortune in the urban areas where the pay is better, the work safer, and the outlook brighter. The explosion of the middle class has, for some, had the opposite effect, with China's relatively young and wealthy looking for a less hectic life in the country's more peaceful (and possibly more lucrative) areas. Some just want to get out of China altogether, and there are options for the super rich and hopeful parents alike to getting on the fast track to a fresh, new passport from a country of their choosing; just a few decades ago, China opened up to the world, and now the world is opening up to China. Chinese society, put simply, is on the move.

#### **Rural Exodus**

It is the largest human migration China has ever experienced. The change of political climate and economic policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s opened a door to the city for hundreds of millions of rural residents. Attracted by wages several times higher than what they could earn at home, not to mention the prospect of richer urban lives and everything else cities offer, they could not wait to abandon their "mud bowl". Firmly stationed on the assembly line, these peasants-turned-workers began to create the so-called Chinese miracle, becoming the backbone of economic development, and it never seemed to stop. Over the next 30 years, the ever intensifying trend completely changed the social fabric of the nation.

By 2013, the number of rural migrant workers reached 268 million, accounting for nearly one fifth of the entire Chinese population. First found in the factory workshops and construction sites, migrant workers are now employed in every aspect of city life: express delivery, retail, restaurants, hotels, and more, with some going on to become successful entrepreneurs. They are at every street corner in every city selling, repairing, and serving tirelessly. There is no doubt that rural migrant workers can better themselves by moving to the city, but like everywhere else in the world in the history of urbanization, the dramatic social change is not without its problems. Some of these factors—not least of which is the sheer scale—are unique to China.

The already heavily populated urban areas are struggling to meet the needs of the large influx of migrant workers. Beijing, for example, already holds a population of well over 21 million, of which over four million are migrant workers. With an increase of 500,000 new migrants each year, resources are running dangerously low: infrastructure is lagging behind international standards, urban planning is challenged, and quality of life is poor and worsening for many migrant workers.

However, overcrowding tops the list of problems. This

February a fire broke out in a "village within the city"rural areas that slip through the cracks of urbanization where rural residents lost their farmland due to city expansion—in Shanghai Pudong New Area, killing a 20-year-old Jiangsu migrant worker and his newly-wed pregnant wife. At the time of the fire, the two-floored brick building, constructed in the 80s, was crammed with 25 tenants in small rooms separated by wooden boards. Like the victims, most were migrant workers employed in the local shipyard. The village, called Shanheng, had 3,000 locals and over 10,000 migrant workers living in rooms less than 10 square meters in size. Scattered gas tanks, aging wires, and even electric bikes are a constant threat to these workers' lives. But rent is as low as 100 RMB a month—a migrant worker has to save money where he can.

Such villages are common places for migrant workers to live. In 2010, *China Real Estate and Finance* published a survey of 404 migrant workers based in Beijing, showing that 63 percent of them live in old bungalows and self-built simple houses in these "villages within the city", and 72 percent of them had an average living area of less than five square meters per person. In many of these crowded and unsanitary living areas, a bathroom or even running water is a luxury. With an average monthly wage of 2,609 RMB, migrant workers only spend about 450 RMB on housing in the hope of taking more money back to their families. Some have even chosen shipping containers, wells and manholes as homes.

Alongside the extremely bad living conditions, environmental pollution also poses a huge threat to the health of the migrant workers. According to "Environment, Health and Migration", a report completed this March by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, migrant workers tend to live close to pollution sources in heavily industrialized areas, which are typically where they work. Migrant workers are repeatedly exposed to water, soil and air pollution, leading to deteriorating health. Also, the latest figures from the State Statistics Bureau indicate that only 18 percent of migrant workers have health insurance. For most of them, their poverty leaves them entirely

unequipped to deal with illness.

Their trials, however, do not end there. The hukou, or household register system, is their final obstacle in being embraced by the city, a hurdle many never overcome. Installed in 1958, hukou are divided into agriculture for rural residents and non-agriculture for urban residents, and attached are very different medical care facilities, insurance plans, and educational opportunities. Disadvantaged rural residents have a hard time meeting the ever changing urban hukou requirements, even if they have lived, worked and paid taxes in the city for decades. Faced with complaints and criticism, the Beijing city government issued urban hukou to three migrant workers at the end of April this year, all of whom were "National Labor Models"-a gesture to show that migrant workers' contribution to the city will eventually be rewarded. However, three out of over four million is fatuous tokenism and of no comfort whatsoever to the diligent army of migrant workers living on the ramshackle edges of Beijing and other Chinese cities.

Seemingly a group of perpetual outsiders, migrant workers are all-too-often discriminated against, mistreated, and brushed aside without so much as a moment's notice. In its rush to modernize, China has clearly created a new urban underclass. They are called nongmingong (农民工) or mingong (民 I), a name that has increasingly been associated with shabby appearance, boorish manners, poor education, intense physical labor, and an impoverished status-worse still, it's a term now snobbily used as an insult. To counter such negative connotations, the state-run media began a campaign, which was really a piecemeal effort in semantics, and added "brothers and sisters" after mingong, hoping such a gesture would bridge the gap between rural workers and the city dwellers. But, a simple name change was never going to be enough. If migrant workers are indeed our brothers and sisters, we are pretty shameful siblings. - LIU JUE (刘珏)

IN ITS RUSH TO MODERNIZE, CHINA HAS CLEARLY CREATED A NEW URBAN UNDERCLASS

### The Other Chinese Dream

It's a story oft told: in a 30-year period, upward of 250 million urban Chinese rural residents flooded into the cities to seek better lives, thousands upon thousands of Chinese villages were left empty but for the elderly and grandchildren, the generation in between having left to seek a better fortune. And these economic migrants were not afraid to get their hands dirty either: road sweepers, construction workers, security guards, prostitutes, and waitresses; they would do anything, whatever needed to be done, as long as it gave them the chance for a brighter future.

However, there is another newer, smaller story that you don't hear so much about. As China's rural poor flood into its largest cities, many of the nation's richer white-collar workers have become fed up with those same cities and all the problems they offer and have instead decided to sell-up and leave it all behind, dreaming of something quieter, healthier, more utopian perhaps. They go to places like less developed Yunnan or Guangxi to live beneath mountains or beside gently flowing rivers, so they can run hostels, open cafes, make music, sell art, and do whatever necessary to keep them away from the hustle and bustle of the hectic metropolises.

Ren Zhongya and her husband Weng Yanhua are one such couple. They had been living in Wenzhou, Fujian, which (by Chinese standards) is a small city, of just under four million people, but became tired of the city's relentless drive toward ever more urbanization. Accordingly, they decided to reorient their lives and, after a short stint in Shanghai, moved to the tiny island of Gulangyu, just off Xiamen on China's east coast and opened a small, quaint coffee shop called 花时间 (Killing Time). "Wenzhou was just a small place but urbanization was so fast that old things were destroyed suddenly. Like old districts and old houses....I am very sensitive to air and sound. Wenzhou was a fast developing city but had begun to demolish and build on a large scale. It was not an atmosphere I liked," says Ren. "My husband's little brother happened to be in the army in Xiamen, and we went there for his wedding. We loved Gulangyu."

Though Weng was inundated with work as a graphic designer and Ren had become something of a minor celebrity with her work in radio, they didn't find the city life spiritually satisfying; the city offered no mysticism and, with all its pollution and noise, had become overbearing. And so they felt the urge to return to something simpler. "We opened the coffee shop in 2006 with the money I got from a book I published. We've always wanted somewhere with books, music, and an atmosphere that fitted our lifestyle...We live a simple life, away from worldly things such as social status and fame," she says. Adding, "Also I like the café's atmosphere. And we both like coffee. At that time, there were no real coffee shops in Gulangyu."

Of course, the desire to "get away from it all" and to embrace a more idyllic ruritanian existence is nothing new; Thoreau managed to eke out a whole book on his love for the hermitic lifestyle, though for him, like many others, the process proved

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short-lived. But modern China in particular lends itself to such dreams. The nation's seemingly unstoppable march to reform and modernization, in many ways, has been an unqualified success. Hundreds of millions have escaped poverty and are leading richer lives, but at the same time it has left many without a space, or the time, to think; many Chinese, particularly the more bohemian types, are desperately yearning for a more fulfilling inner world, as Ren says, "I am more interested in the things that go on inside my mind, such as art and music. We did this so we have more time left for ourselves. We don't live as hermits; we just want to keep a distance from people but not completely away from people.'

For many of these spiritual migrants their plans are ultimately hampered in some way, and many of them often purport a desire to move back to the cities for some reason or other, perhaps in a bout of sincere Confucianism they feel the urge to go back home to look after their parents. More often than not parental bonding works the other way, and a good education for their children comes top of the list; urban schools are widely perceived as being far better than those in rural areas and they certainly have better resources.

Also, and somewhat ironically, this desire for something quieter often backfires to the extent that these idylls that are sought out soon become busy and those people searching for something quieter feel the urge to escape once more, something that has happened to Ren and Weng themselves; the small island where they looked for peace and calm has become wracked with tourists, and where there used to be just one coffee shop on the island, there are now dozens: "The Gulangyu before fit our dream. It had its own culture and spirit, and it wasn't cut off from the world. It was able to reach a balance between nature and urbanization. [But now] for a small place, the destruction of urbanization is more apparent." Ren adds, "We feel like we've reached a stage where we want to leave. The destruction is to such a degree that we feel it's starting to affect our life."

As the hype, and indeed reality, behind China's modern economic miracle continues unabated, the outliers that shun materialism will no doubt grow too, and the question will be asked more and more: will China's remarkable experiment in urbanization leave a space for those that dare to be different? - CARLOS OTTERY, ADDITIONAL REPORTING BY WEIJING ZHU (祝伟婧)





## Go Out, New China, and Grow Old

As the poor run for the big urban centers and the rich run for the relative peace and economic boom of second and third tier cities, there is yet another option in the modern migratory patterns of the Chinese people: escape. China's rapid development has led to a massive increase in the number of Chinese leaving the motherland to seek their fortune abroad—a truer, broader sense of China's government scheme in 1999 called the Go Out Policy, encouraging China's wealth and influence to expand beyond its borders. This modern exodus takes many forms, from living the high life in a tax haven to mining for gold in Ghana, and from US students to Portuguese professionals, but as China continues to grow in both wealth and population, it is sure to become even more diverse and complex.

"I always wanted to study or travel abroad, to see the world, experience different cultures, but life was fairly good and stable in Beijing, so for many years I didn't have the motivation and courage to take any action," says Penelope Xu, who currently works with the Department of Health and Human Services in Hobart in Tasmania, Australia. "Compared to Beijing, life here is much more relaxing...traffic is not bad, air is clean, food is safe, the mountains, forests, beaches, and the city itself are all beautiful."

Many in Penelope's generation are opting out of the Chinese dream for a variety of reasons, be it competition, health care, or family pressure. Going from student to citizen is no easy task, involving a number of economic and social barriers. "It wasn't easy," says Penelope, "Australian immigration policy is getting tighter and tighter. Students who want to get permanent residency visa here need a really high IELTS score, also the qualification necessary has to be a degree on the immigration skill list, and age needs to be within certain range." Penelope adds, "I know many of my classmates who wanted to stay but couldn't due to different reasons." While it may be difficult to get citizenship—or a job, for that matter—after graduation, many countries are embracing the influx of Chinese students (and their parents' cash); Australia, for example, has begun accepting the much dreaded Chinese gaokao as an application credential.

Becoming a student-turned-citizen is difficult, requiring a high level of skill and is an option open to very few in China's highly competitive yet still largely undeveloped society. As such, parents try the best they can to give their kids a headstart. On the famous Hurun Report this year, it was noted that some are starting as early as sending their kids to secondary school in countries like the US, UK, Australia, and Canada in the hope of eventually gaining citizenship. Those interviewed by Hurun had an annual income over 10 million RMB—which would come in handy as the boarding schools they send their children to cost upwards of 16,000 USD a term. At over 32,000 USD a year, that's an extremely hopeful investment in a foreign passport.

Of course, for those who have the money, there are always ways to citizenship. Rather than hoping one's child gets citizenship via being a student, the wealthy can always buy their citizenship via residence permits, and China is the key consumer in this market: Portugal offers residence permits for 500,000 Euros and last year 248 out of a total 318 applications came

# BIRTH TOURISM IS A BURGEONING INDUSTRY FOR CHINESE PARENTS WHO WANT THEIR KIDS TO GROW UP IN AMERICA AND OTHER COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR IMMIGRATION LAWS

from China; in the US, the EB-5 fast-track visa will cost investments of over 500,000 to one million USD and 10 jobs, with applications from Chinese rising from 270 in 2007 to 2,969 in 2011; if you're a bit skint, try buying property in Greece (if you dare) for 250,000 Euros of property, you can get a tied residency permit, the very first of which went to a Chinese man on August 8 last year.

But, college, secondary schools, and massive wealth aren't the only options; there is, in some places, a cheaper—however less ethical—way to get that coveted foreign passport. Birth tourism is a burgeoning industry for Chinese parents who want their kids to grow up in America and other countries with similar immigration laws. For the right price (often around 16,000 to 30,000 USD depending on the services provided), expectant mothers can take advantage of the 14th amendment to the US constitution that says children born on US soil are US citizens. Not only that, but these mothers will have excellent care for the right price, often including Chinese speaking doctors and hotel services.

In April of this year, CCTV ran a story about the unexpected boom in birth tourism for expectant Chinese mothers; approximately 4,200 Chinese women gave birth in the US in 2008, jumping to over 10,000 by 2012. Then, there is a small island in the Western Pacific called Saipan a little over a 120 miles north of Guam that is part of the United States commonwealth and, therefore, US soil. Births on that island, just 19 kilometers long, have been falling, but births to ethnic Chinese were up 175 percent between 2010 and 2012. "Maternity traffic" has become an important part of the local economy. There are about 30 countries in the world that grant citizenship

upon birth, with Canada and America the most popular for Chinese, but few countries look kindly on this path to citizenship. However, it's not really possible to prevent pregnant women from traveling just to drop their baby on another soil—but that doesn't mean people don't try. The governor of Saipan sent 20 Chinese moms packing in under four months, meaning their babies were to be born in China. This gamble is even worse domestically, with birth tourism fiercely controlled in China's Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong, where three women were arrested and fined for attempts at birth tourism this year.

However, China's mass migration into the nations of the world has not come without costs or horrors. Perhaps the most harrowing of these occurs in countries like Ghana, where poor, illegal Chinese migrants mine for gold in the dark, wet wilderness of Africa, resulting in environmental pollution, fights over mining plots, and destruction of local economies. Ghana's reaction, however, has caused serious anti-Chinese sentiment—where attacks, sexual assault, and immigration raids are part of life. The same can be said of Zambia's copper mines and the Chinese businesses that see attacks and even murders. Many other countries, even those such as New Zealand, are making new policies to crack down on Chinese immigrants as they try to deal with this often relatively small but politically sensitive influx of Chinese immigrants. The growing pains will likely intensify in coming years, but China is growing and spreading into the outside world to spend and diversify its wealth like never before. And that, perhaps, is where China will truly change the future. - TYLER RONEY