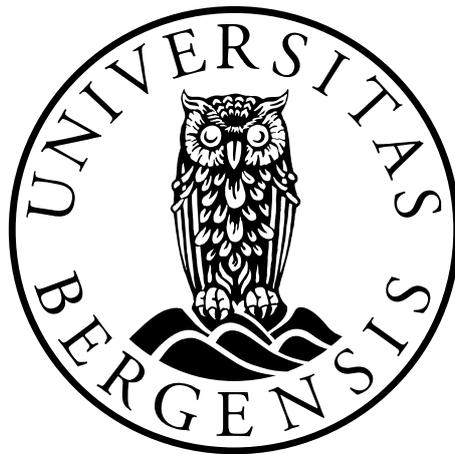


# **Citizenship, Gender and Work**

*-Processes of exclusion and inclusion among married female migrants in Shanghai-*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IMF: International Monetary Fund

MPS: Ministry of Public Security

NC: Neighbourhood Committee

PRC: People's Republic of China

TRC: Temporary Residency Certificate

UiB: University in Bergen

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# CHAPTER 1: UNDERSTANDING GENDER AND MIGRATION IN THE CHINESE CONTEXT

## 1.0. INTRODUCING SANLIN

My research assistant, Samantha and I walk from the main highway and down the road that leads in to Sanlin; a huge migrant area located just a ten minute metro-ride from Shanghai's main business location and tourist attraction, Pudong skyline. I feel like I am walking further and further away from the urban city of Shanghai; this seems so far away from the cosmopolitan, flourishing and wealthy city! The concrete lane that stretches from the main road and into the 'labyrinth' and network of houses, shops and small restaurants is dusty and bustling. Trucks and bikes loaded with litter and scraps of metal drive by, honking as they pass, the drivers extremely wide-eyed and curious – a foreigner is walking towards their village! Recycling areas, restaurants, metal workshops and small grocery shops lie side by side. Further along the road lies a large electrical plant, clearly state owned and fenced in. As we walk deeper into the village, more and more people start to appear. We arrive at a marketplace where street vendors are selling everything from fresh produce to children's toys and underwear. The shops are bigger, and the restaurants are full of activity – crowded with both cooks and customers.

After passing this marketplace, we reach the housing area. Houses are small and densely situated side by side, along twisting roads they are all connected to each other in some way. Walking along the alleys and winding roads, one can continuously observe crumbling walls, broken windows, patched-up roofs and litter lining the streets. A river runs along parts of these roads, it does not provide anybody with useable water however, due to its heavy pollution. Some of the houses have front yards, but the majority are situated along the roads, their front doors open to passers by – providing opportunities to glimpse into peoples' worlds. It is through these doors that we have been allowed to enter and in the course of this thesis I will provide the reader with glimpses of the lives that unfold behind them.

## 1.1. INTRODUCING THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY; WHY STUDY GENDER AND MIGRATION IN CHINA?

China is today rapidly becoming one of the world's largest economies (Arends, 2011). During the last couple of decades, China has transformed from a closed, socialist society to a more market oriented, open country (see for instance C. Cindy Fan, 2004). According to the IMF (2011), the country's annual GDP growth is expected to reach 9,5 % in 2011. This is partly because of the country's supportive labour conditions and the increasing growth in labour migration (International Monetary Fund, 2011, p. 72; R. Murphy, 2009). Although rural residents are now permitted by the state to move from rural to urban areas, they are only welcome for their economic contributions (Wong, Yeow, & Zhu, 2005). They are socially excluded from urban societies, and this exclusion is facilitated by one of China's old socialist policies; the household registration, or hukou system which inhibited population mobility and created a rural/urban divide in the Chinese population during the Mao-era. Today it creates boundaries for migrants' social inclusion into urban society. Hukou policies both during the Mao-era and today provide urban residents with state provided social goods while rural residents are largely left to fend for themselves. Today, rural migrants are thus positioned as second class citizens in urban areas, making life in cities difficult for them (see for instance C. Cindy Fan, 2004). According to Jacka (2006), female migrants' position is further exacerbated due to both labour market segregation and socio-cultural traditions. This thesis thus explores female migrants and their daily life challenges in Shanghai. In order to better understand this urban context, I will briefly present aspects of social, economic and political developments in China which have relevance for rural to urban migration from the Mao-era and until today. Secondly, I will discuss these developments through the lens of gender. Following these two sections, I will provide the reader with the rationale for my study; why study female migrants in urban China? From these discussions I will arrive at my research objectives, which are presented toward the end of this chapter. Finally, I will present the reader with an overview over the chapters in the thesis.

### 1.1.1. ESTABLISHING RURAL AND URBAN DIFFERENCES WITH THE HELP OF THE HUKOU SYSTEM

Mao came to power in China in 1949, and established the People's Republic of China (PRC). He immediately implemented socialist policies inspired by Marxism and Leninism (Ogden, 2008). One of his main goals was to increase industrialisation and catch up with the West

(Solinger, 1999b). During this period the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took over all forms of capital and property, aiming to bring all parts of production into the public realm (Harrell, 2000). The CCP set up the work-unit; *danwei*, in urban China. All employees were organised into these *danweis* and employment provided individuals not only with wages but played a central part in organising peoples' lives; the *danweis* organised clinics, canteens, childcare facilities, recreational facilities and education opportunities. They also approved marriages and divorces and mediated disputes. Food rations were distributed through these work-units. Furthermore, housing was provided to urban residents at subsidised prices and were of better quality compared to rural parts of the country (Whyte & Parish, 1984) . In the countryside, on the other hand, the CCP set up collectivized communes. All individuals (both men and women) were organised into production teams and worked in the fields in order to achieve work points. These points determined families' food-grain and cooking-oil rations. Furthermore, most activities previously considered as household labour were transferred out into the public realm; the communes now took care of cooking, cleaning and childcare duties (Harrell, 2000). During the Mao-era then, Davin points out that the state "extended into almost every area of Chinese life" (1999, p. 7).

To be able to expand the country's industry the CCP created an "unequal exchange between the agricultural and industrial sectors" Chan and Zhang point out, the state had to inhibit "free flows of resources (including labour) between cities and the countryside"(1999, p. 821). As industrial development brought with it unwanted urbanisation, the state thus came up with a system which would restrict peasants from moving from the countryside into the cities, and thus minimize the urban population growth (Davin, 1999). The household registration, or the hukou, system was established in 1951, and was initially designed to monitor urban population movements. In 1958, however, the hukou system was changed in order to inhibit population movement, thus creating bureaucratic barriers for rural to urban migration (Chan & Zhang, 1999).

The hukou system provided every citizen in China with a hukou status which linked their access to state provided benefits and opportunities. The system was made up of two related parts. The first was related to a person's residency; a person could only be registered at one place (his/her place of birth), and this registration determined his/her access to employment (Chan & Zhang, 1999); a person could reside and work only where he/she had his/her hukou (Davin, 1999). Secondly, a person had either an agricultural (rural), or a non-agricultural (urban) hukou status which defined his/her access to the above mentioned state/work-unit

provided entitlements. Through this system, the state managed to inhibit migration. Obtaining permanent resident status in urban areas became extremely difficult; people who wanted to move had to apply both to their destination area and place of origin for permission if they were to stay outside of their own residence for more than three days (Davin, 1999). Furthermore, due to the state's monopoly over healthcare, education, employment and housing, it was difficult to stay outside of one's place of residence without correct documentation. The most important factor which retained the hukou system's effectiveness, however, was according to Davin (1999), the rationing system. As described above, urban residents were provided with grain and oil rations, peasants on the other hand were expected to grow their own food and were thus not entitled to any rations. Survival in cities without grain coupons - which were distributed and could only be used in individual localities - became hard. Peasants had to rely on friends or family to provide them with food if they were outside of their hukou residence. Furthermore, due to widespread shortage of grain and severe famine during the 1960s, long stays with limited access to grain became even harder (Davin, 1999). Migration was therefore not an option for many during Mao's reign. The hukou system had constructed a geographical divide between the urban and rural population, restricting them, particularly the rural residents, to their birth-places and furthermore creating a geographical and social hierarchy between rural and urban areas. After Mao's death however, a new leadership took over, and who introduced new economic policies and thus gradually transformed the social and political context; as a result, voluntary migration was increasingly allowed to take place (Davin, 1999)

#### 1.1.2. INCREASED MIGRATION AS A RESULT OF 'OPENING UP'

Contemporary China, as mentioned, is experiencing a vast economic growth. In the early 1980s, Deng Xiaoping, who took over the CCP after Mao, introduced more open market policies, thus changing the Chinese social, economic and political context. The CCP created several 'Special Economic Zones' along the coast of China in which they attracted both domestic and foreign investments (Bai Nansheng & Jing, 2008). Furthermore, the communes were dissolved in 1979, and households regained their responsibility for production by leasing land from the state. The combination of these factors revealed a large (rural) labour surplus. At the same time, urban economic policies encouraged rural to urban migration (Solinger, 1999b). Shanghai in particular, became a migrant 'import area' and experienced a large urbanisation (Bai Nansheng & Jing, 2008). In China there are two types of migration;

permanent and temporary (Davin, 1999; Goldstein & Guo, 1992). The former involves a hukou conversion, which according to Chan and Zhang refers to a change of one's hukou status from rural to urban, or vice versa. The latter on the other hand refers to migration without such a change (1999). Permanent migration is still severely restricted by the state; there is an extensive list of requirements and a small yearly quota for hukou conversions<sup>1</sup>. In practice then, this entails that even if a person fulfils the requirements, he/she might not be as lucky as to fit into the quota. As concerns temporary migration, in 1985, The Ministry of Public Security (MPS) established new regulations for migrants. Rural migrants were allowed to obtain a 'Temporary Residency Certificate' (TRC) in their destination areas if they were to stay there for more than three months, while at the same time retaining their hukou residence status in their place of origin (Chan & Zhang, 1999). This, Davin (1999) points out, complicated the situation; many migrants chose to register whereas several migrants did not. Private enterprises were also permitted by the state thus allowing migrants to set up small (often informal) businesses in cities (Solinger, 1999b). Simultaneously, the *danweis* were no longer required to provide urban individuals with long term extensive benefits. This, Solinger (1999b) points out promoted the hiring of a more expendable work-force (migrants) in order to secure cost-maximization.

The Chinese state thus altered some of its socialist economic policies. However, hukou policies still remained to ensure political stability and further economic growth. This focus on economic goals while at the same time preserving hukou policies has positioned migrants in between neo-liberal economic policies and the states' control mechanisms (Cindy C. Fan, 2002). A rural hukou holder does not have access to social entitlements on a par with urban hukou holders, thus being situated as a second class citizen in urban China (F. Wang & Zuo, 1999). Due to these factors, migrants are, according to several scholars socially excluded from urban society. Migrants' second class citizen status positions them in marginal positions within Chinese cities. Female migrants' position is further exacerbated due to a combination of structural, socio-cultural and economic factors (see for instance C. Cindy Fan, 2004; Jacka, 2006). Before I present female migrants' situation in urban societies however, I will give a brief introduction to gender in China.

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<sup>1</sup> The requirements consist of for example employment as a state official, enrolment into higher education and (large) economic investment/contribution in destination area.

## 1.2. GENDER IN CHINA: VIEWING POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS THROUGH THE LENS OF GENDER

To describe political and social developments in China, several authors divide the country's history into three distinct periods; pre-Mao, Mao-era and post-Mao society. Each of these periods have their own characteristics, and have been important in relation to how women in contemporary China both perceive themselves and act. In the following I will provide the reader with a short overview of these three periods, with particular focus on women and gender issues.

### 1.2.1. PRE-MAO SOCIETY

In Pre-Mao Imperial China, Confucian ideas and rhetoric were dominating perceptions about how women and men should behave. Confucianism is, in part, made up of the dualities yin and yang - of earth and heaven, moon and sun, night and day and finally, female and male. These dualities are arranged in a hierarchical position in relation to each other where the latter (male) parts of the equations connote superiority, authority and activity whereas the former (female) parts are associated with secondariness, obeisance and passivity (Croll, 1995, p. 12). These principles determined certain rules of conduct for women, telling them to be submissive to men and not to participate in the public sphere. Gender-specific norms thus implied the women took care of the household while men handled the affairs 'outside'. Confucianism thus encouraged certain spatial prohibitions. Women were to be confined to the domestic, 'inside' spaces whereas men participated in the public, 'outside', sphere (Harrell, 2000; Mann, 2000). These customs were strictly adhered to; from very young ages girls were expected to stay indoors and not play in public; they were girls, thus they should limit their movements to the house or compound and conduct activities such as sewing or spinning. Even within the household, women would never be in the same room as men. If they heard men coming into the area in which they were spending time, they would move into another part of the house. Moreover, the practice of binding young girls' feet contributed to physically limit their movement and promote their passiveness (Croll, 1995). Being able to take care of the household duties further added to women's virtue and enhanced their chances of marrying well. Marriage during this period implied patrilocality - women moving to their husband's house and becoming part of his family. According to official rhetoric and dominant perceptions, marriage was young women's only life choice, and their welfare depended upon it. Croll points out that these patrilocal marriages promoted women's secondariness due to her

not being a future ‘asset’ for the family. As women relied upon marrying well, virtuous behaviour and remaining inside were important for her and her family’s reputation. If prospective in-laws asked a woman’s neighbours about her conduct, the biggest complement they could pay her was ‘we do not know, we have never seen her’ (Croll, 1995, p. 27; Mann, 2000). In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, particularly from 1911 when the republicans came to power in China, women increasingly started to demand access to the public sphere, especially in relation to being able to participate in education. The women leading these campaigns were thus being seen as rejecting the inside/outside boundaries as well as rebelling against the current social norms. This was, according to Croll (1995), accepted to a certain degree by society, and several women moved ‘outside’, into the public domain. However, as soon as young women became of marrying age, they started to meet resistance and an expectation to adhere to the virtuous image of the ‘inside’, submissive woman.

### 1.2.2. MAO-ERA

When Mao Zedong came to power in 1949, his Party, the CCP, was, as mentioned, inspired by communist thinkers. In relation to gender, and in line with communist thinking, the CCP’s goal was to eliminate gender differences and hierarchy and create sameness. To be able to do so, they started challenging Confucian ideals and encouraged women to participate in shaping their own lives. In order to reduce gender differences, the CCP established a new, androgynous category of citizens which included both men and women. Women and men had to dress in the same, unisex clothing and to be addressed as ‘comrade’. Furthermore, *airen*, meaning loved one, replaced *neiren* (inside person) for the word ‘wife’ as this latter word connoted seclusion and domestication (Croll, 1995).

In addition, the CCP promoted gender equality by de-establishing the dichotomous yin and yang principles which had previously separated women from men. They claimed that women were ‘entitled to half the heaven’ (Croll, 1995, p. 69) and encouraged them to participate in the workforce in the public sphere (Harrell, 2000). This participation, Croll argues, had two main beneficial outcomes; on the one hand the national economy benefited from better utilization of the country’s labour force, and on the other hand it promoted women’s emancipation. Through economic independence, and having increased access to social resources a woman would be able to increase her bargaining power and thus improve her position.

However, the female inclusion into the workforce was largely based on a male model. The 'ideal woman' was promoted as a strong, determined woman who could do exactly the same as men. At the same time, the ideal woman never made concessions to her reproductive roles or childcare responsibilities. A sexual division of labour thus still existed, particularly manifest in the occupational segregation of men and women. Furthermore, the tensions between women's productive and reproductive roles made them feel like they were neglecting their families. Croll states that official rhetoric promoted women's public (androgynous) roles while avoiding giving public space to individual, 'feminine' experience of familial roles. Androgynous then, in practice, became synonymous to 'male', or 'masculine' (Croll, 1995, p. 90). Summing up then, Mao's and CCP's official rhetoric's focus on the slogans of 'half of the heaven' was far from being gender-neutral. Women's achievements and access to resources were linked to public participation and to them acting as 'men'. There was thus a large gap between official rhetoric and women's actual experience, and Croll (1995) argues that this inhibited gender equality.

### 1.3. RATIONALE FOR STUDY; GENDER AND MIGRATION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

According to Croll (1995), gender equality was never actually accomplished during the Mao-era. This, she argues is due to the wide gap between rhetoric and practice. After Mao died, this gap was acknowledged and it was said that "if women were to benefit from any new policies to further improve their position in Chinese society [...] special attention to the relation between women's productive and reproductive activities" should be paid (Croll, 1995, p. 5). As a result there now exists a complex set of gender norms in China. While socialist policies still influence women's high labour force participation rate, traditionalist gender norms are increasingly being recognised as influential for their participation in the public sphere. Women are seen as responsible for reproductive tasks, especially childcare. At the same time, and in contrast to Maoist policies, there is an increasing focus on women as individuals; they are no longer to be included in the community as 'androgynous, male like'. In urban society, femininity is associated with fashion, style and consumerism, and thus a new emphasis is made on the 'feminine' as separate and different from the 'masculine', or 'male' (Croll, 1995). In sum then, the emphasis on both gender equality goals (official rhetoric is still promoting women's participation in the workforce) and traditional gender norms (women are responsible for reproductive duties and are identified as different from men) is creating a

confusing context in which contemporary Chinese women need to deal with in their daily lives (Croll, 1995).

Although the women's labour market participation rate is high in China, women are experiencing discrimination. Their reproductive roles are seen as an inhibitor to their productiveness, and they are being hired less as a result. Furthermore, their wages are lower compared to men. A segregation on the labour market is also occurring as women are being channelled into occupations which men do not want (Croll, 1995). Moreover, several scholars points to migrant women also experiencing this labour market discrimination; being restricted both by their gender and hukou status, female migrants occupy the lowest levels of occupational, social and spatial hierarchies. Due to the hukou system, migrants (especially female migrants) form a ready-made category of subjects who can be employed both at lower wages and conditions than urbanites (Jacka, 2006). The majority of current literature on gender and migration in China provides readers with statistics and patterns relating to the female migrant. Additionally, it describes how structural constraints position her in a marginal position vis-à-vis both migrant men and urbanites. Typically, this migrant woman is portrayed as a single woman. Although the greater part of female migrants are unmarried (Jacka & Gaetano, 2004), recent surveys point to a growing tendency of female migrants being married (Roberts, 2002). This tendency, however, is underrepresented in the literature and I therefore wish to focus on how they handle complex social norms in relation to both their productive and reproductive roles in an urban, restrictive environment. In a context where they are excluded from participating in the public sphere on a par with urban citizens; how do they cope in their daily life?

### 1.3.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

My main objective is to;

- Examine how female married migrants' inclusion into the citizenry affects and is affected by their productive and reproductive roles.

More specifically, I will;

- Assess married female migrants' position in the citizenry by exploring their every-day dealings with state institutions.
- Examine how both the capitalist labour regime and social gender norms affect married female migrants' position in the labour force, and
- Explore the relationship between social gender norms, gender division of labour and married female migrant's position into the citizenry.

#### 1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In the course of this thesis I will attempt to show how married female migrants' daily lives are affected by the above mentioned factors. In chapter 2 I present my use of qualitative methods and discuss the practical processes of gaining access to the field, of using a translator and collecting the data. Both throughout and towards the end of the chapter I discuss methodological challenges related to these processes, furthermore, I discuss several ethical challenges in relation to my fieldwork experience. In chapter 3 I present relevant literature for my study; I review literature on hukou policies and rural to urban migration in China, I show how hukou policies situate female migrants, in marginal positions in urban China. By identifying the gaps in the current literature, I show how there is a need for a qualitative study which focuses on married female migrants. Inclusion into the public sphere has been an important feminist goal for many years. In chapter 4 I present citizenship as a framework for examining married female migrants' degree of inclusion in-, or exclusion from the urban citizenry.

In chapters 5, 6, and 7 I present the reader with the empirical findings of the study. Chapter 5 deals with the topic of housing and female migrants' negotiations with state institutions. It further elaborates on their citizenship status (their having the TRC), versus their citizenship process (reliance of informal networks and personal acquaintances) and how their access to social goods in their local community is affected by the nature of their citizenship. In chapter 6 I examine female migrants' position in the productive sphere, and I go on to discuss their position in the reproductive, private sphere in chapter 7. In both these chapters I look at how market forces and social norms affect their positions in the household and productive sphere. In the final chapter 8 I show the combination of all these factors, as well as hukou policies, impinge on female married migrants' inclusion in the citizenry. I further discuss how migrants' actions can improve their inclusion in local communities through citizenship as process.

## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 2.0. INTRODUCTION

My fieldwork has been carried out in Shanghai, China from the beginning of June until the end of August 2010, and has been focused on researching married female migrants' experiences in the reproductive and productive spheres. Examining peoples' everyday experiences with the help of qualitative methods such as interviewing and participant observation can, according to DeWalt and DeWalt (2002), provide us with a good understanding of the nature of their situation. Silverman also argues that "the authenticity of human experience is a strong feature of qualitative research" (2010, p. 6). For the purpose of my study then, qualitative methods will provide me with useful insights into female married migrants' lives. This chapter will present the reader with the practical processes I went through during my fieldwork. I will discuss my gaining access to the field, having an interpreter, how I recruited my informants and how I employed the methods of interviewing and participant observation. During each section, I will discuss relevant methodological challenges. Furthermore, I will present the process of analysis as well as how I ensured the ethical principles of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Finally, I discuss my role as a researcher.

### 2.1. GAINING ACCESS TO THE FIELD

In 2008 I spent six months in China as an exchange student. During these six months, I spent two months in Shanghai at Fudan University. As part of my current fieldwork, and upon my return to Shanghai in the summer of 2010, I contacted several of my previous professors and seminar leaders, as well as the Nordic Centre at Fudan University. At the Nordic Centre I was informed of how to apply for a research affiliation. Furthermore, the centre's leader, Martin Bech, pointed out that this affiliation would be sufficient in order to perform my research. After our meeting I provided the centre with the documents needed for the affiliation; my project proposal, my interview guides and a documentation of my connection to UiB. About a week later the affiliation with the Nordic Centre at Fudan University arrived. During the first two weeks of my fieldwork I talked to professors who gave me academic guidance, and my former seminar leader, Shao, who provided me with assistance in relation to locating an appropriate field for my research. Together, we travelled to a migrant village in the outskirts of Shanghai. Here I was introduced to one of her friends, a female migrant who had lived in

Shanghai for several years. We had dinner and talked about the possibilities of conducting my study in this area. Shao's friend seemed positive to this, and told me that she would be in contact. However, I never heard from her again. To ensure that I found a field for research, I pursued a different channel. Shao had also put me in contact with another employee at Fudan University, and he had connections to a migrant organisation in a migrant village called Sanlin. He therefore introduced me to a master student currently conducting her study in the area, and she introduced me to the organisation called 'New Citizen Life Centre'. The personnel at this centre gave me a warm welcome, and I was permitted to participate in their information meetings and seminars for female migrants in Sanlin. Additionally, I participated in entertaining some of the children who came to play while their mothers attended meetings. It was through this organisation that I was introduced to the community, and that I came to know my first informants. I was now ready to approach the research field.

## 2.2. TRANSLATOR

Parallel to my finding an appropriate field site, I made several efforts in finding a translator. During my first visit to China, I attended a six week language course, and as a result I am able to understand and speak basic mandarin phrases. However, this is far from sufficient to be able to conduct interviews. As professional translators were out of my price range, I looked for alternatives. I asked my Chinese friends for help, and one of them introduced me to a girl called Samantha. Samantha had just graduated from Fudan University and had some spare time in the summer before starting her new job. She had a good understanding of the English language and she had just completed a six month exchange program in Uppsala, Sweden. The combination of me having studied in China, and she in Scandinavia meant that we had a good understating of each other's ways of working and thinking. Samantha was a little shy and a timid in the beginning, however she gradually became more comfortable with the interviewing and translating and proved to be a very good translator as well as an assistant.

The initial interviews were conducted in a straightforward manner; I asked a question, Samantha translated it, got a reply and told me the informant's answer. The conversation quality; the free flow of the discussion, which according to Kvale and Brinkman (2009, p. 135) is important for semi-structured interviews was in my opinion not entirely realized. Samantha and I discussed possible improvements and as a result we both managed to improve our interviewing techniques and thus the interview quality. Samantha was a great help, and I would not have been able to conduct the research without her.

Having a translator presented me with methodological challenges; the most difficult being to ensure that none of the information provided to me was ‘lost in translation’. In order to prevent this, Samantha and I would discuss the interviews after conducting them, making sure I had understood and acquired all the information.

## 2.3. DATA COLLECTION; QUALITATIVE METHODS

### 2.3.1. RECRUITING INFORMANTS

As mentioned above, I came in contact with my first informants at the ‘New Citizens Life Centre’. However, during my first two weeks in Sanlin, I managed to interview only two women from the organisation. Quite a few of the women I approached to interview declined to participate, and stated that they did not have time. I attempted to apply the snowball method with the first two women in order to find other potential informants through them and I received a couple of telephone numbers. Samantha called them to try and schedule interviews, and although initially positive, the women’s time schedule prevented them meeting with us, and interviewing them never became a reality, despite several attempts.

As I needed a new approach, Samantha and I decided to take a more active role; we walked through the streets of Sanlin, approached the women who lived there, introduced ourselves and asked them a series of informal questions. As migrants constitute the majority of inhabitants of Sanlin we were not conducting what W. Lawrence Neumann (2006) determines as ‘haphazard’ sampling, which is ‘person-off-the street’ interviews, which is quick and easy and can be ineffective and easily misrepresentative. Rather, we were conducting ‘purposive’ sampling, which Neumann points out is used in order to select ‘difficult to reach’, specialized populations. The women I wanted to include in my study would have to be married and live with their families in Sanlin. Furthermore, she would have to come from a different province and lived in Shanghai for more than 5 years. We knew that the women we approached were migrants due to their living within a certain geographical area, and with the help of our initial questions, we were able to select informants who could provide us with in-depth understandings of their experiences in Sanlin. Some women declined when we asked them to participate in the study, but the majority agreed, and I recruited 17 women to participate in my study. In the table below, I present who they are, where they come from and how long they have lived in Shanghai. Furthermore I present their TRC status;

Name	Province	Years in Shanghai	TRC
Rui	Jiangsu	16	-
Feng	Jiangsu	16	No
Ji-Min	Anhui	10	No
Wu Lien	Jiangsu	14	Yes
Xu	Anhui	8	Yes
Xia	Shangdong	1 month	No
Seo-Hyeon	Anhui	7	Yes
Ling	Jiangsu	12	Yes
Ming	Anhui	11	Yes
Jing	Jiangsu	6	Yes
Yunwen	Jiangsu	12	Yes
Miao	Jiangsu	10	No
Yun-Song	Sichuan	1	Yes
Tian	Jiangsu	12	No
Mei	Jiangsu	6	Yes
Fang-Hua	Jiangsu	10	No
Dao-Ming	Anhui	7	Yes

As the reader can note, the women mostly come from two provinces; Jiangsu and Anhui. These provinces lie close to Shanghai in the North and South-East respectively. Furthermore, they have all lived in Shanghai for a long time. There are, however, two women who have lived for shorter periods in Shanghai. Yun-Song has only stayed in Shanghai for one year. Although she has a lived shortly in Shanghai, she and her husband have lived as migrants for several years in other large cities in China. Due to her experiences, she provided me with interesting perspectives on Shanghai as she could compare them to other cities. Furthermore, Xia has stayed in Shanghai for an even shorter period, only one month. As we approached Xia, she was eager to speak with us, and welcomed us into her home. We thanked her, and joined her in conversation. It was only after our interview has started that we found out that she has stayed in Shanghai for one month and out of politeness we finished the interview. In comparison with the other informants, who have longer experiences in relation to migration and living in Sanlin, Xia's case is not the most relevant for my study. Yet, as a new-comer, she did provide me with some interesting perspectives which were further investigated in other cases.

### 2.3.2. INTERVIEWING INFORMANTS

The interviews I conducted were semi-structured, life world interviews, which according to Kvale and Brinkmann, intend to “obtain descriptions of the interviewees’ lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena”. Furthermore, the goal is to “understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects’ own perspectives” (2009, p. 27). As described above, my study aims to explore how female married migrants’ position in the citizenry is affected and is affected by their productive and reproductive roles, thus this interview method can provide insights to how they experience the existing forces shaping their lives.

As mentioned above, Samantha and I managed to improve our interview skills and thus the quality of them after a couple of interviews. Rather than asking one question at a time, and subsequently receiving an answer, we encouraged the women to speak about the issues they found important. With the help of the interview guide, we managed to get the interviews back on track if they strayed too much away from my research topics. All of my informants are main informants, and during our our conversations the same topics were covered. Depending upon which experiences were of importance to my informants however, the depth and scope of each topic varied.

The interviews, which lasted from one and a half to two hours, were conducted in my informants’ homes. This entailed three main factors. Firstly, and most importantly, my informants were relaxed and at ease. Secondly, this allowed some of them to perform their household tasks whilst being interviewed. As several of my informants had limited time, they asked for instance if they could hang up/fold the laundry, or clean their cooking appliances whilst talking with me. Being preoccupied with these tasks could have an impact on the interview quality as the informants would pay attention to their task at hand, and not give enough thought to the interview itself. However, their conducting such tasks allowed me to observe their roles in relation to the housework, as well as providing me with insight into parts of their daily activities. Thirdly, as will be shown, migration and citizenship rights are sensitive topics in China. Conducting face-to-face interviews in a safe environment will, according to Denscombe (2003) produce better data.

Several of the interviews were recorded with a voice recorder, and were transcribed at a later date. Some of the women however, did not want to be recorded, and in these cases I took

notes and immediately after these interviews I wrote down everything my informants had said or done, so as to ensure that I did not forget crucial details.

### 2.3.3. INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIALS

My initial plan was to interview neighbourhood committee (NC) members as a part of my fieldwork in order to discover how state institutions influence and interact with migrants in their daily lives. However arranging such interviews proved to be challenging. In Sanlin, the NC offices and police stations are placed in a central part of the village. Samantha and I went to these offices and introduced ourselves. We asked if we could speak with them about their goals and activities, and interview their staff. As I did not have official research permission from the government in China, none of the officials would be interviewed. Furthermore, they would not disclose any information about their activities. Although I attempted to ask questions during our stay in the offices, they provided us only with vague, unrevealing answers about their function. They did however present me with official, public documents which provided me with statistical overviews over the inhabitants in Sanlin, which included population, how many households and businesses that were established in the area.

### 2.3.4. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is defined as a method in which “a researcher directly observes and participates in small-scale social settings in the present time[...]”(Neumann, 2006, p. 378). Participant observations were conducted in three different types of settings. Firstly, as mentioned above, I observed my informant’s daily activities during our interviews. Secondly, I participated in evening get-togethers in the neighbourhoods. After coming home from work, families living close to each other would sit in the street and talk to each other while having their evening meals. Samantha and I would often join them; engaging in the general conversations and conducting informal interviews, playing with children living in the area as well as observing the migrants’ activities. Thirdly, I obtained data through spending time in Sanlin; walking along the streets, buying produce and eating in restaurants as well as participating at the ‘New Citizen Life Centre’. According to DeWalt and DeWalt, there are different levels of participation, ranging from nonparticipation to complete participation (2002, pp. 19-20). My participation can be placed in between ‘*active participation*’, where “the ethnographer actually engages in almost everything that other people are doing”, and ‘*moderate participation*’ which occurs when “the ethnographer is present at the scene of

action, is identifiable as a researcher, but does not actively participate, or occasionally interacts, with the people in it” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p. 20). The degree of participation is determined by both the researcher and the community (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Not knowing the language for instance, was one barrier which inhibited a higher degree of active participation. Furthermore, the migrants did not allow me to participate in their daily chores as their customs prohibit guests from taking part in such activities. My observational data provided me with understandings of women’s daily activities, the migrant’s social patterns and interactions as well as a better understanding of the social life in Sanlin.

Taking notes is an important part of participant observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Fife, 2005; Neumann, 2006). Recording and systematically documenting one’s experiences and impressions right after coming from the field is essential for understanding the context one is in. Furthermore, it can provide the researcher with grounds for further inquiry into certain topics within the field of research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Fife, 2005). After spending time in Sanlin I would always write down my field notes when I came home. I would report on the physical surroundings, the people and their actions as well as their interactions. I would also include my own thoughts and impressions from what I had experienced throughout the day.

#### 2.4. DATA ANALYSIS

As mentioned above, I transcribed my recorded interviews not long after conducting them. During the transcription I wrote down word-for-word what had been said. These documents then, together with the field notes from the participant observation constitute the material for analysis. As all of the generated documents and notes were extensive, I needed to code them in order to structure the material. Coding, according to Kvale and Brinkmann “involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment in order to permit later identification of a statement” (2009, pp. 201-202). Based on previously determined concepts, which derived from my objectives, I went through each segment in my data material and connected it to a code. However, as certain text segments revealed interesting issues, I also developed codes based on what the data revealed. By coding and reviewing the material, the goal is to reveal the meaning behind what is actually said, i.e. the structures and relations not immediately apparent in the text (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 207). For me this meant gaining better understandings of the female migrants’ negotiations between social norms, intra-household relations and the public sphere in China.

## 2.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### 2.5.1. CONSENT, ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

“Research has an ethical-moral dimension” (Neumann, 2006, p. 129), and increasing focus has been directed towards possible negative effects of research for those being studied (ibid.). Assuring privacy and adherence to moral and ethical procedures in relation to my informants have continuously been my main objective. Several countries and legal systems regulate the relationship between the researcher and the informants (Lee, 1993). Before leaving for the field, I had to submit my research details to ‘*Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste*’ (NSD) and fulfil certain requirements. After assuring NSD that I would comply with the ethical standards of research, informed consent and protection of data material as well as anonymity and confidentiality, my application was approved.

One of the most important ethical principles of social research is, according to Neumann, never to force anybody to participate; “participation *must* be voluntary” (2006, p. 135). Informed consent entails providing people with information about your research, the procedures which will be used and the use of the data that will be collected. Furthermore, it means providing individuals with information about their right to withdraw from the study at any time as well as assuring their anonymity and confidentiality (Neumann, 2006). In my study I obtained oral consent from my informants. I informed them of the purpose and process of the study as well as their rights to withdraw at any time. The reason for my using oral consent was the sensitive nature of the study; Chinese migrants, as will be shown below, are kept under surveillance by the government through a system of extensive documentation. Upon migration, individuals are required to document nearly every aspect of their life; moving, marital status, fertility records, occupation etc. Before travelling to the field, I decided in collaboration with my supervisor that oral informed consent would be sufficient; there was a possibility that my informants would feel uncomfortable signing a piece of paper given the registration system the state maintains and puts them through.

To protect my informants’ privacy, I assured both anonymity and confidentiality (Neumann, 2006). Neumann defines anonymity as “the ethical protection that participants remain nameless; their identity is protected from disclosure and remains unknown” (p. 139). Through providing my informants with pseudonyms, not revealing any personal information and

storing the collected data material securely, I have ensured the women both anonymity and confidentiality.

### 2.5.2. SENSITIVE RESEARCH TOPIC

Human Rights Watch wrote in their 2011 report on China, that migrant and labour rights - due to lack of dependent union rights – do not live up to democratic standards. In the same report, Human Rights Watch point out that the Chinese government, in response to Liu Xiaobo receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, insisted that “Chinese citizens do not value civil and political freedoms” (Human Rights Watch, 2011). Although I conducted my research prior to Liu Xiaobo receiving the Nobel Peace Prize (after which several reports have highlighted deteriorating human rights in the country), the political climate in China has persistently been restrictive towards bringing attention to human,- or citizenship rights. By researching migrants’ relationship to citizenship I am touching on a sensitive topic. This could affect my research in several ways. The most important factor is whether or not I am positioning my informants in a vulnerable position by having them participate in the study. Coming into the field, I was concerned about how these factors would affect both my informants and myself during the interviews. However, during the interviews I experienced that several of the women were eager to tell their story; finally, somebody was listening to their accounts and perspectives on migration. During our conversations they did not seem to be overly cautious in relation to expressing their feelings. Additionally, I was careful about asking them to express direct political views as this, from experience, makes people highly uncomfortable. Furthermore, through assuring my informants anonymity and confidentiality I prevent them being identified and thus suffer from any sanctions or stigma by participating in this study, which according to Lee (1993) can happen when people participate in sensitive studies.

## 2.6. METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

### 2.6.1. INSIDER/OUTSIDER

Silverman (2010) points out that the collected data in a qualitative research project will be affected by the researcher’s presence in the field. The researcher’s sex, age and ethnic origin can affect how much information informants are willing to disclose (Denscombe, 2003). In my case, I noticed especially how my age and ethnic origin affected the interview situations. The women I spoke to were very interested in where I came from, asking questions about

Norway and its society. Furthermore, as the women I interviewed were married and had lived in Shanghai for over 5 years, they were older than me. Several of the women pointed out my young age during our conversations, and this factor could have an effect on the information they provided me with. The data then, as Denscombe argues, is “affected by the personal identity of the researcher” (2003, p. 169). Furthermore, he points out that there is little to be done about this factor, seeing as one’s identity, one’s ‘self’, cannot be changed. Lal criticises the claim that ethnic origin creates explicit boundaries between the researcher and the researched; “one’s identity within the research context is [thus] neither fixed or predetermined” (1996, p. 197), she argues. Even though one is a ‘native insider’, she points out; a category such as this is not a homogenous one. In the case of my research assistant Samantha, her ethnicity could affect the interview situation. Samantha was of Chinese ethnicity and could thus be defined as an insider. However, her having an urban hukou, being highly educated and coming from a different socio-economic background positioned her as an outsider as well, which could, as mentioned above, affect the research project. Both Lal and Denscombe state that ‘self-presentations can be a useful tool to disrupt these boundaries between insider and outsider. Denscombe points out that being able to uphold both passivity and neutrality by being “receptive to the words of the interviewee” (2003, p. 171) is important in this respect, and during the interviews we tried to adhere to these principles. After spending some time in Sanlin, and while conducting one of my final interviews, a woman approached the house where we were sitting. She spoke to my informant, stating that she had heard about me from other women I had interviewed; she explained that ‘it was safe to talk to me, I was OK’. Her confirmation about my role as a researcher made me happy and relieved; I had managed to make my informants feel comfortable talking about their experiences within a politically sensitive field, furthermore, we had, to a certain extent, managed to downplay the boundaries between us and them.

## CHAPTER 3: RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION IN CHINA

### 3.0. INTRODUCTION

As we have seen, China has experienced a vast change in political, social and economic developments during the last few decades. Furthermore, migrants face particular challenges in relation to these national developments. In this chapter we will see how current literature has dealt with the topics of rural to urban migration in China, and how gender only recently has been included into these discussions. The chapter begins by presenting literature that deals with recent trends in migration patterns; who are migrants, where do they come from and why have they chosen migration? Focusing on migrants in their destination areas, it will further deal with the migrants' social positioning and (limited) possibilities in urban cities. Thirdly, the chapter reviews the current literature on gender and migration in China. The chapter will finally identify the gaps in the current literature and thus provide the foundation and reason for the importance of my study. However, before moving on it is important to mention that this literature review is based solely on English texts as I do not read Chinese. Moreover, the literature on migration in China covers a wide range of topics. For the purpose and scope of my study I have limited my focus to cover the subject of rural to urban migration and the current situation in migrants' destination areas.

### 3.1. MIGRATION IN CHINA

The International Organization for Migration defines geographical migration as

the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, with the intention of settling indefinitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin. (International Organization for Migration)

However, The International Organization for Migration also states that a definition or typology of migration will never be complete without a context specific explanation. Migration is caused by several factors, and both individual and external factors are often interlinked, thus creating particular migration situations (ibid.). Solinger (1999a) points out that compared to other countries, China's migration system is unique due to the country's history, and current political and economic situation. As mentioned, in China, migration takes two forms; permanent and temporary. The former refers to an official change of household registration, whereas the latter refers to people who move without such an official residential

change. These people are thus regarded as residents of their origin areas, regardless of how long they have lived outside of them. Temporary migrants are defined rather differently in China compared to many other areas, as length of residence and intention to stay does not enter into the equation as it does in other countries (Goldstein & Guo, 1992). In 1985, the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) altered their regulations, making it possible for migrants to obtain temporary residency permits in their destination areas. This further complicates the situation, ultimately dividing temporary migrants into two groups; registered and unregistered. Many temporary migrants register their movements at designated agencies, thus gaining some legal status. However, many do not as this entail paying regular fees and is an expensive process (Davin, 1999). Due to these different practices, migration is difficult to measure. The literature presents us with several sources stating the number of migrants in China. However the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2009) has provided official statistics, and states that there were 225.42 million migrant workers in China at the end of 2008.

There is a vast literature on migration in China, and several books and articles present us with a general overview of the current situation. Most of them are based on governmental surveys and statistics and present general patterns and tendencies. According to both Nansheng and Jing (2008) and Davin(1999) the majority of migrants travel from the western parts of China towards the eastern coast in search of jobs. Most of them are young, unmarried males and have higher educational levels compared to their peers at home. Nansheng and Jing (2008) also stress that the overall situation disadvantages women; females are less educated compared to men, they also have lower wages and are more likely to leave their home after marriage. Migrants tend to be situated in jobs in the manufacturing, construction or service industries, and they typically have lower incomes compared to urbanites (ibid.). David Kelly (2008) additionally argues that the majority of migrants are marginalised due to their lack of social security and lack of full citizenship status, they are not allowed to participate in, or have a share in urban social entitlements. In sum, the existing literature agrees that migrants face many obstacles and are worse off compared to urban natives. Many attribute these characteristics to China's old socialist institutions; effective hukou barriers still exist in Chinese urban areas thus limiting rural migrants' opportunities upon arrival. In the following, we shall see how the literature deals with the effects of these institutions on rural migrants.

### 3.2. MIGRATION + RURAL HUKOU = SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN URBAN CHINA

Rural migrants in urban China are said to be socially excluded from the citizenry (see for instance Davin, 1999; C. Cindy Fan, 2004). Current literature puts the blame for this exclusion upon the household registration, or hukou system. By not having access to state provided social services that urbanites enjoy, rural migrants are marginally positioned in urban society (Cindy C. Fan, 2002; Liu, 2007; Tao & Xu, 2007; F. Wang & Zuo, 1999; Wong, et al., 2005; Yilong, 2008). Additionally, scholars point out two other factors which impinge on migrants' social integration; (1) recent economic developments and the state's exclusive focus on economic growth, and (2) increased population mobility as a result of loosening household registration restrictions (see for instance Cindy C. Fan, 2002; Tao & Xu, 2007).

Economic growth has according to Chen (2002) created vast differences in contemporary China. On a national level, western parts of the country are poorer than the eastern, coastal parts. As a result, and coupled with lesser restrictions on population mobility, rural peasants are moving to eastern, urban parts of China. Furthermore, individual cities have recently been granted the right to formulate their own laws and regulations. Within these cities, economic growth is high on the political agenda and the local governments create policies which promote their (economic) goals. By additionally ensuring a continuation of the hukou policies, the cities create a system where migrants provide them with cheap labour, and where they give hardly anything in return (Cindy C. Fan, 2002). This system has thus created huge disparities between rural and urban areas as well as between social classes within each of these areas, Chen (2002) argues. The dualistic Chinese society categorizes people into either rural or urban. During communism these categories were separated geographically. People living in cities were defined as urban, whereas rural people lived outside of cities. Population mobility was restricted. Economic reforms however, have contributed to this geographical divide being replaced by a social divide, as rural people increasingly move to cities, bringing their (rural) hukou status with them (F. Wang & Zuo, 1999).

Not only has population movement and economic goals created such disparities but, as mentioned, the continuation of hukou policies inhibit migrant's permanent rural to urban migration. Tao and Xu (2007) stress that by restricting migrants' access to state provided social goods, the cities are creating second class citizens. Wong et al. (2005) additionally point out that cities welcome migrants for their economic contribution, yet they exclude them socially. Hukou still plays an important role in relation to both resource allocation and interest distribution, Yilong (2008) states. These institutional barriers then, also contribute to the

widening divide in contemporary China (F. Wang & Zuo, 1999); a number of articles describe how this divide is manifesting itself in different areas of (urban) life. The labour and housing market is highly segmented; migrants have low incomes and poor benefits compared to their urban counterparts. Wong et al. (2005) point out that economic growth has created a dualistic effect in the Chinese labour market; both high and low wage occupations have increased. By taking the low paying jobs, migrants facilitate urbanites' development, they argue. Furthermore, migrants are poorly integrated into urban society; they are continuously discriminated against and there exists a high level of prejudice against this part of the population (Davies & Grant, 2008; D. Wang & Cai, 2009; F. Wang & Zuo, 1999; Yilong, 2008). Hukou policies place migrants in situations where they lack human capital, mobility and employment opportunities. This coupled with labour market discrimination and social exclusion, results in migrants facing increased risks and vulnerabilities, Wang and Cai (2009) argue.

Whereas most of the scholars agree that this situation is unstable and unsustainable and must thus be improved, their arguments and recommendations differ and can be divided into two main categories. The first group of scholars are *instrumentalists*, and argue that changes to the system are of instrumental value to the nation – i.e. national, economic development can be improved if China changes its hukou policies and create conditions for increased social inclusion. The other group of scholars argue from an *intrinsic* perspective; changes to the hukou system can foster greater social inclusion, and this should be valued in itself.

### 3.2.1. POLICY CHANGE FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

As mentioned above, the literature points to increasing disparities between rural and urban areas as well as people/residents. Instrumentalists, such as Aimin Chen (2002), argue that these disparities will ultimately challenge China's economic growth. Tao and Xu (2007) additionally mention that the country's market economy will not be able to develop, and thus not be able to promote national development if the current inequalities persist. Taking the discussion to 'city level', Wong et al. (2005) focus on Shanghai and argue that migrants have contributed to the development of Shanghai becoming a 'global city', yet they are socially excluded. The large influx of migrants; a constant increase of the population through migration can be a threat to Shanghai's development, they argue, as it can put a strain on both social and economic conditions. Chen (2002) argues that China has to decrease its disparities by reducing GDP differences and furthermore reduce inequalities between each area.

Moreover, other authors make more specific suggestions towards changing the entire the hukou system; by allowing migrants to settle down in their destination areas and grant them equal access to public goods will allow them to make positive contributions. This, some argue will ensure the transition to a market economy, and thereby secure China's economic development (Tao & Xu, 2007; Wong, et al., 2005).

### 3.2.2. SOCIAL INCLUSION – AN INTRINSIC VALUE

In contrast to the instrumentalists, the intrinsic oriented scholars provide readers with recommendations for how to achieve a greater degree of social inclusion for migrants. For these scholars, improvement of living conditions and integration of migrants into mainstream society is a goal in itself, and central to their arguments are discussions of whether the hukou system should be abandoned or reformed.

As already stated, migrants have contributed largely to economic growth, however, they are unable to take advantage of labour market possibilities and thus benefit from these developments. Wang and Cai argue that migrants thus face a life in poverty, this they point out is due to the partial, or unfinished hukou reform. In order to improve migrants' situation, they suggest; "abolishing various remnants of the hukou system and employment policy constraints as well as establishing a portable security system for migrants" (2009, p. 44). This will ultimately eradicate the existing social divides, they argue, and furthermore enable migrants to take hold of economic possibilities in cities.

Unlike Wang and Cai, other scholars are more cautious; rather suggesting a gradual reform, or change to the hukou system. Yilong (2008) for instance argues that changing the household registration system will create better circumstances for the social integration of migrants. Moreover, Davies and Grant (2008) recognize the Chinese government's efforts to improve and reform the hukou policies. Advances have been made in laws and regulations, they concede. However, these have largely been made on paper. Progress in real life is limited, and there still exists a large gap between official rhetoric and practice. Migrants are still socially excluded, they state, and suggest that the integration of migrants should be achieved with the help of a gradual reform of the hukou system. By improving migrant's access to state provided social goods and eliminating local vested interests<sup>2</sup> over time, Chinese society can

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<sup>2</sup> As mentioned above, de-centralization provided individual cities and municipalities with the right to formulate their own migration policies. As mentioned above, these policies contribute to rural/urban disparities within cities.

become more integrated, they argue. A total abandonment is not recommended as this will create chaos and instability (Davies & Grant, 2008; Yilong, 2008). However, as I will show, there is a limited amount of literature on how migrants deal with these institutional constraints. How are they affected by the hukou policies in their daily lives?

### 3.3. GENDER AND MIGRATION IN CHINA

The existing literature on gender and migration in China is scant. Only recently have scholars started to focus on this topic in the Chinese context, with little of the written articles or books dating before the mid- to late 1990s. Globally, the literature on gender and migration is richer, and explicitly states the need for a gendered focus in relation to the topic of migration, as the phenomenon itself is deeply gendered. Particularly in developing nations, Chant and Radcliffe state that the need for a gendered perspective as “gender-differentiated population movement may be significant in a whole range of ways to societies undergoing developmental change” (1992, p. 1). The existing literature on gender and migration in China can on the whole be divided into two; general statistics and descriptions of typical female migrants, and how structural constraints limit female migrants opportunities in destination areas. In the following, I deal with each topic respectively.

#### 3.3.1. WHO ARE FEMALE MIGRANTS?

Literature on gender and migration in China is largely based on national surveys and general statistics and deals with descriptions of statistical material, producing typical images of female migrants.

Jacka and Gaetano (2004) present readers with a general overview of ‘gendered patterns of migration in post-Mao China’. They state that it is generally difficult to define how many female migrants there are in China, this due to differences in numbers presented in different surveys, as well as there being a large degree of variation over time. In 2006, Tamara Jacka however, stated that on a national level, about 30 % of the floating population was female. Furthermore, in the Special Economic Zones, the majority of the migrant population was female. This she attributed to the large amount of typical female occupations in the areas (Jacka, 2006). For female migrants, temporary migration tends to be the most common feature; this is reportedly due to the institutional barriers in the cities, the seasonal quality of work in the destination areas and because of the migrants’ personal wishes to return to their

villages (Jacka & Gaetano, 2004). Recent studies and surveys, however, suggest that female migrants are staying longer in their destination areas (Jacka & Gaetano, 2004).

According to both Jacka and Gaetano(2004) and Liang and Chen (2004), female migrants are typically young and unmarried. The literature points out that these two features will have a significant impact on women's migration in relation to both the duration of their stay and the labour market. Cindy C. Fan (2003) for instance reports that marriage often signals the termination of migration for women. Furthermore, she argues that the capitalist labour regime favours young, single women as they are less expensive and more tolerant compared to older, married women. Moreover, female migrants tend to have less education compared to both urbanites and migrant men.

There is also documented a significant occupation and wage segmentation both according to urban/rural and male/female (Huang, 2000; Jacka, 2006; Jacka & Gaetano, 2004; Roberts, 2002). In general, migrants tend to take the jobs that urbanites shun and as a result, migrants find themselves occupying the lower levels of the social hierarchy in their destination areas. Female migrants' position is further exacerbated by the fact that they tend to occupy even lower status, lower paying and lower skilled jobs compared to their male counterparts (Jacka, 2006). Female migrant jobs are for instance; handicraft work, textile industry, assembly line work and waitressing (Huang, 2000). Tamara Jacka (2006) also adds domestic service and prostitution to the list of typical female work for migrants in their destination areas.

In sum, one can note that female migrants have particular challenges in relation to their rural to urban migration. The literature points to a combination of two main reasons for this; the labour market segregation and the socio-cultural traditions in contemporary China.

### 3.3.2. MIGRANT WOMEN'S DOUBLE DISADVANTAGE

The combination of market forces and socio-cultural traditions has a major impact on female migrants in China. Cindy Fan (2003) writes that the economic transition and opening up to market forces have gendered consequences. With the new attention toward economic goals, the state is focusing on and encouraging a capitalist-like labour regime. This entails cost-minimization and profit-maximization, which again fosters segmentation and division of labour, she argues. Moreover, pre-Mao, Confucian ideals and traditions are resurfacing in current official rhetoric, thus further reinforcing forces of stratification and division of labour. In Confucianism, everyone should act according to one's social position. Today therefore,

migrants - both men and women should therefore know one's place. This ultimately translates into occupational segmentation and gender segregation (ibid.). Although the CCP, during the Mao-era, attempted to achieve gender equality in the labour force, the socio-cultural traditions have proven to be deeply ingrained. Coupled with the new focus on economic growth, gender equality has largely vanished from official language and the Confucian and patrilocal traditions have been able to resurface and reproduce themselves, Fan (2003, 2004) argues. Confucian ideals state that women are supposed to work 'inside' the private sphere, they are both socially and culturally expected to take care of the household and care responsibilities. The traditional division of labour in China encourages women to stay at home, and this clear division between public and private, reduces married women's likelihood of migration (He & Gober, 2003). Additionally, patrilocal traditions make women inclined to move to their husband's home upon marriage. Women migrants thus tend to terminate their migration and move to their husband's village (C. Cindy Fan, 2003). Huang (2000) also points out that many female migrants are trapped in the agricultural sector after marriage.

Furthermore, Fan (2003) claims that the capitalist labour regime targets single, young women as they are less expensive and have no family responsibilities, thus being close to achieving cost-minimization and profit-maximization. Huang (2000) additionally points out that married women are seen as less productive due to their maternity and family responsibilities. For these reasons they are less hired. These features, combined with migrants' low institutional and social status, situate female migrants in less desirable jobs. Furthermore, due to their restricted access to welfare benefits, long-term survival in the cities becomes difficult (Huang, 2000).

We have seen that the literature presents the reader with a one-dimensional image of the female migrant; she is young, single, has a low level of education and works in occupations which have lower status and income compared to both urbanites and rural men. Furthermore, she is inhibited by the inter-linkages of the capitalist labour regime and the socio-cultural traditions prevailing in contemporary Chinese society. The majority of the literature on gender and migration adheres to the above description of female migrants. Some recent literature, however report of a new trend within female migration; women are increasingly staying in their destination areas for longer periods of time.

#### 3.4. PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

The literature on married women and migration in China is scarce. The majority of the literature and surveys confirm the gendered stereotypes described above. An exception is

Roberts (2002), who suggests that recent data indicates that many women do not fit into this category of single, female migrants described above. Some women are staying for longer periods of time, they have their children living with them in their destination areas and several of them both migrated and worked with their husbands. Roberts thus suggests that these women may exemplify a transition from temporary to permanent settlement in China's large cities. Based on the 'Fifth Sampling Survey of the Floating Population of Shanghai', Roberts study is purely quantitative, and shows that age, level of literacy/education, residence and employment status affects women migrants' likelihood of being married. Data additionally shows that older, married women in possession of a temporary residence certificate are likely to stay in Shanghai for a longer period of time compared to single female migrants (ibid.). Roberts (2002) further points out that the stereotypical image of temporary migration gives the state an impression that migration can be managed in order to conform to the rapidly changing needs of the economy, and that permanent settlement is not occurring in large Chinese cities. With no infrastructure to support long-term establishment, and major institutional barriers in migrant destination areas, permanent family settlement is particularly difficult, Roberts argues.

Tamara Jacka (2006) also writes that married female migrants in China have not been given enough attention. She draws on world literature, and focuses on migration as a contributor to women's increasing bargaining power and as a source of increasing domestic discord. As the only qualitative study from China that I have been able to locate, she interviews married migrant women in Beijing, and concludes that there is little evidence that female migrants' work and income result in increased bargaining power. Furthermore, her study suggests that migration puts extra stress on family relationships. Women are challenging the dominant gender order, she argues, by going 'outside' to work. Additionally, their earnings are a threat to men's economic and sexual power as they are no longer occupying the breadwinning role.

### 3.5. IDENTIFYING GAPS IN THE CURRENT LITERATURE; HOW CAN MY STUDY CONTRIBUTE?

As one can note, there are several elements missing so as to ensure a comprehensive representation of female rural to urban migrants in China's large cities. Most of the current literature is based on quantitative surveys or studies, and thus do not provide readers with a complete illustration of female migrants dealings or experiences with the process of migration, relations to state institutions or the labour market. By only describing who

migrants are, and stating how structural forces influence and reinforce migrant's challenges in their destination areas, the literature fails to scrutinize how migrants often struggle to survive in the demanding environments of China's large cities. Moreover, gender has largely been excluded in the majority of current dealings with migration in China. Especially married female migrants are missing from the analyses. We have seen above that patrilocal and socio-cultural traditions position women in situations where they may feel compelled to move back home to rural areas upon marriage. On the other hand, many married women choose to migrate and stay in their destination areas for longer periods of time, as Roberts' study shows. However, more research is needed on women's encounters with state institutions, the labour market or household responsibilities in their destination areas. As my study will show, married female migrants experience particular challenges in relation to these issues, and by employing qualitative research methodology, and a 'from the below approach', I will hopefully be able to provide readers with a comprehensive analysis and description of married female migrants' everyday experiences; how is the interplay between social norms, labour market forces and state institutions affecting their position in the urban citizenry?

## CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – CITIZENSHIP

### 4.0. INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is one of our oldest political concepts. Traditionally it has been associated with membership in a political community (Dagger, 1981). Modern versions of the concept for instance link it to the nation-state, where membership implies certain rights and obligations. However, during the 21<sup>st</sup> century and as a result of globalisation, the nation-state's position as sole location of citizenship has become contested. Post-nationalism challenges the modern conception of citizenship and thus creates a new version of citizenship which focuses more on universal human rights. Furthermore, feminists have started to utilize the language of citizenship in order to promote women's position in the society. By focusing on the right (and obligation) to partake in paid work, feminists discuss whether women should be included into the citizenry according to their difference or their equality. In this chapter, we shall see that neither is sufficient on its own. Both equality and difference will have to be taken into consideration if women are to become full members of the society.

The following chapter will be divided into two parts. The first section will discuss citizenship theory in general. It will then move on to present how citizenship has become dislocated from the nation-state in the context of cosmopolitanism and post-nationalism. Following this, I will utilize Yuval-Davis' concept of multi-tier citizenship to show that both sub-, and supra-national locations have importance for individuals and citizenship.

The second section will examine the relationship between citizenship and gender. Feminist struggles have focused largely on challenging the public private divide and thus create better conditions for women's inclusions into the citizenry. In this chapter I will show how they have synthesised both the equality-difference dichotomy and the liberal and republican traditions in order to create a more women friendly, or gender inclusive model of citizenship.

### 4.1. CITIZENSHIP

#### 4.1.1. RIGHTS - CIVIL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

Contemporary citizenship discussions often take Marshall's definition of the concept; "a status bestowed on those who are full members in a community" (Marshall, 1964, p. 84), as a

starting point, and so will I. During these discussions, I will explain what citizenship may entail in the Chinese context. Marshall (1964) stated that citizenship was associated with a principle of basic human equality. However, there existed a level of inequality due to social class and the various economic levels in the society. Formal political equality had not been able to improve the economic or social inequalities which persisted in a capitalist society (see Castles & Davidson, 2000). Marshall thus developed a framework of three different rights; civil, political and social, linking them respectively to the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Marshall, 1964). During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the rule of law was established, and according to Marshall it was essentially a law of freedom, assuring the liberty of the subject. Furthermore, it gradually developed into a universal character thus granting the status of freedom to all (male) members of the community. He also pointed out that when personal freedom became universal, citizenship developed into a national institution. State constitutions often include written versions of rights and thus guarantee personal freedom from state intervention.

When citizenship became universal, political rights became defective by the standards of democratic citizenship in the sense that the people did not have universal suffrage (Marshall, 1964). The right to vote was limited to a specific economic class, and was thus linked to economic achievement during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moving into the 20<sup>th</sup> century however, political rights became increasingly universal and were thus treated as a personal status; an individual had the right to vote and “participate actively in democratic processes of government” (Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 108). Furthermore, Goldman highlights the importance of political rights as securing an individuals’ ability to “contribute to the state rather than to enable individuals to protect themselves against the state” (Goldman, 2002, p. 159). There is thus a division between citizens (either by birth or naturalization) who enjoy political rights and resident non-citizens who do not. Being a citizen does not necessarily entail enjoying genuine political participation. Members of minorities may be situated in marginal social or economic positions in a society, thus being inhibited to participate fully (Castles & Davidson, 2000). Marshall also pointed to this fact, highlighting the increase in social inequality as a result of capitalism and increasing class differentiation during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and he argued that a nation-state needed social rights in order to alleviate these inequalities.

Social rights were at first seen as a contradiction to citizenship as it infringed upon the individual freedom connected to civil rights. However, Marshall (1964) pointed out that towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was an advance in social rights, and thus an advance

in egalitarian principles. The ultimate aim of social rights, he claims, is class-abatement ultimately modifying the whole pattern of social inequality. Castles and Davidson (2000) write that Marshall's principles were linked to the welfare state which provided a safety net for people who were unable to enjoy full employment. A minimum of economic and social standards were to secure political participation despite unemployment. Moreover, they argue that social rights decouple achievements from entitlements, and that every person should, whether or not they are able to make an economic contribution to society, be entitled to the minimum standard (of social rights) prevailing in a given society. Based on Castles and Davidson's presentation of the civil, political and social rights, I have constructed a table which summarizes the main qualities of each right (2000, pp. 106-110);

Civil Rights	Political Rights	Social Rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The freedom and inviolability of the person</li> <li>➤ Freedom of expression</li> <li>➤ Freedom of religion</li> <li>➤ Protection from unlawful acts by the state, such as imprisonment or forced labour</li> <li>➤ Equality before the law</li> <li>➤ The prohibition of discrimination on grounds of gender, origins, race, language or beliefs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The right to vote and to stand for office at the various levels of government</li> <li>➤ Freedom of assembly and of association</li> <li>➤ Freedom of information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The right to work</li> <li>➤ Equality of opportunity (in education, the labour market etc.)</li> <li>➤ An entitlement to health services, welfare benefits and social services in the event of unemployment or inability to work</li> <li>➤ An entitlement to a certain standard of education</li> </ul>

Marshall discusses citizenship in the context of liberal Britain and against the inequalities of social class. Furthermore, he claims that these citizenship rights have developed side by side with capitalism. While both social class and capitalism are systems of inequality, citizenship as a status (entitling people to social rights) is a system of equality, ultimately modifying patterns of social inequality. Citizenship as a principle of basic equality is thus opposed to the principles of the competitive market, and the former cannot be preserved without invading the

latter, Marshall (1964) argues. Rian Voet (1998) states that Marshall has a social-liberal approach to citizenship, thus taking a narrow, formal and legal interpretation of the concept. By tying both rights and obligations to citizenship, social-liberals argue that citizenship should be both universal and equal; in return for equal duties, every citizen within a given territory should be entitled to certain equal civil, political and social rights. One can also locate different positions in the citizenship debate; both *communitarians* and *civic-republicans* argue for political participation and service to the common good as being vital to the concept of citizenship (Voet, 1998). The former values and emphasizes communities' common culture and ethics, and claims that in order to maintain a community, certain citizenship activities are expected. The latter on the other hand regards political participation to be the definition of citizenship; participation in decision-making and public debate and realizing oneself as political beings is the goal for civic-republicans (Voet, 1998). Another version of citizenship comes from the *neo-liberal* tradition, which defines the concept as a legal status, free from government intervention (and thus the welfare state) and is in favour of the free market. Individual freedom is of ultimate value to this tradition (Voet, 1998).

Critics of Marshall point to his evolutionary argument, and his Anglo-centric point of view (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Hindess, 1993). Bryan S. Turner (1993), for instance, points out that social and cultural traditions, and historical development will form a nation's citizenship formulations. Turner develops two axes; below/above and public/private, and states that one can formulate four ideal types of citizenship, depending on the combination of the axes. Citizenship can be handed down from above, or it can be fought for from below. In the former case, it is likely that citizenship will take on a rather passive form, he argues. In the latter case we can expect an active tradition of citizenship. Moreover, in cultures where the public sphere and political space is limited, one will find that citizenship takes a passive and private form. Barbalet (1988) in addition argues that different citizenship forms arise out of different political communities. In the Chinese context there is extensive evidence pointing toward citizenship taking a rather passive form. Traditionally, governing the country has always been handled by small elites. As Xingzhong (2002) argues, the people have continuously been discouraged from participating in political life. Additionally, Xingzhong points out that active participation has normally never determined peoples' sense of belonging, rather a passive association has. During the Mao-era, political rights, as described above, did not exist. Mao and the CCP had to sanction all political activity; nothing could be carried out without their approval. The Party controlled all aspects of life (Goldman, 2002). Obeying and supporting

both the CCP and socialism was the principal part of citizenship, Xingzhong (2002) explains. Moreover, as citizenship is a traditionally Western concept, translating it into the Chinese context is difficult. Today, the language of civil rights can be found in the country's constitution, yet there is a long way to go before such rights are realised in practice. Additionally, we saw in the previous chapter that social rights are only awarded to parts of the Chinese population. Membership in an urban Chinese community, is as we will see later, contingent upon these rights, and excluding parts of the population from these rights implies an exclusion from urban society in general. Marshall's concept of 'full membership' is thus not fully realised in Chinese society. Xingzhong points out, however, that the current Chinese government has come further than any other Chinese government towards accommodating the principle of citizens' rights. Despite this, we have, and will see that there are many obstacles.

So far, the discussions have centred on modern, mainly Western conceptions of citizenship, and have thus been preoccupied with defining citizenship as a status or participation in a certain community with subsequent rights and obligations. This community has often been defined as a nation state. But as we shall see now, the conception of the nation-state is becoming highly contested in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### 4.1.2. POST-NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP

Globalization and cosmopolitan perspectives are increasingly influencing the citizenship debate, linking it to universalism and post-nationalism. During the last decade, citizenship discussions related to international human rights and 'post-national citizenship' have been gaining popularity (Basok, 2010). Yasemin Soysal for instance, argues that;

A new and more universal concept of citizenship has unfolded in the post-war era, one whose organizing and legitimizing principles are based on a universal personhood rather than national belonging. To an increasing extent, rights and privileges once reserved for citizens of a nation are codified and expanded as personal rights, undermining the national order of citizenship.

(Soysal, 1994, p. 1)

Soysal is thus making two main arguments; the first is that there is an increasing focus on rights as universal and attached to individual persons, and second that the nation-state is no longer regarded as the sole provider of these rights. Several theorists point to increasing population mobility and migration as central to these discussions. Linking both mobilization and migration to globalization, Isin and Turner (2002) for instance, claim that the modern

notion of citizenship has to be broadened in order to articulate these migrant populations' new claims to rights and obligations. Furthermore, Castles and Davidson (2000) argue that as a result of new migration patterns, nation-states' citizenship rules have been changed in order to accommodate new emerging realities of globalization. Emerging migration patterns create new, culturally diverse populations and these populations are challenging the traditional citizenship concept, they argue, ultimately eroding the context for citizenship based on the nation-state.

The nation-state is thus no longer always seen as an appropriate site for granting membership rights and obligations. Murphy and Harty (2010) point out that universal rights, granted by supranational organizations, such as the UN and the EU, have played their part in breaking the states' monopoly over such endeavours. However, instead of focusing on the notions of globalization and universal human rights versus the nation state and citizenship rights, I will focus on a mixture of these conceptions, highlighting Nira Yuval-Davis' definition of 'multi-layered citizenship'. Basok et al. (2006) point out that although human- and citizenship rights have traditionally been identified as distinct from each other, they are inter-related; they both influence and are influenced by each other.

#### 4.1.3. MULTI-LAYERED CITIZENSHIP

Given the formulation 'full membership in a community', Yuval-Davis argues that Marshall has raised the possibility of a multi-tier, or –layered citizenship (1997, 2001). By taking both sub- and supra-state collectivities, as well as these collectivities' relationships to the state into consideration, one can relate peoples' membership in the citizenry to a variety of locations, such as local, ethnic, national or transnational. She argues that a study of women's citizenship in particular should take all these levels, as well as their interconnections, into consideration, not only that of women's position in contrast to men. There is also a growing need, she points out, to also look at the relationship between citizenship and local politics (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Rights and responsibilities are "not determined by the state, but by other polities and collectivities" (Yuval-Davis, 2001, p. 121), thus the nation-state cannot exclusively determine the nature of citizenship. She further points out the need for situating a discussion of the multi-layered citizenship in local and historical context, and points out that this framework will allow us to look at, and study specific cases. This framework can suit the context of China well. Chinese migrants can be placed in multi-layered dimensions of citizenship at the same time. They are rural peasants living in urban cities; their connections

to their places of origin have importance for their survival in cities. Furthermore, they are dependent upon regional and local authorities in their destination areas.

Varsanyi (2006) argues that the city can be an example of such a polity. The city can “again be considered a legitimate object of political thought, specifically a locus for citizenship in a globalizing, migratory world”(Varsanyi, 2006, p. 230). In order to better understand the connection between the city and the nation-state in relation to citizenship, an agency-centred approach is needed; new-comers’ actions determine the nature of citizenship as they claim rights and challenge the existing citizenship institutions in their destination areas. They are creating the foundations for future configurations of citizenship. Citizenship can thus be viewed as a process, rather than a static, legal status, Varsanyi argues. Given China’s administrative decentralization, cities are now given permission to determine how they deal with the influx of arriving migrants. This regional handling of migrants thus allows us to look at citizenship in local contexts, more specifically Shanghai, as a citizenship polity.

#### 4.2. GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP

Feminists have during the last years started to take the concept of citizenship into consideration (Lister, 1997, 2003). As we have seen, citizenship is in itself a contested concept, and it is nearly impossible to arrive at an “exhaustive and comprehensive” definition (Lister, 1997, p. 28). However, Lister points out that many tend to fall back on Marshall’s definition, thus highlighting the importance of ‘membership in a community’, ‘rights and obligations which flow from this membership’ and ‘equality’ (ibid.).

Early feminist struggles for equality focused on civil and political rights, while social rights entered the ‘scene’ during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Grossman, 2009). As mentioned earlier, the right to work is a central aspect of social rights, and although it is not the only component, it has become a key policy issue for feminists (Lister, 1997). Access to paid work, Grossman argues is “one measure of a society’s commitment to equality and its success in integrating all citizens as full participants in society” (Grossman, 2009, p. 237). Access to work is also important for a person’s self-identity and dignity, she argues. However, feminist citizenship discussions often disagree on what basis women should be included into citizenship; should women demand inclusion based on equality – on the same terms as men, as supposedly ‘gender-neutral’ citizens, or should the community accommodate women’s particular interests, thus determining them as ‘gender-differentiated’ citizens?

#### 4.2.1. INCLUSION IN 'THE PUBLIC'

The question raised above requires a definition of the word inclusion. Women have historically been excluded from the formal status and rights often granted by citizenship. Both republican and liberal writings state that women have been located in subordinated roles compared to men due to both their household roles and legal status (by being married, women are legally subordinated men) respectively (Lister, 2003). Feminists have often linked this subordination to the public versus public divide (see for instance Lister, 2003; Turner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Women have traditionally been related to the private sphere due to their association with reproduction and caring roles (Ortner, 1975). Their close connection to the household and its labour has positioned them in contrast to that of men and the public, productive sphere. A great feminist goal has thus been to challenge this division of the public/private divide (Turner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997), ultimately including women into the citizenry. However, as mentioned above, arguments have risen in relation to how one should accomplish such an undertaking. We have seen earlier that Mao managed to include women into the public sphere and workforce in China. Communist politics prioritized gender equality. Today, however, the focus on economic growth challenges women's inclusion. Which consequences and challenges do Chinese migrant women face in relation to their inclusion into the public sphere in contemporary China?

#### 4.2.2. EQUALITY VERSUS DIFFERENCE

The equality-difference debate can be dated back to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The focus on difference derives from women's capacity to bear children and their caring responsibilities. Efforts thus evolve around incorporating women's values into political life, as well as improving the material conditions of mothers (Lister, 2003). Nancy Fraser (2007) calls this recognition of sexual difference. Equality, on the other hand is self-explanatory; both men and women should participate on equal grounds as citizens.

Ruth Lister however, points out that "equality and difference are not incompatible; they only become so if equality is understood to mean sameness" (Lister, 2003, p. 98). The two terms (equality and difference) can be understood as complementary rather than antagonistic, she argues. Lister uses the term 'differentiated universalism' to assert her point; and argues that "achievement of the universal is contingent upon attention to difference" (Lister, 2003, p. 90). She defines 'difference' with the help of Zillah Eisenstein (in Lister, 2003, p. 98), who states that "the pluralisation of difference means diversity rather than 'homogenous duality'". Lister

thus proposes a synthesis of the equality/difference dichotomy by claiming that (universal) equality based on diversity can create a gender-inclusive model. Neither a gender-neutral, nor a gender-difference model is satisfactory on its own, she argues, what one needs is a gender-inclusive model which draws on both elements (Lister, 2003). If citizenship theory is to match up to its universalist claims, Lister (1997) points out that it has to accommodate all social cleavage and diversity simultaneously.

Nancy Fraser(2007) also states that neither of the two terms are sufficient on their own. In an article on gender justice, she writes that feminist politics has been occupied by two main challenges to gender justice; namely the *politics of distribution*, which sought to “restructure the political economy so as to abolish the gender division of labour” (Fraser, 2007, p. 24), and the *politics of recognition*, mentioned above as the recognition of sexual difference. Fraser’s goal is parity of participation among all major social divisions, gender constituting one of them. She writes that gender appears as a class-like differentiation within the politics of distribution, ultimately rooted in the economic structure of society. Paid (productive) versus unpaid (reproductive) labour underlies the division of labour, she states, and women are largely occupying the latter sphere. Gender is furthermore divided into high- and low paid jobs in the productive sphere, and yet again are women mostly found in the latter. This, she argues, constitutes “gender-specific forms of distributive injustice” (Fraser, 2007, p. 26). Within the politics of recognition, on the other hand, the status order of society places gender as a status differentiation. Androcentrism, she argues, is one form of gender injustice. This because it values and privileges male/masculine traits. Women are being excluded or marginalised in public spheres, as well as being denied full rights and equal protection and are thus suffering from gender-specific forms of status subordination (Fraser, 2007). Politics of recognition, traditionally viewed as identity politics, challenges demeaning androcentric pictures of femininity. However, Fraser argues that this in itself is not enough and can lead to a reinforcement of dominant gender stereotypes, and thus provides us with an alternative politics of recognition. Feminine identity per se does thus not require recognition, she argues, rather “the status of women as full partners in social interaction” (Fraser, 2007, p. 30) does. Misrecognition would thus come to mean “social subordination in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life” (Fraser, 2007, p. 30). Feminist struggles to overcome this subordination must thus fight for women’s full inclusion into society on equal standing with men.

On their own, Fraser (2007) argues, neither the politics of distribution or recognition is enough in order to assure gender justice. What is needed is a combination of the two; a politics of recognition - which will revalue caregiving and its feminine associations - and a politics of re-distribution – which will allow women to participate in society as full members and on a par with men.

#### 4.2.3. AGENCY AS CENTRAL FOR A FEMINIST CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP

Rights are not the only part of citizenship. Obligations or duties are also a large part of the citizenship discussion. One central aspect of rights versus duties is the question of the appropriate balance between the two, and feminists in particular are interested in how this balance reflects gender and other power relations (Lister, 2003). In the civic-republican tradition, duties were a central part of citizenship. The public sphere was elevated, and individual interests were submitted to the common good. This tradition was in itself a reaction to the liberal individualism. The individual citizen was an atomized bearer of rights; he was passive and only pursued individual interests. In this tradition, there was no common good (Lister, 2003). Thus, for the civic-republicans, reclaiming active, collective politics was the essence of citizenship. Lister also points out that feminists argue that only through active engagement as citizens in the public sphere can women be able to claim a truly liberatory politics of their own.

However, Lister develops an alternative model of her own. She draws from both the liberal (a free and equal rights-bearing citizen) and the republican (active political participation) traditions, and points out that these two can be seen as mutually supportive (even though tensions do exist). By doing this, Lister (2003) argues that we can see the interaction between social and political citizenship. This interaction, she argues, has been key in the development of women's position as citizens in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The nature of women's social rights are a "reflection of the extent to which women have been involved in their construction" (Lister, 1997, p. 35), at the same time, the extent of women's political participation is a "reflection of the nature of the reproductive rights they have achieved by their mobilization which has been, in part, a function of their relationship with the welfare state" (Lister, 1997, p. 35). This interconnection, she argues, underlines the importance for a synthetic approach which embraces the two. Both individual rights and political participation, and the relationship between the two come together in this approach. Human agency lies at the core of this

synthesis; “citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents”, Lister (1997, p. 35) argues. In the Chinese context, where political rights, or activities have, according to Xingzhong (2002), been discouraged, and are thus largely irrelevant as people are not accustomed to participating in political life. And where, at the same time rural migrants are excluded from the urban society by the nature of their hukou status, how do female married migrants – whom have been living in the city for several years – gain access to social goods? How do they manage to improve their inclusion in urban China?

#### 4.3. CITIZENSHIP AS A PROCESS OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

In defining and delimiting the boundaries of political membership, citizenship implies exclusion as well as inclusion. The answer to the question of who enjoys the full prerogatives of community membership (and who is relegated to the categories of second-class citizens and non-citizen) affords considerable insight into the basic nature of any political system. (Goldman & Perry, 2002, p. 3)

According to Marshall, citizenship is a ‘full membership of a community’. In China, we have seen that some residents enjoy full inclusion into the citizenry, while others are partially or fully excluded. The formulation above; ‘*who* enjoys the full prerogatives’ is, in my opinion not sufficient in order to provide an understanding of the nature of inclusion/exclusion, and how individuals experience being either included or excluded from certain citizenship entitlements. What are, for instance, the consequences for individuals, particularly women, who are socially excluded from citizenship entitlements?

According to Ruth Lister (2003), exclusion can come from both within and outside (the boundaries are often linked to national borders). Both physical and less tangible, structural borders, as well as allocative processes serve to include and exclude at the same time, she argues. By physical borders she often refers to national borders. Structural borders on the other hand, can be exemplified by the Chinese hukou system – individuals are being excluded from given social entitlements by the nature of their household registration. Furthermore, inclusion/exclusion operates through both formal and substantive modes – at legal and sociological levels respectively. The former is related to the legal status of membership of a state, while the latter refers to the allocation of rights and duties within a state. This distinction is not a dichotomy, Lister argues; inclusion/exclusion is rather a continuum of both legal and sociological modes of citizenship. She mentions that different social groups can enjoy different degrees of substantive citizenship within a nation state. The treatment of these

different social groups can act as a test for a given society's degree of inclusiveness related to substantive citizenship. Lister especially relates these arguments to migration, stating that

“it is a distinctive second-class citizen status which is achieved when migrants are exploited economically as a reserve army of labour and are denied full substantive and/or formal citizenship rights” (Lister, 2003, p. 46)

Furthermore, she notes that the patterns of inclusion and exclusion are often gendered and racialized as well as context specific. We have seen from the review of current literature that Chinese migrants are being socially excluded in their destination areas by the interlinkages between government policies and labour market forces. Urban citizenship in China is defined as “the receipt of public goods” by Dorothy Solinger (1999b, p. 101). She points out that urbanites, in the absence of markets, received certain benefits such as full employment, wages, housing, and health care from the state. According to urban residents, this was the norm of justice – the custom, she argues. Possession of an urban hukou – urban household registration, was thus the ‘maxim of inclusion’ (p. 104) she argues. Although this was especially true during the age of communism, we can see the same pattern in contemporary Chinese urban society. As pointed out earlier, hukou policies still remain strong, thus excluding migrants from state provided social benefits/entitlements, and by definition; from citizenship.

#### 4.4. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP TO MIGRATION IN CHINA

Citizenship in China is a complex issue. Not only is it a Western concept introduced and translated in to China, the country's own historical and cultural traditions have additionally created specific configurations of citizenship. Furthermore, Mao and the CCP eliminated political participation and activity by controlling every aspect of Chinese inhabitants' lives (Goldman, 2002). Today, notions of civil, political and social rights exist in the country's constitution. However, as mentioned above, China has a long way to go before practice and reality catches up to the official rhetoric (Xingzhong, 2002).

Although women were included into the public sphere during the Mao-era, they are losing their firm footing in China's workforce. The current focus on economic growth alongside the re-emerging socio-cultural traditions is yet again confining women to the private sphere. As we have seen, current feminist citizenship discussions challenge this public/private divide and assert that women should be fully included into the citizenry. Both Lister and Varsanyi claim that agency is of central importance in order to analyse residents' position in the citizenry.

Lister argues for synthesizing the civic republican and liberal rights, thus creating an understanding of citizenship as both a status, which entails certain rights (also social and reproductive), and also a practice, involving political and social participation. In doing so, she argues that she has created a framework for analyzing inclusion, or exclusion of women's position both within and outside the nation-state. Moreover, by defining citizenship as a process and linking it to the city, Varsanyi argues that citizenship can be un-bounded, or grounded (especially in the case of undocumented migrants). In my study, I will use these concepts in relation to Sanlin and Shanghai's urban society and assess female migrants' access to social goods and social inclusion. As part of the floating population, my informants will not in the foreseeable future be able to complete the hukou conversion process, thus being second class citizens. Taking this factor into consideration then, I argue that one can use the TRC as a formal citizenship status indicator for migrants, as this conveys a degree of formal citizenship status (Davin, 1999). In the following the reader will be able to note that this document provides migrants with certain social entitlements, albeit at a lower level compared to urbanites. Furthermore, the female migrants' activities in reaction to this status can be described as their citizenship practice. In sum then, both their citizenship practice and activity can be assessed in relation to the TRC and social, gender norms.

Moreover, several scholars have pointed out that despite Mao's and the CCP's effort to include women into the public sphere, China is currently witnessing women's re-entry to the private sphere. The country's focus on economic growth overshadows the goal of gender equality, thus confining women to the household. How do these configurations of the public versus private affect female migrants' inclusion and position in urban China? We saw in the previous chapter that renewed attention is being paid to women's reproductive roles while at the same time the state continues to encourage them to participate in the workforce. Applying Lister's 'gender-inclusive model' can thus be a helpful tool to analyse female migrants' inclusion in the citizenry. Her model draws on both equality and difference, and thus requires a combination of Fraser's 'politics of re-distribution' and 'politics of recognition'. By examining the female married migrant's reproductive roles in Sanlin as well as their participation in the work force, I will hopefully be able to assess their inclusion in Sanlin.

## CHAPTER 5: CITIZENSHIP AS STATUS VERSUS PROCESS; ACCESS TO SOCIAL RIGHTS IN SANLIN

### 5.0. INTRODUCTION

According to Whyte and Parish (1984), housing was a social right provided to urban hukou holders during the Mao-era. Although the extensive welfare provision through *danweis* has been dismantled in contemporary China, urban residents currently have access to larger, better and less expensive living spaces (Y. P. Wang & Wang, 2009). In contemporary China, housing inequalities between rural migrants and urban residents are vast. Furthermore, urban residents live in more central parts of the cities compared to migrants. Chinese cities have during the last couple of decades developed their building stock. Old houses – previously popular migrants living quarters – have been modernized and are now new apartments or offices available largely to urban residents. Migrants thus increasingly live in suburbs as they are being pushed further away from the city centres (Jacka, 2006). Such urban villages – *chengzhongcun* – have become prominent spaces in which migrants live in Chinese cities today. Due to rapid urbanization they have now become a physical part of the urban space. Located in the urban-rural interface they are prime locations for migrants (Y. P. Wang & Wang, 2009). These areas have less restrictive regulations compared to urban housing and they have maintained their rural organisation. Jacka (2006) points out that housing is a highly visible reminder that there is a vast status difference between urban residents and rural migrants. Both the poor quality of the buildings and the lack of amenities position migrants as inferior compared to the urban residents, she claims.

In this chapter I will discuss how female married migrants access certain rights and how they engage with authorities. My main focus will be on the residency permit and housing, but I will touch upon other social rights as well. I will begin by introducing Sanlin as a migrant village and present the local regulations for migrants living in the city. I will then move on to demonstrate how my informants obtained the residency permit and show that women have a lower tendency to acquire such documentation. I subsequently discuss how the TRC can be seen as a citizenship status, and how this status female migrants' inclusion in the citizenry. Following this, I show how my informants use informal methods in order to gain access to housing and argue that this can be seen an example of citizenship as process.

## 5.1. SANLIN

Sanlin is a typical migrant village and families constitute a large part of the village's inhabitants, and all of my informants live in the area with their husbands and/or children.

The standard house in Sanlin is square. It is made of cement and normally has two windows and a front door. It has one large room within which all the family members live. The most common living arrangement is renting from local landlords. Furthermore, the typical house in Sanlin is small. One of my informant's family lives in a square house of around 9 m<sup>2</sup> which is located at the end of an alley. The family of three lives in one room; it has a bunk-bed on the wall opposite the front-door; the daughter sleeps on the top-bunk while both parents share the bed on the bottom. A table is located on the right hand side of the room and some shelves are hung up on the wall opposite the table. Above the table is a small window which provides lighting during the day. Two chairs are placed in the middle of the floor; they are old and the seats are sunken in. On the table, the family keeps their gas-stove, which they move outside when they start to make dinner. The table is also home to cooking appliances, plates, chopsticks and a sack of rice. Placed on the outside wall, right outside of their front door, is the family's kitchen sink. Hanging from their ceiling is a large electrical fan and a single light bulb. The electrical wiring is exposed, dangling from the ceiling to the wall and down to an electrical socket.

In general, houses vary from approximately 9m<sup>2</sup> to 25m<sup>2</sup>, and the exterior of the houses are dominated by sinks and cooking units. Water pipes are constructed on the outside of people's houses and provide them with the means for cleaning household appliances and clothes.



Picture 5. 1: Sink and stove with gas-container underneath. A common feature for migrants' Houses



Picture 5. 2: Clothes hanging up to dry

Clothes hanging up to dry are also a common feature to witness as one walks along the winding roads of Sanlin. Wires are hung up from one roof-top to another, or along balconies or poles. The clothes are hanging on hangers, blowing in the wind and providing the area with some much needed colour.

Only some of the families have front yards. These are utilized to store bikes and other items, to hang up clothes and to prepare food as well as to sit outside after the evening meal and talk to neighbours. Children also use these spaces for activities and games. Families that do not have yards managed to store their belongings inside their houses, bringing the larger items outside when they are at home.

## 5.2. SHANGHAI'S TEMPORARY RESIDENCY REGULATIONS

As mentioned in the previous chapters, millions of people now live away from their original place of hukou registration and are de facto urban residents. Migrants living in the city without urban hukou has thus challenged and put pressure on the traditional hukou system and forced the government to change its policies. As a result the administration of temporary residents has been de-centralised, thus leaving the responsibility for handling this temporary population to the provincial or city governments (Chan & Zhang, 1999). The Legislative Affairs Office of Shanghai Municipal People's Government is now responsible for

Planning and administrating the work of legal affairs for the Municipal People's Government, and working out the planning and scheme for the systematic promotion of the work of administration according to laws for the Municipal People's Government. (Shanghai Government)

The Legislative Information Network has published both China's and Shanghai's rules in an English database, and in the following I will present some of the government's rules relating to residence in Shanghai.

Article 10 in '*Provisions of Shanghai Municipality on Services to and Management of Shanghai Inhabitants*' states that;

Out of town inhabitants shall go to and complete dwelling registry procedures with the community affairs center at the place of their current dwelling and obtain a Shanghai Temporary Residence Permit against their valid ID and other materials, as required by relevant provisions of the State and this Municipality; those who meet relevant requirements of this Municipality may apply for a Shanghai Residence Permit. (Government).

The responsibility for administering Shanghai's inhabitants is divided into three; the municipal government is responsible for overall coordination, the district governments are responsible for overall management and the communities are responsible for specific implementation of regulations and administration of the inhabitants. More specifically, they take the responsibility to;

gather information regarding the Shanghai inhabitants in accordance with the requirements of the departments of public security, housing guarantee and houses administration. (Government, article 5)

Information which is gathered can include both dwelling and identity information and after obtaining a TRC rural migrants may receive services largely related to reproduction; they are given the possibility to participate in family planning activities and receive pre-pregnancy advice and guidance. Additionally they may receive contraceptive drugs and basic family planning services. Furthermore they receive pre-natal examinations and delivery services at designated hospitals, and their children may receive vaccination and planned immunization services. The designated hospitals have medical charges controlled by the government. Furthermore, article 14 asserts that those holding a TRC can apply to the district/county for their children to go to school at their present residence (*ibid.*) and according to Davin (1999), the TRC thus conveys a certain degree of formal citizenship status, albeit not on a par with urban hukou status. Chan and Zhang (1999) point out that urban registered temporary residents are not entitled to urban benefits otherwise provided to permanent residents, this can be seen in Article 15, which states that permanent residence permit holders "may be eligible for the benefits and conveniences of public services in the aspects of children's education, family planning, public health, social insurance, license issuance, application for scientific or technical projects, qualification appraisal, tests and evaluation election for an award of related honorary titles etc." In addition, housing for urban residents is subsidised by the state (Davin, 1999), and is as mentioned less expensive and of better quality compared to what is available for rural residents. One can thus note a relatively large difference between both the amount and quality of the services available for temporary and permanent inhabitants. While permanent inhabitants receive public services (commonly regarded as having the best quality), rural migrants have to accept fewer and lower quality services. In the next section I present how my informants proceeded in order to obtain the TRC, and what this status entailed for them.

### 5.2.1. OBTAINING TEMPORARY RESIDENCY CERTIFICATE (TRC) IN SANLIN

As legislation dictates, migrants need to register for a TRC upon arrival in their destination areas. There are several differences between the women's stories about how they managed to obtain residency permits and in the following section the reader will be presented with the process my informants went through in order to obtain such registrations.

Eleven out of seventeen women have at one point during their stay in Shanghai obtained TRCs. This entails that six women have never been in possession of such a document, and thus a certain citizenship status. Out of the eleven women, some had had the TRC since their arrival in Shanghai, and some had only recently obtained it. Others had disregarded governmental policies and chosen to discontinue their registration, this point will be discussed below. Among the women who have been, and are, in possession of a TRC, there is a relatively large variation regarding where and whom they sought out to register for, and obtain temporary residency permits.

Of the female migrants who participated in my study, Ming is one of the women who have lived the longest in Shanghai. When she first arrived in the city 16 years ago she was approached by the Neighbourhood Committee (NC). This experience was not entirely positive; she was threatened into obtaining the TRC and she conveyed a sense of fear for her future in the city.

*“I cannot remember exactly, but I got the permit not long after I arrived. At first I did not know what temporary residency was, and I was kind of afraid, because at the first place I lived people [the NC] came to my home like three times a day or something like that to check that I had one. And I was afraid, they were kind of scaring me. Like, ‘if you don’t have one you will have to go back home’. And I heard around 2003, there were some people who were sent back home, eh, they were sent to a place near the railway station, and they will be sent back to their hometown. I was afraid in the beginning, but now I know it is only for administration purposes.”* Ming further explains that her son now has responsibility for the TRCs and the paperwork. She only has to go to the NC and renew the certificate every three to six months. This indicates that Ming is now more relaxed in relation to the TRC and the NC.

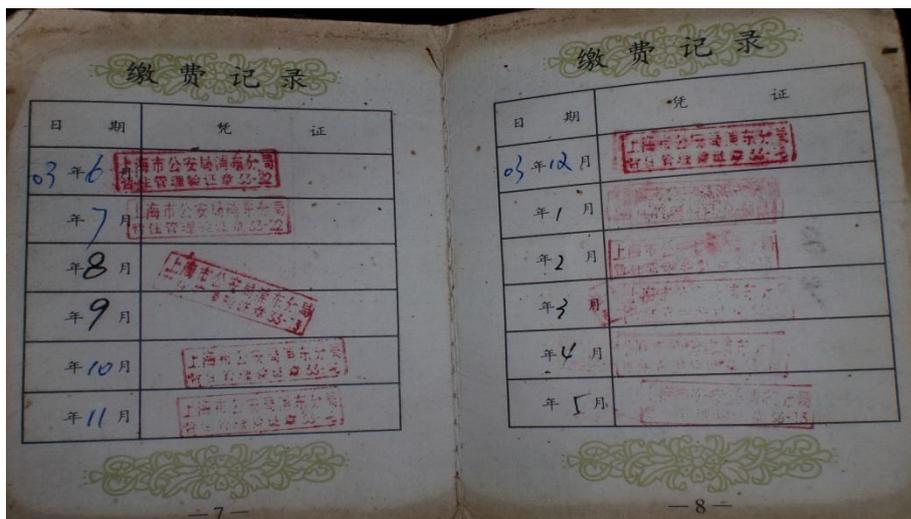
Two other women; Feng and Xia also reported a certain ambiguity in relation to the TRCs. Feng pointed out that when she arrived in Shanghai people needed to get a residency permit as *“anybody from outside of Shanghai will need a residency permit or they will get dispatched*

from Shanghai.” Xia also mentioned hearing rumours like; “If you did not have a residency permit, eh, they will send you back.”

As Feng was married, she explained that she did not need the TRC. She did on the other hand need to provide authorities with her wedding certificate and ID card if she was asked to. Her comment, however, related to several rumours she had heard about the NC’s treatment of migrants who did not have TRCs in Shanghai.

Ming’s encounter with the NC dates back 16 years, and one has to take into account that the TRC legislation was only implemented a few years prior to their arrival in Shanghai. The rigorous enforcement of the NC provided the women with the incentive to obtain the TRC at the time. However, as we can note from Ming’s quote, she now knows that the document is only for administrative use. Thus she does not assign the TRC with the same amount of apprehension as before.

Mei also describes a context for me in which the TRC was more potent before compared to the present. She mentioned that before 2004 the legislation, hukou registration and surveillance was stricter; “Me and my husband used to be regularly asked to provide the authorities with proof of identification and proper registration.” She went on to show me some booklets of her registration. Inside were lists of her and her husband’s children and her fertility records. Furthermore there were work certificates and monthly receipts and stamps to show that she had paid the necessary fees for her temporary residency permit. “We paid 15 yuan per month, and without it we could risk being sent back home, or receive some other penalty [...] we could normally pay every three months.”



Picture 5.3: a registration booklet shows stamps for monthly payments

Despite the continuous efforts from the NC for Mei and her family to uphold regulations, Mei did not wish to change her registration to the newer version of the TRC. When I asked her about the topic, she replied that she could not fathom why she should do so as her certificate did not have any effect on her daily life – as far as she could see there were no benefits for changing it. Moreover, she explained that the government had provided migrants with incentives for changing their registration, such as 200 yuan for transportation costs and entrance tickets for the expo. As she did not need this, or anything else from the government, she was satisfied with her current situation.

The above mentioned women had all been contacted by the NC in order to acquire the TRC. In contrast, others took more personal initiative and sought out the local police station or authorities connected to the police office. There were, however, differences in the degree of awareness and action in relation to these processes. Xu for instance explained;

*“I have a new residency permit instead of the [old] temporary resident permit. Last year around September I got the new one. I got the residents permit. I do not know the difference between the temporary residency permit and the new one [...] the temporary residency permit cost is 5 yuan, now the resident permit cost is 30 yuan. I had to prolong the temporary once every 6 months, now with the residency permit I also have to prolong it, but it’s a kind of an electronic one. I just prolong it electronically, and the temporary one maybe I’ll get a new temporary one [...] I got it at the police station, I was notified by the police to get the residents permit[...] I can renew it at the police station.”*

From this quote we can see that Xu mentions an old and a new TRC. In the current legislation I have found nothing which can explain the difference between the two. However, from my understanding, it must be related to an electronic update of the TRC. The old version was the booklet, which Mei described above (see picture on proceeding page). The new version is on the other hand an electronic card by the size of a bank-card. This card has an electronic chip on it which provides authorities with all the relevant information about the holder.

We can also note from Xu’s narrative that she was told by the police to go and update her TRC. Her awareness about the process seemed rather low; she completed all the practicalities of the process without really wondering why she did so, rather, she explained that her reason for obtaining the TRC was because she was informed that she should do so. Dao-Ming on the other hand was more reflected and explicit in her explanations, furthermore she took more

initiative in relation to obtaining the TRC, and we can see below that she sought out several places by her own accord in order to secure the documentation;

*“Other people normally do not have [residency permits] and I would not either if it wasn’t necessary so my son could go to school. I got the residency permit by going to the service centre for the floating population, which is the centre located next to the police station. I went there myself, nobody approached me [answer to my question; if she had been contacted by any official authority in relation to obtaining her permit?]. To be able to get the permit I needed a copy of my ID-card, a working proof [certificate] here in Shanghai, a hukou booklet from my home and a hometown given certificate, a kind of ‘proof of origin’. In order to get my work certificate, I needed a health certificate, my company required one. I therefore went to the nearest hospital to do it.”*

Although Dao-Ming and her family had the TRC and her son was able to go to school in the city, she was not awarded any health insurance. *“One year ago my husband needed surgery for an accident to his feet. We did not have medical insurance in Shanghai, and we were only reimbursed 30 per cent for our payments. If we were in our hometown we would have received 70 per cent [...] In Shanghai we paid thirty thousand yuan, and at home we would have paid around ten thousand [...] I was given two weeks unpaid leave from work for my husband’s surgery and my mother in law took care of him after that. He recovered for twenty days in hospital with pins in his leg. After that he came back home, but after a while he had to go back and take the pins out again, and I took another nineteen days of leave from work.”*

Her husband is now unemployed and she makes around 1400 yuan per month – around 16800 yuan per year. As the reader can note, the medical fees amount to around two times her yearly salary and it is not difficult to understand the family’s financial struggles. The family rents their accommodation, but due to relatively high prices and government construction they have been made to move every two to three years. Furthermore, their savings are empty due to both her husband’s injury and her son’s school fees. This year she started to send money home for her son’s daily use as he had to go back home to finish school. This she explains is a compensation for her guilt of not being able to be at their side. *“But money cannot compensate for me not being there”*, she sighs.

Another women, who also actively sought several offices in order to obtain the TRC was Yun-Song;

*“We have residency permits. We came to Shanghai last month and we went to the neighbourhood committee offices and filled out some forms. After that we went to another office – the police/security personnel – to fill out some more forms and take pictures. The entire process at the police office only took a couple of minutes and we left with our cards in our hands. It was very simple [...] a neighbour told us what to do and where to go.”*

Yun-Song went to both the neighbourhood committee and the police station. The neighbourhood committee in Sanlin is located just across the road from the police station, so the distance was easy. Furthermore it makes it convenient for individuals to complete the entire process in one go. Yun-Song was, like Dao-Ming a woman who took initiative. Only a couple of weeks after arriving in the city, she sought the local NC, and police offices to secure her TRC. She asked her neighbours for help, and actively engaged in the process. As a result, she gained a certain degree of citizenship status through the TRC.

Jing also stated that *“I went to the neighbourhood committee to get the certificate. I only had to tell them the address and the name of my landlord and I got it. To renew it I go to the social security centre.”* Jing arrived in Sanlin in 2004, and acquired her TRC in 2008. She has thus lived in Sanlin for six years all together, and only had the registration for the last two. When replying to my question of there being any differences between having or not having the TRC, she stated; *“it’s just that now I have the certificate and that’s that.”* Her statement clearly expresses what several other women also claim; nothing in their daily lives is affected by having a residency permit. It is a piece of paper/electronic card that the government wishes every migrant to possess. Above, we saw for instance that Ming pointed out that the TRC is only for administration purposes.

Similar to Ming and Feng, other women have recently been approached by the NC. However, in contrast to what they experienced 16 years ago, current dealings with the local authorities are not as intimidating. Several women told me that they had been approached by the NC and asked if they were in possession of the residency permit. If they were not, they were told to get one, or they have been provided with the necessary documents on the spot and filled out the correct forms then and there. Seo-Hyeon explains that;

*“Someone from the neighborhood committee they go door to door to fill a registration form, and they filled out some basic information. And with an ID card that’s ok.”*

M: What kind of basic information?

*“Name, and their home address both in Shanghai and in their hometown, and number of ID card, plus most of basic information from the ID card, like gender and age. And they have, eh, the committee, they take the responsibility taking a photo for them. No, it is not the neighborhood committee, it a special place that they are doing this task [...]. And right after we had filled out the form and taken the photo, we got the registration [...]. We renew our permits every year, once a year. I will show you my card. It says issued by the police station. On the card it says name, gender, serial number, ID card number, hukou address, issue date. The chip on it helps the card to be renewed; it is an electronic renewal system. And you can also check your information. They can put the card into a machine, and they will have all the information about me.”*

M: Does somebody ask for your information often, do you have to show it to different people?

*“Someone from the neighborhood committee will look around and ask me if I have a temporary residency permit. If I don't have one, they will ask me to get one and [if] they know you have one, they will not come anymore.”*

M: What happened if you do not get one?

*“There is no difference [...] If you don't have that [TRC] you can also stay.”*

M: So are there any differences between living here with the temporary residency certificate or without it?

*“The only thing bothering me is that you have to take the time to get one [TRC].”*

Seo-Hyeon further explained that she is not bothered by the NC walking around the area, if they came to check if she had the correct documentation they would leave as soon as she showed it to them. She also pointed out that the NC's main purpose was to 'find' new residents and inform them of everything they need to know and register their information. In other words, Seo-Hyeon feels that except from actually obtaining the document, it does not affect her daily life.

From the three narratives above, we can note that the NC has become less aggressive in relation to compelling people to obtain the TRC. In comparison to Ming's experiences with the NC, they now let people come to them. Furthermore, we can see from Seo-Hyeon's story that they did not intimidate, or pressure her into obtaining the document. The NC thus acts according to current legislation; they complete dwelling registrations by obtaining

information and filling out forms of the migrants. They subsequently issue the TRC based on the information gathered.

Furthermore, one couple among my informants point out that the NC has become increasingly relaxed in relation to them possessing the TRC. Neither Fang-Hua nor her husband has temporary residency certificates. They both used to have TRCs as they needed them in order for their daughter to go to school. However, as soon as the legislation changed they decided not to renew their permits;

*“Now we have not renewed them. It is not necessary seeing as our daughter can now go to school with her Jiangsu hukou. In the beginning [when they moved to Sanlin] the neighbourhood committee came to us, to check our information and identity. Now that the neighbourhood committee knows our identity they no longer come back to check.*

Fang-Hua is thus one of the above mentioned women whom have chosen to discontinue her registration. Other women have also done as she has, while several others have never obtained the TRC at all.

### 5.3. WOMEN HAVE LOWER CITIZENSHIP STATUS

As pointed out above, six women do not have TRCs. Two of the women; Rui and Feng are married to local Shanghai residents and have never had the need to acquire them. Feng explained that as she has a marriage certificate, this was sufficient. The other women should, according to the Shanghai Municipal government, acquire the TRC (see above). However, when it comes to making decisions about having or not having the TRC, the women's everyday experiences and situations outweigh official legislation and regulations as decisive factors. Tian for instance, explains that both the lack of necessity and additionally having her wedding certificate and another document results in her not having or needing the residency permit. Furthermore, she points out that due to her working all day as a nanny, both the NC and the police station is closed by the time she gets home. Accordingly, she has not had an opportunity to obtain this permit. Her husband, however, has a residency permit as he needs it to work outside of Sanlin. Furthermore, he has been in Shanghai for several more years than her.

Another woman who attributed her not having a TRC to her husband's position in the productive sphere was Miao. She states that her husband goes to work and often moves outside of Sanlin in order to conduct his business. *“It is not necessary for me to have the*

*newer registration. He [her husband] moves around outside of Sanlin, and he could be stopped and asked for his ID. I am always at home, and I have never felt the need to renew my temporary permit. I do not have a job, and we already have a house. And our identity is known by our landlord.”*

Miao has thus not renewed her registration due to her position in the household; she stays at home all day taking care of the children. Furthermore, she points to an interesting fact; their identity is known by their landlord. As he is familiar with Miao and her family, they no longer have a need for the TRC. This fact was also mentioned by several other women. Ji-Min for instance highlights social connections and networks as important reasons for not having the TRC; *“The government wants us to have this residency permit because it will be better for both parts [the family and the local authorities], but I haven’t got one. When we first moved here we did not need any permits, the laws were more relaxed. The police now mandate every migrant to get a temporary residency permit to have better security administration. My husband now has a residency permit, I do not have one [when I asked her why she said]. My landlord does not require one, so I haven’t got one. My landlord knows who we are, he knows that we are a family and have stable jobs. [...]”*

Although the government wants her to have a residency permit, Ji-Min frankly states that she does not have one and she is not worried by any negative sanctions. And we can see from the other women’s narratives that the TRC as a formal citizenship status is not as important to them.

#### 5.4. TRC AS CITIZENSHIP STATUS

We have seen that the Shanghai Municipal Government has formulated both rights and obligations for migrants arriving in the city. Rural peasants arriving in Shanghai have to register at local offices in order to obtain the TRC. In return they are granted certain rights. These rights however, do not match those which are granted to urban hukou holders. Some women have upheld their obligations and had different approaches to obtain the TRCs. From the first women’s stories however, we could note a certain degree of uncertainty, the NC drove the women in an unpleasant manner to make the sure that the women registered. Until around 2004, according to Mei, the local authorities actively pursued migrants and checked their registration. In recent years however, they take a less confrontational approach, several women explained that the NC walk around the area looking for new-comers and informing them of the process as well as registering their information. In the last couple of women’s

narrative we could see how they felt that the entire process of obtaining the TRC was easy and uncomplicated. Some even pointed to their lack of such documentation entirely and claimed that it did not hold them back at all.

At the same time, some women have different formal citizenship status. Some were more aware of the process and also the rights they could access. They were therefore more active in pursuing the status, and actively engaging with the state's institutions and gaining access to rights. We could see how Dao-Ming for instance mentioned that she obtained the TRC in order for her son to go to school. She had rather extensive knowledge, especially compared to other female migrants, about which channels to follow. Her educational level, in comparison to these women (who did not have TRCs) was higher. Knowledge and awareness of the entire process thus enable some women to actively obtain the TRC and gain access to certain rights. This finding thus supports the argument that the TRC conveys a certain citizenship status, as pointed out by Davin (1999). However, this status does not convey access to all social rights, as we saw in the case of Dao-Ming. She did not have access to health insurance despite the fact that her citizenship status was in order. She therefore struggled every day as a result of the detrimental financial situation she was in. The majority of my informants also mentioned that they did not have access to health insurance in Shanghai. If they became seriously injured they would have to go to a designated state hospital and pay the entire fee themselves. In contrast to what the situation would be in their hometowns, they would not be reimbursed for their payments in Shanghai. They have thus lost their access to a social right they would have access to if they lived in their place of hukou residence, as well as a right accorded to urban hukou holders.

In contrast to women whom have actively pursued official channels and obtained the TRC, others did not see the need for the status. Many pointed to the TRC not affecting their daily lives and that it was just a piece of paper which the state required them to be in possession of in order to fulfil administration requirements. Seo-Hyeon pointed out that one could live in Sanlin without the TRC and although she was in possession of the TRC, several others were not. Their reasons for this were related to their being 'inside', having reproductive responsibilities. Moreover, they claimed that their husbands' position 'outside' the household placed him in a situation which demanded that he acquired the TRC; he could be asked to provide authorities with documentation at any time. Furthermore, they pointed to social connections, and their identity being known by both their landlords and the NCs as reasons

for not being in possession of the documents. They were thus highlighting informal means of securing social goods.

## 5.5. OBTAINING SOCIAL RIGHTS THROUGH CITIZENSHIP PRACTICE

Article 22 in chapter IV – ‘Administration of Information Regarding Lease of Residential Property’ – in the ‘Provisions of Shanghai Municipality in Services to and Management of Shanghai Inhabitants’ states that

In entering the lease contract, the lessor of residential property shall examine the ID papers of the lessee and of those who live with the lessee, and register the lessee’s name, and the type and number of his/her ID papers. The lessor of residential property shall not lease property to those who have no ID papers. During the term of the lease, the lessor shall regularly examine the lessee’s use of the property as agreed on in the lease contract. [...]

(Government, article 22)

Nothing in this article is explicitly related to ‘out-of town’ inhabitants or the necessity of them providing a TRC. However, as we saw in article 10 of the same document, ‘out-of-town’ inhabitants are required to obtain a TRC. A community officer is also required to secure information about their dwelling information etc. It therefore becomes reasonable to believe that it becomes difficult for migrants to both obtain housing and live in Shanghai without the proper registration and documentation. As mentioned above, housing is provided to urban residents at subsidised rates and is of better quality. However, this documentation process and obtaining the TRC was hardly mentioned during the discussions about housing. The most common topic in relation to obtaining housing for one’s family was rather receiving assistance from either or both personal acquaintances and family members.

As mentioned above, families constitute a large part of Sanlin’s inhabitants. The families of the women I have spoken to communicate particular narratives in relation to obtaining and renting housing. Social connections are especially important when attempting to locate shelter for your entire family. Based on the nature of their relationships, the assistance my informants received can be divided into two categories. The first approach towards gaining access to housing was to do it through personal acquaintances from the very beginning of the migration process. The second approach, on the other hand, depended more on family relations in the beginning and subsequently leant more on contacts established after arriving in Sanlin.

### 5.5.1. PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCES

Many young women from rural areas are being recruited through personal acquaintances to work in the manufacturing businesses. The majority of these women are single at the time of migration. These women are often targeted by recruitment agents in the manufacturing industry. Going through social connections, the agents locate certain women and transport them to larger cities to work. The agents, in coordination with the work-place, often take part in locating shelter for these women. As many of these migrant women are single upon migration, it is common for the majority of them to return to their home areas after some time in the city. Some of my informants however, have come to Shanghai when they were single, and married after meeting their husbands in Shanghai, like Feng and Rui (Feng explains);

*“I had been learning how to embroider in my hometown, and my teacher brought me here [Shanghai] to work in a factory. He took two girls [herself and Rui] and two women with him at this time. The two women were the same age as I am now.”* When talking about why she chose to move to Shanghai, she stated that; *“The teacher knew my brother, they were acquaintances. In addition, the factory in my hometown was not very good, so I thought Shanghai would be better. [...] The factory owner in Shanghai offered me information about this place. The factory where I worked is near here so me and three other girls rented this place, and we all shared one apartment. When I first arrived here, we were four girls who rented this room, now I kind of own the house and rent it out to two other families.”*

Both Feng and Rui married local Shanghainese residents. Feng for instance married the owner of the house she was renting, and as a consequence, she managed to obtain permanent housing. Rui and her husband on the other hand bought a house together, and now live in the outskirts of Sanlin.

Other women were already married upon migration. Migration in these cases was often self-initiated and the migrants were thus not recruited by recruitment agents to work in the manufacturing industry. Xu, for instance, explained that she came to Shanghai with her husband and two children by train from Anhui province. Upon arrival they sought some of their personal acquaintances and received assistance; *“We have an acquaintance from my hometown that came here before us, and she introduced me to the factory where I used to work and helped us find a house”*. Xu was recruited into the same factory as her female acquaintance, and thus worked in a shoe factory. Xu and her family have been living in Sanlin since they arrived. However, after locating their first house, they have moved into another

house. Through good neighbourhood relations, they managed to find a better suited house for their family's needs.

#### 5.5.2. FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Many of my female informants explain that family members provided important support during their migration process. Family members usually helped them in two different ways; through locating vacant housing prior to their arrival, or through putting letting them live in their accommodation until my informants found a house for themselves. Mei and Tian both explain that close family members assisted them in locating housing in Sanlin and thus being able to move straight into their houses in Sanlin when they arrived in the area;

*“My husband has ten siblings, and I was one on five. All of them live at home, but my husband's cousin lived in Shanghai before we arrived. He was also in the fruit business, he helped us into it. He also helped us to find a place to live.”* (Mei)

*“In the beginning we used to stay in my husband's dormitory at the factory where he worked. After a while we found the house we now live in, but it was difficult. My husband has close family in the area, and they helped us to find this house.”* (Tian)

Other women describe how family members allowed them to stay in their house initially. Both Ling and Ji-Min were supported by their family during their migration process, and were able to live with family members until they were able to find other appropriate arrangements. Ji-Min says;

*“My uncle and aunt lived in Shanghai at the time we moved. In the beginning we stayed with them. After that we found a place close to the expo site, and after that we heard about this place [in Sanlin] from other acquaintances.”*

Many of my informants raise an interesting point, and which can be exemplified with the help of Xu and Ji-Min's cases; after a while in Shanghai, their social connections were able to assist them in finding accommodation. Acquaintances and social networks were thus an important element in securing appropriate housing in Sanlin. Several other women also inform me that they have changed their living quarters many times. Wu Lien and Yunwen for instance tell me that each time they have moved they have done so with the help of friends or neighbours in Sanlin. Yunwen even states that she and her husband now rent a house from one of their friends. Moreover, we can note that time is an important factor in this equation.

The more integrated they are in Sanlin the greater is the likelihood of securing appropriate accommodation for their families as they can rely on their social network and connections in order to do so.

Only three women; Seo-Hyeon, Yun-Song and Miao mentioned that they arrived in Sanlin without having any support from relations. They explained that they found accommodation through advertisements or by themselves.

In addition to personal acquaintances and social networks, my informants mentioned, as we saw in the section above, that their identities were known both by their landlords and by the NC. Furthermore, the landlords did not require TRCs as they relied more on knowing the lessees' identities. Time especially is of importance in relation to their citizenship status being replaced by social networks. The longer time my informants spent in Sanlin, and the more integrated they became into the society, the more acquainted they became with their neighbours, their landlords and the NC personnel, and thus the lesser need they had for the TRC, they claimed. Has citizenship as process then, replaced formal citizenship status as necessary for acquiring social goods?

#### 5.6. ARE DOCUMENTS IMPORTANT? TO WHAT DEGREE DO THEY FOSTER SOCIAL INCLUSION OF MIGRANTS?

The maxim of inclusion in urban China, according to Dorothy Solinger, is possession of an urban hukou. Urban citizenship is defined as “membership and the receipt of public goods” (1999b, p. 101). Being in possession of a document which states your individual status and thus provides you with social services entails your inclusion into urban society in China. For migrants, the TRC provided one with access to some social services, although not on a par with urban hukou holders. According to Lister's (2003) definition of the term exclusion, migrants can said to be both formally and substantially excluded. Formally they are excluded through the hukou system; by not being entitled to urban hukou status they are not fully included in the urban citizenry. Furthermore, they can be substantially excluded by the nature of the rights which are ‘awarded’ to them through their lower citizenship status, and in this chapter I have attempted to show how female married migrants experience this substantial exclusion.

Official legislation dictates that TRCs are a necessary prerequisite for living in Shanghai. Furthermore, identification papers are said to be required in order to secure accommodation.

In this chapter, we have seen that housing is an important social entitlement for my informants and their families and securing appropriate living arrangements is essential. Having correct documentation – having their citizenship status in order – should theoretically be key to living in Shanghai, and thus to formal inclusion in urban Chinese society. Several women have had TRCs but for different reasons. Some had got it just because they had been told to obtain one by local authorities. Others had actively pursued the document on their own. In the latter case, we have noted a higher degree of awareness and knowledge about the process. The women whom have been actively engaging with the state institutions have done so in order to secure their access to social goods, especially children's education. The women in possession of a TRC have as mentioned their formal citizenship status in order. However, this status does not prevent them from being substantially excluded from urban citizenship and its social benefits. Dao-Ming for instance experienced that her family's exclusion from essential health insurance positioned them in a marginal and financially difficult situation.

Other women had a more pragmatic approach to the TRCs. For example, Fang-Hua mentioned that she and her husband only had the TRC when it suited them, and in order to have access to specific social rights. This demonstrates a rather fluid configuration of citizenship.

Varsanyi (2006, p. 244) points out that powerful boundaries still hinders migrants' formal membership in the nation state. Despite these boundaries impinging on female migrants' inclusion in the citizenry, and in response to my informants' citizenship status not providing them with the necessary social entitlements for surviving in Sanlin, many have found their own ways of surviving. We have seen that regardless of one's formal citizenship status, migrants rely heavily on personal acquaintances and social networks in order to have access to housing, a social right provided for many urbanites in Shanghai. Xu for instance, was approached by local authorities after arriving in Sanlin and thus obtained the TRC. Although she (and her family) was in possession of this document they needed assistance from an acquaintance in order to find accommodation for themselves. On the other hand, Tian has never had a TRC and likewise depended upon her social network in order to secure shelter. In addition, the women's length of stay will affect their inclusion into Sanlin as a community. As we saw above, their connections to local landlords and the NC were based upon personal connections and the local authorities knowing my informants' identities. Female migrants' actions – their use of social networks to access social rights – and their presence thus shape the nature of their citizenship. This, according to Varsanyi (2006) can be an example of

citizenship as process. She argues that by focusing on people's presence and residence in a society, we will be able to understand how the actions of undocumented migrants shape their citizenship. Numerous localities are today constructing membership policies based on the realities of the presence of their residents and "these policies represent a *de facto* consent for the formal membership of these individuals" (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 240). My informants can thus be said to be included in Sanlin's citizenry based on their actions; their presence and actions highlight citizenship as process rather than status.

As shown above, several women do not possess TRCs while their husbands do. This coincides with Lister's argument that patterns of exclusion and inclusion often are gendered (2003). Furthermore, it shows a tendency in which female migrants have lower citizenship status than men in Sanlin. This, I argue, is due to a complex combination of hukou policies, market forces and socio-cultural norms, and in the next two chapters I show how these factors impinge upon female married migrants' inclusion in the citizenry.

## CHAPTER 6: WOMEN'S WORK AND CITIZENSHIP

### 6.0. INTRODUCTION

*“Gendered accounts of citizenship [...] presuppose an understanding of the sex-gender system or gender regime that prevails in a given system”* (Molyneux, 2000, p. 122). With this statement Molyneux suggests that women's access to citizenship and social membership is culturally and socially determined by the prevailing social (gender) norms in a particular context. She also points out that these norms influence women's degree of agency in relation to their engagement to achieve social entitlements. Furthermore, she argues that historical and political forces, as well as rhetoric provide us with valuable keys in order to examine what citizenship means in a particular context for women. To be able to examine women's inclusion in the citizenry, one must additionally look at the gap between formal and substantive rights, she explains. Such an approach will allow us to analyse how citizenship is lived in practice (Molyneux, 2000). In order to examine my informants' position in the citizenry, social gender norms, official rhetoric and policy provides me with relevant keys. I will, however begin with a small repetition of the social and political context and connect it to Chinese women's, and particularly migrant women's work.

In the introduction we learned how women were excluded from the productive sphere during the imperial era. Women operated largely within the 'inside' domain, whereas men participated on the 'outside' (Mann, 2000). We also noted that there existed a system of hierarchy and value connected to this system. When Mao came to power in 1949 he attempted to abolish this hierarchical and unequal social system by promoting women's position in the public sphere. He encouraged them to participate in the workforce as he recognised, like other socialist thinkers, that this factor would enhance women's position and emancipation. Furthermore, patriarchal relations had to be abandoned if women in China were to achieve economic and social development (Molyneux, 2000). As Ruth Lister (2003) argues women's position (subordination) in the citizenry has always been influenced by the public versus private distinction. Women's participation in the workforce has thus been a highly prioritized goal for many feminists. Molyneux also points out that socialist movements contributed to mobilize women in order to create a higher degree of social equality. Yet, as we can see in China, socialist goals have not primarily been motivated by gender equality per se, rather by the idea that women's participation within the public – productive – sphere will enhance

national and economic development (Molyneux, 2000). In China during the Mao period, both women and men were provided with social entitlements based on their membership in the political community. This membership was explicitly linked to their participation as workers, as productive citizens. In return for lifelong employment in *danweis*, the state provided urban individuals with social rights, such as healthcare, education and childcare facilities. Additionally, wage income and grain and food-oil were distributed through these work-units. As mentioned, rural residents were not provided with these services in the communes, rather, they had to provide them themselves thus resulting in service provision being unequally distributed according to geographical location. Urban citizens were provided with more and better quality services, while rural residents were offered less. Coupled with the hukou system, which limited population mobility this system thus created class differentiation and hierarchy also in socialist China. Rural inhabitants largely became second class citizens based on lower levels of state provided service provision.

In both rural and urban China, women's positions were disadvantaged. Although they now operated in the same (public) sphere and worked for their wages, they still had to perform the tasks previously determined as 'women's work'. The CCP had thus done little to challenge the dominating gender norms of women having to conduct household ('inside') labour. Harrell (2000) points out that women thus performed worse in the wage labour compared to men as they were burdened by their double roles. Furthermore, household labour remained uncompensated; housework in itself was not enough to earn a woman full citizenship; she had to have paid, outside work (Harrell, 2000). Employment and the workplace thus became the "*symbolic space for the realization of full membership in the community. Work and citizenship were therefore closely intertwined*" (Molyneux, 2000, p. 129).

After Mao's death, China and the CCP renewed its interest in women performing their familial roles (Croll, 1983). At the same time the CCP continued to promote their participation in the labour force. As pointed out in chapter one, Chinese society currently focuses on women as 'feminine' and consumers; they are defined as different from men. Despite the fact that these vast changes have taken place, women are still influenced by traditional values; societal, familial and especially male expectations impel women to adhere to traditional values. Women thus operate between two differing social expectations in relation to both their productive and reproductive roles. On the one hand they are expected to partake in paid work, while on the other childcare. As we shall see, my informants are constrained by both these social expectations as they try to make a life for themselves in

Sanlin. Additionally, hukou policies have remained largely the same since the Mao-period, and as we saw in chapter three, migrants and particularly female migrants are affected by these policies. As mentioned, however, little is known about how female, and especially married female migrants experience these social norms and policies in their everyday lives. I will, in the following chapter therefore focus my attention to my informants dealings with the productive sphere. How are social norms and expectations impinging on their labour market position? Furthermore, how is this position affecting their position, or inclusion, in the citizenry?

### 6.1. INSIDE VERSUS OUTSIDE

Seeing as how the balance between inside and outside work is important for women's citizenship it is important to determine the boundaries between them. Rachel Rosenfeld (2000) divides work into four categories, or classifications;

1. Pay for work outside the home,
2. Home-based business or employment,
3. Work without pay outside home, and
4. Unpaid work in the home.

The two latter categories consist of volunteer work, and household labour respectively, and as one can see, the two former categories have divided work into inside and outside the home. In category 1, Rosenfeld discusses several forms of wage labour, both contingent (flexible work arrangements) and non-contingent in both formal and informal sector jobs, highlighting the fact that 'pay for work outside the home' can vary. Home-based employment or business is when income generating activities are placed inside a person's home, for instance small businesses. However, she also goes on to point out that there are certain problems with this fourfold classification of work, especially in regards to measurement. Boundaries are not always clear and some types of work can be done both inside and outside the home, for instance in relation to informal sector jobs and family enterprises. In the latter case, Rachel Rosenfeld (2000) states that a literal understanding of the word 'inside' can very often be misleading. "The contrast between the literal ideal and the actual location of activities is important" (Rosenfeld, 2000, p. 62). She goes on to explain that "using the definition of for/with versus outside the family, rather than physically inside versus outside the home" (Rosenfeld, 2000, p. 62) can be of special relevance in the Chinese context. If one is

concerned with women's wage related activities for instance, determining whether they take place outside the home, or whether they take place in the same location as the women conduct the domestic work can be of importance.

## 6.2. HOUSEHOLD DESCRIPTION

In the following, I will present an overview over my informants' workplace and their children. Additionally, my informant's husbands are presented, as their occupational status can be of relevance in the discussion of my informants' labour market participation.

<b>Name:</b>	<b>Workplace</b>	<b>Husband's job</b>	<b>Children</b>
<b>Dao-Ming</b>	mall	unemployed due to injury	Teenager - school outside SH
<b>Ling</b>	recycling w/family	recycling w/fam.	1 boy, 11 years old - hometown
<b>Xu</b>	shop-keeper	glass factory, shop, now home	Shanghai, grown up
<b>Ming</b>	recycling w/family	recycling w/fam.	3 children - shanghai, grown up
<b>Jing</b>	shop-keeper	Construction	1 boy, 6 years old – in SH
<b>Fang-Hua</b>	toy vendor	shop keeper	1 girl, 15 years old – in SH
<b>Ji-Min</b>	housekeeper	Out of work, was electrician at expo area	2 children – girl; kindergarten boy; teenager, both in SH
<b>Tian</b>	nanny	construction	1 son, 8 years old, hometown
<b>Mei:</b>	fruit vendor	fruit vendor	grown-up: studying outside SH
<b>Wu Lien</b>	Partially employed, sells stools at expo	Clothes factory	3 children; boy; 18, girl; 13 and boy; 1 year old – SH
<b>Seo-Hyeon</b>	Out of work	motorbike taxi	2 grandchildren; girl; 5, boy; 3 years old in SH
<b>Miao</b>	Out of work	recycling el.machines	3 children; girls; 21, 18 and 2 years old, in SH
<b>Yunwen</b>	Out of work	construction + truck driving	2 boys, 9 and 11 years old - in hometown
<b>Yun-Song</b>	Out of work	driver for expo	1 daughter, around 12 years old, in SH
<b>Feng</b>	Out of work		1 daughter, 11 years old – SH
<b>Xia</b>	Out of work	construction	no children

Table 6.1: Table over informants' and their husbands' occupations and where their children live.

From table 6.1, the reader can note that nine of my informants are currently working. These nine women have different occupations, ranging from mall-assistant and shop keeper to street vendors and domestic service. Many of the working-women's children are grown up. Dao-

Ming, and Mei for instance have children who are working and studying in different locations in China. Both Ming and Xu have grown up children living in Sanlin. Ming's children all live with her and her husband in an extended family. Xu's children live close to her, and have their own jobs. One of the most striking links that can be observed in table 6.1, is that the women who are out of work are affected by their childcare responsibilities in relation to the labour market position, and thus the public sphere.

### 6.3. HAVING CHILDREN MEANS LOSING ONE'S POSITION IN THE FORMAL LABOUR MARKET

Out of the seven unemployed women, five are so due to pregnancy or childcare. Wu-Lien, Seo-Hyeon, Miao, Yun-Song and Feng all stated that they either quit their jobs or were made to quit their jobs due to their reproductive roles and tasks. They all have young children living with them in Shanghai. Seo-Hyeon is taking care of her grandchildren, as her son currently works in a public bath and shower facility. The other two are unemployed due to other circumstances. Xia for instance has only been living in Shanghai for one month. She says she is currently looking for a job, but has been unsuccessful so far. She and her husband have just married and have no children so far. Yunwen on the other hand is unemployed largely due to an adherence to traditional gender norms and values. Her husband clearly sees it as important for him to be sole breadwinner, thus confining his wife to the domestic sphere. Their children live with their grandparents in their father's hometown.

Both household labour and childcare constituted most of the five women's daily activities, and will be discussed in further detail in chapter seven. Childcare, however, seems to be the catalyst out of formal wage labour. Several women have children under the age of eight, and most of them do not yet attend school. Furthermore, the families do not have access to public childcare facilities/services. Liu Miao explains how having her third child forced her into leaving her job; *“Both my sister and I got pregnant at nearly the same time. She [her sister] used to work in a tea shop, and I worked in the factory, [producing rubber bands]. We had to quit our jobs when we got pregnant [...] I did not get any maternal leave, or get financial support from anybody, either the factory or the state [...] My daughter is now two years old. Most of the days I take care of her and do some housework, but it doesn't take much to do it”*. Miao and her husband came to Shanghai 11 years ago, and brought their (then) two daughters with them at the time. Both of the children were of school age, and their eldest continued with

vocational training. Today the five of them live together in a house in Sanlin, and their two eldest daughters contribute with wages to the household. Miao explained that she had been working in the factory until she got pregnant again two years back. Before then, she had an income and her days were eventful. Now she felt that her life in Shanghai was meaningless, and of little consequence. She did not have much to do she said, and was bored. She did not however, have opportunities to go back to work as she had to take care of her daughter.

Wu Lien also stated that she was currently out of work due to having children; *“I used to work in a clothes factory before [...] I had this job since I arrived in Shanghai and my salary is 2000 yuan per month [...] I started off with less money, but during the years my salary has become higher [...] My husband used to work as a butcher and he earned 450 yuan per month, but I found him a job at the same factory as me. My son [19 years old] also works there now. Now they earn 2000 and 1500 yuan per month each [...] I no longer work at the factory because I have to look after my son [1 year old]. Some days I travel to the expo area and sell small stools, and then I can earn 100 yuan a day. But I only go if I have time, and my neighbour can look after my boy.”*

Having childcare responsibilities also prevents women from being attractive on the labour market. Feng, who lost her husband ten years ago, had to quit her job in order to take care of their (then) one year old daughter. Today, her daughter is eleven, and Feng explained that she is struggling to find suitable and stable employment. Since her husband died she has had three different jobs; cashier work in a shop, she has worked in a canteen and she tried to open a grocery shop in Sanlin. All of these jobs failed, and she is currently unemployed. She goes on to explain; *“There aren’t many jobs around here, and I have trouble finding them [the jobs]. Especially considering my condition. I have requirements in order to be able to take a job and take care of my daughter. I want an eight hour workday and I want two days off per week [...] I tried going back to the factory where I used to work, but those factories now require people to work longer hours, so I don’t want that job.”*

We can note from Feng’s story that she is being excluded from participating in the labour force due to her requirements. She wishes to work shorter and fewer days than the norm so she can take care of her daughter.

Seo-Hyeon also explained that after working in a clothes factory for several years she left her job when her grandchildren were born. Her son works in a public bathing and shower facility

and has to go to work every day, and her husband ran his own small business driving a motorbike taxi. At Seo-Hyeon's previous job, she was awarded with a yearly pension. During our interview she took four pieces of paper out and showed them to me and my interpreter. The four pieces were one for each year she would receive pension. Each of them had her personal details, and they additionally stated that she would be paid after the age of 50, which is a woman's retirement age in China. She called the documents 'comprehensive pension insurance for migrants' and she explained that she would receive 1000 yuan per year per document, in total; 4000 yuan. She went on to explain that for every full year she had worked, she would receive one pension document of 1000 yuan. If she did not work for an entire year, she would not receive this document and thus the yearly pension. When collecting the pension, she would have to go to a particular bank and receive the money in cash. Seo-Hyeon's story of losing her pension when she chose to leave work is probably one of the clearest examples of loss of social entitlement among my informants. Childcare and reproductive duties positioned her closer to the private sphere, and as a result, she became increasingly excluded from citizenship rights. Additionally she has lost her income, which could entail a loss of bargaining power within the household. Taking care of her grandchildren then, could be seen as a confinement to the private sphere and thus from citizenship.

In contrast to the other women in this category, who had been pushed out of the formal labour market due to pregnancy or reproductive roles, Yun-Song had chosen to do so because she did not feel that her child should grow up with her grandparents; *"My daughter came here [Shanghai] for just the summer holiday, but she was becoming too spoiled at her grandparent's house. She [their daughter] is now coming to live with us, and she will start school here soon. [...] I first quit my job before the summer so I could spend time with her, but now it [their daughter living with them] will be a permanent solution"*. Yun-Song goes on to explain that she does not know what she will do after the summer. Her daughter will go to school, and she will try to find a new job.

We can thus note from the above that having children marked the termination of active participation on the labour market for many of these women. After working in different factories for several years, they had to quit because they gave priority to their families. These women can thus be placed in Rosenfeld's category (4) 'Unpaid work in the home'. The work done by these women largely consists of domestic labour, which according to Rosenfeld (2000) is seldom recognized or highly valued as "real work" and is thus often trivialized. For

instance, as mentioned, housework during the communist period in Chinese urban areas was not considered as a valid job if one was to have access to urban citizenship.

### 6.3.1. REPRODUCTION AND LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

As mentioned above, migrants are positioned in marginal situations in urban Chinese society. Their lack of urban hukou entails them having access to fewer and lower quality social rights compared to urbanites and in relation to childcare facilities, this is clearly visible in my findings. None of the women had access to kindergarten or other childcare facilities, and thus had to stay at home and take care of the children. Furthermore, according to the ‘one child’ policy, no parent is allowed to have three children (Short & Fengying, 1998). Some of my informants however, as one can see in the table above, did have three children. This would, according to Short and Fengying (1998) entail parents being penalized either by fine or by not allowing the child to be registered. In case of the latter, the child would have no access to any social entitlements. Although none of the women I spoke to mentioned this, lack of registration for their children could also position the women in the private sphere.

Bryan Turner (2008) points out that there is a close connection between social rights and women’s reproductive rights. Governments have been put under increasing pressure due to ageing populations and low fertility rates; they have therefore become increasingly involved in monitoring reproduction. The state, Turner argues, “has a very clear public interest in [these] private decisions” (2008, p. 45). Governments usually provide citizens with entitlements based on contributions to the state, and reproduction is one such contribution; through giving birth to new citizens, parents are reproducing the nation and are thus granted certain rewards in the form of social benefits, he claims. These entitlements can also contribute to active participation in the public sphere. In China, however, the situation is different. Due to the country’s large population the state wishes to reduce fertility and thus creates boundaries for reproduction. The ‘one child’ policy restricts parents to conceiving one child<sup>3</sup> and those who disregard this regulation will, as mentioned, be penalized (Short & Fengying, 1998). As China implements such a strict fertility policy compared to many countries, we also note from the cases above that there is a ‘reverse’ relationship between

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<sup>3</sup> There are exceptions to the ‘one child’ policy; people living in rural communities are allowed two children. People are also allowed two children if the first-born is a girl (allowed in rural areas, not in urban), if both parents are only children, if their first-born is disabled and if both parents have certain occupations (Short & Fengying, 1998).

entitlements and reproduction. The women have restricted access to participation in the work force due to their having children and thus having reproductive roles. However, the relationship between reproduction and labour market participation is more complex than this. As noted in chapter three both the capitalist labour regime and Confucian ideals are confining married women to the private sphere, and I argue that both these factors inhibit female married migrants' participation in the workforce.

In chapter three we saw how the capitalist labour regime favoured young and single women due to their higher degree of productivity in comparison with older, married women (C. Cindy Fan, 2003; Huang, 2000). My findings point in the same direction; through Feng's case we saw that her reproductive roles inhibited her participation in the workforce. None of the jobs she had had, or the jobs she applied for were willing to take these roles into consideration. Productive concerns were thus valued more than her reproductive roles. Several other women were also excluded from the workforce when they became pregnant. They thus lost the social right to work.

Cindy Fan (2003) argued that the revitalization of Confucian ideals are currently increasing the pressure on women to return to the private sphere and to work 'inside'. This tendency can also be seen among the female married migrants in Sanlin. Never once did male participation in childcare or reproductive roles come up during our discussions. The women never questioned the fact that the men continued to work when the couple had children. This situation seemed to be the most natural arrangement. The women spoke about their husband's jobs, and described their working conditions without raising a critical voice against their own position in the labour market. We can thus see that these women are doing little towards challenging the ruling gender norms in the Chinese society, indicating that they have accepted this division of labour.

#### 6.4. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE 'INSIDE'

According to Rosenfeld (2000) the home can be a place for 'home based business or employment'. She further argues that the boundaries between 'work' and 'non-work' in these cases can be spatially, temporally and perceptually fluid. With the opening up policies in China, the household was re-instated as the basic unit of production, and the country experienced an expansion of home-based employment. However, the boundaries often get blurred, she argues as women conduct both productive and reproductive roles at the same

time. Furthermore, Rosenfeld points out that in comparison to work away from home, home-based employment seems more compatible with women's work. In the following, I will present the cases where some of my informants are engaged with home-based employment.

*Jing went to school until she was 19 years old. Afterwards she went into the clothing market. She owned her own shop, was successful and was always very busy. When she had her son however, she became increasingly preoccupied with taking care of him as he continuously used to interrupt her during business hours. After a while Jing decided to leave for Shanghai, and left her son in the care of her parents. She was contacted by a clothes factory owner from her hometown who brought her to Shanghai to work. Together with some other girls they drove to the city. She worked at the factory for several years, and lived with her husband (who had lived and worked in Shanghai for more than a decade). One day, however, she found out that the place next door was for rent, and she jumped at the opportunity of starting her own grocery shop. This initiative was fuelled by a combination of wanting to take care of her son and quitting the factory job. As working for the clothing factory took too long, she said she now had the opportunity and time to look after her boy in Shanghai. When she started working in the shop, her son came to Sanlin and rejoined his family.*

*During the day, Jing has three main tasks to attend to; she looks after her son, she works in the shop and at the same time she does all the housework. The shop can bring in about 20 000 yuan per year, and her husband, who works in construction, earns several thousand yuan per month, depending on the intensity of the work. Both of them are responsible for the finances, although they have never had any large spending. Most of their money goes towards rent (400 yuan for the shop and 250 yuan for their house per month), food and some clothes. They are currently saving for their son's education, and they also want to buy a house in their hometown. After a while, however, Jing admits that her husband has been the only one able to save recently, as she spends most of her money on their son. After pulling some strings, and paying some money (she did not wish to say to whom/where) to get their son into a state school, her efforts paid off. Their son will be attending a state school after the summer.*

(summary of a section of the interview with Huang Jing, conducted 18<sup>th</sup> of July, 2010)

As we can see from this little narrative, Jing arrived in Shanghai and initially worked in a factory. After a while, she started a shop and managed to fulfil family obligations. We can note that Jing's work is located next door to her home, thus facilitating her ability to conduct multiple tasks/activities.

Ming, Ling and Xu also work next door to their homes. Moreover, their homes are even part of their businesses. Ming and her family run a recycling business. Adjacent to their two storey house lays a large area in which they sort and store iron and glass waste; this is where they perform their business. A large part of the men's days are spent here, lifting and tidying up the waste. Additionally they transport it to other sites for further recycling.

Ming's family house has a double function; the ground floor is where the business is conducted and where the family spends their day. The first floor on the other hand is living quarters for the family of 11. On the ground floor they have placed a table and chairs in the centre of the room for customers. Along the back wall in the same room however, they have placed a large sofa for the family to use during the day. Aligning the other two walls is a cupboard on the one side, and a kitchen area and fridge along the other. Sitting in the family sofa are two young women; they are Ming's daughter and daughter-in-law she tells me. When I ask about the household division of labour Ming explains that; *"My son and I run the business together, I can't do it alone."* I go on to ask about her husband's participation, and she states that; *"All the family does the recycling, when somebody comes and sells the stuff [iron and glass], if someone is free they will do it."*

During the day Ming's responsibilities are mixed. When customers are present she will attend to them and the business, and when there are no customers, she will turn her focus to the housework. Ming also tells me that she has more responsibility in relation to the business side of their recycling plant, as she takes care of the finances. She explains that this is due to her higher educational level compared to her husband; she finished junior school while he completed elementary school. In addition to their recycling business, the family has built and now rents out some houses in the area. The combination of their two enterprises enables the family to save 20-30000 yuan per year.

Ling also works at a recycling plant with her family, and can relate much of the same as Ming; she divides her day between the recycling work and the housework, depending upon the frequency of customers. In contrast to Ming though, Ling has lesser responsibility for the

financial side of their business. The men in her family are responsible for the economics, and they also deal directly with their boss.

In relation to Rosenfeld's categories, we can place these four women in the second category 'Home based business or employment'. They are all working in family owned enterprises, and their incomes are shared. They are thus working for and with their families. The household location however, can contribute to blurred boundaries between wage labour activity and unpaid domestic work within the home as these women are conducting several domestic tasks while at the same time attending to their paid jobs.

## 6.5. WORKING OUTSIDE

In the following section I will discuss five women who all work outside their homes in a physical sense. Two women, Ji-Min and Tian, work in domestic services for local Shanghainese, while Mei and Fang-Hua are street vendors, selling fruit and toys respectively. Dao-Ming works in a local super market as an assistant. However, although they are working 'outside', their occupational status is a highly visible reminder of the gender segregation in the labour market. These women have long working hours, low pay in a low status, domestic and informal job.

### 6.5.1. STREET VENDORS; WORKING WITH FAMILY

Mei and Fang-Hua sell fruit and toys from home-made carts and stalls. Both travel outside their homes to do so, however, at different times in the day. Mei gets up in the morning, and goes to work during the day. Both she and her husband sells fruit, they divide the fruit into six parts and she will take two, thus having less fruit to sell. Additionally they travel to different locations. She will stay in Sanlin, along the main roads, while he will travel to where they used to live before. He therefore travels further away from home. The combination of her having less fruit and a shorter travel route makes Mei's days shorter than her husband's. She is thus less active in relation to wage labour, making him the main breadwinner. Their children are currently attending university, and their earnings have contributed to make this possible. They are living in two different provinces, so Mei and her husband do not have childcare responsibilities. Their daughter studies international trade and their son goes to a

military academy, paid for by the state. Having only one daughter to pay for, makes things easier, she says.

Fang-Hua on the other hand goes to work in the afternoon and evenings. Walking around the streets of Shanghai in the evening, I remember seeing hundreds of stalls along the road, selling everything from jewellery to picture frames and toys. Fang-Hua was one such vendor, trying to make a living from selling these products. She would spend her mornings preparing food and cooking it. After that she would go to work, leaving her husband and daughter at home. *“My husband works in the shop next door. He will sell groceries and also he repairs bikes. Sometimes he will come with me, and when it is busy, cooperating makes everything easier.”* When they travel together, their daughter, who is 15 years old, stays at home looking after the shop. During the day however, she goes to a local migrant school, so she can only do so during the evenings. Fang-Hua tells me that she has had some encounters with the police. *“I have no permit to sell my toys, so I operate in a legal grey-zone. Most of the time it’s ok, nobody checks, I can sell my products. Sometimes though, I have been fined by the police, or made to move to another, less popular area. Especially now when the expo is on, controls are more and more. I can’t sell in central areas of the city, so I make less money.”*

These two stories are similar, yet very different. Both women work for/with their families, thus fit inside Rosenfeld’s category 2; home-based employment. However, one can definitely note some differences: while Mei stays inside of Sanlin, and goes home early, Fang-Hua begins her work day in the afternoon/evening, thus being more ‘outside’ compared to Mei. Additionally, Fang-Hua travels further away, and often into Shanghai centre, risking being apprehended by authorities etc. If we also take into consideration that her husband often stays at home, looking after the shop next door to the house, Fang-Hua is thus more active in the productive sphere compared to her husband.

#### 6.5.2. DOMESTIC WORKERS

Ji-Min and Tian work in Shanghainese residents’ households as a maid and nanny respectively. They both travel outside of Sanlin to go to work, and since they arrived in Shanghai, they have always been in domestic service, Ji-Min explains; *“I have always had the same kind of job, but I have changed often. At first I worked as a maid, and then a cook in a family’s house. After that I worked as a maid again. [...] I work about five to seven hours a*

*day for many different families.[...] In the mornings, I go to work, and I clean up for others, when I come home I have more housework to do, and in the evening I am tired, so I go to bed around eight or nine.”* Her husband is currently unemployed, so he takes care of the children when they come home from school. Additionally, as he is the best cook he prepares dinner. When Ji-Min comes home from work, she will always make sure that her son has done his homework; *“I help him sometimes with his homework, but besides my job and the housework I don’t have much time to play with them [her children]. I want to help more with the homework, but I feel I don’t know enough, so I will make sure he has done it, but not a lot more than that. [...] Now my husband takes care of the children, because he doesn’t have a job. When he works, my son takes care of his younger sister. They are alone home sometimes.”* When stating this, Ji-Min becomes thoughtful, she takes a break and looks down, and I get the impression she would rather have more time available for her children.

Tian has also been in domestic service since her arrival, and she now works as a nanny; *“I take care of other peoples’ children. At first I worked as a maid, but now I am a nanny. [...] I work from eight in the morning until five o’clock. After that I travel home. It takes a while to get to and from work, but that’s ok I guess. Tian lives in Sanlin with her husband. They have a young son who is six years old and who normally lives with his grandparents in their hometown, but for the summer he is in Sanlin. “I miss him [her son] every day. I get to look after other children, but it is not the same. [...] For the summer, he is living with us, but we [herself and her husband] can’t take time off work, so he has to stay at home alone. Normally he watches TV, and plays with other kids in the street, but I don’t feel comfortable leaving him at home like this, I feel bad.”*

We can thus see that both these women go to work outside Sanlin. They both work for other families, and sometimes they feel that their own families are suffering because of it. Both Ji-Min and Tian stated that they would like to have more time to take care of their own children, but their working situation did not allow them the opportunity. Ji-Min for instance stated that; *“If I had a Shanghai hukou, I would not work as a maid. I would rather like to have a regular shift job, like work at the supermarket for instance. And maybe then I could take a day a week off. Now I work every day, but I would like to have the time to take care of, and play with my children.”* We can see that Ji-Min indirectly blames her low hukou status for her job. If she had an urban hukou she would have a different occupation, she claimed. However, below we can see that Dao-Ming works in a supermarket, as a shop assistant, and this is the job Ji-Min

pointed out as her ‘dream job’. Ji-Min, holding a rural hukou could thus work in a supermarket. However, there are some differences between Dao-Ming and Ji-Min, and the most important one is educational level. Ji-Min had less education compared to Dao-Ming and was thus lesser able to secure a better job. She had little awareness about which channels to pursue, or how to gain access to certain rights. She was therefore ‘stuck’ in domestic service as she herself pointed out; she had always been in the same kind of job.

Dao-Ming, Tian and Ji-Min are the only women among my informants who take part in ‘paid work’. Dao-Ming goes to work while her husband stays at home; he is unemployed due to his injury. He normally spends his days playing cards and talking to the neighbours, Dao-Ming explains. She goes to work in a supermarket, working as an assistant. She is thus neither working for/with the family, or within the physical boundaries of the home. One can therefore say that she is working ‘outside’. Furthermore, she is sole provider for the family.

These three last women are participating in the workforce. Despite this fact, they are still partly excluded from the citizenry in Shanghai. None of them work on a par with men or urbanites as they have low paid, low status jobs in the urban community. Their hukou status positions them on a lower hierarchical level, and thus inhibits their social inclusion. We can for instance see that Ji-Min wishes she had a different job, and attributes her domestic work to her local hukou status.

## 6.6. WOMEN’S LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND POSITION IN THE CITIZENRY

As shown above, a complex set of gender norms and traditions exist in China. Women are encouraged to both participate in the labour market and take responsibility in relation to reproductive tasks. Women, according to traditional, Confucian ideals are supposed to stay ‘inside’ and take care of the reproductive domain. This, together with both the capitalist labour regime and the state’s low level of entitlements granted to female married migrants, worked to exclude some of my informants from the work force. Challenging the public-private divide, is central to feminists (Lister, 2003). Taking women’s ‘difference’ into considerations, and recognizing sexual difference, in this case childcare responsibilities, is according to Lister (2003) and Fraser (2007) of paramount importance; reproductive roles and responsibilities should be incorporated and re-valued in order to include women into the public sphere. However, we can see from my findings that this is not been the case in Sanlin.

At the same time we also noted that the women themselves were not challenging their exclusion from the work force. According to Molyneux (2000), women's engagement in order to achieve social entitlements are influenced by social norms. The social norms, as seen, position women 'inside', and the women's actions – not challenging these norms can simultaneously work to uphold these norms, and thus the gender regime.

Above we saw that Molyneux (2000) argued that work and citizenship are closely intertwined. Grossman (2009) further pointed out that women's access to paid work can be an indicator for a society's integration of its citizens as full participants as well as equality. In my case we can see that female married migrants with childcare responsibilities experience both formal and substantive exclusion from the citizenry. Furthermore, labour market forces additionally contribute to push women with small children out of the citizenry. However, although these forces of exclusion work most strongly in relation to women with childcare responsibilities, we can also see exclusionary mechanisms among the women who work in home based employment.

The majority of working women participate in income generating activities with and for their families. During their days they conduct work in the household and workplace interchangeably, thus blurring the boundaries between the reproductive and productive spheres. We have seen for instance that Jing explained that she did housework while at the same time attending to her customers in the grocery shop. Ming also mentioned that she would mix both roles during the day. She would partake when she had the opportunity to, but mostly she was in charge of the household. These women, although participating in the productive sphere, stress that they have main responsibility for the household labour and are thus more closely connected to the reproductive sphere. Men on the other hand take more responsibility for the productive roles. We saw for instance that Mei mentioned that her husband would normally have more fruit to sell, have longer working days and travel more 'outside' compared to herself. Ling also explained that her husband would be more active with the businesses financial activities and be in more contact with people. I thus argue that the division of labour within these households position women closer to the private sphere and men closer to the productive, public sphere. As a consequence they are also maintaining the public-private boundaries described above. I thus claim that although the women are relatively active in the productive sphere, their home-based employment does not provide them with opportunities to challenge the public-private divide, and thus does not provide them with possibilities for inclusion in the citizenry in Sanlin; they are not included on a par with

men, which according to Fraser (2007) is one of the goals in order to create gender equality in the labour market.

Furthermore, Fraser (2007) also points out that segregation in the workforce based on gender is another injustice which inhibits women's inclusion in the citizenry. Above, we have seen that the labour market in China is segregated both according to rural/urban and male/female (see for instance Jacka, 2006). Among the women who work 'outside' we can see how this is the case; especially Tian and Ji-Min find themselves in low income, low status jobs. Ji-Min particularly expressed a wish to find another occupation, but explained that her hukou status inhibited her from doing so. These women occupy the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy, and are thus not included in the labour force on a par with either male migrants or urbanites.

In sum then, I argue that neither 'politics of recognition' or 'politics of re-distribution' has been accomplished in relation to female married migrant's inclusion in the labour force. In line with Molyneux' argument on the connections between work and citizenship, the women are excluded from the productive sphere, and thus from the citizenry. The labour market in China has failed to take into consideration women's values (recognised sexual difference), and thus excludes female migrants who have childcare responsibilities. At the same time the labour market excludes female married migrants through a segregated labour market and restrictive hiring practices.

## CHAPTER 7: THE HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOUR

### 7.0. INTRODUCTION

*“Gender is, above all, a matter of the social relations within which individuals and groups act”* (Connell, 2009, p. 10). Gender has to be understood as a social structure, and Connell argues, that gender is shaped through our individual actions, yet at the same time; these actions are limited by the social structures in which we find ourselves. Agarwal (1997) points out that the division of labour in the household is a key area in which gender relations can be revealed; the relations constitute and at the same time are constituted by the practices associated with the division of labour. To exemplify, one could therefore argue that the sexual division of labour defines men’s and women’s practices (what they do, and where they do it); they are constituted by the social structure. At the same time, both men’s and women’s actions help shape and uphold this social structure, thus reproducing it. Connell (2009) for instance, explains that the sexual division of labour often define women as housewives and carers, thus occupying the domestic sphere, whereas men are supposed to participate in the public, economic sphere. This sexual division of labour will have consequences for women’s inclusion in the citizenry (Lister, 2003). Examining this division of labour can therefore provide us with valuable insights into which factors impinge upon female migrants’ position in the citizenry.

Agarwal (1997) points out that the bargaining approach can be useful in order to explore intra-household interaction and its outcomes. Outcomes - for instance ‘who does what’- vary according to the relative bargaining power<sup>4</sup> of the household members, and this bargaining power can be affected by several factors, including social norms.

In this chapter I will therefore assess how social norms affect female migrants’ position in the household by examining their sexual division of labour. Furthermore, I will explore how the relationship between these two factors and their inclusion into the citizenry. I begin this chapter however by describing what household labour includes. I then go on to present my

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<sup>4</sup> Bargaining power depends in particular on a person’s ‘fall-back position’, which is defined as “the outside options which determine how well-off she/he would be if cooperation failed” (Agarwal, 1997, p. 4). An improvement in fall-back position would entail a better bargaining position within the household. Agarwal argues that there are several factors which could improve one’s fall-back position; employment and income, state or NGO support, ownership of assets, access to traditional support mechanisms and communal resources as well as social perceptions about needs, contributions and other determinants of deservedness (Agarwal, 1997, pp. 8-9).

informants' responsibilities within the household and how these are affected by and affect social norms. Thirdly, I focus on male participation within the household and discuss the conditions for their contributions within this domain. Finally, I examine how the combination of social norms and the sexual division of labour influences female married migrants' position in the citizenry in Sanlin.

### 7.1. HOUSEHOLD LABOUR – WHAT DOES IT INCLUDE?

In Sanlin, household labour is conducted in a relatively uniform manner. The main tasks according to my informants are cooking, doing the laundry and finally cleaning the house and keeping it tidy. Their houses vary from terraced houses of 9 - 15 m<sup>2</sup> to a two story detached house, and the sizes of the different families vary from 2 to 11 persons. Both the size of the house and family will affect the amount of household labour one person in a given household will have to conduct. Furthermore, it is important to differentiate between families with young and grown-up children, as the parents in the former will most likely have a larger amount of household labour to conduct.

Cooking is a time-consuming activity. The families normally have one frying pan, or wok to cook their dishes in, and normally only one source of fire; a gas stove. They thus have to prepare one dish at a time. The person who is responsible for cooking, will start off by preparing each ingredient before actually frying or boiling the given food. Normally, each family will prepare one fish-dish, one meat-dish and about three to four vegetable dishes, depending on the size of the family. Additionally, they will prepare rice in a rice-cooker. The meal is always prepared outside, as the families have their kitchen/cooking area right outside their doors, on the street (point to picture in the housing section). Each meal of the day is hot, and each family will normally have three meals per day. The person responsible for cooking will thus have to spend a relatively large part of his or her day in front of the stove.

Another time-consuming task is laundry. As none of the families I have spoken to in Sanlin have a sufficient plumbing system, they do not have easy access to hot water. Some grocery shops in Sanlin have specialised themselves in selling boiled water, so the families will have to walk to the closest shop in order to secure heated water. However, as heated water is scarce, they do not use all of it for laundry; they also use it to clean themselves, and wash their hair. When doing laundry, they use a large tub filled half way up with a mixture of warm and cold water, they then use a scrubbing board and some soap and wash their clothes by hand. Again, depending upon the size of the family, the amount of clothes will vary. After

completing the washing, they will hang up the clothes outside their house, and when dry will take them back down to be sorted, folded and put into place.

The third and final task mentioned is cleaning/tidying the house. Normally, families mention tidying up in general – putting everything in its correct place, sweeping or mopping the floor and washing dishes and cooking utilities as main tasks. House, and family size varies, thus workload and time usage will vary accordingly.

Taking care of children is also one of the important responsibilities my informants undertake. Several families have children living with them in Sanlin, most under the age of eleven or twelve. As several of the families do not have access to child-care, parents carry the sole responsibility for their children's upbringing.

In the following, we shall how my informants experience and perceive household labour.

## 7.2. WOMEN HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOUSEHOLD LABOUR

As we saw in the introduction, there are three main stages in relation to gender equality in China. The first was dominated by Confucian ideas which enhanced women's 'secondaryness' (Croll, 1995). Society was organised according to basic Confucian equations of yin and yang; earth and heaven; moon and sun; night and day and female and male. The latter part of these equations were assigned superiority, authority and were defined as active, whereas the former parts were supposed to be secondary, obedient and passive (Croll, 1995). Susan Mann (2000) writes that norms dictated that men operated outside, in the productive spheres whereas women were confined 'inside', having reproductive roles. When Mao gained power, he sought to revolutionize this division and ultimately construct an androgynous society; he promoted women's inclusion into the workforce under the impression that this would promote women's emancipation and increase their position both within and outside the household. However, as his policies largely included women in the productive sphere based on their conforming to male characteristics, these policies did not last (Croll, 1995). Cindy Fan pointed out above that Confucian traditions and ideas are returning and gaining strength in contemporary China, thus again confining women to the household and reproductive sphere.

Eight of the women who I interviewed told me that they have sole responsibility for the household labour. Based on the arguments and statements of my informants, I have divided this section into two; the first section will show that the informants' husbands do not

participate; his participation in the economic sphere is used as an excuse which prevents him from doing so. In the second part the reader will see that the women refer to traditional customs and norms as reasons for why they have more responsibility for the household labour. To begin with however, there are two women, Feng and Xu, who have sole responsibility for household labour because they are unaccompanied by their husbands. Feng is widowed, and thus has to take care of her eight year old daughter and the household labour on her own. She is currently unemployed due to her having childcare responsibilities, so she explains that her day largely consists of housework, looking after her daughter and looking for employment. Additionally she spends some time reading books, watching television and being on the computer. Xu on the other hand lives alone in Sanlin while her husband is in their home village constructing their house. As she is alone, there is not much housework, and furthermore, working next to her house in a grocery shop allows her time to conduct chores in between customers.

#### 7.2.1. "MY HUSBAND IS WORKING OUTSIDE, AND HE IS BUSY"

Five women; Tian, Jing, Dao-Ming, Wu Lien and Miao, paint the same picture for me during our conversations. They are all taking care of the household labour. Their husbands do not participate – they are busy at work and tired when they get home.

One story however, stands out in regards to both circumstance and the woman's argumentation. Miao is out of work and spends her days taking care of her two year old girl. She has spent 11 years in Shanghai, and has been working in a rubber-band factory. When she became pregnant she had to quit her job and tells me that her main "task" now is to take care of her daughter as she does not go to kindergarten. She explains that doing housework is a way of passing time. She cooks, washes clothes and cleans the house. She goes on to explain that otherwise, she just sits around all day - and that is boring. A lot of the time she is visited by, or goes to visit her sister, who is also in the same situation. Their husbands work together, buying and selling used electrical machines. Miao explains that her husband's work schedule varies. One day he will come home late, but the next day he will be back at noon and spend the rest of the day relaxing and resting. He will never help her with household activities; "Why should he?" she asks. "I want to have something to do during the days, and it doesn't take much to do it". Halfway through our conversation, her husband comes home. The little girl screamed out: "Baba!" and runs over to greet him. It looked as though she was very glad to see him, and for a great deal of time they played together on the other side of the road.

When observing this, I asked if he took time to take care of her. “Yes”, she answered, “sometimes he takes her out to play, but other than that he doesn’t do anything”.

Wu Lien is also unemployed. She had to leave work so she could stay at home and take care of their one year old son. Her husband and their eldest son work in a clothes factory, and before becoming pregnant she also worked at the same factory. Their middle daughter goes to school in Sanlin. They all live together in a relatively large first floor of a two storey building. They have two rooms; one is used for storage and the other, bigger room is a combined bed- and living room. Outside of the house is a small cooking shed. The family is the only one among my informants to also have a separate bathroom. As we walk into Lien’s yard, we notice that she is occupied with household chores. She is walking to and from the kitchen to her house, tidying and cleaning cooking utensils. She then commences to fold the laundry. As she is quite busy, Lien asks if it is alright if she can do some housework while talking to us as she soon has to leave. During our conversation, a great variety of housework was conducted; she washed the clothes and hung them up to dry, she made the beds, swept the floor etc. She explained that as she was at home taking care of their son, she had the opportunity to do all of this. However, when thinking about how the household division of labour had been before her son was born, she admitted that nothing had really changed. Her husband did not participate in the housework. He did not even contribute by taking care of their son while she went out. She had to take her child to a neighbour, so she could take care of him. As Lien could not work during the day-time, she had started selling small stools close to the expo-site in the evenings. During this time, she was dependent upon her neighbours assistance to help her with baby-sitting, even though her husband was at home.

In contrast with Wu Lien and Miao, the three other women in this category are employed; Tian works as a maid, Jing works in a small grocery shop and Dao-Ming works as a shop assistant in a supermarket. In addition to their jobs, they have sole responsibility for the household labour, they explain. Their husbands do not participate in these tasks as they are busy working outside and are tired when they come home from work. Although my informants have this double responsibility; working both ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of their households, none of them initially express complaints about being tired or having too much to do. In the beginning of the interviews, these three women’s answers about the household division of labour do not relate any personal feelings or wishes for alterations. Rather, they always start off with descriptions of ‘who does what’. After discussing the topic for some time however, the women begin to reveal their feelings and thoughts about their intra-

household arrangements. Furthermore, their accounts also reveal certain social norms which influence their position within the household.

Tian lives in a one-room house with her husband. Her son is in Sanlin for the summer holiday but normally he lives in their hometown with his grandparents. In the beginning, Tian explains that she starts her day at 06.00 a.m. and she begins by washing the clothes and hanging them up before she goes to work. This way, the clothes are dry by the time she comes home. She makes breakfast for her husband and son, and of course herself. She also makes them lunch at the same time. After preparing two meals and washing the clothes, she goes to work. She has to travel quite a while to get to work. She works as a nanny for a Shanghainese family, and a normal workday is about nine to ten hours. When she comes home, she finishes the housework for the day; she cooks, folds the clothes, sorts them out, then puts them in their designated place. She then bathes her son. After that she goes to bed.

As our conversation progresses, and when talking about the household division of labour Tian mentions that she will ask her husband for help sometimes, but every time he will say no. She excuses him by stating that he is very tired after coming home from his hard and busy work. When answering my question of whether she feels tired when she comes home from work, and whether she talks to her husband about helping her in the evenings, she does not initially want to admit that she has too much housework to complete. It is obvious that she is rather uncomfortable talking about their household arrangements. During the entire interview she is reluctant towards expressing negative perceptions about her husband; she continuously repeats that he is tired after coming home from work. After a while however, she does say that she wishes for his participation in the household; she does get tired of everything that has to be done in the house. At this point her son exclaims that her husband often yells at her when he does not want to help her. Tian blushes and responds quickly to this statement; *“I am used to a lot of housework. From the very beginning - from I was very young; I had to work very hard, so I don't mind doing it, really”*. She refers to her past and tells me that her mother died when she was very young, she cannot remember exactly, but she thinks she was six or eight years old. As a result of this, she remembers that she participated more in household chores, having more responsibility as she was the only girl in the household. She said that she felt she was taking her mother's responsibility and that she acted accordingly. Furthermore, she mentions that she can understand that her husband is tired when he comes home; construction is a very tiring job.

Jing's case reveals some of the same elements as Tian. Jing lives with her husband and 5 year old son. Her son has recently moved from their hometown in Jiangsu province to live permanently with them in Sanlin. Both she and her husband work; he is in construction, while she takes care of their grocery shop (which is located right next door to their home). In addition to the shop, Jing tailors and sews for her customers. She has invested in a sewing machine, and has included this business into her shop. As her shop lies right next to their house, Jing is able to do housework while at the same time taking care of her business. Like Tian, Jing also starts off by describing her typical day. She normally gets up at 05.a.m and goes to open her shop. During the day she will mix business and housework. She will try and finish all the housework early, so she can focus on the shop in the afternoon and evening. Normally, Jing will finish work at 11 o'clock in the evening, but if her husband is not at home, she will close the shop around ten o'clock, and then she can go to bed early, she says. When explaining which household tasks she and her husband have, she says that her husband will not really do anything. The times he is home from work, she will ask him to do some given tasks, but "*unless I am sick...*" she says, he will not participate. Moreover she tells me that if she asks her husband to do 'something', he will do it... if she is there to remind him. She goes on to give an example of what is typical:

*"like yesterday, my husband was totally free at home, and I was busy buying clothes for some customers outside the house all day. And when I came home I noticed that he hadn't been doing anything – washing or bought anything. I was a little angry, but I feel that I can't say anything. He has gotten used to doing nothing at home"*.

This statement reveals how Jing feels that there are limits to how much she can argue with her husband about the household labour; she will ask him, but obviously not push him too far.

Dao-Ming was the only woman who did not excuse her husband from low participation in the household. She wants him to help, but has given up trying to get him to do housework because "*he isn't hard-working by nature*". Her husband had a work accident a couple of years ago, and as a result is now unable to get regular employment. Even though he has the time to do housework, she says he would rather spend time playing cards in local restaurants with his friends. Before, when he used to work she also used to have the double burden of both housework and paid labour, and now she has become used to doing both, she says. The couple live on their own in a one-room house. Their children are grown up, and have moved

to other provinces in China. Dao-Ming works for eight to nine hours per day in a supermarket not far from Sanlin, and in the evenings, she normally does all the housework.

Although the women in the section above do not mention norms or current gender relations as reasons for their position within the household, they are clearly affected by social norms and perceptions about how they should act. I will discuss these points below, first however, the reader will see how some women use social norms and traditions explicitly as reasons for their intra-household arrangements.

#### 7.2.2. "IN THE NORTH, WOMEN TAKE ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY"

Two women, Ming and Yunwen, argue that traditional customs and norms are important when it comes to the division of household labour. They are both responsible for conducting the household chores, and they state that they do not wish or expect their husbands to participate. Where they come from, the men are not responsible for household activities. Additionally, Yunwen states that men have no knowledge or capabilities to perform such activities satisfactorily.

Both households are clearly divided according to gender when it comes to which activities men and women participate in. Ming tells me that the women of the household will do the cooking, the cleaning, wash the clothes etc. While the men will do the heavy labour, for instance lifting iron or other heavy items. These activities are normally related to their work place, she says. Yunwen could also tell me the same; "*he works harder outside home, so I will do more in the home*".

At the time of interview, both women had their families and children living with them in Shanghai. Ming lives in an extended family household, whereas Yunwen has herself and husband to care for. Her two young boys were currently in Shanghai, but this was a temporary situation as they were on their summer holiday. They normally lived with their grandparents in their hometown during the rest of the year. As Ming had older female children, she thus had access to more assistance compared to Yunwen (and the four other aforementioned women). She told me that both her daughter and daughter in law would help with cooking, cleaning and laundry. The entire family worked together on their recycling business, so Ming explained that the person who had time and was free would do the given task. Yunwen on the other hand, did not have any assistance; she had sole responsibility for household labour.

Both women referred to customs and tradition when providing me with reasons for their division of household labour. There were, however, differences between the women as to why such reasons were being used. Ming for instance, stated that *“it is quite normal in the North for women to take the responsibility”* when being asked to reflect over male participation and the fairness of their division of household labour. She stated that she would only want help from her husband when there was heavy iron or other items to be lifted. Other than that, her husband was not expected to participate in other forms of housework as he had no knowledge of how to perform such work. Where she came from, most households were used to this arrangement, so she could not see why it should be any different. She did not want help from her husband; furthermore she could not discern any unfairness related to this arrangement when being asked about it.

Yunwen on the other hand did express a wish for more assistance from her husband related to household labour. When asked about their arrangement in relation to the household division of labour, she initially excused her husband for not participating by stating *“men in rural areas they cannot do the housework”*. This sentence referred both to lack of knowledge and skills, while at the same time referring to local customs. She went on to explain that *“[...]he does not cook well and he cannot wash the clothes, or do the cleaning. I do not expect him to. When I am home, he does not have to do anything”*. Her husband was present for some time during our conversation, and during this time, he expressed a clear belief in himself being the breadwinner of the family. *“She does not need to work”* was often repeated, and it was apparent that he took great pride in being able to provide for his family. When being asked about his participation in the household, he was quick to state that he had earned more than 100 000 yuan in the previous year, and was eager to talk about his business. After he left, I talked in more detail about the household labour with Yunwen, and she repeated that as she does not work outside of the house, it was natural for her to do the housework. It became clear to me that on one level she had accepted her role as being responsible for the household labour. She repeated many of her husband’s statements, thus leaving me with the impression that she did not argue her own views on the subject. On the other hand, she left a piece of advice for Samantha, my interpreter, which clearly indicated her wish for her husband’s participation within the household; *“If you want a husband, you need to find someone who can cook”*.

### 7.2.3. HOW ARE FEMALE MARRIED MIGRANTS' POSITION SHAPING OR BEING SHAPED BY TRADITIONAL SOCIAL NORMS?

Bina Agarwal describes social norms as established customs (1997, p. 12) and argues that they can shape women's intra-household bargaining power in at least four ways;

1. They affect what can be bargained about,
2. They are a determinant of or constraint to bargaining power,
3. They affect how the process of bargaining is conducted (overtly/covertly or aggressively/quietly), and
4. They constitute a factor to be bargained over. (Agarwal, 1997, p. 15)

In addition, as mentioned earlier, outcomes of bargaining can be seen in relation to 'who does what' inside the household. Thus far we have seen that the women I interviewed are responsible for the household labour; none of them have assistance from their husbands. In the following we shall look at some individual cases and examine how social norms are affecting their positions and actions within the household.

In the two sections, 7.2.1. and 7.2.2. we can see how the women are clearly influenced by traditional social norms. The differences between the two categories however, are related to how overtly the women are influenced by these norms. Whereas the women in section 7.2.2. obviously make connections between social norms and their household positions and actions, the women in section 7.2.1. are not explicitly making this connection. In what follows I examine each category respectively to examine how social norms are affecting women's actions and positions within the household.

In the cases of Ming and Yunwen we can see, as mentioned above, that there is an explicit link between social norms and their families' intra-household arrangements. Both women and men have clear gender roles, and these are defined according to traditions and customs, Ming argues; men work outside while women are in charge of the (house) work inside. Furthermore, Yunwen points out that these customs have contributed to shape men's lack of ability to part take in household tasks. Her case additionally reveals that tradition dictates that men should be breadwinners and provide for their families; her husband is proud to be able to make a living which supports his wife and children, and that his wife therefore does not have to work. The fact that Yunwen is reluctant to express her own opinion in relation to the subject additionally suggests that she has relatively little power to determine how their household is arranged. The prevailing social norms, and her husbands' active engagement with upholding them, are thus largely limiting her bargaining power and thus positioning her

in a situation in which she is confined to the domestic sphere without being able to shape her own actions outside of it. On the other hand, Ming obviously embraces these customs; clearly stating that it is a woman's place to perform the housework. Social norms are shaping her actions as well, but in my opinion, Ming's actions also actively constitute these norms.

Although not as overtly connected to social norms as above, we can see that customs are being constituted by and constitute women's actions in section 7.2.1. as well. Most of these women's narratives show that husbands are reluctant to contribute towards the household labour. According to my informants, this is due to their position within the public/economic sphere. Their husbands work outside and are very tired when their workday is over; they are therefore excused from participating within the private sphere. Both Tian and Jing reveal that they would enjoy some assistance within the household, yet they seldom receive it. Their husbands refuse to participate, and Tian's case particularly reveals an authoritarian husband who will yell at her for attempting to get him to contribute. Jing as well states that she does not feel that she is in a position to challenge her husband's position in the household. These cases show that the women have low levels of bargaining power within their households and in relation to being able to discuss how the household labour should be organised. Again, the women often point to their husbands' position within the workforce and public sphere as reasons for his position within the household, and thus his bargaining power over 'who does what'. His breadwinning ability and role thus positions him in a superior and authoritarian position within the household. This is regardless of the women's employment status and wage income.

Moreover, the women argue that they have become used to taking sole responsibility for the household labour. By accepting this role, and thus conducting the household labour without any further discussion, these women are shaping the current gender relations and thus the social norms in relation to the sexual division of labour.

These women's narratives then reveal how traditional, pre-Mao social norms have re-emerged and are currently shaping and being shaped by intra-household arrangements in Sanlin. In contrast to Mao's attempts to abolish gender inequality and the Confucian ideals, there are several families who are now arranging their households according to the Confucian equations of yin and yang; men outside and women inside. These principles, as I have shown through the narratives of my informants, affect what the women can bargain about as well as being constraints to their bargaining power in the sense that the women, especially in section

7.2.1. feel they have little influence over the intra-household arrangements. They are thus being shaped by the current social norms. The women are also shaping these norms as they have accepted their roles, and act accordingly. Their actions are thus upholding traditional gender roles.

In contrast to these traditional practices of gender relations, some families are more inspired by gender equality and thus have a more equal share of household responsibilities. In the following, the reader will be presented with narratives in which both women and men take part in household labour.

### 7.3. SHARED HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES

In stark contrast to Confucian traditions and values, Mao introduced gender equality policies when he came to power in 1949. Largely focused on female participation in the workforce, he claimed that both men and women could perform the same tasks. “Women hold up half the sky” was a popular slogan at the time. However, largely relating to the Confucian yin and yang equations (earth versus heaven) these policies aimed at including women into the public sphere based on their equality to men (Croll, 1995). Due to the lack of incorporating female characteristics into these discussions and policies, the policies have been suppressed in post-Mao China. However, as we shall see in the following, some families arrange their households according to more equal gender roles. Both men and women participate in relation to the household labour.

#### 7.3.1. AVAILABILITY SETS THE STAGE FOR MEN’S HOUSEHOLD LABOUR

*“The person with the free time, they will do it [the housework]. If I see a dirty floor, I will do it, and if my husband saw it he would do it”.*

This statement, made by Seo-Hyeon, is typical for three women who explain that their husbands and they themselves share the household responsibility. They explain that the person who is available or the one that comes home from work first will take care of the given household chore. Two of the women in this category are unemployed. Both Seo-Hyeon and Yun Song mention that they have quit their jobs in order to take care of their grand-children and child, respectively. Although the two unemployed women stay at home all day caring for

the young children, they mention that their husbands participate in the housework when they come home from work.

Yun Song explained that her husband was very tidy; he disliked having it messy around the house. Furthermore she mentioned that where she comes from in Sichuan province, both men and women share the responsibility for the household. During our conversation, Yun Song's husband came home from work, and for a while he sat on his motorbike, next to where we were talking. After a while, however he went inside to speak to his daughter. While he was inside their house, I noticed him tidying up the room; he picked up clothes and other items from the floor. He cleared up his daughter's toys. He then went outside to wash the dishes and cooking utilities, putting them in their correct place when they were dry. Additionally, his daughter came to ask him for help with some work she was conducting, and he sat down to help her. When he was done with this, he came outside again to sit on his motorbike and chat with the neighbours who walked past. Yun Song explained that her husband normally comes home from work, and then spends the next hour or so sweeping the floor, or tidying up the general mess around the house. She was mostly responsible for cooking as her husband would not cook, she said, and she was used to it as she grew up having to cook for her entire family. Normally, she will get up around 7 or 8 o'clock, and the first thing she does is make breakfast. As she is currently unemployed, she has the rest of the day off, she explains. When she had a job, she used to go to work from 9 until 22 or 23 in the evening.

As a response to the question of who has which responsibilities in the household, Seo-Hyeon said that as a result of her unemployment she was now more responsible for the household labour. Before, when both she and her husband were working outside of the house, they used to share the responsibility. The person who had a chance to complete a given chore did so, as mentioned above in her quote. Although she now had more responsibility within the household, including taking care of her young grand children, she mentioned that her husband did still help around the house. "*When he arrives home from work, he normally takes care of the children, and he sometimes cooks*" she said.

Mei goes to work every day, selling fruit along the roads of Sanlin. She cooperates with her husband, who also sells fruit in another location in Shanghai. Both of their children are grown up and go to university in two different towns in other provinces. When talking about their day, Mei explains that her husband wakes up at 03.00 a.m. in order to travel to a certain location to buy fresh fruit. Her husband has responsibility to take his bike and buy their share

of fruit for the day. He then comes back, and they divide the fruit into six parts. She will take  $\frac{2}{6}$ , and he will take  $\frac{4}{6}$ . They will stay at work until they have sold all the fruit. She then states that the first person home usually makes dinner. As a natural result of her having less fruit to sell, it is normally her. She also does most of the other housework, for instance the laundry and floor-sweeping. However, there is not a lot of housework to do as they have such a small house, she explains. When being asked about their situation, she explains that they have made an agreement; he gets up in the morning to buy the fruit, and she does most of the housework in the evening. She regards it as natural due to the heavy labour of collecting the fruit.

As the evening progresses, her husband arrives home from work. As he observes that his wife is busy conversing with us, he takes the initiative to start the dinner. He also invites us to join them for the evening meal. While we conduct our interview inside their house, he stands outside preparing selected dishes. When the food is finished, he takes responsibility for ensuring that we are served properly, while his wife takes a less active role. Mei's husband has taken an active part as host. I took the opportunity to ask him about his views on household labour, and he confirmed what Mei had been telling me, that the first person who arrived home normally did the cooking. As Mei had less fruit to sell, it was normally her. He did however like to cook, and he did not mind taking part in household labour.

### 7.3.2. SPECIFIC, YET NO GENDERED HOUSEHOLD TASKS

As seen above, some men participate based on their availability, thus suggesting that they can partake in any given task, irrespective of its nature. In the following we will see that male participation is based on skills and interest.

When being asked about their household division of labour, four women clearly stated that their husbands had specific tasks within the household. Mostly according to their skills and interests their husbands would cook their meals, do the laundry and mop the floors.

Ji-Min for instance, explained that; *“Mostly, my husband does the cooking, and I do the cleaning and washing [...] He is a better cook, so it is natural that he does it”*.

Ji-Min works as a maid for Shanghainese families. She lives in Sanlin with her husband and two young children. Her husband is currently unemployed, and Ji-Min mentions that as a result of his unemployment, he will naturally take over some of the household activities. He

will for instance look after the children more when they come home from school and kindergarten. The family has been living in Shanghai for almost 12 years, and their children go to a local school and kindergarten. Before they moved to Shanghai, she was mostly responsible for taking care of the household labour. He would help sometimes, depending in his available spare time, but after they moved to Shanghai he has participated more, she states.

Xia also stated that her husband would do the cooking, while she conducted the rest of the housework. When being asked about her feelings toward their arrangement of the household labour, she answered “*My husband likes to cook*”. Furthermore, Xia claimed that she did not mind doing the rest of the chores. As it was only the two of them living together there was not much housework.

While both Ji-Min and Xia had husbands who would cook, Fang-Hua and Ling mentioned that their husbands would do other household activities. Fang-Hua for instance, mentioned that;

*“I buy all the vegetables and cook them. I do most of the cooking. My husband will help with the laundry sometimes, he will wash the clothes. He cannot cook [...]. We share the rest, whoever is available will do it [housework]. My husband stays at home, looking after the shop, and if he has time and is free, he will do some housework, but mostly he will do the clothes washing”.*

Fang-Hua and her husband live in a small one-room house. Next to their home lies their shop, where her husband works. Fang-Hua herself travels to central Shanghai in order to sell toys on street-markets, normally during the evenings. They had one daughter who also lived with them in Sanlin. As her husband could not cook, she spent most of her mornings preparing the family’s meals. Additionally, she would clean the inside of their house. The rest, her husband would take care of when he had spare time from the shop-work.

As I was talking to Ling, her husband suddenly shouted from their door; “look out!” He was just about to throw dirty water down their steps. He had finished cleaning their floor. Ling started to explain that both she and her husband would do the housework together. They worked right next to their house, so they would both do the necessary chores when needed. However, Ling points out that while her husband would do most of the heavy labour in relation to their job, she would do many of the tasks inside the house. As her husband currently worked harder on the recycling plant, she viewed it as a fair situation. Ling and her

husband live in a family compound and the three families work together at their communally owned recycling plant.

#### 7.4. FEMALE MIGRANTS' CONNECTION TO THE REPRODUCTIVE SPHERE

In section 7.3.2. we saw how traditional gender norms inhibited female participation in the labour force. Some women argued that the sexual division of labour; their husbands' participation in the workforce left them in charge of the household labour, while other women actively adhered to these norms and thus helped to maintain them. Male breadwinning roles and female reproductive roles thus upheld the boundaries between the 'inside' and 'outside' domains.

In contrast, we have now seen that men also contribute towards the household labour. Several of my informants' husbands contribute when they come home from work; they cook, clean and even do the laundry. These tasks were performed according to available time, skill and interest. From this we could note that there were no particular 'male' or 'female' tasks among these couples. Although most of the women who received help were out of work or stayed at home taking care of children, we can see that their husbands contributed regardless of their own employment status. However, one of the most apparent factors in the women's narratives is how their husbands contribute in the household labour 'when they come home from work'. Male breadwinning roles thus still influence the division of labour, conditioning male participation within the household. Mei for instance mentioned that her husband had more tasks within their business; he spent more time, had more responsibility in relation to buying the products as well as having larger quantities to sell, thus taking the main breadwinning role. This, she argued was one of the reasons for her taking more responsibility within the household.

Although men contribute towards the household labour, certain reproductive roles remain in the hands of women; childcare responsibilities have in many cases resulted in women becoming more closely connected to the 'inside' domain. We saw for instance in the cases of Seo-Hyeon and Yun-Song for instance have both quit their jobs in order to take care of children, thus losing their position within the public sphere.

In sum then, my findings correspond to what several authors have pointed out; Chinese female migrants are currently influenced by a complex set of gender norms. On the one hand they are supposed to participate in the workforce, yet traditional social norms prevent them

from doing so. Women's reproductive roles - especially childcare - position women closer to the inside domain. At the same time, we have seen that a combination of social and male expectations pressure women into complying with traditional gender roles. This combination additionally influences and limits women's bargaining power. Tian's case in particular revealed how the pressure from her husband hindered her challenging these norms. Furthermore, Jing mentioned that she did not feel she could say anything against her husband. In my opinion, this is an example of how social norms have restricted her bargaining power, and as a result this positioned her closer to the 'inside', reproductive sphere.

Not only social roles position women closer to the reproductive sphere, in the previous chapters we saw how both hukou policies and the capitalist labour regime impinged on their inclusion in the public sphere. Many of the choices the women made were based upon these conditions, and in the next chapter I therefore look at the combination of these factors and examine how they affect female married migrants' inclusion in the citizenry.

## CHAPTER 8: FEMALE MARRIED MIGRANTS IN SANLIN – INCLUDED OR EXCLUDED FROM THE CITIZENRY?

### 8.0. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have dealt with the issue of female married migrants' position in the urban citizenry. The thesis began by introducing urban and rural differences in China, showing how rural peasants were positioned at a lower hierarchical level in comparison to urban residents through the hukou system. It has also discussed how changing economic forces have transformed the social and political context in China. Whereas peasants were restricted to rural areas during socialism, opening up currently allows them freedom of movement. However, the hukou policies which were introduced during the Mao-era still influence rural migrants in contemporary urban China. I have shown how these policies have impinged upon female migrants' position in the urban societies in China. In a complex interplay between social norms, market forces and institutional barriers, female migrants are prevented from inclusion in the urban citizenry.

### 8.1. FEMALE MARRIED MIGRANTS AND CITIZENSHIP

In contemporary China there is still a large focus on women's participation in the public sphere. In contrast to the socialist period however, current official rhetoric also recognises women's reproductive roles and their femininity, and attempts to include these factors into the discussion on gender equality (Croll, 1995). Both Lister (2003) and Fraser's (2007) arguments on female inclusion in the public sphere are related to this combination. As described, they use both women's sexual difference (women's values) and their ability to work on a par with men as a maxim for women's full inclusion in the citizenry. In theory then, China should have the correct apparatus for securing women's inclusion into the public sphere, yet, as we have seen, the country has a long way to go before they can live up to the gender inclusive model.

As Lister (2003) argues in her discussion about the public-private barriers to women's citizenship, the two spheres are mutually interdependent. The domestic division of labour will be affected by the logic of the market and vice-versa. My findings support this argument, and we have seen how both social gender norms and the capitalist labour regime interact in shaping female migrants' position in the citizenry. Their reproductive roles were influenced

by social and male expectations as well as by the workplace that pushed them out of employment when getting pregnant.

We have also seen that social norms influenced female migrants' position in the household. Many women had sole responsibility for household labour and childcare while men on the other hand were breadwinners, and took more responsibility in the productive sphere. We could see how both these factors inhibited women's position in the labour force. Several women who looked after children largely spent their days in their homes. Women who worked on the other hand could participate in the productive sphere, but their domestic responsibilities inhibited their full inclusion in the productive sphere, particularly in the cases where the women worked in home-based businesses. These women were clearly influenced by the traditional 'inside'/'outside' boundaries that Cindy Fan (2003) argues are regaining strength in contemporary China. We also saw how these social norms determined some women's bargaining power; men's position in the productive sphere gave them more say. Tian's husband for instance used his participation in the public to limit his wife's ability to give voice to her concerns. At the same time norms restricted what could be bargained about, and we could see how Jing felt that she was in no position to argue with her husband about the household division of labour.

Market forces also constrict women's position in the productive sphere. This is most apparent among the women who had childcare responsibilities. This finding thus supports Cindy Fan's (2003) argument that married women are less hired in the Chinese labour market due to their perceived lower productiveness. The market forces' influence on married female migrants can also be seen in the way several women approached home-based employment. Many women participated alongside their husbands in their family businesses, conducting tasks when needed and when they had time. Their husbands however, had more responsibility in relation to the business while the women took more responsibility for the household and reproductive labour. As mentioned above, men's position within the productive sphere also gave them more say in relation to the domestic division of labour, thus limiting women's bargaining power. Women's low position in the occupational hierarchy is not only a result of market forces and social norms, but is also a consequence of their low hukou status. This is particularly evident in the highly segregated labour market - among the women who work 'outside' and have low paid, low status jobs. Moreover, we can see this relationship also among the women who have childcare responsibilities. Their lack of childcare facilities and social rights as a result of lower hukou status pushes them out of the labour market and into

the household. The combination of social norms, market forces and hukou policies thus work to position female married migrants closer to the reproductive sphere.

As work and citizenship is so intertwined (Molyneux, 2000), I argue that women who are being denied access to paid work are also being denied access to citizenship and thus inclusion into the citizenry. My findings also reveal that women's reproductive roles, most strongly exemplified by women with childcare responsibilities, are not valued sufficiently in order to include them into the citizenry. This, according to Fraser (2007) inhibits women to be valued as full partners in society. The politics of recognition, which values caregiving and its feminine associations, has in my opinion not been realized.

Recognizing women's difference is not sufficient in order to include women as full members into the citizenry (Fraser, 2007; Lister, 2003). Fraser points out that one must also re-distribute the current economic structure of society and include women on a par with men. Only when this, as well as the recognition of sexual difference is accomplished, will women be full members of the community. My findings suggest that the politics of re-distribution, of including women on a par with men, is far from being accomplished among female married migrants in urban China. This is observed most clearly in the cases where the female migrants are circumscribed by both hukou policies and labour market forces. Their being positioned on the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy as well as their lack of social rights limits their opportunities for inclusion in the urban citizenry.

Summing up then, I have shown how the combination of social norms, labour market forces and hukou policies hinder female migrant's full inclusion into the citizenry, and strongly support Lister's (2003) argument that the patterns of exclusion often are gendered.

## 8.2. CITIZENSHIP AS STATUS VERSUS PROCESS

Exclusion and inclusion Lister (2003) points out, operates along a continuum of formal and substantive modes of citizenship. As pointed out in chapter four, the former is related to a person's legal status of membership, while the latter refers to a person's possession of rights and duties. In urban China, citizenship is defined connection between status and rights. An individual's hukou status will determine his/her access to social entitlements. Moreover, for migrants in destination areas, the TRC acts as a citizenship indicator as it will provide the individual with certain social rights (Davin, 1999). In chapter five, I showed how several of my informants had obtained the TRC and how they were formal members of the community,

albeit at a lower level compared to urban hukou holders. They were entitled to some social rights, particularly reproductive, family planning services. However, although their formal inclusion was in order, some women experienced a substantive exclusion. Dao-Ming especially revealed how the lack of certain social rights impinged on her daily life. Her husband's surgery cost the couple two times her yearly salary, leaving them in a detrimental situation. Other women mentioned that they did not notice any difference between being formally included as migrants or not. The TRC for them was just a document which they were supposed to have for the state's administrative purposes. Some women even went to the length of disregarding the local legislation and discontinued their possession of the TRC. The majority of these women, however, revealed that their husbands still possess such a status. The women explained that their position within the reproductive sphere was the reason for their lower citizenship status, while others revealed how they rather relied upon alternative ways of securing social rights.

As Yuval-Davis (2001) argues, the nation-state cannot exclusively determine the nature of citizenship. An individual's membership in both sub- and supra-state collectivities has to be considered in relation to his/her inclusion into the community. In this thesis I have explored the relationship between national, regional (Shanghai Municipality) and local (Sanlin) levels of citizenship, and we have seen how national and regional hukou policies (together with market forces and social norms) affect the (low) level of inclusion in Shanghai. Their hukou status fails to provide them with adequate access to social rights. As a response to the formal citizenship status not providing them with necessary social goods, many female migrants found alternative ways obtaining social entitlements, especially housing. Several women, regardless of their formal status gained access to accommodation through social networks and personal acquaintances. Their presence and action in Sanlin, especially over time, connected them to both landlords and NC members in such ways that they no longer needed the formal citizenship status, the TRC. These women thus shaped their own citizenship configurations, which according to Varsanyi (2006) can be an illustration of citizenship as process. Several women revealed how their social connections with local authorities granted them access to housing without having to go through formal processes, and I therefore argue, with the help of Varsanyi's (2006) concept of grounded citizenship that these local practices formed *de facto* consent for inclusion in Sanlin. By looking beyond national and regional levels, and by exploring migrants' actions in the local community we have seen that their informal practices shaped their social inclusion and thus position in the local citizenry in Sanlin.

In sum then, we have seen that women's position in the citizenry is influenced by both their reproductive and productive roles. The prevailing gender norms, the capitalist labour regime and China's hukou policies affect female married migrants' inclusion in the citizenry and position them in marginal positions in relation both migrant men and urbanites. We have also seen how women's citizenship status fails to fully include them in the national or regional communities. In response however they have found alternative ways of securing social rights. Their actions and practices on the local, sub-level can, as mentioned above, be viewed as a means to shape their social inclusion in Sanlin.

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