



***The impact of work on leisure patterns of
Chinese migrant workers***



Bas Hendrikse
Student number: 5739667
Email: bas.hendrikse@student.uva.nl

Supervisor: Prof. A. Reijndorp
Co-supervisor: C.W. Yang

Master Thesis Human Geography
Graduate School of Social Sciences
University of Amsterdam
August 2013

Acknowledgements

Doing research on the impact of work on migrant workers in Da Lang was not only very exciting, but it was also a very meaningful project to me. During the six weeks I spent in Shenzhen, I had the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the country in addition to its culture and citizens. Furthermore, this journey resulted in the thesis in front of you. It also led to many personal, sometimes unexpected, experiences. I met a lot of new people who helped me to get around and contributed to this research. Without the help of others this research would not have been accomplished. First of all, I would like to thank the International New Town Institute (INTI) for arranging this project in cooperation with the University of Amsterdam. Besides monitoring the project, they arranged housing in Shenzhen and showed my fellow students and I around the research areas in order to obtain a first impression. Secondly, I am grateful to Zhengxin who put a lot of effort into our meeting, was willing to share ideas and who gave me better insight into the Chinese context of this research.

Above all, I want to thank the students of both the Peking University and Shenzhen University for their contribution to my research. They helped as translators and aided me in contacting people. Without them it would not have been easy to get around in Shenzhen. Besides their contribution to the data collection they arranged some cultural excursions, which gave me better insight into the Chinese culture and above all it enhanced friendship. My fellow students from the University of Amsterdam deserve a word of interest since they accompanied me wherever possible during the whole project.

A special grateful word is given to my supervisors Arnold Reijndorp and Ching Wen Yang for both their critical reflections and their support during all stages of this research.

With this thesis in front of you I accomplished my graduation. I am really grateful I had the opportunity to take part in this research project. I hope this thesis can contribute or at least give a better understanding of the impact of work on Chinese migrant workers.

Bas Hendrikse

Table of content

1. Introduction	2
1.1 Problem definition	3
1.2 Scientific and social relevance	3
1.3 Research aim.....	4
2. Theoretical framework	5
2.1 Phases of rapid development	5
2.2 The economic transition.....	5
2.3 Migrant workers.....	6
2.3.1 <i>Floating population</i>	6
2.3.2 <i>A new generation of migrant workers</i>	7
2.4 Meaning of work	9
2.5 Leisure and constraints.....	11
2.6 Conclusion literature	12
3. Research design	13
3.1 Research questions and conceptual scheme.....	13
3.2 Conceptual scheme	14
3.2 Operationalization of the concepts.....	14
3.3 Hypothesis	15
3.4 Research strategy and methodology.....	15
3.5 Data collection	16
3.6 Data analysis	18
3.7 Limitations	18

4. Research Area	20
4.1 Young population	21
4.2 Explaining the withdraw	22
4.3 Labour Square	23
4.4 Summary.....	24
5. Characteristics of the respondents	25
6. The meaning of work in Da Lang	29
6.1 Professions.....	29
6.2 Changing jobs.....	30
6.3 Working hours, overtime and flexibility.....	31
7. Actual 'intrahome' leisure activities	33
7.1 Dormitories.....	35
7.2 Rented housing	36
7.3 Shared rented housing	37
7.4 Summary.....	38
8. Actual extrahome leisure activities	39
8.1 Enjoyment.....	39
8.2 Direct self-cultivation	40
8.2.1 <i>Theoretical improvement by attending classes</i>	40
8.2.2 <i>Theoretical improvement by reading</i>	41
8.2.3 <i>Practical improvement</i>	42
8.3 Meeting people.....	43
8.4 Pressure	45
8.5 Relaxation	46
8.6 Summary.....	49

9. Leisure constraints	50
9.1 Time and money	50
9.2 Facilities	53
9.3 Confidence	55
9.4 Summary.....	56
10. Discussion and further research	58
10.1 District of Da Lang for migrants	58
11. Conclusion	60
11.1 Living conditions.....	60
11.2 Reasons and motivations.....	61
11.3 Pressure	61
11.4 Social network.....	61
11.5 Constraints.....	62
11.6 Functions of (semi-) public space.....	62
12. References	64
13. Reflection	66
14. Appendix	67
Interview in English.....	67
Interview in Chinese.....	68

Tables and Figures

Figures	Figure 1: Prototypes of social migration patterns	pp. 8
	Figure 2: Conceptual scheme	pp. 14
	Figure 3: Map spatial distribution of the interviewees	pp. 19
	Figure 4: Map of home provinces	pp. 20
	Figure 5: Gender distribution of migrants	pp. 25
	Figure 6: Age distribution of migrants	pp. 26
	Figure 7: Education distribution of migrants	pp. 27
	Figure 8: Duration of stay of migrants	pp. 27
	Figure 9: Future perspective of migrants	pp. 28
Photos	Photo 1: Method of free-listing	pp. 17
	Photo 2: Meeting with the translators	pp. 17
	Photo 3: Interviewing on the spot at day	pp. 17
	Photo 4: Interviewing on the spot at night	pp. 17
	Photo 5: View over Labour Square	pp. 24
	Photo 6: Blue collar workers on their way back home	pp. 32
	Photo 7: Education, school teacher at primary school	pp. 42
	Photo 8: Climbing the mountain I	pp. 45
	Photo 9: Climbing the mountain II	pp. 45
	Photo 10: Migrant workers watching others play	pp. 47
Tables	Table 1: Movements in profession category	pp. 30
	Table 2: Frequency of actual leisure activities	pp. 34
	Table 3: Living conditions related to duration of stay	pp. 38
	Table 4: Frequency of money constraint	pp. 52
	Table 5: Frequency of time constraint	pp. 52
	Table 6: Frequency of Facility constraint	pp. 53

1. Introduction

After the Chinese economic reform in 1978, urban areas like Shenzhen expanded enormously. The city had to deal with population growth, a rising economy and rapid urban development. Both the job opportunities and the increasing differences in wages between urban and rural areas made Shenzhen an enormous pull area for many migrants all over China. Their main reason to come to the city was work. These migrants could be characterized as a *floating population*, nowadays containing around 84% of the total population in Shenzhen. These migrants moved to the city in order to find a job. They send remittances back home and finally will return to their hometown themselves sooner or later. However, there something is changing: some of the new generation migrant workers behave different than their previous generations. They seem to be more individualistic, they move to other place because of *self cultivation* rather than just making money (Wang, 2012). So it might be said that *the meaning of work* for this new generation is changing. Besides differences in behaviour regarding to work and career, Shenzhen faced a shift in economic activities over the past decade. The city was in the first place mainly based on manufacturing, labour intensive industries, but nowadays the service sector is expanding and becoming of growing importance. In this sector knowledge and skills play an important role. This shift in economic activities has driven the local government to the ideology of becoming a true global city and within this ideology, *leisure* is considered by people as an important indicator for the quality of life, especially in urban areas. Next to the contribution to the quality of life, leisure activities and recreation are sectors of growing importance in the Chinese economy (Jim & Chen, 2009). We might assume that not everyone fulfils leisure in the same way, but the differences in leisure could be explained by the previous described changes regarding to work. On the one hand behaviour towards work is changing, on the other hand working activities are changing in this economy in transition. This research is about the impact of work on leisure activities and the constraints migrant workers face within this shifting economy.

1.1 Problem definition

The rapid developments in Shenzhen meant that some parts in the city already faced the shift in economic activities, like Luohu, a district which is now mainly based on financial activities. The district of Da Lang is more located on the outskirts of the city and is currently facing the economic transition. This economic shift means more variety in working environments: not only the labour intensive manufacturing industry can be found, also various types of the service industry are present. For many migrants *work* is the main reason to come to the district and therefore *work* seems to structure a big part of their daily life. After all, *work* consumes a lot of time but they will receive wages in return. Different behaviour towards work might lead to different ways work structures people's daily life.

Leisure is becoming of growing importance in the sense that it contributes to their *quality of life* for the people living in urban areas, and to the Chinese government, since leisure is becoming a bigger part of the Chinese economy. But as long as work has the main priority, it might be said that leisure is still influenced by the way *work* is organizing peoples' daily life. If so, different working environments will lead to different structures in daily life and possibly different demands considering leisure. This requires insights and a better understanding of migrant workers' behaviour in Da Lang and their work.

1.2 Scientific and social relevance

As Jim & Chen (2009, pp.658) wrote: "Besides failing to meet citizens' recreational needs, the poor match between supply and demand could imply wasteful use of a precious public resource."

Almost all scientific literature on leisure are researches in which the authors tried to explain leisure activities by: personal characteristics (like gender or age), differences in cities, differences in time (weekends and weekdays) and the relation between leisure, being employed or not and working at home. The latter takes in some way *work* into account, but the meaning of work and how working conditions can structure daily life within this Chinese context is underestimated. Especially the distinction between and the impact of types of work on leisure can hardly be found in the existing literature.

For migrants the main reason to come to Shenzhen is *work*, which means that work structures a big part of their daily life. As a consequence all other activities in daily life and the time spend on it is of less importance. As leisure is considered as an factor in peoples' quality of life, the government tries to give more attention to *leisure* in the Da Lang region by organizing conferences like the *8-8-8 hours meeting*. The meetings are organized to let the population feel more sense of belonging, so they are more likely to stay in the district. Da Lang must be seen as an industrial area, but nowadays it is

facing this shift in economic activities, which means migrants will have different job opportunities and will face different working environments. Since work has priority in migrants daily life, there might be differences in leisure as well and the constraints they face. This research tries to describe and explain the differences in leisure and behaviour of migrant workers by their work, in order to balance leisure demands and supply.

1.3 Research aim

The aim of this research is to describe differences in leisure patterns and explain them by the kind of employment. By doing so this research can contribute to the existing literature about leisure and leisure constraints with respect to the Chinese context. Therefore this research combines the existing literature about leisure (constraints), the rapid developments Shenzhen faced over the past decades and literature about the migrant workers. Besides a scientific contribution, the aim of this research is to give the government and other cooperating organizations better insight in the people living in Da Lang, what they want and need and how work can organize society to some extent. It gives better insight in peoples' behaviour and needs which might lead to a fruitful match between peoples' needs and the partly by the government provided facilities.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Phases of rapid development

In 1978 the Chinese government came up with a new economic reform. Not only the first Special Economic Zone in the city of Shenzhen (in 1980), but urban areas in general had to deal with rapid population growth caused by rural to urban migration. For the first time in China, a local government got the ability to manage a local economy (Ng, 2003). However you can't create a city in just one night, since time is a precious good. Ng (2003) described several phases in which the purpose of this Special Economic Zone is reflected. The first phase (1980-1985) is called *phase of construction*. In this period Shenzhen should develop and expand because of foreign investments, but it didn't happen. Foreign companies decided to wait, because of poor conditions like insufficient infrastructure. However foreign companies didn't invest, two-thousand companies from all over China came to Shenzhen to set up their business. In the second phase: *Restructuring* (1986-1990s) Shenzhen tried to be attractive to foreign investors by administrative reforms and the improvements in both hard and soft infrastructure. The third phase *Re-engineering* took place in the mid-90s. During this period of time foreign investments have been used to build facilities to improve the city quality in order to become a *world city* instead of an industrial and economic zone (Ng, 2003). Although it is already 15 years ago, the latter phase is still going on and becoming a true global city is still the main ideology.

2.2 The economic transition

The economic zone and its surrounding areas have developed into large industrial areas. The economy was flourishing due to the economic reform in the first place and the presence of many rural migrant workers as a result. It meant a shift from a central-planned economy towards a market-oriented economy. This economic reform got the attention of many companies from all over China, but also from Hong Kong (Ng 2003, Hao 2012, Xiao & Tsang 1999). The Special Economic Zone managed lower taxes and especially lower land prices. Low standards and low wages compared to Hong Kong made Shenzhen an ideal location for companies. A good example is the garment industry. This industry is really labour-intensive, but compared to other regions in China, Shenzhen is a city that shows a higher income per capita which makes it a pull factor. Another characteristic is that the people working in for example the garment industry are mostly young (17-23years old), single and female (70%) (Meng, Wang & Li, 2000). These pull factors contributed to the rapid growth of the urban area and made Shenzhen a *major global manufacturing centre* (Hao, 2012). However, the rapid economic growth also forced companies to transfer from a hand-welding to a machine-welding

technology. This shift in technology led to an increase in demand for skilled workers in Shenzhen (Xiao & Tseng, 1999). We might say a transition takes place from a manufacturing-structured economy into an economy based on high-end goods (Ngai, Chi Chan & Chan, 2010). These developments face the main goal of the Municipal Government: becoming an intellectual world city instead of a labour-intensive manufacturing area (Hao, 2012). Already in 1959 Penrose argued that knowledge is one of the most important resources within an economy. With *knowledge* she meant the contribution of administrative organization within, and the characteristics of a firm. Since the mid-fifties of the 20th century it became clear that the economy of Western countries couldn't remain by just the factors of capital, labour and land. A new component was found: knowledge. This is now reflected in this Chinese context. Machlup distinguished six major sectors (in 1962) in which knowledge was of growing importance: education, R&D, artistic creation, communications media, information services and information technologies (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006 pp. 7). In this way the service sector or service industry can be seen as a form within a knowledge based economy, now becoming of growing importance within the Chinese economy.

2.3 Migrant workers

2.3.1 Floating population

As explained, the economic growth caused physical developments over time. This went hand in hand with huge social implications, like the urbanization patterns after the Chinese economic reform in 1978. Those cities had to deal with inflows of rural migrant workers (Hao, 2012). But what kind of people are these migrant workers? What motivates them to move to the city *en mass*? Many authors conclude the same: the main driving force was the income inequalities between the rural and urban areas. The rural migrant workers were looking for jobs and moved, often temporarily, to cities like Shenzhen in order to earn money and improve their families' life . These migrant workers are often called *floating people*, because they just come to the city to find a job, earn money and then go back to their hometowns. This floating population is considered to be 84% of the total population in Shenzhen (Hao, 2012; Kilroy, 2008; Li, 2006). The migrant workers were most of the time former peasants. In 2004, 320 million labourers worked in the farming sector, while only 170 million farmers were required. Therefore job opportunities in the cities were kind of an eye-opener to those not able to earn enough in the rural areas (Li, 2006). Most of the rural migrant workers are young adults, tending to be a bit more educated than those left behind (Seeborg, Jin & Zhu, 2000). In contradiction Wang (2012) made a distinction between these migrant workers. She found that former migrant

generations indeed mainly worked to survive economically. They sent money back to their homelands and work for their families. A phenomenon Wang calls "*leaving, remitting, returning*". This pattern can be seen in one line with the arguments of Hao (2012), Kilroy (2008) and Li (2006) and is also described by Meng, Wang & Li (2000). They argue that the labour circle exists of people who move to the city to earn some money, they work for a couple of years and then return to their hometowns to get married, while new migrants come to the city, which starts this circle again.

2.3.2 A new generation of migrant workers

However, Wang (2012) sees another group of migrants: The new generation migrant workers, (in China and therefore by Wang defined as migrant workers born after 1980) have a more individualistic approach, typified as "*leaving, searching, becoming*". They migrate because they want to learn specific skills, get experiences and see more of the world. If they got a chance to spend money on iPhones, computers and other personal devices they will do so. Although their future is unpredictable, their attitude towards changes and personal development is completely different than the previous generations of migrant workers (Wang, 2012). The new generation migrant workers are not particularly former peasants and might not face the same 'knowledge gap' as the previous generation. They probably already know how to adapt to 'city life' whether they experienced it themselves or they were told by others. Even more important is that the new generation migrant workers grew up in the middle of these rapid developments, so in fact they are more used to it. In contradiction, the previous generations had to adapt to these rapid developments, while they were used to their former standards of living they already had faced for ages. This thought is supported by Wang (2012) who argues that the new generation migrant workers is positioned somewhere between the old traditional generation of peasants and the urban residents. The rural migrant workers have several sources to get job-information. The most important sources are *relatives and friends*. They can tell about their own experiences and what is going on in the city. The second source is *government agents* and the last source is the *media of the labour market; newspapers, bulletins provided at public spaces* (Meng, Wang & Li, 2000). This change in behaviour is also related in the idea of consumerism, facilitated by the government. Kilroy even argues that a socio-cultural change is going on in which this "individualism is expressed through consumption of fashion, media and technology" (Kilroy, 2008, pp.442). An example of this governmental idea is the hukou system. Several decades ago, the hukou system seemed to be stricter and based on the control of the huge migrant population. Nowadays it is still a system of controlling flows of people, but over the years the system became more flexible. Some migrant

workers now have access to rules of minimum wage, pensions and health insurance (Li, 2006). According to Wang (2012) the new generation migrant workers is quite decent. They play it safe and are looking for career opportunities.

A more individualistic approach combined with a more flexible hukou system, a government that stimulates consumption and the knowledge provided by the previous generation might lead to the idea that the new generation migrant workers have more (decent based) opportunities and make different choices compared to the previous generations. These differences between generations are also described by Hu (2012). Within the new generation migrants Hu makes a distinction between four prototypes based on behaviour that migrant workers show when they move to a city like Shenzhen. He distinguishes behaviour and choices towards work, career, family, money and city life what results in the four prototypes as shown below. Hu doesn't argue that people can be characterized as just one prototype. He argues someone can move from one prototype to another or even face all types over time, since people and their environment can change over time (Hu 2012).

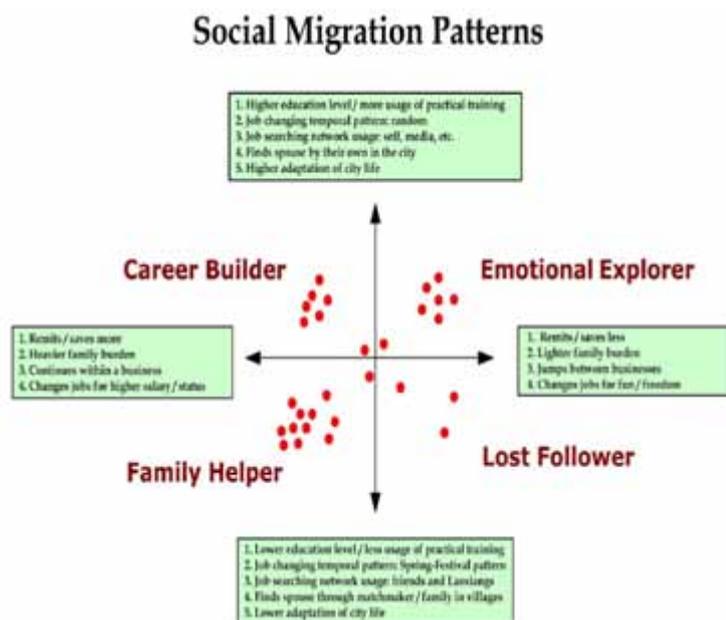


Figure 1. Prototypes social migration patterns. (Hu, 2012, pp. 11)

Compared to Wang (2012) Hu shows more differences in behaviour within this group of the new generation migrants rather than threat them as one group. These four prototypes can contribute to better insights in what migrants do and how they behave when arriving in a city like Shenzhen. These four prototypes show different behaviour towards their work and career. This also implies that *work* itself, has a different meaning for these different types of migrants.

2.4 Meaning of work

The main reason why people come to Shenzhen is because of the differences in wages between the rural and urban areas which are increasing. Also the job opportunities in a city like Shenzhen are a reason for migrant workers to leave their hometown and move to the city (Li, 2006). This shows that *work* itself or at least the opportunity to find a job and make money is highly important for these migrant workers in Shenzhen. Although making money is the main reason, the purpose why they want to make money and their attitude towards *work* are maybe changing. As Wang (2012) found differences between two generations of migrant workers, we might say that with the idea behind these differences in mind, the meaning of work has changed. In the idea that migrants move to the city to work, send home remittances and then return to their hometown, *work* can be explained as just the means to earn money. Although Hu (2012) created even four prototypes which all show different behaviour towards work and career, the main priority in daily life for migrants is *work* or *being employed*, something what Snir (2002) calls '*work centrality*' in his article about work-leisure relations. With *work centrality* is meant that work is the most fundamental part in daily life of the individual compared to other domains like religion or leisure. Based on a '*meaning of work project (MOW)*' in 1987, Snir argued that work is an *economic orientation* in which "*income was the main valued work outcome*" for people. (Snir, 2002, pp. 10). In contrast, another finding is something Snir calls *intrinsic orientation* which means that for people work is not only the fulfilling of *income*, but their work must also be attractive; challenging, interesting and variety in its characteristics are important in this orientation (Snir, 2002). This intrinsic orientation can more or less be related to Wangs' description of the new generation migrant workers, whose reasons to come to the city and finding their job is said to be different than those migrants who see work as *central* in their daily life.

Characteristics of work

The economy is in transition and this leads to an increasing demand of knowledge and skilled employees. Instead of the image of many migrants working in factories, constantly repeating the same action, production lines will now automatically be controlled by machines. The economy is now asking for a more knowledge and service based system. This also means that the migrant workers who come to Shenzhen, don't have the same profession, but they show more often variety in their jobs. A group of professions will therefore most of the time be described as a type of industry or sector. A manufacturing industry, or secondary sector, can be seen as working activities directly related to the physical production of a good or service. The service sector can be seen as working activities surround, or indirectly linked to, the production of a good of service. This divide can

sometimes be a bit blurred. Transport and distribution is typed as service sector, but can someone who physically ships packages for distribution be characterized as someone working in the manufacturing or service industry? For a more straight and clear divide between these two types of migrant workers this research uses the terms *blue and white collar workers*. The distinction between blue and white collar workers is clearly defined by Schreurs et al. (2011). They explain what the differences are and how the two types of workers are characterized:

"blue-collar workers work above all with things, i.e. inanimate objects that are tangible, such as substances or materials, machines, tools, equipment or products. By way of contrast, white-collar workers principally work with data, i.e. numbers, words, symbols, ideas, concepts, information and knowledge.....Blue-collar jobs tend to be closely supervised, offering limited opportunities for growth and development, and offering limited opportunities for upward mobility. Furthermore, blue-collar workers are more often employed in 'demanding jobs' with high physical workload, and little influence over the effort that is put into the job. White-collar workers, in contrast, are generally employed in 'resourceful jobs' characterized by challenging work and more control" (Schreurs et al., 2011, pp. 7)

By this definition, the proportion between blue and white collar workers can indicate the existence of an economy in (rapid) transition in a certain area. Not only the direct working conditions, also the perspectives and opportunities for both types of workers are described in this definition. These differences as the kind of employment, but also differences in working hours (time) and wages (money) leads to differences in how life is structured for the individual – and finally society. There might be several other indicators which are related to the kind of employment, like living conditions. In Shenzhen there is some variety in the places of living among migrant workers. Some of the bigger factories for example provide dormitories for their migrant workers. These dormitories are really basic and small. Imagine around twelve people living together at one dormitory of twenty-four square meters in size. These conditions remain because of the many rural migrant workers and their relative short presence (3-5 years) in the city (Meng, Wang & Li, 2000). Ngai & Chan (2013) also wrote about the dormitories. They argue that the dormitories are very close to the workplace, often they are even just inside the factory buildings. The authors also endorse the poor conditions of the compounds. Sometimes migrant workers have to move from dwelling to dwelling, because they are constructed temporarily since factories move to cheaper areas. Based on the existing literature it might be said that the living conditions are rather poor in these dormitories. Other migrants live in rooms they rent from locals. These migrants share the rooms sometimes with colleagues (Meng, Wang & Li, 2000). These rooms can be found in the so called *urban villages*. These urban villages can be described as rural places that became urban because of the expansion of the city. The urban villages were the home to peasants who lived there for many generations. These 'rural lands' are still

owned by these indigenous people and now they focus on the presence of the many rural migrant workers. Because of the Chinese hukou-system, the migrant workers are excluded from the formal housing market (Chan & Zhang, 1999), so in fact it means the “Chinese citizens are divided in two unequal tiers – the privileged urban and underprivileged rural” (Hao, 2012, pp. 32). These rural migrants do not have access to public education, medical care and formal forms of housing. So actually they are excluded from urban resources. Within the borders of the urban villages they can find affordable housing, therefore many migrant workers live in these urban villages. According to Pun & Chan (2013) migrants who earn more will escape the dormitories and find a rental house, simply because they can afford it.

2.5 Leisure and constraints

Leisure can be considered as the time people can spend, next to their working activities. The latter includes the time spent on (non-job related) work at home (e.g. doing groceries, doing the dishes and washing clothes). It can be useful to know what people do, what moves them and what their preferences are. In the first place, people can stimulate the local economy directly by spending money during their free time, something that is also stimulated by the Chinese government. Within this economic transition there is a transformation from industrial communism towards consumerism. The higher wages of employees are a way to expand this pattern of consumerism. They want the Chinese people to spend more money on clothes, electronic devices and more luxury products. In fact from an industrial base into bourgeois consumption (Kilroy, 2008). Secondly, leisure activities are indirectly considered to be a contributing factor in becoming a *global city*, because it influences the liveability of people living in urban areas. The nation-wide implementation of a five days working week and the three holidays enlarged the leisure participation of many Chinese people (Jim & Chen, 2009). Scientists wrote a lot about leisure and leisure activities. Sometimes their articles are just about leisure activities and preferences, like the article of Yin (2005). Yin found that the most important leisure activities at home are: watching TV, using the internet, listening to the radio, meeting family, playing Majiang and spending time on readings. Outdoor activities are less popular. Going to parks, playing Majiang going to the cinema or to bars and restaurants are the main outdoor activities (Yin, 2005). Jim & Chen (2009) found some similar results in their research. More often scientists write about the kind of activities in relation to the constraints of leisure participation (see e.g. Gronau, 1977; Dong & Chick, 2012; Jim & Chen, 2009). Those authors all contribute to the literature on leisure, in the sense that they all describe the types of constraints which affect leisure activities of a person: *Income, Time and Space*. The first two types are influenced by personal characteristics. For example, Gronau (1977) found that being unemployed will negatively affect the

income. Therefore it can be a constraint on leisure activities which cost money (e.g. Theme parks with entrance fees). For those personal characteristics Dong & Chick (2012, pp. 421) used demographic characteristics like gender, age, income, educational level, marital status and city of residence. *Time and money* were the constraints which were mentioned in their research by at least half of their respondents. These constraints can be considered as the most important according to their research. Time is obviously considered as an important factor that influences the leisure activities of a person. Simply, when somebody has less time to spend on leisure activities, some activities can't be reached within the available time, because they are too far away. The factor *space* means the *physical* space to do leisure activities. *Facilities* are important in this, because these facilities might be required for specific leisure activities (e.g. buildings, parks or playgrounds). The factor *space* must be seen as a factor that cannot be influenced by the person itself, but it can certainly constrain the leisure activities of a person. Is the way of spending leisure directly influenced by these constraints or has *work* its influence as well? So far hardly any literature on the relation between work, leisure and leisure constraints in this context could be found.

2.6 Conclusion literature

The city of Shenzhen still faces rapid developments. At first the economy is in transition, shifting from a manufacturing towards a more knowledge based economy. We might say that the demand towards the requirements of employees is changing; since the jobs in a knowledge based economy require higher educated and skilled employees. Secondly the city has to deal with the floating population; many migrants come to the city because of job opportunities and go back to their hometown after a couple of years. However there seems to be differences between two generations, in which the new generation migrants have different reasons to come to the city and are more likely to stay. So having a job and earning money are not the main reasons anymore. In this respect we might say that the meaning of work seems to change for migrant workers as well. We may conclude from the literature on *work* that work itself determines peoples' daily life in one way or another. From the peoples perspective there is variety in the meaning of work, which leads to differences in the impact of work on their daily life in terms of time and money. Time, because not everyone will spend the same amount of time on work and money because not everybody will receive the same wages. We may conclude that the living conditions migrant workers face sometimes can be related to someone's work, like the example of the dormitories, which are only provided by the bigger factories. This means that also in Shenzhen, work seems to be an important indicator in peoples' lives since it seems to organize and structures someone's daily life. It is obvious that people at work face the conditions of their work itself, but does *work* also influence peoples' daily life during their leisure time? In the

existing literature on leisure several common constraints can be found: time, money and space. The latter can sometimes better be explained as *facilities*. Since work seems to structure a big part of someone's daily life and leisure is becoming of growing importance for both the Chinese people and the Chinese economy it might be useful to have a look at the impact of work on leisure.

3. Research design

3.1 Research questions and conceptual scheme

This research focuses on both the actual leisure activities and the constraints migrant workers face. In order to say something meaningful about the possible influence of work on leisure patterns, this research keeps the economic transition in mind. Therefore a divide between two types of migrants based on their working activities will be made; blue and white collar workers. The main research question is:

"To what extent can the differences in the leisure patterns of migrant workers in the Da Lang district be explained by the working environment of these migrants?"

In order to answer this main question the following sub questions will be relevant:

- Q1. What does *work* mean for migrant workers in Da Lang?
- Q2. What are the leisure activities of migrant workers living in Da Lang?
- Q3. Where do migrant workers in Da Lang spend their leisure time?
- Q4. What are the main reasons for migrants to do leisure activities?
- Q5. To what extent does work influence the actual leisure activities of migrant workers in Da Lang?
- Q6. What are the main leisure constraints migrant workers face in Da Lang?
- Q7. To what extent does work influence the leisure constraints that migrant workers face in Da Lang?

In chapter 6 the types of work, the characteristics and the meaning of work (Q1) will be described. This chapter will be followed by the actual leisure activities of migrant workers. Chapter 7 is about the intrahome leisure activities and chapter 8 will analyze the *extrahome* leisure activities. The chapters together will answer the questions Q2,Q3,Q4 and Q5. Chapter 9 is about the constraints migrant workers face in Da Lang. It will answer the questions Q6 and Q7.

3.2 Conceptual scheme

All concepts described in the theoretical framework and the questions described in chapter 3.1 will lead to a conceptual scheme as shown in the figure below.

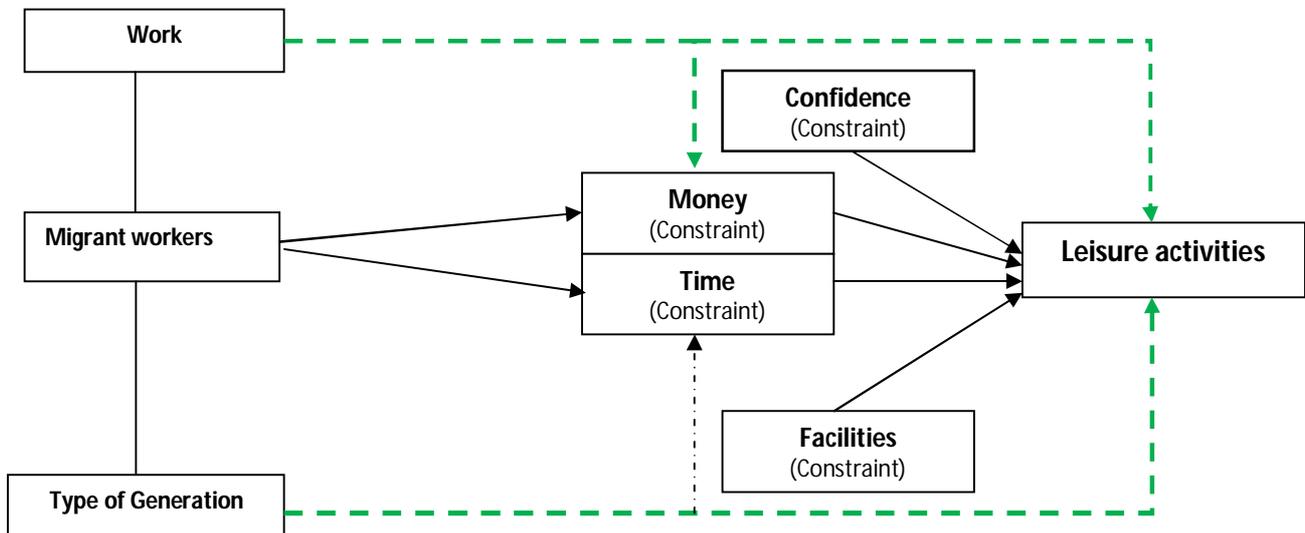


Figure 2 Conceptual scheme

3.2 Operationalization of the concepts

Below the most important concepts are explained and how they are used in this research.

-Working sector or working environment

A manufacturing industry, or secondary sector, can be seen as working activities directly related to the physical production of a good or service. The service sector can be seen as working activities surrounded, or indirectly linked to, the production of a good of service. This divide can sometimes be a bit blurred. Transport and distribution is typed as service sector, but do you characterize someone who physically ships packages for distribution as a manufacturing or service worker? So for a more straight and clear divide between these two type of migrant workers the terms *blue and white collar workers* are used. The distinction between blue and white collar workers is clearly defined by Schreurs et al. (2011).

-Type of generations

For the new generation migrant workers this research uses the definition of Wang (2012). The new generation migrant workers are those born after 1980. The first generation migrant workers automatically will be defined by those born before 1980.

- Leisure activities

leisure can be considered as the time people can spend, next to their working activities. The latter includes the time spend on working at home (e.g. doing groceries, doing the dishes and washing clothes). Leisure activities can therefore be explained as all kind of activities done during their free time.

-Constraints

Money, time and facilities are the main leisure constraints discussed in the literature. These are the main explanations why migrants can't do particular activities, while they have the desire to do them.

3.3 Hypothesis

This research is written with the idea that there will be differences in leisure activities which can be related to the kind of employment. In the literature it is argued that work is their main reason to be in a city like Shenzhen and work seem to structure a big part of their daily life. Differences in work might explain the differences in activities or the reasons why migrants tend to do certain activities. Ngai & Chan (2013) for example argue that "migrant workers have fewer leisure opportunities in manufacturing environments" (pp.182). The expectation is that the leisure patterns of blue collar workers are more likely to be influenced directly by their work environment. In contrast white collar workers are expected to be more influenced by expectations and personal choices.

The expectation is that the working environment will directly (e.g. working hours, overtime and wages) and indirectly (housing provided by factories) influence the leisure activities of migrant workers or at least influence migrants behaviour towards leisure. Also the circumstances of the leisure activities (e.g. who do they meet, how often and reasons to do activities) are expected to be related to the employment of migrants.

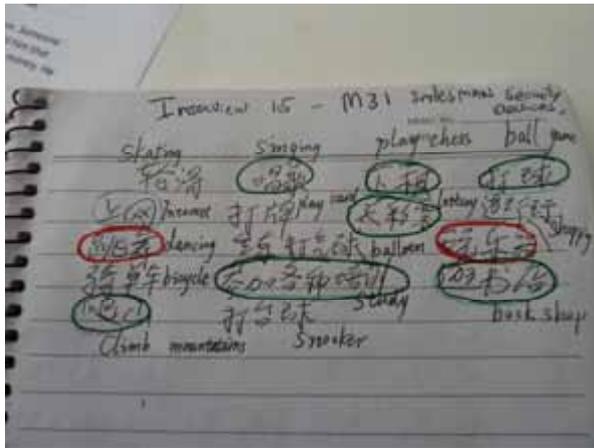
3.4 Research strategy and methodology

This research is a single case study on leisure activities of migrant workers in Da Lang, one of the districts in the city of Shenzhen, Peoples Republic of China. It is a descriptive research which tries to describe and understand the impact of work on leisure activities and leisure constraints of migrant workers in Da Lang. This case study tries to explain the differences by the working sector. According to Dong & Chick (2012) there is too little ethnographic research done on leisure and leisure constraints. They argue it would be valuable to put leisure activities in its context. The strategy used for this research is a qualitative method, based on an micro-ethnographic approach in which

observations are combined and supported with semi-structured and in-depth interviews. (Bryman, 2008, pp. 403). Most of the interview questions were fixed, but during the interview extra relevant questions could be added. This research makes a divide between migrant workers based on their working environment. This research is based on 39 semi-structured interviews held with migrant workers living in the district, two in-depth interviews and own observations. The migrant workers were randomly invited to participate, so everyone got the same chance to be in this sample (Bryman, 2008, pp. 184-185). The only criteria was that they had to live in Da Lang. Most of the interviews were held at the Labour Square, a big public square in Da Lang. One of the in-depth interviews is held with an employee of the Community Service Centre in Da Lang. The second in-depth interview is held with a phd-student who is currently doing research on the floating population.

3.5 Data collection

The data is collected by the semi-structured interviews randomly held among migrant workers in Da Lang. This semi-structured interview existed of two parts: method of *free-listing* and the interview. Dong & Chick (2012) did this method of free-listing and they inspired to use it as well. First the respondents were given a blank piece of paper and they were asked to write down as many leisure activities as they could think of. Secondly, the respondents were asked to mark the leisure activities which actually apply to them with a green pencil. Finally, the respondents were asked to mark the activities they would like to do, but can't do at the moment for any reason whatsoever, with a red pencil. This method might be useful for two reasons. First, a list of all kind of activities which the respondents can think of will be created. They are not limited in their thinking. Secondly, because the respondent can think freely and out of the box, that person will be more 'open' and feel more comfortable for interviewing afterwards. For this interview a semi-structured topic list was created. Two interviews were merged into one final interview which contained all required questions for the two researches. The other research is about a related topic: bottom up organized leisure activities and the influence on the social capital of young migrants.



**Photo 1. Method of free-listing
(own collection, 2013)**



**Photo 2. Meeting with the translators
(own collection, 2013)**

Most of the respondents were not able to communicate in English. In order to collect the data several students from the Shenzhen University and Peking University were asked to help with translating. They were all capable to speak both Chinese and English. Before doing the interviews a meeting was arranged in order to explain this research and the interview questions. This meeting was meant to let the translators have a better understanding of the questions and it gave them more insight in the research, which would probably lead to more complete answers. The interview was in first place formulated in English but finally also translated in Chinese.

As already mentioned the interviews were for the biggest part done at the Labour Square in Da Lang. On the spot people were randomly asked to participate and invited for a short interview. By explaining the purpose of the interview and by informing the person that information received during the interview would be treated confidentially the interviewees felt more comfortable and convinced to cooperate. The Labour Square can be crowded and noisy so it must be said that for every interview it is tried to find a location as quiet as possible, which was not always easy, since everybody was really curious. The answers given by the respondents were both written down and recorded.



Photo 3 and 4. Interviewing at Labour Square by day and night (own collection, 2013)

During the interviews several moments were taken to translate the received information into English, both for the recordings and for a better understanding of the interview on the spot. To have a representative sample it has been a choice to have variety in the moments of interviewing. Some interviews were held during the week, some during the weekends. Also the time of interviewing varied from before noon until early in the evening. Besides the interviews, observations were done as well at different days and times. The geographical distributions of the interviewees is shown in figure 3.

3.6 Data analysis

First of all, the semi-structured and in-depth interviews were transcribed on topic. This was done with the recordings and the notes taken during the interviews. The transcribed interviews are combined in a separate bundle. Secondly, an excel database was created containing most of the personal characteristics. In a quantitative way a pivot table was used to have a first impression of the relationship between several characteristics. This was just used as a first indication and by doing this it was easier to create stacks of interviews based on the chosen characteristics, like the divide between blue and white collar workers. The final analysis was done by hand and this could be done because the interviews were transcribed on topic. The free-listings documents were used to create a list of activities and their frequency to have a general overview.

3.7 Limitations

Like any other research, this case study faced some limitations. The opportunity was given to spend six weeks in the research area which is quite a while, however spending more time in the research area will lead to more information, a bigger sample and therefore more representative results. Secondly miscommunication and misinterpretation might be a good thing to keep in mind. By organizing a meeting for the translators and translating the interviews into Chinese the translators were given better insight in the questions and therefore the possible answers, so in that way the chance on miscommunication has been reduced. Although all interviews went really smooth and the translators mastered the English language well, the translators could have had difficulties with translating from Chinese into English. However this didn't lead to errors in this research. Besides these practical limitations, there are some limitations about the generalizations of the results of this research. The outcomes found by this research sample are probably not the same for all migrant workers living in Da Lang. Keep in mind that only 39 semi-structured interviews were done. On the one hand the way of doing this kind of interviews resulted in a complete and very detailed story of these migrant workers, but it also limited the sample size in sense of time. This case study must be

seen in its context. The way the city of Shenzhen developed rapidly since the implementation of the New Economic Reform in 1978 makes the context of this research different compared to other cities in China, like Beijing and Shanghai. However the reasons why migrants move to these cities and the meaning of work can be seen at a national level according to the literature.



Figure 3. Map of the distribution of interviewees (own data, 2013)

4. Research Area

There is not much information available about the district. The information below is received in an interview with a phd-student, named Zhengxin, who is doing his dissertation on the floating population and an interview with someone working at the Community Service Centre.

Da Lang must still be seen as an industrial community. It is an area where a lot of young people work in the many factories located in the district. In total there are about 500.000 people living in Da Lang of whom only a few have lived in the area for a very long time and can be considered as locals. By far the biggest part of the population came from other provinces in China. This is also shown by the map below which shows the home provinces of the respondents in this research.

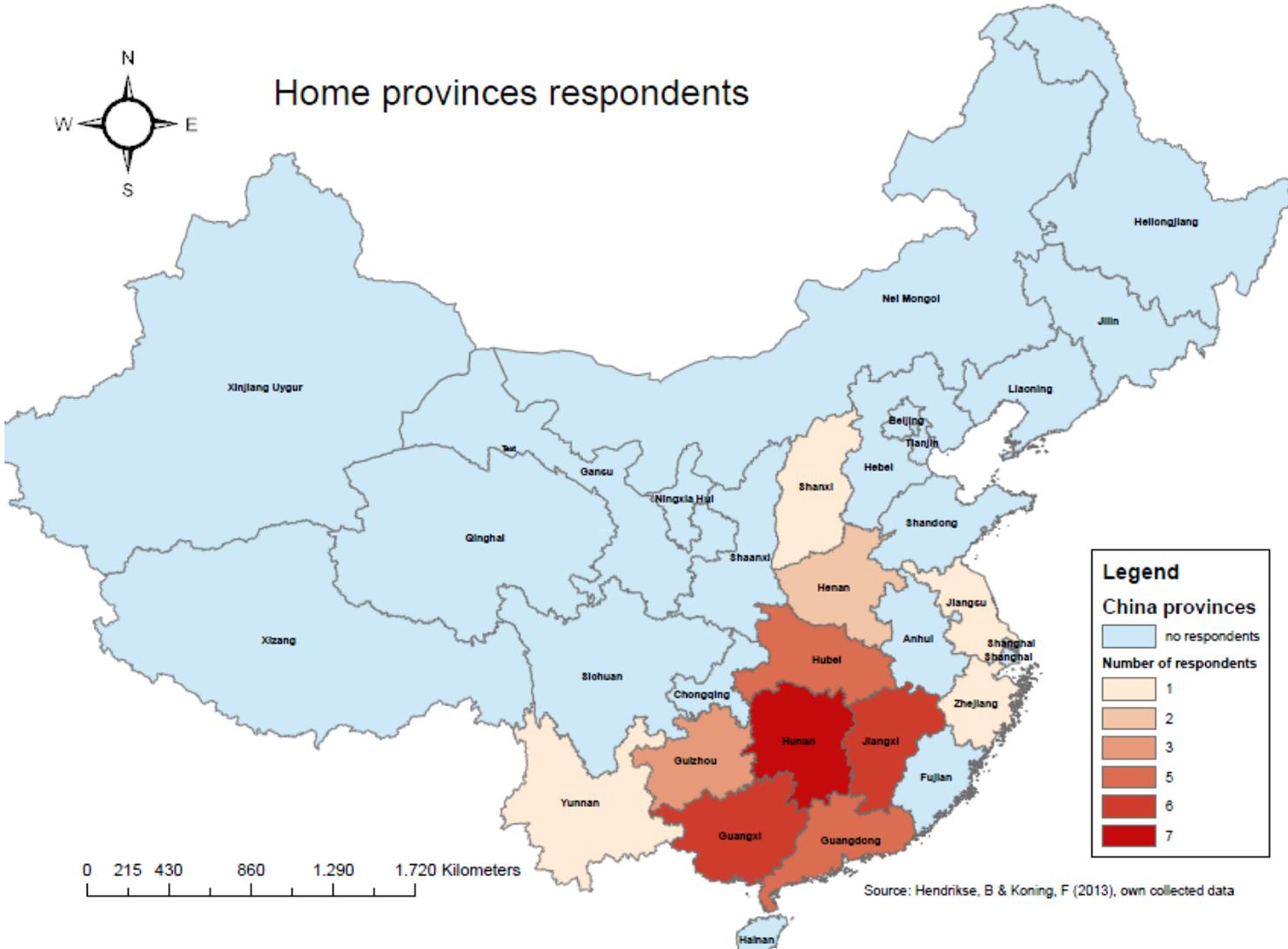


Figure 4. Home provinces of the respondents (own collected data, 2013)

Most of the respondents are from the provinces near Shenzhen as we can see in the figure above. Back in the days Da Lang could be considered as a suburb, but now it has made a shift towards a formal city. Within this transition cultural diversity occurred, especially because of these people from all over China and that there is still a floating population, must be seen as 'normal' (Int CSC). The reason why people come to Da Lang is to find a job, to earn money. But how do they end up in Shenzhen and Da Lang in particular? In the literature it is argued that the rural migrant workers have several sources to get job-information. The most important sources are *relatives and friends*. They can tell about their own experiences and what is going on in the city. The second source are *government agents* and the last source are *media of the labour market; newspapers, bulletins provided at public spaces* (Meng, Wang & Li, 2000). Many migrant workers were indeed told by family members, relatives and others from their same hometown about the opportunities in the city of Shenzhen. The opportunities Da Lang provides for migrants with respect to employment is often mentioned by migrant workers as a motivation to come to this district.

4.1 Young population

Da Lang is a district with a relatively young population caused by *the floating population*. On the one hand Da Lang must be seen as an enormous pull area for young migrant workers. They seek for job opportunities, the ability to make money and sometimes even for a career. On the other hand they don't tend to stay in Da Lang and for some reason it seems to be a push area. This contradiction did not accidentally happen, it can be found and explained by the historical perspective and the existing laws. Over the past years many things have changed, like the reason to come to the city. For this explanation we have to go back to 1949, when most Labours in China worked in the agriculture. Industry hardly existed at that time, only some heavy industry was present, but this was a very small part of the economy. The main reasons to go to the city were marriage, to join the army, for college or to find work in this heavy industry. Before 1984 farmers were forbidden to do other types of work in the city, so the reasons for them to move to the city were very limited. This polity changed in 1984, what meant that farmers were able to work in the cities, but they had to arrange food themselves. As a consequence farmers generally stayed at the country side and stayed self-sufficient. In 1978 the Special Economic Zone was implemented. This New Economic Reform created more opportunities for farmers. They were now able to work in the labour-intensive industries as well. The wages were low and until 2004 wages hardly increased. This rapidly changed after companies felt a shortage of migrant workers, so the wages increased. The main reason to come to the city became *income*. (int Zhengxin) As long as they have the opportunities to have a job and earn money migrants like to stay

in Da Lang. For almost all the respondents in this research sample, the main reason to come to Da Lang, or Shenzhen is to earn money or at least the job opportunities.

4.2 Explaining the withdraw

The reason why people come to Da Lang is clear, but why do people leave the district? As Zhengxin mentioned: "If you can't get an income, don't have a job, you don't have to stay in the city", so income is again one of the reasons. The reason why many migrants above the age of 35 years old can't get a job can be found in 'the structure of the industrial community' (Int CSC) The factories employ mainly young labourers. These young migrants can work longer, they are stronger and in better condition, so they have a higher productivity. For the older migrants they hardly have any jobs available. According to the employee of the Community Service Centre Da Lang is shifting from a more suburb area towards a formal city, but is still typed as an industrial area. (int CSC) The younger migrants simply have more job opportunities in Da Lang, they have better chances to get a job and to earn some money. The older migrants rely on two opportunities they have: some rely on their social network they have in their hometown. They know people who can find a job for them. Others own pieces of land in their hometown (int CSC). The latter is also subscribed by Zhengxin: almost everybody owns land in some way, if it is not the new generation migrants, their parents or grandparents own land in their hometown. Since 1998 a new Land Policy Law was introduced, which meant that land you own will be your property for the coming 30 years and no land redistribution will take place. Everyone who owns land can only sell it to the government and they don't have the rights to use land in a non-agricultural area. The value of land is increasing. If you would sell your land you will get a lower price than its actual value, so people keep the land they own. Besides the increasing value, land is now even subsidized by the government, to do something 'good' for the farmers who always paid the highest part of the fiscal revenue. Nowadays the industrial and service sector face the highest taxes. When changing hukou from a village-hukou to citizen-hukou you will lose your land rights. This actually means you will replace your land for citizen rights. Most of the people are not willing to do this (int Zhengxin).

Another reason to go back to their hometown is that many migrants already have a house over there. When trying to sell this property you will face the same situation as the land rights: a lower price than its actual value. Besides this, when migrants have the opportunity to buy a house in urban areas, like Shenzhen, they only have the opportunity to buy a small house which is not big enough to live with the whole family. A third reason to go back are the living costs which are a lot higher in a city like Shenzhen than in more rural areas. Last but not least the hukou system still influences the accessibility to public services like education and health care. Since 2004 the government finances

education for the biggest part for those who have a local hukou. For those who don't have a local hukou status education must for the biggest part be financed by themselves. The same situation is applicable for health care.

Another argument might be *burial or cremation*. Many Chinese families have their own traditional family tomb, so the place of burial is already fixed at birth. It is forbidden by law to transport dead persons from one place to another, for this reason the place of death is even more important. Despite the traditional culture, money can be a contributing factor as well. Burial or cremation in the place of hukou leads to a financial compensation. This is not rewarded in an area where a local hukou is not valid (int Zhengxin).

4.3 Labour Square

This square was built at the end of 2007 after inhabitants came up with the idea. The main reasons to built the Labour Square was to provide a location for migrant workers in the district to entertain. There was no public space, like this square, to have leisure time. The second reason has to do with the background of all migrants living in Da Lang. Since these migrants are from all over China, this lead to a very cultural diverse society. The Labour Square is a representation, or what is called "the Window" to show this society and it shows that the local government cares about the population of Da Lang. The people found at the Labour Square can be seen as 'very representative' for the whole population in Da Lang, especially in the weekends. The presence of a cultural divers society also lead to the idea that people should have more *sense of belonging* in the district. The Labour Square can contribute to this idea and therefore more attention on leisure is spend. (int CSC). The increasing attention on leisure can be reflected by a program called *8-8-8 hours*. This is a program organized by the government which shows that they want to bring the daily activities of migrants under attention. Starting point for this program is the time distribution of people during the day. In general people work eight hours a day, sleep eight hours a day and have leisure eight hours a day. The latter eight hours are seen of growing importance and people should be aware of what they can do during these eight hours of leisure.



Photo 5. An overview of Labour Square (own collection, 2013)

4.4 Summary

The district of Da Lang has a relatively young population and seems to show similarities with what can be found in the literature considering the floating population and reasons to come to the district. The explanation of the young population in Da Lang is the pull factor for young migrants because of opportunities and the push factor for older migrants since they have less job opportunities and they are not willing to give up their land and house properties in their hometown. Besides properties, the social network in their hometown can be an advantage for migrants in order to find a new job. Choosing not to change hukou results in disadvantages when temporary living in a city like Shenzhen; i.e. they don't have the local hukou to get (their children) educated, at least don't have the money to pay that amount of money for education and health care.

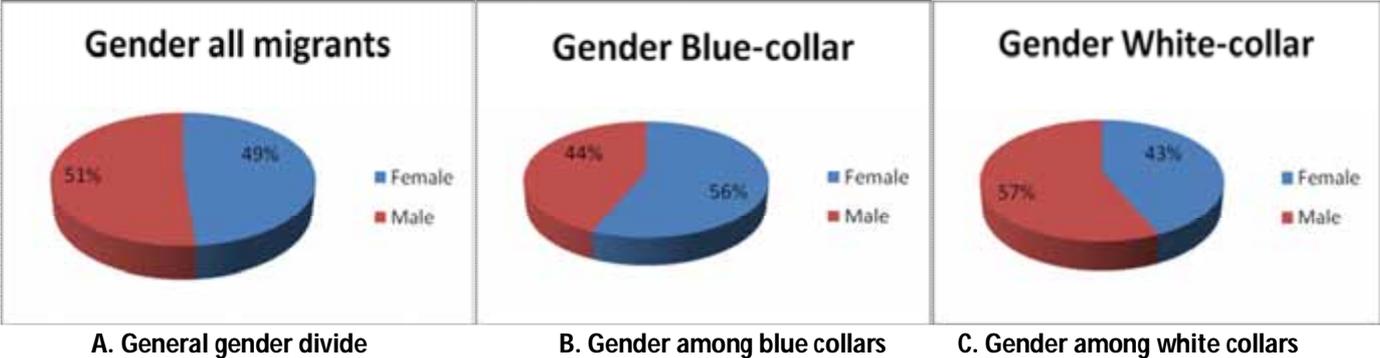
The increasing attention on leisure, as reflected by the 8-8-8 hours program endorses the overall growing importance of leisure in China as found in the literature. However it is expected that people will not spend their leisure time in the same way. By increasing the attention on leisure and the presence of the Labour Square the government and cooperating voluntary organizations are trying to create more sense of belonging in Da Lang. As a consequence migrants might will stay in the district for at least a longer period of time.

5. Characteristics of the respondents

In total thirty-nine migrant workers have been interviewed at the Labour Square in Da Lang. This part of the research focuses on the personal characteristics of these migrant workers. During the semi-structured interviews information like their age, gender, educational level and duration of stay was asked. Next to an overall analysis of the personal characteristics a divide between blue and white collar workers is made. Both the employee of the Community Service Centre and Zhengxin would characterize Da Lang as an industrial area, partly based on the 'structure of the industrial community'. However out of the thirty-nine respondents, only sixteen could be considered as blue collar workers which means that the biggest part of the respondents can be considered as white collar workers. Instead of working in a labour intensive industry, people are more likely to work in a service or knowledge based working environment. There is hardly any actual data available about the population in Da Lang to compare the findings. The only document which could be found is a research done by Chen in 2010. The sample size of this research should be kept in mind when analyzing the personal characteristics below.

Within this research gender is almost equally represented, but there are differences in working sector. The blue collar workers are slightly more represented by female, while the percentage of men is higher among white collar workers. Compared to the research done by Chen in 2010 there are hardly any differences (53,2% male versus 46,8 % female).

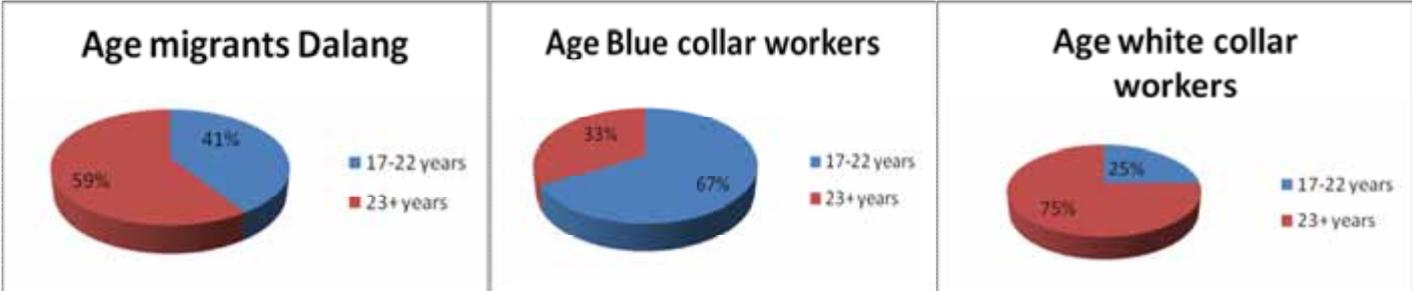
Figure 5. Gender distribution, (own findings, 2013)



As mentioned Da Lang is characterized as a district with a relatively young population. The average age of the sample in this research is 23,8 years old. Only migrant workers younger than 35 years old were found in this area which is not a surprise when looking at the age distribution of Chen (2010) in which 24,5 % is between the age of 30-39 and only 6,5% is older than 40 years old. The age

distribution of this research is shown below. Blue collar workers tend to be younger than the white collar workers in Da Lang. More than 65% of the blue collar workers is younger than 23 years old. On the other hand, among the white collar workers 75% is older than 23 years old. This probably to do with the rules towards employees in factories. On the other hand, please note the differences might be influenced by the small sample size.

Figure 6. Age distribution (own findings, 2013)



A. General age distribution

B. Age among blue collars

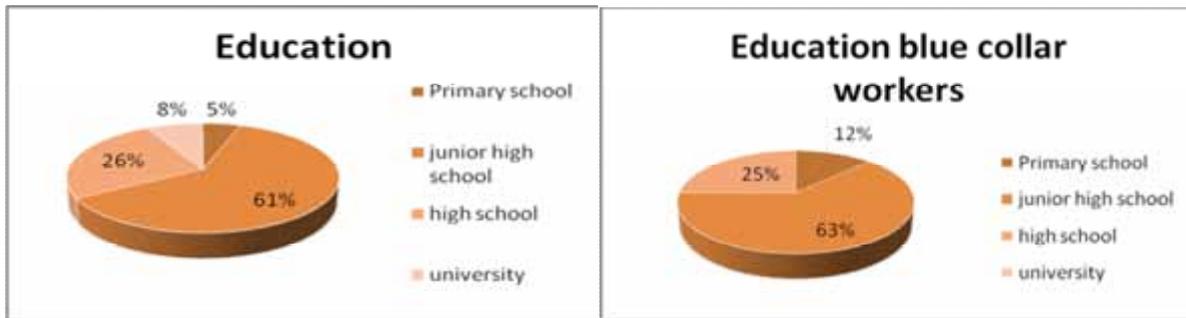
C. Age among white collars

The biggest part of the respondents has a junior high school diploma (61%) which is the second stage of the compulsory education program. Remarkable is the 5% who have finished primary school. For some reason they didn't attend the, compulsory, junior high school program. These two levels of education are comparable with the results of Chen (2010). In that research the percentage who finished junior high school was 54,6% and those who finished primary school was 13,1%.

These two degrees of education together can be typed as 'lower' educated in this research. 'High school' and 'Occupational high school' are both typed as a 'medium' level of education. In the research of Chen (2010) this percentage was 30,7 %, which is in this research slightly lower (26 %).

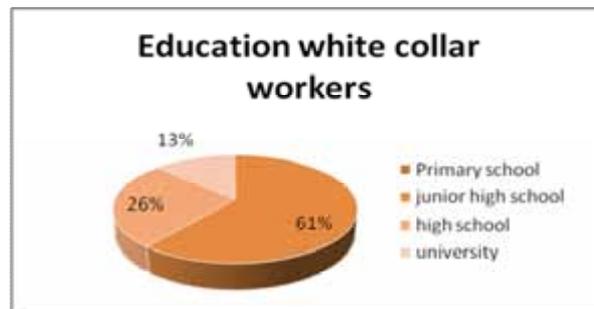
Migrants are characterized as 'high educated' when they have a 'University' degree or finishing 'College professional training'. In this research sample 8% of the migrants can be characterized as high educated, while in the research of Chen (2010) this percentage was 1,6%. When making the divide between blue and white collar workers we may say that both working typologies contain for the biggest part low educated migrant workers. However the percentage of low educated migrants is among blue collar workers bigger (75%) in comparison with white collar workers (61%). There are no high educated blue collar workers in our sample while among the white collar workers 13% is characterized as 'high educated'. We can therefore conclude that migrants who are higher educated are more likely to be classified as 'white collar worker'. But it also says that it is definitely not required to be high educated for a 'white collar job.'

Figure 7. Educational distribution



A. General educational distribution

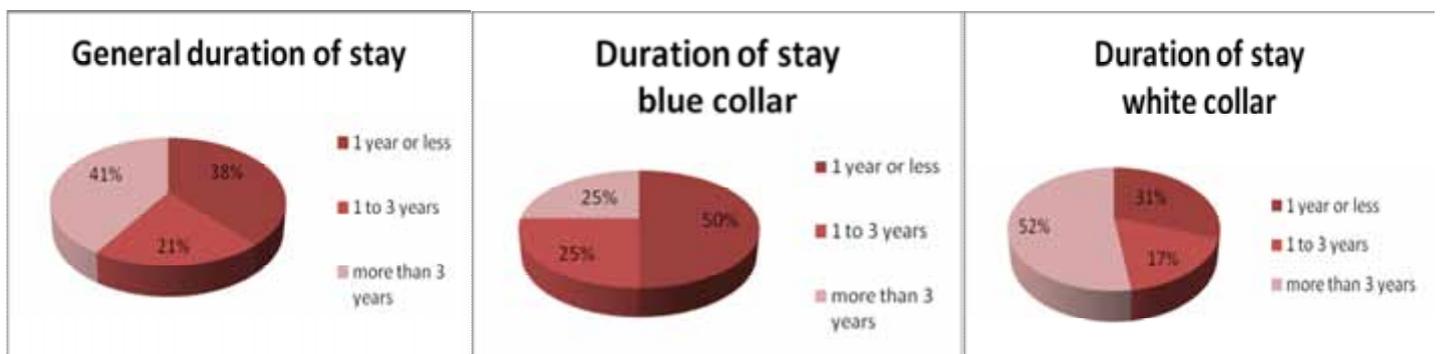
B. Distribution among blue collars



C. Distribution among white collars

For how long have the migrants been in Da Lang? It is argued that Shenzhen deals with a floating population, but the duration of stay varies. Unfortunately there is no comparable data available, so this part is only based on the sample of 39 interviews. When looking at the duration of stay of the migrants in Da Lang we can say that the biggest part has been in the district for a short period of time. 38% of the migrants have lived in Da Lang for only one year and in some cases just arrived.

Figure 8. Distribution of duration of stay (own findings, 2013)



A. General duration of stay

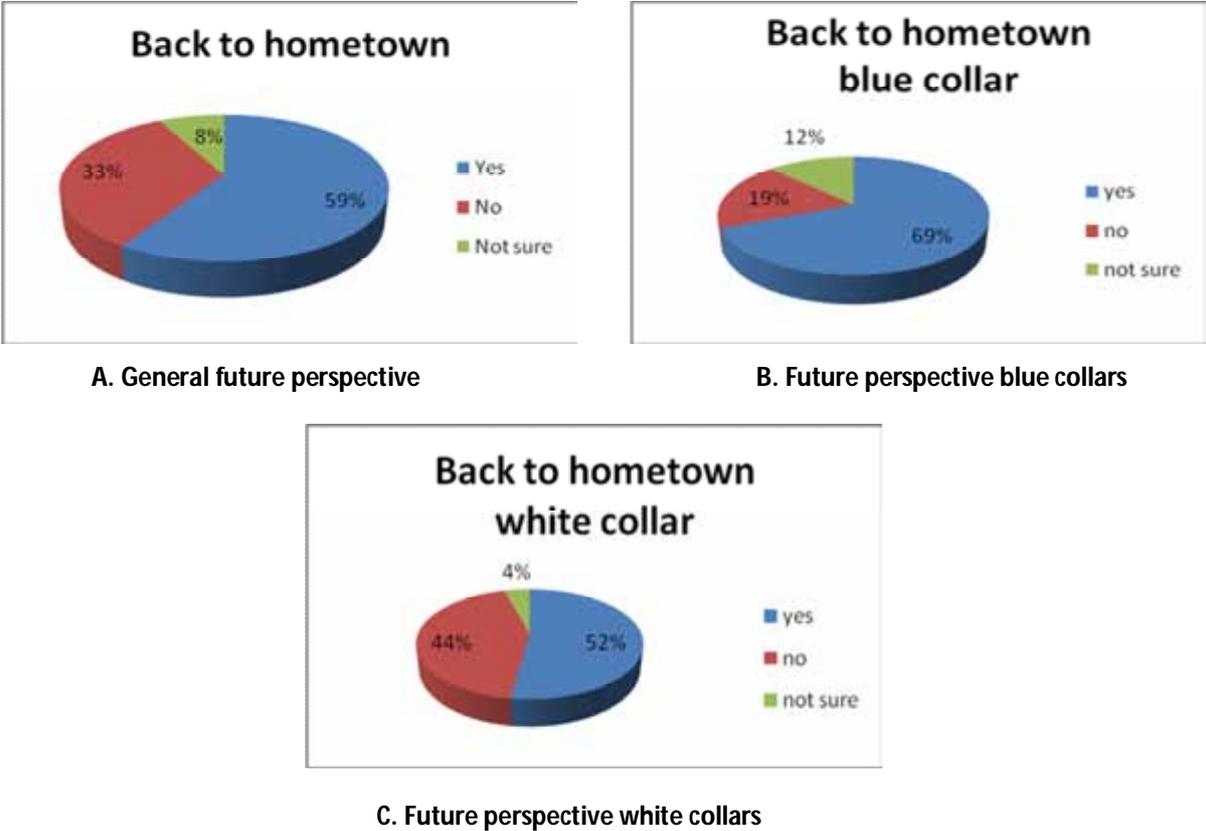
B. Duration of stay among blue collars

C. Duration of stay among white collars

41% of the migrants told they have been in Da Lang for more than three years now, of which the longest stay contains 11 years. The differences between white and blue collar workers are quite big. More than half of the white collar workers (52%) have already lived in Da Lang for more than three years now. This percentage is twice as high compared to the blue collar workers, while blue collar workers are more likely to be 'new' in the district. The differences between blue and white collar workers are quite big. This has probably to do with the size of this research sample, since only 39 respondents were interviewed.

Like already found in the literature and endorsed by the employee of the Community Service Centre (CSC) the district of Da Lang faces a population which still can be considered as *floating*. The presence of the Labour Square and the increasing attention on leisure, like the 8-8-8 hours program, can contribute to more *sense of belonging* among migrant workers. They will probably stay for a longer period in the district and are less likely to move to other cities or other districts within Shenzhen as soon they get the chance. Most of the respondents in this research sample told that they want to go back to their hometown sooner or later. The pie-charts below also show that a big part of this sample mentioned that they don't want to go back to their hometown.

Figure 9. Future perspective (own findings, 2013)



This doesn't mean that they want to stay in Da Lang, since only a few mentioned that they want to stay in the district. The other respondents who don't like to return to their hometown want to move on to other districts in Shenzhen or want to go to other cities like Shanghai . Especially among white collar workers it is more likely that migrants want to go somewhere else rather than going back to their hometown, which possibly can be explained by Wangs' theory about the new generation migrants (2012) in terms of '*leaving, searching and becoming*'.

6. The meaning of work in Da Lang

This chapter is mainly meant to have better insight in what types of work people do and what work means for them. In order to say something about *the meaning of work* for migrants in Da Lang this chapter describes the different types of professions found in the first place. This also leads to the distinction between blue and white collar workers and the opportunities to change jobs. From that perspective the characteristics like working hours, overtime and flexibility are described in the third part of this chapter.

6.1 Professions

The professions of these migrant workers varies from the physical production of cell phones and other electronic devices to guitar teachers and from salesmen to masseuses. From the interviewees six migrants recently (most of them not even a week before interviewing) quit their job. Half of them can be considered as blue collar worker, the other half as white collar worker, based on the profession they did before. After all this means that sixteen blue collar workers are involved in this research of whom four are recently unemployed. These blue collar workers don't show much variety in their professions. Most of them are working for the bigger factories. Their jobs are directly related to the physical production of cell phones or other electronic products. They are part of the production chain by making, adding or checking the products at different stages within the production processes.

Among the other twenty-three migrant workers, who all can be characterized as white collar workers, their professions show much more variety. Professions like advocacy, banking employees and top managers are not included in this sample. A possible explanation is that they probably don't live in Da Lang, but more in the inner centre of Shenzhen since we may assume that they can afford better and more expensive housing conditions. The respondents considered as white collar workers in this research can be divided in several subcategories. The first category includes salesmen, purchasers and PR-managers. It doesn't matter whether they work for factories or smaller

entrepreneurs. Another category is the one of educators. They are related to the development of skills of a broad range of people. This can be an English teacher, but also a skating instructor. The third category is a broad collection of professions but can be related to *small entrepreneurial activities*. Some of them are the owners of small shops or the food service industry. Most of them just work as employees within this service based enterprises, like a masseuse, a worker in a clothing shop and a barbers apprentice.

6.2 Changing jobs

That the district of Da Lang is facing economic transition can partly be subscribed by the respondents in this research. In the first place more white than blue collar workers were included in this research sample. Also the variety in jobs among white collar workers shows that Da Lang is not just an industrial district anymore. Besides, the working environment is not always fixed for migrant workers: some migrants are able to make career in Da Lang over time. They come to the district at a young age and they develop themselves, probably ending up in a different sector as we can see in the table below.

	Current collar						Total
	Blue		Total blue	white		Total white	
	Age 17-22	Age 23+		Age 17-22	Age 23+		
Previous profession category							
Blue	4	4	8		6	6	14
School	3		3				3
Unknown	3	1	4	4	5	9	13
White		1	1	2	6	8	9
Total	10	6	16	6	17	23	39

Table 1. Movements between profession categories (own findings, 2013)

In the columns we can find the type of work the migrants are currently doing (white or blue) and their age, divided into the two groups. In the rows we can find their previous profession category. The latter is split up into blue and white collar work, school and unknown. A white collar worker is characterized as blue in these rows if this person ever did blue collar work before (and the other way around). Next to this a school category is added, because some of the migrants just finished school.

In quite some interviews it is not really clear what people did before they came to Da Lang, or they didn't want to tell. What we can say from this table, is that within the actual blue collar workers, in the age of 17-22 years old, no one ever did a white collar job before. Even within the unknown category, it is less likely that these migrants fulfilled a white collar job before. 30% just finished school, note for this analysis the level of education is not taken into account. Among the 'older' blue collar workers the biggest part just did comparable jobs before (67%). The most remarkable result from this table is the percentage of 'older' white collar workers who did blue collar work before (35,29 %). Within the younger white collar workers, nobody did blue collar work before. From all this we can say that blue collar workers are not fixed and stuck in their own working environment. They seem to have the ability to develop and show social mobility, however this will take some time.

6.3 Working hours, overtime and flexibility

As argued *work* is the most important pull factor of the district, but how much time do people spend on work? Among the blue collar workers the hours scheduled for work are more or less the same. Blue collar workers tend to work for five or six days a week and there seems to be hardly any difference in comparison with white collar workers. They also tend to work five or six days a week and sometimes even every day. The *8-8-8 hours program* suggests people work for eight hours a day and when looking at the working hours a day, blue collar workers all face the same kind of schedule. They work eight or nine hours a day. Those hours are fixed, starting in the morning, ending in the late afternoon. Although some of these blue collar workers do *nightshifts*, they face the same fixed hours of work. Within the group white collar workers there seems to be more variety in their working hours. Those working as purchasers, salesmen or PR-managers make eight or nine hours as well. The educators make less hours, which varies from four to eight hours a day. The employees of smaller enterprises make nine or ten hours a day, but hereby it must be said that the owners of these enterprises sometimes even work more than ten hours a day. This depends on having many employees or not. Those who do, are less likely to work that many hours a day. Those who run a family owned restaurant for example, have to be present almost all the time. So far we might conclude that there is more variety in the time spend on work among white collar workers.

Another characteristic is *overtime work* which is often done by blue collar workers. When working from Monday until Friday, Saturday is often used as a day for overtime work. There are two main reasons why overtime work is done by blue collar workers. The first one can be seen as a *choice* from the migrants perspective: making more money. Like a blue collar worker argued: "More work is more salary" (int 14). Besides the extra working hours, wages are higher during the weekends: "When I do overtime work I will get paid 50% extra" (int 22). The second reason overtime work is a common

phenomenon must be seen from a factory perspective: peak days. During busy days the migrants working in the factories are more or less 'forced' to do the overtime work. In this context a female worker in a cell phone factory argued: "Sometimes I have to work in the weekends, only if the company is busy". For the white collar workers overtime work is very rare, but some of their jobs are characterized by another factor: flexibility. Some migrants face advantages of being flexible in their work. Sometimes this can be related to the working days, sometimes to the working hours. The former situation is reflected by a female worker selling clothes in a shop: "I am one day off a week, but I can choose which day I want to be off"(int 29). The latter is subscribed by a man working as a PR manager for a logistic company: "I work six till eight hours a day, but I am flexible in my working hours, sometimes I like to sleep until noon" (int 16). As already mentioned, shop owners spend much time on work, since they have to be present at their shop, but they also have the opportunity to leave the shop for a while whenever they like, so they are flexible to a certain extent. Being flexible is inapplicable for blue collar workers. The migrants working in the cell phone and electronic factories are bounded by the working shifts the company uses. The factories determine the shifts and working hours of the workers. This research doesn't argue that white collar workers are always flexible, but it is more likely to be flexible with working hours as a white than as a blue collar worker.



Photo 6. Blue collar workers on their way back home from the factory.

7. Actual 'intrahome' leisure activities

The initiative of the 8-8-8 hours conference suggests that migrant workers in Da Lang have the opportunity to have eight hours of leisure time. As found in the previous part many migrant workers spend more than eight hours a day on work, which means less time is left for leisure. Still the question remains: what do these migrant workers do during their leisure time. This part describes the *intrahome* leisure activities migrant workers tend to do. When asking the question: What can people do when they are off from work, the respondents came up with a broad range of activities. The free-listing method is a fruitful method, because they come up with activities which are important for them, rather than agreeing on a pre-created list. The migrant workers living in Da Lang tend to do various activities during their leisure time. The list of activities, mentioned by both blue and white collar workers is drawn below. When taking a look at both lists it is clear that the variety in activities is way bigger among the white collar workers, however keep in mind that more white collar workers are represented in this sample. Just because of this broad range, the activities are categorized in groups. Earlier Jim & Chen (2009) created four categories, related to the environment in which the activity took place. One of the categories, the intrahome active leisure activities could hardly be found in this sample. Some migrants spend even leisure time at their work. Dancing together with students in the classroom (int2), work out at the fitness club (int 7), rehearse at the music shop (int 4,6). Doing these leisure activities is less likely to be done in factories however some factories provide facilities for enjoyment between working shifts. In this respect a factory worker mentioned: "I often go dancing at the square, but if I can't because of work I play basketball between my working shifts in the factory".

Passive leisure activities, like sleeping, watching TV or movies, reading and surfing the internet are often mentioned by the respondents, but the place where these activities happen varies. Sleeping happens obviously at home, but reading and surfing the internet are activities that will also be held at other locations. Reading for example is not only done at home; several migrants go to libraries and bookshops to do readings, because according to them it has a nice atmosphere. In this respect a migrant worker argued: "The atmosphere in the bookstore is good, it is really quiet and relaxing." But there might be other factors and underlying reasons why migrants don't tend to do activities at home. It seems migrants prefer to do activities outside rather than at *home*. What does home mean for these migrants? In order to say something about this, an analysis is done on the *living conditions* of the migrant workers.

Blue collar workers		
Category	Activity	Frequency
Active Sports	Dancing	3
	Skating	5
	Basketball	2
	Badminton	5
	Climbing the mountain	10
	Cycling/biking	2
	Swimming	1
	Gym	1
	Jogging	1
	Walking in the city	2
Games	Play electronic games	1
	KTV-karaoke	3
	Play cards	1
	Pool/billiards	2
	Sand painting	1
Performance/ charity	Voluntary work	2
	Singing	2
Others	Dinner/party	6
	Attending class/course	1
	Visiting festival	1
	Cooking	1
	(Window) Shopping	5
Passive	Sleeping	2
	Watching TV	3
	Reading	5
	Surfing the internet	9
	Chatting	1
	Watch scenery	2
	Hanging around the square	5
	Play with kids	1
Total	86	

White collar workers		
Category	Activity	Frequency
Active Sports	Dancing	6
	Skating	4
	Basketball	4
	Badminton	3
	Climbing the mountain	6
	Swimming	2
	Gym	1
	Motorcycling racing	1
	Walking in the city	2
	Games	Play electronic games
KTV-karaoke		10
Play cards		1
Pool/billiards		1
Play majiang		1
Play chess		3
Performance/ charity	Voluntary work	4
	Singing	4
	Music performance	1
	Sell products	1
Others	Play piano	1
	Dinner/party	8
	Clubbing	3
	Birthday party	1
	Attending class/course	3
Passive	Studying	2
	(Window) Shopping	6
	Travelling/visiting	4
	Sleeping	3
	Watching TV	1
	Reading	9
	Surfing the internet	12
	Chatting	1
Listen music	1	
Watching movies	2	
Hanging around the square	2	
Watch scenery	1	
Going park	2	
Total	119	

Table 2. List of actual leisure activities (own findings, 2013)

7.1 Dormitories

The dormitories are owned and provided by factories, which suggests that the migrants living in these dormitories are employees of these factories. To be even more clear: only if you are an employee of such a factory, you have the possibility to live in a dormitory. It doesn't mean that only blue collar workers live in the dormitories, however this is the biggest part of the employees using this type of housing. In this research six blue and two white collar workers are currently living in a dormitory provided by their work. The two white collar workers are a clerk and an administrative manager (int 12, 13). The respondents who live in a dormitory don't directly see living in a dormitory as rather negative, but when looking at the leisure activities of these migrant workers, we can see that they hardly do any activities 'at home'. However they didn't speak about it directly, it sometimes seemed that they felt limited by the place itself. These migrants do mainly activities like basketball, skating and dancing in public places, for example on the Labour Square. The activities of which you have the opportunity to do at home, for example reading, watching TV or chatting with friends are hardly done at the dormitory. The migrants seem to 'escape' the dormitory as much as possible. These migrant workers don't surf the internet at home but rather go to internet cafés. A plausible explanation can be found in consumption differences: the new generation migrants is, according to Wang (2012) more individualistic. This individualism can be found in, what Kilroy (2008) calls, consumption. Migrants are nowadays more likely to buy electronic and fashion products. Those migrants going to internet cafés are, in all probability, not completely part of this consumerism idea: they probably don't have a computer at home. This idea of consumerism might be plausible, but another explanation can be 'the meaning of home'. For migrants living in dormitories, the dormitory seems to be a place to sleep, not a place to live. In this respect it might be assumed that migrants go to the internet café to be at least not in the dormitory. The latter explanation is also subscribed by other activities they are doing for example they like to walk through the city or go to the Labour square and watch others play (int 8,9,11). They also never meet friends, others than colleagues, at the dormitory. When having dinner with these friends, they go somewhere else like a restaurant or BBQ-place (int 8). For this type of migrants, not only the Labour Square, but (semi-)public space in general must be seen as places to meet others and facilities to escape the living conditions of the dormitory for a while. So in fact most of their leisure time is spend in public or semi-public places like internet cafés, libraries and bookshops. However, not every respondent living in a dormitory directly complains or talks about their living conditions in a negative way, but according to their intrahome leisure patterns it doesn't seem that a dormitory is a common place to spend leisure time.

7.2 Rented housing

Some migrant workers are able to escape the poor living conditions in the dormitories by finding a rented house (Int 14, 21,22,23). When talking about housing they automatically speak about the poor conditions they faced at the time they were living in the dormitories (Int 14,22). Although living in a dormitory is relatively cheap compared to a rented house, the respondents who replaced the dormitory for an own rented house argue living in a dormitory is 'inconvenient' because you have to share the same small room with several others and the noisy environment makes it hard to sleep well. Now they rent a house which they found by billboards or to a less extent by colleagues and friends who advices them to find some cheap rent housing. The activities they are doing are mainly 'extrahome' activities as well. These can be sports like basketball, skating or biking, but also climbing the mountain is popular. The passive leisure activities they mention are more often done at home. They tend to read books, watch TV and surf the internet at home which is sometimes a daily activity. One of the respondents says she cooks every day and sometimes with friends (int 23). Note that this quote is not representative, but it is just another example of how people see their *home*. For these people their home is also a place to spend their leisure time and invite friends, rather than just a place to sleep. In our sample the biggest part of these migrants belongs to the group of blue collar workers. We can explain this in the first place by the opportunity to live in a dormitory. Like already mentioned, this is only possible when working for a factory. Most of the employees working in factories are blue collar workers. Secondly the ability to make progression on the social ladder and change from a blue collar job to a white collar job still seems to be limited. Besides the migrants who could escape the dormitory, there are also migrants in our sample who didn't speak about their previous living circumstances, but at the moment rent a room themselves. All migrants in the latter sample are white collar workers, of which the biggest part is male. Their educational level varies, but the biggest part is lower educated. When looking at their leisure activities, most of them are still done outside their room. Dancing, karaoke, performances and climbing the mountain are herein kind of obvious. Reading and using the internet are common passive activities. Some migrants do these activities at home (int 4,5,6,16,32)but others prefer to do these activities in bookshops or internet cafes (int 15,29,34). Another activity is have dinner with friends or family, which is often done at a friends' place for some reason (int 16,28,29,32,34). None of the respondents with exception of one (int 23) spoke about inviting friends at their own place. It might be still inconvenient to spend leisure time at their own place. This probably has to do with the size of some of the rooms. Within this group of *renters* we might conclude that compared to migrants living in dormitories, passive leisure activities are more often done at home, especially activities done individually, like watching TV, using the internet and reading. Apparently the rooms are not convenient enough to meet people

frequently at home. This is reflected by the dinners migrants have with friends. However there are some places, people call home, which are convenient enough to hold these activities.

7.3 Shared rented housing

There is another group of migrant workers who share a house, living together with friends or family members. Why do migrants live together with family or with friends rather than on their own? The reason of living together has several explanations. The first explanation is just about a *choice* to live together in which the biggest advantage contains: sharing the costs. Living with a child and husband (int 38) or living with three friends from the same hometown (int 37) are herein examples in which the respondent shares the rent with others. Sharing the same house with his sister and her husband, who both work for his own company (int 27) might be a slightly different situation, however the rent is shared, it also shows that this person is supporting others. On the other side of this story we can also find migrants living together with friends or family, but who we can describe as *dependent*. These migrants rely on the support people give them. Family members are the most important people who give the support to these migrant workers. Within the Chinese culture it is kind of obvious to support family members if they need so. However, others rely on the support of good friends. They (temporary) live at their friends place and these migrants can't rely on the direct support of family, but this is only because they don't have family members living here (int 24, 25,31). When making a distinction between blue and white collar workers, we see they are both represented in the sample of this research. The supporting migrants, who share their own house are white collar workers and can be described as kind of successful in their work, a bit older and higher educated. They have their own business (int 27), or have a prominent job in a factory (int 38). The group of dependent migrants exists of both blue and white collar workers and can be described as low educated, relatively young and sometimes unemployed.

Considering the leisure time spend by this group of migrants, living with others, the activities are mainly described as extrahome and is even more visible among blue collar workers. Some of them tend to show similarities with the migrants living in dormitories. They spend their time often by walking or hanging around (int 10, 31), surf the internet in netbars (int 31, 37) and read in a bookstore (int 31). Others don't really talk about the place they are doing these activities, but in general they tend to do way more activities outside than at home.

Among white collar workers this is kind of the same. Although they sometimes read books and surf the internet at home (int 17, 27), meeting friends often happens in restaurants or in the park (Int 24, 27, 30). An explanation might be the presence of 'roommates'. The meaning of *home* for these

migrants is again different than those who rent a house themselves. It is more a place to sleep, maybe just because of the presence of roommates. For the migrants described as *depend* category of migrants home means a (temporary) place to stay, they are probably happy with the support and don't want to bother the one who helped them.

The relation between the duration of stay and the living conditions has not always the same explanation. When asking the migrants about the people they knew when they arrived in the city, most of them came up with 'a couple'. Those people are relatives, family members or people from their hometown. When migrants get a job in a factory, they are able to find a place to stay in the dormitory. If they find another job, they have to find a house themselves, which can be difficult for young people who are new in the city. These friends, family and relatives can be the solution in this respect. Some just arrived in Da Lang and only knew a couple of people. In the meantime they got to know more people, but it is still limited (int 10,17). Migrants who are almost a year in Da Lang knew only a couple of people as well, but now they know way more people in the area (int 25, 30). As we can see in table 3 below, there are also people living with friends and family members even when they are already quite a while in Da Lang.

	Living conditions						
duration of stay	dormitory	dormitory, former rent	rent	rent, former dormitory	unknown	with friends/family	total
< 1 year	4	1	4		1	5	15
1 – 3 years	2		3	1		2	8
> 3 years	1		8	3	1	3	16
Total	7	1	15	4	2	10	39

Table 3. Living condition related to duration of stay (own findings, 2013)

7.4 Summary

Among the migrant workers in Da Lang it is usual to spend most of their leisure time outside, whether this is at the Labour Square or not. Considering the passive leisure activities like watching TV, using the internet and reading books, it is not that obvious to do these activities at home. Over all, blue collar workers tend to do more of these *intrahome* activities in semi-public places like netbars, bookstores or (book)shops. The living conditions partly influences the place where activities will be done. Blue collar workers are more likely to live in dormitories compared to white collar workers, which has to do with the type of factories: they simply employ more blue collar workers.

The living conditions, described by those formally lived in dormitories and now renting their own room, leads to a specific meaning of home : a place to sleep. As a consequence the migrants living in dormitories prefer to spend their leisure time outside the dormitory. Migrants living in a rented house, but together with others show some similarities with those living in a dormitory, especially the blue collar workers within this group. Migrants renting a room or house on their own have another meaning of home. Although inviting friends or family to have dinner at their own place is still rare, activities like reading books, watching TV and surfing the internet are more often done at home. Most of these migrants are white collar workers. For them, *home* is also a place where they can spend a part of their leisure time. In short, the living conditions of migrants in Da Lang are a plausible explanation for the limited intrahome activities. Migrants who live in dormitories, provided by their work are more influenced than those renting their own apartment, the *work* can (indirectly) be of influence on the limited intrahome leisure activities.

8. Actual extrahome leisure activities

The previous chapter shows that migrant workers in Da Lang tend to do way more leisure activities outside, even if the activity itself could be carried out easily at home, like reading or using the internet. That respondents tell that they don't spend a lot of their leisure activities at home, might not come as a big surprise when walking around at Labour Square in the late afternoon: people gather together at the square. Some of them are watching TV-series on the big screen, others are doing skating practices. People are playing badminton and many people are watching the others play. By observing the people at the square they can be classified in several types of people. They all come to the same square but they don't have the same purpose to be there. The different reasons why migrants come to the square automatically means that the square, as form of public space, can be seen as a servant, which has different functions in order to fulfil people's needs.

8.1 Enjoyment

The biggest part of the respondents does leisure activities just for fun or because they just like the activity itself. For some of these migrants their work is also their passion: being a piano teacher in a music shop is not only his profession, but he also sees it as his hobby: He has leisure time besides his work but actually he feels that his work is very fun, it's very relaxing and fun for him to do this work (int 6). Furthermore *enjoyment* is reflected by various types of sports like playing basketball, badminton, dancing or skating. The frequency of these activities varies from every day to once a month and are often done at the Labour Square, also because the square provides the opportunities

to do these kind of activities. There are basketball courts at the side of the square, there is some space for badminton fields at another side, but skating and dancing happens more often at the square itself. Almost all migrants do at least one type of sport, but there are several migrants who mentioned several kind of sports and can be characterized as 'sportsmanlike'. Most of the activities done by migrants are for free or cost little money because of travelling costs. In this respect 'climbing the mountain' itself is for free, but to get there they have to buy a bus ticket for example. There are also activities which cost way more money than skating, playing basketball, reading and surfing the internet, but despite the costs there are still some migrants who tend to do these activities for leisure, whether on a regular basis or not. In this part we only include activities which directly cost (more) money than other activities. Shopping is often mentioned as activity, although we have to make a distinction between those who do window-shopping and those who actually buy clothes. Other activities are karaoke at the KTV and going to restaurants or bars. These kind of activities are done several times a month. When looking at the types of migrants who actually do these kind of *more expensive* activities, the biggest part can be characterized as white collar worker and among these white collar workers their working hours and especially the flexibility of their working hours are important.

8.2 Direct self-cultivation

Besides that the square and other public spaces are places to relax, enjoy and entertain, there also seems to be a demand for stages to let migrants develop themselves. The migrant workers don't tend to do this in the same way. Those who are eager to develop themselves can be divided into two categories: *theoretical improvement* and *practical improvement*. The former category can be characterized as those who like to develop themselves by reading books and attending classes or courses in order to gain more knowledge about specific topics. The latter can be explained by developing practical skills like organizing or communication skills; a way of self-cultivation which can be called: learning by doing.

8.2.1 Theoretical improvement by attending classes

White collar workers seem to be more likely to follow courses and classes, however the number of migrants in this sample who are actually attending courses and classes is rather limited. The types of classes are very divers. One respondent is organizing lectures once every two months. These lectures are provided by the voluntary organization and he puts the information of the lectures online (int 3). Others are attending management classes (int 9,12). One of them attends such a class three times a week for two hours a day. She feels good since she entered the class, it helped her to increase her

confidence and self-esteem (int 9). Another interviewee is trying to become a tour guide, he is getting retrained. He has a high school diploma and is now trying to get his tour guide license at a bachelor level. He does this because of the growing opportunities in this sector and he can meet many people. He argues the tourism business has a bright future in Shenzhen. The people who attend his course are adults of different ages and different professions (int 15). The people who are attending these kind of knowledge enriching courses have a low or medium level of education, which is on average in this research. When looking at their professions it can be concluded that they all work for bigger companies (manufacturer in an electronic factory, a salesman security devices, an administrator in an electronic factory, a publicist in a non-profit organization and a clerk in a factory). Within the group of blue collar workers this is not surprising, because everybody characterized as blue collar worker, is working for one of the factories in Da Lang. Because the group of white collar workers shows much more diversity in professions, it can be concluded that those working for big firms are more likely to attend classes and courses. Neither the age or the duration of stay seem herein of relevance. Both young and older migrants attend courses and also migrants who recently came to Da Lang are able to attend these forms of education.

8.2.2 Theoretical improvement by reading

Another way to accumulate knowledge is reading books or self study. The latter is hardly mentioned, but reading books in order to get a career started or accumulate knowledge is kind of similar. Reading books is a common activity among both blue and white collar workers in Da Lang. The blue collar workers who read books tend to do this for relaxation and to calm down. They read cartoons, fiction, or about topics that interests them, like history, geography or cooking (int 10, 14, 22, 31,35) . Sometimes reading can lead to new activities or topics of interests or activities, like travelling (int22). The future perspective of these migrants varies. There are blue collar workers who are not eager to develop themselves and they don't mention the will to attend courses (int 10, 22, 31), but this doesn't mean they are not able to get a better job. An example herein is a manufacturing worker, doing heavy and dirty work (int 22) but who is now going to work as a manager for the company of his brother.

Although it was not often found in this research sample, there are some blue collar workers in Da Lang like the following example (int 9), a woman working in a factory, likes to read every day about mental health. This helps her to get more confident and to be a good speaker. She is also already attending management classes to improve her confidence and self-esteem. By doing this and with the help of classmates for example she thinks she can get into a higher socio-economic class. The

white collar workers in this sample didn't really talk about the topics they like to read. Only one respondent (int 17) talks about reading novels. She is not really eager to develop herself at all. She is more focused on deepening her (for now) superficial contacts. Main difference with the blue collar workers is that some of the respondents faced several steps in their career and already developed themselves (Int 16, 21, 27).



Photo 7. Education: School teacher preparing lessons at primary school (own collection, 2013)

8.2.3 Practical improvement

Reading and attending classes is not the only way that can lead to self-cultivation. Some migrants mentioned the importance of other leisure activities that can contribute to improving particular skills. In this respect a woman who runs a restaurant close to the Labour Square told that playing majiang can improve her calculating skills (int 26). However it is not the main reason for doing this activity she sees it as a happy coincidence. A second example is the improvement of *social* skills, for example by selling umbrellas, hats or (sun)glasses with friends (int 7). By doing this he says he can develop his selling skills which he has to use for his work as a salesman for a fitness club: when doing a better job, he will earn more money and get more credits from his boss. Another example in this respect is joining the voluntary organization in order to improve social skills. Voluntary work in Da Lang is not always directly visible, however the voluntary station at the Labour Square and its volunteers show its existence. These volunteers help older people by cleaning their houses, they guide people in the metro stations and they organize fund raisings for people in need, like those affected by the earthquake in Sichuan this year. They also provide information, like fire prevention at home. By attending activities organized by the voluntary organization migrants can develop their communication, organizing and executing skills (int 3). The previous described activities are done by the migrants because they directly profit from the activities they are doing, however it is sometimes

not the main reason to do the activity at first. This difference between the guy selling goods and the woman playing majiang can be found in the reason to do the activity. Is developing skills with such an activity a happy coincidence or a purpose. Another example that subscribes this idea: some migrant workers are trying to improve their instrumental skills (int 4,6,17). The girl in interview 17 is playing the piano at a piano agency and she is practicing herself. She is doing this for relaxation and for fun; the intension is not to become a famous piano player. In contradiction the guitar teacher (int 4) and the owner of a music store (int 6) play instruments because of their jobs, but also do it for fun. They rehearse once a week and perform every week at the Labour square, which can contribute to gain publicity so they are also aware of the importance to practice.

8.3 Meeting people

Being together with friends or colleagues and meeting other people is often mentioned by the migrant workers and for some of the blue and white collar workers it is even the main reason to do leisure activities. Some migrants told that they are really eager to meet *new* people and broaden their social network because of the work they are doing. This is more often seen among white collar workers. Within the group of white collar workers, only men can be found who have a low or medium level of education. The attitude to meet new people can be seen in the same line as the previous chapter about practical improvement, but this should be seen as an *indirect* advantage. For some of their professions *being successful* is mainly based on *contacts*. This phenomenon can be illustrated by music performances at the Labour Square for example (int 4,6). These musicians need publicity in order to be more famous and get in touch with other musicians. Other examples are the salesman for a fitness club (int 7), another salesman for security devices (int 15) who is trying to become a tour guide, a purchaser of frames for mobile phones (int 32) and to a less extent the PR manager in logistics (int 16). They all have jobs for which it is an advantage to know many people and have social skills. In this respect the salesman of security devices argued: "Meeting people is very important. You will be able to communicate with different types of people and you can learn from different people with different careers." (int 15). Because work and leisure is interrelated for the musicians (int 4, 6) they often do activities at the music shop which is located at the edge of the Labour square. The salesman for the fitness club also meets new people by selling goods on a carpet. These activities are specifically done by these migrants with the purpose to meet new people and to improve skills. The duration of stay varies from one month until seven years. The salesman for the fitness club has just arrived in Da Lang and also the barbers apprentice has only been in Da Lang for one year. They both seems to be active in getting to know people and the latter shows that within a year they are able to get to know many people. So just arriving in the city might at the moment be a

constraint, but the work they are doing stimulates them to communicate with others and get to know more people, it is necessary for the job they are doing. This group of white collar workers exists mainly of small entrepreneurs, musicians and teachers. Other activities for example sports like basketball and badminton, doing voluntary work, hanging around the square or climbing the mountain are for other white collar workers the main stages to get to know more people. These activities are not directly related to the work they do, but can help them to broaden their network. Especially white collar workers working for bigger companies with professions like purchasers, salesmen and PR are more likely to get to know more people in this way. The explanation between these two manners to get to know more people has to do with the types of professions. For some professions it is important to know many people, or the right people, within its own niche. Think hereby of musicians who like to know famous and better artists or teachers who like to know more other teachers and students to teach. Other professions, like purchasers and PR managers are less dependent on their own niche, but know as many different people as possible, which can lead to more opportunities for the company they work for.

Also several blue collar workers mentioned *meeting people* is the main reason to do activities, which exists of a group of both men and women. They are more likely to be low educated and are, with the exception of one man of 33, all below the age of 23. Their duration of stay is pretty low in general, fluctuating between 1,5 months and 3 years. None of the blue collar workers mentioned that meeting new people is job related. The blue collar workers who are relatively new in the district are mainly eager to know new people, but in contradiction with some white collar workers, their jobs are not stimulating this process. They don't know many people now and want to make friends (int 8, 39), while others want to maintain friendship. They do activities and meet their friends which can be an emotional outlet for example (int 19). Please note that the latter reason is also happening among white collar workers. The setting in which the migrants in general see their friends varies. Some of the migrants do activities like skating, badminton, (window)shopping, singing, dancing and climbing the mountain together with friends. Climbing the mountain is popular and an activity done on a regular basis, in general once a month. The activity is low-access because it is relatively close to Da Lang and it cost little money to go there. They take some drinks and food and spend all day having fun with friends or colleagues.



Photos 8 and 9. Climbing the mountain (own collection, 2013)

Another common setting in which migrant workers tend to see their friends or colleagues is having dinner and drinks (int 14). Sometimes this happens in a restaurant or cafés, but more often at a friend's place. They talk, eat and relax. One respondent told about this activity: "Sometimes we organize a whole day. Then the mother of one of my friends will make food and we will chat and eat from 8 am until 10 pm." (Int 16).

These are kind of activities which almost all migrant workers tend to do, however only a couple mentioned meeting friends as a *reason*. For the blue collar workers this could be explained by their living conditions. None of them rents a house on their own and most of these blue collar workers live in the dormitories. Living together with many others and limited privacy could lead to the will to meet your good friends and talk about subjects like emotions, struggles and career, which are private and won't be shared with everyone. That's probably also a reason why some of the migrants meet their friends at the Labour square and talk (i.e. interview, 18). Others meet their friends at the square, just as a meeting point. "I will meet my friends at the square and then we decide where to go and what to do" (int 13).

8.4 Pressure

When talking to migrant workers in Da Lang about their jobs, some of them feel a high pressure on themselves. Facing pressure is not for every migrant worker the same, we can even make a distinction between white and blue collar workers in this respect. The blue collar workers who face pressure all mentioned that the pressure is caused by their job itself (int 11, 22, 23). Their jobs are dirty and dangerous and there is a high working pressure in the factories (int 22). The white collar workers in contradiction don't feel pressure because of the work itself, but because of expectations by others or themselves (int 1, 6, 13, 24, 27) . "I feel ashamed of going back to my hometown without

a career or any money" (int 13) or "I want to earn money, there's a lot of pressure to make money for family, parents and themselves: to raise the child, buy the house. I want to save money for the family..." (Int 6). Others face pressure because they feel responsible about others, like the teacher about her students (int 2). The pressure is not caused by the work itself, but on their ambitions. "There is a pressure to make a living" (int 1). The latter form of pressure is less likely to be felt among blue collar workers, they are directly influenced by their work. Although it must be said that not all migrant workers in this sample talk about pressure, quite some migrants freely talked about it. The way migrants deal with this *pressure* is also different. We can roughly divide these migrants into two groups and in which the personal characteristics are not really of relevance: we can distinguish those who counter this pressure from those who accept and relief pressure. The former group can be more often found among white collar workers, because they feel that the pressure, caused by expectations, can be rebut by making career and self-cultivation. Not only by readings, educational activities or leisure activities like basketball, badminton and dancing, but more often by talking with others. An example can be found in interview 13, he is eager to communicate with others, he will talk to his boss for example about business skills or owning a company. Another guy talks a lot with his friends about career and opportunities and not about current jobs. His friends can be very critical and sorely which helps him to improve himself (int 16). The English teacher is trying to improve her teaching skills by spending even *more* time with her students (int 2). This group of migrants who try to encounter the pressure are more likely to be found among white collar workers. The explanation is probably that they are more likely to know people with various socio economic backgrounds; those who are unemployed or earn little money, but also those who are really successful and own a company. They are therefore more likely to see opportunities in becoming successful as well, but this has also to do with the reason to come to the city: they tend to be more *career minded*, as one of the prototypes Hu (2012) described.

8.5 Relaxation

When walking around the Labour Square it seems that not everybody is always eager to meet new people and or do activities. The term *relaxation* is often mentioned as the main reason to do activities. These migrants are both white and blue collar workers and with the age of twenty-five years old the average age of these migrants is a bit above the average of the sample as a whole. There are also more men than women who do leisure activities to relax but *relaxation* has not the same meaning and especially the way how migrant workers get relaxed is different. Some of the migrant workers speak more in terms of *calming down or relief stress*. These migrants also feel pressure like those in the previous section, but instead of countering the pressure, they try to relief

this pressure by doing activities (int 11,22,23,24,27). They most of the time do extrahome activities. Most of these migrants don't rent their own apartment, but live together with others. Those who rent their own apartment, lived in a dormitory before. What do these migrants do to relief the pressure? Sometimes is just being together with friends enough. They talk (int 11) and drink (int 24) to relief stress. They don't talk about work or sometimes even don't meet colleagues: working is working (int 24). Others talk about children and husbands (int 11). So sometimes they strictly separate work from their social life. Another respondent likes to barbeque or goes to the park and meet friends over there (int 27). Doing sports like basketball and badminton are also activities frequently done by migrants, climbing the mountain is an activity done generally once a month. All these activities described above are often done with (good) friends to relax, these migrants apparently also mean: *being in a comfortable social environment*.

Some other migrants didn't talk about pressure at all (int 7,12,14,19,20,21) but their main reason to do activities is still to relax. *Relaxation* has another meaning in this respect and it tends to be more like *having fun*. These migrants are again both blue and white collar workers, although among the white collar workers it is less likely to work for the bigger companies. They do different kind of sports, of which skating and badminton are the most popular. Shopping is also quite often mentioned as well as going to the KTV and have dinner with friends. With friends they can chat and have fun. They catch up and talk about family and private situations, but also about opportunities, jobs and future perspectives which is different compared with those who face pressure. Also for this subgroup of migrant workers the term *relaxation* seems to go hand in hand with doing activities with *friends*. The place where they meet their friends varies. A friend's place is a common place to meet them, but sometimes they go to (semi-) public places. Examples are a KTV or shopping areas, restaurants or the mountains. Another common place to meet is Labour Square. Sometimes people just meet each other, sometimes they will do activities together.



Photo 10. Migrant workers watching others play (own collection, 2013)

The previous section described migrants and the activities they are doing in order to relax. The activities are those done together with friends, but there are also activities which are often done alone. You can see that there are many people just sitting under the trees at the borders of Labour Square and watch other people play. The free-listing method showed another result considering leisure activities. There are some passive leisure activities, done outdoor, which are frequently mentioned among migrant workers. Activities like *having a walk, go to the park, sitting at the square* and in some cases *sleeping* are done on a regular basis. Notice that for most migrants these kind of activities only reflect a *part* of their leisure time, which means that besides these forms of passive leisure activities, migrants do a variety of (more active) activities. This is subscribed by the activity '*sleeping*' which is mentioned a couple of times. In this respect sleeping must be seen as *sleeping until late or more than usual*. The migrants who mentioned sleeping by free-listing are all women and some of them say that they just like to sleep. These migrants are in general less sportsmanlike for example. They tend to do dancing sometimes, but all other activities are more considered as passive rather than active. It is hereby not said that these women have nothing to do during the day. Two of them have a child of young age which means most of their leisure time is spend on their children. One of these women is unemployed but actively working as a volunteer for 50 hours a week. Another women is an English teacher, who seems to be very passionate about her work. Last but not least one girl is selling clothes, six days a week. So a preference for sleeping until late must be seen as a moment of relaxation because of all other things that have to be done during the week. The activity *hanging around the square* is not only often seen when walking around Labour Square, but it is also mentioned by the migrants themselves. Migrants just sit at the borders of the Labour Square on the small walls made of stone. These migrants are most of the time considered as blue collar workers working in the main factories in Da Lang, but those who are considered as white collar workers are also working for bigger companies. Both men and women tend to do this activity and their age varies between nineteen and twenty-seven years old, so they are not particularly older. Most remarkable about these migrant workers is that they are not participating in other activities at the square. They sometimes expect that the people who do other activities at the square are not of the same age which is the main reason not to join activities like skating. This can also be a reason to do activities elsewhere, like at other playgrounds in the district (int 19,24). The frequency of this activities varies since some of the migrants told they go there quite often, others less frequent.

8.6 Summary

The reason to do particular leisure activities or behaviour that migrant workers show regarding several phenomena can often be derived from the work people do. *Work* seems to be of influence on leisure. This chapter shows that public places and semi-public places like bars and restaurants fulfil various functions for people at the same time. Labour Square can be a place where people do a variety of activities just for fun, but the square can be an important meeting spot, a place to relief stress or improve skills as well. The reasons to do particular activities can sometimes be derived from the work migrants do. By attending activities like skating, badminton, dancing but also having dinner together people can catch up with each other and maintain their friendship, but they also talk about opportunities, career, work and for some migrants even more important: personal subjects. Besides that migrant workers are able to maintain friendship, these (semi-)public places are places to get to know *more* people. The latter is mainly done by people who just arrived in the district or by those migrants for whom it is an advantage to know many people because of their job. The latter is mainly found among white collar workers and could again be an explanation why migrants don't tend to do activities at home. The social networks between blue and white collar workers are different. Blue collar workers are more likely to meet people with the same socio-economic background. White collar workers will meet people with various socio-economic backgrounds, which has sometimes to do with the type of work they do. The way migrants deal with stress or pressure and where this pressure actually comes from is another phenomenon found which also leads to another function of public space. Some migrants who face pressure, whether caused by their work or by expectations, go to Labour Square to watch others and relief pressure. Other migrants want to counter this pressure by self-cultivation or talking to others. Another way work seems to be involved in leisure patterns is for example by flexible working hours. Those who are less flexible with working hours, are less likely to go, for example, karaoke frequently compared to those who are flexible. For blue collar workers flexibility in working hours cannot be found, therefore white collar workers are more likely to go often. Being flexible in working hours is not only an advantage for themselves, but more often for those they are going with and again the working sector is herein important. Although work influences the actual leisure activities of migrant workers, to what extent can it be a barrier in desired activities?

9. Leisure constraints

The activities migrant workers are doing, but even more the reason why they do these activities in Da Lang shows a lot of variety. Fun, meeting people, relief stress and self-cultivation are herein the main reasons to do activities. This research not only focuses on the actual leisure activities of migrant workers in Da Lang, but also on the constraints they face. They might prefer to do other leisure activities, but they are not able to do so, because of whatever reason. For this research the free-listing method is done. The respondents were asked to mark the activities they would like to do, but they can't do at the moment. During the interview the respondents were asked to explain the constraint as much as possible. In order to say something useful about the differences in constraints this research will analyze the main desired activities. The list of activities mentioned by white collar workers is way longer than the list created by the blue collar workers. On the one hand this has probably to do with the number of white collar workers in this sample, but on the other hand it seems that the desire to do *new* activities is slightly more likely among white collar workers. With *new* activities, the activities which are not already mentioned in the list of actual leisure activities are meant. Migrants who want to do particular activities more often, face constraints because of time, rather than lack of money. These activities listed are both passive activities like surfing the internet, watching movies/TV, readings or rest and all kind of active activities like sports. The desire to do these activities more often is both subscribed by blue and white collar workers.

9.1 Time and money

When talking about constraints, time and money are most often mentioned. Time can be related to the working hours and therefore work seems to be a constraint. But especially having fixed hours can be a constraint. In an extreme example a skater coach only works four hours a day, but all his desired leisure activities are done during his working hours which are fixed (int 5). Time constraints are sometimes also related to others and therefore to the social network migrants have. White collar workers have way more variety in the people they consider as friends compared to blue collar workers. The latter group mainly knows people with a similar social background, especially in the work they do, while white collar workers know people with various social backgrounds. Being flexible in working hours also means that you are able to adapt to the working hours of others. Since flexibility is more likely to be found among white collar workers, these migrants are less likely to face time constraints from this perspective.

What most of the migrants in general would like to do is travelling. This activity is often mentioned as desirable, but not possible at the moment, because of lack of money. Travelling is expensive, however it depends where you would like to go. Some of them want to travel abroad and see places all around the world, while others would like to travel within China. Within China there is some variety in the places migrants want to travel to as well. Some of them want to visit other provinces or want to travel along the Great Wall. Others would like to do city trips within the Guangdong province and want to do regular sightseeing. All these kinds of travelling are included in this analysis. For almost all migrants travelling is a 'new' activity, since *travelling* is rarely mentioned by migrants in the previous part of the free-listing, which is about their actual leisure activities. This supports the assumption that *travelling* is a desired but not a really accessible activity. When making the distinction between blue and white collar workers both groups face money and time constraints if they have the desire to travel. The distance to the desired destination doesn't really matter. The blue collar workers who would like to travel, but face money constraints don't have many other activities they like to do, while white collar workers are more likely to have other desires. This group of blue collar workers are those who would like to travel but don't have a job at the moment, or they earn too little money to travel around. Blue collar workers in general talk about long distances of travelling and in most of the cases about travelling abroad, but they just can't go there because of lack of money. This is also the case for white collar workers but their money constraints can also be explained as a choice. Although for some white collar workers it is a lack of money, for others travelling is a desire, but they prefer to invest in their own future first. These white collar workers are working for bigger companies or have their own company. They prefer to invest in their future. In this respect someone told he would like to travel but he also wants to enlarge his firm and make more money (int 27). This is also the case for a restaurant owner (int 26) and the owner of a music shop (int 6). Others are working for bigger companies. A respondent told that it would be a waste to spend money and time on travelling now because of his young age (int 16). "Money talks" as another respondent argued, so he needs to make money first and if he has enough money, he would go travelling abroad (int 24).

So for travelling money seems to be a big constraint, but the explanation of this constraint can be different, especially among the white collar workers in this sample. That the ability to spend money is necessary for doing activities like travelling is obvious, so being employed is (in general) required. Like one of the respondents told: Travelling was my main leisure activity. "I travelled around Shenzhen and explored the whole city with friends. I want to travel to Guangzhou, but because of my former job I couldn't travel far away. Now I am unemployed and don't have the money to do so" (int 28). This respondent reflects how migrants have to deal with constraints; it seems to be

contradictory. Like already showed, money is important for travelling, therefore being employed is more or less required, but this example shows that being employed also means that you are limited in the time you can spend on travelling. Many migrants therefore argue that money is not the only constraint considering travelling, but time is sometimes even more important to take into account as shown in the tables 4 and 5 below.

Money	Collar		
	Blue	White	Total
No	8	7	15
yes, choices	0	3	3
yes, no job	3	1	4
yes, not clear	2	2	4
yes, salary	3	10	13
Total	16	23	39

Table 4. Frequency of money constraint (own findings)

Time	Collar		
	Blue	white	Total
No	4	3	7
yes, kids	1	0	1
yes, unclear	3	2	5
yes, work	8	18	26
Total	16	23	39

Table 5. Frequency of time constraint (own findings)

This is the case for almost all migrant workers, both blue and white collar workers, who would like to travel around. What are the other activities desired by migrant workers, in which money and time are big constraints? When having more money blue collar workers told they would do activities like watching movies in a cinema which is too expensive now (int 20). Another respondent would do charity projects like donating money to poor people (int 10) or go to Sichuan to help people in need who just survived the earthquake (int 31). Attending dancing classes or technology classes is rare among the blue collar workers, but mentioned (int 14). It is too expensive to attend classes. Not only for blue collar workers *attending classes* is too expensive: white collar workers face even more often the same constraint since many migrants desire to do activities which are related to self-cultivation. Like the blue collar workers who read for fun, want to follow some educational courses to improve their knowledge but they face some constraints of money (int 14) or time (int 35) to attend them. These courses can be in line with their current job, by following a technical class (int 14) or for another job perspective, like cosmetics (int 35).

9.2 Facilities

Although the biggest part of the respondents didn't speak about the facilities as a constraint, there are many migrant workers who do and of which most of them can be considered as white collar worker. As shown in the previous part educational activities are highly desired among white collar workers and also some blue collar workers feel the desire to attend classes in whatever subject. In table 6 below we can see that there are different explanations for the constraint *facility*. In the first place this might have to do with the availability of particular facilities.

Facilities	Collar		
	Blue	white	Total
No	12	11	23
yes, availability	1	9	10
yes, expensive	1	2	3
yes, proximity	2	1	3
Total	16	23	39

Table 6. Facilities mentioned as a constraint (own findings, 2013)

The biggest part of those migrants who face facility constraints argue it has to do with the availability of the required facilities. It mainly has to do with educational activities, as already shown in the previous part. Many argued that there is no such organization to provide classes in sales management, regular management, but also dancing classes or Spanish language (int 13,15, 24, 26,27). Another respondent argued that the quality of the facilities is not good enough (int 16).

Almost all white collar workers who do readings are eager for self-cultivation, including some of those who already made some steps in their career. They want to follow courses or attend classes, but they also face constraints to do so (Int 12, 13,16,27, 32). These constraints are mainly related to a lack of facilities or the quality of the existing facilities. With respect to the former case a respondent told that: "he wants to learn something, especially on how to become successful: working skills that will help him to find a better job, like management skills. He is willing to take lessons, but there is no organization that can provide this." (int 13). The respondent of interview 27 subscribes the absence of these type of facilities: He wants to improve his sales management but he didn't find a place yet to do so. Not taking lessons can be explained by the absence of the required facilities, sometimes it is argued that people can't afford it to take lessons, because the facilities are too expensive or the wages too low (int 32). Some of the respondents don't argue directly that there are no facilities to fulfill the need of education, but for them the quality of the available courses is too poor. "I want to

attend a class to learn more about logistics. The facilities to provide these classes are poor. I want to achieve more information and knowledge but it is hard to find a good quality of classes" (Int 16) .

So far only the migrant workers who told us to read and/or attend courses during their leisure time, are described, but there are also migrant workers who are not able to improve their knowledge at the moment, but they are really eager to do so. Most of these migrants are white collar workers who like to improve their educational level. They don't speak about the lack of facilities in general, but more about time and money constraints (int 24,26,29,30). Especially management classes seems to be popular among migrant workers. The lack of facilities can be a constraint caused by the duration of stay, however there is a big variety considering this variable. It can be said that it is kind of obvious that they are not familiar with all facilities in the district three weeks after arrival, but some of the migrants have already been in the district for at least 3 or 4 years. What about those not mentioning the lack of facilities as a constraint? One of the respondents argued time is her biggest constraint (int 29). Because of her work she doesn't have the time to look for the educational opportunities. Others mention time and or money as a constraint. With the knowledge that you don't have enough money to attend classes, maybe you are less likely to search actively for the opportunities as well. Only a few blue collar workers face constraints considering educational trainings, but these constraints are different than those already described. One of the respondents wants to be an air force soldier or a teacher, but he can't because his education level is too low. He blames this on his parents who didn't allow him to go studying. Instead of trying to follow courses he seems to accept the situation he is in now (int 39). Another example shows the will to develop specific skills, but this has nothing to do with knowledge: one respondent wants to learn hip-hop dancing skills, but there is no one who can teach him (int 19). Most of the blue collar workers didn't mention educational activities as activities they want to do, but can't do at the moment by the free-listing method.

So what can we say about the migrants who do activities or would like to do the activities for theoretical improvement? These migrants are in general young (23- years) with a variety in educational level. This group of migrants contains more white collar workers, but keep the numbers of this sample in mind. There are several blue collar workers as well and there seems to be a lot of variety in the duration of stay as well. The living conditions varies, however none of the blue collar workers rents their own house. So most of the personal characteristics are not significant, but this type of migrant workers are really eager to learn, to improve skills and can be characterized as *career minded*, but they also seem to be *aware of the importance of self cultivation*. When looking at the professions of these migrants, almost all of them work for the bigger companies. Blue collar workers have jobs at the production line and white collar workers own a company themselves, work in PR, sales, purchase or administration. So why are some of the migrant workers able to attend courses

and others are not? Being *career minded* seems to be important, otherwise you don't have a strong will to develop yourself in such a way. During the in-depth interview with an employee of the Community Service Centre, this person mentioned the availability of educational courses and what the procedure is considering attending courses. Some of the trainings are provided by the Community Service Centre which is a governmental tier within the voluntary organization, other trainings are directly provided by the government. The latter is certificated, so you will get a valid diploma. Everybody can apply for the courses but there is limited place. Volunteers are favoured in two ways: first, they are the migrants who know the availability of the courses at first. The other migrants might know the presence of the courses by wallpapers in the factories for example. Secondly, the volunteers have a preferred position to attend the courses, as a consequence others can't attend (Interview CSC). It is not said that volunteers always have access to these courses. One respondent who does voluntary work and wants to attend a management class, but he argues there is no organization to provide these classes (int 13). Hereby we might say that the availability of courses, especially at a particular level are limited or unknown. This is reflected by the needs of (especially white collar) migrant workers.

Next to facilities in educational activities, two respondents mentioned the lack of facilities in their dormitories: there is no TV to watch movies or programs or a playground to play basketball (int 12,19). Another argument why facilities can be a constraint is that the facilities which are present are too expensive. This is about attending dancing classes or management classes which are too expensive to attend. The last explanation of facilities as a constraint is the proximity to particular activities. In this case not really activities as well as areas are mentioned to be too far away: at first *downtown Shenzhen* secondly the *sea side*. These two areas are mentioned as too far away.

9.3 Confidence

Dancing at the square and skating are common activities at the Labour square. Migrants have the opportunity to take part in these activities and improve their dancing or skating skills. Still there are many migrants who don't take part in for example this skating or dancing despite their desire to do so. There are several indicators that show this behaviour, something that might be referred to a *lack of confidence*. First some of them expect that they are just *not good enough* to join the group. They say they don't have the skills to be part of the whole group. In this respect a respondent said that she wants to do Tai ji, dancing and hip-hop, but she expects she is not good enough to do it (int 8). Another respondent told she wants to play basketball but she has no skills, so she can't take part at the court (int 12), or she likes dancing, but she expects that she is not good enough to join the group (int 35). So the idea that they have a lack of skills will keep them away from these activities. A second

indicator is something which can be called *stage fright* which is subscribed by the following respondent: she watches others dancing or skating, but she won't participate in it. That's her personality. She doesn't want to 'perform' in front of other people, because she is too shy. The other reason is that she is pregnant (int 18). Another example is a man who told that he really would like to dance, but he is too shy to dance on the square (int 14). Or a woman who likes singing: She has not enough confidence to do it. She said that her voice is not good enough and she is afraid that people laugh at her (int 9). A third indicator, however less frequently mentioned is *support*. In this respect one respondent said that she would like to travel, but she doesn't have time and money or the support of others to do so (int 2).

Dancing and skating are two common activities that seem to be very accessible for all kind of migrants, but there are some migrants who face a lack of confidence to do this activity. This group of migrants includes both blue and white collar workers, however slightly more blue collar workers are represented. These migrants are relatively young with an average age of 20,6 years. All of them are between the age of 17 and 24, with the exception of one (26 years old). Their age could explain their confidence. Related to their age is their duration of stay. On average the migrant workers in this sample have lived in Da Lang for 39 months now, which is more than three years. The migrants who face constraints because of their confidence have only been in Da Lang for 17 months on average, which is basically 1,5 years. The short duration of stay and their young age will probably be the reasons why they feel less confident and not participate in *group activities*. The way these migrants deal with their confidence is different which can be reflected by both the activities they are actually doing and the direct solution they sometimes give in order to make the activity more accessible. At first some of them are really introvert and do activities on their own, others are willing and trying to meet new people. In the latter respect one respondent told he goes climbing the mountains on his own, because he doesn't know a lot of people yet, but he is also doing voluntary work in order to meet more people (int 16). Some of the migrants give a direct solution: they are willing to take lessons but again: there is no such organization or it is too expensive to take lessons (int 12, 14, 29).

9.4 Summary

Just like found in the existing literature money and time are the main constraints in doing particular leisure activities. Since money is a tricky and quite personal issue, it was sometimes hard to figure out what the underlying constraint actually was. Blue and white collar workers seem to face the same constraints and at first sight there hardly seem to be any differences, however the underlying reasons of the constraints do show differences. Money is often a constraint, which has sometimes to do with the level of wages, but for some white collar workers it can also be a choice to spend money

on other things like a company they own. This is less likely to happen among blue collar workers, who face money constraints directly because of work. Time is sometimes even more a constraint however it often seems to be related with money: no job is no money and plenty of time. Being employed means money, but time is limited. Time can also be explained as time-division, which can be derived to the social networks. If schedules of friends don't fit in order to do an activity together, it would be less likely to actually do this activity. White collar workers who are flexible with their work are less likely to face this constraint, since they can freely adapt to others. Blue collar workers are bounded by both their own working shifts and those of their friends, since they most of the time meet people with the same socio-economic background.

Facilities are a third mentioned constraint, which can be reflected by the desire of some migrants to follow educational activities. Main mentioned constraints they face considering facilities are the availability, the quality and the costs to actually attend classes. Those who are already trying to reach self-cultivation are more often complaining about the quality, while others mainly talk about the costs. It must be said that migrants often mentioned a combination of several constraints like both time and money (travelling) or money and facilities (provided classes). Another constraint which has at first sight nothing to do with the working type of migrants can be found among young migrant workers is *confidence*. They don't do particular activities because they don't feel confident enough. These activities are mainly *group activities in public space*, like skating or dancing at the Labour Square. These activities seem to be very easy accessible for everybody, but still young migrants face constraints to actually participate. The latter constraint cannot often be found in literature related to leisure activities and its constraints.

10. Discussion and further research

This chapter tries to put the main findings of this research in the perspective of the district of Da Lang. The 8-8-8 hour program provided by the government shows the growing importance of leisure in Da Lang. The district is in the middle of an economic transition, in which knowledge and services are of growing importance. The presence of a bigger group white collar workers means different demands in leisure activities and also different ways of behaviour, although there still is a big group of migrants working in the bigger factories. White collar workers are more likely to focus on self-cultivation, also because they are more likely to see opportunities. The latter can be reflected by the future perspective of these migrants. Blue collar workers are more likely to *dream* about their future: they also want to have their own company, but the way to get there is unknown. The differences in behaviour between blue and white collar workers from the moment they arrive in Da Lang until they will leave the district, can to a large extent be explained by the work they do. It results for example in different functions of (semi-) public space. Since the group of white collar workers seems to grow in the near future, the focus on their preferences would be a recommendation.

10.1 District of Da Lang for migrants

The local government is trying to keep the migrant workers in Da Lang, but it seems this will be a tough challenge. The main purpose to be in a district like Da Lang is, despite the working type, work and earning money. From all respondents only a few mentioned they would like to stay, because they had *a sense of belonging*, a term that most of the time is seen as *missing* in Da Lang. This is not really a big surprise as shown in this research. *Sense of belonging* might start with a *sense of feeling home*. Still most of the leisure activities are spend outside peoples home. This also means that *(semi) public space* is highly important for migrant workers in Da Lang. This different reasons also lead to different functions of public space. The Labour square is not only a place to have fun or enhance friendship; migrants are able to meet new people over there, while others go to the square to relief stress by watching others play. This research showed that for migrant workers *home* more or less means a place to sleep rather than feel comfortable and do activities. The housing conditions are too poor to create a *sense of home* and therefore sense of belonging might be even further from reality. Staying in Da Lang is for most of the migrants a phase in their life. They come to the city to work, sometimes to develop themselves, sometimes just to earn money, but in the end they will move on. The context of Shenzhen is different than the one of Shanghai or Beijing. Despite this context more areas in China will face the same kind of urbanization patterns. Especially the areas attracting the factories that already moved or will move out of Da Lang. The absence of a common identity combined with the rapid developments Shenzhen faced within a short period of time makes the

context special. This city has developed rapidly over the past thirty years, from a collection of small villages into a urban metropolis now containing almost 13 million people. These migrants are from all over China and they often don't speak the same language, don't have the same history and similar cultures, which lead to a city with a huge cultural diversity. This also means they don't feel directly connected to each other what could create a sense of belonging. Neither the leisure activities of migrant workers, nor the people living in the same district will be a reason to stay in Da Lang. What this research also shows is differences in behaviour within this *phase of life*. The leisure activities can be a *mean* to reach self-cultivation, by attending courses, classes or developing skills on the one hand. On the other hand, for others the leisure activities are a way of 'surviving' this part of life; relieving stress, relax and finally return home safely. The latter example might be a bit extreme, but by doing this it clearly shows different types of behaviour of migrants during their stay. Whether migrant workers coming to the district nowadays will be part of the group *leaving, remitting, returning* or they belong to the group *leaving, searching, becoming*, they will finally leave the district. The absence of a sense of belonging and the presence of the hukou-system as it is now, makes Da Lang still a district with a *floating population*. The hukou system in combination with the living costs in urban areas makes it for many migrants *impossible* to live in a city like Shenzhen, even in the outskirts like Da Lang. Owning land and a house, the living costs, social networks and cultural traditions in their hometown makes it for most of the migrant workers inevitable to return to their hometown rather than stay in the district of Da Lang. Further research could be done on the impact of the hukou system on the sense of belonging of migrant workers.

The district is now facing a shift in economic activities which also means the types of people moving to the district will be different. These are migrants who are more likely to look for self-cultivation and social mobility. What this research actually shows is that it is likely that the function of Da Lang for migrant workers, will remain the same in the end: the district is a place to bridge a particular period of life. However the way *how* migrant workers will bridge this period of life and how they behave, that will change. This can be subscribed by the leisure activities of white collar workers, compared to blue collar workers.

11. Conclusion

This research shows that work structures and organizes a big part of peoples' daily life and it can explain to some extent peoples' behaviour. Since work is still the main reason for migrants to be in Da Lang, these migrant workers are directly influenced by the work they do since they have to spend time on it and get money in return. This research found some differences in leisure activities between blue and white collar workers directly related to their type of employment. Within the group of blue collar workers there is not much variety in working hours and working days. This has to do with the standard shifts and schedules created by the factories. White collar workers show more variety in working hours, but among them it is also more likely to be *flexible* in working days and or hours. Another characteristic is *overtime*. Blue collar workers are more likely to work extra hours or extra days in order to earn more money. Overtime among white collar workers is very uncommon. So work directly organizes a part of peoples' daily life because of working days and hours, overtime work, flexibility and wages. Although the main reason to be in Da Lang might be more or less the same, the way migrants deal with their work and how they behave and act towards the desire to earn money can be completely different. This research also shows that *work* can have a bigger impact on someone's daily life than just the time spend on it and its rewarding. It might be said that work can organize someone's leisure activities to some extent, however it is not always possible to make the rough divide between blue and white collar workers. In some cases working for a big company or a small entrepreneur makes a difference, but then *work* is again of influence.

11.1 Living conditions

This research found that most migrants don't tend to do many leisure activities at home. Those migrants living in dormitories, provided by the bigger factories for its employees are less likely to do *intrahome* activities because of the poor living conditions. Reading, surfing the internet or have dinner with friends are activities which are done somewhere else at (semi-) public places. They consider their *home* as a sleeping place rather than a comfortable place to meet others and spend leisure time. Although not quite often mentioned, those migrants renting their own apartment are more likely to do activities like reading or surfing the internet at home. Since the bigger factories provide dormitories for their employees, who can for the biggest part be considered as *blue collar workers*, it is more likely that blue collar workers live in these dormitories and therefore are more likely to be influenced by these living conditions.

11.2 Reasons and motivations

In general the activities migrant workers do show a lot of variety, however some activities are commonly mentioned. Sometimes the impact of work cannot directly be found in the activity itself, but more often in or behind the reasons of migrants to do particular activities, as the living conditions are a possible explanation for limited intrahome activities. There is some variety in the reasons to do particular activities. Some migrants argued they do leisure activities just for fun, some others are really eager to develop themselves, they are ambitious and they are focused on self-cultivation in a theoretical way. Most of them are white collar workers, eager to attend classes or courses. Others do activities to *meet* new people and reach self-cultivation in a more practical way: they develop social skills. These migrants can be considered as both blue and white collar workers. The white collar workers are more likely to meet new people because it is necessary, or at least an advantage for their job; they are purchasers, salesmen or artists. Some blue collar workers are also eager to meet new people, however this is not job-related. They are more likely to meet new friends because they are new in Da Lang and don't know many people yet or they want to catch up with friends.

11.3 Pressure

In contrast with these reasons, there are also migrants who go to the Labour Square and watch others play. An explanation can be found in how migrant workers face and deal with stress and pressure. Among blue collar workers pressure is directly caused by their work, while white collar workers are more likely to face pressure because of expectations. Some of the migrants counter the pressure and try to reach self-cultivation by attending classes for example. Others try to relief stress and pressure by watching others play at the side of Labour Square and 'escape' the working environment for a while.

11.4 Social network

Doing activities with 'friends' is commonly mentioned, but there are differences in the social networks. White collar workers told in general that they know many different types of people, from manufacturing workers to managers and owners of factories. Sometimes this is from the perspective of their work, but more often because it is just important for them or nice to meet different types of people. Blue collar workers mainly know people who are in the same socio-economic position. Many friends of blue collar workers are people they already knew from their hometown or colleagues. The differences in the social network between blue and white collar workers might be an explanation for the way people talk about their future perspectives. White collar workers have planned their future

more often and have been considering things about how to get somewhere or how to achieve a better job. Blue collar workers can more be considered as *dreamers*. Many want to open their own factory, but they just don't know how to reach this goal. In comparison with blue collar workers, the white collar workers know more people with various socio-economic statuses and therefore seem to have better insight in social mobility and future career opportunities.

11.5 Constraints

Money and time are the most frequently mentioned constraints in doing activities. Most of the time there is a dilemma for migrants: if they have a job, they have money to do particular leisure activities, but time is a big constraint because of work. On the other hand being unemployed means that people have enough time to spend on leisure, but money is a big constraint. Travelling is for many migrants an activity in which both money and time are a big constraint. Migrants who are looking for self-cultivation face constraints related to facilities. They would like to attend classes or courses in for example management. The existing facilities are often too expensive or migrants argue there is a lack of facilities, also with respect to the quality.

Confidence among migrant workers is another constraint. Especially young migrants face this constraint related to activities like dancing, singing and skating. These activities seem to be very easily accessible, but the lack of confidence keeps them away from participation. Taking lessons is most of the time too expensive for them, so the activity remains a desire.

11.6 Functions of (semi-) public space

Migrant workers can do the same activity together, but the reason why these people do the same activity might be very different. This also means that (semi-) public places fulfil different functions for people. For someone the Labour Square can be a place to meet other people, for someone else it is a place to relief stress. The same explanation can be given for bookstores and libraries. For some people it is a place to meet others and share the same interests, for others the main reason to go there is to escape the dormitory for a while.

For the district of Da Lang it is just a recommendation that the demand for particular leisure activities will change, when keeping the economic transition in mind. Since white collar workers are more likely to focus on theoretical self-cultivation the demand towards educational activities at a particular level will increase. This shift in economy also means that it will be less likely that people are living in dormitories. It might be that more activities will be done inside, but at least the function of *home* will change to some extent. The focus should be on activities in which people are able to develop

themselves, because *that* seems to be the function of Da Lang: let people develop themselves in their own way.

12. References

- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social research methods*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Chan, KW. & Zhang, L. (1999) The Hukou system and rural-urban migration in China: Process and changes, *The China Quarterly*.
- Chen (2010) "Basic data of migrant workers in Da Lang district, The pearl river delta migrant workers health and sport behavior research, Shenzhen.
- Cooke, P. & Leydesdorff, L. (2006) Regional Development in the Knowledge-Based Economy: The Construction of Advantage, *Journal of Technology Transfer*, Vol. 31, pp. 5–15,
- Dong, E. & Chick, G. (2012) Leisure constraints in six Chinese cities, *Leisure science: An interdisciplinary journal*, vol. 34 (5), pp. 417-435
- Gronau, R. (1977) Leisure, home, production and work – the theory of the allocation of time revisited, *Journal of political economy*, vol. 85 (6), pp. 1099-1123
- Hao, P. (2012) Spatial evolution of urban villages in Shenzhen, *PhD thesis University of Twente*, ITC Dissertation 205, ISBN: 978-90-6266-295-1.
- Hu, X. (2012), China's "New Generation" Rural-Urban Migrants: Migration Motivation and Migration Patterns, School of Public Policy: George Mason University
- Jim, CY. & Chen, WY. (2009) Leisure participation pattern of residents in a new Chinese city, *Annals of the association of American geographers*, vol 99 (4), pp. 657-673
- Kilroy A. (2008) *Consumurbation in: The Chinese Dream. A Society under Construction*, Mars, N & Hornsby, A, Rotterdam: 010 publishers (2008)
- Li, B. (2006) Floating population or urban citizens? Status, social provision and circumstances of rural-urban migrants in China, *Social policy & administration*, vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 174–195

- Meng, X., Wang, M. & Li, G. (2000) Case of garment industry in Shenzhen city, China, *The World Bank, urban development*, Washington DC, USA
- Ng, MK. (2003) City Profile Shenzhen, *Cities*, vol. 20, No. 6, pp. 429–441
- Ngai, P. & Chan, J. (2013) The Spatial Politics of Labour in China: Life, Labour, and a New Generation of Migrant Workers, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol 112, Number 1, pp. 179-190
- Ngai, P. Chi Chan, CK. & Chan, J (2010) The Role of the State, Labour Policy and Migrant Workers' Struggles in Globalized China, *Global Labour Journal*, vol. 1, no 1, pp. 132-151
- Seeborg, MC., Jin, Z. & Zhu, Y. (2000) The new rural-urban Labour mobility in China. Causes and implications. *Journal of socio-economics*, Vol. 29, pp. 39-56
- Schreurs, B., Van Emmerik, H., De Cuyper, N., Notelaers, G., & De Witte, H. (2011) Job demands-resources and early retirement intention: Differences between blue-and white-collar workers, *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Vol 32, pp. 47-68
- Snir, R. (2002) Work-Leisure relations: Leisure orientation and the meaning of work, *Journal of Leisure research*, vol 34, issue 2, pp. 178-202
- Wang, L. (2012) China's new generation migrant workers, seeking independence through working in factories, *master thesis*, sociology department Massachusetts USA
- Xiao, J. & Tsang, MC. (1999) Human Capital Development in an Emerging Economy: The Experience of Shenzhen, China: Research ,*The China Quarterly*, No. 157 (Mar., 1999), pp. 72-114
- Yin, X. (2005) New trends of leisure consumption in China, *Journal of family and economic issues*, vol. 26 (1), pp. 175-182

13. Reflection

Participating in this project in Shenzhen was really meaningful to me. Besides just writing a dissertation in order to graduate it gave me an opportunity to experience a country I never visited. This was also the main reason why I applied for this project. I expected to have several difficulties on forehand, of which the most important would be the language barrier. This was definitely a difficulty. Especially in the district of Da Lang, hardly anybody speaks English, so translators were highly necessary. This also meant that getting around and find the right people to get informed and get introduced in the research area was expected to be a bit more difficult. By being eager, adventurous and open minded, especially during the first two weeks, I faced hardly any difficulties considering my data collection. The best example herein is just attending two meetings without having any idea whether the content of the meeting would be of relevance for my research or not. But by attending these meetings I met many people who were eager to help me with my data collection; therefore I had no difficulties with finding translators, getting around and receiving background information. I came back with plenty of data, which I had to analyze and I really faced difficulties in the way of analyzing and structuring my thesis. The amount of data and the struggling with the analysis definitely led to some delay and why I couldn't make the first deadline, but in the end I can say I am satisfied with the final version of this thesis.

Bas Hendrikse

14. Appendix

Interview in English

1. Personal characteristics/ life history connected to living place and work

- Place of origin -> when moved to the city?
- Bonding with place of origin
- Age
- Gender
- Years of education
- Profession and working activities

2. How do you spend your time during the week?

(working hours)

3. Leisure activities/Bottom up leisure activities

- What kind of activities do you do (At this (public) place)?
- Can you describe those activities?
 - Frequency/ duration/ place
 - Why do you do these activities?

4. Social network

- How many people did you know when you arrived in the city?
- How many people do you know now?
- Where did you meet them? (work/school/leisure)
(activities at public places?)
- How often do you meet these contacts?
- How many friends have you met at the places where these activities are organized? F
- What do those friends do for a living?

5. Role of interviewee

- Are you satisfied with the activities that are organized? F
- Do you organize activities yourself? F
- If yes (Which/why/how/for whom) ; If no: who started it up? F
- Social capital: What did you learn from organizing these activities?

6. Social capital

- Have these activities a positive influence on your personal development?
- For example: Learning things: Education, skills, learning from other people profitable contact, housing, job opportunities.

7. Constraints

- Do you like to participate in these activities you don't do at the moment?
- Why don't you participate in other activities (that you wrote down by free- listing?)
- What kind of constraints do you face that influence your leisure patterns?
- If possible: Can you explain the constraint?
- What do you need to be able to participate in these leisure activities?
 - Personal solutions (skills, time division, preferences)
 - Government (space, facilities)
 - Work (time, money)

8. Future perspective

- Do you expect things related to work, leisure or the people you meet will change in the near future?
- Do the contacts of the people you meet at the leisure activities play a role in future residence choice?

Interview in Chinese

一

- 1.你从哪里来深圳？什么时候来的？
- 2.你和你来的地方还有联系吗？
- 3.年龄？
- 4.性别？
- 5.学历？
- 6.做什么工作？你的职位？

二

- 1.你一周怎么过的
(例如：工作多少小时？ 放松多长时间？)

三

- 1.会有什么休闲活动？
- 2.你能描述一下吗？

频率？

多长时间？

哪里？

为什么做这些休闲活动？

四

- 1.你来这里时认识多少人？
- 2.你现在认识多少人？你怎么认识他们的？
- 3.你在哪里见他们？

工作地点，学校，休闲活动时？

4.是否有户外活动？

5.你多长时间与朋友聚一次？

6.每次聚会有多少人？

五

1你对这些聚会满意吗？

2你会自己组织聚会吗？

如果有

为什么举行？

在哪里举行？

怎么举行？

请谁？

如果没有

谁会举行？

六

1.你觉得这些活动对你有什么好处？

学习育人,学习技能,建立关系网,商业合作,寻求好的投资机会,获得工作机会,租房或介绍租房？

七

1.你是否愿意参加一些你现在无法参加，但将来有机会参加的活动？可否列举一下这些活动？

2.为什么你不参加其他活动？

3.能详细说明吗？（例如：如果没有时间，为什么没有时间？）

4.参加这些活动你需要什么？

个人？（技能，时间统筹能力，爱好）

政府？（空间，技能？）

工作？（工作时间，薪水？）

八

1.你希望以上这种与人打交道的方式改变吗？为什么？

2.你的朋友圈子是否会影响你对居住地点的选择？