The influence of Bottom up organized leisure activities on the social capital of young migrants

The Labour Square in Da Lang

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Preface

The master thesis project started in January 2013. This was the start of the most interesting and inspiring period during my study. I read a lot of books and articles about China in the first months to find an interesting topic. It took some time and help from my supervisor and co-tutor to find a good topic. The choice on the influence of bottom up organized leisure activities on the social capital of young migrants proved to be a good choice.

The data collection period in Shenzhen worked out really well . We managed to do a lot of interviews and gather enough data in a relative short period of time. There were some challenges considering language barriers. But the Chinese people were very helpful and social which made the period of data collection really fluently. Especially the contacts with Chinese students made it an interesting experience. It was difficult to start up the writing process back in Holland but I'm proud of the final result.

I want to thank some people for their help during the process. At first my supervisor Arnold Reijndorp and my co-tutor Ching Wen Yan, they helped me a lot especially during the first phase when I was searching for a good topic. They pointed me in the right direction with their comments and advices. I want to thank the companies NODE and Urbanus in Shenzhen because they gave us the opportunity to work in their offices. The International New Town Institute for the financial support, the introduction to the city and the advice of Linda Vlassenrood to focus on the labour square. I can't thank my group of translators from Peking University and Shenzhen University enough for all the hours they spent with us to help with the translation. Finally I want to thank my good friends Maurice Veeken and Bas Hendrikse for all the help and enjoyable moments during the whole thesis project.

Amsterdam, 2013

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1.   Introduction

This research is conducted in Da Lang district which is a suburb of the city Shenzhen, this city is located in the southern part of China just over the border with Hong Kong. The leisure activities of young migrants currently play an important role in Da Lang. There's a project called 8-8-8 in Da Lang, which focuses on the 8 hours of leisure time of young migrants besides the 8 hours of work and the 8 hours of sleep that they have. There's a lot of attention for education and the personal development of young migrants in this project.

This research is about the bottom up organized leisure activities which are organized by the people themselves. The goal is to find out what the influence is on the social capital and personal development of young migrants. The data is collected at the labour square inside Da Lang, this square is the main place for leisure activities in the district. Public spaces like the labour square can play an important role in the leisure life of people. It can help to improve the quality of life for them. These public spaces are different from commercialized public spaces like a shopping center which is mainly focused on economic benefits. Public places like the labour square in this research have a more social function (Lloyd & Auld, 2003). The respondents are the new generation of migrants born after 1980 (Wang, 2012). The respondents have to be at least eighteen years old, children are not included in the research. These factors resulted in the following research question: *"How are the bottom up organized leisure activities organized for young migrants in Da Lang and how do these activities influence the social capital and the personal development of the young migrants?"*

Da Lang is a part of Shenzhen, this city has some specific characteristics. The city became the first Special Economic Zone in China in 1979. This caused rapid development in the city with a gigantic immigration from other parts of the country (Ng, 2003). Currently there are a lot of social challenges in different parts of Shenzhen. Da Lang is a district just outside the Special Economic Zone which is developed more recently. The district is still a manufacturing area but it's shifting towards a more service orientated area. These changes bring along social challenges as mentioned before.

The different concepts: social capital, leisure activities, active citizenship and public spaces are further explained with existing theory in the theoretical part. In the other chapters attention is given to: the leisure life of young migrants in Da Lang, their social network and the influence of bottom up organized leisure activities on their personal development. Finally these results are combined with the existing literature in a discussion chapter to find out whether this research found similar, contrasting or new results.

1.1   Problem definition

The growth of Shenzhen during the last few decades brought economic prosperity to the city (NG, 2003). This rapid development brings along a lot of social challenges and implications. One of them is

the changing demand considering leisure activities and the increasing amount of leisure time that people have in Shenzhen. A lot of people in Shenzhen are not satisfied with their opportunities considering leisure time spending. Besides there's sometimes a feeling of isolation among the people (Yin, 2005; Yan, 2012). Especially young migrants want to develop themselves, learn new skills and get better jobs (Wang, 2012). This research focuses on these developments and pays attention to bottom up organized leisure activities and the places were these activities are organized. It's specifically about bottom up organized activities by the local people. Everything was very much top-down for decades under the communist rulers. There is more freedom for people to make their own choices and for example to organize activities. This all started with the more open attitude of China towards the rest of the world and more recent changes considering communist politics (Tanner, 1999). This research tries to find out what the influence is of these organized leisure activities on the lives of young migrants. It's mainly about the social capital of these people. Do these activities have a positive influence on the opportunities in the lives and the development of young migrants? The activities and the social capital that evolves from it can possibly help the young migrants in the social challenges that they face and help them to develop themselves.

1.2   Scientific and social relevance

There is a lot of information about different topics concerning leisure activities in China and also specifically about Shenzhen. The leisure patterns and demands of the inhabitants are rapidly changing. Several articles describe that people are unsatisfied with their opportunities considering leisure time spending (Yin, 2005; Yan, 2012). The government tries to facilitate the changing demands of the people, but this is not enough to satisfy their demands. This research focuses on bottom up organized leisure activities by the people themselves. The main interest is the influence that these activities have on the social capital of people who organize the activities and/or participate in it. There's not much information about this part of informally facilitated leisure time spending in Shenzhen and its influence on the lives of the people. The hypothesis is that these activities and the contacts that people make at these activities can have a positive effect on their lives and their development. This isn't researched much in the Chinese context. That's why it can be a contribution to the literature about bottom up organized leisure activities and its influence on the people in China and specifically Shenzhen. Another part of this research is about the public places where the activities are organized. This can give an idea about the characteristics of the places where these kinds of activities are organized. It can help to find certain factors which can make a public place more or less successful as a place for people to spend their leisure time. The findings might be useful in making decisions to develop new public places in the future.

2. Theoretical framework

The different variables that play a role in this research are part of this theoretical framework. It starts with the two main concepts: leisure activities and social capital. The characteristics and role of active citizens are described. There's some information about the new generation of migrants and the characteristics of this group. The influence of place making and public spaces will be discussed. Parochial realms are a part of the public places in this research. The combination of these subjects gives an academic background to this research.

2.1 Leisure activities

People's way of life is changing in China because of the economic development. The people in China became more aware of their leisure opportunities, since the economic reforms at the end of the 1970's. This caused a growth in leisure activities and tourism. Leisure was seen as a dangerous waste of time before this economic transition, especially with Mao as the leader of the country in a big part of the 20th century. Leisure became more related to pleasure and fun after the economic transition (Li, 2009). One of the aspects is that people have more time to spend on leisure activities. This started with the five day work week that was initiated in China in 1995 (Jim & Chen, 2009). People spend at least one third of their time on leisure activities and this amount is still growing. The expectation is that people will spend more and more time on cultural activities and enjoyment. Other growing activities are focussed on education and tourism (Yin, 2005). Besides the demand, the facilities for leisure are more and more provided in China. For example fitness centres, cinema's, restaurants, bars and shopping centres. All these changes supported by the opening up of China towards the rest of the world influences peoples identity. New identities are formed under the influence of leisure activities and tourism (Li, 2009).

Besides the shift after the opening up of China there are several researches conducted on different parts of the leisure life of Chinese people. Jim and Chen did a research in Zhuhai which is another Special Economic Zone in southern China. They made a divide between intra-home and extra-home leisure activities. It showed that the Chinese inhabitants spend a lot of their leisure time in their house. Most of the extra-home activities were passive. Examples are visiting friends, going to museums, cinemas etc. The more active extra home activities are: visiting parks, playing sports games and doing voluntary work for leisure. A factor in these extra-home leisure activities is the facilitation of public space by the government. There is a mismatch between the facilities and the demand of the people according to Jim and Chen. The amount is growing as Li mentioned but it's not enough for the people. This is described as little regard to changes in societal recreational needs, without systematic assessment of participation patterns (Jim & Chen, 2009). A good example is the growing demand for sports in China. More people want to do sports and mass sports becomes bigger

in China. But there are also a lot of difficulties with this development. There's often a lack of economic capacity for consumption among the urban poor and the self-organized sports groups lack regulation (Xiong, 2008). Another research describes leisure constraints in six Chinese cities, Shenzhen was one of the selected cities. The main constraints were a lack of time and a lack of money. Another important constraint was a lack of space (Dong & Chick, 2012). These constraints can play an important role in the organization and participation of bottom up organized leisure activities, especially the lack of space. One of the notable findings out of the literature is the percentage of people that are satisfied with their leisure time. Only 31 percent answered that they were satisfied with their leisure life when asked (Yin, 2005). All these researches show that there's a rapid development in China considering leisure activities. But the development goes to slow for a lot of people and there are problems considering the facilitation and organization of leisure activities.

Finally there's a theory which describes the advantage of the participatory leisure time above the so called consumerist leisure time. This is because the last is just for pleasure and the first can create satisfaction (Parker, 1997: 149-152). The bottom up organized leisure activities are a good example of this participatory leisure time. This might be an interesting factor in people's satisfaction concerning their leisure time. It's important to note that this theory isn't really supported with empirical evidence.

2.2   Social capital

There's a lot of discussion about the term social capital, this research follows the definitions of Putnam and Lin. "Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". Social capital can help to create better schools, faster economic development, lower crime rates and a more effective government. A lot of social capital makes life easier in a community. It's easier to work together in a community and solve problems which need collective action. This collective action and dense networks can finally create a different sense of self development according to Putnam. This means that "I" is changed into "We" and people get a taste of collective benefits (Putnam, 1995). He gives several examples to show how broad his definition of social capital is. A formal example is the PTA (Parent teacher association) and an informal example is a group of people that go together to a bar. But even nodding to someone in the supermarket without talking to each other is a form of social capital. It's proven that people are more likely to help others in a case of emergency if they usually nod to each other, this shows how complicated social capital is. The basic idea is that there's a value in social capital. Putnam mainly focuses on the collective benefit of social capital, but he agrees that there's also a private value for individual people (Putnam, 2001).

This research is mainly about the profit for individual people from the social capital inside the community. This can be the personal development of people considering skills and education. But also finding a job or a house through these contacts. Lin's definition is more about the value for individual people. He defines social capital as: "An investment in social relations with expected returns". He gives four main points that help to get these returns. Social capital facilitates the flow of information. Social ties in strategic or hierarchical positions can provide useful information. This information can give opportunities and it can be useful to make certain choices. This can help to find a better job for example. Of course this can be profitable for the employers as well. The second point is about the influence that social ties can have on certain key persons. These social ties can benefit an individual in the decision making of these key persons. This can help to get a preferred position in for example getting a job or a house, but there are a lot of different situations where this can prove useful. The third point is that social ties of people can give a positive or negative indication about them, which can influence choices of others. Finally the social network that people have can be useful for other people. This can be a reason that someone gets a job instead of another person with similar skills. Lin summarizes this as information, influence, social credentials and reinforcement (Lin, 1999). Lin describes the importance of public space in another research. He defines it as following: "Social capital is the product that grows out of interactions taking place among those who use public spaces such as libraries (Lin, 2001). This interaction in public space is really important for this research as well, especially considering the labour square. These two authors show what social capital is and the value that it can have for communities and for individuals.

There are some other researches which describe the different relations within the social network of people, the so called strong ties and weak ties. Granovetter goes further into the weak ties that people have in their social networks. These weak ties are often the bridging social capital in contrast to strong ties with for example good friends, which is bonding social capital. This bridging social capital can be very useful to bond different groups inside a community. This can expand their social network and their social capital (Granovetter, 1973). This idea can be interesting for the role that the organizing citizens have in the public places where they organize their activities.

Mosley and Pahl did a research in England where they researched which factors are important to make social capital more successful. The results they found were: an open and inviting culture, good communication lines within the community, help from extern organisations, leaders within the community, informal structures/situations and places to meet (Mosley and Pahl, 2007). The presence of these factors can play a role in the context of bottom up organized leisure activities in Shenzhen.

Another research focussed especially on people younger than thirty. Their main conclusion was that social capital is very important for this group of people. Besides it seemed that a lot of bonding social

capital can have a negative influence on young people. This is because they can have a lack of weak ties as described by Granovetter (Holland et al., 2007; Granovetter, 1973).

There are more different researches about the social networks that people have. People tend to have peers in their social networks, this means that these people have similar characteristics. Race and ethnicity are important characteristics, people tend towards others with the same race and ethnicity. Other factors that play a role are age, religion, education, occupation and gender. Age is the most important indicator and gender the least important. Similarity creates connections between people, that's why a lot of people have similar characteristics within a social network. Besides there's an influence from contextual factors like geographical proximity, families and organizations. The result of these peer group networks is often that the social networks are limited. Diverse contacts create a more diverse social network, with more opportunities (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001). These peer group networks can have a limiting effect on the social networks of the people in Da Lang. A new type of social capital came up during the last few years. This has to do with online social networks. Examples are facebook, twitter and linked-in. These online networks have become an increasingly important part of the social network. It's especially important for the bridging social capital because people mostly have weak ties on this network sites. It can be used to keep in touch with people in the normal world if people go separate ways. For example with high school classmates or fellow students after graduation. These contacts can be useful in for example finding a job. It's basically the maintaining of ties during the different stages of life (Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007).

2.3   Active citizens

Another part of this research is the active citizens which are the organizers of the bottom up organized leisure activities. There is a lot of information about these people in other countries. Besides there are some signs of more active citizenship in China which can be important for this research.

Active citizens seem to be very important for strong communities with a lot of social capital. It's important that these people are active in organizing activities and have contacts with the government. It's stated as people that address problems and solve them (Blunkett, 2003).

A research in the United States describes some characteristics of active citizens who take the lead in collective action. These people are higher educated and a very important factor seems to be pessimism about initiatives of others considering collective action. The title of this article is "If you don't do it nobody else will". The participating citizens are quite positive about their expectations considering initiatives of other people (Oliver, 1984).

The citizens of China have more autonomy and became more individualized during the last few years. They strive towards a higher living standard and more individual independence. This can be done through organizational autonomy and self-administration. The government plays an important role in guiding the active citizenship of Chinese people. The government tries to regulate the emerging citizenship in a top down way. This is done by creating a framework with neighbourhood communities. This development is a start towards more active citizenship but it has not been fully achieved yet (Heberer, 2009). Besides the government there's an important influence from the market in the identity development of people. For example the influence of the media on what people think and what people do. The change from a government that decides everything towards a more open situation with a lot of different sources of information that influence people is important for active citizenship. This helps people to create their own identity and make their own choices (Wang, 2002).

There's not much information in English about organizers of leisure activities in the Chinese context. There are some examples of active citizenship in China. For example workers in a factory who came up for their rights which helped to improve their working environment. This is one example of more active citizenship in China (Ngai, Chi chan and Chan, 2010). This example is in a completely different part of life than bottom up organized leisure activities. But it gives an indication of more active citizenship, which is bottom up and not controlled by the government.

2.4   New generation migrants

There's a new generation of migrants in China, who are defined as the migrants that were born after 1980 (Wang, 2012; Hu, 2012). This younger group is becoming the main force of Chinese migrant labour. The migrants move on a young age from the countryside to the city. The average was 21,1 for the migrants born between 1980 and 1990. The average age for the migrants born after 1990 was 17,2. These young migrants face several problems when they come to the city. They face high pressure from work, low satisfaction considering their wages and unsure self-identification (villager or citizen) which results in a lack of happiness. In extreme cases this has led to suicides, the thirteen suicides in a Foxconn fabric is a well-known example (Hu, 2012). Wang describes a clear difference between the young migrants born after 1980 and former groups of migrants. The main interest of former generations was surviving economically and send money back home to their family. People left from the countryside to the city, remitted money to their family and initially went back to the countryside. The new generation migrants is completely different. They have more differentiated reasons to migrate to the city for example: learn new skills, get experiences and see something of the world. The group that sends money to their family is much smaller, the new group invests more in products for themselves (Wang, 2012).

Hu found four different representative social migration patterns from his in-depth interviews with rural migrant workers in Guangzhou and the rural areas of Bozhou. These places are located in the same province (Guangdong) as Shenzhen. The four types he came up with are: the career builder, the family helper, the emotional explorer and the lost follower. The career builders are relatively high educated and are able to gain knowledge and skills relatively quickly during the migration process. They often stay in the same kind of business and work themselves up. They are aware of the social ladder and want to climb it. This is the group with the most potential to climb from the bottom of this social ladder towards the urban elite. The family helper is very much similar to the older generations of migrants. They go to the city to make money and send it back home to their families. They mostly work in manufacturing jobs and change often to other sectors. It's basically about making as much money as possible to send back, there's no planning like the career builders have. The emotional explorers are more focussed on themselves. They rarely send money back to their families. They are often only child, they are described as spoiled and egoistical. There's no real structure in their lives, they change jobs randomly and make choices on an emotional basis. That's the main similarity with the family helper, a lack of structure. The final group consists of the lost followers. These are young migrants that follow relatives or other people they know and depend on them. This group is low educated and can't manage everything that comes with migration by themselves. They can get into trouble if nobody else helps them. Hu gave several examples: like human trafficking or abuse, but also committing crimes themselves. So this group is the most vulnerable one. People can change during the migration process from one group to another. This means that the people are not fixed in one group, they can develop themselves (Hu, 2012). These different types of migrant workers in locations close to Shenzhen can give an idea about the different types of young migrants that are included in this research. Especially their goals and behaviour can be explained by these different types.

2.5   Places and place making

The places where the activities are organized play an important role in the bottom up organized leisure activities and it's social structure. These places are the so called lived spaces. They have a different appearance and feeling than deserted and abandoned spaces. But also different than spaces which are built and not yet inhabited. These lived spaces have become humanized (Lefebvre, 1991). Friedman did a research on lived places and place making in China. This is a big challenge for Chinese cities. It's difficult because of the rapid growth in Chinese cities and the large floating population. He can't explain how new urban places can be created but focuses on how place making works. Places are created by the rules that are set by the state and the response of the people to these rules. A large influence of the state is very much the case in China. The material space evolves

into a place because of patterns and rhythms of everyday life. These places can be public space such as parks or an open air market. Other public places are closed and supported by a part of the population such as: temples, churches, coffee-rooms and pubs (Friedman, 2006). The interviews for this research are held in public spaces. The rituals in these places can give people a sense of comfort, security and stability. But places can change or disappear, this makes the process of place making very dynamic (Friedman, 2006). The public space in this research on bottom up organized leisure activities is mainly the labour square, this is a typical humanized place. There is little information in the English literature about the use of public squares in China. Li did a research on usage patterns of two squares in the city Dalian in the north of China. The square played an important role in the leisure life of people who were interviewed at the square. The squares were built at the end of the twentieth century, people used them to relax, talk with each other and attend activities. The main conclusion was that the squares had a really positive influence on the people, also from the perspectives of the government and tourists (Li, 2004). It's difficult to find any information about the use of squares in general and there's hardly any information about the social dynamics and the role of leisure activities on people's lives at squares in China.

2.6   Parochial realm

There's a model of three different social realms created by Lynn Lofland: the public, private and parochial realm. Public realms are territories characterized by strangers and private realms are characterized by intimates and personal networks. The parochial realm introduced by Lofland is in between those two realms. Parochial realms are territories characterized by: 'a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbors who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located within communities' (Lofland, 1998: 10). It depends on the context whether a space is a public or parochial realm. A certain place can even be a parochial realm for one person and a public realm for another. An example is that someone can sense when he entered a parochial realm and the others recognize that he's a newcomer who is not part of their community (Lofland, 1998). The parochial domain can become the domain of one single users group. It's still public space but the sense of commonality between people might prevent others to enter this domain (Hayer & Reijndorp, 2001). This parochialism can lead to the fragmentation of the public realm according to Loukaito-Sideris. This can be accompanied by suspicion, fear, tension and conflict between different social groups (Loukaito-Sideris, 1996: 100). So this parochial realms can have a positive effect in creating a sort of community feeling but also a negative effect in fragmenting the public realm. The theory of parochial realms might be interesting for the labour square in Da Lang.

3.   Research Design

3.1   Research Question

"How are the bottom up organized leisure activities organized for young migrants in Da Lang and how do these activities influence the social capital and the personal development of the young migrants?"

3.2   Sub questions

1. How are the bottom up organized leisure activities organized for young migrants in Da Lang?
2. What are the motives of the organizers to organize bottom up organized leisure activities?
3. Where are the activities organized and what are the characteristics of this public place?
4. What is the influence of the bottom up organized leisure activities on the social capital and personal development of the young migrants in Da Lang?

3.3   Conceptual Scheme

The conceptual scheme of this research is visible in figure 3.1. This scheme shows which variables play a role and which relations are researched. The exploration of the relationship between bottom up organized leisure activities and the social capital of the young migrants is the goal of this research. There's a divide between migrants who organize the activities (organizers), young migrants that participate in the activities (participants) and the young migrants that watch the activities (spectators). The motives of the organizing citizens can explain why the activities are organized. There can be a wide range of different motives to organize these activities. The organizers influence the bottom up organized leisure activities because they organize these activities and decide how it's organized. The participating citizens also influence the bottom up organized leisure activities if they take part in them. Whether these activities are successful depends on the participation of the people. The spectators can have a relation with the bottom up organized leisure activities. They might attend or organize them in the future and people that watch can have an influence on the participators, for example because they want to show their abilities. The comparison between organizers, participants and spectators can give an indication whether there's a different development path inside the district for these different groups. There's a focus on public places, which means that the people are not constraint by the place where the activities are organized. The most important relationship is the influence that the bottom up organized leisure activities have on the amount of social capital in the community and inside the social network of individual people. The goal of the research is to find out how these individuals profit from the social capital that they gain by participating in bottom up organized leisure activities.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual scheme
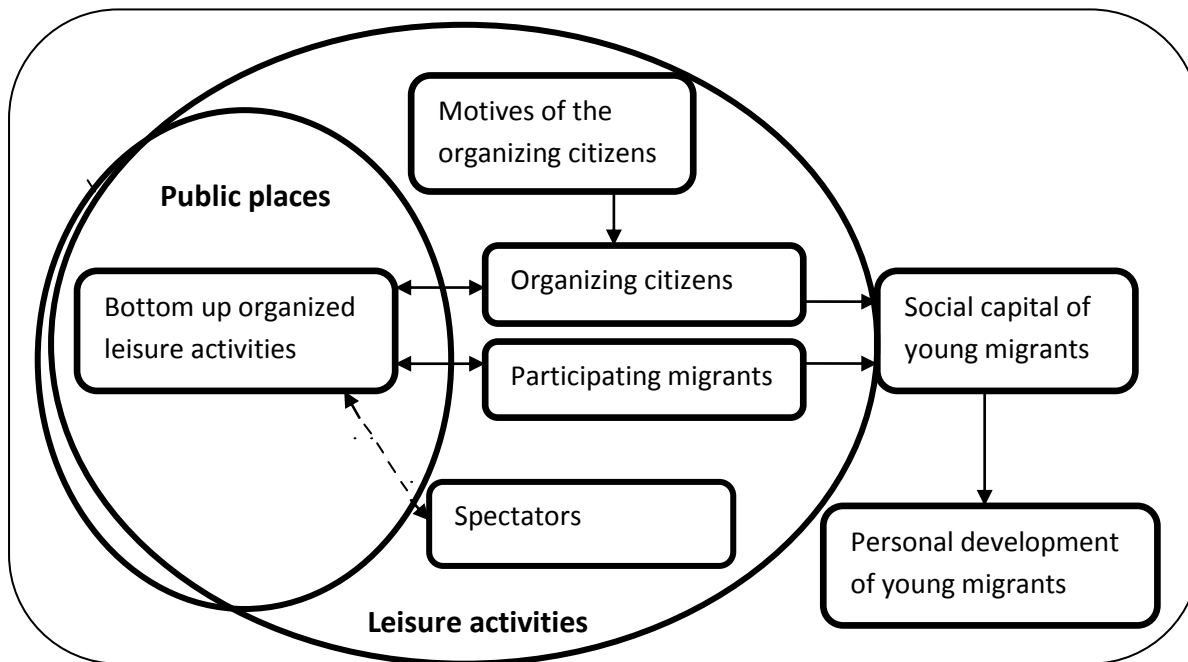
3.4   Definitions

- Organizing citizens: The young migrants who organize the bottom up organized leisure activities.

- Participating migrants: The young migrants who participate in the bottom up organized leisure activities.

- Spectators: The young migrants who watch the activities on the square.

- Bottom up organized leisure activities: Leisure activities organized by inhabitants of Da Lang which are freely accessible for other people. For example a library which is led by local people or a locally organized sports club. In this research it's mainly a public square with different kind of activities.

- Social capital (combination of two definitions): "Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995)." Social capital is an investment in social relations with "expected" returns" (Lin, 1999).

- Public places: Where the bottom up organized leisure activities take place.

3.5   Operationalization

The two key variables need to be explained and operationalized. The bottom up organised leisure activities inside Da Lang have a few central characteristics. The activities are bottom up, this means

that these activities are organized by the people and not by the government. It's possible that the government plays a role in the facilitation but not in the organization. Finally the activities are organized in the leisure time of the participants.

The social capital has to be operationalized to make this variable researchable. There's been a lot of discussion about the term social capital in the literature. This research uses the definitions of Robert Putnam and Nan Lin. "Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". This definition is from Putnam, his research is mostly about the amount of social capital inside a community and how the community profits from it (Putnam, 1995). This research focuses on a part of this definition. The networks, the coordination and cooperation considering bottom up organized leisure activities play a role. Besides that the possible change from "I" into "We" to get collective benefits is used in this research. Norms and social trust are not really included in this research. The second definition is about the individual part of social capital "Social capital is an investment in social relations with "expected" returns". This means that individuals profit from their social capital and expect to profit from it (Lin, 1999). It's a bit different in this research, some of the respondents expect something from their social relations, but most of the time the benefits are not expected. So people profit from their social relations but it's not their expectation or intention to profit from it in general. Basically social capital can help people to develop themselves with the help of social contacts. This research focuses mainly on the social capital of the people. These are the contacts and the networks that are part of the bottom up organized leisure activities. Questions were asked about the size of the social network, which is part of these activities. How close are the contacts with the people/friends that they meet at the activities? But most of the questions were about social capital. Especially the influence on personal development and for example: Whether they found a house or a job with the help of the contacts met at the activities. That can be seen as profitable social capital for the young migrants.

3.6   Research strategy and methods

This research makes use of qualitative research methods. The design is a case study design, the case in this research is the labour square in Da Lang (Bryman, 2008: 52). An ethnographic approach is used for this case study. "Ethnography is a systematic approach to learn about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions, and other settings. It takes the position that human behaviour and the ways in which people construct and make meaning of their worlds and lives are highly variable and locally specific" (Taylor, 2002: 1). Ethnographic research is usually a time consuming process with a long period of observations in the field. This research is more a micro-ethnography research, it's still ethnographic but the six weeks of observation was relatively short (Bryman, 2008: 403). The research

is a descriptive research with an inductive approach. An inductive approach means that observations and findings are used to define theory (Bryman, 2003: 11). The research made use of different ways of sampling. Purposive sampling which is a strategic way of sampling. A part of the respondents was strategically chosen because they were the organizers (Bryman, 2008: 415). For the others a simple random sample was used. Every migrant between 18 and 33 years old had the same chance to be selected if they were at the square, because the respondents were approached randomly on the square (Bryman, 2008: 171-172). Finally in this research is made use of the snowball effect a few of the respondents were found with this method. This means that respondents were found with the help of other respondents (Bryman, 2008: 184-185). The type of interview used was the semi-structured interview. The interviews have a structure with a fixed content, but questions can be added or asked in a different order as a response to the answers of the respondents, so it's a flexible way of interviewing (Bryman, 2008: 438-439). There were two in-depth interviews in this research. These interviews were also semi-structured but there was even more room for flexibility to add questions than in the regular semi-structured interviews. This type of interviewing was used for two key persons (Bryman, 2008: 196). The research worked according to the grounded theory concept. This concept derives theory out of the analyzing process of data. The basis is that there is a data collection and an analyzing process that ends up in one or more theories (Bryman, 2008: 541). These are the basic methods and strategies used in this research.

3.7   Research limitations

There are a few limitations in this qualitative research. The first has to do with the qualitative strategy and the limited amount of interviews. This means that the results can't be generalized to the whole population of Da Lang. Besides that the results are only for Da Lang district which is a district with specific characteristics in the context of Shenzhen. This means that further research is necessary to be able to generalize the results for other districts in Shenzhen and other cities with similar characteristics. The context definitely influences the results. Another limitation has to do with the translation of the interviews. The interviews were translated with the help of Chinese students. This means that the results can be influenced by the interpretation and the way the students translated. An example is that some students translated a women or a man of the same age as their father or mother as uncle or aunt although they are no family. This mistake was found out but it could be that other kind of mistakes became part of the research which is a limitation. Finally it's difficult to find out whether certain data for the whole population of Da Lang are reliable. This can be illustrated by the fact that nobody is sure about the number of inhabitants of Shenzhen. Different sources use totally different numbers of inhabitants. These are sometimes differences of several million people. These are the main limitations of the research.

4.   Research area

4.1   Shenzhen

This research took place in the city Shenzhen just over the border with Hong Kong. Figure 4.1 shows the map of China, Shenzhen is located in the Southern part of the country. The province is called Guangdong and Shenzhen is the main city together with the province capital Guangzhou. The black arrow points the exact location of Shenzhen.

Figure 4.1 Map of China

(Harbin map and Harbin satellite image, 2007)

Shenzhen is one of the main examples of the gigantic economic growth of China and the migration from the countryside to the cities. The main reason for this development is that Shenzhen was pointed as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1979. Before that it was a town with 310.000 inhabitants build up of a lot of small villages. Being the first SEZ had huge implications for Shenzhen. It consisted of a package of policies initiated by deputy prime-minister Deng Xiao-ping. This included enterprise reforms, decentralization of administrative functions to local governments, financial reforms, tax reforms and an open door policy to attract foreign investment. Shenzhen was pointed as one of the first SEZ's because of its strategic location next to Hong Kong. The boost for the Shenzhen economy was enormous. Between 1980 and 2001 there was an annual growth rate of 38,9%. The annual net

wages in this period increased 34 times in total. The manufacturing industry was the main driver for this growth. A lot of people were attracted by the high wages in Shenzhen compared to the rest of China. This people came to work and make money in the city and mostly went back to their hometown. This created a floating population in Shenzhen (NG, 2003). Figure 4.2 shows the different districts of Shenzhen. Yantian, Luohu, Futian and Nanshan are located inside the SEZ. After the establishment of the SEZ there was a border between these districts inside the SEZ and Bao'an and Longgang district outside the SEZ. The districts inside the SEZ developed very rapidly in contrast to the other districts which didn't have the economic benefits in the beginning. These districts where included into the SEZ in 1993, which initiated the development of these districts (NG, 2003).

Figure 4.2 Districts of Shenzhen
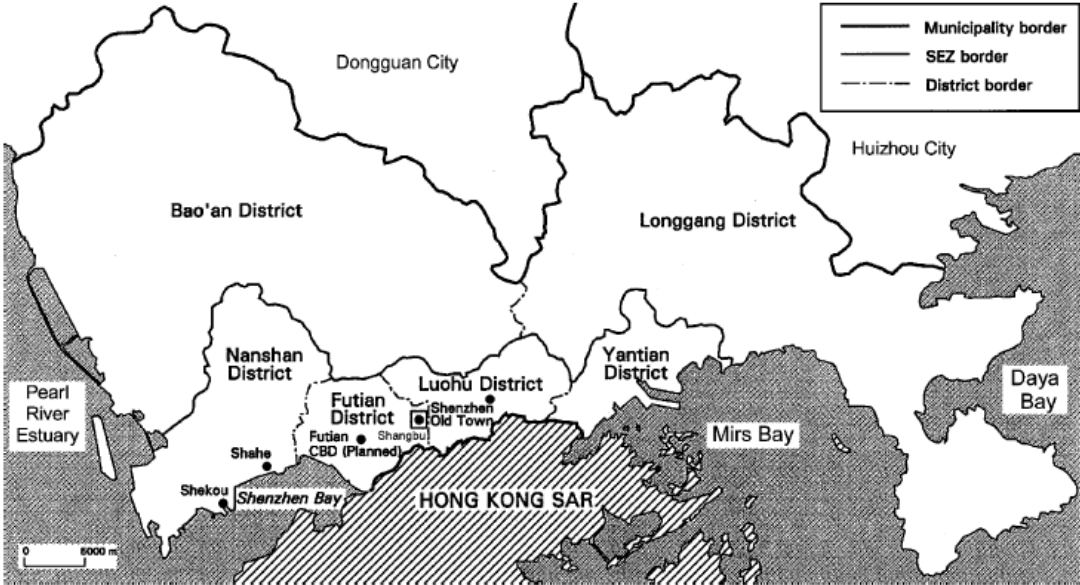
(NG, 2003)

Most of the migrants live in the so called urban villages in Shenzhen. These villages existed as rural villages before Shenzhen became a Special Economic Zone. The urban villages are informally developed by the villagers who have the land rights in these urban villages. The poor migrants are forced to live in the urban villages because they are not allowed to live in the formally created social housing by the government. Most of them can't afford other houses in the formal sector (Hao, 2012). The focus of the economy in Shenzhen shifted recently from a completely manufacturing economy towards a more high tech economy. This shift has a big influence on the city and its inhabitants. The high tech economy requires higher educated people with different skills (Xiao & Tsang, 1999). These rapid changes bring a lot of challenges along.

4.2   Da Lang district

The field work of this research was carried out on the labour square in Da Lang district. There was a small amount of information available before the data collection which showed that Da Lang district was suitable for this research. The shift from manufacturing to a more high-tech economy is very important in this district. There are a lot of old vacant fabric buildings and there are people living here that work in other sectors than manufacturing. Besides they have an 8-8-8 project which focuses on the 8 hours of leisure time for young migrants in the district. Da Lang is located just outside the former SEZ in Bao'an district. The district is built up of many urban villages (Yan, 2013).

Population of Da Lang

The population of Da Lang consists for 98% of migrants from other parts of China. Table 4.1 shows some characteristics of these migrant workers. Male and female are almost equally represented in the district around 50%. The age levels show that most migrants that live in Da Lang are relatively young. More than half of the migrants are between 20 and 29 years old. The percentage of migrants older than forty is very low with only 6%. This makes it a good place to find a lot of young respondents. Most respondents finished junior high school, besides that there's a relatively big group who finished high school. It's striking that more than 10% of the migrants just finished primary school because this is illegal in China. The law of compulsory education made nine years of schooling compulsory in 1986. This means that they need to finish at least the primary and the junior high school. The article of Connelly and Zheng which was published in 2003 shows that a lot of children from rural parts of China didn't finish this nine years of compulsory school (Connely & Zheng, 2003). The wages are relatively low in Da Lang compared to the average wages in Shenzhen, but relatively high compared to the rest of China. This difference is partly reduced by the high living costs in Shenzhen (Knight, Song and Huaibin, 1999; Wang & Wu, 2010). There were indications that inhabitants are unsatisfied with their leisure time opportunities and even feel isolated (Yan, 2013).

Table 4.1 Personal characteristics of the migrant workers in Da Lang

Personal characteristics migrant workers Da Lang				
Gender	Male	Female	Total		
	53,2%	46,8%	100%		
Age	15-19	20-29	30-39	40 or older	Total
	8,5%	60,5%	24,5%	6,5%	100%
Education	Primary School	Junior high school	High school	University	Total
	13,1%	54,6%	30,7%	1,6%	100%
Income	Less than 1000 yuan	1000 and 2000 Yuan	More than 2000 yuan	Total	
	24,2%	45,6%	30,2%	100%	

(Chen, 2010)

5.   Data Collection

The data for this research is a combination of observations, 39 semi-structured interviews, two in-depth interviews and two attended meetings organized by the voluntary organization in Da Lang. The interview is a combination of questions from two researches. The other research of a fellow student focused on leisure activities and constraints of migrants. The combination of the questions resulted in a semi-structured interview, with a list of topics and specific questions. During the interviews other questions were asked depending on the answers of the interviewees. The interviews were translated on paper into Chinese with the help of a Chinese student. The interview is added in the appendix.

5.1   Translators

The most important thing in the beginning of the data collection was finding Chinese people that were willing to translate the interviews on the spot. Most translators were master students from the Peking University, they studied landscape architecture at an annex in Shenzhen. These students were working on a sociology course in Da Lang district. A few of them were present at a meeting about a project on the leisure time of young migrants in the Da Lang town hall. They were willing to translate on that occasion and also volunteered for the translation of the interviews. One whole afternoon was spend in the annex of Peking university to explain the researches and the questions that were important for the interviews. In the end seventeen translators helped voluntary to do the interviews. Fourteen of them were from Peking University, two from Shenzhen University and one guy already graduated from Shenzhen University.

5.2   Interviews

The first interviews were held around Da Lang labour square. The square was chosen because it was mentioned by several people in Shenzhen as the main place for outdoor leisure activities in the district. The first interviewees were members of the voluntary organization which were contacted with the help of one of the translators. Most of the other interviewees were asked randomly on the labour square. The choice was made to do all the interviews on and around the square, mostly because it was a representative place where a lot of bottom up organized leisure activities were organized. Most of the time there were two or three translators for each researcher which made it easier to translate and ask questions. This resulted in a total of 39 semi-structured interviews with respondents on and around the square.

5.3   In-depth interviews

The first in-depth interview was with a worker of the community service center. This interview was arranged with the help of a fellow Chinese student from Amsterdam University. The interview was mainly about the voluntary organization, the role of the government and the importance of the labour square. The second in-depth interview was with a PHD student who is researching rural-urban migration patterns in China. This interview was arranged with the help of a professor from Peking University who was present at one of the attended meetings. This interview was held at the China Development Institute in Shenzhen. The interview was mainly about the reasons why people go back to their hometown and leave the city.

5.4   Attended meetings

Two meetings organized by the voluntary organization helped to gather information. The first meeting was in Da Lang Town Hall were the 8-8-8 project was started. This project is a cooperation between the government, the volunteers and some other groups. The project is about the 8 hours of leisure that people have besides 8 hours of work and 8 hours of sleep as described in the introduction. The project wants to help young migrants to spend their leisure time in a good way. The focus during the meeting was mostly on education and personal development. The most useful part of the meeting was meeting people. At first the translators of PKU university, besides there were a lot of people from the voluntary organization. The second meeting was held in the library of Da Lang which is managed by the volunteers. This meeting was about how to find a boyfriend or girlfriend in the city. This topic was not very much related to both researches, but there were around fifty people at this meeting and at the end of the meeting there was a discussion about several questions considering both researches. This resulted in the interview with the PHD student, with the help of the professor from PKU university. Picture 5.1 shows both attended meetings.

Picture 5.1   Meetings Da Lang town hall and Da Lang library

5.5   Data analyzing

The method used for analyzing the data is the content data analyzing method. A recorder is used to record the different interviews. The interviews are transcribed with the help of the recordings. The transcriptions are divided into the different topics that were selected in the interviews. This made it easier to divide the useful information for the different researches. The transcriptions were printed to analyze it by hand. This was the easiest and fastest way to analyze the data partly because the interviews were well structured with the help of different topics. The interviews are analyzed for the different parts of the research and divided into different groups for every new topic. These different groups were mostly the organizers, participants and spectators. This way of analyzing was used to find the different groups and to find out whether there were useful differences or similarities between these groups. Other questions were just divided from the answers that the respondents gave to find similarities or differences. This is for example the case in the chapter about the social networks of people in Da Lang. The two in-depth interviews are used as a different source of information from key persons. These in-depth interviews helped to understand the context of the research better. Finally an excel file was used to analyze the personal characteristics of the respondents and to make different tables and figures.

5.6   Personal characteristics

This paragraph describes the personal characteristics of the 39 interviewees and compares it with the data for whole Da Lang district. The characteristics used in this research are gender, education, age, years of residence in Da Lang and the home provinces of the respondents. These personal characteristics can give an idea about the people in the sample compared to the whole population.

Gender

Figure 5.1 shows the divide of male and female in the sample. This is almost half of the sample for each, 20 men and 19 women. This is almost equal which makes it possible to compare men and women with each other in this sample. Besides that it's comparable with the data for the whole Da Lang district in 2010 when the percentage of man was a little lower than 50%.

Figure 5.1 Gender divide
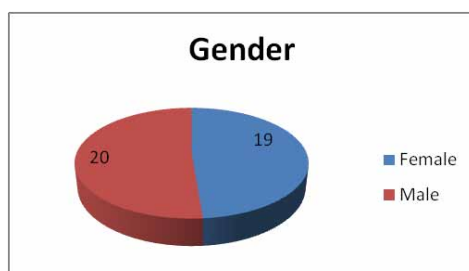
Education

Figure 5.2 shows the educational level of the 39 interviewees. There's a divide between four different study levels. There are some studies which are not included as a separate group, for example college professional training which is close to university level and technical high school which is close to the high school level. These are included in the groups which are close to their level of education, same as in the data for the whole Da Lang district. All the interviewees told their educational level. Figure 5.2 makes clear that more than half of the people have a junior high school diploma. There are two people that just finished primary school. There's also a group of higher educated people, mostly high school, three of the respondents have a diploma on university level or almost at university level. This result is comparable with the data for the whole Da Lang district in 2010. The percentage of junior high school is high in both datasets and there's also a relatively big group with a high school diploma. The percentage on university level is a little bit higher and the percentage on primary school level is a little bit lower in this sample.

Figure 5.2 Educational level of the respondents
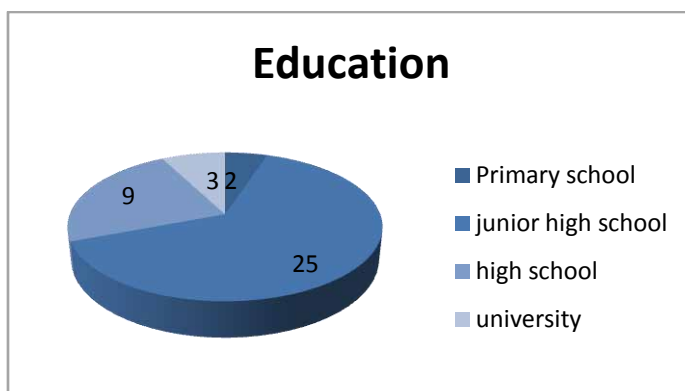
Age

Figure 5.3 shows the age of the respondents in the sample. The first idea was to interview people from the new generation migrants following the definition of Wang. This means people born after 1980. The migrants should be at least eighteen years old. Most of the respondents are within this age group, but there are a few exceptions. There's one 45 year old women who is no young migrant anymore. This interview is mostly used as background information. There's also a 34 year old guy and a 17 year old girl in the sample. These are taken within the group of young migrants because they are almost inside the age group that was chosen in advantage. The average age of the respondents without the 45 year old women is 23,8 years old.

The figure shows that most respondents are in the beginning of their twenties. Some of them are almost twenty and a small group is older than thirty. A part of the population is excluded but table 4.1 shows that the age group between 18 and 33 covers most of the population.

Figure 5.3 Age of the respondents

Length of residence in Da Lang

The length of residence in Da Lang is divided into three groups. One year or less in Da Lang, one to three years in Da Lang and longer than three years in Da Lang. There's a floating population in Da Lang and a lot of people live for a short time in the district. This is shown in figure 5.4, a lot of people live shorter than one year in the district. But there's also a group that lived longer than three years in the district. This length of residence can be an import factor for the activities that people organize or attend and the amount of social capital that they have in the district.

Figure 5.4 Length of residence in Da Lang
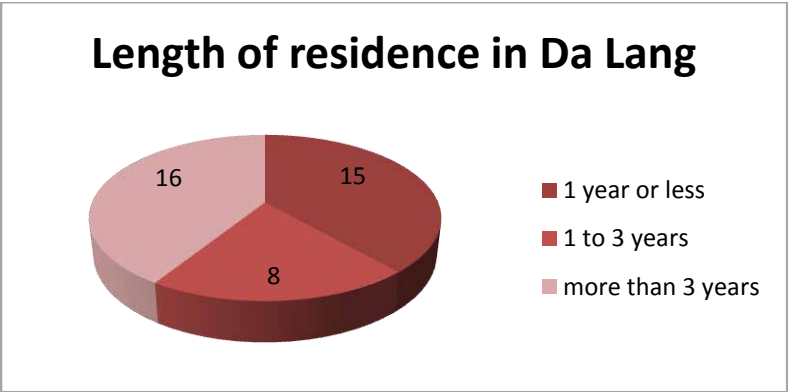
Home province

Figure 5.5 shows the home provinces of the different respondents. This map makes clear that the respondents are from different provinces in China. This gives the impression that the district is very multicultural because there are a lot of people with different backgrounds. Most of the people are from Guangdong province and the surrounding provinces: Hunan, Guanxi and Jiangxi. More people are from the provinces around Guangdong, the difference is very small but it shows that the migrants came from a lot of different places in China. Nobody was from the Fujian province which is located next to Guangdong. This could be coincidence but there could be a reason for this result. This is not clear from this sample of 39 interviewees. In general the map shows that people travel long distances to migrate to Da Lang.

Figure 5.5 Home province of the respondents
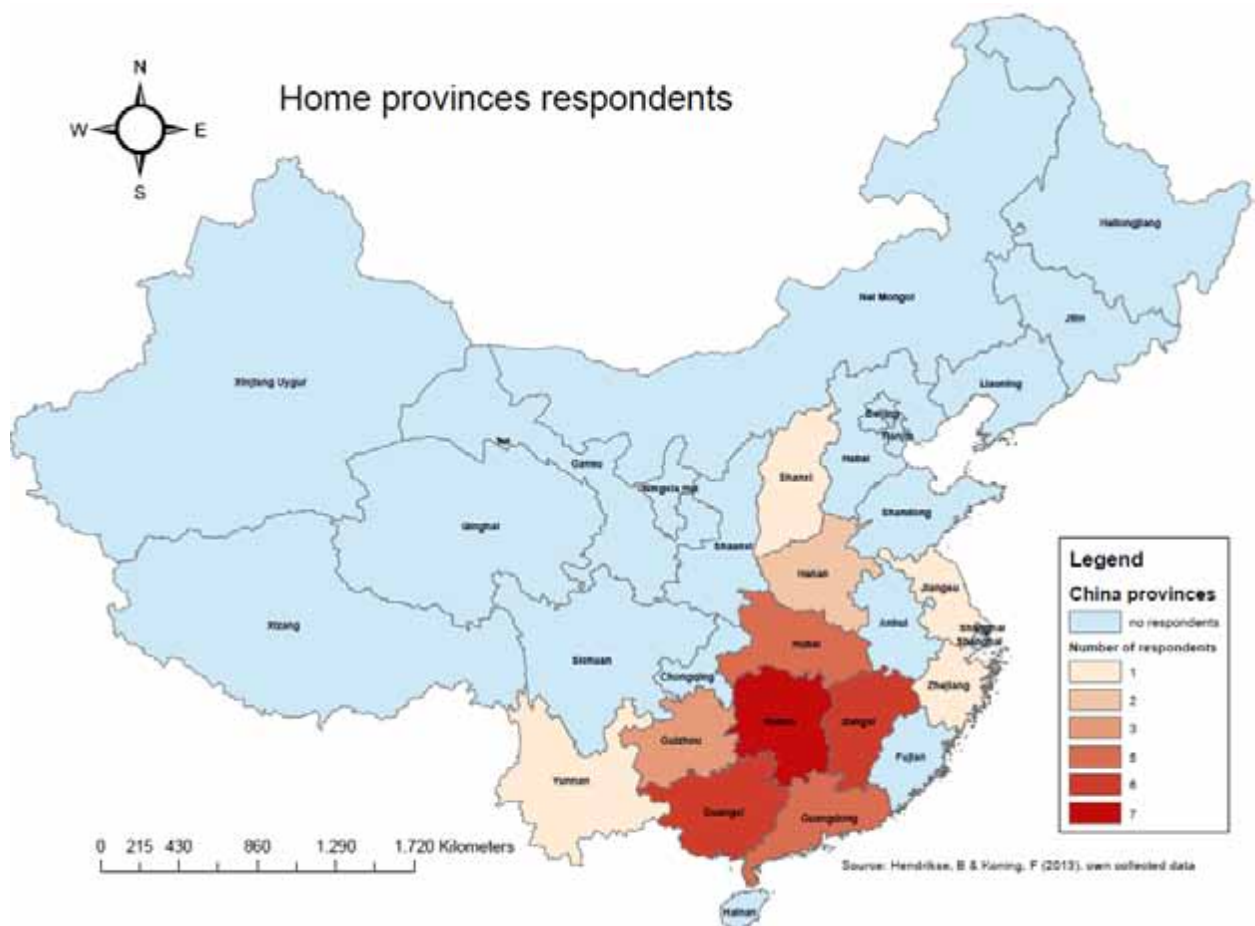
The personal characteristics showed some general characteristics of the sample. There's a good divide between men and women. Most people are relatively low educated with some exceptions. The interviewees are relatively young with an average age of 23,8 years. This is for a big part because the respondents needed to be young migrants born after 1980. But the people in Da Lang are pretty young in general. Most people live shorter than three years in the district and a lot of them shorter than a year. This confirms that there's a floating population in Da Lang. There's also a group who lives longer than three years in the district. But most of them live between three and five years in the district with a few exceptions. Finally the map gives an idea where the interviewees came from originally. Most of them came from the provinces surrounding Guangdong, but a lot of different provinces are included in the sample. The results considering gender, age and education are comparable with the results of whole Da Lang district in 2010 (Chen, 2010).

6.   The influence of the social network on people in Da Lang district

The population of Da Lang is very young. The biggest part of the population is between 20 and 29 years old (Chen, 2010). Most of the people that live in Da Lang go to the district for a reason. The main reason is that they want to find a job and make money. There are a lot of job opportunities in Da Lang especially in the factories which focus on electronic devices. Besides the salaries are relatively high in Shenzhen which is a reason for people to go to this city (Knight, Song and Huaibin, 1999; Wang & Wu, 2010). But there are other cities where they can go and other districts besides Da Lang with similar characteristics. This chapter focuses on the choice for Da Lang and the contacts that play a role in this choice. The development of the social network inside the district will be described. There's a floating population in the Da Lang district. The last part of this chapter is about the future residence choices and the reasons behind these choices. This can give an idea why there is a floating population which characterizes the district.

6.1   The choice for Da Lang

Almost all of the people that live in Da Lang are migrants, they came from other places in China. This is comparable with the whole of Shenzhen (NG, 2003). The fact that people are migrants means that they made the choice to go to Da Lang. There's an important influence of the social network behind these choices. Da Lang is the place of arrival in Shenzhen for most of the interviewees. A lot of them migrated from their hometown to this district in Shenzhen. The people they knew from their hometown played an important role in their choice for Da Lang. Of the interviewees there where 23 people who already new one or more people from their hometown or relatives in Da Lang when they arrived. Another group of five people knew former classmates and people from their hometown who lived in Da Lang when they arrived. One interviewee knew a lot of classmates because the school arranged jobs in one of the factories for the whole class (Interview, 23). The fact that they knew these people seems to play a role in the choice for Da Lang. Some of the respondents say specifically that they came to the district because relatives or other people from their hometown who already lived there advised them to go to Da Lang (Interview, 1,11,14,30,35). There's a small group of three respondents that came to Da Lang and only new one person. This person was very important for them because he helped them to find a job. These are examples of the social capital described by Lin (Lin, 1999). The English teacher already knew one of the teachers in the school, where she worked (Interview, 2). Two others were advised to a new job by the boss of their factory (Interview, 3,13) Two interviewees already knew some people when they came to Da Lang, but it's not clear whether this were relatives, people from their hometown or people with some other relationship (Interview, 4,26). There are only five people who knew nobody in Da Lang when they came to the district. These people seem to be an exception to the rule. But they were really clear that they knew nobody in the

district when they arrived (Interview, 12,16,22,28,36). The whole sample of 39 interviews shows that the social network is very important in the choice to go to Da Lang. Almost all the respondents had contacts in the district when they arrived. There is not a lot of information in the English literature about the influence of social networks in residence choices for migrants in China but it seems to be important from the results of this sample.

6.2   Development of the social network inside Da Lang

Most of the inhabitants of Da Lang already had some contacts inside the district when they arrived in Da Lang. This where mostly relatives, people from their hometown or former classmates as described above. This paragraph describes some general structures in the development of the social network of the respondents after their arrival. So this is not about the contacts they already had but about new contacts. Most of the migrants spend a lot of their time at work, this is where they meet new people. A lot of the interviewees described their colleagues as the people where they spend their time with, also their leisure time. Some colleagues are often regarded as their friends. These are the only people they added to their social network for a lot of the interviewees. Especially for the respondents that work in manufacturing jobs. Besides the colleagues of the current jobs there are also contacts from former jobs or with people that left the company. They also meet new contacts through the contacts they have with colleagues. A 22 year old quality inspector of electronic cigarettes mentioned that she met some of her friends through the friends she met at the workplace. So the workplace is an important part of the social network (Interview, 35). Other people meet a lot of contacts through their work as well, but these are not colleagues. There are several shop owners that meet a lot of people in their shop. For example a 30 year old restaurant owner who meets hundreds of people in her restaurant (Interview, 26). These shop owners often mention other shop owners as new contacts. For example the 45 year old woman who worked in a family owned milk-tea shop. Most of her new contacts inside Da Lang where fellow shop owners (Interview, 1).

Other examples are the music and skating shop owners who get a lot of students and customers in their shops (Interview, 6,25). Besides the shop owners there are salesmen like the 27 year old guy that sells light products. He met a lot of foreign people online through his selling activities (Interview, 24). The work is one part in which the social network of young migrants in Da Lang develops. Another part has to do with the leisure activities of people. Some of the interviewees don't make any contacts in their leisure time at all. These are the people that only expand their network by colleagues. But there's also a group of people that goes to the labour square and meets new people. Most of the time this is through attending the activities on the square or through organizing them. The members of the voluntary organization are an important part of the social network for some of the interviewees. Most of the friends of a seventeen year old volunteer are people from the voluntary

organization. She spends at least 40 hours a week at the station and meets some of the people every day (Interview, 25). Other examples are people who met others during skating activities or dancing/singing activities. A nineteen year old barber's apprentice met 60% of his friends at the skating rink (Interview, 34). A 30 year old purchaser of an electronic factory met most of the 100 new persons she met at the dancing club on the square (Interview, 38). Most of the friends of a nineteen year old girl working in an electronic factory are her classmates. She meets them when she goes to a management class in her leisure time (Interview, 9). There are more examples of people that broaden their social network through these kind of activities. This will be described in more detail in the chapter about bottom up organized leisure activities. The social capital involved with these activities will be part of that chapter as well. Finally there are some other examples which were mentioned by a few people. Some people meet a lot of their contacts online. These contacts are often a bit vague and they don't know them really well (Interview, 25). Another way to contact new people is through we-chat. An 18 year old girl explained in the interview that she can meet new people with the we-chat app on her phone. She can shake her phone and find the people within 5km that are shaking as well and are willing to make friends (Interview, 17). This digital way of making friends can become more and more important. This is a different use of the social networks than Ellisson, Steinfield and Lampe described. These networks are not only to maintain contacts but also to find new contacts. It can still be very useful for their bridging social capital because these contacts are mainly weak ties (Ellisson, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007; Granovetter, 1973). Finally a 24 year old mother said that she only had a few new friends, these were mothers of the children that played with her son (Interview, 11).

This research focuses further on the bottom up organized leisure activities and the influence on the social capital as written before. There are three different groups of people as shown in the conceptual scheme. The organizers of the activities, the participants and the spectators. The group of spectators watch other people doing the activities. Eight of the interviewees are marked as organizers. These people organize activities related to the voluntary organization, skating, dancing/music and education. Their role will be explained further in the chapter about bottom up organized leisure activities. Seventeen people were participating in the organized activities. Some of them daily or as a member of the voluntary organization, others participated sometimes but they can be spectators on other occasions. They don't participate on a very regular basis. Thirteen of the interviewees where only spectators, so they just watch others. It's important to notice that the groups are not fixed, this can change over time. A spectator can become a participant and a participant can become an organizer, or even the other way around.

6.3   Personal characteristics of the different groups

The groups of the sample are too small to generalize for the whole population so it just says something about the sample. It only can give an indication about differences between the different groups. The respondents were between 17 and 34 years old, there's was one women of 45 years old in the sample. She is not included in one of the three types. This is because she doesn't visit the labour square and she can't be labeled as a young migrant. The organizers are on average more than four years older than the other groups. The participants have a very diverse group in the sample with some teenagers and some people in the beginning of their thirties.

Most organizers in the sample are men, six are men and two are women. It could be that men organize more activities but the sample is too small to be certain about that as mentioned before. Seven men and 10 women are participating in activities. Finally there are seven male and seven female spectators. So the biggest difference is in the gender of the organizers.

The same groups are used for the education level as in the personal characteristics part of the data collection. One for the lowest level of education, this is primary school, two for the junior high school, three for high school and four for the highest levels of education. The educational level of the organizers is on average higher than the educational level of the participants or spectators in this research. There's hardly any difference between the participants and the spectators, considering their educational level.

Another indicator is the years that people live in the district. The same groups are used again. People that live shorter than a year in Da Lang are group 1, people that live between one and three years in Da Lang are group 2 and people that live longer than three years in Da Lang are group 3. The organizers live relatively long in the district. There's no big difference between the participants and the spectators. The spectators live a little bit longer in the district on average, this gives the impression that it doesn't matter very much if someone lives long in the district considering participation in activities. These characteristics show that the organizers are on average male a little bit older in their late twenties instead of their early twenties. They have an educational level which is a little bit higher and they live relatively long in the district. These characteristics are only for the 39 interviewees so further research is necessary to show if these differences are present in general.

6.4   Future residence choices

The interviews showed that the social network played an important role in the choice for Da Lang district. Besides the social network of all the interviewees expands during their stay in Da Lang. The size and the characteristics of the social network differs a lot as described above. The final part of this chapter looks at the future residence choices of people. Which people want to go back to their

hometown? Which people want to stay in Da Lang? Which people want to leave Da Lang but not want to go back to their hometown? etc.

The interviewees gave a lot of similar answers on their future choice of residence. A lot of them want to go back to their hometown. Some of them already planned to go back and others will go back initially. Several people want to go back to their relatives that live in their hometown (Interview, 3,21,27,30,31,39). Three of the interviewees mention the sense of belonging they have in their hometown. They don't have this sense of belonging in Da Lang and that's a reason to go back (Interview, 1,9,14). Some of the interviewees want to start their own company in their hometown and not in Da Lang. This is often because they expect to get more support in their hometown (Interview, 20,24,34,37). Two guys want to marry and settle down in their hometown instead of Da Lang (Interview, 5,32). One man gives a lot of reasons besides his family, why he will go back to his hometown. This has to do with the organization of the pension system and the social insurance. The hukou system is an important factor, this is explained at the end of this chapter. Besides he owns land in his hometown. All these reasons together influence his choice to go back to his hometown (Interview, 3).

The second relatively large group of people focus on job opportunities and making money in the future. Most of them will leave Da Lang if they have better job opportunities somewhere else (Interview, 2,6,7,8,13,17,29,29). Another group already knows where they go to work or where they will start their own business. The social network in these other places plays an important role in their choices (Interview, 10,15,16,22,35). For example one guy works in a factory at the moment and he can work as a manager in the factory of his brother in another city. This is the reason that he will move to this other city (Interview, 22). Another respondent is satisfied with his job in the factory and he will leave with the factory if it goes somewhere else (Interview, 19). A few others will stay in Shenzhen they got used to the city and there are a lot of job opportunities for them in the city. But they don't want to stay specifically in the district it's more about the city (Interview, 26,30,38). Sometimes it's a combination of these two reasons to leave Da Lang, for example starting a company back in their hometown (Interview, 37). But the general response is that people probably will leave Da Lang.

There are four exceptions that want to stay in the district in the future. One of them is a girl that has a boyfriend who is originally from Da Lang. She wants to develop their business (own a skating shop), marry with him and stay in the district in the future, mainly because he's a local citizen (Interview, 33). A seventeen year old girl who's a member of the volunteers wants to stay in Da Lang. She made a lot of friends and she wants to play with them, this is a reason to stay for her (Interview, 25). Another women wants to stay for a longer time, she likes the place and won't change her job in the near future. She is in Shenzhen for ten years now. But when she's old she probably will go back to

her hometown (Interview, 23). Another 22 year old girl has family in the area, she is satisfied with her life at the moment and she has a lot of friends. Her friends have a big influence on her choice to stay. But if she has the opportunity for a better job somewhere else, she will leave (Interview, 12). There's also a guy who is influenced by his friends in Da Lang. He is a member of the voluntary organization and has a lot of contacts. But he is for 80 percent sure that he will go back to his hometown (Interview, 36). So also the people that want to stay, because of their contacts have their doubts about staying in the long term. One guy mentioned that he won't stay for his friends because it's a floating population, people come and go (Interview, 5). So the social network is an important reason to go to Da Lang but it's no constraint to leave the district.

The worker of the community service center was also asked if he expected that people will stay longer in the district in the future. He expected that they will stay longer because of the efforts of the voluntary organization. Now there's a floating population, people will stay if this changes (in-depth interview, 1). The difficulty with this is of course that there should be a group that stays before this can influence the other people who are floating. Similar stories were told in both meetings. The local government and the leaders of the voluntary organization expect that there will be a more stable population in the future. This means that there's a difference between the findings from the interviews and the expectations of the local government and the organizations in Da Lang.

6.5   Re-migration of people from the cities to their hometown

The second in-depth interview with the PHD student from Beijing university gave a better idea about the floating population and the future perspective on this phenomenon in China in general. The wages of the people with a job are much higher in the cities. This is the most important reason for people to migrate from the countryside to cities like Shenzhen. The living costs are higher so people only stay in the city if they have a job. This is a general phenomenon, of course there are always exceptions. The PHD student gave several reasons why most people decide to go back to their hometown (in-depth interview, 2).

Land

Before 1978 the farmers in a village shared the land, this land was cut into pieces after 1978. This meant that everybody in the village got his own piece of land and only got products from his piece of land. The land could only be sold to the government so not to companies. People that left their village and changed their hukou lost the property of their land, without any financial compensation. That's why people went back to their hometown to keep the property of the land. The policy changed in 1998 when the government decided that people couldn't lose their land until 2028. This will change after this 30 year period. This means that all the migrants still own land on the

countryside. The younger generations will own the land of their parents or grandparents in the future. The value of the land is still increasing, that's an important reason why people keep it and don't sell it. Besides the government lowered the tax on land in 2004, there was no tax anymore in 2005 and nowadays land property is subsidized. This is to give something back to the farmers that live in the city and pay tax over there. All these policies and the increasing value of land make it profitable for people to keep the land and go back to their hometown (in-depth interview, 2).

House

A lot of migrants own a house back in their hometown. Selling the house has the same consequence as selling the land. The price will be lower than the value of the house. On the other hand the houses in the cities are really expensive. Most of the migrants can't afford to buy a house in the city. If people can afford it, it's most of the time a small house which is often too small for a whole family. It's important in the Chinese culture to own a house (in-depth interview, 2).

Hukou

The hukou system which consists of the rules considering welfare in China is changing but it still plays an important role in the choices of migrants. The government provides healthcare for farmers since 2004. Only people from the cities could get this healthcare before 2004. But there's a big difference between the part of the healthcare that's subsidized in a village compared to the city. Farmers will get 90% subsidized in a village, 80% in a town and only 10% in a city. On the other hand it's free for people that have a hukou for the city. This means that medical healthcare is really expensive for migrants from the countryside in the city (in-depth interview, 2).

Another important part of the hukou system has to do with education. Before 2004 almost everybody paid for school themselves. Nowadays the government subsidizes the education for a lot of children. But the government only subsidizes for people with a local hukou not for the others. This means that migrants who have a hukou in their hometowns have to pay a lot more for education (in-depth interview, 2).

Another example that the PHD student gave is a combination of hukou and other rules. It's forbidden in China to transport a dead body. This means that people have to be buried or cremated close to the place where they die. A lot of migrants have family tombs in their hometown. Several generations are buried in these tombs which is an important reason for people to be buried in their hometown. There's also a lot of subsidy on the cremations and buries in the hometown of people. This has to do with the hukou system. This combination of factors plays a role in the choice for people to go back to their hometown (in-depth interview, 2).

Social network

The PHD student pointed the importance of the social network and strong social capital in the hometown of people. Many family members and acquaintances are still in the hometown of the migrants. These people can help them. He gave the example of a former classmate who has a governmental position in his home town. If he wants to arrange a job for his daughter, he can easily do this because of these contacts.

The influence of this social network can change in the future according to the PHD student. People were born in large families with often five or six children in the past. Most of the younger generation is only child because of the government policy. This means that their family network is much smaller. This can lead to less social capital but also to less sense of belonging. He doesn't think this is the case for the current generation young migrants because they still have a lot of uncles and aunts in their hometown. But this can be the case for future generations according to him. It's possible that people will make different choices considering re-migration if there's less sense of belonging in their hometown (in-depth interview, 2).

Most of the factors that the PHD student mentioned came back in one or more interviews. There's also a big group of the interviewees that wants to go back to their hometown. This gives the impression that a lot of changes are necessary before migrants will stay in cities like Shenzhen and especially suburbs like Da Lang. The Hukou system and the land rights are important policies which influence the choice to go back. The influence of the social network could be less in the future, but currently it seems to be really important. The PHD student pointed it out as an important factor and a lot of interviewees did the same.

All this information indicates that the expectation of a more stable population in Da Lang in the future is wrong. The population will probably stay floating if the policies stay the same. Finally the importance of the social network in the hometown is an important factor for current generations, this can change in the future with smaller family networks.

7. Da Lang labour square

The data is collected on and around the labour square in Da Lang. This square is built with money from the government in 2007. The goal was to provide an entertainment area for the local inhabitants. These are mostly the migrant workers from other Chinese provinces. There was nothing like the labour square before 2007, that's why a lot of people spent their leisure time at home during this period. The second reason to build the labour square was that the government wanted to show that they care about the people. There are several parks and squares in the district, but the labour square is the biggest and its visited by most people. It's the only place where they can hold bigger events because the other places are too small. The people that visit the square are a good representation of the district according to the worker from the community service center. Especially during the weekends, a part of the population doesn't visit the square during weekdays because it's too far away. There are quite a lot of people on the square in the evenings but not at daytime during weekdays. The interview with the worker from the community service center gave the idea that the square is a good place to do the interviews for a representative sample in Da Lang (in-depth interview, 1). The difference between a rainy weekday and a busy Saturday on the labour square is shown in picture 7.1.

Picture 7.1   The labour square on a weekday and a day in the weekend

7.1   Function of the labour square

The labour square is a place where a lot of people spend their leisure time. During weekdays it's deserted during the day but a lot of people visit the square in the evenings and the weekends. People skate, dance, sing, gamble, play badminton and break dance on the square. There's a big television screen where people can watch the news or television series. There's a voluntary organization that organizes activities on and around the square. Examples in April 2013 were an information stand which informed people how to prevent a fire in their house. Besides that there was a charity meeting for the victims of a big earthquake in Sichuan province in the western part of China. The volunteers

organized this activity to collect money for these people. The square is not only for activities, but it's also a place for people to meet each other. A lot of young migrants use the square as a meeting place before they go somewhere else. Finally there are a lot of people relaxing at the square, they just watch other people. The worker from the community service center was very positive about the labour square. He told that it's an important entertainment area, a lot of people would stay in their homes to surf on the internet if there was no square. It's also a multicultural place, a lot of people from different provinces meet each other at the square. This can help to improve the social sustainability in the district, because people get a chance to get to know each other (in-depth interview, 1). He also mentioned that the square creates more sense of belonging for people. This means that it's more likely that they will stay in Da Lang. This final statement is probably a wrong assumption as shown in chapter 6 about the influence of the social network in Da Lang. The semi-structured interviews with the people and the in depth interview with the PHD student showed that this probably won't lower the floating rate (interviews/in-depth interview, 2). There are enough activities at the square at the moment but it would be a good idea to create another big square at the other side of Da Lang because the labour square is far away for a lot of people. This idea came up from the inhabitants of Da Lang according to the worker of the community service center (in-depth interview, 1).

7.2   Parochial realms

There's a notable division on the labour square considering activities. Figure 7.1 shows the map of the labour square. Certain activities were located in the same place on all the eight different visits. There are certain activities which can't be moved easily like the voluntary station, the television screen and the toilets. But there are other activities that can be moved easily, they are always located at the same place as well. Figure 7.2 shows that the skating trainings are located underneath the big television screen. The gambling and playing Chinese chess are located close to the toilets. The break dancing close to the main entrance of the square. The badminton in the left corner of the square, there's a painted field on the ground to play. Finally the dancing in the middle of the square. This shows that there's a sort of informal divide on the square. It was clear after two visits where the activities were located on the square. The shops are also visible on the map, the location is not at the square but it's really close. There seems to be a divide between people that are sitting on the left side of the square and people that are sitting on the right side of the square. Almost all the people on the right side where willing to participate in the interviews, almost all the people on the left side refused. They just wanted to be on their own and watch others. The different dots show where the interviews are conducted. Most of the organizers were interviewed at the shops and the voluntary station. The others are more scattered but the map shows that the people on the left were more

willing to cooperate. These examples show that different parochial realms are present at the square. Parochial realms are territories characterized by 'a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbors who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located within communities' (Lofland, 1998: 10). In the case of the square there are different parochial realms for activities like gambling, skating and dancing. Some people mentioned that they would sit close to certain activities because they wanted to watch them or meet people that were doing these activities.

Figure 7.1   Parochial realms at the labour square

8. The function of bottom up organized leisure activities in Da Lang

This chapter focuses on the different bottom up organized leisure activities. These kind of activities are organized by the people so not by the government. In the case of this research the young migrants that live in Da Lang. The government can be included in the facilitation but not in the organization of the activities. The main activities that were mentioned during the interviews were voluntary work for the voluntary organization, education activities, skating and music/dancing. The voluntary organization and educational activities are influenced by facilitation and monitoring of the government but the activities are organized by the people. The skating and music/dancing activities are more independent with almost no influence from the government. These four groups of activities will be described in four different paragraphs in this chapter. Every paragraph will start with some observations, then the organization of the activities and the different people that influence the activities or are influenced by the activities. Especially the social capital that young migrants have from the people they meet at these activities is an important focus of these stories.
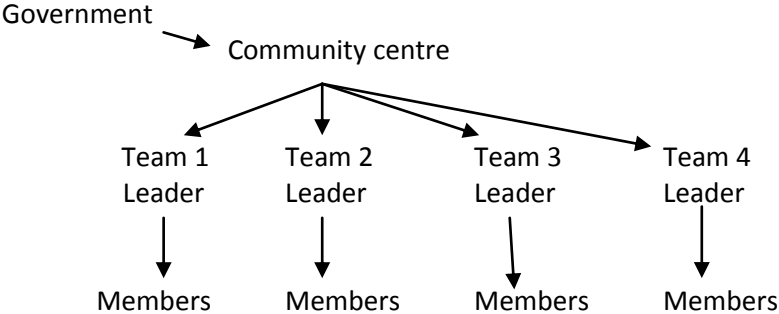
8.1 Voluntary organization

The volunteers with their red shirts are present at the labour square. There is a voluntary station where volunteers gather and answer questions of people on the square. There were also a lot of volunteers at both of the meetings in Da Lang. This paragraph describes the way this voluntary organization is organized, the influence of the voluntary organization and the different activities that they organize for the people in Da Lang.

8.1.1 How is the voluntary organization organized?

It was difficult to find out how the voluntary organization is organized in Da Lang. It was clear from the interviews and the meetings that the organization plays an important role for a lot of people inside the district. The worker of the community service center explained how the voluntary system is organized in Da Lang. He told that there are two voluntary organizations with both 2000 members. At first the Grass volunteers (Xiao Cao) and secondly the Lutheran (Mu en) volunteers. The second one is a more religious organization. This research focuses mainly on the grass volunteers because their station is located at the labour square and they organize the activities over there. Figure 8.1 shows how the voluntary organization is organized in Da Lang. The community service center is a sort of management team that supports the volunteers. This organization gets a lot of information from people in Da Lang and they put this data in a computer system. This helps them to manage the activities and help the people and the volunteers from Da Lang. The voluntary station on the square is more the working place. The community service center is subsidized by the government and has seventeen full time workers. The role of the government is facilitating and monitoring. Examples of

facilities are the labour square, the voluntary station and the facilities for education. They also monitor the activities that are organized by the volunteers. This monitoring is done by the workers of the community service center. Besides the government there's also a big company that supports the volunteers financially. This Swedish company donated between 130.000 and 170.000 RMB to the community service center to support the volunteers. The community service center manages this money for the volunteers. The Swedish company decided to donate this money after they read something on a website about a government initiative to support the volunteers. There's no marketing strategy of the volunteers or the community service center to get donations from companies. But the interviewee mentioned that it could be a good idea to do this in the future. Finally there are some small private donations, this can be money or stuff that people don't need any more (in-depth interview, 1). There are four main teams with leaders who have contacts with the community service center. The leaders are more informal leaders with a good reputation, people listen to them. The teams have small groups with members that organize the activities. The community service center doesn't have a lot of influence in the activities that the volunteers choose to organize. They make these decisions themselves.

Figure 8.1 Organization of the volunteers in Da Lang

Government

Community centre

Team 1 Leader   Team 2 Leader   Team 3 Leader   Team 4 Leader

Members   Members   Members   Members

(in-depth interview, 1)

Most of the volunteers on the square don't know the organization behind the voluntary organization. They just sign in at the voluntary station on the square, organize and participate in activities. Some of them mention an informal leader but the structure is not really clear for most of them. One of the volunteers said that the leaders differ for each activity, so there's not always a fixed leader (interview, 36).

8.1.2 Voluntary organization on the square and the influence on the people

Several interviewees were members of the voluntary organization. There were a lot of differences between the things they do for the organization. Some of them are informal leaders and others are just participating in activities. One of the leaders is a 33 year old publicist for a non-profit organization. He organizes lectures for the voluntary organization. Besides he puts them online on the website of the volunteers. He is one of the leaders who gives instructions to other volunteers for certain activities. Most of his friends are people from the volunteers. The voluntary organization and his work as a publicist are often related with each other. He would leave Da Lang if the organization doesn't need him anymore (interview, 3). The owner of the music shop is also a member of the voluntary organization. His exact role will be explained in the chapter that focuses on music and dancing (interview, 6). The same applies for the owner of the skating club and his girlfriend, their skating club cooperates with the volunteers (interview, 33). Two other guys organize activities for the volunteers as well. A 23 year old manufacturer of mobile phones organizes dumpling parties every week on the square. He buys the food and contacts people to attend these activities. Besides he is one of the organizers of the so called ''true love'' activity. This is held every two or three months, it's held for young people to find their boyfriend or girlfriend. The organization of these activities helps him to improve his communication and organizing skills (interview, 32). The other guy is a 33 year old manufacturer in a fabric that produces electric devices. He is more focused on the organization of other activities. Examples he gave were: cleaning the square, point directions in the metro, organize the traffic and help the older people. He is one of the leaders in organizing these kind of activities. He also mentioned the improvement of his organization skills. Other examples he gave were the understanding of traffic rules and how to prevent a fire in his house. The volunteers informed people how they could prevent a fire in their house on the Saturday that he was interviewed. This guy mentioned several times that it's important for him to help other people. The contacts and friends in the voluntary organization could be a reason for him to stay in Da Lang although the chance is relatively small. This is because he feels attached to the organization and the volunteers (interview, 36). Besides the leaders in the organization, there are a lot of members that help in certain activities and participate in others. One 19 year old girl mentioned that it feels good for her when she helps disabled people. She said that it was really easy for her to become a member of the voluntary community because it's really open and accessible for everybody (interview, 9). Another guy said explicitly that he's not an organizer, but he takes part in a lot of activities (interview, 13). A 22 year old male told about the dancing activities which they organize and that he sometimes helps to organize by making schedules for the dancing (interview, 16). The voluntary organization can be really useful for the personal development of the young members. The best example is a seventeen year old girl without a job who's a member. She helps the volunteers and spends a lot of time in the

voluntary station to answer questions, partly because she doesn't have a job. She answers the questions of people at the voluntary station on the square. Besides she learns a lot from the activities that are organized. Examples she gave with the help of an older female volunteer were: learn how to adapt in a team, how to introduce herself, dancing and how to provide service in communities. This can help her to improve herself and find a job. She tries to find a job through advertisement at the moment (interview, 25). There are also examples of people that want to attend as volunteer but don't do it because of a lack of time or because of their personality. A 22 year old girl told she doesn't attend as volunteer because she's shy (interview, 35). Another 18 year old girl who's working in an electronic factory doesn't have the time to do voluntary work (interview, 8). These examples show the diversity in people that are member of the volunteers and the activities they do. The general image of the organization is that there's a really open and freely accessible culture. Besides there are a lot of different activities organized. Some of them are focused on serving the community and helping other people. For example cleaning the square, pointing directions in the metro and helping older people. Others are more focused on entertainment like dancing and dumpling parties. Other activities inform people and help to improve their skills. For example "how to prevent fire in your house", how to introduce yourself and how to adapt in a team. Finally there are activities focused on meeting people like the "true love" activity. Picture 8.1 shows the voluntary station and the activity "how to prevent fire in your house".

Picture 8.1   Activities of the voluntary organization in Da Lang

Most of the volunteers became member of the organization recently. Some of the people are members for a few years now, mostly the organizers. The interviewee of the community service center told that the group of volunteers is floating. This means that most of them will be a member for a few years and then quit, mostly because they move to another place. He assumed that this organization is a reason to stay in Da Lang but this remark and the future plans of members of the voluntary organization don't support this statement. There won't change much in the future plans of

the community service center. They might add certain tasks into the four different teams of the volunteers. The teams can be managed better and this can attract more people from other places to Da Lang according to the worker of the community service center. The disadvantage of the organization is that the work is heavy and volunteers might get a bit tired from all the efforts they put in besides their regular jobs. It's also difficult to help people lower on the social ladder who don't get in touch with the volunteers (in depth interview, 1). But in general the voluntary organization seems to be very important concerning bottom up organized leisure activities and the personal development (social capital) of a group of people in Da Lang. The organization is monitored and supported but it's still bottom up because the people decide themselves what kind of activities they organize.

8.2   Education

Education and personal development is very important for a lot of young migrants in Da Lang. It was one of the main topics in both attended meetings and a lot of people mentioned it in the interviews. Most of the migrants came from the countryside to Da Lang to make as much money as possible. Education is an important tool for a lot of them to get better jobs and make more money. Several interviewees mentioned that they wanted to follow certain education courses but they don't do it at the moment. This chapter focuses on the different people who take part in these education activities or would like to take part in these activities.

8.2.1   Organization of the education activities

The government and the community service center play an important role in the facilitation of education for migrants. The worker of the community service center told that a part of the educative activities is paid by them and another part by the government. Examples of these educative trainings are English, computer skills and how to develop their interpersonal relationships. There are some differences between the activities financed by the government or the community service center. Only the people that pass the examination of the government training get an official certificate. There's no certificate from the community service training courses. Besides the educative activities facilitated by the government are more frequent, more difficult and more official than the activities of the community service center. So the government training is better according to the worker of the community service center. There's free access for everybody into these activities but there is a limited amount of places. This means that not everybody can attend the training they want. People are informed about these activities through advertisement and a sort of marketing strategy. Volunteers get to know this information first and they have a preferred position compared to others. This is a reward for their voluntary activities (in depth interview, 1).

8.2.2 The role of education for people in Da Lang

One of the interviewees is an English teacher in Da Lang. She teaches the basic English pronunciation and grammar lessons to young migrant workers. It's her job to teach these people English so it's not voluntary. Her life is very much focused on the teaching. Most of the contacts she has in Da Lang are teachers and students at the school. She learns a lot from other teachers and also found her house with the help of the leader of the office. She wants to develop her teaching skills further and maybe run the management of the teaching office in the future. For now she won't leave Da Lang because her students want her as a teacher. The English lessons play an important role in the personal development of the students according to her (interview, 2). Another organizer is the 33 year old publicist who plays an important role in the voluntary organization. He organizes literature lectures for the volunteers. Other volunteers can develop themselves through these lectures, but he can improve his organizing and communication skills as well (interview, 3). Both of these organizers help other people in Da Lang to develop themselves. So they are social capital for other people. On the other hand they learn from the organization and the contacts they meet (interview, 2,3)

Four of the interviewees attended certain education classes. A nineteen year old girl who's a volunteer goes to a management class three days a week for two hours. This education course is very important for her. It helps to build her confidence and self-esteem. Besides it made her feel more comprising and hopeful about the future. She spends a lot of time with her classmates also if they are not in class. These classmates introduced her to the voluntary organization so she became a volunteer after she entered the class. It was her sister who introduced her to the management class (interview, 9). Another 22 year old girl mentioned that she goes to a class because she wants to know more about management skills. She didn't tell anything about the contacts in class or the way she found the opportunity to go to class (interview, 12). A 25 year old mother told that she went to an English accounting class before. She went there three days a week besides her regular work. She learned certain computer skills in the class which helped her to find a better job. So the class helped her to improve herself and gain the skills to find a better job (interview, 21). Finally there's a 31 year old salesman that follows an adult training course to become a tour guide. He follows this course to become a professional tour guide in the future. He sees this education as an important tool to develop himself and find a better job (Interview, 15).

There's a bigger group of respondents that would like to attend a class but they don't do it at the moment. They gave three different reasons for not attending classes. The first is a lack of time, three people want to attend a class but don't have the time for it (interview, 26,34,35). For example a 30 year old restaurant owner didn't have time because she has to be in her restaurant from 9:00 am until 12:00 pm (interview, 26). The second reason is a lack of money to pay for the classes. This is the reason why three other people don't attend classes (interview, 14,29,30). One 26 year old

manufacturing worker would like to attend some classes to learn more about technology. This is too expensive for him at the moment, partly because he sends a big part of his income back to his family at home (interview, 14). A 23 year old girl will attend a management class if this is free (interview, 29). A combination of both arguments was mentioned by a 23 year old guy who's a volunteer. The combination of a lack of time and money makes that he's not attending any classes at the moment (Interview, 32). The final reason has to do with people who can't find the class they would like to attend. Four of the interviewees mentioned this problem (interview, 13,15,16,24). One of the interviewees a 27 year old salesman would like to learn Spanish. He can't find a training center for this course (interview, 24). This is probably more difficult to find than for example an English class or a management class. But there's also a 21 year old guy who's a member of the volunteers that can't find a class to improve his management skills (interview, 13). This is a bit strange because it should be easier for him to find these classes according to the guy of the community service center (in depth interview, 1). Besides it's clear that there are management classes from other interviews (interview, 9,12).

The interviews showed that there are some organizers and participants that consider attending educative activities in Da Lang. Several examples revealed the importance of these classes for them considering personal development. But the most important finding is that a relatively big group of ten people would like to attend classes but they don't do it at the moment. There's one personal reason which is a lack of time which applies to a part of the group. But the others can't find classes or don't have money for it. Especially in certain cases it's strange because there are free trainings from the community service center and the government. These stories give the impression that a lot of people are not familiar with these classes, they are not well informed. Especially the 21 year old volunteer is supposed to be better informed because volunteers have a preferred position according to the community service center worker (in depth interview, 1). More people would probably attend the free trainings if the advertisement or other ways of informing are better organized. These educative activities are not completely bottom up because the government influences the courses that are given. But there is a bottom up aspect in it for example the lectures that are organized (interview, 3).

8.3   Skating

Skating is one of the main activities on and around the labour square. Most of the time there are people skating on the square. Besides there are trainings for young children to improve their skating qualities. The observations made clear that skating is one of the most important bottom up organized leisure activities on and around the square. This chapter will explain the social networks considering the skating activities on the square. Especially the importance for the people that attend or organize the activities related to skating.

8.3.1   The organization of skating activities on the labour square

There's a small skating shop which is located really close to the labour square. This shop sells skates but also stuff like clothing which can be used for the skating. The owner is a middle man between the factory in Shenzhen and several other skating shops in China. He and his girlfriend opened the shop because it was his dream. They own the shop but they are also the organizers of a lot of skating activities. They started a skating club which has a few hundred members now. Everyone who is interested in skating can become a member of this club. They organize activities like skating in the city center, skating competitions and a skating tour on holidays. But the club is not only focused on skating activities, they organize a yearly party in the shop for the Chinese new year and they have dinner with people from the club every Saturday. The girlfriend of the owner told that they organize a lot of these activities for social reasons. A lot of people are bored in the weekends according to her, so they try to organize some activities to enjoy their leisure time. This skating club cooperates with the grass volunteers. They help cleaning the square and help the older people in Da Lang once a month. There are social motives behind the organization of these activities but there's also an economic interest. The members of the skating club buy their skates and other skating stuff in the shop. This means that the owners earn their money from it which is important to make a living (interview, 33). The skating shop seems to be an important meeting place for a group of young migrants who are interested in the skating activities. There are always people hanging around after working hours especially at the beginning of the evening. A lot of these young skaters wear the same t-shirts which is related to the skating club. The girlfriend of the owner told that it is quite boring in the shop during the daytime but a lot of people visit the shop from 6 pm in the evening (interview, 33).

One of the members gives skating trainings on the square for young children. There's a specific part on the square which is always used for these trainings from 5:00 pm until 9:00 pm on weekdays and also during daytime in the weekends. The place where the skating training is located is shown in figure 7.1. The trainer uses pawns to organize his trainings and improve the skills of the young children. The trainer found this job with the help of the owner of the skating club. He was working in

a factory when he came to Da Lang and then became a member of the skating club. He attended the activities that were organized by the owner of the skating shop and also did some voluntary work. He was asked by the owner of the skating shop to become a trainer because of this membership and his skating skills. The trainer advices the children to buy their skates in the shop and gets a part of the revenues. He also gets a small amount of money from the training he gives to the children. This is an example of someone who found a job with the help of his social network related to bottom up organized leisure activities (interview, 5,33). Picture 8.2 shows the skating shop and the skating trainings.

Picture 8.2   Skating shop and skating trainings

The owners of the skating shop and the trainer are people that organize the activities considering skating. Besides them there are a lot of people that just attend the skating activities and go to the square or a skating rink to skate. This is not necessarily organized, some people just go to the square to skate. A 23 year old salesman told that he goes to the square or another public place to skate once a week. He met some new friends through this skating activity on the square. One of this friends introduced him to his current job as a salesman for a fitness company (interview, 7). A similar story was told by a 19 year old barber's apprentice. This guy skates every day for two to three hours with friends. This can be at the indoor skating rink or at the labour square. The biggest part of his social network in Da Lang are people that he met at these skating activities, around 60 percent of the people he knows. This guy was introduced to his job as a barber by one of the skating friends that he met at the square (interview, 34). These are examples of the social capital of people related to the skating activity.

A lot of the interviewees attend the skating activities and meet new contacts at these activities. One example is a 21 year old guy who just arrived in Da Lang in March 2013. He didn't knew a lot of people because he just arrived. But he already met two new friends at the skating activities on the square. He skates five times a week after work with his friends (interview, 39). Other people just

skate on the square or at the skating rink with people they know, for example colleagues or their child (interview, 8,20,30). Another guy skates alone, without any friends or acquaintances because they are not interested in these activities (interview, 22).

There's also a group of spectators that like to attend the skating activities but they don't do it because they don't think they are skilled enough or afraid to fall down. These people prefer to watch other people who skate on the square (interview, 16,18,25).

The skating activity is an important activity in the leisure time of a lot of young migrants in Da Lang. It's freely accessible to skate or watch the skating on public places like the labour square. Migrants can meet new people and make new friends which extends their social network. Besides there are a lot of activities organized by the skating club in which people can participate if they want. Several examples showed the presence of social capital inside the skating network, especially considering jobs, but also considering communication with other people and the personal development related to this contacts.

8.4   Music and Dancing

Dancing is an important leisure activity for a lot of migrants in Da Lang. There's often music on the labour square, sometimes with individual performances, but most of the time there's a group of people dancing. It seems to be a really open and freely accessible activity. A few people bring a music system to the square and people start dancing if the music starts to play. Sometimes there's a big group of people dancing on the square. Besides an even bigger group watch the people that are dancing.

8.4.1   The organization of music and dancing activities on the labour square

There's a music shop located next to the skating shop. The owner of this shop plays an important role in the organization of dancing and singing activities on the square. He works as a music teacher who's specialized in playing the piano. He teaches people how to play the piano and the guitar in his shop. He charges a relatively low fee for these lessons, this is one of the reasons that young migrants attend his lessons. He's also very active as a musician. Sometimes he starts to play music with some of his friends in the shop. A lot of people came from the square to watch them play on these occasions. He's a also a member of the voluntary organization. He organizes the music part of a lot of activities of the voluntary organization. He asks other musicians to help him on a voluntary basis for these activities. He's very positive about one of the leaders of the voluntary organization. This is one of the reasons that he's willing to help the organization voluntary. The other reason is that he gets work from the government because people from the government see him play at the activities of the volunteers. He gets paid for the work that he does for the government, so there's an economic

motive as well. Other more informal activities are playing music, dancing on the square itself and organize karaoke in his shop. He has the right material and it's much cheaper for people than going to the KTV (interview, 6). There are some other people that give music lessons in the shop, mostly part-time. This can be people that work in the factory who are very interested in music. One respondent gives guitar lessons in the shop. This guitar teacher is really focused on music and musicians in general. He is a member of a band that plays music and composes their own songs. They try to inspire each other and have their own rented rehearsal room. They perform on the labour square every week and sometimes have commercial performances, the weekly performance on the labour square is voluntary. The musicians form a small informal group with members that know and accept each other. He made many friends because people are interested in him with his talent for playing the guitar. He tries to make friends with the wealthier music fans because they can help him financially. They can make it possible to make his own music album with his band. Besides he learns about management and finance from other people in the music world. This interviewee didn't have a job besides the music, he couldn't work for longer than a few days in the boring environment of the factories. This means that he relies on his music skills and his contacts in the music world to make a living (interview, 4). These two people combined their work and leisure activities in the passion for music. One of the interviewees attends piano classes to develop her skills. This eighteen year old girl practices three to four times a week. It isn't clear from the interview where she practices but it could be at the music shop near the square. She's also considering to play the guitar and practice her singing skills. She didn't mention that she met a lot of contacts through these activities but this could be the case, she just arrived one month before the interview in Da Lang (interview, 17). There are people besides these musicians that like to dance on the square as mentioned before. Some people dance almost every day on the square. It's one of their most important leisure activities and they meet a lot of people if they are dancing on the square. The biggest part of their social network consists of people they have met at the square. A lot of these contacts also dance on the square. These contacts help them to develop themselves as a person. Examples mentioned are: broadening the business network, cooperate in a group, improving communication skills and get more self-confidence. So it's not only an important leisure activity but there's also a lot of social capital related to this activity. There are no specific examples about people that found a job or a house but these people mentioned that they will ask their friends for information if they need a new house or job (interview, 13,38). There are also some members of the volunteers that dance and sing a lot on the square. Most of the time with other people from the volunteers. They know these people because they are a member of the volunteers, but the dancing and singing are important social activities. There's a lot of social capital related to these contacts as described in the chapter about voluntary work (interview, 25,36). Another interviewee didn't mention the dancing on the square, but only

karaoke on the square. He has to pay three Yuan (40 eurocent) for a song. He met a lot of his contacts in Da Lang at the labour square. Especially people from the same age group in the beginning of their thirties with relatively good jobs, for example as a manager. He received a lot of information and opportunities from the contacts with these people (interview, 15).

There's another group of people who go to the square to dance. These people often go there with people they already now. This can be colleagues, former classmates, relatives or other people from their hometown. They didn't mention a lot of new people that they meet at the square. One girl mentioned that she met two new people at the square (interview, 12). Two others didn't say anything about new people met at the square or through the dancing. These two people have relatively big social networks but they met those people somewhere else and go with them to the square (interview, 12,15). Picture 8.3 shows the music shop and the dancing activities.

Picture 8.3   Music shop and dancing on the square

A lot of people mentioned the dancing on the square besides these organizers and participants. Some of the spectators would like to attend the dancing but they don't do it at the moment. Some of them have a lack of confidence to dance in public. They don't know how to dance or they only want to learn it in a private place which is too expensive (interview, 14,18,20,30). One girl prefers to watch others instead of participating in the dancing (interview, 35). Other interviewees would like to participate in the dancing but they don't have the time for it because of their jobs or raising their kid (interview, 1,5,11).

The dancing and singing are really important leisure activities for the people that visit Da Lang labour square. It's one of the activities in which a lot of interviewees participate or would like to participate. It's really easy to join the dancing on the square, everyone that wants to attend can join. The examples show that it can be an important part of the social network and the social capital of people. This makes it very important for the identity of the square and the people that visit the square.

9.   Discussion

This chapter will combine the results from this research with the existing literature which is described in the theoretical part of the research. Certain differences and similarities between the results and the literature are part of this chapter. But also new findings from this research will be presented which are hardly described in the English literature about China and Shenzhen. Finally this chapter tries to find implications on a larger scale than Da Lang and possible future research from the findings of this research.

9.1   Context of Da Lang and the respondents

The results from this research in Da Lang can add to the discussion about China and specifically about Shenzhen. It's clear from the literature that there is a floating population in Shenzhen. This means that people come to the city, make money and leave the city. Wang defines this as leaving, remitting and returning. This process causes a floating population which is an important characteristic of Shenzhen. This process is changing at the moment because the new generation of migrants has a more individualistic group who make their own personal choices focused on themselves (Wang, 2012). Not every young migrant is the same, there are differences within the group of young migrants. Hu described four types of young migrants. The career builder, the family helper, the emotional explorer and the lost follower. The characteristics of these types of young migrants are also represented in this research. Some of the respondents work and send money back home, the family helpers. Others came to Shenzhen to see something of the environment and will move on if they have seen everything they want, the emotional explorers. There are also people who develop themselves and get better jobs with an higher salary after a while, these are the career builders. Finally there are also some respondents that came to Da Lang and live with a family member who went to the city before them, the lost followers. The characteristics are represented as described but it's really difficult to put people in a group and treat them as the same. There are a lot of differences between people and in the case of the bottom up organized leisure activities there's no clear divide. It's not the case that people with the characteristics of career builders organize the activities and the lost followers watch the activities. So the characteristics are represented but the divide isn't used to define the different groups in this research. Besides there's a shift in Shenzhen from a completely manufacturing economy towards a more high-tech economy which needs different workers who are higher educated (Xiao & Tsang, 1999). These processes and characteristics are an important background for this research in Da Lang. The research shows that there's still a floating population in Da Lang and in most of the big cities in China, not only from the regular interviews, but also from the information of the PHD student who does his research on this phenomenon in China (In-depth interview, 2). The manufacturing industry still plays an important role in Da Lang which became clear

from the interviews and observations in the district. This means that the shift which is described in the literature is not yet completed in Da Lang. This background is important to understand the current situation.

9.2   The role of the social network in the choice for Da Lang

This research described the reasons why people choose Da Lang as place to work and live instead of other districts or cities where they can go to work. The main reason why migrants go to Shenzhen or other big cities is to make money, because the wages are higher (Ng, 2003). This research showed that the social network plays an important role in the choice for a district like Da Lang. Most respondents had family, people from their hometown, their boyfriend or girlfriend, former colleagues, classmates etc. living in Da Lang. These contacts played an important role in their choice for Da Lang. This influence of the social network is a bit underexposed in the literature. Further research can show if the choice for a city like Shenzhen and the district Da Lang is influenced by the social network which can give a better explanation why certain migrants choose for Shenzhen/Da Lang and not for other places.

9.3   Labour square Da Lang

The different kinds of spaces are described in the theoretical chapter. The labour square in Da Lang is clearly a lived or humanized space according to the definition of Friedman. It's difficult to create these kind of spaces in the context of a floating population according to Friedman (Friedman, 2006). The context of a floating population seems to be one of the strengths of the labour square In Da Lang. There's a very open culture at the square and it's freely accessible for everyone. A lot of respondents mentioned that they didn't knew a lot of people when they arrived in Da Lang or don't have a lot of contacts in the district. Most of them were willing to make new friends and get to know more people. This created an open and inviting culture at the square in which people can do the activities they like and find new social contacts. So the floating population is a strength in the case of the labour square in contrast to the findings of Friedman. The government just facilitated the public space and the people themselves created this situation without intervention from the government. The research of Li in Dalian already showed that squares can be important for people to spend their leisure time (Li, 2004). A part of the respondents just spend their leisure time at the square, these are the spectators. But the group of participants and active citizens find a lot of social contacts and gain social capital at the square. Further research is necessary to find out whether the labour square is a unique case in the context of Da Lang or if other squares in Shenzhen and other big cities with a floating population have the same influence on the people, the culture and the atmosphere on the squares. There are different parochial realms at the labour square, related to the activities that people do. There's a particular place where people skate, dance, gamble and play badminton. Besides that there's the

voluntary station where the volunteers gather. The parochial realms also play a role in the choices of some of the people who recently came to Da Lang. One of the interviewees mentioned that he chose a place to sit down close to the skating activities because he wanted to join them in the future (Interview, 27). So the parochial realms described by Lofland are present at the labour square (Lofland, 1998). The negative effects of exclusion and fragmentation of the public space don't seem to be the case at the square (Hayer & Reijndorp, 2001; Loukaito-Sideris, 1996: 100).

9.4   Bottom up organized leisure activities

The literature on leisure activities in China is often about the activities people do, the leisure time they have, the constraints they face, the reason why they do these activities and some related themes (Yim & Chen, 2009; Yin, 2005; Dong & Chick, 2012). There's hardly any information about bottom up organized leisure activities in the literature. This research showed that not everything is top down in China. There are a lot of bottom up organized activities on and around the square: skating, dancing, singing, gambling and voluntary activities are the main examples in the case of the labour square. These activities show that there are active citizens within the community of Da Lang. These organizers are relatively high educated as Oliver described. The reason that they organize activities has to do with social motivations but also economic motivations. Pessimism about initiatives of others doesn't seem to play a role for these people. This is a difference with the findings of Oliver who stated that this was one of the main reasons that people become active (Oliver, 1984). Heberer described that the government tries to regulate the emerging citizenship in a top down way. This is also the case in Da Lang, the government facilitates for example the labour square and the voluntary station but also monitors the activities with the help of the community service center. This community service center doesn't organize the activities but it coordinates the structure of the voluntary organization and tries to help people if necessary. So the government tries to maintain its influence in the case of leisure activities in Da Lang. This is in accordance with the general results about China from Heberer's research (Heberer, 2009). But the general idea that Chinese people become more active and not everything is organized and decided by the government is also the case in this research (Wang, 2002; Ngai, Chi chan and Chan, 2010).

9.5   Social capital

The other main concept in this research besides bottom up organized leisure activities is social capital. The definition of Putnam focuses on the importance of social networks for a community. There's a lot of social capital present in Da Lang which helps the community (Putnam, 1995). The best examples are the activities of the voluntary organization on and around the square. The volunteers clean the square, help pointing directions in the metro, help the older and disabled people, organize activities where people can make new friends etc. Others like the skating club and the musicians help

in the organization of these social activities. This shows that there is a lot of social capital present in this community. The change from "I" into "we" as described by Putnam seems to be made by these people in Da Lang district. For example cleaning the square is a collective benefit from the work of a part of the community, in this case the volunteers and the skating club (Putnam, 1995). The other definition of Lin is more about the social capital of individual people, this is mainly the focus of this research. He defines it as "An investment in social capital with "expected" returns" (Lin, 1999). These public places are really important for the social capital in Da Lang as expected from another research of Lin. The public spaces in the skating shop, music shop and at the labour square are really important for the development of social capital in Da Lang (Lin, 2001). There are several examples of individual social capital considering bottom up organized leisure activities in the case of Da Lang. The returns are sometimes expected. The owners of the music shop and the skating shop are good examples. These owners organize several activities with expected economic returns from the contacts that they gain from these activities. Selling skates and clothing in the case of the skating shop and paid performances in the case of the music shop. There are some other examples from participators but these are the best examples in this research. There are a lot of young migrants that gain an important part of the social capital that they have trough these activities, the difference is that they have no expected returns. A lot of the contacts that are part of the social capital are weak ties. The conclusion of Granovetter that weak ties are really important is confirmed in this research. These are mainly the contacts met at bottom up organized leisure activities in this research (Granovetter, 1973). Besides close contacts or so called bonding social capital seems to have a negative effect on the size of the social networks of young migrants. Their social network is less expanded because they are focussed on a few friends. The people with a lot of bonding social capital often don't have a lot of bridging social capital. The people with a small social network and a lot of bonding social capital are often the spectators in this research. For example the unemployed guy who didn't want to make new friends and the girl of interview 37 who spends almost all her leisure time with the same three friends (Interview, 10,37). This confirms the results from the research of Holland which stated that a lot of bonding social capital can have a negative influence on the amount of social capital (Holland et al., 2007). This bonding social capital is closely linked to the homogeneous peer group networks. There are signs of peer group networks in Da Lang, some of the respondents have contacts with family members and people from their hometown, hardly any others. It seems to be limited in the case of Da Lang and the labour square, especially considering bottom up organized leisure activities. The floating population is very heterogeneous with people from many different areas in China. This creates a multicultural situation at the square. Most people don't have big social networks when they arrive in the district and a lot of them are willing to make new friends. The people that attend the bottom up organized leisure activities are really diverse. They have

different backgrounds, ages (but all relatively young), educational levels, jobs and both genders attend the activities (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001). This makes the social network of the people that attend the activities relatively heterogeneous and the effect of peer group networks is relatively limited. This seems to have a positive effect on the amount of social capital in the case of the labour square. The network sites also play a role in the weak ties that young migrants have. Some of them mention that they are proud of the large numbers of contacts that they have online. The We-chat app plays an important role in this context (Ellisson, Steinfield & Lampe). It's not clear if these online contacts are important for the social capital of the young migrants in Da Lang. Further research can give more and better information about the influence of network sites on social capital.

9.6 Expectations from this research

The results from this research can give some expectations on higher levels like Shenzhen or China. It's clear that the transformation to a high-tech economy isn't completed yet in all areas in Shenzhen. There's still a lot of manufacturing work in suburbs like Da Lang. Besides there are no indications from this research that there will be a more stable population in Shenzhen, of course there are different contexts within Shenzhen but the interview with the PHD student showed that the reasons to go back to the hometown are really common. These patterns are similar all over China according to him and won't change on a short notice. The social network plays an important role in the choice to go to Da Lang for the migrants. This gives the impression that the social network plays an important role in the choice of residence for migrants within China. The expectation is that this is the same for the whole of Shenzhen and other cities within China with a lot of immigrants from other parts of China. Public spaces like the labour square can play an important role in a community like Da Lang. A lot of new inhabitants of the city want to meet new people and do activities in their leisure time. These opportunities are provided by the labour square. The labour square shows that it's possible that the government just facilitates the public space and the people themselves organize the activities. The bottom up organized leisure activities play a really important role on the square and in the lives of a lot of young migrants. This positive influence becomes clear in the examples of social capital that people gain from their contacts with other people if they organize or attend activities. These people seem to have more opportunities than other people who watch others and don't attend activities. Da Lang has a specific context, but similar situations can occur in other places where a lot of immigrants are located in a certain city or district. One of the main requirements is public space like the labour square in Da Lang. Further research with more respondents on a larger scale is necessary to prove the importance of bottom up organized leisure activities on the social capital of young migrants in Chinese cities. This social capital can be one of the explanations why migrants have different development paths in the places where they go.

10. Conclusion

This research made a combination of two different topics in the academic literature. On the one hand the leisure activities focusing on the bottom up organized activities and on the other hand the social networks and social capital of people. The main goal was to find out what the influence of bottom up organized leisure activities is on the social capital of young migrants in Da Lang. The following research question is answered in this conclusion: *"How are the bottom up organized leisure activities organized for young migrants in Da Lang and how do these activities influence the social capital and the personal development of the young migrants?"*

10.1 Bottom up organized leisure activities

There were two types of bottom up organized leisure activities on and around the labour square. On the one hand activities in which the government played a role in the structure or the facilitation of activities. In this research the voluntary organization and the education activities. These activities are still characterized as bottom up organized leisure activities. The activities are organized by the people and not by the government, although the government plays a role in for example the facilitation. Other examples were more bottom up organized activities with hardly any influence from the government. These are the music activities like dancing and singing together with the skating activities. The main organizers are the shop owners of the music and skating shop. These people have an economic motive besides their social motives. They want to make money but also contribute something to the community of Da Lang. Mostly there's a connection or cooperation with the voluntary organization.

10.2 Labour square

A lot of the activities are organized on and around the labour square, sometimes inside the shops. These public places seem to be very important for the organization of the bottom up organized leisure activities. It would be really difficult to organize these kind of activities without these public spaces. This idea was confirmed in the interview with the community service centre in which the respondent told that most people spent their leisure time at home before 2007 when there was no labour square. There's an interesting divide on the labour square of the different people and activities. These are the parochial realms with a sort of informally created private space inside the public space.

10.3   Organizers, participants and spectators

The respondents are divided in three different groups. The first group are the organizers, these people organize the activities. The organizers in this sample are teachers, shop owners and people of the voluntary organisation, these people do the voluntary work besides their regular job. The organizers are on average a little bit older, higher educated and live for a longer time in the district. The difference between the groups and the sample size is small so these results can't be generalized. The second group are the participators who attend the organized activities. The activities in this research are mainly dancing/singing, skating, voluntary activities and education. Finally there's a group of spectators. These people watch the activities on the square but don't attend them. They are mostly sitting on the side of the square watching others. This doesn't mean that they can't become participants and maybe even organizers. Some of the spectators mentioned that they want to attend activities but they don't do it yet, sometimes because they don't know many people, because they just arrived in the district. So the different groups are not fixed, this can change over time. This can be researched by interviewing the same people on different moments in time, now there's only one interview for each respondent which can't show the possible development from spectator to participant to organizer. There were not a lot of differences in personal characteristics between the group of spectators and participants which supports the idea that this group can develop into participants. On the other hand there were some interviewees that didn't want to attend or organize any of the activities on the square. They will probably stay spectators in the future.

10.4   Social capital

That people meet new people at the bottom up organized leisure activities is an important part of the social capital of the participants. These new contacts are mainly important to improve certain skills and to find a job. Most people found their house by themselves or they live in dormitories, which are facilitated by the factories. There are several examples of young migrants who developed themselves with the help of the activities or the people which they met at the activities. This isn't the case for the spectators who just watch the other people. This research gives the impression that the people who attend the bottom up organized leisure activities develop themselves better inside the district than people who don't attend these activities. This can be because of the activities they attend but it can be the other way around as well. People who attend the activities can be the people that are willing to develop themselves more. This can be the reason why they attend the activities instead of the other way around. The contacts that participants meet at the activities are a small part of the explanation in this case. Further research is necessary to understand the influence of other factors on the development of people, especially considering their personality. A more clear result has to do with the actual development of people. It became clear that young migrants are able to

develop themselves inside Da Lang district and climb the social ladder. This can be seen as an escalator effect of the district for young migrants. It seems that the district doesn't have the same speed of development compared to a part of its inhabitants. This has to do with the floating population of the district. At the one hand this floating population creates a very open culture at places like the labour square in which it's easy to attend activities and make new friends. On the other hand people leave the district after a few years and new people enter the district with the same cycle of arriving in the district, developing themselves and leaving the district. This result is in contrast with the expectations of government officials and people from the voluntary organization. They expect a more stable population in the recent future, this is a wrong assumption according to a PHD student who studies migration patterns in China and the answers of the respondents.

10.5   Summary

The main conclusions are that the labour square in Da Lang is a public place with a lot of bottom up organized leisure activities. There's an open culture in which people can make a lot of new contacts and attend activities if they want. The contacts that participants meet at the bottom up organized leisure activities are an important part of the social capital of the young migrants. These contacts help to develop themselves and this creates an escalator effect for those people. Others who are more focussed on themselves and just watch others don't seem to profit from these opportunities. Finally there's still a floating population in Da Lang and the expectation from this research is that this won't change in the near future.

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Reflection

This part reflects on the research and the processes of this thesis. The difficult parts during the process but also the parts that went smoothly. The reflection is divided in three different parts. The first part was about finding a topic and write the research proposal. The second part about the data collection in Shenzhen. The final part is about the writing the thesis.

The thesis project started in January with a literature review. I read several books and articles to understand the context of China and specifically Shenzhen. I knew from the beginning that I would focus on the social sustainability in the Da Lang district. There were several meetings which helped to choose a topic and write a research proposal. I had some difficulties in finding a topic in the beginning. I didn't have enough focus in the beginning which made it hard to make a good research proposal. My supervisor Arnold Reijndorp and co-tutor Ching Wen Yan helped me very much to define a good topic. It took a few weeks but the process of writing a good research proposal went a lot better after I had a good topic.

I expected a big challenge considering the data collection in Shenzhen. I merged my interview questions with the questions of Bas Hendrikse to conduct more interviews. We had to find translators because the potential interviewees in Da Lang couldn't speak English. We found a group of students from Peking University who were willing to help in the first week. This worked out really well and we conducted a lot of interviews in the first weeks. This resulted in 39 useful interviews which was enough for the thesis. I wanted to find more information about how the voluntary organization in Da Lang was organized. It was difficult to get in touch with the right people to get this information. This worked out well in the end with the help of Sichong Wang a fellow student. By attending a meeting in Da Lang we got in touch with the PHD student who gave useful background information about rural-urban migration patterns in China. There were some challenges but the data collection went really smoothly.

It was a bit difficult to start up the writing process back in Holland. The meetings with my supervisor and co-tutor helped to find a good method for the analysis. I had enough data which made it easier to write the chapters about the research itself. There were some challenges considering the theoretical part especially considering social capital. There are a lot of definitions and there's a lot of discussion about social capital. I choose to use two definitions which were suitable for my research and didn't elaborate too much on all the different definitions in the literature.

In general it was a period in which I learned a lot and I'm proud of the final result.

Appendix

Interview questions Combination of Fabian and Bas

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?
- What do those friends do for a living?

5. Role of interviewee
- Are you satisfied with the activities that are organized?
- Do you organize activities yourself?
- If yes (Which/why/how/for whom) ; If no: who started it up?
- 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? B
- Do the contacts of the people you meet at the leisure activities play a role in future residence choice? F.

Chinese version interview

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？