

Decisions of migrants in their choice of residence

A Case study in Baishizhou village in Shenzhen



Master Thesis Human Geography
University of Amsterdam
Maurice Veeken

Supervisor: Prof. A. Reijndorp
Co-supervisor: C.W. Yang
August 2013

Decisions of migrants in their choice of residence

A Case study in Baishizhou village in Shenzhen



Master Thesis Human Geography
Graduate School of Social Sciences
University of Amsterdam
Maurice Veeken
Student number: 5777275
Mauriceveeken@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Prof. A. Reijndorp
Co-supervisor: C.W. Yang
August 2013

Acknowledgements

This is my master thesis research about the decisions migrants make in their choice of residence. I looked at the migrants living in Baishizhou village, one of the urban villages in Shenzhen. With this thesis I will complete the master programme Human Geography at the University of Amsterdam. The last half year I have worked with a lot of pleasure and passion on this thesis project. The six weeks of data collection in Shenzhen were a great experience and especially a very fruitful period. I learned a lot from the interviewing days in my research area Baishizhou village. I had never visited an urban village before but I have to say that it made a big impression on me. It really fascinated me that so many people can live together in such a small area. Overall I am satisfied with the data that I collected during the six weeks in Shenzhen, which formed the basis for this thesis.

I want to thank several people who have made a significant contribution to my thesis. First of all I am grateful to the International New Town Institute for providing accommodation in Shenzhen and for the introduction week in Shenzhen. I want to thank all the students from Shenzhen University who helped me with the translation of the interviews. Without them it would have been impossible to conduct interviews in Baishizhou village. Besides I am grateful to all the respondents for their participation in this research. I want to thank the other students of the University of Amsterdam, who accompanied me for their own research in Shenzhen, for the fun time together in Shenzhen. It was great to experience China and especially Shenzhen together with them. I am grateful to URBANIS for the workspace, offered at their office in Shenzhen. It was really nice to have a workspace where I could transcribe the interviews and work on my thesis project. Finally I want to show my gratitude to Arnold Reijndorp and Chingwen Yang for their inspiring and stimulating guidance during this research project.

Have fun reading my master thesis about the decisions migrants make in their choice of residence.

Maurice Veeken

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Problem definition	2
1.3	Scientific and social relevance	2
1.4	Research aim	3
2.	Theoretical framework	4
2.1	Migration and household registration system	4
2.2	Urban villages: low cost housing market	5
2.3	Redevelopment of urban villages	5
2.4	Residential mobility and choices in housing	6
2.5	Constraints in housing	8
2.6	New migrants	8
3.	Research design	10
3.1	Research questions	10
3.2	Conceptual scheme	11
3.3	Operationalization of concepts	12
3.4	Research strategy and methodology	14
3.5	Data collection	14
3.6	Data analysing	15
3.7	Research limitations	16

4.	Background	17
4.1	Shenzhen and urban villages	17
4.2	Research area: Baishizhou village	20
4.3	Migration motivations	24
4.4	Population in Baishizhou	25
4.5	Residential choice for Baishizhou	29
4.6	Living conditions in Baishizhou	30
4.7	Attachment to the area	31
4.8	Housing market in Baishizhou	32
5.	Factors and actors in choice of residence	36
5.1	Factors in choice of residence	36
5.2	Actors in choice of residence	40
6.	Housing options	43
6.1	Options in housing	43
6.2	Relocation	45
6.3	Constraints in housing	47
6.4	Difficulties in finding new residence	50

7.	Redevelopment of Baishizhou	52
7.1	Introduction	52
7.2	Awareness of redevelopment	52
7.3	Redevelopment and effects on life of migrants	53
8.	Discussion	57
8.1	Urban villages	57
8.2	Redevelopment and migrants	58
8.3	Large scale redevelopment: causes migrants and housing market	59
9.	Conclusion	61
9.1	Baishizhou: housing market	61
9.2	Factors and actors in choice of residence	62
9.3	Housing options	62
9.4	Constraints in housing options	63
9.5	Affected by the redevelopment	64
	References	66
	Appendix	70
	Reflection	70
	Interview	71

Tables and figures

Figure 1: Conceptual scheme	p. 12
Figure 2: Location of Shenzhen within China	p. 17
Figure 3: Distribution of urban villages in Shenzhen	p. 19
Figure 4: Location of Baishizhou in Shenzhen	p. 20
Figure 5: Images of Baishizhou village	p. 21
Figure 6: Baishizhou area and its five urban villages and surrounding area	p. 22
Figure 7: Surrounding of Baishizhou	p. 23
Figure 8: Working locations of higher educated migrants living in Baishizhou	p. 26
Figure 9: Province of the hometown of the respondents	p. 28
Figure 10: The most important factor in the choice of residence	p. 36
Figure 11: Commuting time in minutes	p. 37
Figure 12: The least important factor in the choice of residence	p. 39
Figure 13: Actors that will help in finding new housing	p. 41
Figure 14: Monthly household income in Yuan	p. 47
Figure 15: Maximum amount of rent willing to pay for an apartment	p. 48
Picture 1: Small apartment with shared facilities in Baishizhou	p. 32
Picture 2: Little advertisement on the wall	p. 34
Picture 3: Little advertisement poster	p. 34
Table 1: Duration of stay in Baishizhou	p. 27
Table 2: Age distribution of respondents	p. 28
Table 3: Awareness of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou in percentage	P. 52

1. Introduction

Since the economic and social reforms in the 1970's Shenzhen experienced a high inflow of people combined with rapid urban expansion. The urban expansion caused many urban areas to engulf rural village-like settlements. These rural villages formed enclaves within the new urban landscape. The urban villages became an important informal housing market because the indigenous villagers lost their farmland with the expansion of urban areas. This caused the landless farmers to seek alternative means to make a living and the retention of their villages, housing areas provided an opportunity to make a good living. The migrants flooded the city because of the large job opportunities in the many factories which created a large demand for affordable housing. The urban villages provided low-cost housing which attracted the migrants that came to the city. The urban villages became enclaves of migrants within the city. The urban villages thus became an indispensable sub-market of low-cost urban housing (Hao, 2012).

In Shenzhen there are 320 urban villages within the city boundaries. These urban villages are heavily populated, overdeveloped and lack a decent infrastructure. Environmental and social problems became associated with urban villages which led to a negative view of the government towards these villages. This led to an increasing determination to demolish the urban villages and to redevelop the urban villages. The government also wants to redevelop the urban villages because a lot of them are situated at prime locations in the city with a high land value. The Municipal government of Shenzhen wants to redevelop the urban villages on prime locations within the city because there is less and less space for urban expansion. In 2005 the Shenzhen Municipal Government introduced and approved the Master Plan of Urban Village Redevelopment. The plan declared 137 urban villages to be either total or partial redeveloped (Shenzhen Municipal Government, 2005).

1.2 Problem definition

In Shenzhen there are 12.8 million migrants, which is called the floating population. The floating population exists of 84 per cent of the total population of Shenzhen, so the migrants are by far the largest group of residents in Shenzhen (Shenzhen Statistic Bureau, 2010). The urban villages in Shenzhen are the most important residence locations for this large floating population, because of the low-cost housing and the proximity to employment in the city. However the municipal government of Shenzhen wants to demolish and redevelop the urban villages. The urban villages are seen by the government as places where there is a lot of crime, danger of fire hazards and health problems. The municipal government has enrolled plans to redevelop the urban villages in Shenzhen on a large scale. The migrants living in these villages are excluded in the decision making of the process of redevelopment, whereas the migrants form after all the largest group of residents in the urban villages. The migrants also face the largest consequences of the redevelopment of urban villages. With such a large-scale redevelopment Shenzhen will lose an important low-cost housing market for migrants. The consequences due to the redevelopment can be that the expenditure on housing increases, the time spent commuting to work increases, there can be tougher living circumstances and it can possibly lead to exclusion from Shenzhen. Social and economic risks for migrants need to be considered (Hao, 2012). In this research the focus is mainly upon the decisions that migrants themselves make when they face displacement due to redevelopment and how they see their future in Shenzhen.

1.3 Scientific and social relevance

Attention is given by several authors to urban villages and the redevelopment of these urban villages (Hao, 2012; Hao et al, 2013; Wu, Zhang & Webster, 2012; Hin & Xin, 2011; Wang, Wang & Wu, 2009). In these various articles the redevelopment of urban villages and the power relations are discussed but little attention is given to the displacement of migrants. Almost all the actors in the redevelopment are discussed thoroughly in many articles, whereas often the largest group of residents in urban villages, the migrants, are left out. There is thus a knowledge gap on the displacement of migrants. Besides in the literature is hardly discussed where migrants go when they are displaced due to the redevelopment. This research will give a better understanding of how migrants make decisions in their choice of residence, in which will be attention to the future residential mobility. This research can contribute to the existing literature of redevelopment of urban villages and to the literature about residential mobility of migrants. This research is also socially relevant, because it can give a better understanding of the social implications that migrants face. The social consequences of redevelopment are the largest for the

migrants and it is socially relevant to pay attention to these consequences for migrants. This research thus gives a voice to the migrants whereas they are often ignored.

1.4 Research aim

There are several research aims in this research. The first aim of this research is to give a better insight in the urban village as a housing market and how this housing market works. The second aim of this research is to better understand the residential mobility of migrants by looking at the decisions they make in their choice of residence. This is done by looking at the factors and actors that are of influence in their decision considering their residence choice. Besides the better understanding of residential mobility this research also aims to better understand how migrants are affected by the redevelopment of urban villages. The aim is thus not only to better understand the residential mobility of migrants and the urban village as a housing market but also the effect of the redevelopment of urban villages on this residential mobility of migrants.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter the most important theories about migrants and housing will be explained. First of all attention is given to migration and the household registration system. Next the importance of urban villages as housing market for migrants is discussed. Attention is given to the redevelopment of urban villages and the critiques on the redevelopment. Then the residential mobility and the choices in housing of migrants is discussed. Besides the choices in housing, attention is given to the constraints in housing options of migrants. Finally the new migrant generation is discussed.

2.1 Migration and household registration system

The household registration system or *hukou* system has a great influence on the city life of migrants. The household registration system plays an important role in the Chinese context and therefore needs more explanation. The household registration system was implemented in 1955 by the government to control the influx of rural migrants to the cities. In China are two types of *hukou*: the urban and the rural *hukou*. Each Chinese citizen is obligatory to register in only one place of residence. Since the 1980's a more flexible household registration policy has been adopted by the government which increased the number of migrants who left the countryside for the cities. The most significant change in the 1980's policy is the introduction of two special types of residential registration: the temporary residential permit and the blue-stamp *hukou*. The temporary resident permit can be issued to anyone who has a legitimate job or business in the city. The blue-stamp *hukou* is only available for investors, buyers of property, and professionals who need to pay an entry fee which varies from a few 1000 Yuan in small cities and towns to 50,000 Yuan in more attractive cities (Liu, 2005). The more flexible *hukou* made it possible for migrants to move to the city but there was still a divide between the migrants that came to the cities and the urban citizens. Hao explains that the *hukou* system has created a divide between the privileged urban citizens and the underprivileged rural migrants. The rural migrants are excluded from many urban amenities including medical care, education and housing because that is only available for people with urban *hukou* (Hao et al, 2011). Migration in China takes place in two ways: through permanent migration with formal changes of household registration and through temporary migration without official changes of *hukou*. The last group is called the floating population and forms the biggest group in China's internal migration. The floating population is expected to eventually return to their home towns (Wu, 2002). In this research the focus is upon the floating population which do not obtain a local urban *hukou*.

2.2 Urban villages: low cost housing market

In several articles the importance of urban villages for migrants is argued because the urban villages offer low-cost housing. (Song, Zenou & Ding, 2008). Zhang et al. illustrated in their study the important role of urban villages in housing rural migrants in the context of China's rural-urban dichotomy. They showed that urban villages not only have provided inexpensive housing for low-income migrants, but also have released city governments from instituting costly programmes of housing migrant labourers in China's urbanisation process. Zhang et al. described that the formation of urban villages is a result of city expansion. The function of urban villages as migrant enclaves is an economic response to the demand for inexpensive housing as a result of the growing number of migrants that came to the cities and of a housing exclusion system for those without urban *hukou* status (Zhang et al, 2003). The demand for urban housing by migrants will also increase the coming years because it is expected that the rural-urban migration will remain high (Song, Zenou & Ding, 2008). Song et al. show in their research that urban villages are also one of the only places in the cities in China where migrants can stay because migrants are largely excluded from the urban housing system. They describe the profile of migrants who are more likely to live in urban villages. Migrants living in urban villages are younger, less educated, self-employed, hold a rural *hukou*, intend to stay for a short period in Shenzhen and have a lower income. Migrants with a higher income and holding an urban *hukou* are less likely to live in urban villages and are more likely to choose rental units in urban areas (Song, Zenou & Ding, 2008). The downside of the low income housing in urban villages is that the housing conditions are also very poor. Huang conducted fieldwork in five Chinese cities and found that migrant workers face bad housing conditions in urban villages such as overcrowding, lack of kitchen and bathroom facilities and structural instability (Huang, 2003).

2.3 Redevelopment of urban villages

The last few years different views emerged with respect to the urban villages. Property developers and economists see urban villages as an inefficient and irregular use of valuable land resources and a distortion of the urban land and property market. Particularly because in most cities in China almost all the crop land is developed, therefore the eyes of property developers began to focus on the residential and industrial land in urban villages. The urban villages are criticized by government officials and planners because of their relatively high crime rate, poor living environment, deteriorating social order, unplanned land uses and fire hazard (Wang & Wu, 2009). The government official and planners are also concerned about the great pressure imposed by migrants on the urban infrastructure. They view the informal developed urban villages from a very negative perspective. Their proposals aim to increase

control on migrants and to redevelop these urban villages. In many cities in China urban policies have been adopted to demolish most of the urban villages and to redevelop these villages into commercialised urban housing districts (Song, Zenou & Ding, 2008). The approach of demolition has been criticized in several articles, because the demolition and redevelopment of urban villages jeopardizes the migrants housing market (Zhang et al, 2003; Song et al, 2008; Hao, 2012). Song et al. argue that in the debates on the redevelopment of urban villages, only the interests of the urban authorities and native villagers are represented. The most affected group, the rural migrants, are often disregarded (Song et al, 2008). The government uses redevelopment as a mean to bring urban villages in line with comprehensive urban development planning via urban renewal projects, road extension and the construction of big public facilities. The redevelopment of urban villages causes an important subset of the urban village housing market to vanish. This might result in a low-income housing crisis because the choice of alternatives of local housing is absent and moving to other urban villages in a more remote location substantively increases transport and time costs for low-income groups (Hao, 2012). The redevelopment of urban villages will drive the low-income population from the urban core. Hao et al. are very critical on the redevelopment process and expect that the relocation of low-income households is not without impacts unless affordable housing can be found nearby without raising transport costs. In the case of Shenzhen they argue that given Shenzhen's size and the plans for the futures development that the impacts of the redevelopment of urban villages can be significant and can become barriers to both individual well-being and social stability (Hao et al, 2013).

2.4 Residential mobility and choices in housing of migrants

Most migrants experience a high level of mobility over time, but the routes of their moves are spatially limited and involve few tenure shifts. Most migrants relocate relatively near their last places of residence, probably because migrants want to reduce unfamiliarity with the environment (Wu, 2010). Several factors are described in the literature that influence the decisions of migrants in their choice of residence. Hao et al. argue that an important housing choice for migrants is to live near employment opportunities, where the housing is cheap and the transport time and costs are low. The urban villages satisfy all these three aspects in migrant housing. In urban villages the rent of apartments are low, they have relatively good accessibility and good infrastructure and many services are provided (Hao et al, 2013). Wu argues that the most important factor in the choice of residence site of migrants is the proximity to existing or potential employment (Wu, 2010). Other important individual factors in the housing decisions of migrants are family, education level, regional backgrounds and social network

(Roberts, 2001). The residential mobility of migrants is influenced by different individual factors. The residential mobility is in general influenced by; age, marital status, the presence of children, income, housing tenure, housing space and the previous history of moves. Marriage, child birth and divorce are particularly significant triggers. Supply-side variables also play an important role, such as availability of housing opportunities, constraints on housing choices and housing market tightness. The housing choices of migrants are also shaped by the urban-rural and local-nonlocal divide, institutionalized through the *hukou* system in China (Wu, 2010). Wu argues that migrants express little willingness to move again when asked. Also the longer migrants stayed in a city the less likely they were willing to move. This shows that the residential mobility of migrants declines by the duration of residence in the city (Wu, 2010). Determinants of migrant housing in a market economy include not only structural factors such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, lifestyle and gatekeeping by real-estate agents. Behavioural variables are also important determinants in migrant housing, these are behavioural variables such as length of the migration period, family life cycle and personal choices. Besides the behavioural factors other factors like: gender, kinship, and certain institutional factors such as the welfare state also have impact on the housing choices of migrants. Migrants have different choices in housing but are still mainly focussed on the renting market which is for many migrants the best opportunity. Home ownership is therefore very low under migrants as is shown in the research of Wu. The research of Wu based upon a housing survey in the cities Beijing and Shanghai shows that homeownership in these cities under migrants is less than 1 per cent. The low income level and the government restrictions for migrants are likely to be the key factors for the low homeownership under migrants. Migrants that owned a house in Beijing or Shanghai had an income that was twice as high as the average income of migrants included in the research (Wu, 2002). Li et al. argue that differences in individual migration characteristics are important in the housing choices of migrants. Migrants with less information about the urban labour market and less developed social networks are more likely to work in low level employment, which means hard labour for modest pay with most of the times accommodation provided. It is thus also possible that migrants do not really have a choice in housing but are provided with housing by their work (Li et al, 2007).

2.5 Constraints in housing

Housing decisions of migrants are constrained not only by household characteristics but also by continuing socialist institutions such as the household registration system and work units. Migrants with temporary or rural *hukou* are disadvantaged in the rental housing market. They may have access to temporary housing provided by work units such as dormitories, but they do not qualify for any type of long-term public housing (Huang, 2003). Migrants are still largely excluded from the conventional housing system due to several reasons. Migrants can in theory purchase commodity housing in the city, but bank mortgages are not available to them. In the secondary housing market, where older housing units are sold, a local *hukou* is often required. The subsidized public housing for low-income families is only available to local urban residents, so rural migrants are excluded (Wu, 2004). Migrants experience many constraints on the housing market in cities, whereas urban villages are one of the only available options in housing for migrants. Migrants are not only constrained by institutional restrictions such as the *hukou* system but also by their low income. The low income of many migrants limits their ability to buy or rent urban housing in the commercial housing market (Song, Zenou & Ding, 2008). Hao et al also agree that due to their low income migrants are constraint to urban village housing. Outside urban villages the formal commodity housing is normally unaffordable for migrants and the more affordable apartments mostly require a local urban *hukou*, which means that these are unavailable for migrants (Hao et al, 2013). The migrants thus face two important constraints in housing. First of all the household registration system constraints migrants to qualify for affordable government housing and apply for bank mortgages. Secondly most migrants are constraint by their low income which makes the formal commodity housing unaffordable for them.

2.6 New Migrants

The new migrant generation is different from the older generation because they have different motivations and aspirations to migrate to the city. Wang makes a divide between the new and the old generation of migrants. The new generation of migrants are the migrants born after 1980 and the older generation of migrants are born before 1980 (Wang, 2012). The old generation can be categorized by the three words: Leaving, Remitting and Returning. The new generation on the other hand can be categorized with the key words: Leaving, Searching and Becoming. The new generation of migrants have quite different aspirations of city life than the old generation. The new generation wants to stay in the city and build a career and life in the city whereas the old generation of migrants came to the city to earn money to improve their life at home and eventually return to their home town (Wang, 2012). Many rural

migrants decide to stay permanently in the city because they are attracted to the urban life (Seeborg et al., 2000). Especially the younger generation of migrants want to settle down in cities because they do not enjoy farming and wish to earn more money (Li, 1999). The new migrants have besides economic reasons also other non-economic reasons to migrate to the city. They want to migrate to the city because they are tired of school, attracted by the city life or want to explore the world. Their goals for migration is more about experiencing life's opportunities and to achieve the dreams they have. (Wang, 2012). Hu also describes the new generation of migrants but he makes a divide between four different groups of new migrants: lost follower, emotional explorer, family helper and career builder (Hu, 2012). The lost follower generally follow relatives or friends when they migrate. The emotional explorer resembles the typical one-child generation, which is described as spoiled and egotistical. They are mainly focussed on themselves and do not send money back home to support their family. The family helper is somewhat similar to the traditional Chinese rural-urban migrants who send most of their earnings back home to support their family. The family helper only relocates to earn a higher salary or to attain better working conditions. The last group is the career builder and they are more likely to have a high level of education and come to the city to build a career and climb the social ladder. They are the group of migrants that are the most likely to stay in the city and do not return to their hometown (Hu, 2012). The level of education of migrants is a factor of great influence in the willingness to settle in the city and in the residence options. Lian has found that new migrants who have university degrees but live in migrant villages have begun to follow personal dreams rather than pure survival. Some skilled new migrants are even investing in city businesses, industry and housing (Lian, 2009). Fan has researched new migrants and housing and she makes a divide between three migrant groups: the labor type, the entrepreneurial type and the intellectual type. In her research the entrepreneurial type and the intellectual type of migrants are seen as groups with more possibilities in housing because they have a higher social economic status than the labor type. The intellectual type is determined to end up their migration life and eventually want to own a house in the city. Whereas the traditional labor migrants take the city as a temporary place for earning and saving money for their future life in rural hometown (Fan, 2011). The new migrant is not a homogenous type of migrant but there are quite some different migrant groups who also might have different decisions in their choice of residence and might have different housing options.

3. Research design

This chapter seeks to give an insight into the research methods that are employed during the data collection and the research itself. First the main research question and the sub questions of this research will be presented. Besides the research questions the conceptual scheme of this research will be presented and explained. Then the important concepts in the conceptual scheme and in this research will be operationalized. Next the research strategy and methodology will be explained. The data collection will be discussed before moving on to the description of the data analysing. At the end of this chapter the research limitations of this research will be discussed.

3.1 Research Questions

This research aims to explain how migrants make decisions in their choice of residence in times of facing redevelopment. With an empirical research on the choices which migrants make in urban villages that will be redeveloped in the near future, the following research question will be answered:

How do migrants who are facing redevelopment of their current residence make decisions in their future choice of residence?

Besides the main research question there are several sub questions that will be answered in this research. The sub questions in this research are:

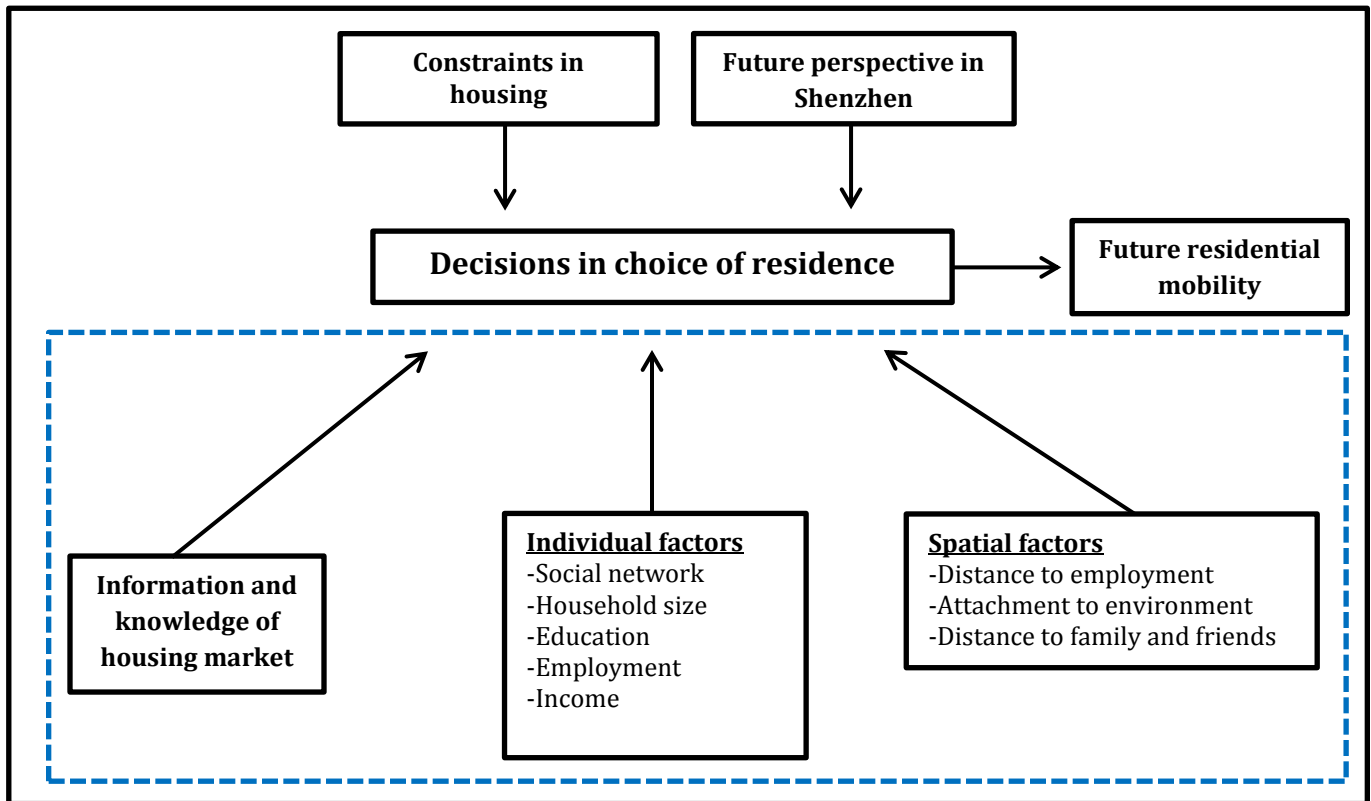
- Q1 Who are the people that are living in Baishizhou village and why are they living there?
- Q2 How did migrants decide on their current residence?
- Q3 How are migrants informed about their residence options and what is the role of their social network in this?
- Q4 Which factors play a role in the decisions of migrants in their choice of residence?
- Q5 What kind of constraints in residence options do migrants experience?
- Q6 How do migrants think about the redevelopment of Baishizhou and how does this influence their future choice of residence?

The sub questions Q1 and Q2 will be discussed in chapter 4 and Q3 and Q4 will be answered in chapter 5. The sub question Q5 will be discussed in chapter 6. Finally question Q6 will be answered in chapter 7.

3.2 Conceptual scheme

In figure 1 the conceptual scheme of this research is shown. This conceptual scheme shows how the different variables in this research relate to each other. Central in this research are the 'decisions in choice of residence' of migrants which are influenced by several variables. The information and knowledge that migrants have about the housing market in their city has influence because migrants who have a lot of information and knowledge about the housing market and the redevelopment can easier find a new suitable residence. The decisions in choice of residence are influenced by the constraints in housing. Several individual factors are influential. First the social network of migrants is influential for example because migrants with a large social network can make use of their friends and contacts in finding a suitable residence. Their friends and contacts might know if there are vacant rooms in for example other urban villages. The level of education could also be a factor of influence because there can be differences between lower and higher educated migrants in the decisions they make in their choice of residence. Employment is an individual factor that could be of influence because of the differences between blue collar workers and white collar workers in the residence choices they make. Finally the individual factor income could be of influence because the income of a household is influential in the housing options. A family with a higher household income can make other choices in housing than a family with a lower household income. The decisions of migrants in choice of residence are also influenced by spatial factors. The distance to work can be an important factor in residence choices of migrants because they want to live close to the employment. The future perspective in Shenzhen of migrants also influences the decisions in their choice of residence because if migrants expect that there is not enough perspective for them in Shenzhen, for example in employment, that might lead that they decide to leave Shenzhen. Finally the decision in choice of residence influence the future residential mobility. The blue dotted line divides the internal and external factors. The relations between the variables in this research are shown in figure 1. The units of analysis in this research are the migrants (tenants), with non-urban *hukou*, living in Baishizhou village that will be redeveloped in the near future.

Figure 1: Conceptual scheme



3.3 Operationalization of concepts

First of all it is important to give a definition of the concept urban village. Urban villages are defined as villages that are spatially encompassed by urban development (Hao et al, 2013). The redevelopment of the urban village also needs some further explanation. In the redevelopment process of urban villages the migrants/tenants who are living in that area become displaced due to the complete or partly demolition of the urban villages. The redevelopment process thus causes migrants to be displaced and they need to search for new affordable housing (Hao, 2011).

In the conceptual scheme are several variables or concepts which need to be explained in more detail and need to be further operationalized. The individual factors include the variables: level of education, employment, household income, social network and household size. In the level of education there is made a divide between lower and higher educated migrants. The possibilities and wishes of higher educated migrants can be different than those with a lower level of education. Migrants are defined as higher educated when then have a high school or university diploma. Whereas migrants with a low level

of education are defined as people with a lower level of education than high school. The factor income is defined in this research as the monthly income of a household. Income can be a constraint but also an opportunity. For example, a household with a low monthly income has fewer opportunities in residence options than a household with a higher monthly income. The social network in this research are the social interactions and personal relationships of migrants. Through their social network migrants can get information about residence options. The different individual factors in this research are also used in Huang's article 'renters housing behaviour in transitional urban China' (Huang, 2003). This research shows influential variables in the housing behaviour of renters and that is why these individual variables are included in this research. Spatial factors are also included in this research which exists of the variables; distance to work, attachment to the environment and distance to family and friends. The distance to work could be an important factor because migrants tend to live near their work to reduce commuting costs (Wu, 2010). The distance to work is measured in minutes of travel time. The other spatial factor attachment to the environment means that migrants may feel at home in an area or not. If they do feel attached to the area they are more likely to search for housing in the same area. Distance to family and friends can also be an important factor. It can be important for some migrants to live close to their family and friends and that will thus also influence their decisions in their choice of residence. The variable information and knowledge means what kind of information migrants have about the residence opportunities. Also the information they have about the redevelopment could be important because they might decide to search for new housing before they are displaced. The constraints in housing are the difficulties that migrants experience in finding suitable housing. A constraint were most migrants deal with is that they are excluded from the conventional housing system because they don't have the acquired local *hukou* (Wu, 2004). Another constraint could be that there is too much pressure on the housing market and therefore it could be difficult to find suitable housing. The variable future perspective in Shenzhen means what kind of possibilities migrants see for themselves in Shenzhen in the future. It is really about if they expect there will still be employment and suitable housing for them. They might for example consider moving back to their home village on the countryside because they expect there are not enough opportunities (perspective) in Shenzhen for them. The variable future residential mobility means where the migrants expect they will find a new residence after the redevelopment of Baishizhou village. Finally the decisions in choice of residence are the decisions that migrants make in finding housing in Shenzhen and these decisions can be influenced by the different independent variables that are shown in figure 1.

3.4 Research strategy and methodology

This is a descriptive research with an inductive approach. The descriptive research is used to visualize how migrants make decisions in the process of redevelopment and to get a better understanding of the residential mobility of migrants. But also to get a better understanding of how the housing market for migrants works in the context of Shenzhen. The inductive approach is used in this research, because there is hardly any theory on the redevelopment of urban villages and the displacement of migrants. Therefore the grounded theory of Anselm Strauss is used. Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed. Theory evolves during the actual research, through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The grounded theory methodology makes it possible to find theories or concepts about the decisions migrants make when they are faced with redevelopment. The grounded theory makes it possible to come up with factors that migrants value as important in their decisions in the choice of their residence.

The method used in this research is a case study design. For this research Baishizhou village, which will be redeveloped in the near future, was chosen as the case study area. Baishizhou was chosen as research area because most migrants living in this area are aware of the possible redevelopment of Baishizhou village. This made it easier to talk about the possible redevelopment and the respondents already had thoughts about how they will be affected by the redevelopment and where they will go after the redevelopment. The Baishizhou area was advised by URBANUS which is an architectural firm working on the redevelopment of Baishizhou. URBANUS already had a great amount of information about the area and is involved in the redevelopment project. This all played a role in the choice for Baishizhou as research area.

3.5 Data collection

For the data collection a qualitative research was employed in which the interviews form the basis of this thesis. In this thesis there has been made use of semi structured interviews with migrants living in Baishizhou village and some in depth interviews. During six weeks of data collection in Shenzhen 30 semi structured interviews with migrants living in Baishizhou have been collected . One of the interviews was a group interview with five higher educated migrants living in Baishizhou thus in total 34 different respondents participated in this research. Semi structured interviews were used in this research because with these kind of interviews it was possible to conduct many interviews but still get a lot of back ground

information of the respondents. The semi structured interviews were also a good way to collect data because the interviews were conducted with the help of Chinese translators. The semi structured interviews made it possible to make the translator familiar with the subject. Several translators helped with the interviews but they were all made familiar with the interview list. The interview was translated in Chinese on forehand to make sure that all the different translators used the same questions and interpreted the questions in the same way. The interviews for this research took mainly place in Baishizhou village, especially at the public square in Baishizhou. The public square was chosen as the main location to search for respondents and to do the interviews because most of the people sitting around the square had time to do an interview and were mostly living in Baishizhou. Besides the public square respondents were also interviewed at other locations in Baishizhou, such as the playground area in Baishizhou where many parents went with their children. Some interviews took place at the URBANIS office. This location was used because this was first of all the office where it was possible to transcribe interviews during the six weeks of data collection. Besides some higher educated migrants were working at URBANUS who were living in Baishizhou as well. It was rather difficult to find higher educated migrants during the day in Baishizhou, because they were working during the day. For this research it was important to have a somewhat equal share of lower educated and higher educated migrants. Therefore the snowball effect was used to find higher educated respondents. The interviewees working at the URBANUS office were asked if they knew other migrants living in Baishizhou who were higher educated. Besides the semi structured interviews two in depth interviews were conducted. One interview with a landlord who rents apartments in Baishizhou and the other in depth interview was with an ethnographic researcher who has a lot of knowledge about urban villages and specifically about Baishizhou. Observations were also important in the data collection. An important observation was to experience the process of renting an apartment in Baishizhou village to get a better understanding of how the housing market in Baishizhou and other urban villages works. Observations also played an important role in better understanding the area itself and also the surrounding areas.

3.6 Data analysing

Before the data analyzing process began all the interviews were first transcribed. The data is analyzed using the content data analyzing method. The interviews were analyzed on themes that are of importance in this research. The interviews were analyzed 'by hand' because the interview was already structured into the main topics of this research. This made the analyzing by hand easier to do and less time consuming. All the interviews were printed in hard copy for data analyzing. The data was organized

by questions or topics to look across all respondents and their answers to be able to identify differences and consistencies. The interviews that showed consistencies or differences were put together in piles so that the data was organized for each question or topic that was of relevance for this thesis. The data was analyzed on different groups to see if there were differences between for example lower and higher educated migrants or between people working in Baishizhou or who have a shop in Baishizhou and migrants that work outside Baishizhou. This was done to see if there were differences between the different groups. Besides the analyzing by hand there has been made use of Excel for the data analyzing. An Excel file was set up that included columns for the ID number of the interview, categories, codes and text. The excel file made it possible to get a good overview over all the respondents and made it easier to see differences between different groups such as lower and higher educated migrants.

3.7 Research limitations

Although this research was well prepared there were some research limitations. The first limitation is that not all findings of this research are generalizable for all migrants in Shenzhen. This does not mean that the results of this case study research cannot give a better understanding of the decisions that migrants make in their choice of residence. Besides making generalizations for a larger migrant population it is also rather difficult to generalize this research to other cities in China. The context of Shenzhen is rather unique and therefore this research is not applicable to other cities or areas in Shenzhen. But still it gives a better understanding of how migrants make decisions in their choice of residence and about the influential factors behind their residential mobility. The second limitation in this research is that it was almost impossible to get specific data about Shenzhen and specifically Baishizhou. Data was not available in English on the internet and the local government was not willing to provide data. In the urban villages many people are not registered and there is not many information collected about the residents of Baishizhou. This made it for example impossible to get official data about the number of higher educated people living in Baishizhou. Even the number of residents in an area as Baishizhou are an estimation and not an official number of the government because they don't know the official number. It was therefore rather difficult to describe who the people are that are living in Baishizhou on the basis of official data. Therefore I used the blog Shenzhen Noted that provided some data about Baishizhou. The data on this blog are mostly data translated from governmental reports. The last limitation in this research has to do with the translation of the interviews. The interviews were translated by Chinese translators and could be somewhat differently translated into English. There is thus a language barrier but overall it worked out fine thanks to the help of Chinese translators.

4. Background

In this chapter the development of Shenzhen and the urban villages will be discussed. The research area will be introduced to get a better understanding of the context of the research. Described is who the people are who are living in Baishizhou village. Next will be discussed what the motivations are of the respondents to move to Shenzhen and is argued why the respondents chose to live in Baishizhou. Attention is given to the living satisfaction of the respondents in Baishizhou. Then the attachment of the respondents to the Baishizhou area will be discussed. Finally the renting process in Baishizhou village will be explained.

4.1 Shenzhen and its urban villages

Shenzhen is a 'new town' because it developed in 30 years from a humble fishing town, that it was before the 1980's, into the megacity it is now. Shenzhen is located in the southern part of China in the Guangdong province. Shenzhen borders Hong Kong in the Southern part of Shenzhen. The location of Shenzhen in China is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2: Location of Shenzhen in China

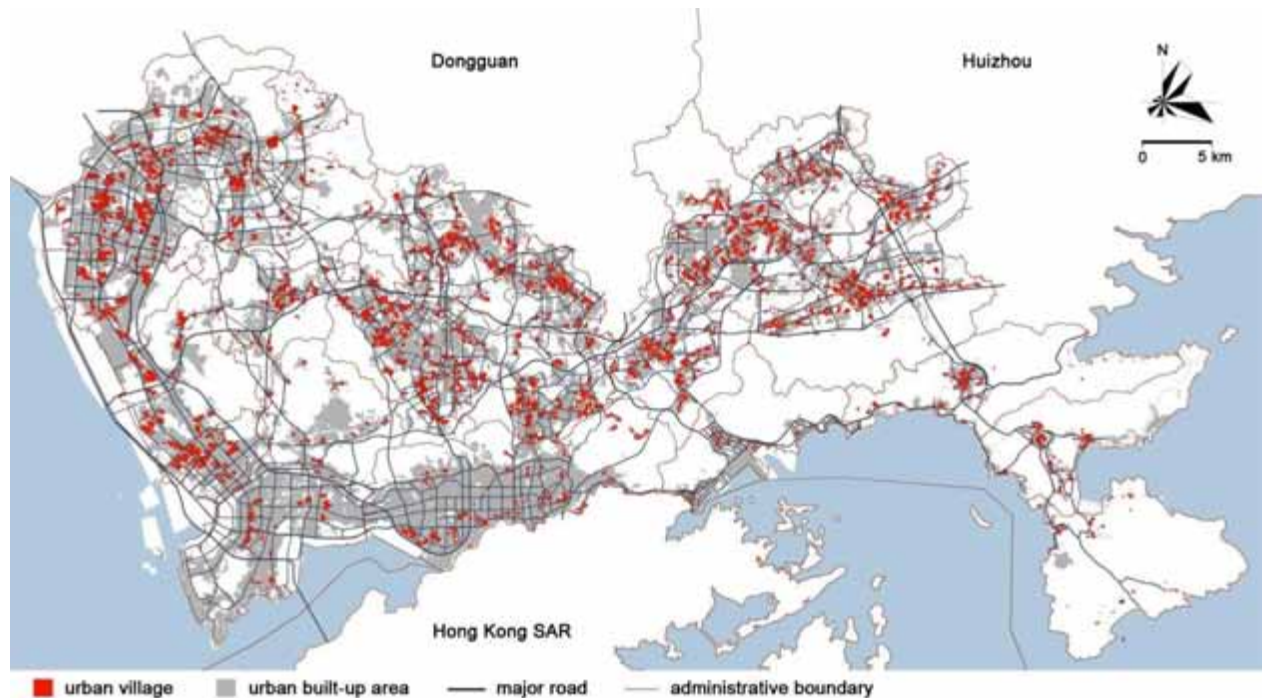


(Shenzhenmap, 2013)

Shenzhen was pointed by the state government as the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in China. They chose for Shenzhen because it was closely located to Hong Kong. The SEZ meant for Shenzhen that it became an experimenting ground for reforms such as special economic management systems, flexible economic measures for enhancing economic cooperation and technology interflow between China and foreign countries (NG, 2003). China opened its border with the open door policy in Shenzhen that was implemented in 1979. The urban population in Shenzhen increased from 94000 citizens in 1980 to 8.3 million citizens in 2005 (MGI, 2009). The city grew into an important trade and economic centre in the South of China. Due to the rapid urbanization of Shenzhen many rural villages were engulfed. These rural villages formed enclaves within the new urban landscape. The urban villages became an important informal housing market because the indigenous villagers lost their farmland to the urban area with the expansion of the urban areas. This caused the landless farmers to seek alternative ways to make a living and the retention of their villages housing areas provided an opportunity to make a good living. Extensions were made to the existing houses and new houses were built and rented to migrant workers. At the same time many migrants flooded Shenzhen because of the large job opportunities in the many factories. This created a large demand for affordable housing. The migrants are excluded from the formal housing market, because they are not allowed to apply for an urban residency due to the *hukou* system in China that only allows people with urban *hukou* to live in urban areas. This caused migrants to seek residences in urban villages where they were allowed to live and where the rents were cheap. The urban villages became an indispensable sub-market of urban housing for migrants that came to the city. The urban villages in Shenzhen developed as well, especially the villages in the Special Economic Zone became densely populated. The urban villages within the SEZ in Shenzhen especially became popular among migrants because of their good location within the city (Hao, 2012). Nowadays there are in Shenzhen around 318 urban villages which accommodate about 7 million inhabitants of Shenzhen from which the largest group are rural migrants (Zacharias and Tang, 2010). The urban villages take only 10 per cent of the total land area of Shenzhen but house about half of the population of Shenzhen (Du, 2008). In figure 3 the distribution of all the urban villages in Shenzhen is shown. There are especially many urban villages at the edges of Shenzhen. But the largest and most densely populated villages are in the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) which is located in the southern part of Shenzhen. There are also big differences between the urban villages in Shenzhen within the SEZ and outside the SEZ in the social groups living in these areas. The urban villages inside the SEZ house white-collar employees, service-sector staff and college graduates, while outside the SEZ most tenants in urban villages are industrial workers, service-sector employees and small business owners or employees (Hao et al, 2013). The differences in social

groups between the urban villages inside and outside the SEZ is caused by the different economic sectors and job markets in these areas. The tertiary sector is concentrated in the SEZ while the outer districts accommodate the industrial and informal sector. This causes differences in social groups because the white-collar employees, service-sector staff and college graduates are more interested in affordable housing close to the tertiary sector, which the urban villages in the SEZ offer them (Hao et al, 2013).

Figure 3: Distribution of urban villages in Shenzhen



(Hao et al, 2013)

Many professionals have different views towards the urban villages, although the urban villages are a popular residence location for migrants. Most government officials and planners criticize urban villages and see them as an embarrassment for Shenzhen. The local government of Shenzhen wants to redevelop most of the urban villages because they want to get rid of the poor living environments and some of the urban villages are located at prime locations in the cities with a high land value. The local government can make a lot of money if the urban villages with high land value will be redeveloped and they are therefore really supportive of the redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen.

4.2 Research area: Baishizhou village

Baishizhou is one of the largest urban villages in the inner districts of Shenzhen. It has a really central location within Shenzhen in between the Nanshan district and the Luohu district. In figure 4 the location of Baishizhou is shown with the yellow dot.

Figure 4: Location of Baishizhou within Shenzhen



Baishizhou was originally located in the Shahe Overseas Farm which was established in 1959. Displaced villagers from the 1959 typhoon were relocated to the Shahe Overseas Farm. In 1985 the farm area was divided into two areas the Overseas City Town or OCT and the Shahe Farm area. The Shahe area existed of five different villages: Baishizhou, Xintang, Tangtou, Upper Bashi, Lower Baishi and became known as Baishizhou. Shahe residents did not had land use rights and therefore could not collectively build industrial areas whereas that was possible in the new OCT area. Although the members of the old Shahe farm did not had land use right they had housing rights because they were agricultural workers. There were no more possibilities for farming anymore and therefore the farmers started renting apartments to migrants that came to Shenzhen and wanted to stay in the city center (O'Donnell, 2013⁴). Baishizhou became one of the largest urban villages in Shenzhen due to its good location in the city and the good transportation connections.

Nowadays Baishizhou has a total area of 7.4 km² and an estimated population of 140000 residents. Most of the residents in Baishizhou are migrants from other provinces of China. Only 20000 residents in Baishizhou have a Shenzhen *hukou* and there are only 1880 locals in the Baishizhou area. The population density of Baishizhou is one of the most dense in the whole Shenzhen area and twice as densely populated as the municipal average. In Baishizhou are many rooms for rent, it is estimated that in this area are 35000 units for rent. The monthly rent for apartments in Baishizhou range from 400 Yuan for the smallest and cheapest rooms to 3000 Yuan for the biggest apartments (O'Donnell, 2013³). Baishizhou is a typical 'urban village' with many hand shaking buildings which are built really close to each other. Figure 5 gives an impression of Baishizhou village.

Figure 5: Images of Baishizhou village



In figure 5 the picture on the top left shows the high density of Baishizhou village with the high rise building at the edge of Baishizhou. The picture on the top right is a picture of the typical urban village

building style with patterns of tiles on the outside of the buildings. The picture on the bottom left shows the chaotic situation in Baishizhou village, in this area are a lot of different wires above the small streets which could be a great danger for fire hazards. The last picture on the bottom right shows that the migrants living in Baishizhou have almost no space to dry their laundry and that's why they use the fence to dry their laundry.

Figure 6: Baishizhou area and its five urban villages and surrounding area



(URBANUS, 2013)

The Baishizhou area exists of five different villages as already mentioned. The five different villages and the surrounding areas are shown in figure 6. The southern village, Baishizhou village, is separated from the other four villages and the industrial zone by the Shennan Avenue. Baishizhou is a popular residence location for many migrants that come to Shenzhen and it is for many migrants a gateway into Shenzhen. They directly find a residence in Baishizhou when they come to Shenzhen. Baishizhou is a really popular residence location in Shenzhen because of its central location within Shenzhen. It is located in the city center and it is good connected by public transport. There is a metro stop in front of Baishizhou and there is also a large bus terminal in front of Baishizhou at the Shennan Avenue. Baishizhou is also located between the OCT area and the High Tech Zone which have a lot of employment opportunities for migrants. Next to Baishizhou is a big mall, Holiday Plaza, and an entertainment park 'Windows of the World' which also have many job opportunities for migrants living in Baishizhou. They can work as a servant in one of the many restaurants in the Holiday Plaza mall or in one of the many shops.

Baishizhou is also a kind of segregated area as is shown in figure 6, it is surrounded by middle class and high end areas such as Portofino and the Holiday Plaza. In figure 7 there are four pictures of the surroundings of Baishizhou. The area is segregated by the high rise middle class apartments, as is visible in the picture in the left top. There are also many gated communities on the edges of Baishizhou which is visible on the picture on the right top. The Portofino area, the picture on the left bottom, which is just next to Baishizhou, is a high end residential area with really expensive apartments. Finally in the front of Baishizhou the theme park Windows of the World is located which is shown on the picture on the right bottom.

Figure 7: Surrounding of Baishizhou



4.3 Migration motivations

For most respondents the most important reason why they came to Shenzhen was to find work because they saw a lot of job opportunities in Shenzhen. A 31 year old man from the Heilongjiang province also came to Shenzhen to find work. But he especially chose Shenzhen as the place to search for work because relatives of him said that there were a lot of job opportunities in Shenzhen. He worked before in Beijing but he saw more opportunities in Shenzhen (Interview 26). The 31 year old man can be labeled as a typical traditional labor migrant that only comes to Shenzhen to earn money and will eventually return to his hometown (Fan, 2011). It is not for all the respondents just work why they came to Shenzhen. A 24 year old girl from the city Jingzhou came to Shenzhen to find work but also because she wanted to be independent. She was living with her parents in her home town but she wanted to live on her own and experience the city life on her own (Interview 1). Hu describes in his paper different motivations for migrants to come to the city besides economic reasons. An important motivation from Hu's research to migrate to the city is the pursuit of freedom which is also the case for the 24 year old girl from Jingzhou. Hu also argues that migrants come to the city for the opportunities and the excitement of the city life (Hu, 2012). This migration reason also comes back in this research. A 28 year old man came to Shenzhen because he saw a lot of opportunities to open a restaurant in Shenzhen. 'It is really easy to open a business in Shenzhen' (Interview 18). The 28 year man opened his own restaurant in Baishizhou half a year ago. The 28 year old man can be labeled as the entrepreneurial type of migrant who have more capital and are able to invest in their own shop or restaurant. Some respondents came to Shenzhen because they already had family or a husband living in Shenzhen. A 28 year old married woman said that she came to Shenzhen because her husband was already living in Shenzhen. They got married in their hometown and then her husband found a job in Shenzhen and she followed him to Shenzhen later on. She came four years later to Shenzhen to live together with her husband (Interview 8). A few other respondents also came to Shenzhen because their husband was already living and working in Shenzhen (Interviews 20 & 23). Another respondent chose to come to Shenzhen because besides a lot of job opportunities there were a lot of people from his village that went to Shenzhen to find work. There were about 10000 people living in his village and about 5000 of them went to Shenzhen. That is also why he chose to find work in Shenzhen (Interview 7). A few respondents came with different aspirations and reasons to Shenzhen. A good example is a 28 year old and higher educated respondent. He came to Shenzhen because he studied architecture and the cities Shenzhen, Beijing and Shanghai are the architecture capitals of China and he wanted to find work in one of these cities. He eventually chose to go to Shenzhen because it is a more open city for people from other areas in China. He also liked

Shenzhen because in this city are a lot of young people who fight for their dreams. A 25 year old higher educated woman came to Shenzhen because it is a more open city and not so conservative as other cities in China (Interview 21). These higher educated respondents thus did not only chose Shenzhen because they saw a lot of job opportunities but also because they liked that Shenzhen is a more open city and less conservative than other cities in China. These higher educated migrants can be labeled as the intellectual type. They have more aspirations and are determined to end up their migration life (Fan, 2011).

The most important reason for most of the respondents to come to Shenzhen is because they could easily find work in the city and they could earn more money than in their hometowns. Besides job opportunities some of the respondents came to Shenzhen because their husband or family members were already living in Shenzhen. Finally some respondents chose for Shenzhen because it is a more open city and not so conservative city as other cities in China.

4.4 Population of Baishizhou

Baishizhou has a quite diverse population. The diversity of Baishizhou residents includes working families who have lived in the area since migrating to Shenzhen and young professionals who are sharing their first flat independent from their families. In addition, many of Shenzhen's young designers and architects who work in OCT Loft, a renovated factory area for creative industry, live in the handshake buildings in Baishizhou (O'Donnell, 2013⁴).

Figure 8: Working locations of higher educated migrants living in Baishizhou

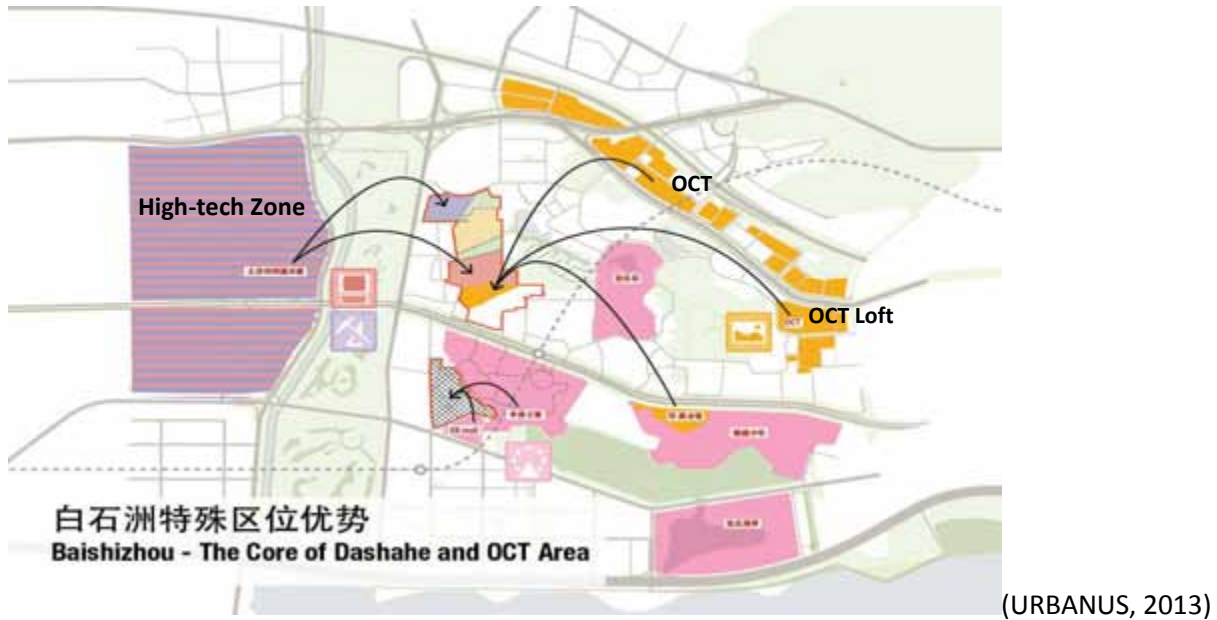


Figure 8 shows the locations where higher educated migrants work who also live in the Baishizhou area. It is estimated that about 1/3 of the population in Baishizhou has a high school or university diploma (Interview 32). In the interview sample of this research almost half of the respondents can be qualified as higher educated. That many of the higher educated migrants live in an area such as Baishizhou has to do with two important factors. First of all Baishizhou is closely located to many higher educated jobs in the OCT (Loft) area and the High-tech zone. Secondly many young professional migrants have a low salary when they start working after graduation (Lin, 2012). They need low income housing which is close to their work and Baishizhou can offer them cheap housing that is close to their work.

The relative large group of higher educated migrants living in Baishizhou is not typical for urban villages. In Zhang et al. the urban villages are mainly described as areas for the lower educated and working poor. They hardly pay any attention to the education level of the migrants living in urban villages and that the population could be quite diverse (Zhang et al, 2003). Zheng et al. show in their research conducted in Beijing that most urban villages house migrants with low levels of education and hold low-skill jobs in the tertiary sector (Zheng et al, 2009). Baishizhou is thus rather contrasting to these descriptions of urban village residents. Baishizhou has a more diverse population with not only lower educated migrants but also many higher educated migrants working in the service sector. The diverse population in Baishizhou shows that urban village housing is also interesting for higher educated young professionals that just started working. The large group of higher educated migrants in Baishizhou is thus not typical for other

urban villages but this is caused by the really good location of Baishizhou within Shenzhen. Urban villages at the edges of Shenzhen will probably show a less diverse population with mainly lower educated migrants.

In this research attention is given to the duration of stay in Baishizhou of the respondents. In table 1 the duration of stay in Baishizhou of the respondents is shown.

Table 1: Duration of stay in Baishizhou (in years)

	< 1	1-5	5-10	10>
Number of respondents	6	13	8	7

Table 1 shows some differences in the duration of stay in Baishizhou of the respondents. In Baishizhou are respondents who are only living for a few months in this area but also quite some respondents are living in Baishizhou for more than ten years. One of the respondents is even living for 38 years in Baishizhou, she is born and raised in this area (Interview 6). Most of the respondents are living in Baishizhou between one and five years. So in the research sample are quite some residents who live for a long time in this urban village but also a large group who live there for less than five years. In an interview with a landlord he confirmed that many of his tenants where living in Baishizhou for a long time as well. All the tenants in his building were living there for more than eight years. He gave a few reasons why they were living for such a long time in their rental apartment. The landlord said that: ‘the price in my building is convenient and the location is good because it is close to all kind of facilities. The tenants are not willing to move because they are fine with the place and are not willing to find another residence’ (Interview 32). Besides these reasons the landlord also said that the migrants that live for a longer time in Baishizhou are most of the times families who are running small business shops or have their jobs nearby. Their children are also often attending school nearby (Interview 32).

The age distribution of the respondents is also examined. Most of the respondents living in Baishizhou are between the 25 and 35 years old (table 2). Many respondents are younger than 25 years old. That many young respondents are living in Baishizhou is a common image in many urban villages. In most urban villages the population is rather young because many migrants come to the city to work and go back to their home town when they have earned and saved enough money. The older migrants mostly return to the rural areas in China(Zheng et al, 2009).

Table 2: Age distribution of respondents

	< 25	25-35	35-45	45 >
Number of respondents	7	18	7	2

Some older respondents are living in Baishizhou as well, although many urban villages have a mainly young population. Quite some respondents between the 35 and 45 years old and even two respondents were older than 45 years old. But in general most of the respondent were also young migrants as is seen in many other urban villages.

Finally is looked at which provinces the respondents came from. The respondents came from a lot of different provinces in China. In figure 9 is shown from which provinces the respondents came. Most of the respondents came from three provinces in China: the Guangdong province which is the same province as where Shenzhen is located, the Hunan province and the Hubei province. A relatively large group of respondents came from the Jiangxi province. Besides these province were many other provinces where only one of the respondents came from.

Figure 9: Province of the hometown of the respondents

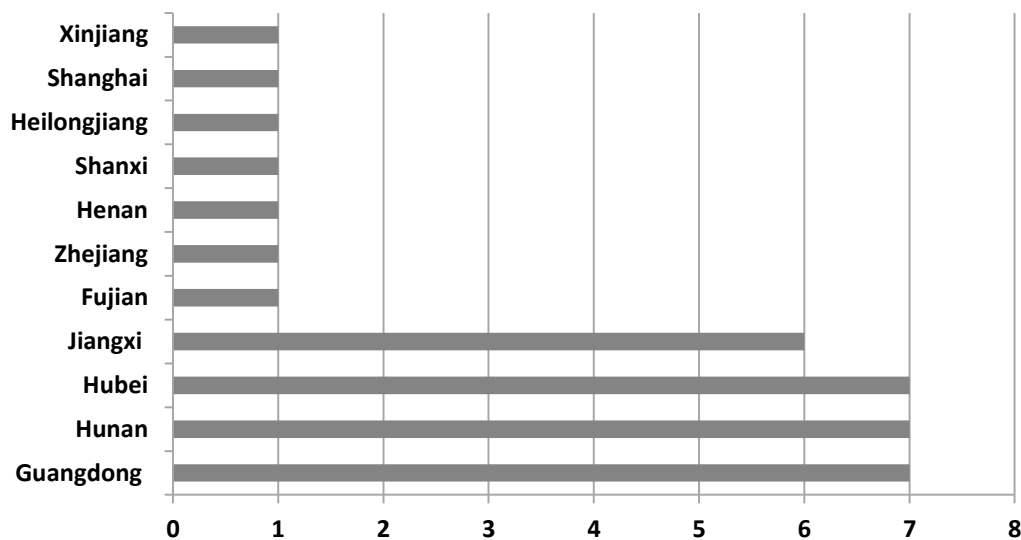


Figure 9 thus shows a really diverse population in Baishizhou because the respondents came from many different provinces in China.

4.5 Residential choice for Baishizhou

Most of the respondents are living in Baishizhou for the same reasons. The most important reason is that the rent of the apartments is relatively low. The people that chose to live in Baishizhou village generally have a low income and need affordable housing which is available in Baishizhou village. A 38 year old man said that he chose to live in Baishizhou because it is a cheap area to live. The rent is low in Baishizhou compared to the rest of Shenzhen (Interview 9). Many of the respondents chose Baishizhou besides the low rent apartments because it is close to their work and because Baishizhou is well connected by public transport. One of the respondents only considered Baishizhou as the area where she wanted to live because it was close to her job and her husband's job. Besides she also thinks that the area is well connected by busses and the metro which makes it a more convenient area to live (Interview 3). As described before, the public transport situation is really good around Baishizhou. In front of the Baishizhou area are a bus terminal and a metro station. Some respondents had some different reasons why they chose for Baishizhou. A few of the respondents chose Baishizhou because they wanted to open a shop or a restaurant in Baishizhou. A 36 year old man said that he chose to live in Baishizhou because he wanted to open a shop and therefore he needed to choose a place where there was a large population. He chose to open a shop and find an apartment in Baishizhou because there are a lot of people living in this area, which means a lot of potential costumers. Another interviewee also came to Baishizhou to open a shop because he thought that Baishizhou would be a good area to do small business (Interview 17 & 7). The shop owners thus saw opportunities to open a shop in Baishizhou but also wanted to live close to their shop and therefore chose to live in Baishizhou village. Some people also gave as a more side reason to live in Baishizhou that this area has a lot of facilities and shops. 'You can get everything here in Baishizhou because there are a lot of shops in Baishizhou' (Interview 2). In some cases people chose to live in Baishizhou because they already had family or friends living in this area. A 21 year old man told that he came to Baishizhou because his cousin and his family were living there and they could help him when he needs their help (Interview 30). This shows that some people value the importance of having friends or family nearby because they can rely on them. One of the respondents chose to live in Baishizhou for a quite different reason. He chose to live in Baishizhou because when he came in Shenzhen he wanted to find a place quickly and that was possible in Baishizhou. His friends also showed other places but Baishizhou was more clean and a better place to live (Interview 28). In Baishizhou are thus a lot of housing possibilities which makes it easier to find a residence in this area.

4.6 Living conditions in Baishizhou

The respondents had certain reasons why they wanted to live in Baishizhou village, as we already have seen. Besides the reasons why they live in Baishizhou the respondents were also asked what they like and do not like about living in Baishizhou village. First of all the respondents had some common reasons why they like living in Baishizhou. A 23 year old woman said: 'I like Baishizhou because it is convenient to shop, you can buy everything here because in this area there are a lot of different shops' (Interview 23). Many of the respondents share the opinion of the 23 year old woman and like living in Baishizhou because it is a convenient place to live. Another respondent said that from Baishizhou everything is very accessible, because there are good connections from and to Baishizhou (Interview 2). This makes it according to some of the respondents a convenient area to live. Several respondents like the kind of crowded situation in Baishizhou with a lot of different people from different provinces in China. One of the respondents said: 'I like that there are a lot of people living in Baishizhou because it makes it easier to make new friends' (Interview 29). Baishizhou has a good atmosphere because of the many people that are living in Baishizhou and a lot is going on in this area. A lot of people living in Baishizhou speak in the same dialect, although there are many different people from different provinces in this area. One of the respondents really likes living in the Baishizhou area because a lot of the population speaks in the same dialect (Interview 6). Besides the more common reasons why the respondents like living in Baishizhou, they also had somewhat more individual reasons. For example a 25 year old man who likes living in Baishizhou because of a Catholic community in Baishizhou (Interview 25). Another respondent likes living in Baishizhou because of the central location of this area in Shenzhen, just between the Nanshan and the Luohu districts (Interview, 14).

Besides that people like living in the Baishizhou area there are also quite some things they do not like about the area. First of all a lot of the respondents are not satisfied with the hygienic situation in Baishizhou. It is dirty in some places and there is also a lot of trash on the streets according to most of the interviewees. One of the respondents said that especially the living conditions in the inside of the urban village are kind of poor (Interview 21). Several respondents are unsatisfied that there is hardly any sun or light in general in some of the areas in Baishizhou due to the high buildings that are built really close to each other. People do not have much privacy due to the high density of the buildings and it causes difficulties to dry the laundry (Interview 27).

In contrast to the respondents that liked the crowded situation in Baishizhou there are also a few respondents who didn't like the many people living in Baishizhou. 'A 28 year old woman said that she

felt insecure due to the many different people living in Baishizhou' (Interview 8). The population is too large in Baishizhou and that makes it too crowded in the area according to some of the interviewees. Some mothers do not like living in Baishizhou because of the lack of facilities for the children in the area. It is also difficult to find a proper school for them in the area. According to one of the interviewees the Baishizhou area is just not suitable for children and that's why she does not like living in Baishizhou (Interview 23). Finally a 54 year old respondent does not like living in Baishizhou because she's still living in a rental apartment. She is not satisfied with her living conditions because she has not been able to buy an apartment in Baishizhou or in another part of Shenzhen (Interview 4).

4.7 Attachment to the area

In the attachment of the respondents to the Baishizhou area are quite some differences. A clear divide can be made between people who feel attached to the area and the people who do not feel attached at all. There are several factors that seem to play a role in the attachment to the area. First of all a lot of the respondents that feel attached to Baishizhou are longtime residents whereas the people that do not feel attached to the area are not living for a long time in Baishizhou. A 58 year old woman, she is living for more than 18 years in Baishizhou, said that she feels a sense of belonging in Baishizhou, because she is living in Baishizhou for a long time now and longer than most of the people in Baishizhou (Interview 4). Some respondents are only living in Baishizhou for a few months. A 23 year old man said: 'I don't feel a sense of belonging to the area because I am only living for two months in the area, so I am not really attached to the area' (Interview 5). Another factor that plays a role in the attachment to Baishizhou village is if the respondents have family or friends living in the same area. A few of the respondents said that they feel attached to the area because they have relatives and family living in the area. Whereas some respondents said that they did not feel attached to the area because they do not have a lot of family and friends living in Baishizhou. A 23 year old man said that he feels attached to the area because a lot of people he knows live in Baishizhou as well and that makes it feel more like home (Interview 24). Having friends and family around thus seems to be an important factor in the sense of attachment to Baishizhou. Some respondents refer to their hometown as the place where they feel attachment with because their family is living over there and therefore they do not feel any attachment to the Baishizhou area. They see their stay in the city as temporary and will eventually go back to their hometown. This is also the case for a 47 year old man who said: 'I am not attached to this area because it is temporary and I will eventually leave and go back to my hometown' (Interview 7). Some of the respondents said that they only see the city as a place to earn money and do not feel that they belong to the city. Finally some

interviewees do not feel attached to Baishizhou because they do not own a house and are only renting an apartment (Interviews 29).

Several factors seem to play a role in the attachment of the interviewees to the Baishizhou area. They feel attached when they have more people they know living in the same area, especially family and friends. The duration of stay in Baishizhou is also of influence on the feeling of attachment to the area. If people live for a longer period in an area they are more likely to feel attached to an area than people that just moved to a new area. Some people do not feel attached because they feel attached to their hometown and are only in the city to make money and will then go back to their hometowns. Finally it seems to be important if people are renting or own a house. Several respondents do not feel attached to Baishizhou because they are renting an apartment.

4.8 Housing market in Baishizhou

Baishizhou contains a large variety of low cost housing and in the area are about 35000 rooms for rent. (Oeeee, 2008). In Baishizhou are a lot of different apartments in size and price. In this area are dormitory rooms where you share the room with others and only have your own bed, but also large apartments with 2 or 3 rooms. It is not surprising that the renting prices differs a lot, this depends on the location and the size of the apartment. The rent of for example dormitory rooms starts around 300 Yuan whereas the most expensive apartments, bigger apartments with 2 or 3 rooms, cost a monthly rent around 3000 Yuan (O'Donnell, 2013).

Picture 1: Small apartment with shared facilities in Baishizhou



Picture 1 shows a small apartment in Baishizhou with only enough space for one bed and a small closet. The facilities in such an apartment need to be shared with others. The facilities are a kitchen without any possibilities to actually cook and a small bathroom with toilet without a shower. The facilities are really basic but this also makes the apartment really cheap because the rent of such an apartment will cost around 400 Yuan per month excluding the utilities. The utilities include electricity and water and will be charged extra on the monthly rent. The location of an apartment within Baishizhou is also of influence on the renting price. The apartments closer to the metro stop and bus station are more expensive than the apartments in the middle of Baishizhou. The villages Tangtou village and Lower Baishi village in the Baishizhou area have the most expensive apartments because these apartments are located near the metro whereas the other areas have some of the cheapest renting apartments or dormitories in Baishizhou village.

The housing market and the renting processes in Baishizhou village and other urban villages in Shenzhen is differently organized than the formal housing market. In urban villages the little advertisement on the wall is of great importance in the renting process. The little advertisement are small posters on the wall of buildings on which a middle man or informal brokers offer different apartments for different prices. In an interview with a 26 year old resident of Baishizhou the little advertisement is also pointed out as an important way of finding an apartment in an urban village. In an urban village are two possible ways of finding an apartment, according a 26 year old respondent. The first way are the stickers (little advertisement) that are everywhere on the walls of buildings. The other way is through connections but you really need to be lucky to get something through connections. With the little advertisement you also need to have luck because sometimes the landlord will show you really crappy rooms (interview 2). Picture 2 shows an example of the little advertisement on the wall in Baishizhou. The first picture shows the many different posters on the wall with a lot of different telephone numbers on it. The little advertisement are everywhere in Baishizhou and it are almost all different apartments and different middle men that offer the apartments. It is not difficult to find these kind of little advertisements because all the walls in the urban village are plastered with these posters. Picture 3 shows one of the posters on the wall. On the left side is written in Chinese what kind of apartment it is, mostly just the size of the apartment. On the other side of the poster are the prices of the rent per month for the specific kind of apartments. On the top of the poster the number of the middle man is written. Sometimes it's the number of the landlord, this is always noticed on the poster. This has to do with extra costs because if you deal with the landlord it is just the rent per month but if you deal with the middle man there will be extra costs for the mediation.

Picture 2: Little advertisement on the wall



Picture 3: Little advertisement poster



The renting process in Baishizhou and also in other urban villages in Shenzhen works through these little advertisements on the wall. To be able to get an apartment you need to call the number on one of the many posters on the wall. If you call the number you will mostly get in touch with the middle man. They will ask where you are at the moment and then will come to you or you can make an appointment with them. When you meet with the middle man you first need to pay 10 Yuan before they will show you the different apartments that meet with your demands. The people that show the apartments are mostly women, this because the people that they show around feel more comfortable and the salary of woman in China is most of the times lower than that of man (Hessler, 2010). When the 10 Yuan is paid the woman will discuss the price range of the potential renter and what kind of apartment the renter is looking for. Then she will show the different available apartments. When the potential renter is interested in one of the apartments, a deposit needs to be paid to take the apartment of the renting list. The deposit differs per middle man but the deposit will be taken off the firsts month rent. Besides the deposit there needs to be paid a fee to the middle man to close the deal. The fee is not always the same, some of the middle man have a standard fee of 100 Yuan and others will have a fee of 10 percent of the renting price. The renting process of the urban village apartments has actually become big business and there are quite a lot of informal brokers' offices in Baishizhou. These are small informal agencies with four or five employees. They work for the landlord and they get the fee from the people that want to rent an apartment. One of the women working for one of the informal broker agencies told that they

make quite some money because the apartments change a lot from renter. She told that in Baishizhou area many apartments are available and it is quite easy to get a cheap apartment in this area. The large volume of available apartments corresponds with the large amount of little advertisement in Baishizhou village.

Besides the little advertisement it is possible to find an apartment with a different method in Baishizhou or in other urban villages in Shenzhen. Some local websites offer apartments in Shenzhen but also in Baishizhou village. Two important local websites were mentioned in a few of the interviews. The first and the most important one is the website 58.com, this website is a kind of EBay and offers besides apartments for example also old cars (58.com, 2013). A separate part of the website is devoted to the renting of apartments. It is possible to search on the area and the price that can be afforded. On the website the ads are for the formal and informal housing market. Middle class apartments are offered for rent, in high rise buildings, but also cheap apartments in urban villages. The ads of the apartments in the urban village sometimes show a picture of the apartment and the size of the apartment. In the ad on the website is a telephone number which brings the potential renter in contact with the landlord or again the middle man who will take care of the renting process of the apartments. Besides 58.com there is another local website ganji.com that can be used to find an apartment in all different price classes in Shenzhen.

In Shenzhen are thus two possible ways of renting an apartment in an urban village such as Baishizhou village. It is possible to call the number on the little advertisement and get in touch with the middle man or directly with the landlord. The other way to get an apartment is through websites such as 58.com that offer a lot of different formal and informal housing in Shenzhen.

5. Factors and actors in the choice of residence

In this chapter will be described which factors are important in the choice of residence of migrants. Besides the factors there is also attention to the actors that are of influence on the decisions in the choice of residence.

5.1 Factors in choice of residence

The decisions that migrants make in their choice of residence are influenced by several factors. In this research there is made use of a list with several factors that could be of influence in the choice of residence. In this research is made use of five different factors and it was possible for the respondents to add one or more factors. The factors were ordered from the most important to the least important. The most important factor was numbered with 1 and the least important factor was numbered with 5. The lists with factors shows how important the interviewees value different factors in their decision making for their choice of residence. Figure 10 shows which factors the interviewees valued as the most important.

Figure 10: The most important factor in the choice of residence

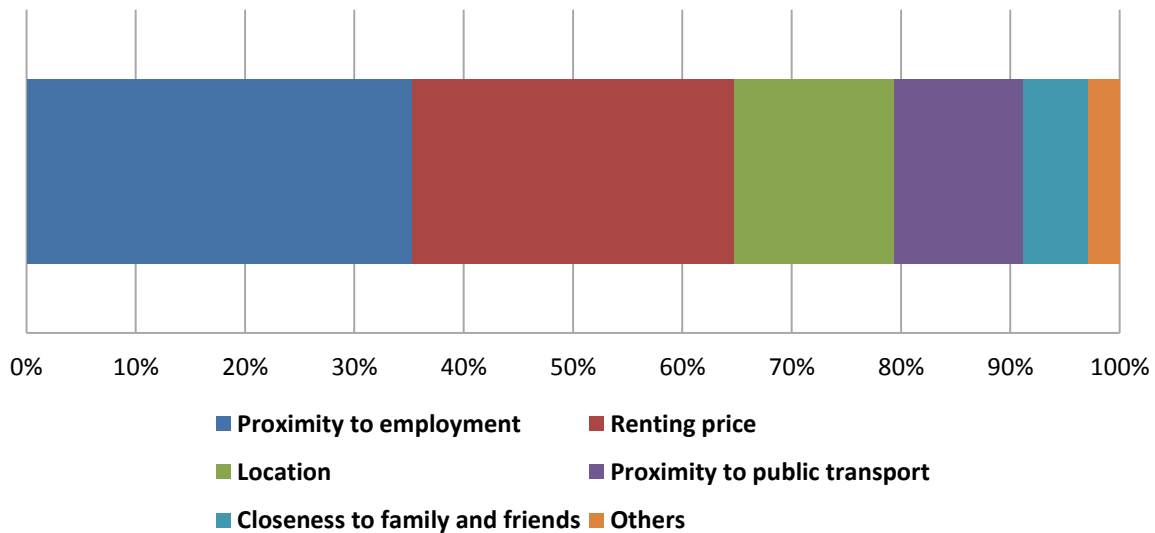


Figure 10 shows that the proximity to employment is the most important factor for more than 35 percent of the respondents and that the renting price is also an important factor. A relative large group of the interviewees said that living close to their job is really important when they search for a new location to live. One of the interviewees, a 54 year old woman, explained that proximity to employment is the most important factor because you earn the rent with your job, so it is important that you first find

a job and then find a place to live nearby that job. That is convenient and will save a lot of commuting time (Interview 4). She thinks that the job is the most important thing that you should take care of when you come to a city like Shenzhen. First find a job and then search for an apartment nearby that job. She wants to live nearby her job because it will save commuting time, this comes back in other interviews as well but they also add that besides travel time the travel costs will be less when you live near your work (Interview 25). One of the respondents explained that he does not want to travel for a long time between his house and his job because he needs to work a lot of overtime. Living as close as possible to his work will give him some more leisure time and that is important for him (Interviews 5). Another respondent adds besides that she need to work overtime, her job is really exhausting and that's why she does not want to spend much time on commuting (Interview 2). Living close to work is an important factor in the choice of residence for a lot of the interviewees in this research. This is also visible when is looked at the commuting time between home and work. In figure 11 the commuting time between home and work is divided in three different time classes.

Figure 11: Commuting time in minutes

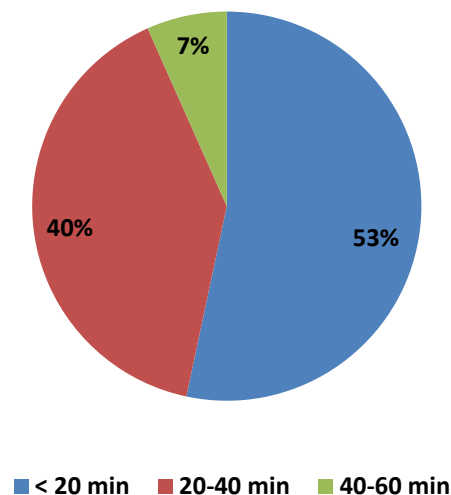


Figure 11 shows that most of the respondents travel less than 40 minutes to get to their work. Especially a large group travels less than 20 minutes to their work. Only two of the respondents need to travel 60 minutes to get to their work. This confirms that most of the respondents are already living close to their work and thus value that as an important factor in their choice of residence. In this research is also asked about the location of the jobs of the respondents. Many respondents are working in the Baishizhou area as well. They have their own shop in Baishizhou, they work at one of the factories or in one of the many

little shops. Another large group of respondents works in the OCT area that is just next to Baishizhou. They work at the creative companies or other service sector jobs in the area. The commuting time and the location of their jobs confirms that besides that the respondents value to live close to their work, they indeed are living close to their job. In one of the interviews a higher educated women said that living close to her work is so important to her that if she needs to find a new residence she will draw a circle around her work and within this 'radius' she will search for a new residence that she can afford (Interview 1). This shows again that work is a kind of basis in their city life and that the residence will be searched near their work location. Besides the proximity to employment the renting price is also for a large group of the respondents the most important factor in their choice of residence (Figure 2). A lot of the interviewees said that they cannot afford a monthly rent that is too high because they have a low income. This is clearly reflected by one of the interviewees. He said that the rent is the most important factor for him because of his economic situation. 'My salary is not that high so the rent cannot be too high as well' (Interview 29). This comes back in many of the interviews. In general the income of many migrants is limited so they are really dependent on the low cost housing and need to take the renting price as an important factor in their residence choice (Hao et al, 2013). One of the respondents said that if she would earn more money she would live in a more expensive apartment but the situation is now that she needs a cheap renting apartment (Interview 4). It is for the migrants in this research thus important to have a low rent apartment which is close to their work. For the low rent apartments migrants mostly depend on the urban villages in Shenzhen because the rent in urban villages is just dramatically lower than formal housing in Shenzhen (Hao et al, 2013).

A few respondents added factors and valued these as important in their choice of residence. One of the interviewees added the factor 'good environment' to the list of factors and valued this as the most important factor. In her choice of residence it is important that there are a lot of trees and green in the area where she lives (Interview 6). Two other new factors that were added by two of the respondents are the safety in the area and the facilities for children. Safety is an important factor for one of the interviewees because she don't wants to live in an area where there are a lot of robberies and where it is not save to walk on the streets. The facilities for children are important in the choice of residence for one of the mothers because facilities for children are important for children to grow up and to learn to play with other children (Interview 5 & 27).

Besides the most important factor it is relevant to know which factors are less important in the choice of residence. In figure 12 the factors are shown to the extent to which they were defined as the least important in their choice of residence by the respondents.

Figure 12: The least important factor in the choice of residence

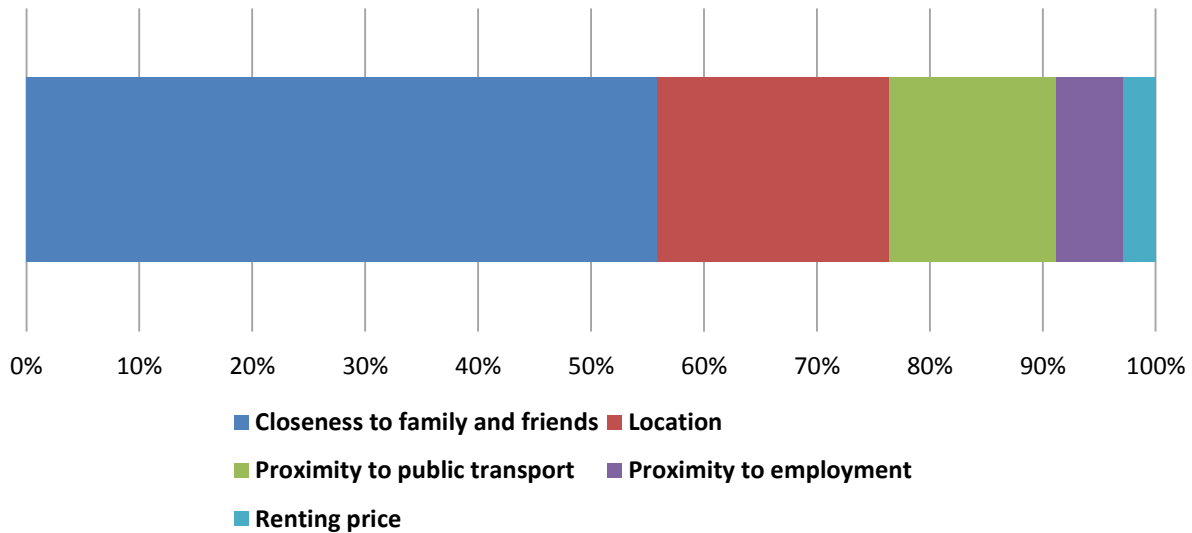


Figure 12 shows that more than 55 percent of the respondents think that ‘closeness to family and friends’ is the least important factor in their choice of residence. The respondents had several reasons why they do not think this factor is important in their choice of residence. One of the most important reasons that comes back in several interviews is that their family is not living in Shenzhen but in their home town. It is therefore not important for these respondents to live close to their family and friends. Another reason why people value closeness to family and friends as the least important factor in their choice of residence is that they can make new friends in the new places where they live. The closeness to family and friends is thus not that important because many migrants came alone to the city and left their family back home. If the family would live in the city it would probably be more important for some respondents to live close to their family. One of the respondents was asked if her family was living in Shenzhen if it then would be important for her to live close to them. She said that if her family was living in Shenzhen it would be really important to her and she would choose to live close to her family. Also if there were more friends living in the city she would consider to change from urban village if her friends were living in another urban village (Interview 1). The closeness to family and friends is for most of the interviewees the least important factor but this has a lot to do with the fact that not many family members or friends of the respondents are living in Shenzhen. Several respondents do not value the location is important in

their choice of residence. One of the respondents said that the location is the least important to him because he can live everywhere in Shenzhen as long as it is close to his work and if the public transportation is pretty good (Interview 25).

The factors proximity to employment and the renting price are thus important for many of the respondents living in Baishizhou whereas the factor closeness to family and friends are considered as the least important for most of the respondents. The location is also a factor that is considered as less important than the other four factors that could be of influence in the choice of residence.

5.2 Actors in choice of residence

In their decisions in the choice of residence migrants often get advice or help from for example family and friends or colleagues. First of all in this research was asked how migrants found their current residence. A lot of the respondents used their social network to find their current residence. Many of them used their friends to ask which area is suitable for them to live. They mainly get advice from their friends. One of the respondents described that she found her current residence in Baishizhou through the introduction of friends. 'My friends said it was a good area to live in and then we searched for apartments on the internet' (Interview 3). She used the introduction of friends to find a target area and then searched on the internet herself to find an apartment in this area. This is commonly used by the respondents as a way to find an apartment. They use their social network to find a target area and then they find an apartment through the internet or through the little advertisement on the wall. Several respondents found their residence through these little advertisement on the wall. A 31 year old man described that he found his current apartment with the use of the little advertisement. 'Friends of my work told me about Baishizhou, that it is a cheap and very convenient area to live. Then I looked around and called the advertisement and found an apartment that I could afford and that I liked' (Interview 26). This interviewee first used his social network, in this case friends from work, to get information about the areas that were suitable for him to find an apartment. Getting information seems to be the most important thing why people use their social network. In most of the cases the migrants do not directly get an apartment through their connections but they get useful information about for example the renting price and whether it is a good area to live. But some interviewees found their residence directly through their connections. A good example of this is a 25 year old man who found a cheap apartment in the Catholic church of Baishizhou. 'I am Catholic and my friend advised me that there was an apartment for rent in the church, I took it because it was a good option for me' (Interview 25). Some respondents

did not had to search for an apartment because it was provided for them by their company. The company they worked for helped thus in providing housing for them (Interviews 13, 21, 29 & 30).

In this research the respondents were also asked which actors would help them in finding new housing. A preset list of actors was made on forehand and the respondents could also add actors if that was necessary. The preset list included: friends and family, neighbors, colleagues, media (newspaper and internet), residence committee and governmental organizations. Figure 13 shows the actors that the respondents will use in finding new housing.

Figure 13: Actors that will help in finding new housing

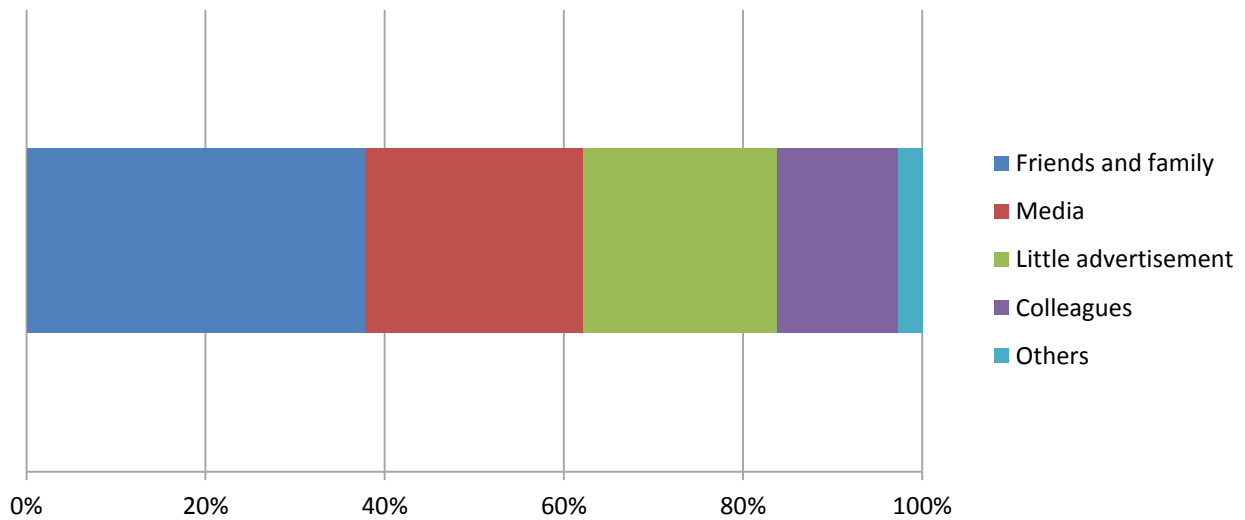


Figure 13 shows that more than 30 percent of the respondents will use family and friends to find new housing. Several respondents will rely on their family and friends because they are reliable. A 41 year old and lower educated man said: 'I am not that familiar with the city and I do not know much about other places in the city. I will use family and friends and probably neighbors to find new housing in Shenzhen' (Interview 7). This interviewee shows that unfamiliarity with the city is also a reason to ask family and friends for help in finding a new residence. Another reason to ask help from family is given by a 21 year old man who said that he will ask family for help in finding new housing because they care about him and care about the decisions he makes considering the residence where he lives (Interview 30). Many of the respondents will use their social network mainly for getting information and to find a target area. Then they will use the internet and the little advertisement. Figure 13 also shows that the media and the little advertisement are both important actors for the respondents to find new housing. One of the

respondents said that when she needs to find a new house she will first rely on the internet. 'I will look on the internet for apartments and there are several sites where you can look for apartments. Then I will also ask colleagues because I do not have many friends and relatives in this area. Finally I will go to the potential place to check all the advertisement, like a fieldtrip, and then I will look which options in the potential area suits my demands' (Interview 5). She also uses her social network to get information about residence options in Shenzhen and will find an apartment on the internet or with the little advertisement in the urban villages. Remarkable is that the respondents do not make use of the residence committee or any governmental organizations to find new housing. One of the respondents explains that the residence committee is only for the people with money and they only help in searching for expensive apartments (Interview 4). The residence committee and governmental organizations are not important actors for the respondents in the search for new housing.

Chapter 6. Housing options

In this chapter the housing options that the respondents see for themselves will be discussed. Differences between lower and higher educated migrants will be discussed and explained. Then will be argued where the respondents will go when the redevelopment will take place. The constraints in housing options for migrants in Shenzhen will be described. Finally there will be discussed if the respondents think it will be difficult to find a new residence in Shenzhen.

6.1 Options in housing

In the interviews the respondents were asked about what they know about the housing options for themselves in Shenzhen. The answers show that a large group of the interviewees see not many other housing options than the urban villages in Shenzhen. They name other areas such as Boa'on district where there are also urban villages where they can find affordable housing. It seems that many of the respondents are aware of the places where they can find cheap housing in Shenzhen. Some even name other urban villages that have good and especially cheap housing. One of the lower educated respondents knows another urban village 'Tao Yuan Cun' which is an option for her because it is not such a poor area and it is even a better urban village than Baishizhou village (Interview 27). Others do not name specific urban villages but know for example that the outer skirts of Shenzhen have cheap renting apartments. In the outer skirts of Shenzhen are quite some urban villages as well (Interview 17, 19 & 20).

Some respondents, especially higher educated respondents, are not only limited to rent apartments in urban villages. They can rent an apartment in the formal housing market as well. They can for example share an apartment with others which makes it possible to rent an apartment in the more expensive formal housing market (Interviews 1, 2, 5, 14, 21, 25 & 26). A higher educated woman told that she is not just limited to urban villages. She can have some other choices through a kind of local social network where you can find roommates to share a bigger apartment with. Then it would be possible for her to rent an apartment with someone else, in one of the high rise buildings in a middle class compound (Interview 1). Some respondents expect some possible options for them in the formal housing near Baishizhou. A 26 year old higher educated woman has different options around the OCT area. She even hopes it is possible to live in the more expensive OCT area (Interview 2). In a group interview with five higher educated migrants came forward that they really would like to live in the OCT area because it is close to their work. But they see it more as a dream than the reality because the OCT area is just too expensive for them (Interview 21). Besides renting, some respondents expect it is possible to buy a house or an

apartment in Shenzhen in the future. A higher educated man said that he eventually sees the option of buying an apartment in Shenzhen but first he needs to earn more money before that is possible for him. He is also considering the second housing market as a possible option to buy an apartment (Interview 5). Just like the 23 year old man there are more respondents that expect they can buy an apartment or house but some are insecure if they can afford to buy an apartment or house. A 29 year old higher educated man said that he wants to buy a house in Shenzhen in the future but if it is too expensive to buy a house in Shenzhen he will buy a house in his hometown (Interview 14). Other interviewees consider buying a house in their hometown instead of buying a house in Shenzhen. Two sisters of 23 and 25 years old said that they do not have the plan to buy an apartment in Shenzhen but want to buy an apartment in their hometown for their parents so that they will have better living conditions and then they will join them later (Interview 21).

A large group of respondents does not know much about their housing options. Several reasons were given why they do not know much about their housing options. First of all some of them do not have enough time to get information about the housing market. One of the respondents said that he does not have the time to get information about other housing options because he works every day in Baishizhou (Interview 12). A few respondents are living in Shenzhen for a short time and therefore do not know much about their residence options. Finally the social network of migrants is important to get information about housing options. Some people do not have many friends and relatives in Shenzhen and therefore do not get information about other housing options in Shenzhen.

The analysis of the housing options shows some differences in housing options between lower and higher educated respondents. The higher educated see more housing options for the future whereas the lower educated respondents seem to be more dependent on the affordable housing in urban villages. Some of the higher educated respondents expect that they can buy an apartment or house in Shenzhen in the future. Some consider the formal renting apartments in Shenzhen whereas the lower educated are mainly considering other urban villages in Shenzhen as their housing options. Several reasons can be given to explain the differences in housing options between higher and lower educated migrants in China. First of all it is important to notice that there are actually three different kind of migrants that come to the city, the higher educated migrants, the labor migrants and the entrepreneurial migrants. These three groups come with different aspirations to the city. The labor migrants come to the city to earn and save money for their future life in their hometowns. They really see the city as a temporary place and will go back to their hometown eventually if they have earned enough money in the city. Most entrepreneurial

migrants have a certain economic foundation if the businesses is going well. This entrepreneurial migrant is more likely to form the intention to permanently reside in the city and buy a house in the city. The higher educated migrants mostly come to the city with other aspirations. Most of the higher educated migrants do not have any cultivation experiences and have adapted well to the city life for a long time. Higher educated migrants are determined to end up their migrant life for good and see urban villages only as temporary housing before they have saved enough money to be able to buy a house (Fan, 2011). That the higher educated migrants see more housing options for themselves than lower educated migrants in the city has to do with the differences in aspirations and opportunities between these two groups. Higher educated migrants want to settle down in the city and make a career whereas lower educated migrants want to go back to their hometown and want to make as much money in the city as they can before they will return. Most higher educated are willing and able to invest in their own property whereas lower educated migrants want to spend as little as they can on housing to save more money for their future lives in their hometowns (Fan, 2011). The level of education in the conceptual scheme of this research is an important personal factor. Differences in housing options between migrants which are influenced by the level of education. Higher educated migrants have different options in housing compared to lower educated migrants.

6.2 Relocation

The respondents were besides their housing options asked where they would go if the redevelopment of Baishizhou will take place. This relocation chapter shows which of the housing options the respondents really consider as new residence location. First of all it is remarkable that almost all the respondents do not expect that they can return to the Baishizhou area after the redevelopment. There is only one respondent who expects he can find a new residence in the Baishizhou area after the redevelopment. The 25 years old and higher educated respondent said that he can find an apartment behind the Holiday plaza, the expensive mall at the border of Baishizhou, which he can afford with his salary (Interview 21). But although many respondents cannot return to the Baishizhou area there are many respondents who will search for another apartment near Baishizhou (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, 19 & 25). They will especially search for an apartment in other urban villages near Baishizhou. A 43 year old man who is living for 7 years in Baishizhou said that he will move to a nearby place because he will be familiar with that place. He will search for another cheap urban village near Baishizhou (Interview 19). This point of view is shared by other respondents who also want to live close to Baishizhou because they are familiar with the area (Interviews 7 & 25). That they are familiar with the area is not the only reason why

respondents want to live close to the Baishizhou area after the redevelopment. The urban villages near Baishizhou are according to several respondents also pretty cheap, so they will be able to afford an apartment in one of the urban villages nearby Baishizhou (Interviews 2, 3, 10 & 13). For some of the respondents it is important to live near Baishizhou after the redevelopment because their work is close to Baishizhou. A man who's working in the OCT area said he will probably search for an apartment that is close to his work so it will be close to Baishizhou and a place where the rent of an apartment is low as well (Interview 5). In chapter five the importance for the respondents to live close to their work was already discussed and that is also visible in the new residence location after the redevelopment. Many of the respondents chose to live close to Baishizhou because their work is close to Baishizhou as well. For another group of respondents proximity to employment is also important in their new residence location. They will try to find a new residence in the Futian district (Interviews 1, 15, 21(2), 26 & 30). A 31 year old man who works in the Futian district said that he would move to the Futian district when the redevelopment of Baishizhou will take place because that is closer to his work. He will go to another urban villages in the Futian district such as Sangsha or Xiasha village. These areas are also pretty cheap and he will be able to find a low rent apartment in one of these villages (Interview 26). Many of the respondents considered the border areas of Shenzhen as one of their housing options. A few respondents also said that they will search for a new residence after the redevelopment at the border areas of Shenzhen. They chose for the border areas because at the border areas are many urban villages where they can find cheap renting apartments (Interview 16 & 18). For these respondents the renting price is really important and that's why they consider the cheaper border areas of Shenzhen. One of the respondents will move to the border areas of Shenzhen when Baishizhou will be redeveloped because he wants to open a new shop. The border areas have a large population which makes it a suitable area to open a new shop (Interview 17). Finally some respondents consider going back to their hometowns when Baishizhou will be redeveloped. A 38 year old man who works in Baishizhou said that he will go back to his hometown because he is not familiar with the other places in Shenzhen, so going back to his home town is the easiest for him (Interview 9). A 34 year old unemployed woman will probably also go back to her hometown because she has no job and therefore does not need to stay in Shenzhen and can easily go back to her hometown (Interview 22).

The respondents will go to many different areas in Shenzhen when the redevelopment of Baishizhou will take place but for most of the respondents the new location will be another urban village, because they need cheap housing and that is only available in other urban villages in Shenzhen. Most of the respondents not only consider other urban villages as their housing options they are especially

considering other urban villages as their new residence location. Two areas were more commonly named by the respondents. A large group of respondents will search for another urban village near Baishizhou because most of them work near Baishizhou and they want to live close to their work. Another group of respondents will search for housing in the Futian district also for the reason that it is close to their work and because they can find cheap housing in that district. The other respondents named the border areas of Shenzhen and their hometown as their possible new residence location. For most of them the rent is an important factor to choose for these new residence locations. Overall most respondents will search for another cheap urban village near their work.

6.3 Constraints in housing options

Migrants experience certain constraints in the housing options they have in Chinese cities. Migrants are constrained in their housing options in two ways. First of all migrants are constrained by their low income which makes it difficult to be able to rent or buy an apartment in the formal commercial housing market. The affordability of housing is an important constraint for many migrants in Shenzhen. Their income is often too low to be able to rent an apartment on the formal housing market (Wu, 2004). In figure 14 the monthly household income of the respondents is shown in five different income categories. The monthly household income is the income of all the members of one household together.

Figure 14: Monthly household income in Yuan

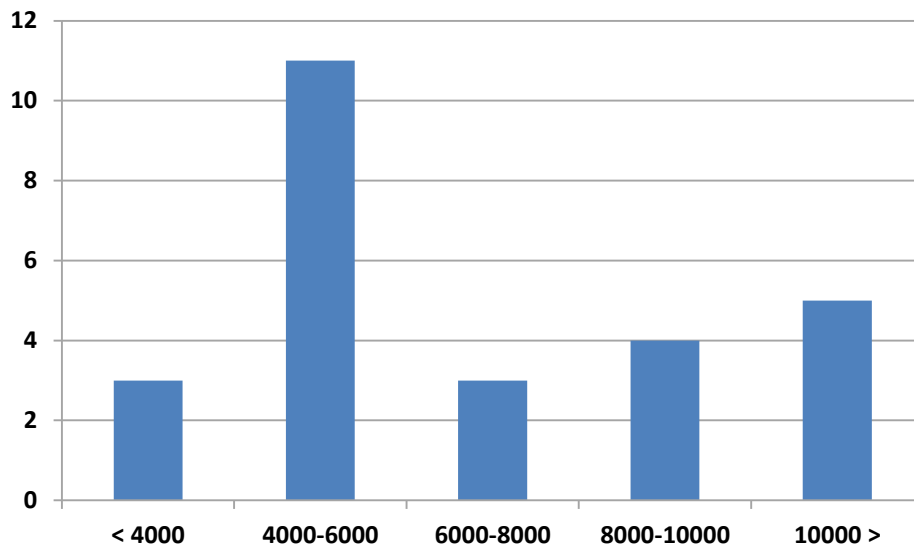


Figure 14 shows that most of the respondents have a monthly income between 4000 and 6000 Yuan. Only five respondents have a higher income than 10000 Yuan per month. The higher monthly incomes are mostly households with two or more persons whereas the low incomes are mainly one person

households. It is important to notice that many migrants send remittances to their parents and other family members in their hometown. For many migrants it's normal to send 40 to 50 percent of their income back to their hometowns to support their family (Gee & Na, 2012). The money that migrants can spend on housing and living expenses is thus even less than their monthly income due to the remittances they send home. A man with a household of five said that he experiences more pressure on his income because he needs to take care of several people. He needs to take care of his three children and of his parents as well. He said that because of this pressure on his income he cannot afford to rent an expensive apartment. He added that this is a common situation for most of the working class (Interview 7). The low income and the fact that many migrants send money to their family in their hometowns creates less housing options for the migrants because they need to search for a cheap renting apartment that is only available in the informal housing sector in the urban villages.

The respondents were also asked what the maximum amount of rent is that they are willing to spend on an apartment. In figure 15 the maximum rent the respondents are willing to spend on an apartment is shown.

Figure 15: Maximum amount of rent willing to pay for an apartment (in Yuan)

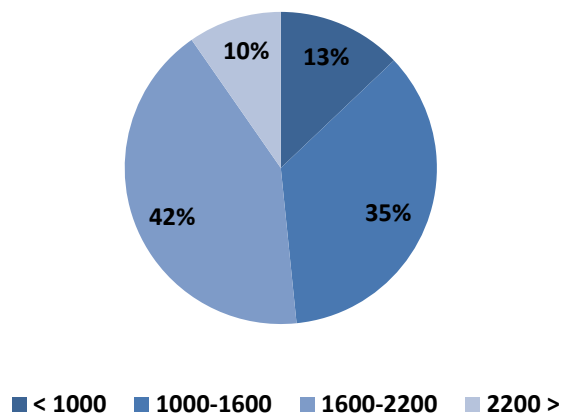


Figure 15 shows that more than 40 percent of the respondents is willing to pay between the 1600 and 2200 Yuan per month as the maximum amount of rent for an apartment. Another relatively large part of the respondent, 35 percent, is not willing to pay more than 1600 Yuan per month for the rent per month. Only a few respondents are willing to pay more than 2200 Yuan per month but they do not want to pay more than 2500 Yuan per month. Even a few respondents do not want to pay more than 1000 Yuan for the rent of an apartment. A low educated woman who is unemployed told that she did not want to spend more than 600 Yuan per month on the rent of an apartment. She is already paying 600 Yuan per

month for her apartment now but she cannot afford to pay more because she needs to finance the education of her children and take care of her elderly (Interview 22). Several respondents said that they cannot afford to spend a lot of money on the rent of their apartment because they have a low income and need to send money back home to support their family.

Figure 15 shows that it is actually for all respondents almost impossible to rent an apartment in the formal housing sector with the rent that they are willing to pay. Most of the apartments in the formal housing sector start at 4000 Yuan, especially in the inner city of Shenzhen (O'Donnell, 2013²). A look at one of the local websites (sz.58.com), that offers apartments for rent in all different parts of Shenzhen, learns that in Shenzhen are not many apartments in the formal sector available under 4000 Yuan. Most of the apartments are even between 5000 and 6000 Yuan. The rooms are also bigger, most of them are more than 60 square meters, but still the prices are a lot higher than in the informal housing market. The OCT area just next to Baishizhou also has a lot of formal renting apartments. Although this area is really close to Baishizhou the prices of the apartments also start around 4000 Yuan for the smallest apartments. The rents in areas such as OCT are just too high for most migrants living in the Baishizhou area. The respondents cannot afford to rent a formal apartment on their own but they can share a formal renting apartment with someone else and then it might become affordable for them. The formal sector is for most of the respondents not a possibility and their housing options are mainly constrained to the urban villages with the low cost housing. Their low income and the remittances which most of them send to their family make the formal sector for most of the respondents infeasible.

Besides that migrants are constrained in their housing options by their low income, they also experience constraints in housing options due to institutional restrictions. The central government of China encouraged cities to build low-cost housing but that policy cannot be called really successful for migrants because only local *hukou* holders can apply for this kind of housing (Economist, 2013). In one of the interviews a low educated man said: 'I know that there are welfare houses provided by the government but we cannot apply for those houses because that is only for people with a local urban *hukou*. So we do not have a lot of choices' (Interview 7). He experiences the exclusion from the affordable governmental housing as a constraint that limits his choices in housing options. Song et al. also argue in their article that the institutional restrictions caused by the *hukou* system are for migrants one of the biggest constraints to find affordable urban housing. China has three affordable housing programs but migrants are excluded from these programs for several reasons (Song et al, 2008). The three affordable housing programs in China are: low-cost renting, economy housing and the housing provident fund. Migrants

without a local urban *hukou* cannot apply for the economy housing. Migrants cannot apply for low-cost renting housing because they do not obtain a local urban *hukou*. Finally most rural migrants are excluded from the housing provident fund because many migrants are self-employed or work in small businesses and do not contribute to the housing provident fund. Therefore the migrants are also excluded from this kind of housing (Quercia & Song, 2007). This shows that migrants without a local urban *hukou* experience many constraints in housing.

The respondents are constrained in two important ways. First of all the income of migrants is a big constraint. All the respondents were living in Baishizhou village because they have a low monthly household income and are not able to rent housing in the formal sector. The personal factor income of the conceptual scheme is for many migrants a big constraint because they are constraint at the moment to rent urban village housing. Migrants are also constrained by the household registration system or *hukou*. Most migrants do not obtain a local *hukou* and are therefore not able to apply for affordable housing programs of the government.

6.4 Difficulties in finding new residence location

The respondents were besides the constraints in housing options asked if they expect difficulties in finding a new residence. First of all a group of respondents expects that it will not be difficult to find a new residence in Shenzhen. A 24 year old woman who is living on her own expects that it will not be difficult for her to find a new apartment from her own experience. 'I am living by myself so it will be easier for me to find a new place than for example families or couples living together' (Interview 1). There is a difference between families or couples and people that live alone. Families and couples have to take the opinion of others in consideration and need bigger apartments. Some respondents expect that it will be easy to find a new residence because they have many contacts who will help them in finding a new residence (Interviews 12, 16 & 23). A 23 year old woman expects it will not be difficult to find a new apartment because her friends can help her in finding a suitable apartment (Interview 23). A few other respondents think it is rather easy to find a new apartment in Shenzhen because they have many options and in Shenzhen are many available apartments for them (Interviews 5, 8, 15, 24, 25 & 26). A 33 year old respondent said that it will not be difficult to find a new apartment because there are a lot of advertisement of apartments on the streets (Interview 15). Finally a few respondents expect that it will not be difficult to find a new apartment because they are really flexible and do not have many

demands. A 54 year old woman living together with her husband thinks that it will be easy to find a new residence because she can adapt to every kind of residence condition and does not have many demands. She and her husband are just really flexible. They can just call the number on the little advertisement on the wall and then will easily find a new apartment (Interview 4).

Some respondents expect that it will be rather difficult to find a new apartment in Shenzhen. Some respondents said it will be difficult to find a new residence because it is difficult to find a good and cheap apartment in Shenzhen (Interviews 13, 17, 18, 21 & 22). A 29 year old man living together with his wife and child said: 'It will be difficult to find a new place because I need to consider a lot of factors, such as a cheap apartment that cannot be too far away from my work. It also depends on my salary, I do not earn a lot of money so there are not a lot of options. It also must be a good place to live with my family' (Interview 14). Many of the respondents that think it will be difficult to find a cheap apartment are already not paying much rent now compared to the other respondents. They are paying less than 700 Yuan for the rent of their apartment (Interviews 21 (5), 22, 28 & 30). When you look at the maximum amount of rent they are willing to pay there are a few respondents that are not considering to pay more than 600 Yuan per month. This group expects that it will be difficult to find another cheap apartment in Shenzhen. There are also some respondents that think it will be difficult to find a new residence because they are not familiar with the city and therefore do not have any idea where to find a new residence (Interviews 7, 13 & 18). Finally there are a few respondents that think it will be difficult to find an apartment because they have many demands and it is therefore not easy for them to find an apartment they like. A higher educated woman said that it will be difficult to find a new place she likes. 'I do not want to live in any apartment that is available, I also have my demands' (Interview 20).

Several reasons were given by the respondents why they expect it will be easy to find a new apartment. In Shenzhen are many options and available apartments. Some said they will easily find a new residence because they have many contacts. Some respondents do not have many demands and are flexible, which makes it easy to find a new apartment. Other respondents expect that it will be rather difficult to find a new residence because they expect that it will be hard to find a cheap and good apartment in Shenzhen. Others expect that it will be difficult because they are not really familiar with the city and do not know where they will need to search for a new apartment. Finally a few respondents expect that it will be difficult to find an apartment they really like. They have their demands and they don't want to live in any apartment that is available.

Chapter 7. Redevelopment of Baishizhou

In this chapter the redevelopment plan of Baishizhou will be discussed. Attention is given to the awareness of the respondents of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou. Finally there will be argued what the effects of the redevelopment of Baishizhou will be for different groups of migrants living in Baishizhou.

7.1 Introduction

The redevelopment plan for Baishizhou of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP (SOM), a big architectural firm, was launched in the beginning of 2013. The redevelopment plan includes the redevelopment of all the five villages in Baishizhou. The area will be redeveloped into a middle class and high end area. It will partly be an residential area but it will especially be rebuild into a commercial area with a lot of offices (O'Donnell, 2013¹). There will be less space used for the residential area and the rent of the apartments in the new residential area will be more expensive than the current apartments in Baishizhou. Although it is not known yet what the exact prices will be for the apartments in the new redevelopment plan. The redevelopment will cause many difficulties for migrants living in Baishizhou. Almost none of the migrants will be able to return to the new apartments after the redevelopment because those new apartments will probably be too expensive for them. They will be displaced and will be affected in certain ways.

7.2 Awareness of the redevelopment

First of all the respondents was asked if they are aware of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou. In table 3 the results are shown of how many respondents are aware of the possible redevelopment of Baishizhou.

Table 3: Awareness of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou in percentage

Aware of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou		
Yes	No	Total
76.5	23.5	100

Table 3 shows that most of the respondents are aware of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou. Most of the respondents have heard about the redevelopment plans from other people in Baishizhou. Quite some people know of the redevelopment plans because of their work. They work in the OCT area in for example architectural firms. A few people have heard from the redevelopment plans through their landlord who informed them. One of the respondents living in Baishizhou for 13 years now said that he already heard about the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou ten years ago. He heard it from other people

living in Shenzhen and recently there is also information about the redevelopment plans on the information board at the public square in Baishizhou (Interview 11). The respondents that are not aware of the redevelopment are mostly living for a short time in Baishizhou, most of them less than a year. That is probably the reason why they have not heard of the redevelopment plans yet.

7.3 Redevelopment and effects on life of migrants

A clear divide can be made between respondents that expect their life will be affected by the redevelopment in certain ways and respondents that expect that they will hardly be affected by the redevelopment. Besides the clear divide between those groups, many shop owners are not only concerned with their apartment in Baishizhou but also with their shop or restaurant in Baishizhou that could be affected by the redevelopment.

First of all a pretty large group of the respondents expects that they will not really be affected by the redevelopment of Baishizhou. They know that they need to move from the Baishizhou area and will need to search for a new apartment but they will just find another place to live. An unemployed and low educated man said that he does not worry about the redevelopment because he has many choices in apartments in Shenzhen. It will not really affect his future plan because he will just find an apartment in another area of Shenzhen. The only people that are really affected are the landlords because they will get a lot of money out of the redevelopment (Interview 25). The landlords that this interviewee mentioned are of course also affected by the redevelopment but they are compensated for the loss of their apartment building and probably get new apartments in the new project. The situation for the migrants who are renting an apartment in Baishizhou is quite different because they have no rights, will not get any compensation and are not relocated. But nevertheless a few respondents do not worry about the redevelopment and will just search for another apartment in the city. A 24 year old and higher educated woman said that she does not worry about the redevelopment because migrants have a lot of choices in Shenzhen to find an apartment. She can easily find another similar urban village to find a new apartment (Interview 1). The respondents that expect that they are not really affected by the redevelopment are just less worried about finding a new apartment because just like the 24 year old woman they say that they have lots of other options to find a new apartment in Shenzhen.

Another group of respondents are quite concerned with the fact that they will need to find a new apartment due to the redevelopment. A 26 year old woman thinks that the redevelopment is actually a shame. She will need to move out of the area because the rent will be too high for her but the new place

that she will find will never be the same as Baishizhou. It will not be as accessible, not as cheap and not as enjoyable as she wants it to be (Interview 2). The 26 year old woman is besides that she will need to find a new place disappointed in the fact that she will not be able to live in Baishizhou, where she was really enjoying her life. A 29 year old man is also affected by the redevelopment because he will need to find another place to live. But he is also concerned with the travel time and travel costs that will probably increase because he will not live as close to his work as he is doing now in Baishizhou (Interview 14). The travel cost and the travel time can increase for the displaced migrants if they cannot find a residence near their job. In chapter 5 is shown that most of the respondents live close to their jobs so they will need to find a place close to Baishizhou or otherwise they will have higher transportation costs and a longer travel time. Some respondents face higher consequences than only losing an apartment due to the redevelopment. A 33 year old woman who works as a teacher at a public school in Baishizhou said that she thinks that the redevelopment is really bad for her and also for other people in Baishizhou because they will need to find new jobs and other apartments. She also expects that the redevelopment is only good for the landlords because they will earn a lot of money because of the redevelopment. She considers leaving Baishizhou already to find a new residence in another place so that she does not have to worry about the redevelopment anymore (Interview 3). Some respondents expect they will lose their jobs due to the redevelopment. They are working in one of the factories in Baishizhou or work in one of the little shops in Baishizhou (Interviews 9, 11, 12 & 13). One of the respondents expects she will need to quit her job because she will probably live to far from her job in the OCT area. She is a 54 year old cleaning lady working in the OCT area and she expects that due to the redevelopment she will probably need to change from job and find a job near the new residence location (Interview 4). The effects of the redevelopment for some migrants are enormous. It will not only be a place to live what they will lose but maybe even worse is that they will lose their job. For 12 of the 34 respondents it is the case that they are working in the Baishizhou area. More than 1/3 of the respondents is working in Baishizhou and they will probably lose their job and will need to find a new residence as well.

Finally there is a group of respondents that have their own shop in Baishizhou and live in Baishizhou as well (Interviews 7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24 & 30). They will not only lose their apartment but they also face the possible loss of their shop. Some of these respondents are really concerned with the redevelopment because they will need to find a new location for their shop. A 23 year old woman who owns a little shop in Baishizhou said that she is affected a lot by the redevelopment because she will not be compensated for her shop because she does not own the building. According to the 23 year old shop owner there are a lot of shop owners that worry about the redevelopment because if they have a large stock of goods than

the food can get spoiled if they cannot sell it before the redevelopment. But she is optimistic about finding a new location for her shop. She expects she can open a new shop in the Boa'on district because it is also cheap to rent a shop in that area and there are more people living over there which means more costumers (Interview 23). Some shop owners are also insecure if they can find a place where they can open a new shop and do not know if they will have a shop after the redevelopment. A 41 year old man who sells stockings in his little shop sees a great barrier in front of him. The redevelopment will have many negative effects on him. After the redevelopment he will need to start a new business or find a new job. He is not sure how he will earn money in the new area where he will live (Interview 7). Another shop owner is also concerned with the redevelopment of Baishizhou. He expects that the redevelopment will affect his future because he will need to move his shop and he is not sure if he can find a cheap and good location as that is the case in Baishizhou (Interview 19). Under some of the shop owners is a lot of uncertainty because they do not know if they can open a new shop in another area. The rent can be too high for them to be able to open a new shop in another area. Two shop owners think really light about the redevelopment and do not worry about finding a new location to open a shop. A 36 year old man who owns an electronic repairing shop is not concerned at all with the redevelopment. He can just open another shop in other places in Shenzhen (Interview 17). Another shop owner who has a copy shop in Baishizhou is also not really worried about the redevelopment. He will just search for a new location for his shop. He expects he can open a new shop near the primary school because that area will not be redeveloped (Interview 24). Although those two shop owners, who are not really worried about the redevelopment, most of the shop owners are really concerned and are insecure about the future of their shop. They are not only facing the displacement from their apartments but also from their shops.

There are some differences between the lower educated migrants and the higher educated migrants in how they will be affected by the redevelopment. The higher educated respondents seem to be less worried and most of them will just find another place to live. Some lower educated respondents feel really insecure about the redevelopment of Baishizhou. They are especially worried about losing their job or shop. The big difference between the higher and lower educated migrants is that the higher educated migrants mostly work in the OCT area, so their job is not affected by the redevelopment. The lower educated respondents are especially working in Baishizhou in one of the factories or shops. Some lower educated respondents have their own shop in Baishizhou. That the lower educated respondents seem to be more worried about the redevelopment seems to be influenced by the location where they work. Not many higher educated migrants are working in the Baishizhou area, so they will only lose a place to live

but for the lower educated respondents the consequences of the redevelopment are bigger because they will possibly also need to search for another job or a new location for their shop.

The redevelopment of Baishizhou village can also affect the renting prices in surrounding urban villages. Dachong village was an urban village that is redeveloped recently, it was located close to Baishizhou. The redevelopment of Dachong village caused that the rent of apartments in Baishizhou went up with ten percent. In an interview with five higher educated migrants they told about the rent which went up in Baishizhou with ten percent due to the redevelopment of Dachong village (Interview 21). In an interview with a landlord he confirmed that the rent went up due to the redevelopment of Dachong village. The raise of the rent caused that some of the low income people who originally lived here could not afford to live in Baishizhou anymore. Those people had to move due to the raise of the rent to the border area of the city. They had to move out of the special economic zone to find cheap apartments (Interview 31). The rent of other urban villages can thus increase due to the redevelopment of an urban village that is nearby.

The redevelopment has different effects on different groups of migrants. In this chapter is shown that migrants can be affected by the redevelopment in three ways. All respondents will lose their apartment, they will have to search for a new residence. A large group of respondents who will lose their job due to the redevelopment, besides losing their apartment. These people are working in the Baishizhou area and will not only lose their apartment due to the redevelopment but will lose their employment as well. Finally a group of shop keepers will lose their shop and will need to search for a new location for their shop or will need to find other employment. Differences can be found between different kind of migrants. Most of the higher educated respondents are less affected by the redevelopment because they will only lose their apartment and their job is not affected by the redevelopment. Most of the lower educated respondents will lose their job or shop because they are currently working in the Baishizhou area or have their own shop. The lower educated respondents seem to be more concerned about the redevelopment than the higher educated respondents. The lower educated migrants face more consequences, so it is not strange that they also feel more concerned about the possible redevelopment of Baishizhou. Finally migrants living in other urban villages nearby Baishizhou also face consequences due to the redevelopment of Baishizhou. The rent of urban villages nearby Baishizhou might go up due to the redevelopment. There are thus many consequences for migrants that need to be considered with the redevelopment of Baishizhou village.

8. Discussion

In this discussion chapter several important findings of this research will be discussed. First of all the urban village is discussed as an important housing and employment market. The discussion will then continue towards the redevelopment of urban villages and there will be argued what the redevelopment will mean for different groups of migrants: lower educated, higher educated and shops owners. There will be argued what the large scale redevelopment of urban villages will mean for the migrants and the housing market in Shenzhen. Finally in this discussion is also argued how this research contributes or contradicts to the literature.

8.1 Urban villages

In this research has been shown that urban villages are an important affordable housing market for low income migrants. Most of the migrants are excluded from other housing due to the *hukou* system or due to their low income, they rely on the urban village housing market. The urban village is not only important for lower educated migrants as in some of the literature about urban villages is argued (Zheng et al, 2009). This research showed that some urban villages such as Baishizhou village do not only house lower educated blue collar workers but also many higher educated white collar workers. The higher educated young professionals also need affordable housing due to their low income when they start their careers after graduation. The urban villages are for this group of people an important springboard and gateway to the city and if they have better employment or earn more money they can seek a residence in the formal housing market. The urban villages in the inner city are especially an interesting housing markets for the lower and higher educated migrants. It is for most migrants close to their employment, affordable, accessible and most of the urban villages in the inner city have good transportation connections. Besides that urban villages are important affordable housing markets for migrants they also provide many migrants with employment. Many urban villages have a strong local economy with many shops and factories. Baishizhou is a good example of an urban village which provides many migrants with employment. Many of the respondents in this research were working in Baishizhou in one of the shops or in one of the factories. Some of the respondents also have their own shop in Baishizhou. In the literature it is sometimes forgotten that urban villages not only provide housing for low income migrants but also jobs (Song et al, 2008; Zhang et al, 2003 & Zheng et al, 2009). The urban villages are important for migrants in providing housing and employment but it is not a place where they have feelings of attachment with. In this research many respondents did not feel attached to Baishizhou village. It seems that there is not really a sense of community because many respondents still

felt attached to their home village and have their sense of belonging in their home towns. Urban villages are for most migrants only a place to live and work. This confirms to the literature about the traditional migrant who only comes to the city to earn money and their sense of belonging is in their hometowns (Hu, 2012; Wang et al, 2009 & Wu, 2012). The new migrants only see the urban villages as a springboard and are not satisfied with living in such environment but only see it as temporary. In the future they have more options in housing than urban villages as is shown in this research.

8.2 Redevelopment and migrants

The redevelopment of an urban village will not affect all the migrants in the same way. In the literature about redevelopment mainly one general migrant group is discussed, but there are differences between different groups of migrants and how they are affected by the redevelopment (Hao, 2012; Hao et al, 2013; Hin & Xin, 2011). This research has shown that there are three groups of migrants for which the redevelopment has different influences on their lives. First of all there are the higher educated migrants that are affected in the sense that they will need to search for another residence because the apartments in the new project will be too expensive for them. Most of the higher educated respondents do not seem to worry that much about the redevelopment because they have many options to find other housing. The lower educated respondents will also lose their residence but there are more consequences for them. Many of the lower educated respondents might also lose their jobs because they are working in the urban village as well. The last group who are affected by the redevelopment are the migrants who have their own shop in the urban village. They are not only concerned with the loss of their apartment but also with the loss of their shop. Most of the shop owners are renting their shops spaces, they do not have any rights and will not be compensated. They will need to search for a new location for their shop or if they are not able to find a new location will have to find another job. The shop owners also need to consider the relocation of their shop in their decision for a new residence location. Most of the migrants will live close to their shop thus the shop is for them an important factor in their decision in the choice of residence as well. In literature about the redevelopment of urban villages there is hardly any attention to the loss of employment due to the redevelopment (Hao, 2012; Hao et al, 2013; Hin & Xin, 2011). Attention is given to the displacement of migrants and that they will need to search for a new residence but the loss of their jobs is hardly mentioned. This research showed that the redevelopment of urban villages brings social risks but also economic risks because some migrants are facing the loss of their job.

8.3 Large scale redevelopment of urban villages: causes for migrants and housing market

This research only focused on the possible redevelopment of one urban village. It gives some indications of what large scale redevelopment of urban villages will mean for the migrants living in Shenzhen and for the housing market in Shenzhen. First of all urban villages are an import housing market for lower and higher educated migrants. The urban villages are the only housing market for many migrants that is accessible when they come to a city like Shenzhen. As has been shown in this research they are constrained in their housing options by the *hukou* system. They cannot apply for affordable housing of the government and do not have enough money to find housing in the formal housing market. The urban villages play an important role in housing the migrants in Shenzhen and providing them with jobs. The local government of Shenzhen has the intention to redevelop many of the so important urban villages for migrants in Shenzhen. In the Master plan of Urban Village Redevelopment of 2005 the Municipal Government of Shenzhen approved the redevelopment of 137 urban villages in Shenzhen (Shenzhen Municipal Government, 2005). Many of this urban villages that are planned to be redeveloped are located in the city center in the Special Economic Zone. This raises the question what the effects will be of the redevelopment of urban villages for migrants and for the whole housing market of Shenzhen. First of all there should be made a divide between the short term effects and the long term effects of the redevelopment of the urban villages in Shenzhen. It will take a while before all the urban villages as planned will be redeveloped and it's not even sure if all the urban villages will be redeveloped in the future. On the short term the redevelopment of a few urban villages such as Baishizhou will not directly cause a housing crisis for migrants, there will still be enough affordable housing for low income migrants. In this research many of the respondents said that it will not be that difficult to find a new residence if Baishizhou will be redeveloped because they have enough housing possibilities. Especially at the border of Shenzhen there are enough possibilities for migrants to find affordable housing. For the short term there will probably be enough housing options for migrants in Shenzhen but it will be more difficult to find affordable housing in the city center or in the Special Economic Zone (SEZ). Hao focusses more on the long term consequences of urban village redevelopment for migrants (Hao, 2012). This research has shown that even on the short term migrants will face large consequences. In the short term there will be a loss of affordable housing in the city center which will not be compensated with newly build affordable housing for migrants. There will be a loss of employment for migrants and many of the migrants will need to search a new job or even face unemployment.

In the longer term the situation is quite different for migrants and the housing market if many of the urban villages in the city center will be redeveloped. The possible large scale redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen will cause that there will be hardly any affordable housing options in the city center for migrants. Hao et al. even argue that the migrants will be excluded from the city center. They also argue that the large scale redevelopment of urban villages can cause housing stress in the Special Economic Zone, especially for low income migrants including college graduates and starters in the service sector (Hao et al, 2013). The consequences of the redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen will possibly be enormous in the longer term which makes it impossible for migrants to find an affordable residence in the SEZ. Whereas affordable housing in the city center is important for migrants and for Shenzhen as well because in the city center there are many employment opportunities for lower and higher educated migrants. In this research and the literature about migrant mobility is shown that migrants chose a residence near their employment and many lower and higher educated migrants work in the inner city so it is for the city and migrants important to have affordable housing in the inner city to make it possible for migrants to live close to their employment (Li et al, 2007; Roberts, 2001; Wu, 2002 & 2010). The Municipal government should not forget that in the inner city provides a lot of low skilled jobs and also in the future there will be many low skilled jobs in the inner city. It is important that it is still possible for migrants to live nearby this large pool of low skilled employment. Besides the low skilled migrants, also many higher educated migrants are dependent on affordable housing which is at the moment only available in the urban villages in Shenzhen. The urban villages are thus such an important housing market for lower educated and higher educated migrants that the large redevelopment plans of the Municipal government need to be reconsidered. The redevelopment of urban villages itself is not really the problem but the loss of affordable housing in the city center and the possible exclusion of migrants in the city center are.

9. Conclusion

In this chapter the main conclusions of this research will be discussed and the main question will be answered. First of all the housing market and the renting process in Baishizhou village are explained. Then the important and less important factors in the decision of migrants in their choice of residence are discussed. Besides the factors there is attention to the actors that are important in finding a new residence. Then the housing options and the relocation are discussed. The constraints in housing options and the difficulties to find a new residence are described. Finally attention is given to how the respondents are affected by the redevelopment.

9.1 Baishizhou housing market

In this research first of all the housing market of Baishizhou village is described. In chapter 4 has been argued that the population of Baishizhou is diverse and that there are not only lower educated migrants living in Baishizhou but that there are many higher educated migrants living in Baishizhou as well. Baishizhou village is also an important housing market for young professionals because they need affordable housing due to their low starting salary at the beginning of their careers. Baishizhou is also located in the Special Economic Zone near important employment areas for higher educated migrants such as OCT and High-tech Park. Baishizhou is thus an interesting housing market for higher educated migrants as well because of the affordable housing and Baishizhou is located near their employment. The respondents in this research were also asked why they chose to live in an urban village such as Baishizhou. The most important reasons for the respondents to choose to live in Baishizhou was because it is close to their work and the rent of the apartments in Baishizhou are low compared to the formal housing in Shenzhen. Other reasons for respondents to choose for Baishizhou village was the good location within the city and the good public transportation from and towards Baishizhou. The urban village Baishizhou is thus an important housing market for migrants. In this research there has been shown how this housing market in Baishizhou works. The importance of the little advertisement on the wall in the renting process has been shown. The little advertisement is everywhere in Baishizhou village and through the numbers on the little advertisement it is relatively easy to find an apartment. The middle man or the informal broker plays an important role in the renting process because the renting process of most apartments is organized by informal broker agencies who arrange the renting of apartments in Baishizhou for the landlords. The renting of apartments in Baishizhou has actually become big business and there are quite a lot of informal brokers' offices in Baishizhou. Another way to find an

apartment in an urban village such as Baishizhou is through the internet. Websites such as 58.com offer a lot of different formal and informal housing in Shenzhen and in Baishizhou as well.

9.2 Factors and actors in choice of residence

In this research has been shown which factors are important in the decisions of the respondents in their choice of residence. The respondents were asked to order a list with five different factors that could play a role in the decisions of the choice of residence. They could also add one or more factors themselves. The proximity to employment is the most important factor in the decisions of the respondents in their choice of residence. Most of the respondents want to live close to their employment because they want to save travel time and travel costs. Another important factor is the renting price. Most of the respondents do not earn a lot of money and are dependent on affordable housing that is almost only available in the urban villages in Shenzhen. Besides the important factors is looked at the least important factors in the choice of residence of the respondents. The factor living close to family and friends is the least important for many of the respondents. Many of the respondents said that their family and friends live in their home towns so they do not live in Shenzhen and therefore it is not an important factor. The location is also considered by many of the respondents as the least important factor. In the decisions in their choice of residence migrants often get advice or help from certain actors, for example family and friends. In this research a list of different actors, that could be of influence in the decision making, was used. The respondents were asked which actors they would use for help in finding a new residence. For most of the respondents the most important actor are family and friends. Some of the respondents said that family and friends are reliable and therefore they will ask them for help if they need to find a new residence. The media and the little advertisement are also important actors for the respondents to find new housing. Family and friends and colleagues seem to be important in giving information about residence options and possible target areas. The internet and the little advertisement are important in finding apartments when the respondents have found a target area with the help of their social network.

9.3 Housing options

In this research there is paid attention to the housing options that the respondents see for themselves. Many of the respondents do not see other options than urban villages. Many of the respondents are dependent on low rent housing and are aware of the places where they can find affordable housing. A relatively large group of respondents does not know much about their housing options. They have several reasons why they do not know much about their housing options. Some of the respondents do

not have enough time to get information about the housing market. A few respondents are living in Shenzhen for only a short period of time and therefore do not know much about their residence options. Finally some respondents do not have many friends and relatives in Shenzhen and therefore do not get information about other housing options in Shenzhen. Some respondents are not only limited to rent apartments in urban villages. They expect that they are able to rent an apartment in the formal housing market as well. Besides renting some respondents expect it is possible to buy a house or an apartment in Shenzhen in the future. Especially the higher educated respondents see more housing options in the future whereas the lower educated respondents seem to be more dependent on the affordable housing in urban villages. Especially the higher educated respondents do not expect that they are limited to the urban villages and expect they can rent or buy a house in the formal housing sector. The higher educated migrants see more housing options for themselves than lower educated migrants because the higher educated migrants come with different aspirations to the city. Most higher educated migrants want to settle down in the city and make a career whereas most lower educated migrants eventually want to go back to their hometowns and want to save as much money as they can. Most of the higher educated migrants want to stay in the city and are willing and able to invest in their own property whereas lower educated migrants want to spend as little as possible on housing to save more money for their future lives in their hometowns. Besides the housing options attention is given to where the respondents expect they will find a new residence when they will be displaced due to the redevelopment. Most respondents will try to find a new residence in another urban village in Shenzhen, because low cost housing is almost only available in other urban villages in Shenzhen. Many of the respondents will search for another urban village near Baishizhou because most of them work near Baishizhou and they want to live close to their work. A group of respondents wants to live in the Futian district because that it is close to their work and they can find affordable housing in that district. Other possible new residence locations that the respondents named were the border areas of Shenzhen and their hometowns.

9.4 Constraints in housing options

The respondents also experience certain constraints in their housing options. Migrants are constrained in their housing options in two ways. First of all migrants are constrained by their low income. Besides the low income many migrants send remittances to their families in their hometowns. Many of the respondents in this research earn not enough money to be able to rent an apartment in the formal housing market. Due to their low income many of the respondents in this research are constrained to the cheap housing in urban villages in Shenzhen. Secondly migrants are constrained by the Chinese

household registration system or the *hukou* system. The *hukou* system excludes migrants from the affordable social housing provided by the government. Besides the constraints in housing options the respondents were asked if they expect it will be difficult to find a new residence after the redevelopment. Many of the respondents expect that it will not be difficult to find a new residence. There are several reasons why some respondents expect it will be easy to find a new apartment in Shenzhen. First of all some respondents said that there are many options and available apartments in Shenzhen. Some respondents said they will easily find a new residence because they have many contacts. Some respondents do not have many demands and are flexible, which makes it easier to find a new apartment. A smaller group of respondents expects it will be rather difficult to find a new residence. Some respondents expect that it will be hard to find a cheap and good apartment in Shenzhen. Finally some respondents expect it will be difficult to find a new residence because they are not really familiar with the city and do not know where they will need to search for a new apartment.

9.5 Affected by the redevelopment

Finally is researched how the migrants living in Baishizhou are affected. Differences were found between three different groups which are affected by the redevelopment in a different way. First of all the redevelopment means for all the migrants that they need to find a new residence. They will be displaced from Baishizhou village because the new apartments will be too expensive for most of the migrants living in Baishizhou village. Secondly some migrants are also working in Baishizhou. They will probably lose their job due to the redevelopment. The third group that is affected by the redevelopment are the shop owners in Baishizhou, most of them are living in Baishizhou as well. The shop owners will need to find besides a new residence also a new location for their shop. There are also some remarkable differences between the lower educated migrants and the higher educated migrants in how they will be affected by the redevelopment. The higher educated respondents seem to be less worried and most of them will just find another place to live. Several lower educated migrants really feel insecure about their life after the redevelopment. They are especially worried about losing their job or shop. The big difference between the higher and lower educated migrants is that the lower educated respondents are especially working in Baishizhou or have their own shop whereas the higher educated migrants mostly work in areas outside Baishizhou, such as the OCT area. The lower educated migrants seem to be more worried about the redevelopment because they will possibly also lose their job whereas the jobs of most higher educated migrants are not affected by the redevelopment. All the respondents living in Baishizhou are affected in

some way but there are quite some differences between individuals, some will lose their job or shop and apartment whereas others only lose a place to live.

References

- Du, J. (2008), Don't Underestimate the Rice Fields. In *Urban Trans Formation*, pp. 217-225. Berlin: Ilka Press, 2008.
- The Economist (2013), China's need for a new urbanisation policy reaches a critical point. *The Economist*, June 1, 2013.
- Fan, J. (2011), Social and Individual Perspectives on Migrants Immersed in the Old Industrial Base of Shenyang, *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 43, No. 3: pp. 38–61.
- Gee, C. and Na, F. (2012), *Urban Village Dialogues*. Shenzhen: URBANUS.
- Hao, P. (2012), Spatial Evolution of Urban Villages in Shenzhen, dissertation Utrecht University, ITC dissertation number 202.
- Hao, P., Geertman, S., Hooimeijer, P. and Sliuzas, R. (2013), What Drives the Spatial Development of Urban Villages in China?, *Urban Studies*, May 2013: pp. 1-18.
- Hessler, P. (2010), *Country Driving. A Journey through China from Farm to Factory*, New York: Harper: pp. 397.
- Hin, L. & Xin, L. (2011), Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China: An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions, in: *Habitat International*, 35(2011), 426-434.
- Hu, X. (2012), China's "New Generation" Rural-Urban Migrants: Migration Motivation and Migration Patterns, School of Public Policy: George Mason University.
- Huang, Y. (2003), Renters' Housing Behaviour in Transitional Urban China, *Housing Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1: pp. 103-126.
- Li, B., Duda, M. and Peng, H. (2007), Determinants of Housing Choice among Low-Wage, Rural-Urban Migrants in Tianjin, *Paper prepared for Migration and Social Protection in China Conference Beijing*: pp. 1-38.
- Li, Q. (1999), Occupational mobility of rural workers in urban China, *Sociology Studies*, Vol. 5.
- Lian, S. (2009), *Ant Tribe: A Report of University Graduate Villages*. Nanning: Guangxi, Normal University Press.

Lin, L. (2012), China's Graduates Face Glut: Mismatch Between Their Skills, Job Market's Needs Results in Underemployment. *The Wall Street Journal*, August 22, 2012.

Liu, Z. (2005), Institution and inequality: the *hukou* system in China, *Journal of Comparative Economics*, Vol. 33: pp. 133–157.

Ng, M.K. (2003), City profile Shenzhen, *Cities*, Vol. 20, No. 6: pp. 429–441.

MGI (2009), *Preparing for China's urban billion*. McKinsey Global Institute: pp. 259-269.

O'Donnell, M.A. (2013¹), *As Shenzhen razes: the Baishizhou urban renewal plan online* [Online] <<http://shenzhennoted.com/2013/01/24/as-shenzhen-razes-the-baishizhou-urban-renewal-plan-online>> (Consulted 18 May 2013).

O'Donnell, M.A. (2013²) *Laying siege to the villages: Baishizhou* [Online] <<http://shenzhennoted.com/2013/04/04/laying-siege-to-the-villages-baishizhou>> (Consulted 18 May 2013).

O'Donnell, M.A. (2013³) *Laying siege to the villages: lessons from Shenzhen* [Online] <<http://shenzhennoted.com/2013/03/29/laying-siege-to-the-villages-lessons-from-shenzhen>> (Consulted 22 May 2013).

O'Donnell, M.A. (2013⁴) *Tangtou, Baishizhou* [Online] <<http://shenzhennoted.com/2010/01/31/tangtou-baishizhou>> (Consulted 2 June 2013).

Oeeee (2008), *Summary: Baishizhou district* [Online] <<http://www.oeeee.com/a/20091111/801204.html>> (Consulted 25 April 2013).

Quercia, R. and Song, Y. (2007), Housing rural migrants in urban China: lessons from the United States experience, in: Y. Song and C. Ding (Eds) *Urbanization in China: Critical Issues in an Era of Rapid Growth*, pp. 191–208. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Roberts, K. D. (2001), The determinants of job choice by rural labour migrants in Shanghai, *China Economic Review*, Vol. 12: pp. 15-39.

Seeborg, M. C. et al. (2000), The new rural–urban labour mobility in China: causes and implications, *Journal of Socio-Economics*, Vol. 29: pp. 39-56.

Shenzhen Map (2013), *Map of China highlighting Shenzhen* [Online] < <http://shenzhenmap.info/static-maps/shenzhen-china.html>> (Consulted 10 June 2013).

Shenzhen Statistics Bureau (2010), *Shenzhen Statistical Yearbook 2010*, Beijing: China Statistics Press.

Shenzhen Urban Planning Bureau (2005), *Shenzhen master plan of urban village redevelopment 2005-2010*. Shenzhen Urban Planning Bureau Document.

Song, Y., Zenou, Y. and Ding, C. (2008), Let's Not Throw the Baby Out with the Bath Water: The Role of Urban Villages in Housing Rural Migrants in China, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2: pp. 313–330.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1994), Grounded Theory Methodology - An Overview, In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1994, pp. 273-285.

URBANUS (2013), Baishizhou: The core of Dashaha and OCT Area. Shenzhen: URBANUS [unpublished map].

URBANUS (2013), Map of Baishizhou Urban Fabric. Shenzhen: URBANUS [Unpublished map].

Wang, L. (2012), China's New Generation Migrant Workers: Seeking Independence Through Working In Factories, Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Wang, Y.P., Wang, Y. & Wu, J. (2009), Urbanization and Informal Development in China: Urban Villages in Shenzhen, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4: pp. 957-973.

Wu, W. (2002), Migrant Housing in Urban China : Choices and Constraints, *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 38: pp. 90-119.

Wu, W. (2004), Sources of migrant housing disadvantage in urban China, *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 36: pp. 1285-1304.

Wu, W. (2010), Drifting and getting stuck: Migrants in Chinese cities, *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, Vol. 14 (1-2): pp. 13-24.

Zacharias, J. and Tang, Y. (2010), Restructuring and repositioning Shenzhen, China's new mega city, *Progress in Planning*, Vol. 73, No 4, pp. 209–249.

Zhang, L., Zhao, S. X. B. and Tian, J. P. (2003), Selfhelp in housing and Chengzhongcun in China's urbanization, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 27: pp. 912–937.

Zheng et al. (2009), Urban Villages in China: A 2008 Survey of Migrant Settlements in Beijing, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 425–446.

Appendix

Reflection

During this thesis project I did not experience much difficulties. At an early stage of the project I already had a clear idea about what I wanted to research and I already had a well-defined topic. The topic really appealed to me which made it easier to get actively involved in the thesis project. However there were some minor setbacks during the project. First of all the transcribing and data analyzing took more time than I expected. I was not able to hand in my thesis before the first deadline due to the long data analyzing process and the writing process which also took more time than expected. It was the first time for me to do such an extensive research with qualitative data, so I first needed to get used to writing a thesis with qualitative data. Eventually I had the right structure for myself, which made it easier to write down the results from the qualitative data. Another minor setback was the small amount of available data about Baishizhou. During the six weeks of fieldwork I tried to get data about Baishizhou village, but governmental organizations didn't want to provide any data or did not have access to any data about the area. I eventually was able to get some information from the blog Shenzennoted but more detailed information about the people living in Baishizhou village is missing in this research. Although this more detailed is missing I am satisfied with the description I could make of Baishizhou and the people living in this area. Overall I am satisfied with the thesis process the last half year and with this thesis about the decisions of migrants in their choice of residence.

Interview : Decisions of migrants in their choice of residence

General questions

Where do you come from and why did you come to Shenzhen?

您是从什么地方因什么原因来到深圳？

How long are you living in Shenzhen and in Baishizhou? (residential mobility pattern)

您在深圳及白石洲村居住了多久？

What is your current household situation?

您家有几口人？您与他们一起居住吗？如果没有，他们住哪？

What is your level of education?

您的学历？

What kind of work do you do? What's your position?

您在什么领域工作？您的职位？

How long does it take to get from your home to your work?

从您的住处到您的工作地点需要多长时间？

What is your monthly household income situation?

您家庭的月收入是多少？

How much do you pay for your rent?

您每月的房租是多少？

What is the maximum amount of rent that you would be willing to spend on an apartment?

您能接受的最高的每月房租是多少？

What is your age?

您的年龄？

How many contacts did you have in Shenzhen when you moved here and how many do you have now?

您刚来深圳的时候在深圳有多少朋友和亲戚？现在在深圳又有多少朋友和亲戚？

Where do these contacts live? (many of these contacts in Baishizhou village?) Why?

您的这些朋友和亲戚是否也在白石洲居住？如果不是他们住哪里？为什么住那里？

Baishizhou questions

Why did you choose to live in this area?

您为什么选择居住在这个地区？

How did you find your current residence in Baishizhou village and was it easy?

您是怎样找到您现在白石洲的住所的？您是否十分顺利的找到现在的住所？

What do you like and what don't you like about living in Baishizhou? Why?

您对在白石洲居住有什么喜欢和不喜欢的地方？为什么？

Are you attached to this area? Why?

您在白石洲是否感到有归属感？为什么？

Redevelopment questions

Are you aware of the redevelopment plans of Baishizhou village?

您知道白石洲的改造/重建计划吗？

How have you heard about the redevelopment plans?

您是如何知道白石洲的改造/重建计划的？

How does the redevelopment affects your attitude towards your future plan?

白石洲的改造/重建如何影响您对未来的规划？

Do you think your life will be better after the redevelopment? Why?

您认为白石洲的改造/重建会对您的生活有积极影响吗？为什么？

Future questions

How do you see your future in Shenzhen? Why?

您如何看待你在深圳的未来？为什么这样看待？

Are you planning to leave Shenzhen in the near future? (Why or why not?)

您有打算在近期离开深圳吗？为什么？

What do you know about the options in housing for yourself in Shenzhen?

您对在自己在深圳住房的选择情况有什么了解？（如可以去哪里住?等.....）

Do you know where you want to go when Baishizhou village will be redeveloped?

在白石洲村改造/重建时您会去到哪里？

Do you think there will be a lot of difficulties to find a new residence? (why or why not?)

您认为寻找新的住处会有很多困难吗？为什么？

Lists with factors (most important to less important)

Which of the following factors do you think have more influence on your choice of residence? Please order them from the most to the least(from 1 to 5). Please note if there are any other factors that you think are important?

对您来说以下那些因素对您选择住处的影响最大？请排序（从 1 至 5）。如有其它未在表中的因素对您来说很重要，请您注明。

.....-Closeness to family and friends 临近亲友的程度

.....-Proximity to employment 临近工作地点的程度

.....-Renting price 房租的高低

.....-Location 地段

.....-Proximity to public transport 临近公共交通的程度

.....-Others 其它.....

Why you choice in this way? 您为什么会按照以上方式排序？

Which of following actors are you going to ask for help in finding new housing?

您会通过以下哪几种途径选择您未来的住处？

-Friends and family 亲友

-Neighbours 邻居

-Colleagues 同事

-Media (newspapers, magazines)大众媒体

-Residence committee 居委会

-Governmental organizations 政府机关

-Others 其他.....