

ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКОЕ РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЕ

CHINESE MOBILE YOUTH'S INTENTIONS TO STAY IN THE CITY¹

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19181/demis.2021.1.4.8>

For citation: Feng Chengcai, Sergey V. Ryazantsev, Evgeniya M. Moiseeva. Chinese Mobile Youth's Intentions to Stay in the City. DEMIS. Demographic Research. 2021. Vol. 1. No 4. P. 96–114. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19181/demis.2021.1.4.8>.

Abstract. *In the new era, the motivation of young migrant white-collar and blue-collar workers to stay in cities is different. Through in-depth interviews, we found out that economic factors have different attraction mechanisms for migrant youth to stay in Shanghai. Income level is the most direct factor for migrant youth' decision-making, but white-collar workers still pay more attention to the prospects of urban development. Social integration has different effects on the retention mentality of migrant youth as well. High-quality urban integration promotes the willingness of white-collar workers to stay in the city, and the weak sense of urban belonging of blue-collar workers does not hinder their urban retention decision-making. Living conditions have different push and pull effects on migrant youth staying in cities. White collar workers have better living conditions and can purchase real estate, so as to complete the process of citizenization*. Blue collar workers cannot buy real estate and have poor living conditions, so it is easy to push them out of the city. Policy factors also have different bonding effects on migrant youth's residence. The policy has bonded high-quality white-collar workers and promoted their strong willingness to stay. However, it has squeezed blue collar workers to a certain extent, but it has no obvious effect on their decision-making and willingness to stay. Migrant young white-collar workers comprehensively measure various factors to determine whether to stay, while migrant young blue-collar workers mainly decide whether to stay based on income level. The decision-making and willingness of the new generation of migrant youth to stay in cities have tended to be reasonable. Based on this, this paper puts forward the idea of 'tripartite promotion' to promote the rational flow of youth.*

Keywords: *new generation of migrant youth, white-collar worker, blue-collar worker, residence willingness, tripartite promotion.*

Introduction

According to the results of the 2020 Seventh National Population Census, China's floating population is about 376 million people. Compared to 2010, the floating population

¹ A comparative study based on the survey of white-collar and blue-collar migrant youth in Shanghai

has increased by 69.73%, and the urbanization rate in mainland China has reached 63.89%². Compared to urbanization levels in developed countries, China is still on its way from 'rural China' that has existed for thousands of years to 'urban China.' Under the new urbanization strategy, the floating population has become an important resource for urbanization and development. In this context, China has produced a huge number of 'floating youth groups.' According to the statistics, the number of migrant young people has exceeded 100 million.

Over the years, Chinese academic circles have been interested in research on migrant youth, aiming to understand the flow, characteristics, and social influence of the large numbers of Chinese migrant young people, and put forward countermeasures and suggestions that are conducive to the urban development of migrant youth groups in China. However, the actual situation is contrary to expectations. Some migrant youths find themselves to be not in the place where they went to, especially in the first-tier cities in China. They get unable to develop embeddedly, and even commit crimes in the new place due to many subjective and objective reasons. However, they are an important resource for the country's future urban construction. For this reason, some large cities, including Hangzhou, Suzhou, Zhengzhou, Hefei, Nanjing, etc., compete for migrant young talents through population policy regulation systems to promote local economic and social development. In light of this, in 2020, Shanghai introduced a new settlement policy to attract more young talents who would take root in the city and contribute to urban construction.

Most of the research on migrant youth groups in China is empirical and based on mathematical analysis of statistical data. Sometimes, these studies also analyze migration purposes, group characteristics, willingness to stay, and social integration of migrant youth in some cities in China, so as to put forward suggestions for urban development that promote migrant youth groups. But only through data analysis, it is difficult to understand the true thoughts of migrant young people on their willingness to stay in the city. In addition, most academic studies on the willingness of migrant youth to stay in cities regard the youth as a whole or focus on the study of young migrant workers. However, in reality, the composition of migrant youth is more complicated. This article focuses on a comparative study on the white-collar and blue-collar groups of urban migrant youth. The aim of the research is to find out what is the difference between the two groups' willingness to stay in the city, what factors affect the willingness of the two groups to stay, and what measures the city should take to address the urban development problems of the two groups respectively.

Literature review

In Chinese academic circles, the research on the willingness of the floating population to stay in cities is mainly conducted from the following perspectives. The first is the investigation of migrant workers' residency status. Relevant studies have found out that migrant workers are the main force of the urban floating population, but it is difficult for them to stay in cities. When a young migrant comes to the city for a higher income, he or she demonstrates "pendulum-like" characteristics of the movement, as the person returns to the place of origin after saving a certain amount of money [1]. However, with the development

² Main Data of the Seventh National Population Census // National Bureau of Statistics of China [site]. URL: http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/PressRelease/202105/t20210510_1817185.html (accessed on 08.06.2021).

* This refers to the "hukou" system of household registration used in mainland China.

of the country's economy and society, as well as the progress of urbanization, the new generation of migrant workers has become more and more willing to stay in cities [2].

In terms of gender, some researchers believe that migrant women are more willing to stay in cities, while men consider their family status and are more willing to return to their hometowns. However, whether gender factors affect the willingness to stay is still controversial [3]. There is also controversy regarding the influence of age on migrants' willingness to move. Most scholars believe that as age increases, the willingness of migrants to stay will increase, but it will decrease when they are old [4]. Residential intentions present an inverted "V" relationship [5]. Hu Xinqiang's research found that the "post-80s" migrants are more willing to stay in cities than the "post-90s" [6]. Some scholars also believe that age has no significant effect on migrants' willingness to stay [7].

From the perspective of migration policy, the household registration system in China (hukou) has the most significant influence on the willingness of the floating population to stay. Academics generally believe that the household registration system is an important institutional factor that weakens the willingness of the floating population to stay [8]. Some scholars also believe that the household registration system is losing its institutional advantages, and its role in attracting migrants is declining [9] believes that the household registration system does not necessarily affect the willingness of migrants to stay [10]. As migrants get married and have children in cities, they have more and more expectations for hukou. At the same time, the city's social security capabilities are also an important decision-making basis for the migrant population's willingness to stay [11]. In terms of family factors, it is generally believed that migrants with families have a higher willingness to stay in the city, but Zhao Yandong and Wang Fenyu (2002) believe that family migration means an increase in the cost of living, which affects migrants' willingness to stay in big cities [12].

From the perspective of education, the level of education has a positive effect on the willingness to stay in the city [13]. Analyzing the willingness of the floating population to stay from an economic point of view, is an important factor that most scholars point out. Previously, related studies found that the level of income is the dominant factor for migrants to stay in the city [14]. However, some studies have shown that income does not have much impact on the willingness of migrants to stay [15]. At the same time, career stability and social status are also important factors for the willingness of migrants to stay in cities [16]. In addition, the form and conditions of residence also have an important influence on the willingness of the floating population to stay [17]. However, some scholars have found that the continuous increase in housing prices has a reverse effect in the cities where migrants live [18]. From the perspective of urban public services, the more public service that migrants can obtain, the stronger their willingness to stay [19].

From the perspective of social integration, the social support network established by migrants in cities has an important interpersonal guarantee for their willingness to stay [20]. An increase in the level of social integration will significantly increase migrants' willingness to stay [21].

In general, good educational background, high income, and high employment position of the migrant population are strongly positively correlated with their willingness to stay in the city. In terms of strategies to improve the willingness to stay, scholars mostly focus on increasing the wages and income of the migrant population [22], breaking hukou restrictions to improve living conditions, ensure their children's schooling, and raise the level of social security [23], improving public services [24] and other aspects to increase the willingness of the floating population to stay in the city.

In terms of research content and research methods, the current domestic measurement and investigation indicators of the willingness of the floating population to stay in cities mainly fall into the following three categories: the first is the reason why the floating population stays in the city [25], and the second is the type and future plan of the city development [26], the third is a study from the perspective of migrants giving up their rural economic rights.

Research methods

This article uses qualitative research methods to compare and analyze the willingness of young migrant white-collar and blue-collar workers to stay in Shanghai. The geographic area selected for this research is Jiangchuan Road Street, Minhang District, Shanghai. The authors adopted the method of convenience sampling and selected 15 interviews with migrant white-collar workers and blue-collar workers according to their occupations. (The specific sample selection is as follows: Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1.

Summary information on the sample situation of migrant young white-collar workers

No	Occupation	Basic situation	Time of stay in Shanghai	Form of residence
B-C1	Employee of a Fortune 500 Company	From Shandong Province, male, unmarried, master's degree, 30 years old	6 years	Government youth apartments
B-C2	State-owned enterprise official	From Henan Province, female, married, undergraduate, 35 years old	15 years	Self-purchased house
B-C3	Employee of a well-known domestic private enterprise	From Jiangsu Province, male, unmarried, undergraduate, 28 years old	7 years	Renting a house alone
B-C4	Street public servant	From Zhejiang Province, male, unmarried, undergraduate, 25 years old	5 years	Rent a house alone
B-C5	University administrator	From Hubei Province, female, unmarried, master's degree, 27 years old	4 years	School apartment
B-C6	Business entrepreneur	From Zhejiang Province, male, married, master's degree, 32 years old	9 years	Self-purchased house
B-C7	Employee of a well-known domestic private enterprise	From Anhui Province, female, unmarried, undergraduate, 23 years old	3 years	Joint rent with classmates
B-C8	Employee of a Fortune 500 Company	From Jiangsu Province, female, married, master's degree, 29 years old	6 years	Self-purchased house
B-C9	Financial company executive	From Hunan Province, male, unmarried, PhD, 34 years old	7 years	Self-purchased house
B-C10	Subdistrict civil servants section chief	From Shandong Province, male, unmarried, undergraduate, 31 years old	11 years	Self-purchased house
B-C11	Staff of Development Zone Management Committee	From Fujian Province, female, unmarried, undergraduate, 24 years old	4 years	Government youth apartments
B-C12	Consulting company staff	From Zhejiang Province, female, married, master, 29 years old	6 years	Self-purchased house
B-C13	State-owned enterprise staff	From Shandong Province, female, married, master, 30 years old	7 years	Self-purchased house
B-C14	Head of educational institution campus	From Anhui Province, male, unmarried, undergraduate, 28 years old	8 years	Self-purchased house
B-C15	Hospital nurse	From Jiangsu Province, male, married, specialist, 27 years old	8 years	Hospital apartment

Table 2.

Summary information on the sample situation of migrant young blue-collar workers

No	Occupation	Basic situation	Time of stay in Shanghai	Form of residence
L-C1	Deliverer	From Anhui Province, male, unmarried, dropped out of high school, 19 years old	2 years	Group rent in farmers' house
L-C2	Courier	From Shandong Province, male, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 18 years old	2 years	Renting a house with parents
L-C3	Factory driver	From Anhui Province, male, married, dropped out of junior high school, 24 years old	7 years	Co-renting with other people
L-C4	Textile factory worker	From Shandong Province, female, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 18 years old	2 years	Group rent in an apartment
L-C5	Food factory worker	From Jiangsu Province, female, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 19 years old	3 years	Group rent in an apartment
L-C6	Restaurant waiter	From Hubei Province, male, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 20 years old	4 years	Group rent in a farmers' house
L-C7	Supermarket tally	From Sichuan Province, female, married, dropped out of junior high school, 21 years old	3 years	Group rent in an apartment
L-C8	Taxi driver	From Jiangsu Province, male, married, dropped out of junior high school, 25 years old	8 years	Rent a house with family
L-C9	Barbershop worker	From Hunan Province, female, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 22 years old	6 years	Joint rent with her boyfriend
L-C10	Factory mover	From Anhui Province, male, unmarried, dropped out of junior high school, 20 years old	5 years	Group rent in a farmers' house
L-C11	Courier station employee	From Yunnan Province, female, married, graduated from junior high school, 25 years old	7 years	Renting a house with family
L-C12	Mall security	From Jiangsu Province, male, unmarried, graduated from junior high school, 22 years old	3 years	Shopping mall dormitory
L-C13	construction worker	From Shaanxi Province, male, unmarried, dropped out of high school, 19 years old	2 years	Renting a house alone
L-C14	masseur	From Shanxi Province, male, unmarried, dropped out of junior high school, 16 years old	2 years	Renting a house with family
L-C15	chef	From Anhui Province, male, married, dropped out of junior high school, 26 years old	9 years	Renting a house alone

Economic factors, and mechanisms of their influence on migrant youths' willingness to stay

Classical economics believes that the migration behavior of the population is the result of economic factors, that is, the expectation of a higher income in the new place is the major motivation for migration. If the income in the new place meets or exceeds its expectation, people are willing to stay there. The theory of push and pull factors also follows this point of view: the motivation to migrate is created by the economic and social gap between the emigration area and the immigration area. Many studies have previously shown that economic factors are the dominant factors of population migration. From this perspective, the

willingness of migrant white-collar and blue-collar workers to stay in the city can be explained by Shanghai's economic development and high income levels. Our research has proved that it has a significant impact on both types of migrant workers but in two different ways.

"My annual income is about ¥250,000, which is neither high nor low in Shanghai. In addition to maintaining a living, I can save some money. Now I am buying deposits from bank wealth management products in my hometown, Tai'an, Shandong. Because there are no good companies, it is difficult to do business now. Everyone's income is not too high, and many people usually don't go back after graduation" (B-C1, 20210315³).

"Income is not a problem now. Shanghai is a financial center. The income of our financial institutions is generally higher than that of other industries. Now we are well supplied with food and clothing. What I am thinking about is how to make my life better" (B-C9, 20210320).

The answers of B-C1 and B-C9 represent the confidence of some Shanghai migrant white-collar workers in the city's economic development and income levels. Compared to their place of origin, their annual income in Shanghai is higher. This motivates Shanghai's mid- and high-income migrant white-collar workers to stay in the city for a better life.

"At first, the income of civil servants was not high – about ¥100,000 a year – but it was higher than the income of civil servants in my hometown and other places. I have no savings. Sometimes I have to ask my parents for money, but I don't consider just my income to decide whether to stay in Shanghai. I have just started working, and there will be many opportunities for me in the future" (B-C4, 20210520).

"Now our company is not doing well. My annual income is more than ¥100,000. My income is very low, but my husband's income is not bad. In Shanghai, wages are higher than in other places. Many people will stay in Shanghai at any cost" (B-C2, 20210612).

The answers of B-C4 and B-C2 illustrate that the expectation of an increase in their incomes in the future and the broad opportunities that they have in Shanghai also play an important role in white-collar workers' decision to stay in the city, although now their wages are modest, and they enjoy the financial support of their families.

On the other hand, the influence of Shanghai's economic development and income level on the willingness of migrant blue-collar youth to stay can be illustrated by the following representative interviews.

"If you are not afraid of hardship or tiredness, you can deliver many orders a day, especially on some holidays. If you have many takeaway orders, you will benefit. Now I get ¥8,000 – ¥9,000 a month when it is good, and ¥6,000 – ¥7,000 when it is bad. If I worked in a factory in my hometown, it would be about ¥3,000, and it's almost the same with takeaways there because there are not so many orders. However, Shanghai has a large number of residents and a huge demand, so the income is higher. I will continue to do food delivery in Shanghai in the next few years" (L-C1, 20210405).

The words of L-C1 represent the general idea of Shanghai's food delivery people. Due to the huge population of Shanghai, and especially the life philosophy of young people, the food delivery industry will continue to be a large market space.

"Nowadays, there are too many express deliveries, especially during the annual discount events, the warehouses are bursting everywhere, and basically it takes half a month to complete the delivery, so as long as the express work is willing to endure hardships, the income is still acceptable, which is better than the hometown job. Society now has a great demand for couriers. I want to work hard for a few years and save more money to buy a house in my hometown" (L-C2, 20210502).

The words of L-C2 also represent the general idea of the blue-collar industry of couriers. Because of the rapid development of China's express industry, it lacks mobile young blue-

³ The letters and digits before the comma indicate the sample number, the digits after the comma indicate the date of the interview. The same below.

collar workers. To attract young people to enter the industry, the wages there are relatively high. But L-C2 also mentioned that he hopes to earn more money to buy a house in his hometown. In fact, this is also the true intention of many migrant blue-collar youths. This also shows that the purpose of some migrant blue-collar youths is not to settle in the city, but to realize their dream of a better life in their hometowns.

“I work as a waiter in a supermarket now, my income is very low, about ¥ 3000 per month, but now other similar jobs are almost the same. My husband is a courier. The combined income of the two of us is not bad. In my hometown, the income of the two of us was less than half of the current income. I will stay in Shanghai for the next one or two years. But I have relatives in Hangzhou and Guangzhou, and they seem to make a lot of money. Their rents are cheaper than in Shanghai, so I also have the idea of going to other cities” (L-C7, 20210423).

The answer of L-C7 represents the general position of migrant young married female blue-collar workers. They struggle together with their families to stay in the city. Although their income is lower, they can help their families to survive in the city. Their income back home would be much lower, which is an important reason for them to stay in Shanghai. However, with the improvement of the social and economic situation in different parts of the country, the gap between Shanghai and other cities is getting smaller and smaller. For this reason, migrant youth is now attracted to other cities, and the trend of Shanghai’s population loss has become more obvious. This kind of reverse migrant flow is widespread and will persist in the future, which will affect the willingness of migrant youth to stay in the city.

“Now my hometown is developing very fast. It has become a tourist destination. Agriculture, catering, and tourism are all developing. I think of going back home and starting up a homestay. It seems promising to be my own boss” (B-C10, 20210503).

Many people hold the same opinion as B-C10. For example, B-C3 and L-C12 expressed the same idea as well. As the realization of the Chinese rural revitalization strategy continues, the economic and social development of China’s vast rural areas has begun to attract migrant youth from big cities back home, creating a reverse migrant flow.

To sum up, the economic development prospects and income levels in the migrant inflow areas have a significant direct impact on the willingness of migrant white-collar youths to stay. However, when deciding whether to stay in Shanghai, they consider not just their current income levels. They pay more attention to the development prospects of the city and their future opportunities there. Married migrant white-collar workers pay more attention to the income level in the city because they have greater family obligations. But generally speaking, they do not evaluate only their income level as well, but also pay more attention to the prospects of urban development. On the other hand, most migrant blue-collar young people value Shanghai’s relatively high income level, and they do not give much consideration to Shanghai’s future economic development prospects. Generally speaking, relatively high wages in the city are the most important factor for them, which influences their willingness to stay there. However, it should be noted that due to an increase in the level of economic and social development in other regions of the country and the realization of China’s rural revitalization plan, many young people have flowed out of Shanghai.

The impact of social integration on migrant youth’s willingness to staying in the city

The population mobility theory based on the sociological approach emphasizes the influence of the degree of social integration on the willingness of migrants to stay in the new place. According to this theory and related research, social integration affects the

willingness of the floating population to stay in cities mainly in the following aspects. One is the length of stay. The second is the social interaction with urban residents. The third is the construction and quality of social support networks in cities.

1. The length of stay in Shanghai is positively correlated with the willingness of white-collar migrant youth to stay in the city, but there is no strong correlation in the case of blue-collar young people.

As one of the social factors, the urban residence time has a significant impact on the willingness of the floating population to stay. It is generally believed that as the residence time increases, the floating population will become more adaptable to the lifestyle in the place of migration. The willingness to stay there will increase. The interviews with B-C5 and B-C10 represent the views of some migrant white-collar workers on this issue:

"It has been 10 years since I went to school in Shanghai. Then I came to Shanghai for the first time. I felt that the pace of life here is very fast and the pressure of competition is also great. So, I didn't want to stay in Shanghai after graduation, but I had to complete my studies in Shanghai. After the first year in college, I found that this is a good city. The urban architecture, living conditions, corporate resources, and financial environment are all very good, and here you can buy everything. Now I want to work here" (B-C5, 20210615).

"I graduated with a bachelor's degree and did not find a suitable job in my hometown. Then I was admitted as a civil servant in Shanghai. I have been living in Shanghai for 11 years. I was not really used to it at the beginning. It is very different from Shandong. The climate is different, and the place I lived was dilapidated at the beginning. But after staying for a while, I became obsessed with the city. As long as I work hard, I can develop without getting help from my family. Also, I bought a house in Shanghai in a few years" (B-C10, 20210316).

The interviews with B-C5 and B-C10 showed that many migrant white-collar workers had difficulties in self-identifying and adapting to the new way of life when they first came to the city, but after a period of adaptation they began to identify with Shanghai's urban culture. Judging by the cases mentioned above, the mere residence time is not enough to explain their willingness to stay, but the time factor and other factors affected their willingness to stay together. As to migrant blue-collar young people coming to Shanghai, their residence time does not have a directly impact on their willingness to stay as well.

"I have been in Shanghai for two years, and I don't have any special feelings. I am here to make money anyway. As for whether I plan to stay in Shanghai for a long time, I don't think so" (L-C4, 20210503).

"I came to Shanghai after graduating from junior high school. It was 10 years ago. I think coming to Shanghai is a way to make money. I will stay here if I can make more money. If I don't make money, I will go to another place. Life here is not as easy as in my hometown" (L-C15, 20210504).

According to the answers of L-C4 and L-C15, compared to migrant white-collar young people, migrant blue-collar young people are not strongly affected by the length of stay in Shanghai when they choose whether to stay in the city. They do not have the same needs as migrant young white-collar workers. In the process of psychological adaptation, they are mainly concerned about whether they can have a higher income level, which is also a different manifestation of the degree of urban integration.

2. Active interaction among migrant white-collar workers VS unintentional communication among migrant blue-collar workers.

Related studies have found that whether the migrant population can survive in the city depends on the degree of social interaction and integration between the migrant population and local residents, that is, whether the migrant population can fundamentally

complete the process of ‘citizenization’. However, the impact of urban interaction on the willingness of migrant white-collar and blue-collar workers to stay is not the same. The interviews with B-C6 and B-C12 represent how migrant white-collar workers understand the impact of urban interaction on their willingness to stay:

“I feel that in Shanghai there is no discrimination against people from other provinces, especially if you are willing to work hard. Everyone appreciates you very much. They are also very friendly. If you have any questions, you can ask local people for help. They are willing to help. Now I am starting a business here, and I feel that the entrepreneurial environment in Shanghai is very good” (B-C6, 20210403).

“In our organization, locals of Shanghai and non-locals should be half and half, and our relationship is very harmonious. I never felt that locals discriminated against us, but they recognized my seriousness and hard work. No matter if I have difficulties in life or if I am looking for a girlfriend, my Shanghai colleagues are helping me. I think we get along very well” (B-C12, 20210610).

That is, white-collar young workers generally do not feel the discrimination and exclusion at work, and they are generally well embedded in the workplace and have better relationships with their local colleagues in Shanghai. This has a strong positive effect on their willingness to stay. In contrast to the white-collar migrant youth, blue-collar migrant workers’ interaction with the city’s local community is obviously at a disadvantage, as L-C5 said:

“Our workers are all from other provinces, and the people who share housing with me are also from my fellow villagers. Most of our community is also from other provinces. The surrounding vegetable farms and supermarkets are also run by people from other provinces. I usually don’t communicate with local people here in Shanghai. There are local elderly people in the community, but there is basically no interaction. Anyway, I just want to make some money, and it has nothing to do with them” (L-C5, 20210502).

The answer of L-C5 describes the interaction between unmarried young blue-collar migrants and urban local residents, but blue-collar workers do not seem to care whether they are discriminated against or excluded by local residents in Shanghai. They stay temporarily in order to get a higher income and then return to their hometown to marry or support their parents. The interviews with L-C8 and L-C12 represent another situation:

“No one of the locals drives a taxi anymore, most of the taxi drivers in Shanghai are from other provinces. In addition, I often meet Shanghai passengers. I feel that they are old-fashioned and show little respect for taxi drivers. They either feel that we are slow or detour, and they think that drivers from other provinces are dishonest. If it wasn’t for making money to support my family, I would not tolerate this stalemate” (L-C8, 20210415).

“I work as a security guard, and there are many people I usually contact with. The head of our security department is from Shanghai. He is polite and has no pretensions, but many customers are terrible. When I tell them that they should wear masks they scold in Shanghai dialect. No one respects our job, I can only endure just to earn some money” (L-C12, 20210518).

According to the above two answers, some migrant young married blue-collar workers will continue to live in Shanghai even if they are rejected and discriminated against by the city in order to support their families.

3. Differences in the construction methods and quality of the social support network for migrant youth.

The social support network is another important factor of migrant youth’s willingness to stay in the city. Relevant studies have shown that after the migrants arrive at the emigration area, they actively or passively construct a social support network with friendship and work

connections as the interpersonal support network for urban life. The quality of migrant white-collar and blue-collar workers' social networks in Shanghai and its influence on their willingness to stay in the city is an important indicator of social integration, and it is also different.

"I went to a university in Shanghai and now I work here. Here are my classmates, teachers, and colleagues. In fact, only some of my relatives live in my hometown. My school classmates don't have much contact, so my roots are all in Shanghai. Now, I can ask them for help with many things" (B-C7, 20210517).

"After I graduated, I worked as a nurse in Shanghai Hospital. Many of my classmates also came to Shanghai to work as nurses. We meet often. There is also a big platform like the hospital, where there are many doctors and nurses. Everyone gets along well. They are always happy to help our new nurses. We are not unfamiliar with each other" (B-C15, 20210609).

B-C7 and B-C15 represent two different situations. B-C7 represents migrant young white-collar workers who have been studying in Shanghai and then came to the city to work after graduation. Their classmates and colleagues are in Shanghai, and they can use a high-quality social support network built in the city to deal with their problems. As to migrant white-collar workers who came to Shanghai to work after graduation, they mainly built a network of colleagues and then a circle of friends. These social networks are very helpful and play a great role in promoting their willingness to stay. But the situation of migrant blue-collar workers is different:

"Now I don't have many acquaintances. Basically, all the people I know here are a few of my fellow workers, and the workers often change, some quit their jobs, some go back to their hometowns, and so are my fellow villagers. Basically, they have changed several times. So, I know only a few people now, everyone is doing well, but everyone is the same, and there is no foundation here. In fact, I feel very insecure. Once something happens, I don't even have a person to ask for help. It's better to be at home, so I want to go back to my hometown in a year or two" (L-C5, 20210505).

"Now I am following my cousin in the foot-washing shop business. Because I didn't study well in my hometown and was punished by the school, my parents asked my cousin to take me to Shanghai to follow her as an apprentice. In Shanghai, I knew her and several people in the store, I have lost contact with my previous friends, and I dare not do anything here. I feel very lonely. I really want to go home and be with my friends" (L-C14, 20210504).

At the same time, they are basically surrounded by a circle of acquaintances mainly composed of fellow villagers or relatives. They cannot effectively use such circles of acquaintances, which leads to more instability and a weak sense of belonging. This weakens the blue-collar migrant youth's sense of attachment to the city, thereby reducing their willingness to stay.

To summarize, from the perspective of social integration, the two types of young migrant workers are in very different situations. In terms of the length of stay in Shanghai, for migrant white-collar workers, the longer they stay in the city, the better they understand Shanghai's urban culture and its characteristics; they become adapted to the pace of life in Shanghai. However, the impact of the length of stay in Shanghai on blue-collar migrant youth is not obvious, because their purpose of coming to Shanghai is just to make some money. In terms of social interaction, migrant white-collar workers generally do not have the feeling of exclusion and discrimination. They even become elites in various fields, which enhances their self-confidence and willingness to stay in the city. As to migrant blue-collar young people, they work physically or in the low-end service industry. So, they generally do not get respect and recognition in the city, which leads to their weak sense of integration. However, in order to have a higher income, they have to stay in the city. In addition,

in terms of barriers to community integration, migrant youth groups encounter difficulties in integration, but this has a greater impact on white-collar migrant youth, and a limited impact on blue-collar migrant youth. The main reason is that migrant white-collar workers are eager to integrate into the city community and complete the process of citizenization. Migrant blue-collar young people stay in the city temporarily, and for them, the local community is a temporary environment, so they do not take much effort to establish connections with their neighborhood. Social support networks also affect the two types of young migrant workers in different ways. White-collar migrant workers build high-quality social networks, which has a positive effect on their willingness to stay in the city. Social networks constructed by migrant blue-collar youths are dominated by highly mobile fellow workers and villagers, which has a certain negative effect on their willingness to stay.

Housing conditions as push and pull factors for young migrant workers

Relevant studies have shown that the form of residence and housing conditions have an important impact on the willingness of the floating population to stay. Western research on migration decision-making also proves that dissatisfaction with the living conditions in the new place might be an obstacle to adaptation. Our study showed that the housing factor plays an important role, but it has different impacts on white-collar and blue-collar migrant youth's willingness to stay in the city.

“Although housing prices in Shanghai are expensive, after paying a down payment, you can gradually repay your mortgage in the future. Although the pressure is greater, this is also an asset. House prices in Shanghai will continue to rise. Only when you have a house can you really have a sense of belonging” (B-C1, 20210315).

“I bought a house before my marriage in 2018. First, our families played a down payment. Now I pay the loan of ¥7,000 or ¥8,000 per month. I felt a lot of pressure at the beginning. However, considering the stability of my life in the future and the education of my children, I bought it, and there is still a lot of pressure, but it is much better because our income is also increasing” (B-C8, 20210326).

The above mentioned two white-collar workers are employees of Fortune 500 companies. With the help of their families and by their own efforts, they are going to buy a house in Shanghai or have already purchased real estate. In addition to having stable incomes in Shanghai, they also consider the education of their children in the future and the acquisition of their own citizenship status. The purchase of real estate will generate more added value, which has a strong positive impact on their willingness to stay in Shanghai.

“I bought a house to make my life better. I used to live in a small place and the surrounding environment was not very good. Now I have bought a new house. The community property, the surroundings, and management are all very good. Last year I renovated the house. It's more than 200 square meters, there is also a large balcony, the house has a living area, an entertainment area, and a study area. Now the quality of my life has improved a lot” (B-C9, 20210528).

There are many cases similar to B-C9. With an increase in income, many migrant young white-collar workers develop higher requirements for their living conditions and pursue a better quality of life. Therefore, the purchase of real estate plays a significant role in the willingness of some migrant white-collar workers to stay in the city.

Now I live in a young talent apartment provided by the government. I haven't worked for a long time yet and haven't saved much. The house prices in Shanghai are so high that my family can't support me, so I can't afford it now. Let's talk about it later. I might afford it in the future. If it doesn't work, I'll go back to my hometown and buy a house there” (B-C11, 20210418).

The statement of B-C11 also represents the ideas of some migrant white-collar workers. The housing prices in Shanghai are getting higher, so they can't purchase a house. Some migrant white-collar workers can only rent apartments or houses in Shanghai. However, with the changes in market conditions, the cost of renting a house becomes higher as well. This has become a negative factor hindering migrant white-collar workers from staying in Shanghai. This has also become an important factor leading to an outflow of migrant white-collar workers represented by B-C11.

"Now my wife and children live in the KY community, which is about 38 square meters, ¥1,500 per month, which is the cheapest. As for buying a house in Shanghai, I can't even think about it. One reason is that there are governmental restrictions on house purchases. Besides, I don't have so much money. I stay in Shanghai mainly because the income is higher than in my hometown. When my children get older and go to junior high school, I can stay in Shanghai alone to make money" (L-C3, 20210326).

"My boyfriend and I rented a house, shared with my colleague, it's ¥1,300 per month. With water and electricity bills, etc. it costs ¥1,500 per month. We actually dream of buying a house in Shanghai because we want to stay in Shanghai and struggle to stay here, but Shanghai's housing prices are too high, which is a bit out of reach for us, but it is not impossible" (B-C12, 20210405).

As the abovementioned two cases show, migrant blue-collar youths have different attitudes towards buying real estate in Shanghai. However, due to the high housing prices in Shanghai, migrant blue-collar young workers basically do not consider buying a house in Shanghai but choose to fight for sufficient income. They also consider returning to their place of origin or going to other cities to buy a house and live there, which is similar to the situation of a small number of migrant white-collar workers.

In addition, the information on housing conditions in Table 2 also proves that the 15 migrant blue-collar young people selected for interviewing live in Shanghai in rented accommodations, and their housing conditions are poor. Only a small number of migrant blue-collar young people hope to realize their dream of buying a house in Shanghai. That is an important reason why they cannot stay in Shanghai permanently.

To sum up, the housing conditions of the two types of young migrant workers are very different and strongly correlated with their willingness to stay in Shanghai. Most migrant white-collar workers hope to stay in the city permanently after purchasing real estate and obtaining citizenship so that their children could receive a better education in the city. It plays a key role in their decision-making. However, blue-collar migrant young people generally lack the opportunity to buy a house. Some of them would be happy to purchase real estate, but they are limited by governmental policies and lower incomes. This is an important reason for their future outflow from the city. Also, we should note that some young people from both groups say that they are going to leave Shanghai in the future because of its high housing prices.

The impact of policy factors on young workers' mobility

Economic factors have only a short-term impact on population mobility, while population control policies have a profound impact on the life expectations and decision-making of the migrant population in China. The household registration system (hukou) especially affects the general free-market economy and the usual mechanism of labor mobility. In addition to the household registration system, Shanghai has specific population control policies. In 2017, Shanghai introduced the "Shanghai City Plan (2017–2035)". The plan pointed out that the four bottom lines of population size, construction land, ecological

environment, and urban safety should be firmly maintained. Shanghai needs to alleviate the contradiction between rapid population growth and resource and environmental constraints, and strictly control the size of the resident population. The plan requires that the resident population should be kept down at around 25 million by 2035. To this end, Shanghai implements an increasingly tightening household registration system and various population control policies. According to the interviews, such policies have various impacts on the willingness of migrant youth to stay in the city.

“I learned about Shanghai’s population control policy from the Internet, but in fact, it has no impact on me. My work and my life are still the same. Hukou does not matter to me, anyway, I have a residence permit” (B-C1, 20210405).

“I am just worried about whether the settlement policy will affect me in the future. If there is no hope, it is better to find another city, such as Hangzhou and Suzhou. The development of these two cities is also good. Especially Hangzhou has a great demand for talents and its policies are also very good. Some of my classmates have already gone to Hangzhou” (B-C3, 20210406).

“Anyways, my hukou has already been transferred to Shanghai, so the population control has no impact on me. I think that Shanghai has too many people from other provinces, which puts pressure on the city’s resources, and now I understand why some Shanghainese are so annoyed with the influx of people from other places” (B-C13, 20210428).

The above-mentioned three migrant young white-collar workers represent three different types of the policy’s impacts. The first category is the migrant young white-collar workers represented by B-C1. They have residence permits for young talents in Shanghai, so they do not feel the pressure of the population regulation policy. At the same time, these white-collar workers are not married yet, so they cannot perceive the importance of household registration to their children’s schooling. The second category is represented by B-C3. As an unmarried woman, she is more concerned about the impact of the household registration on herself, her future children, and her family. Therefore, such migrants are more concerned about Shanghai’s population control policies. If there is no hope of settling down in the city, it will affect their willingness to stay there. The third category is migrant young white-collar workers who have obtained a household registration in Shanghai, represented by B-C13. They pay more attention to the regulation of other migrant populations by the policy, as the excessive migrant population has affected some of their vital interests. Population control policies have an impact on their willingness to stay as well, but most of them still stay in Shanghai. The massive increase in the migrant population will force them to settle in areas with better access to educational and medical services.

“I haven’t heard of Shanghai’s population control policy, but I know that now many places are under investigation for illegal construction. Some places where we lived before, have been demolished. Now I am renting a farmhouse with other people” (L-C1, 20210318).

“Before, there were many small restaurants and shops on TX Road here in Shanghai. They were all closed in 2018, and people from other provinces who had been operating here for many years were forced to leave. I used to be a chef at a restaurant, but my boss went away to open another restaurant elsewhere. I have heard that some people have returned to their hometowns. Because of Shanghai’s renovation, the rents are too high. My daughter is about to go to elementary school, and I don’t know whether she will be able to go to school here. I don’t have residence permit points. I heard that it is difficult to get them” (L-C15, 20210426).

“Now there are fewer construction projects than before, and many of our workers have begun to switch jobs to do demolition work. The farmhouse we lived in was also demolished. After the population

control policy was introduced, I didn't know if I was going to find a job in the future, so I went to work in express delivery service" (L-C13, 20210615).

The above-mentioned three blue-collar migrant young people are also very representative. Unlike migrant white-collar workers, they are more sensitive to the Shanghai household registration system. Most of them want to get a higher income in the city, so most of them are worried that Shanghai's regulatory policies will affect adversely their work in Shanghai. In addition, Shanghai's population control policies impose new burdens on their accommodation. They have to look for new accommodations or change their place of employment to stay in Shanghai. Moreover, Shanghai's household registration system has caused restrictions on the education of their children. All that has a negative impact on migrant blue-collar young people making it difficult for them to continue their business in Shanghai. They are becoming the main migrant group leaving Shanghai.

Conclusions and recommendations

As the research has proved, there is a big difference between the decision-making mechanisms of migrant white-collar and blue-collar young workers when they decide whether to stay in the city or not. White-collar migrants consider a variety of factors, while blue-collar young people stay in cities temporarily to make some money, so they basically exclude the influence of other factors, and consider mainly their income when deciding whether to stay in the city or not. Their degree of integration into the city community is limited and their willingness to stay there for a long time is relatively weak. Compared to migrant white-collar workers, they are more mobile.

Young people are an important part of human capital and the labor force in any society. If a society faces the problem of population aging and decline, the youth becomes an important demographic resource as well. Besides, from the economic point of view, young people are the ones who make up certain segments of the consumer market, such as educational services, digital technologies, etc. They are the most active and dynamic part of any population in terms of reproduction, labor, innovation, and migration [27]. Areas where the proportion of youth becomes too small face development difficulties. On the other hand, young people have to travel to big cities in order to get a better education and a chance for future professional development. By doing so they invest in their human capital. However, such migrations often become permanent which leads to human capital losses for the areas of out-migration and hampers the socio-economic development of such areas [28]. At the same time, big cities such as Shanghai struggle to keep down the resident population. The authors believe that the policy of such cities should be more flexible and take into account the needs of different groups of young migrant workers in order to build a rational population structure.

1. Population control measures based on a scientific approach

According to the results of this research, Shanghai's population control policy has a positive impact on the willingness of migrant young white-collar workers to stay in the city, but there is no substantial effect on blue-collar youths. In this sense, the government's aim to optimize the structure of the migrant youth population has not been achieved. First of all, the government should speed up the construction of apartments for young people to provide them with affordable accommodation. Second, the government needs to promote the intra-city mobility of young white-collar workers to the suburbs of Shanghai and basic industries. On the one hand, it can alleviate the population pressure in the main urban area, and on the

Table 3.

Factors related to the willingness of migrant youth to stay in the city

Factors			Migrant white-collar workers		Migrant blue-collar workers		
			Correlation ¹	The degree of the factor's influence ²	Correlation	The degree of the factor's influence	
Economic factors	Personal future		Positive correlation	Great influence	Weak correlation	Weak influence	
	Income level		Positive correlation	Great influence	Positive correlation	Great influence	
Social integration	Length of stay		Positive correlation	High influence	No correlation	No influence	
	Interaction with the city		Positive correlation	High influence	No correlation	No influence	
	Social support networks		Positive correlation	High influence	General correlation	General influence	
Individual factors			Positive correlation	High influence	Negative correlation	Negative influence	
	Age		Getting older and older, more willing to stay		Getting older and older, less willing to stay		
	Gender	Male		General correlation	General influence	General correlation	General influence
		Female		Positive correlation	High influence	Positive correlation	High influence
	Marital status	Married		Positive correlation	Great influence	General correlation	General influence
		Unmarried		Negative correlation	Negative influence	Negative correlation	No influence
	Job category	State-owned enterprise		Positive correlation	High influence	No correlation	No influence
		Private enterprise		General correlation	General influence	Positive correlation	High influence
		Traditional industries		Weak correlation	Weak influence	Positive correlation	High influence
		Emerging industry		Positive correlation	Great influence	No correlation	No influence
Housing factor	Form of residence	Renting		Negative correlation	Negative influence	No correlation	No influence
		Bought house		Positive correlation	Great influence	Positive correlation	Great influence
	Buying capacity		Positive correlation	Great influence	General correlation	General influence	
	Living conditions		Positive correlation	High influence	General correlation	General influence	
Policy factors	Population control policy		Positive correlation	High influence	Negative correlation	Negative influence	
	Social security level		Positive correlation	Great influence	General correlation	General influence	
	Industrial Policy Orientatio		Positive correlation	Great influence	Negative correlation	Negative influence	
Overview			Residence decision based on comprehensive factors		Income-oriented residency decision		

¹ Correlation is divided into four levels: positive correlation, general correlation, weak correlation, and negative correlation.

² The degree of the factors' influence is divided into five levels: great influence, high influence, general influence, no influence, and negative influence.

other hand, it can solve the problem of the shortage of talents in suburban areas and basic industries. Third, the local government should continue to improve the social welfare interaction with other provinces and cities in order to solve the worries of migrant white-collar workers about social security and encourage them to return to their hometowns, start businesses there and participate in the construction of new rural areas.

2. Attracting human capital and reducing the loss of employees

Employers play a major role in motivating migrant young workers to stay in Shanghai. The authors believe that in addition to complying with the current labor laws and regulations, employers should make the following changes in the management of talents. First, companies should fully assess their demand for talents based on current business development. The company should provide assistance to migrant young employees willing to stay in the city. Employers should give way to the personal initiatives of white-collar young migrant workers and apply measures that would comply with their life values. As for migrant blue-collar youths, employers should fully evaluate the number of employees needed, and on this basis, widely mobilize social mechanisms to attract them to work. At the same time, companies should continue to standardize the employment system and ensure that the basic requirements of migrant blue-collar youth are met in accordance with the Labor Law. Especially traditional manufacturing enterprises can coordinate with relevant government departments to win some young talent apartments for migrant blue-collar young people. In addition, employers need to create a better working environment for their employees to ensure their safety, working hours, and welfare.

3. Scientific-based decision-making on residence

Many scholars put forward different suggestions on how to promote migrant youth to stay in the city. However, according to our research, currently, the motivation of migrant young people to stay in the city has become rational, and the mentality of blindly staying in the city just to satisfy one's vanity does no longer exist. At present, the gap between urban and rural areas in China is gradually narrowing, and the differences between regions are no longer obvious. More and more migrant young people now return to their hometowns to participate in the new rural projects or go to other cities to find better development opportunities. This is very different from the previous migration patterns. Therefore, the authors disagree with the idea of promoting migrant youth to stay in cities regardless of their personal motivation, which was advocated by most scholars in the past. All bodies should fully respect their choice and encourage migrant young workers with their aspirations and dreams to move to other cities or villages to live, work, and start a business.

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Received on 14.07.2021; accepted for publication on 17.09.2021.

The authors have read and approved the final manuscript.

МИГРАЦИОННЫЕ НАМЕРЕНИЯ МОЛОДЫХ МИГРАНТОВ В ГОРОДАХ КИТАЯ⁴

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Для цитирования: Чэньцай Фэн, Рязанцев С. В., Моисеева Е. М. Миграционные намерения молодых мигрантов в городах Китая // ДЕМИС. Демографические исследования. 2021. Т. 1. № 4. С. 96–114. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19181/demis.2021.1.4.8>.

Аннотация. В современных условиях мотивация молодых мигрантов из числа «белых воротничков» и «синих воротничков» к переезду в большие города на постоянное место жительства формируется по-разному. В ходе глубинных интервью было установлено, что экономические факторы имеют не идентичные механизмы воздействия на две вышеназванные группы молодых мигрантов в Шанхае. Такой фактор, как уровень доходов, влияет самым непосредственным образом на решение молодых мигрантов остаться в городе, но при этом «белые воротнички» уделяют внимание также дальнейшим перспективам развития. Аналогичным образом уровень интеграции в местное сообщество разнонаправленно влияет на закрепление двух групп молодых мигрантов в больших городах. Успешная интеграция «белых воротничков» укрепляет их готовность остаться, в то время как у «синих воротничков» чувство принадлежности к местному сообществу остается слабым и не играет значимой роли при принятии решения о миграции. Условия проживания также по-разному сказываются на желании молодежи переехать в город навсегда. «Белые воротнички» имеют лучшие жилищные условия и могут купить недвижимость в городе, чтобы получить регистрацию в нем*. Рабочие из числа «синих воротничков» не могут позволить себе покупку жилья в городе и зачастую имеют плохие жилищные условия, что становится фактором выталкивания этой группы мигрантов из города. Кроме того, на готовность молодых мигрантов к дальнейшему проживанию в городе оказывают влияние и политические факторы. Проводимая государством миграционная и городская политика способствует закреплению в городах «белых воротничков», но оказывает давление на «синих воротничков», хотя ее роль и неочевидна. При этом «белые воротнички» при принятии решения остаться в городе оценивают все факторы комплексно, в их сочетании, а «синие воротнички», как правило, ориентируются только на уровень доходов. Однако обе группы молодых мигрантов в своих решениях опираются на рациональные доводы. Исходя из этого, в статье предлагаются три возможных направления совершенствования мер по регулированию миграционного притока молодежи в крупные города Китая.

Ключевые слова: новое поколение молодых мигрантов, «белые воротнички», «синие воротнички», готовность к проживанию в городе, управление миграцией.

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⁴ Сравнительное исследование, основанное на результатах опроса молодых мигрантов из числа «белых воротничков» и «синих воротничков» в Шанхае.

* Речь идет об используемой в материковом Китае системе регистрации домохозяйств «хукоу».

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Статья поступила в редакцию 14.07.2021; принята в печать 17.09.2021.
Авторы прочитали и одобрили окончательный вариант рукописи.

RETURN MIGRATION: THE SECOND MAJOR OUTBREAK DUE TO COVID-19 IN INDIA

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For citation: Shraddha Agarwal. Return Migration: The Second Major Outbreak due to COVID-19 in India. *DEMIS. Demographic Research*. 2021. Vol. 1. No 4. P. 115–128. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19181/demis.2021.1.4.9>.

Abstract. COVID-19 pandemic made a severe impact on the developing countries. According to the “World Economic Situation and Prospects” report by the United Nations, as of mid-2021, this global crisis has clearly worsened poverty and within-country inequality, and it is expected that it will leave long-lasting scars on labor markets while reversing progress on poverty and income inequality in many economies. The context in India, in this sense, is complex. The article corresponds to the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on internal migration. The rapid spread of the pandemic shook nations across the world, bringing about a broad lockdown that cinched down on versatility, business exercises, and social communications. In India, the pandemic encouraged an extreme emergency of portability, with transient workers in many significant urban areas looking to get back to the places where they were initially from. Their frantic attempts to get back using any and all means accessible delivered the lockdown incapable in a few regions, provoking conflicts with authorities, last-minute approaches, alleviation, and, in the end, unplanned transport measures. This paper expects to reveal insight into the weakness of India's internal migrants as far as their gender, mobility, and emotional wellbeing. As COVID-19 was India's first significant outbreak in 2020, the “reverse migration” proves to be the second major outbreak.

Keywords: migration, return migrants, social protection, labor laws, gender, government policies.

Introduction

Migration is a feature of social and economic lives across the countries and the oldest action against poverty. However, the profile of migrant populations varies considerably. In part, this is because of the variety of sources of migration. While in India, the relocation is more instigated by push factors like penuriousness, joblessness, provincial inconsistencies, family development, marriage, regular cataclysms, those in developed countries are more draw factors like opportunity, freedom, wellbeing, and so on. The correspondence examines COVID-19 set off switch movement in India. India has seen the second biggest mass relocation in its set of experiences after the Partition of India in 1947, wherein an excess of 14 million individuals were dislodged and moved to India and Pakistan separately, contingent upon their strict beliefs. The assessment portrays the movement pattern and related impacts on the migration just as the country is on the loose.

This paper examines the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on migration within India. Furthermore, it aims to shed light on the vulnerability of India's internal migrants in terms of their mobility, gender, and mental health. It critically analyses the limitations of public policy in addressing migrants and suggests recommendations for the way ahead. In India, COVID-19 was a misfortune in which transient workers were regularly slandered and unfairly faulted for spreading sickness. However, as a matter of fact, they were one of the most