A Study of Immigrants in Gunangzhou-the New Destination of International Migration

Introduction

In the end of 2014, Journal of International Migration Review published a memorable issue, which summarized half a century of international migration researches and looked ahead to future trends. One of new frontiers is about new immigrants destinations(NIDs), which provides greater insight into the new geographies of immigrant settlement around the world.(Carling et.al.2014)

China is this kind of NIDs. The fast economic growth and sweeping social changes in China over the past decades have been accompanied by new forms of immigration.(Huagune,2008) From the data of sixth nationwide population census in 2010, there are nearly 600,000 foreigners in China and over a third are in Guangdong province.(State Statistics Bureau,2010) As we know, China is not a traditional immigrant and democratic country, thus the immigrants' lives and the affecting mechanism behind them are very different. Especially Chinese government control have a critical influence on immigrants' behavior.

Even though there has been some researches about this topic, most of them only focus on one group-immigrants from Africa in Guangzhou.(Yong,2010) Actually immigrants in Guangzhou are remarkably diverse in terms of their countries of origin and social backgrounds, which has a high heterogeneity. And policies of Chinese government also treat them differently. Therefore, my study would focus on the immigrants' original heterogeneity and heterogeneity's accumulation on socioeconomic status,residential patterns, assimilation and migration embedding types. Based on a survey data, I would use the finite-mixture model to divide them into two groups according to their original condition before they come to China. Then, I want to detect their gap on socioeconomic mobility or immobility after immigration. Especially I would use some multiple linear regressions to examine what's the major factor affecting this progress. About their residential mobility, the GIS system could help me mapping this transition. Finally, because the immigrants' sociometric mobility usually have a spatial correlation, I would use spatial lag model to examine the effect between them. In a sum, my study' aim is to exploring the diversity and the peculiarity of this New Immigrant Destination.

Literature Review

In the last two decades of the 20th century, revolutionary improvement in communication and transportation technologies, along with the globalization of production, led to a new "borderless" world.(Li,2007) Globalization brings a popular concept, it is transnationalism. It means migrants could work and live in both the sending countries and receiving countries, which makes migration easier and popular. Thus, more and more people break the nation border.(Basch et al. 1994; Gugler 2004) In this process, Grassroots cross-border activities and their transnational space

represent a new outcome of such "globalization from below" that is manifest widely in the cities of many developed countries (Portes, 1996; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Schiller and Fouron, 1998). At the same time, the growing number of skilled managerial personnel, professionals, and entrepreneurs become migrants. Some of them migrate to developed countries searching new opportunities, some migrate to developing countries taking advantage of sufficient labors, sources or relatively higher income. There are more and more this kind of social elite migrants found in immigrant enclaves (Lin and Tse, 2005; Miera, 2008).

There are many theories and empirical patterns elaborating and interpreting the consequences of ethnic enclave and residential segregation. In classical assimilation theory, the degree of segregation is highly related with layers of the socioeconomic hierarchy and level of assimilation.(Milton, 1985).The disadvantages of ethnic segregation and concentration have been noted (Shevky and Bell, 1955; Wilson, 1987; Massey and Denton, 1988, 1989) In such researches, immigrants are usually seen to be relatively weak groups. The ethnic enclave is just a springboard, they would move into middle-class neighborhoods and original enclave would gradually disappear.

In contrasts, there are some benefits to be derived from ethnic concentration. (Li, 2008). For example, the ethnic enclave economy could provide employment opportunities for immigrants and help them accomplishing upward social mobility.(Ports and Zhou, 1996) And it is easier to gather and interact financial, social and human capital in ethnic enclaves, which could product a uniform ethnic capital.(Zhou and Lin, 2006) In contrary, if the ethnic enclaves or immigrants' residential pattern is not stable, the immigrants would have immobility. (Huagun, 2008) Besides,with immigration policy of developed countries tending to accept high professional and rich migrants, some ethnic enclaves boom again or they establish their new enclaves in middle-class neighborhood. These new immigrants usually bring a large amount financial and social capital so that they could congregate in middle-class neighborhood directly even though they have not experience cultural assimilation. (Zhou, 2003)

As we can see today's immigrants are a heterogeneous lot; not only are they diverse in terms of national origin, but also with respect to their socioeconomic backgrounds, levels of education, residential and assimilation pattern.(Carling et.al,2014) As a "world factory", besides traders from Africa or other developing regions, Guangzhou attracts vast foreign investments, thus there are many managers, cultural elites, and professionals from developed countries. But there are few studies focusing on the immigrant's heterogeneity in Guangzhou and the heterogeneity accumulation progress in other developed countries.

Research Hypothesis

Before I put forward my research hypothesis, I want to state two major **initial heterogeneity** among the immigrants in Guangzhou.

The first is about their countries of original. It decides all the other differences. According to a survey data from Sun Yat-sen University[1], I found international traders usually come from developing countries and the managers or special elites come from developed countries. It influences their residential positions. Traders from developing countries congregated in Baiyuan and Yuexiu district, where many clothing and small commodity wholesale malls gather.Then, some ethnic enclaves emerged in there, the most famous is African enclave in Xiaobei Road. (Li,2008)While, managers, professionals, specialties and technicians from developed countries congregated in the New CBD and New Foreign Investment District. It is because transnational enterprises and factories usually located in CBD and special region. Besides, The immigrants' residential position not only embodies their occupations, but also reflects their economic status. Yuexiu and Baiyun district are old areas of Guangzhou and consumption level is relatively low. However, the New CBD built about decades ago and consumption level is highest in Guangzhou. Expect for correlation with export-oriented economy, they also need to consider cost and environment of settlement. In addition, from the survey data, we can see the mean income of immigrants from developed countries are higher than that from developing countries. **These verify the immigrants original heterogeneity in economic status,residential position, occupation based on original countries.**

The second is about control logic of Chinese government. From the state level, Chinese immigrant policy is partial to top talents from developed countries.The Green Cards application is only opened to them. From the local government level, police's major work is cracking down the "three illegal behaviors" [2]. According to a data from police station of Guangzhou in 2010, most of the immigrants who are arrested for "three illegal behaviors" come from developing countries. Among them African accounts for 51%, Middle Eastern and Indian account for 42%. (Qi,2011)Therefore, police would have more inspections on immigrants from developing countries. Especially, Chinese police can check passports in the street without any reason. The survey from Sun Yat-sen University shows immigrants from developing countries have more probabilities to be checked than that from developed countries. Thus, we can see whether in the state level or the local police governance, Chinese government's control logic has a bias.

Based on the two kinds of initial heterogeneity, I propose my hypothesis.

Under Chinese government control logic, immigrants' heterogeneity would have a accumulation process. It reflects on 3 aspects:

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[1] Because of a lack of data and research focused on international immigrants in China, center of social survey&urban study in Sun Yat-sen University did a survey named "the international immigrants' work and life in Guangzhou" in 2014. This survey is a kind of census carrying out in the exit and entry hall of Guangzhou. The questionnaire relied on computer aided system which could transfer into 13 kinds of language. This survey lasted for 1 month and collect 1492 effective questionnaires.
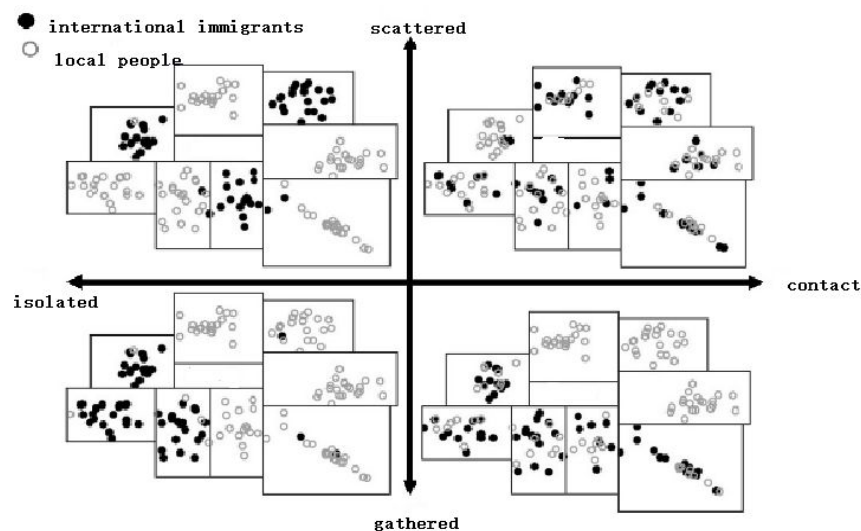
[2] Three illegal behaviors contain: illegal employment, illegal residence and illegal entry.

1. The socioeconomic gap between the immigrants from developing countries and developed countries would widen gradually.

2. The residential pattern of immigrants from developing countries would have a mobility under police frequent control but that of developed countries remain unchanged.

From my previous studies, I found there has been a residential mobility on immigrants from developing countries. As figure 1 shows, their residential pattern is the third quadrant in the beginning. With the police strike, their pattern transfers to first quadrant. The immigrants start to spread to the edge of the city and hide in the local people's communities in order to avoid police monitoring. In the same time, they still keep a small scale gathering. Haugen(2012) found Nigerians in Guangzhou opted to live outside the city's jurisdictional boundaries, especially without visas or residence permits.

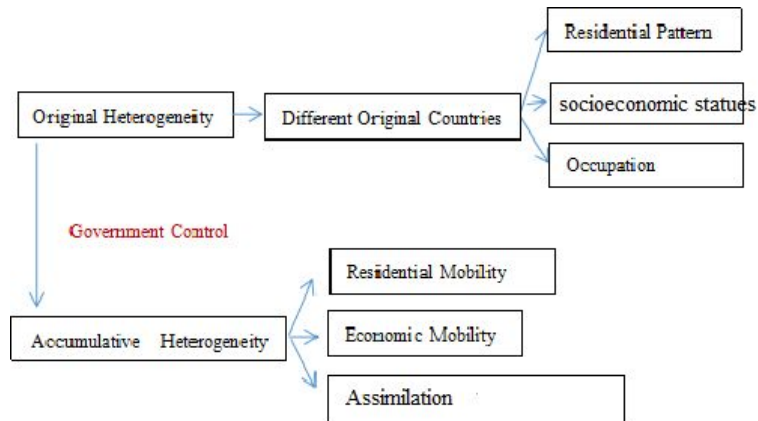Figure1: Four Residential Spatial Patterns

3. The residential mobility or immobility would intensify the immigrants heterogeneity on socioeconomic status and assimilation.

The residential mobility of immigrants from developing countries means they would have more interaction with local people. It is good for their cultural assimilation. But frequent moving destroys ethnic enclave so that ethnic capital is hard to gather. It is against their socioeconomic mobility. In contrast, immigrants from developed countries keep a segregation with host society. Even though it is not conducive to their assimilation, the stable lives would assist them have more economic benefits.

In a sum, figure 2 shows my research framework: the initial heterogeneity comes from immigrants' original countries, under the Chinese government control, the heterogeneity has a accumulation progress.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of This Proposal

Method

Based on the survey data from Sun Yat-sen University, I would use the **finite-mixture model** to divide them into two groups according to their original condition before they come to China. Then, I would use some **multiple linear regressions** to examine Chinese government control affecting the accumulation progress. About their residential mobility, the **GIS system** could help me mapping this transition. Finally, because the immigrants' socioeconomic mobility usually have a spatial correlation, I would use **spatial lag model** to examine the effect between them.