



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e. g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.



**Post-Compulsory Educational Opportunities for Migrant
Pupils in Urban China:**

**Listening to the voices of migrant pupils and those close to
them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) –
towards a social justice approach**

Jian Liao

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2023

Abstract

In China, for more than two decades, inclusion of rural-urban migrants' children in the urban public education system has been a key goal of the Chinese government. However, it has not yet become a reality. Due to the structural barriers of the Chinese household registration (hukou) system and the separate educational policy for migrant children, most migrant children without local hukou still have fewer educational opportunities than urban children, especially after compulsory education. The hukou system, established in 1958 to regulate internal migration, divides the Chinese population into rural and urban residents. It has both a geographic and an urban-rural dimension and is a key factor in determining entitlements to public education and other social welfare provisions. This study aims to explore the key factors that shape post-compulsory education (15+ years old) opportunities for migrant pupils enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China, across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context. Desk research and over three-months' in-depth field research provide new evidence about the impacts of educational inequalities affecting migrant children.

The voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling have been largely missing. The research design and analysis adopted in this study draw primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This research utilised a qualitative single-case study design, involving interviews with 43 migrant pupils, 22 local pupils, 13 parents of migrant pupils, and eight teaching staff in one Shanghai public middle school. Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations. The data were analysed by a thematic analysis approach, drawing on Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation), alongside the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, thus providing an analytical lens through which to discuss the main findings and themes that emerged in relation to key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

This study highlights several key findings. First, most migrant pupils in this study developed strong aspirations to pursue higher education in Shanghai as a proactive response to the issues of their unequal migrant status and unfavorable family socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, however, they faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education so as to pursue their university aspirations, due to Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy) interacting with the hukou system and the limitations of family cultural and economic capital. Although their parents adopted a range of coping strategies to help them pursue their educational goals by drawing on family capital, including cultural, economic and social capital, the educational prospects of most migrant pupils in this research still present dilemmas as a result of existing systemic structural barriers.

Second, this study also highlights the particular role of peer social capital in influencing the educational choices of migrant pupils. The loss of peer networks (through peers' school transfer) profoundly impacted migrant pupils and local pupils in this study, shrinking all pupils' peer networks and friendships, affecting migrant pupils' sense of belonging and, in turn, influencing educational choices regarding the post-middle school stage.

Third, this study has illustrated the power of the academic performance-oriented school culture and the role of teachers in influencing migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of belonging. Migrant pupils' accounts of schooling experiences revealed teachers' negative attitudes and behaviour, resulting in differential treatment.

Fourth, most of the migrant pupils in this study developed an ambivalent sense of belonging and identity. They were left without the means to integrate either into Shanghai, where they were born or grew up, or into their unfamiliar rural hometowns, as a result of the city's educational barriers and social exclusion both within and outside of school. Such ambivalence towards the two places has led to identity confusion for most participants and affected their educational plans for the post-middle school stage.

The study concludes that the issues and concerns surrounding migrant pupils' post-compulsory education in China are closely associated with redistributive, recognitive and representative injustice, which are embedded in systemic structural barriers including the points policy, the national hukou system, the uneven distribution of educational and economic resources between regions and between rural and urban areas, and the academic performance-oriented school culture associated with high-stakes testing systems. These systemic structural barriers shape parents' social and socioeconomic status which, in turn, profoundly affects their children's educational opportunities. At the same time, social exclusion, in the form of exclusionary school practices, teacher attitudes, and local social prejudice against migrant workers, also affect migrant pupils' equal learning opportunities and sense of social belonging.

This study's most unique contribution to knowledge lies in what it adds to the literature on social justice for migrant pupils in China by placing the voices of middle school migrant pupils and their parents at the centre of the inquiry for the first time.

Lay Summary

This study aims to explore the key factors that shape post-compulsory education (15+ years old) opportunities for migrant pupils (children of rural-urban migrant workers) enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China, across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context. Due to the structural barriers of the Chinese household registration (hukou) system and the separate educational policy for migrant children, most migrant children without local hukou still have fewer educational opportunities than urban children, especially after compulsory education. The hukou system, established in 1958 to regulate internal migration, divides the Chinese population into rural and urban residents. It has both a geographic and an urban-rural dimension and is a key factor in determining entitlements to public education and other social welfare provisions.

The research design and analysis adopted in this study draw primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This research utilised a qualitative single-case study design, involving interviews with 43 migrant pupils, 22 local pupils, 13 parents of migrant pupils, and eight teaching staff in one Shanghai public middle school. Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations.

This study highlights several key findings. First, most migrant pupils in this study developed strong aspirations to pursue higher education in Shanghai as a proactive response to the issues of their unequal migrant status and unfavourable family socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, however, they faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education so as to pursue their university aspirations, due to Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy) interacting with the hukou system and unfavorable family socioeconomic status. Although their parents adopted a range of coping strategies to help them pursue their educational goals by drawing on family resources, the educational prospects of most migrant pupils in this research still present dilemmas as a result of existing systemic structural barriers.

Second, this study also found that the loss of peer networks (through peers' school transfer) profoundly impacted migrant pupils and local pupils in this study, shrinking all pupils' peer networks and friendships, affecting migrant pupils' sense of belonging and, in turn, influencing educational goals and choices regarding the post-middle school stage.

Third, this study has illustrated the power of the academic performance-oriented school culture and the role of teachers in influencing migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of belonging. Migrant pupils' accounts of schooling experiences revealed teachers' negative attitudes and behaviour, resulting in differential treatment.

Fourth, most of the migrant pupils in this study developed an ambivalent sense of belonging and identity. They were left without the means to integrate either into Shanghai, where they were born or grew up, or into their unfamiliar rural hometowns as a result of the city's educational barriers and social exclusion both within and outside of school.

The study concludes that migrant pupils in this study face dual exclusion from urban and rural education, and from the sense of belonging and identity. In China, the education of migrant pupils should be understood as a systemic structural issue that needs to be addressed systematically by national and local governments and educational institutions.

This study's unique contribution to knowledge lies in what it adds to the literature on social justice for migrant pupils in China by placing the voices of middle school migrant pupils and their parents at the centre of the inquiry for the first time.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the pupils, parents, and teaching staff who participated in this research, for sharing their stories and perspectives with me.

I want to express my profound gratitude to my super-awesome supervisors, Professor Rowena Arshad, Professor Gillean McCluskey, and Dr Holly Linklater, for encouraging, supporting and guiding me throughout this challenging journey. Thank you for your emotional support and consistent encouragement during the most difficult times in my life.

I also thank my family, friends and colleagues who have supported me on this doctoral journey. I particularly want to thank my elder sister Mrs Liao Jie, for taking care of my parents in China during the pandemic.

Finally, to Mr Gao Yang: I would like to especially thank you for your love, support and inspiration. This achievement would not have been possible without your initial inspiration and support.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved father (Liao Guanyi) and mother (Xie Cuizhu).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	1
Lay summary.....	4
Acknowledgements	7
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	16
1.1 Research context.....	16
1.2 Research aims and research questions.....	21
1.3 The context of Shanghai.....	22
1.4 Thesis structure	30
Chapter 2 The Context of Educational Issues of Migrant Children in China.....	34
2.1 Introduction.....	34
2.2 The Chinese education system.....	34
2.2.1 An academic performance-oriented education system.....	36
2.2.2 Differences in education between urban and rural schools.....	38
2.2.3 Distribution of educational resources	39
2.3 Household registration system (<i>hukou</i>).....	43
2.3.1 Hukou reform.....	45
2.4 The education policy for migrant children.....	48
2.5 The issues of education for migrant children.....	53
2.6 Research gaps and research aims	75
2.7 Summary	80
Chapter 3 Reviewing Relevant Literature.....	83
Key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.....	83
3.1 Introduction.....	83
3.2 Personal and family-level factors.....	85

3.3 School-level factors	93
3.3.1 The role of teachers.....	93
3.3.2 School performance accountability.....	103
3.4 Summary	111
Chapter 4 Conceptual Framework.....	115
4.1 Introduction.....	115
4.2 Nancy Fraser's social justice theory	115
4.2.1 Redistribution.....	117
4.2.2 Recognition	119
4.2.3 Representation.....	121
4.2.4 Participation parity	122
4.3 The concept of capital	125
4.3.1 Cultural capital.....	126
4.3.2 Social capital	130
4.3.3 Peer social capital	135
4.4 Summary	138
Chapter 5 Methodology	141
5.1 Introduction.....	141
5.2 Research aims and research questions	142
5.3 Epistemology: through the lens of social justice.....	143
5.4 Qualitative research	145
5.4.1 Adopting a single case study approach	147
5.5 Recruiting and participants	150
5.5.1 The participating school.....	150
5.5.2 Sampling	156
5.6 Data collection	163

5.6.1 Semi-structured interviews	163
5.6.2 Informal classroom observations and informal conversations	174
5.6.3 Desk-based documentary analysis	176
5.7 Data analysis	178
5.8 Trustworthiness	183
5.9 Reflexivity and Researcher Positionality	185
5.10 Ethics.....	188
5.11 Summary	192

Chapter 6 Educational Opportunities and Experiences of Migrant Pupils: Issues and Concerns 196

6.1 Introduction.....	196
6.2 The importance of having a university degree.....	197
6.3 Constraints on obtaining a university degree.....	202
6.3.1 Structural barriers to accessing academic senior secondary education in Shanghai	203
6.3.2 Difficulties in moving to their rural hometowns for education.....	205
6.4 The influence of peer social networks	216
6.5 Attitudes and behaviours of teachers	223
6.6 The school experience of migrant pupils in Year 9	228
6.6.1 Treatment by teachers	229
6.6.2 School segregation	233
6.7 Belonging and identity.....	237
6.8 Summary	245

Chapter 7 Migrant Parental Aspirations: Issues and Concerns..... 249

7.1 Introduction.....	249
7.2 Parents' educational expectations for their children.....	250
7.3 The views of parents on Shanghai's senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils.....	251
7.4 Migrant family coping strategies for pursuing university aspirations.....	257

7.4.1 Strategy One: Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy	257
7.4.2 Strategy Two: Transferring to a school outside of Shanghai	259
7.4.3 Strategy Three: Staying in Shanghai for vocational education	266
7.5 Summary	272

Chapter 8 Teacher Perceptions of Inclusion of Migrant Pupils in Shanghai Public Middle Schools 276

8.1 Introduction	276
8.2 Teachers' impressions of migrant pupils.....	277
8.3 Teachers' views on migrant pupils' school transfer.....	279
8.4 Teacher perceptions of differential treatment of migrant pupils at school	281
8.5 Teachers' views on Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils.....	287
8.6 Summary	291

Chapter 9 Summary and Discussion of Findings 294

9.1 Introduction.....	294
9.2 Migrant pupils and their parents have high educational aspirations: possibilities and barriers	294
9.2.1 Barriers to fulfilling educational aspirations.....	297
9.2.2 The role of family capital in educational opportunities for migrant pupils	300
9.2.3 The role of peer social capital	309
9.3 School-level factors	314
9.3.1 The influence of academic performance-oriented school culture	314
9.3.2 Teacher attitudes and behaviours	322
9.3.3 Belonging and identity	326
9.4 Social injustice facing migrant pupils.....	329
9.4.1 Lack of recognitional injustice within the hukou and points-based systems	330
9.4.2 Redistributive injustice	338
9.4.3 Representative injustice	344
9.5 Summary	346

Chapter 10 Conclusion	349
10.1 Introduction.....	349
10.2 Summary of the main findings and discussions.....	350
10.3 Implications.....	360
10.4 Contributions to knowledge	364
References.....	367
Appendices.....	412
Appendix 1 Information sheet for school staff	412
Appendix 2 Informed consent letters	415
Appendix 3 Interview guidelines	428
Appendix 4 Sample of coding process.....	436
Appendix 5 Participants' demographic information	437
Tables	
Table 1.1 Comparison of the education of migrant children	27
Table 2.1 School education system in China	35
Table 2.2 Educational policies and regulations for migrant children	49
Table 5.1 The general process of data analysis.....	181

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Research context

This thesis sets out to explore the key factors that shape post-compulsory education (15+ years old) opportunities for migrant pupils (children of rural-urban migrant workers) enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China. The study adopts a social justice perspective which places the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This introductory chapter sets out to talk about the research context and the rationale for focusing the research on Shanghai in detail in order to fully contextualise the study. The chapter concludes with a summary of the overall structure of the thesis.

The study is conducted in the context of separate educational policies for migrant children in urban China. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (MoE, 2021) defines "migrant children" as children of migrant workers under the age of 17 who were born or raised in a city of residence without a local household registration (hukou). The term "migrant workers" refers to rural residents who migrate to the cities for work without changing their rural hukou status, according to China's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2021). As will be discussed in greater depth (section 2.3), the issue of education for migrant children was initially associated with China's hukou system, established in 1958 to regulate internal migration, and dividing the Chinese population into rural and urban residents. It has both a geographic and an urban-rural dimension and is a key factor in determining entitlements to public education and other social welfare provisions (Chen & Feng, 2019). Under the hukou system, children inherit their parents' hukou status. Migrant children, even if born or raised in cities, are considered part of the rural population within the hukou system

and are, therefore, often excluded from urban public education, experiencing unequal educational opportunities compared to local peers.

Population mobility is often defined by various terms, with the population literature distinguishing between internal (within the same country) and international (i.e., emigration, immigration, illegal migration, and refugee status) migration (Newbold, 2005). International migration occurs when individuals (or households) move across national borders. Internal migration occurs when individuals (or households) move across larger geographically distinct units, such as provinces, states, or metropolitan areas, but remain within the same country (Borjas, 2001). Globally, internal migration has contributed significantly to urban population growth over the past two centuries, with reports identifying the main driver of urbanisation as net internal migration from rural to urban areas (Rees, 2001). In China, the reform and opening-up of the Chinese economy along with increased urbanisation have created a massive demand for urban labour. Consequently, China has been experiencing significant internal migration from rural to urban areas in the last two decades (Wu & Zhang, 2015). In particular, the number of migrant workers in metropolises such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou has increased dramatically (ibid.). According to data from the 2021 national census, half of China's 1.4 billion people live in cities, and in 2020, the number of internal migrants reached 376 million, accounting for more than 1/4 of the national population. This is an increase of 140 million as compared to 2019. Within that figure of 376 million, about 249 million are rural-urban migrants, and 127 million are urban-urban migrants (NBS, 2021; Wei, 2023). Meanwhile, there are about 71.09 million children of rural-urban migrant workers in urban China, accounting for 23.9% of the total number of children in the country (NBS, 2021; Wei, 2023). At the compulsory education stage, the number of migrant children reached 14.29 million in 2020 (from 11.67 million in 2010) (Wei, 2023).

With the surge of rural-urban migration in China, the right to education for migrant children in China has become an increasingly important social issue. Although Article 9 of the Education Law of the People's Republic of China stipulates that "all Chinese citizens, regardless of socioeconomic, ethnic, gender or religious background, shall enjoy equal educational opportunities and receive free compulsory education" (National People's Congress [NPC], 2009), such equal educational opportunity for migrant children is still problematic in practice. Systemic pressures such as the Chinese hukou system and the separate educational policy for migrant children have meant that these children have fewer educational opportunities than urban children, and do not have equal access to urban public schooling, especially after compulsory education (Han et al.,2020; Yang, 2017).

As will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2, in response to the educational issues of migrant children, since 2001 the Chinese central government has implemented a series of educational policies to address the issue of migrant children without local hukou being unable to receive education in urban public schools. According to data from the Ministry of Education, in 2020 the proportion of migrant children enrolled in urban public schools in compulsory education had reached around 80% (MoE, 2021). Despite such positive progress in migrant children's right to education, these children continue to have limited access to public schools and face restrictions on post-compulsory education in urban China. This is especially so in metropolises such as Shanghai and Beijing, where educational opportunities for migrant children have become more controversial since 2014 due to population control and the establishment of points policies (Han et al.,2020; Yang, 2017). Since 2013 the Chinese government has established a residence permit points system dependent on parental status (the points policy) to determine migrant children's opportunities for post-compulsory education. This points-based policy system is driven mainly by educational qualifications and

economic status, designed to increase control over migration selectivity. Meanwhile, in 2014, the State Council issued the "Opinions on the Reform of the Household Registration System" to implement a "differentiated household registration policy" nationwide; that is, to comprehensively relax the restrictions on household registration in small cities while strictly controlling cities with a population of more than 5 million (State Council, 2014, p.1). Under the guidance of this policy, metropolises such as Beijing and Shanghai have successively introduced policies to control the population through education (Han et al.,2020; Yang, 2017) which in turn has had a significant impact on the education of migrant pupils.

Several studies on the admission of migrant children to urban public schools have found that due to additional documentation requirements and limited public school resources, migrant children's access to compulsory education in urban public schools remains limited, especially in large cities with a large migrant population (Han, 2020; Li, 2020; Xu & Wu, 2016). The result is that many migrant families who cannot meet the high admission threshold face a dilemma in deciding on their children's education. Some recent studies have indicated that many migrant children have been forced to return alone to their parents' rural hometowns for education, leading to a series of return-to-rural-hometowns issues (Han & Yu, 2020; Koo et al., 2014; Ling, 2017). Faced with barriers to entry into urban public schools, many migrant parents send their children to migrant schools for education in urban China. Unlike public schools in the Chinese education system, migrant schools are unlicensed, informal, for-profit private schools founded by migrants (Han, 2004). Researchers have found that migrant pupils face severe educational inequalities in migrant schools due to school segregation and the low quality of education in these schools (e.g., Chen and Feng, 2013, 2019; Goodburn, 2009, 2015; Han, 2004; Kwong, 2004; Lai et al., 2014; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Xiong, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016). In addition, previous studies highlighted that the process of including migrant pupils

in public schools remains problematic. Several researchers have pointed out that migrant pupils in urban public schools face social discrimination by local institutions, teachers, and peers (e.g., Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Liu et al., 2015; Sun et al., 2015; Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016).

In all, existing studies have shed light on ongoing issues and challenges in the education of migrant children in China, including conditional rights of access to urban public schools, migrant schools' quality of education and school segregation, the inclusion process of migrant pupils in urban public schools, and migrant pupils' return to hometowns for schooling. Researchers have argued that these problems have significantly affected migrant pupils' learning performance, social integration, and psychological well-being (ibid.) It has been reported that migrant pupils, particularly those in public middle school, continue to have higher dropout rates and lower enrolment rates than their urban peers regarding access to compulsory education (e.g., Chen et al., 2020; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Han, 2020; Wang & Holland, 2011; Wu & Zhang, 2015).

Despite the above studies which have provided some significant insights into the nature of the educational issues faced by migrant pupils, my literature review identified a concerning gap in knowledge, noting that, to date, the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling have been largely missing from debates about the issues, and from decisions informing policy aimed at improving matters. Those young people most directly affected were not being listened to. Therefore, I adopted a research design and analysis which drew primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils at the centre of the inquiry

while also seeking the views of migrant parents, teaching staff and local pupils to better understand the context of schooling and family circumstances and to uncover possible contradictions in perspectives and explanations.

1.2 Research aims and research questions

Informed by the literature, the central aim of this research is to explore the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context, thus providing evidence which might contribute to addressing existing educational inequalities affecting migrant pupils. The research questions are formulated as shown below.

Q1. How do personal and family circumstances shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and experiences?

Sub-questions

- *What are the educational aspirations of migrant pupils, and how are these enabled or hindered?*
- *How do the parents of migrant pupils support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations?*

Q2. How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils?

Sub-questions

- *How do migrant pupils perceive their experiences in terms of learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and local communities?*
- *How do teachers and local pupils perceive the inclusion of migrant pupils at school?*

Q3. Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

The study adds to the literature on social justice for migrant pupils in China by placing the voices of migrant pupils at the centre of the inquiry for the first time. It also aims to contribute to knowledge of the subject by unpacking the key factors shaping post-compulsory educational opportunities for migrant pupils across the individual, family, school, and policy levels. It provides multi-sourced evidence that assists in identifying key steps that will need to be taken to improve opportunities for migrant pupils in China.

1.3 The context of Shanghai

The rationale for focusing the study on Shanghai was based on its unique position as China's most developed city, having the largest internal migrant population. The city is recognised as a national leader in dealing with the education of migrant children, but also faces the greatest challenges in including migrant pupils in public senior secondary schools since 2014, when population control was implemented in megacities (Han et al.,2020; Yang, 2017). The city therefore offers a uniquely interesting context within which to study a widespread and deeply concerning phenomenon.

In the section that follows I explain this context in more detail. Located in eastern China, Shanghai is one of the four municipalities directly under the central government in China,

with the same administrative level as the province and with a high degree of autonomy (the other three being Beijing, Chongqing and Tianjin). At the same time, as China's commercial and financial centre, Shanghai is not only the most developed, largest and most populous metropolis in China but also the metropolis with the country's largest internal migrant population due to its many employment opportunities (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021). According to China's 2021 national census data, the total population of Shanghai in 2020 was 24,870,895, of whom 10,478,652 were migrants without local hukou, accounting for 42.1% of the total population of Shanghai (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021). Meanwhile, there are about 971,400 children of rural-urban migrant workers in Shanghai, accounting for more than 34 % of the total number of children in Shanghai (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021). Since the large scale of migrant children is an essential feature of Shanghai's migrant population (Han, 2020), there is a massive demand for education among migrant children in that city. Statistics from the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission showed that the total number of migrant children in Shanghai in 2015 was 870,000, accounting for 40.2% of the total number of children in Shanghai (Han, 2020). Within the compulsory education stage, the number of migrant children reached 500,600, of whom 80.42% were enrolled in Shanghai public schools, accounting for 41% of Shanghai's total number of pupils (Han, 2020). In 2018, 83.64% of migrant children in Shanghai attended public schools (419,800 in public schools and 49,000 in migrant schools) (Han, 2020). It should be noted here that statistics on the number and enrolment rate of migrant children in Shanghai after 2018 have not been published on any official website. This may be due to the reluctance of the Shanghai government, under pressure from the current population control policy, to release statistics.

As the country's most prosperous and developed city, Shanghai, like Beijing, has more affluent and advanced educational resources than the rest of the country. For Chinese

students, Shanghai has been seen as the preferred higher education destination after Beijing, as many of China's top universities are located in Beijing and Shanghai. As of 2021, there were 64 higher education institutions in Shanghai (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021). From the perspective of international education, Shanghai was included in the OECD International Student Assessment (PISA) test for the first time in 2009, and Shanghai's PISA results were excellent in reading literacy, science and mathematics (OECD, 2014). In addition, Shanghai was the first city in China to achieve universal compulsory education and senior secondary education. According to the 2021 Shanghai Statistical Yearbook, Shanghai's compulsory education and senior secondary education enrolment rates were 99.9% and 99.7% respectively (Shanghai Bureau of Statistics, 2021).

With Shanghai a pioneer in educational reform, policies and practices that worked well there will likely be implemented and emulated in other parts of China. This reinforces a rationale for locating my study in this city. In this respect, it is also significant that, in 2008, it became the first city in China to provide free compulsory education for migrant children. Since then, other Chinese cities have followed suit. In response to the central government's "two main principles" on educational reform for migrant children (that is, local governments should undertake compulsory education for migrant children, and most migrant children should receive compulsory education at local public schools: State Council, 2001), the Shanghai government launched the "Three-Year (2008-2010) Action Plan for Migrant Children's Education", which aimed to comprehensively cover preschool education, compulsory education and senior secondary vocational education for migrant children (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). In general, Shanghai has adopted four major strategies for incorporating migrant children into the public education system.

First, the Shanghai government has built a large number of new public schools to meet the educational needs of migrant children. To ensure that most migrant children receive compulsory education in local public schools, from 2008 to 2010 the Shanghai government invested 10.379 billion yuan in building 363 primary and secondary schools and kindergartens. Among them were 144 compulsory education schools, which provided about 150,000 school places (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010).

Second, in order to allow more migrant children to enter public schools, since 2008 Shanghai's public schools have simplified admission requirements, expanded class sizes, and eliminated public school tuition fees. Migrant families only need to provide proof, such as temporary residence permits or employment permits in Shanghai, for their children to be able to receive free compulsory education in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). To encourage public schools to recruit migrant children, the Shanghai Municipal Education Department allocated public funds and determined teacher numbers based on the number of pupils enrolled. In 2009 alone, the Shanghai government's special allocation to public schools amounted to 3.69 billion yuan (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010).

Third, the Shanghai government carried out the reconstruction of migrant schools. From 2008 to 2010, it invested more than 1 billion yuan in renovating migrant schools' facilities and subsidising basic expenses (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). Since 2008, Shanghai has renovated nearly 272 migrant schools, accommodated 170,000 migrant pupils, and brought them into the scope of government management to improve teaching quality. To continuously improve the facilities and teaching quality of these migrant schools, in 2010, the

Shanghai government not only provided them with standard libraries and sports equipment (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010) but also hired some local retired public school headteachers to serve as headteachers of some migrant schools (Zhou, 2020).

Fourth, Shanghai was the first city to allow migrant pupils to receive vocational high school education after compulsory education. To meet the needs of migrant pupils receiving post-compulsory education, since 2008 Shanghai has gradually opened up the enrolment of migrant pupils in vocational senior secondary schools (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). However, vocational education appears to be less attractive to migrant families. A survey in Shanghai indicated that 75% of migrant families wanted their children to have the opportunity to enter Shanghai's academic senior secondary schools after completing compulsory education (Yang, 2009).

There is no doubt that the above-mentioned initiatives of the Shanghai government have improved the educational opportunities of migrant children in Shanghai. Their education is now included in Shanghai's public education system. In 2010, all 420,000 migrant children living in Shanghai received free compulsory education in public schools or migrant schools approved by the government; more than 300,000 were enrolled in public schools, accounting for 70% of the total number of migrant pupils (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). As shown in Table 1.1, official data in 2015 showed that 80.42% of migrant children living in Shanghai received free compulsory education in public schools. This is in stark contrast to Beijing and Guangzhou, with rates of only 78.87% and 43%, respectively (Han, 2020). In China, Beijing (the country's capital), Shanghai and Guangzhou are the top three

metropolises, containing the largest rural migrant population due to hosting China's most developed economy and offering high employment opportunities (NSB, 2021).

Table 1.1 Comparison of the education of migrant children in Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou (the Year 2015)

Unit: ten thousand people, %

City	Shanghai	Beijing	Guangzhou
Number of migrants	981.65	822.60	572.98
Number of migrant children of compulsory education age	50.06	44.86	60.13
Number of children enrolled in public schools	40.26	35.38	25.45
Number of children enrolled in migrant schools	9.80	6.99	34.68
Percentage of migrant children enrolled in public schools	80.42%	78.87%	42.32%

(Adapted from Han, 2020, p. 24. Based on "Beijing Statistical Yearbook 2016", "Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2016", and "Guangzhou Statistical Yearbook 2016")

From 2008 to 2014, Shanghai's strategies for addressing the educational issue of migrant children became a countrywide benchmark worth learning from. Before 2014, schooling for migrant children in Shanghai was more accessible than in other cities in China (Han, 2020). However, this situation has been reversed since the introduction of population control policies in megacities in 2014. Under the guidance of the country's 2014 megacities population control policy, Shanghai, a city containing more than 24 million people, has successively introduced policies to control the population through education, which has had a

significant impact on the education of migrant children (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Han, 2020; Li, 2020).

Specifically, Shanghai first tightened the school-running policy for migrant schools, dismantling non-compliant migrant schools on a large scale (Han, 2020). Since 2008, when Shanghai brought migrant schools under government management and implemented renovations, the number of migrant schools in the city has remained stable at around 162 (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2010). However, since the population control policy was introduced in 2014, the number of migrant schools has steadily declined, from 152 in 2014 to 48 in 2020. Correspondingly, the total number of migrant pupils enrolled in migrant schools dropped from 170,000 in 2008 to 62,000 in 2017 and 49,000 in 2019, respectively (Han, 2020). In addition, the entry threshold for migrant children to receive compulsory education in public schools has been raised. Many public schools in Shanghai now require migrant families to provide additional documents to enable their children to enter public schools, examples being temporary residence permits, local employment contracts, local rental contracts, only-child certificates, and certificates of no caregiver in hometown (Han, 2020; Li, 2020). However, due to precarious employment and lower socioeconomic status, many migrant families cannot provide these high-standard documents, which has limited many migrant children's access to compulsory education in public schools (Li, 2020).

More importantly, Shanghai became the first city to establish a residence permit points system dependent on parental status (the points policy) to determine migrant children's opportunities for post-compulsory education in 2013, and that city's experience has influenced the national model. Learning from Shanghai, 29 of China's 33 provinces,

municipalities, and autonomous regions had implemented, as of 2017, a similar points system to determine migrant children's access to education in urban China (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). From a practical point of view, the Shanghai points system is mainly aimed at the better-educated and higher-income group, as it requires migrant parents to have at least a college diploma to be eligible for evaluation in the system. Migrant parents can rarely meet the Shanghai points policy requirements because most are workers in labour-intensive industries with low educational attainments (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Xu & Drinkers, 2016). This provides a further example of the inequity in the system and gave further impetus for my study and my concern about the long-term outcomes for migrant children unable to benefit from a high quality education.

Shanghai's tightening of education policies for migrant children reflects the contradiction between the "population control" policy and educational justice. Despite being China's most prosperous and developed city with the largest internal migrant population, and its recognition as a national leader in dealing with the education of migrant children, Shanghai's subjection to the 2014 population control measures affecting super-municipalities poses significant obstacles to the inclusion of these children in public middle schools and high schools. In particular, the senior secondary education policy for migrant children, that is, the points policy based on parents' educational level, is highly controversial in China. Due to the tightening of public school admission policies in Shanghai, migrant families who cannot meet the high admission threshold are currently facing a choice regarding their children's education and are obliged to return to their rural hometowns.

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 2 provides contextual knowledge of the educational issues of migrant children in China, which includes illustration of the characteristics of the Chinese educational system and hukou system, and a review and analysis of the policies on education for migrant children. Additionally, the system's ongoing issues and the challenges faced by migrant children are identified through a review of previous research on migrant children's education. Gaps in existing studies will be highlighted to inform the research aims and the conceptual framework of this study.

Drawing on international research on the education of migrant/minority children (with reference to international migrations) as an illuminating lens, Chapter 3 explores and provides a review of the literature on the key factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils (both internal and international) in relation to educational aspirations, family background, teacher attitudes and expectations, and school performance accountability studies. As my study is located in China, this chapter makes only selective reference to studies conducted in different national contexts to identify and describe the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from the individual, family, and school-level perspectives. This is followed, in Chapter 4, by presentation of the conceptual framework for this study, which draws on Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation), alongside the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, thus providing an analytical lens through which to discuss the main findings and themes that emerged in relation to key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

Chapter 5 maps the methodology and research design of this study. The research design and analysis adopted draw primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This research utilised a qualitative single-case study design involving interviews with 43 migrant pupils, 22 local pupils, 13 parents of migrant pupils, and eight teaching staff in one Shanghai public middle school. Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations. The data were analysed through a thematic analysis approach influenced by Fraser's concept of social justice.

This thesis contains three findings chapters. Chapter 6 presents the findings of this research from the perspective of pupils (both migrant and local pupils). It first focuses on discussing the educational aspirations of migrant pupils and the meaning of these to the pupils as individuals. It unpacks whether and, if so, how these pupils realise their educational goals and perceive the impact of the different high school educational policies for migrant children. Then, it illustrates the pupils' accounts of their schooling from entry into middle school. In particular, it describes how migrant pupils in this study integrated their schooling and daily experiences with their experience of educational barriers and how this relates to the formation of their sense of belonging. The voices of migrant pupils are at the core of the presentation and discussion of the findings. Interview data from local pupils are included alongside migrant pupils' voices, which contributed to a better understanding of migrant pupils' schooling process at the Shanghai public middle school and provided a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between migrant pupils and local pupils, while examining the role of the Shanghai public middle schools in facilitating the inclusion of migrant pupils.

Chapter 7 presents the findings of this research from the perspective of migrant parents. It focuses on illustrating how the parents of migrant pupil participants support their children in pursuing university aspirations under Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils. In particular, it unpacks how parents of migrant pupils utilise a range of coping strategies to overcome the educational barriers to the realisation of their children's goals.

Chapter 8 presents the findings of this study from the perspective of teaching staff. It discusses teacher perceptions of migrant pupils' inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools with reference to pupils' school transfer, differential treatment by teachers, school segregation for Year 9 migrant pupils, and Shanghai's separate education policies for migrant pupils.

Chapter 9 discusses the main findings and themes emerging from the study. Drawing on the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam alongside social justice theories, specifically that found in the work of Nancy Fraser, while deriving connections from the literature reviews of this study, I critically analysed and discussed the influential factors in migrant pupils' post-compulsory educational opportunities and everyday experiences at one Shanghai public middle school in China across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context.

Chapter 10 summarises the results of this study to answer the research questions. It also underlines the implications of the findings for policy and practice as well as for further research, and identifies the knowledge contribution of this study.

Chapter 2 The Context of Educational Issues of Migrant Children in China

2.1 Introduction

The educational issues facing migrant children are embedded in China's education system, hukou system, and separate education policy for migrant children. This chapter begins with an overview of the Chinese education system, explaining its academic performance-oriented nature and unequal distribution of educational resources. This is followed by an introduction to the history and reform of China's hukou system, illustrating its role in rural-urban migration and the education of migrant children. In Section 2.4, I review the development of education policy for migrant children. Then, in Section 2.5, I review previous research on the education of migrant children to shed light on its ongoing issues and the challenges faced by migrant children. At the end of the chapter, gaps in existing studies are highlighted to inform the research aims and the conceptual framework of this study.

2.2 The Chinese education system

China implements an education system that includes preschool education, primary education, secondary education and higher education (Table 2.1). The system was developed under the control of the Chinese central government. The State Council is responsible for evaluating and supervising all aspects of the education system, formulating overall education plans, and coordinating education management across the country. The State Council and local governments supervise and manage educational work through a system of hierarchical management and division of responsibilities (National People's Congress [NPC], 2009). Basic education (pre-school, primary and secondary education) is led by the State Council and managed by the local government. Higher education is administered by the State Council

and the local governments of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions directly under the central government (NPC, 2009).

Table 2.1 School education system in China

Non-university Tertiary	University
National Higher Education Entrance Examination	
Vocational High School Education	Academic High School Education
High School Entrance Examination	
Middle School Education	Nine-year Compulsory Education
Primary Education	
Preschool Education	

Compulsory education in China consists of six years of primary education and three years of junior secondary education, jointly guaranteed by the State Council and the governments of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions directly under the central government, according to Compulsory Education Law (NPC, 2009). All Chinese children over six have equal rights to free compulsory education regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, religion, or socioeconomic background (NPC, 2009). Free compulsory education is provided in public schools, and most children attend school in the district where they live. In the case of a child whose parents are working or residing at a place other than their permanent residence, if he/she receives compulsory education where the parents are working or living, the local government shall provide the child with equal conditions under which to receive compulsory education (NPC, 2009). After completing compulsory education, pupils may enter academic

high schools (higher education-oriented) or vocational high schools. Pupils enter different high schools based on their academic performance in the standardized High School Entrance Examination. After three years of senior academic secondary education, pupils can take the National University Entrance Examination to apply to receive higher education, which includes non-university tertiary (college) and university (undergraduate and postgraduate) education.

2.2.1 An academic performance-oriented education system

With education considered the key to social mobility, China's education system is characterised by highly competitive and high-stakes examinations (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2010). Senior secondary school and university entrance exams are highly competitive. For pupils, academic performance is essential for getting into a higher-status school or university, a step which is critical for one's future chances. In addition, pupils' academic attainments represent the school's progression rate, which in turn determines the school's reputation (Hu & West, 2015; Qian & Walker, 2013). Although there is no official school ranking in China, schools with high academic results for pupils are usually regarded as "good schools", while those with low academic results are regarded as "bad schools"(Hu & West, 2015). As a result, every activity in the school revolves around achieving better academic performance (OECD,2010; Qian & Walker, 2013).

Furthermore, the strong correlation between the school's overall academic results and the headteacher's career progression is typical in China (Gu,2011; Qian & Walker, 2013; Walker

& Qian, 2015; Yin et al., 2014). The details of the headteacher's appraisal may vary from place to place, but a school's academic performance is often the leading component of the headteacher's assessment (Gu, 2011; Walker & Qian, 2015). The two most important metrics that district school boards use to assess headteacher performance are school progression rates and overall school academic performance, which are the benchmarks against which principals are awarded, promoted, or demoted (Hu & West, 2015). To put it simply, in schools with better academic performance, headteachers are more likely to receive awards or promotions. In addition, pupil academic performance is often linked to teachers' bonuses and promotions (Gu, 2011; OECD, 2010; Qian & Walker, 2013). In particular, teachers' professional development and teaching assessments are related to the academic performance of their classes. Teachers who can achieve higher academic performance by their classes are more likely to be promoted in school. Also, teachers are under pressure to improve pupils' academic performance in order to receive performance-related bonuses (OECD, 2010; Qian & Walker, 2013). In such an academic performance-oriented system, school principals and teachers are responsible for pupils' performance and are therefore highly committed to supporting pupils' academic learning in the interests of better performance. Thus, in China, every school activity revolves around better academic performance.

In 2001, China carried out the most significant curriculum reform, mainly in urban areas, to promote quality education, aiming to transform from a subject-centred, teacher-centred curriculum to a comprehensive quality-centred, pupil-centred curriculum (MoE, 2001). Pupils would strive to achieve “all-round development” of “morality, health, intelligence, and aesthetics” (MoE, 2001). The range of subjects and extracurricular activities available to pupils, meaning various achievements beyond the core subjects (Chinese and Maths), was

expanded. Textbooks were reformed to include more discussions and group learning activities. The original intention of this reform was to change passive learning into active and creative learning, reduce pupils' heavy workload, and restore a happy childhood to pupils (MoE, 2001). However, this reform does not appear to have brought about change, especially as standardised examination results continue to have a decisive impact on schooling (Dello-Iacovo, 2009; Lou, 2011; Yin et al., 2014). Thus, teacher-centred pedagogy remains the norm in Chinese classrooms where pupils follow the teacher's instructions, memorise principles, and complete exercises by answering questions correctly. The pressure to produce excellent academic performance appears to reinforce the phenomenon of teaching-to-the-test.

2.2.2 Differences in education between urban and rural schools

There are significant differences between urban and rural schools in China regarding pedagogy, teaching and learning, curriculum content, and performance standards (Kipnis, 2001; Lin, 2011; Wang & Zhao, 2011). As mentioned above, urban schools have been undergoing "quality education reforms" since 2001, with an emphasis on comprehensive education rather than a sole focus on the examination-oriented kind. Large cities such as Shanghai and Beijing have especially embraced such reforms (OECD, 2010). For instance, they have reduced class time and homework in core subjects and fostered creativity. Art, computing, physical education and music have been introduced into the curriculum. Core subjects such as Chinese, English, and Maths are taught differently from the way they are taught in rural schools, emphasizing knowledge synthesis rather than exclusively rote memorization. Even the senior secondary school entrance exam syllabus is different from that in the rest of the country (Kipnis, 2001; OECD, 2010).

In contrast, rural schools have been unable to keep up with these reforms due to limited resources such as teaching staff and educational facilities. Most rural schools still focus on core subjects and cannot offer music, art, and computing courses. Teaching and learning are still characterized by the requirement that pupils memorize everything the syllabus covers. The exam syllabus largely determines teaching and learning, and school activities are oriented towards exam preparation. Since exam results are the only assessment of a pupil's ability, rural schools put pupils to work long hours each day, primarily for additional exam preparation sessions (Kipnis, 2001; Lin, 2011). For rural pupils, hard work is the only way to success. This disparity in educational reforms and the acceptance of different urban and rural schools have resulted in the existence of a two-tier educational system in China.

2.2.3 Distribution of educational resources

Since 1993, in order to raise education funding from multiple sources, the Chinese central government has changed the education funding system from centralized to decentralized, giving more autonomy to local governments (Law & Pan, 2009; Mok et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2010). The central government is solely responsible for planning and formulating the overall national education policy, and provides basic education funding only to economically disadvantaged areas every year; such funding is not earmarked for any particular type of educational service (Law & Pan, 2009; Mok et al., 2011). Under the decentralised fiscal system, local governments play a leading role in local education development and funding allocation. They are empowered to implement education policies and programs according to their government agendas and local needs and to decide how to fund these programs and distribute educational resources. Since local governments mainly provide basic education

funding, the local government determines the amount of funds allocated to compulsory education (Wang et al., 2010).

However, the decentralised fiscal system has led to the issue of educational inequality. First, under the fiscal decentralisation system, since the urbanisation, reform, and opening up in 1978, due to the imbalance in economic development between urban and rural areas (Zhang, 2006), education in rural and poverty-stricken areas has faced severe unequal distribution of educational funds and resources (Bao, 2006; Law & Pan, 2009; MoE, 2005; OECD, 2016; Roberts & Hannum, 2018; Shi & Sercombe, 2020; Wang et al., 2012). The result is a growing disparity in educational achievement between urban and rural areas, especially in the eastern and western regions, with the result that rural pupils face barriers to receipt of quality education and have poorer access to higher education than urban pupils (Chen et al., 2013; Law & Pan, 2009; Shi & Sercombe, 2020; Wu and Zhang; 2010). In addition, the decentralised fiscal system has raised barriers for migrant children in accessing urban public schooling. Under the dual influence of the hukou system (see section 2.3) and the decentralised financial system, since the education of migrant children without local hukou was not included in the local government's education budget, migrant children were often excluded from education in urban public schools (Law & Pan, 2009; UNESCO, 2018; Wei & Hou, 2010).

In response to the unequal distribution of rural education funding and resources and the issue of migrant children entering urban public schools, since 2002, the central government has launched a series of reform measures to address the significant imbalances in the distribution of compulsory education funds (Wang et al., 2010). In particular, in 2005, the Minister of

Education issued the document "Several Opinions on Further Promoting Equity in Compulsory Education", which aimed to reduce educational inequality between urban and rural areas while addressing the problem of migrant children entering urban public schools (MoE, 2005). On the issue of rural education, the central government has positioned rural education as the top priority in the sphere of educational development. For instance, the newly issued education funds are mainly used in rural areas, and the policies of "Distance Education for Primary and Secondary Schools in Rural Areas" and "Exemption and One Subsidy" are implemented to subsidise rural pupils from low-income families in rural areas (MoE, 2005).

Regarding the education of migrant children, the Compulsory Education Law, revised in 2009, raised the need to reduce inequality. For instance, the right of migrant children to receive free compulsory education in urban public schools is re-emphasized (MoE, 2005). The State Council is now responsible for establishing a guarantee mechanism in operating funds for compulsory education. Both the State Council and local governments have been accountable for guaranteeing and regulating the transfer of special payments for compulsory education for migrant children (NPC, 2009).

Despite these reform measures introduced by the central government, the educational problems of migrant children and rural children have not been fundamentally resolved. The latest data from the Chinese Ministry of Education (2021) show that there is still a large gap between urban and rural areas in the compulsory education stage regarding teaching instruments, school equipment, and teacher resources. For instance, the gap between urban and rural investment in educational facilities in compulsory education schools remained

large. In 2020, the average value of equipment per pupil in primary schools was RMB 1,809. The figure in rural primary schools was RMB 1,652, which is 80% of that in urban primary schools. The average value of equipment per pupil in junior high schools was RMB 2,725, while the figure in rural junior secondary schools was RMB 2,241, representing 77% of that in urban junior secondary schools (MoE, 2021). In addition, there is also a gap in the proportion of urban and rural compulsory education teachers with bachelor's degrees. 88.6% of the national junior secondary school compulsory education teachers have a bachelor's degree; of the schools where they teach, 93.8% are urban junior secondary schools and 85.4% are rural junior secondary schools. The gap between urban and rural areas is 8.3 percentage points (MoE, 2021).

Apart from compulsory education, there are also significant gaps in senior secondary education between urban and rural areas (Chen et al., 2013; Li & Xue, 2021). In particular, there is a considerable gap between urban and rural senior secondary enrolment rates. Much research indicated that the number of senior secondary schools and senior secondary school enrolment rates in rural areas were much lower than in urban areas (e.g., Chen et al., 2013; Lin & Zhang, 2006; Liu et al., 2009; Li & Xue, 2021). For instance, Liu et al. (2009) found that more than 80% of urban junior secondary school graduates could enter academic senior secondary schools, especially in big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing. In contrast, rural pupils' senior secondary school enrolment rate was only around 25%, and only 20-30% of junior secondary school graduates could enter academic senior secondary schools (Chen et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2009).

Even though the Chinese government has reformed its education policies for migrant children over the past two decades, these children continue to have limited access to public schools and face restrictions on post-compulsory education in urban China. This is discussed in greater depth in Section 2.5.

In summary, the uneven economic development between urban and rural areas and the decentralised education finance system have played a vital role in promoting educational inequality among rural and migrant children in China. While the Chinese education system is undergoing profound reforms at the national policy level, promoting equity and achievement, educational inequalities for migrant and rural children persist, especially after compulsory education. Educational issues for migrant and rural children are only partially recognised, with educational resources and opportunities for migrant children and rural children remaining unequal and requiring further redistribution.

2.3 Household registration system (*hukou*)

The educational issues of migrant children in China were initially related to China's hukou system, which still shapes their educational opportunities despite a series of reforms over the past two decades. Established within the centrally planned economy in the 1950s by the Chinese central government, the hukou system has significantly distinguished the mode of migration in China from that in other countries (Whyte, 2010). The hukou system is the fundamental criterion for managing and controlling internal migration and resource distribution in China, which has both a geographic and an "urban-rural" dimension (Chen &

Feng, 2019). There are two types of hukou: urban and rural hukou, a design which divides the Chinese population into urban or rural residents (Whyte, 2010).

The hukou system has three primary functions. First, hukou exists to register residents and populations. As the legal basis of personal identification, every Chinese citizen must be registered with the local police authority from birth (Wu, 2011). It should be pointed out that a person's hukou status is inherited from his/her parents, rather than determined by the place of birth. Therefore, migrant children born in cities retain their parents' hukou (place of origin), which limits their access to public education in their place of residence. Second, hukou is closely related to individuals' social welfare. Individuals cannot receive social welfare benefits outside the place of their hukou. Since the 1980s, the geographic dimension of hukou has strengthened as inequality in regional economic development has increased, leading to differences in the level of public services associated with hukou (Kanbur & Zhang, 2005). In other words, the location or type of hukou determines the extent to which individuals enjoy social welfare provisions such as public education, healthcare and public housing in the place of residence. Urban hukou holders, especially those in big cities such as Shanghai and Beijing, usually enjoy more advanced social welfare benefits, such as public education and healthcare, than rural hukou holders, due to the uneven development between urban and rural areas brought about by urbanisation (Chan & Buckingham, 2008; Liang et al., 2014). Third, the hukou system enables the government to control internal migration, particularly rural-to-urban migration. Before 1978, individuals could not obtain legal permanent residency outside the place of their hukou. Internal migration in China could only be granted by the Chinese government (Whyte, 2010).

2.3.1 Hukou reform

The hukou system was initially established to control internal migration, especially from rural to urban areas. However, with the reform and opening up of China's economy and the significant demand for urban labour stemming from urbanisation, the central government began to reform the hukou system nationwide in 1985 to open up rural-urban migration and promote rural-urban migration in China for employment (Liang et al., 2014).

In general, there are three main strategies for reforming the hukou system. First, restrictions on internal migration have been relaxed since 1985, leading to increased rural-to-urban populations (Liang et al., 2014; Whyte, 2010). Every Chinese citizen, since then, has had the freedom to move from one place to another in China without government authorisation. As a result, China has experienced enormous growth in internal migration. According to 2021 national census data, half of China's 1.4 billion people live in cities; in 2020, internal migrants reached 376 million, accounting for more than 1/4 of the national population (NBS,2021). Second, the central government devolved power to the local governments of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, enabling them to modify local hukou policies within their jurisdiction and to manage the hukou application process for controlling the permanent population (Liang, 2016). Third, rural residents are now permitted to transfer their hukou from rural to urban areas as long as they meet local hukou policy requirements, such as adequate education, employment, and economic means (Chan & Buckingham, 2008; Liang, 2016). In 2014, the State Council issued the "Opinions on the Reform of the Household Registration System" to implement the "differentiated household registration policy" nationwide; that is, to comprehensively relax the restrictions on hukou in small cities, while strictly controlling it in cities with a population of more than 5 million (State Council,

2014, p.1). Since then, many provinces have established a residence permit-based points system known as the "points policy". Many large cities, especially Shanghai and Beijing, have implemented a range of policies to curb the migrant population and thus to control the total urban population. "This includes policies that make it harder for migrant children to study in urban public schools"(Chen & Feng, 2019, p.395; Dong & Goodburn, 2020).

Hukou issues affecting the education of migrant children

China's economic development and urbanisation have led to massive rural-intra-urban migration, raising a range of educational problems for children of migrant workers due to the hukou system (Liang, 2016; Wei & Hou, 2010; Zhou & Cheung, 2017). Under the hukou system, because individuals can only receive public services in the place where their hukou is registered, migrants cannot enjoy social benefits such as public education and healthcare when moving into cities. Therefore, before the reform of compulsory education for migrant children in 2001, migrant children born in the city or moving with their parents to the city were also not entitled to public education. Furthermore, China's decentralisation policy has reduced the national welfare sector, raising educational issues for migrant children. Under the decentralised management structure, the rights of migrant children to receive urban public education depend on the local government's hukou policy. Since local education funding is based on the local hukou population, local governments have no incentive to devote resources to children of migrant workers. Therefore, migrant families with non-local hukou are often excluded from urban education funding (Mok et al., 2011).

While the hukou system has now advanced "towards a weakening of the rural-urban divide " due to recent economic development in China (Chen & Feng, 2019, p.394), the hukou remains the critical factor limiting migrant children's educational opportunities in urban China and affecting the allocation of local public education resources (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Zhou & Cheung, 2017). Currently, the role of the hukou in controlling population size and determining individuals' access to social benefits remains. In particular, it still functions as a primary credentialing mechanism for access to public education, which is mainly funded by local governments (ibid.). Since the reformed hukou system has been driven by economic status and educational qualifications, migrant families with low socioeconomic status and inadequate educational qualifications are less likely to obtain an urban hukou or meet the requirements of the points policy (ibid.). Without urban hukou, many children of migrant workers have still excluded from urban public education: a pressing social issue. Especially in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, it is still difficult for the children of migrant workers to enrol in urban public schools. As will be discussed in greater depth (section 2.5), the hukou system poses a considerable structural barrier to migrant children's educational opportunities. Although 80% of migrant children without local hukou can now, following the education reform, enter urban public schools at the compulsory education level (MoE, 2021), the barriers that they face after compulsory education still exists due to the lack of local hukou.

In short, while the hukou system was initially conceived as a means of controlling internal migration, the reformed hukou system, driven more by educational qualifications and economic status, has turned into a social stratification project rather than a way of promoting freedom of movement and inclusion (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Wu & Zhang, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016).

2.4 The education policy for migrant children

This section focuses on reviewing and analysing education policies for migrant children. The educational problems faced by these children are mainly related to the hukou system and the decentralised education financing system. In response to the issue of migrant children's education, the Chinese central government has implemented a series of education policies since 2001 to address the problem that migrant children without local hukou cannot receive education in urban public schools. While the central government attaches great importance to the rights of migrant children to receive education through urban public schools, national policies are the only guidelines that local governments follow.

In 2001, the central government issued the "Decision on Reforming and Developing Basic Education", proposing the principles of "two major policies" for the reform of compulsory education for migrant children: (1) local governments should undertake compulsory education for migrant children; (2) most migrant children should receive compulsory education at local public schools (State Council, 2001). This 2001 decision aimed to reform migrant children's education is one of the main overarching goals of promoting equity in education (State Council, 2001). Since then, the central government has formulated a series of policies and regulations on the education of migrant children based on the "two main" principles (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Educational Policies and Regulations for Migrant Children

Years	The Central Government Policy
2001	Decision on Reforming and Developing Basic Education & "two major policies."
2003	Regulations on Further Improving the Education of Migrant Children in Urban Areas equal
2005	Opinions of the State Council on Improving Educational Services for Migrant Children
2005	The advice of the State Council on Resolving the Problems of Migrant Children
2006	Revised Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China
2008	Notification of the State Council on Tasks of Tuition Waiver in Compulsory Education
2009	Interim Regulations on Implementing National Financial Incentive Measures for Compulsory Education for Migrant Children
2011	The Outline of Child Development in China (2011—2020)
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Guidelines for Medium- and Long-term Reform and Development of Education • Opinions on the High School Entrance Examination for Migrant Children in Destination Cities
2014	National New Urbanization Plan (2014-2020). National Development and Reform Commission. "Two Inclusions"
2014	Opinions of the State Council on Further Improving Services for Migrant Workers
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opinions of the State Council on Further Promoting the Reform of Household Registration System. • National New Urbanisation Plan for 2014 to 2020.
2016	Several Opinions on Promoting the Integrated Reform and Development of Compulsory Education in Urban and Rural Areas
2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several Opinions on Coordinating the Reform and Development of Compulsory Education in Urban and Rural Areas • Opinions on Further Adjusting and Optimizing the Structure to Improve the Efficiency of the Use of Educational Funds
2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China's Education Modernization 2035 • Key Tasks of New Urbanization Construction in 2019
2021	Notice on Supervising and Further Promoting the Education of Migrant Children

Source: Official websites of the State Council and Ministry of Education

In 2003, the State Council issued its "Opinions on Improving the Education of Migrant Children" (State Council, 2005), mainly covering three themes. First, local public schools should treat migrant and urban children equally, and the admission standards should be the same for urban children. Second, urban public schools should be required to help migrant children integrate into urban life and study. Third, local governments should include the education of migrant children in local education funding plans (State Council, 2005).

In 2006, the central government revised the Compulsory Education Law, clarifying the rights of migrant children to study in urban public schools and abolishing the requirement that urban public schools charge tuition fees for migrant children. In addition, the central government required local public schools to treat urban and migrant children equally in school education; in particular, local schools are not allowed to divide migrant children into separate classes or assess their test scores differently (State Council, 2006).

In 2009, the central government issued the "Interim Regulations on Implementing National Financial Incentive Measures for Compulsory Education for Children of Migrant Workers", which proposed that the central government would provide financial incentives to local governments who have made progress in solving educational problems for migrant children (State Council, 2009). Since 2010, the central government has invested additional financial resources to ensure that migrant children have equal access to compulsory education in urban public schools (State Council, 2014). In 2012, the central government issued the "Guidelines on the Senior Secondary School and University Entrance Examination for Migrant Children in Destination Cities", urging all provinces and municipalities to formulate local policies to allow migrant pupils to receive senior secondary education (State Council, 2012). Since then,

more than half of the provincial governments have implemented this policy by establishing a points-based system dependent on parental status to determine the rights of migrant pupils to senior secondary education in 2013 (Dong & Goodburn, 2020).

In 2014, the central government issued the "National New Urbanization Plan (2014-2020)", which further emphasised that the education of migrant children should be included in local government education development plans and financial budgets. The State Council is now responsible for establishing a guarantee mechanism in operating funds for compulsory education. Both the State Council and local governments have been accountable for guaranteeing and regulating the transfer of special payments for compulsory education for migrant children (National Development and Reform Commission, 2014). In addition, from 2014 to 2021, the central government issued a range of documents on "Opinions on Further Improving Education Services for Migrant Children ", reaffirming that local governments and local public schools should help the children of migrant workers integrate into urban public schools (State Council, 2014).

The above-mentioned national policies indicate that the Chinese central government aspires to provide equal opportunities for migrant children to receive compulsory education at their destination. Beneath this overall objective lie three policy principles. The first principle is the urban public education access policy, which requires local governments to provide adequate education funding to enable migrant children to receive education in local public schools. However, this education funding system still falls under the decentralised education funding system discussed in Section 2.2.3, whereby the central government formulates the overall policy and implementation policy for the education of migrant children, while the local

government manages the implementation funds. The second principle concerns equal opportunities in school treatment and entry requirements. The national policies stipulated that migrant pupils should enjoy the same treatment as local pupils in school. Local schools are required to adopt the same admission standards so as to teach migrant children in the same class as urban children and should provide academic support for migrant children in order to narrow the academic gap between migrant children and urban children. The final principle is social inclusion, requiring local public schools to ensure that urban and migrant children have the same schooling experience and to help migrant children to adapt to their new learning environment (State Council, 2003, 2014). In short, the central government requires local governments to take responsibility for the education of migrant children and incorporate it into local education planning and financial budgets.

Overall, China's education system is undergoing profound reforms at the national policy level to promote equity and achievement (State Council, 2012). The formulation of educational policies for migrant children has gradually shifted from the redistribution of educational resources to the recognition of the status of migrant children. Through the formulation of these educational policies, migrant children's compulsory education rights have improved over the past two decades. Especially since the revision of the Compulsory Education Law in 2006, local governments have gradually started implementing national policies for migrant children. These policies ensure that migrant children without local hukou can receive compulsory education in urban public schools. According to data from the Ministry of Education in 2021, the proportion of migrant children enrolled in urban public schools in compulsory education has been hovering around 80% (MoE, 2021). For entrance to urban public schools, most cities only require migrant families to provide proof of residence permits

‘rather than local hukou, as long as those schools have extra places’ (Chen & Feng, 2019, p.395).

Despite the positive intentions as stated above, recent studies have shown that, while the Chinese government's education policy reforms over the past 20 years have highlighted migrant children's right to compulsory education, these children continue to have limited access to public schools and post-compulsory education in urban areas due to institutional barriers and social discrimination (Chen et al., 2020; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Goodburn, 2009, 2016; Gao, 2015; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Wang & Holland, 2011; Wu & Zhang, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016). The following section elaborates on these issues by reviewing existing research.

2.5 The issues of education for migrant children

Existing research on the education of migrant children can be grouped into five major themes:

1. Migrant pupils' access to urban public schools
2. Education in migrant schools
3. Migrant pupils' performance in migrant schools and in public schools
4. Including migrant pupils in urban public schools
5. Migrant pupils return to their hometowns for schooling

The results of these studies suggest that, while the Chinese government's education policy reforms over the past two decades have highlighted migrant children's right to education in

urban China, due to institutional barriers and social discrimination, migrant pupils continue to face a range of educational problems which have had a multifaceted impact on their learning and lives. In this section, I will elaborate on these points. Gaps in existing studies will be highlighted to inform the research aims, research questions and the theoretical framework of this study.

2.5.1 Migrant pupils' access to urban public schools

Several studies on the admission of migrant children to urban public schools have found that the implementation of educational policies for access to public schools varies widely across cities, with larger cities, which are under more significant population pressure, being more restrictive. Due to additional documentation requirements and limited public school resources, migrant children's access to compulsory education in urban public schools remains limited, especially in large cities with a large migrant population (Han, 2020; Li, 2020; Xu & Wu, 2016). The result is that migrant pupils continue to have higher dropout rates and lower enrolment rates than their urban peers regarding access to compulsory education (Chen et al., 2020; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Han, 2020; Wang & Holland, 2011; Wei & Hou, 2010; Wu & Zhang, 2015).

Several studies have found that in the context of population control in megacities such as Beijing and Shanghai, educational restrictions on migrant pupils have increased (e.g., Dong and Goodburn, 2020; Li, 2020; Liu & Zhao, 2019; Liu et al., 2017; Han, 2020). As mentioned in Section 2.3, the State Council issued the "Opinions on the Reform of the Hukou System" in 2014 to implement the "differentiated hukou policy" nationwide; that is, to

comprehensively relax the restrictions on hukou in small cities while strictly controlling cities with a population of more than 5 million (State Council, 2014). Since then, megacities such as Beijing and Shanghai have successively introduced policies to control the population through education, such as raising the entry threshold for migrant children without local hukou who seek to receive compulsory education (Chen et al., 2019; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Han, 2020; Liu et al., 2017; Liu & Zhao, 2019; Li, 2020). For example, Li (2020) and UNESCO (2018) respectively pointed out that migrant parents must provide five additional certificates in order to enrol their children in public schools in Shanghai and Beijing. These certificates include stable employment, stable residential address, and social security. However, due to precarious employment and lower socioeconomic status, most migrant parents cannot provide these high-standard documents, a circumstance which has limited many migrant children's opportunities for compulsory education in public schools in Shanghai and Beijing (Li, 2020; UNESCO, 2018). This population control policy, by restricting education, has significantly impacted migrant children and their parents. Due to the tightening of admission policies and educational resources, many migrant families who cannot meet the high admission threshold face a dilemma in choosing their children's education, so that those children who move to their hometown to study become left-behind children. A survey by Shanghai University showed that with the sudden increase in admission requirements, the number of migrant pupils enrolled in compulsory education in Shanghai dropped by 38,000 in 2015 (Liu & Wang, 2016). According to the 2011-2019 Beijing Statistical Yearbook, 473,100 migrant pupils in Beijing received compulsory education in 2013. However, since the introduction of population control in 2014, this number has been declining year by year, especially after the tightening of policies in 2016, and the rate of decline has accelerated significantly (Han, 2020). From 2016 to 2018, the number of migrant

pupils dropped by 31,200, 43,300 and 31,500, respectively, from the previous year (Han, 2020).

Researchers have argued that the issue of access to public schooling for migrant children in urban China is still mainly manifested as institutional barriers caused by the hukou system and the decentralised education administrator system (e.g., Chan and Buckingham, 2008; Chen et al., 2020; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Liang et al., 2020; Liu & Zhao 2019; Mok, 2011; Wei & Hou, 2010; Wu & Zhang, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016; Zhou & Cheung, 2017). Indeed, since the reformed hukou system has been driven by economic status and educational qualifications, migrant families with low socioeconomic status and inadequate qualifications are less likely to obtain an urban hukou or meet the requirements of the points policy.

Research showed that migrants who have obtained urban hukou or meet these requirements are usually highly educated and in high-end employment (Sun & Fan, 2011). Especially in first-tier cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, only those with a master's degree and employed by selected employers or having self-owned enterprises can apply for local hukou; rural migrant workers with low educational levels and low incomes cannot meet these higher assessment criteria (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Liang, 2016).

In addition to hukou barriers, several researchers argued that the decentralised education funding system has continued to affect migrant children's access to urban public schools (e.g., Law & Pan, 2009; Liu & Zhao, 2019; Liu et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2012; Mok et al., 2011). Although the education budget for migrant children has now been included in national and local government budgets, this reformed policy is not integrated into the legal framework in China (ibid.). Under the decentralised fiscal system, migrant children's equal education in

urban public schools mainly relies on local governments and their financial capacity to implement national policies. As previous studies have shown, the central government has provided only 21.2% of the education budget, while local governments must support the remaining 78.8%, significantly increasing the local fiscal burden (Mok et al., 2011). Therefore, to reduce the local financial burden and focus on developing the local economy, some local governments have failed to effectively implement equal admission standards for migrant children entering public schools, in keeping with national policy. Several studies have shown that, in big cities like Beijing and Guangzhou, many urban public schools require migrant families to meet local policy standards or provide additional documents, such as social insurance certificates, to replace urban hukou (e.g., Wu & Zhang, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016). Most migrant families, however, are unable to provide these documents due to their socioeconomic status (ibid.).

Faced with barriers to entry into urban public schools, many migrant parents send their children to migrant schools for education in urban China. The following section discusses the issue of migrant schools in detail.

2.5.2 Education in migrant schools

In response to the difficulty of migrant children entering urban public schools, migrant schools emerged in urban China in the early 1990s to serve the educational needs of migrant children (Han, 2004). Unlike public schools in the Chinese education system, migrant schools are unlicensed, informal, for-profit private schools founded by migrants. They enrol only migrant children and provide them with primary and junior secondary education (Han, 2004).

Before 2001, the number of migrant schools grew rapidly due to the massive demand for education from rural migrant families in urban China. It is reported that before the implementation in 2003 of the education policy allowing migrant children to enter urban public schools, most migrant children received education in migrant schools due to the inability to enter urban public schools and the financial difficulties of their families (Chen & Feng, 2017; Wang, 2008). Additionally, although the central government's "two main" policy of 2003 stipulated that urban public schools are the main channel for educating migrant children, due to the limited resources of urban public schools as well as population control in large cities, which resulted in higher admission requirements after 2014, about 20 % of migrant children are still studying at migrant schools (MOE, 2021). Chen and Feng (2017) pointed out that in smaller cities with relatively small migrant populations, most migrant children can attend local public schools. However, in large cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou, there are large migrant populations and limited space in public schools; therefore, migrant schools are still playing a vital role in the educational needs of migrant pupils.

Several domestic and international researchers have found that educational inequalities in migrant schools due to the low quality of education, school segregation, and instability in migrant schools have significantly affected the academic performance, mental health and social integration of migrant pupils (e.g., Chen & Feng, 2013, 2019; Goodburn, 2009, 2016; Han, 2004; Kwong, 2004; Lai et al., 2014; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Wang, 2008; Xiong, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016).

Goodburn (2009) explored migrant pupils' schooling in migrant schools in Beijing in 2004 through interviews with 32 migrant parents and some of their children aged 8 to 15 and found that while migrant children face no admission barriers to attendance at migrant schools, the problems of educational quality and school isolation are severe during their studies. This finding is consistent with her second study in Shenzhen in 2008, showing a significant gap in the quality of education between urban public schools and migrant schools in Shenzhen. Compared with urban public schools, due to insufficient teaching materials, crowded classrooms, and inadequate teachers, migrant schools provide pupils with an unhealthy learning environment (Goodburn, 2015). By using qualitative and quantitative approaches, Han (2004) and Lai et al. (2014) reached conclusions similar to Goodburn's results, showing that urban public schools generally have advanced school facilities, qualified teachers, and adequate teaching resources, while migrant schools are equipped with poor infrastructure, unqualified teachers, and insufficient teaching resources. Han (2004) specifically pointed out that many teachers in migrant schools are often unqualified and unstable and have relatively low wages. Some were just secondary school graduates or retired teachers hired from rural China; others were college graduates who took part-time jobs in migrant schools to gain teaching experience as a stepping stone to jobs in public schools. Thus, Han (2004) argued that high teacher attrition could cause issues such as curriculum disruption and pupils' learning progress. In addition, due to the lack of funds, teachers and teaching equipment, many migrant schools only offered core subjects such as Chinese and mathematics (Han, 2004).

Schools play a vital role in promoting the integration of migrant pupils into local society (OECD, 2014; UNESCO, 2020). However, the separation of migrant schools from those for

local pupils can hinder migrant pupils' integration into local society, seriously affecting their overall social integration. Several studies have shown that due to the low quality of education and school segregation in migrant schools, migrant pupils in migrant schools have lower academic performance and psychological well-being and the highest awareness of social discrimination compared to migrant pupils in public schools (e.g., Chen et al., 2014; Gao et al., 2015; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Sun et al., 2020; Xu & Wu, 2016; Yang et al., 2019). Little attention has been paid to promoting migrant pupils' physical and psychological health in migrant schools (Goodburn, 2009). Learning and living with local pupils in public schools can provide migrant pupils with more opportunities to learn about local culture and promote social integration. Pupils in migrant schools usually only interact with people from rural areas (Yuan et al., 2009), which could slow their urban integration process and contribute to a persistent sense of "outsider" identity. Interactions between local and migrant pupils may help to minimise possible social discrimination, because researchers found that migrant pupils in migrant schools experienced more discrimination than those in public schools (e.g., Chen et al., 2014; Gao et al., 2015; Yang et al., 2019).

In addition to low quality of education and school segregation, the operation of migrant schools is unstable. Several studies have reported that migrant schools often face closure due to their lack of legal status in the Chinese education system and recent population control measures in big cities (Goodburn, 2009; Han, 2004; Wang et al., 2011). For instance, under pressure from the local government, more than 20 migrant schools in Beijing were forced to close in 2011 because of lack of teaching qualifications (Wang et al., 2011). In addition, population control in big cities through education has significantly impacted migrant schools. Shanghai and Beijing, for example, have tightened the school-running policy for migrant

schools and dismantled non-compliant migrant schools on a large scale. Many migrant schools were reportedly forced to close for failing to meet minimum safety and hygiene standards (Chen et al., 2020; Han, 2004). As a result, many migrant pupils in migrant schools had to drop out or be sent back to their rural hometowns for education, leading to many return-related issues such as separation from their parents.

The existence of migrant schools is controversial in urban China. On the one hand, migrant schools can meet the educational needs of the children of migrant workers who cannot access urban public schools, so that these children will not be sent back to their rural hometowns and separated from their parents. On the other hand, however, since migrant schools are institutionally marginalized and even considered illegal in some big cities, they lack educational resources and funds for development, resulting in poor-quality education and unstable school operations. Due to the low educational quality of migrant pupils and the segregation of the school from local pupils, many researchers argued that migrant schools are a form of social isolation, hindering the integration of migrant pupils into local society (e.g., Chen & Feng, 2013, 2017; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Xu & Wu, 2016).

2.5.3 The performance of migrant pupils in migrant schools and in public schools

To better address the quality of education faced by migrant children in urban China, many Chinese researchers have used quantitative approaches to compare the performance of migrant pupils in urban public schools and migrant schools (e.g., Chen & Feng, 2013, 2017; Chen et al., 2014; Gao et al., 2015; Lai et al., 2014; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Sun et al., 2020; Xu & Wu, 2016; Yang et al., 2019). These studies showed that migrant pupils in public schools did

significantly better than migrant pupils in migrant schools in academic performance, adaptation to school and urban life, and psychological well-being.

Based on a longitudinal survey of 20 primary schools in Shanghai (9 migrant schools and 11 public schools) between 2010 and 2012, using standardised test scores, Chen and Feng (2013, 2017) reported three interrelated findings regarding migrant pupils' academic performance. First, migrant pupils' Chinese and Mathematics scores in public schools were significantly better than in migrant schools. On average, migrant pupils' test scores in Chinese and Mathematics in public schools were much higher than in migrant schools by 10 points and 16 points, respectively. Second, migrant pupils performed equally well as local pupils in the same public primary schools regarding Mathematics test scores. Third, due to the Shanghai government's recent financial support for migrant schools, Chen and Feng (2017) found that the difference in migrant pupils' test scores between public schools and migrant schools decreased by half in 2012.

Similarly, Lai et al. (2014) conducted a quantitative study in Beijing to demonstrate that migrant pupils in migrant schools have worse academic results than their counterparts in urban public schools. Using data collected in 23 migrant primary schools and four public primary schools in Beijing, Lai et al. (2014) compared the academic performance of migrant pupils in public schools and migrant schools based on standardised test scores. Results showed that migrant pupils in public schools significantly outperformed their peers academically in migrant schools in terms of Chinese and Mathematics, with scores over 10 points higher (Lai et al., 2014). These findings revealed that migrant pupils in public schools achieved much better academic performance than migrant pupils in migrant schools, which

implies that migrant pupils may significantly improve their academic performance if they receive better educational resources.

In addition to examining the academic performance of migrant pupils, several researchers compared the psychological well-being and school adaptation of migrant pupils in public schools and migrant schools (e.g., Chen et al., 2014; Gao et al., 2015; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Sun et al., 2020; Yang et al., 2019). These studies showed that migrant pupils in public schools did significantly better than pupils in migrant schools in terms of school adaptation, social relationships, and psychological well-being.

Based on data from 12 public primary schools and seven migrant primary schools in Beijing, Lu and Zhou (2013) investigated migrant pupils' academic performance (using maths and Chinese test scores) and psychological well-being (using pupil and parent questionnaires). Results indicated that migrant pupils in migrant schools have lower academic performance and greater loneliness than migrant pupils and local pupils who study in public schools. In addition, there was little difference in learning performance or loneliness between local and migrant pupils in public schools. In contrast, based on data from 657 migrant pupils in migrant and public primary schools in Beijing, Chen et al. (2014) found that, compared with migrant pupils in public schools, migrant pupils in migrant schools reported higher levels of loneliness and social anxiety due to higher levels of perceived discrimination. Similarly, Gao et al. (2015) used a questionnaire survey to examine the mental health status of migrant pupils and to compare migrant pupils to their local peers in Beijing's migrant and public-school settings. A total of 1,466 pupils aged 9 to 15 participated in this study (1,019 migrant pupils and 447 local pupils). Results showed that while migrant pupils in migrant schools

reported lower life satisfaction and more mental health issues than their local peers, these issues can be alleviated upon admission to public schools. Also, the mental health status of migrant pupils in public schools, including school satisfaction and peer relationships, did not differ from that of local peers. These findings showed that migrant pupils in public schools outperform migrant pupils in migrant schools in all aspects of mental health, implying that studying in public schools is a critical factor in improving migrant pupils' academic results, psychological well-being and urban integration.

In summary, previous studies on the performance of migrant pupils in migrant schools and in public schools have shown that migrant pupils with access to the same educational resources could perform as well as local pupils. The difference between the performance of migrant pupils in public and migrant schools can be seen as a matter of social justice related to the distribution of educational resources and recognition of the worth of migrant pupils.

2.5.4 Including migrant pupils in urban public schools

Due to a series of educational policy reforms aimed at migrant children since 2001, by 2021, nearly 80% of migrant children were able to access compulsory education in China's urban public schools (MoE, 2021). Nevertheless, previous studies highlighted that the inclusion of migrant pupils in public schools remains problematic. Several researchers have pointed out that migrant pupils in urban public schools face social discrimination by local communities, teachers, and peers (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Liu et al., 2015; Liu & Jacob, 2013; Sun et al., 2015; Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016).

Social discrimination by locals

Due to the uneven distribution and development of urban and rural resources in China, urban residents are generally better educated than migrant workers and have better living conditions. Several studies have highlighted that migrant households often experience discrimination by locals in many Chinese cities due to their lower social and socioeconomic status (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Qian & Walker, 2015). The relationship between locals and migrant workers has become strained, especially after the children of migrant workers were allowed to attend urban public schools. Many parents of local hukou pupils expressed firm opposition, fearing that the admission of migrant children into urban public schools would reduce the quality of education in public schools. For example, in September 2018, more than 800 migrant pupils from a migrant primary school in Suzhou City, Jiangsu Province, were relocated to a nearby well-known public primary school due to school building problems. However, including these migrant pupils in this public school generated considerable controversy in local communities and widespread media coverage across China (Qiu, 2018). Despite being on the same campus as local pupils, these 800 migrant pupils were assigned separate teaching buildings and playgrounds for separate management. The transfer of these pupils to public schools aroused strong opposition from the local parents of pupils at this public school, who complained that migrant pupils entering public schools amounted to robbery of local public educational resources. Therefore, many local parents demanded that local education authorities choose other locations in which to place these pupils or transfer them to other schools (Qiu, 2018). As a result, to thoroughly separate these 800 migrant pupils from local pupils, an iron wall was erected between two buildings on campus. In this regard, the Principal of this public school and officials from the Suzhou Municipal Education Commission explained that although the two schools were located on the same campus, the

migrant school needed to be "isolated" by an iron gate to better facilitate management (Qiu, 2018).

Such social discrimination against migrant families is also reported from time to time in Shanghai. On Shanghai's popular Internet forums, locals complained that migrants were encroaching on local resources, fuelling a rise in crime and unemployment (Lan, 2014). After Shanghai implemented the attendance of migrant children at local public schools, a letter from "Shanghai Moms" to the mayor circulated online suggested that the government should only allow non-local children of parents with higher education or high income and with only one child to attend public schools; while, in the case of children of migrant workers who are poor and less well-educated, the government should separate them from local pupils and build migrant schools for them (Lan, 2014). Furthermore, some researchers found that the enrolment of migrant pupils had led to an exodus of local pupils from many public schools to private schools in Shanghai, as parents with financial means or social networks tended to avoid sending their children to public schools containing large numbers of migrant pupils (e.g., Lu, 2013; Qian & Walker, 2015).

Institutional discrimination

In addition to these features in local communities, stigmatisation and stereotypes of rural migrant families exist in the public school system in urban China. As described in Section 2.4, since 2003, the Chinese central government has formulated a series of policies to include migrant pupils in urban public schools, requiring local governments and public schools to ensure that these pupils receive the same treatment in schools as local pupils, and to provide

them with academic support to help them adjust to their new learning environment (State Council, 2005). Still, some studies showed that some migrant pupils were segregated from local pupils in public schools. They were educated in different buildings or classrooms or ignored by their teachers in classes (Southern Metropolis Daily, 2010; Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016). Xiong (2012) particularly pointed out that in many public schools in Shanghai, the education of local and migrant pupils remains separate. School uniforms, teaching facilities, and study and break times vary between local and migrant pupils. Some public schools even use different timetables for migrant and local pupils, limiting social interaction between the two groups.

Furthermore, even though migrant pupils attend public schools, school administrators and teachers do not consider them full school members. In some public schools in Beijing and Shanghai, migrant pupils reported that some teachers ignored them in class and did not give them the support they needed, unlike the treatment of their local peers (Kwong, 2011; Shi, 2005; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016). Instead, teachers often undermined their self-confidence and humiliated them by criticising their rural accent in Chinese or English classes (Kwong, 2011; Shi, 2005). Research also found that migrant pupils reported that their teachers only required them to do heavy work in PE classes, such as carrying heavy sports equipment (Shi, 2005). In addition, outstanding migrant pupils were not getting the credit they deserved. Some participate in local competitions on behalf of their schools, but because they were not local pupils, they had to compete in the name of local pupils, and did not receive the honours they earned (Kwong, 2011). Because of feeling excluded from their schools, some migrant pupils even asked their parents to transfer them out (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011). These findings are consistent with the results of Lan's (2014) study, based on

interviews with 44 migrant households in a migrant community and some teachers and school administrators in Shanghai, which found that local teachers and peers at public middle schools discriminated against migrant pupils by, for example, judging them as dark-skinned, having a rural accent, or studying poorly. The result was that many migrant pupils gave up their studies because they felt that their teachers looked down on them and treated local peers preferentially at school (Lan, 2014).

The views of urban teachers on the social inclusion of migrant pupils

Recent research exploring urban teachers' perceptions of the inclusion of migrant pupils has revealed that inclusive education of migrant pupils remains problematic in urban China (e.g., Liu et al., 2015; Liu & Jacob, 2013; Yiu, 2016). Researchers have noticed that the way urban teachers think about migrant pupils and their learning capability is largely influenced by pupils' family background, such as parental employment and educational background. Liu et al. (2015) conducted a comparative study to explore urban teachers' perceptions of including migrant pupils in both urban public schools and migrant schools. In this research, 215 teachers from 12 urban elementary schools participated in surveys, and seven agreed to do interviews. This research concluded that urban teachers' attitudes to migrant pupils' inclusive education were more negative, as most urban teachers faced various challenges in both urban public schools and migrant schools. The challenges included insufficient staff development to raise teachers' awareness, lower academic achievement levels of migrant pupils, and lack of parents' involvement in migrant pupils' learning (Liu et al., 2015). Furthermore, the findings showed that urban teachers had a less positive perception of the inclusion of migrant pupils, especially regarding pupils' capability, school performance and behaviour (Liu et al., 2015). The findings are consistent with those of Goodburn (2009) and Yiu (2016), indicating that

because many urban public school teachers had low expectations of migrant pupils' learning, some migrant pupils were educated in separate classrooms or ignored by their teachers in classes in urban public schools.

Significantly, some researchers attributed the root cause of migrant pupils' marginalisation primarily to locals' and teachers' prejudice against migrant pupils, a phenomenon existing at a personal level (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Lan, 2014). However, teachers' differential treatment of migrant pupils also exposed institutional discrimination. Based on interview data from public schools in Beijing, Kwong (2011) pointed out that migrant pupils' senior secondary education exclusion in urban China and the exam-oriented school culture in China led to the exclusion of migrant pupils from schooling responsibilities in urban public schools, which provides an insight into why school administrators and public school teachers may bar migrant pupils from the classroom.

Local peer relations

In addition to the differential treatment faced by migrant pupils at public schools, some researchers have noticed that the interaction of local and migrant pupils remains an issue due to the influence of adults (e.g., Lan, 2014; Lu, 2006; Kwong, 2011). There are substantial economic and cultural differences between urban and migrant pupils. In contrast to urban pupils, most migrant pupils from undeveloped rural areas have never learned computer usage or English before entering public schools (Kwong, 2011). Influenced by their parents, teachers and school administrators, many local pupils feel that migrant children are rude, dirty, and slow to learn. They often look down on migrant children from rural areas and do

not play with them in public schools (Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Lu, 2006). Lu (2006) found that some local pupils even imitated teachers in public schools by making fun of migrant pupils' rural accents. In Shanghai and Beijing, some migrant pupils reported that some local pupils only talked to them when they needed help, and many local pupils stopped playing with them after learning that their parents were migrant workers (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Lu, 2006). Researchers also found that few migrant pupils made local friends despite attending public schools. In a survey of about 6,000 migrant parents in Shanghai, only 5% said their children had made friends with local peers (Lu, 2013). This finding is consistent with the results of Sui (2005), who found that none of the migrant pupil participants reported having local friends at school in Beijing.

The above findings show that migrant pupils have experienced marginalisation and discrimination while studying in public schools; however, some empirical studies did find that migrant pupils were treated equally in some urban public primary schools and were well-included in them, without facing marginalisation and discrimination by local teachers and peers (e.g., Chen & Feng, 2019; Hu & West, 2015). Based on a longitudinal survey of 11 public primary schools in Shanghai (using standardised test scores and surveys of teachers, local and migrant pupils, and migrant parents), Chen and Feng (2019) found that migrant pupils and local pupils shared similar perceptions of their schooling experiences; they were equally likely to be selected as group leaders and to be well-received by their teachers. In addition, migrant pupils performed as well as their local peers within the same school in terms of academic results and school performance. However, this quantitative study failed to explain why migrant pupils were successfully included in these public schools; it mainly focused on primary school pupils and did not cover middle school participants.

Based on 53 interviews with principals, teachers, and pupils in grades 5-8 in five public schools (two primary and three middle schools) in two provincial capital cities, Hu and West (2015) found that, although urban public school access was unequal for migrant pupils, they were treated the same as their local peers while studying at public schools. They were well-included in urban public schools without reporting discrimination against them by their teachers and peers. In addition, migrant pupils received the same academic support as their local peers, which Hu and West (2015) attribute to schools' accountability for pupils' academic performance; i.e., China's academic performance-oriented school culture promotes equal treatment of migrant pupils in public schools. However, Hu and West's (2015) study mainly focused on primary school pupils and did not cover enough middle school pupil participants, especially Year 9 migrant pupils. Given the differential senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils in urban China, it is crucial to explore whether migrant pupils in public middle schools are treated the same as their local peers.

In all, findings from previous studies thus far have shown that including migrant pupils in urban public schools is an ongoing issue and challenge. In local communities and public school systems, social discrimination against migrant families is severe at the institutional, societal, and individual levels, affecting migrant pupils' inclusion in public schools. Therefore, further research is needed on the experiences of migrant pupils in urban public schools.

2.5.5 Migrant pupils' return to hometowns for schooling

Due to the restrictions on urban senior secondary education for migrant pupils, along with population control through education in China's megacities since 2014, many migrant pupils have been forced to return to their rural hometowns for education, leading to a series of return-to-rural-hometowns issues (Han & Yu, 2020; Koo et al., 2014; Ling, 2017). This section discusses these issues and challenges faced by migrant pupils.

In addition to the issue of accessing compulsory education, migrant pupils also face even more barriers in accessing senior secondary education and taking the university entrance examination in urban China. Although 80% of migrant children can now enter urban public schools during the compulsory education stage (MOE, 2021), after compulsory education, they can only access vocational senior secondary education rather than academic senior secondary education in urban China because they do not have a local hukou or their parents do not meet the requirements of the points policy. According to 2010 census data, there were 11.8 million high school-age migrant children nationwide (Wu & Zhu, 2016). As mentioned in Section 2.4, although the Chinese central government issued the "Guidelines on the Senior Secondary School and University Entrance Examination for Migrant Children in Destination Cities" in 2012 to allow migrant pupils to attend senior secondary schools and take university entrance exams in destination cities, over half of the provincial governments have implemented this policy by establishing a points-based system dependent on parental status to determine the rights of migrant pupils to academic high school education (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). From a practical point of view, these points-based policies often require migrant parents to meet multiple conditions such as educational level, stable occupation and income, stable place of residence and social security (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). To put it simply,

these points policies are mainly aimed at the better-educated and higher-income groups. For instance, Shanghai determines the entitlement of migrant pupils to access academic senior secondary education primarily based on their parents' educational level: migrant parents must have at least a college diploma to be eligible for evaluation in the points system. However, migrant parents can rarely meet the requirements of the Shanghai points policy because most of them are workers in labour-intensive industries with low educational attainments (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Xu & Drinkers, 2016). Therefore, most migrant pupils are excluded from academic senior secondary education in urban China.

While migrant pupils can access vocational secondary education in urban China, some studies showed that most migrant parents want their children to attend academic senior secondary school after compulsory education (e.g., Qian & Walker, 2015; Xu and He, 2009; Yang, 2009). According to a survey in Shanghai, 75% of migrant parents wanted their children to have the opportunity to attend academic senior secondary school in Shanghai (Qian & Walker, 2015; Yang, 2009). In 2008, Shanghai vocational senior secondary schools only enrolled 1,380 migrant pupils, indicating that these vocational schools are not very attractive to migrant families (Qian & Walker, 2015; Xu & He, 2009). However, suppose that migrant pupils want to progress to an academic senior secondary school. In that case, they must return to the location of their hukou to take the senior secondary school entrance examination before being admitted to the academic senior secondary school in their hometown. Given the different teaching and curriculum systems in urban and rural China, migrant pupils have to transfer to their hometown schools in Year 7 or 8, which is not easy for many migrant families. Many of these families have lived in local cities for many years, maintaining little connection to their rural hometowns. For instance, a survey of nearly 6,000

migrant parents in Shanghai showed that 44.7% had lived in Shanghai for five to ten years, and 27% had lived in Shanghai for more than ten years (Lu, 2013; Qian & Walker, 2015). As a result, migrant parents who want their children to receive senior secondary education in order to go to university face a dilemma in choosing their children's education, rendering them left-behind children if they move to their hometown to study (Han & Yu, 2020).

In addition to restricting urban senior secondary education, population control through education in big cities has forced many migrant children to return to their rural hometowns for education (Han, 2020; Yang, 2017). According to the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission where my study is located, the total number of pupils studying at migrant schools in Shanghai dropped from 170,000 in 2008 to 98,000 in 2015, 62,000 in 2017 and 49,000 in 2019 (Han, 2020).

Research also found that returning to their hometown for education brought a series of issues and challenges to most returning migrant pupils (e.g., Han et al., 2020; Koo et al., 2014; Ling, 2017). Based on interviews with 39 returning migrant pupils (Years 8-9) and their teachers in 12 rural middle schools in Hebei province, Koo et al. (2014) pointed out that these 39 migrant pupils, who lived with their parents and attended public schools in Beijing, had to return to their rural hometowns alone during middle school, which brought them a series of challenges in adapting to rural education and life. Although these returning pupils had achieved good academic performance in Beijing public schools, they were less likely than their rural peers to enter their rural academic high schools in their hometowns due to differences in teaching, learning, and curriculum between their rural hometowns and Beijing. Most returning migrant pupils' academic performance dropped significantly, causing them to lack confidence or give

up studying in rural schools. According to Wei and Shen (2018), the number of left-behind children without parental care in rural China increased from 49.90 million in 2013 to 54.58 million in 2015, a profound social issue in China.

In short, these findings imply that many migrant parents are reluctant to give up the development opportunities formed in big cities over the years, and so send their children back to their household registration places to study alone. This has resulted in the phenomenon of "returning migrant children" who return to their unfamiliar rural hometowns from the cities where they grew up, and the experience of returning has had a significant negative impact on these returning migrant pupils.

2.6 Research gaps and research aims

The preceding sections have reviewed government policies, existing studies and press reports on the education of migrant pupils, indicating that while the Chinese government's education policy reforms over the past two decades have highlighted migrant children's right to education, these children continue to have limited access to public education in urban China. Existing studies have shed light on ongoing issues and challenges in the education of migrant children in China, including conditional rights of access to urban public schools, migrant schools' quality of education and school segregation, the inclusion of migrant pupils in urban public schools, migrant pupils' return to hometowns for schooling, and access to senior secondary education. The implication of these studies for the present study is that educational policy and practice for migrant children have ignored the justice requirement of recognition. Due to institutional barriers and social discrimination, the right of migrant children to

education is only partially recognised; while distribution of educational resources remains unequal between migrants and locals, especially following compulsory education, and thus requires further recognition and redistribution. As will be explained in further detail in Chapter 4, all these issues and challenges surrounding migrant pupils' education in China are closely associated with redistributive, recognitive and representative injustice as identified by Nancy Fraser, which are embedded in systematic barriers, including the national hukou system, the education system, and impractical policies facing migrant children. According to Fraser's recognition concept, the Chinese hukou system and educational policies for migrant children uphold claims of the need for recognitional and redistributive justice, as these systems and policies have created barriers to migrant children's education by distributing educational resources unequally, misrecognising migrant children through stereotyping, and denying them and their families opportunities to speak up (lack of representation).

Informed by the literature review, three essential research gaps have been identified. The first significant research gap is the lack of empirical research on the voices of migrant pupils themselves in urban public middle schools, expressing their views on their educational orientation and schooling. Previous research on the education of migrant children in China suggests that the topic of migrant children's education is a profound social justice issue, within which the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling are largely missing, even though scholars have emphasised the importance of listening to pupils' views in education (e.g., Messiou, 2012; Morgan, 2011). While the points policy was framed into senior secondary education policy for migrant children in urban China, few studies have provided sufficient insights into the aspirations, chances of attaining post-compulsory education, and learning process among

migrant pupils enrolled in urban public middle school; in particular, migrant pupils' views on and experiences of differential senior secondary education policies have received far less attention. Given the high dropout rate of migrant pupils in public middle schools and the separate senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils in urban China (Chen et al., 2020; Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Han, 2020; Wang & Holland, 2011; Wei & Hou, 2010; Wu & Zhang, 2015), in order to better understand and solve the educational issues of migrant pupils after compulsory education, it is crucial to explore and understand the key factors shaping the educational opportunities and everyday experiences of middle school migrant pupils from the perspectives of migrant pupils themselves.

The second significant research gap is the lack of a qualitative approach in exploring and understanding the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils from multiple perspectives: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context. Existing studies on the inclusion of migrant pupils in public schools are mainly quantitative (e.g., Gao et al., 2015; Han, 2007; Lai et al., 2014; Lu & Zhou, 2013; Sun et al., 2020; Xu & Wu, 2016; Yang et al., 2019). These quantitative studies cannot provide further insights beyond restating that the performance and social inclusion of migrant pupils were much better in public schools than in migrant schools. Such statistical data are not surprising because the initial educational resources of migrant schools are very limited. Furthermore, as a research methodology, quantitative research is better able to seek static measurements and statistical generalizability than to generate rich or thick data (Gray, 2018). Quantitative studies do not capture the complexities of schooling, nor can they provide rich and detailed data from multiple perspectives to explain how public schools and teachers offer a better quality of education for

migrant children, or how urban public schooling experiences can promote or hinder migrant pupils' learning access and inclusion.

Although qualitative approaches have been utilised, most studies focused on public primary schools rather than middle schools, and the few studies focusing on urban public middle schools have provided far less satisfactory insights into public schooling practice in multiple aspects regarding the impact of differential high school education policies on migrant pupils (e.g., Goodburn, 2016, 2009; Liu et al., 2015; Liu & Jacob, 2013; Kwong, 2011; Yiu, 2016). Previous studies have suggested that research on the inclusion of migrant pupils in urban public schools remains problematic and controversial. Some researchers pointed out that migrant pupils in urban public schools faced social discrimination from local communities, teachers, and peers (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Sun et al., 2015; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016); while others, in contrast, found that migrant pupils were treated equally in some urban public schools and were well integrated into them, without facing marginalisation and discrimination by local teachers and peers (e.g., Chen & Feng, 2019; Hu & West, 2015). Notably, some research (e.g., Lan, 2014; Sun et al., 2015) ignored the complex educational policy context and systemic educational culture in which public schools were embedded. Yin's (2016) research on migrant pupils' schooling in public middle schools, which includes the policy context in the analysis, suggests that the policy which excluded migrant pupils from academic high school education provides a critical context that may affect migrant pupils' learning. However, informed by the literature review, in order to better understand the key factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils, I argue that, in addition to the policy context, research on the educational experiences of migrant

pupils in public middle schools needs to be re-examined on multiple levels: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context.

The final key gap in the literature is the lack of a theoretical framework for analysis. Providing relevant theories to support findings and arguments is critical for academic research. Although an increasing number of studies focus on the education of migrant children, few researchers have analysed their findings from a theoretical perspective. The implication for this study of the findings of previous studies is that the educational question pertaining to migrant children is a profound social justice issue; but so far, few researchers have applied social justice theory in discussing the education of migrant children in China.

To address these gaps in knowledge, the central aim of this research is to adopt a qualitative case study approach with which to explore the key factors shaping post-compulsory educational opportunities and everyday experiences of migrant pupils in one Shanghai public middle school across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context. Migrant pupils' views are placed at the centre of this inquiry in order to represent and better understand their educational aspirations and the current status of their schooling in one public middle school in Shanghai. As parental influences are key, the research also aims to identify the strategies used by migrant pupils' parents to support their children in pursuing their educational goals under the implementation of a differential senior secondary education policy for migrant children in China. To locate the study of migrant pupils within certain contexts, this research also explores teacher and local pupil perceptions of migrant pupils' inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools, and thus examines the role of the Shanghai public middle schools in shaping migrant pupils'

educational opportunities. Furthermore, this study adopts Nancy Fraser's social justice theory to underpin the discussion of the research findings. Through this approach, more effective educational policies for migrant children could be developed based on the understanding of migrant pupils' own views and experiences.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced contextual knowledge on the educational issues affecting migrant children in China by illustrating the characteristics of the Chinese education system and hukou system, reviewing and analysing government policies together with existing research and press reports on the education of migrant pupils. The implication for this study of the findings of previous studies is that recognising the social conditions of migrant children in urban China is a matter of social justice. Existing studies indicate that the right of migrant children to education is only partially recognised; that educational resources and opportunities remain unequal between migrant children and local urban children, especially following compulsory education, and thus require further recognition and redistribution. Due to the systematic barriers related to the hukou system and separate educational policy for migrant children, migrant pupils continue to face a range of educational inequalities in urban China, including inequality in compulsory education access, migrant schools' quality of education and school segregation, inclusion in urban public schools, senior secondary education access, and return to hometowns for schooling. These issues have a multifaceted impact on the educational prospects and social inclusion of migrant pupils.

Through a review of existing research on the education of migrant children, I argued that, while the points policy was framed within senior secondary education policy for migrant children in urban China, few studies had provided sufficient insight into the chances of attaining post-compulsory education among migrant pupils enrolled in urban public middle school. In particular, to date, the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling have been largely missing from debates on the issues, and from decisions informing policy aimed at improvement. Those young people most directly affected were not being listened to. Therefore, I adopted a research design and analysis which drew primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. The literature helped to formulate my research aims and questions (see Chapter 1 or Chapter 5).

The next chapter provides a review of the relevant international literature on the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from the individual, family, and school-level perspectives.

Chapter 3 Reviewing Relevant Literature

Key Factors Shaping Migrant Pupils' Educational Opportunities

3.1 Introduction

As indicated in the previous chapter, informed by earlier studies on the education of migrant pupils in China, the central aim of this research is to explore the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context, thus providing evidence which might contribute to addressing existing educational inequalities affecting migrant pupils. As I was evaluating the findings from my study, I realised that the themes of the key factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils in relation to educational aspirations, family background, teacher attitudes and expectations, and school performance accountability studies, were not included and covered in the review in Chapter 2. This is why I have decided to add an additional literature review covering these themes emerging from the findings of my own study, which identify the gap in previous research on the education of migrant children in China.

Drawing on international research on the education of migrant/minority children (with reference to international migrations) as an illuminating lens, this Chapter seeks to explore and provide a review of the literature on the key factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils (both internal and international) in relation to educational aspirations, family background, teacher attitudes and expectations, and school performance accountability studies. I understand that there are differences represented by the terms “internal” and

“international” migrants. Nevertheless, some of the lessons or points emerging from research on the education of international migrant pupils are relevant, providing a lens through which to consider the subject of my study. International research has indicated that although internal migration (within the same country) is a phenomenon of a different order of population movement from international migration (across international borders), “internal migrants share many characteristics with international migrants: many move from rural to urban areas, many experience educational, cultural and linguistic discontinuities, and many face the same legal and bureaucratic constraints as international migrants” (Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p.7712; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011; UNESCO, 2020). As my study is located in China, this Chapter makes only selective reference to studies conducted in different national contexts to identify and describe the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from the individual, family, and school-level perspectives.

Drawing on international research, in Section 3.2 I discuss the importance of exploring individuals' educational aspirations when studying/unpacking the influential factors in migrant pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes at the individual and family levels. Also, I explore the vital role of family background in shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities through the concept of family capital (economic, social, and cultural capital). In this study, Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of capital and Coleman's (1988) and Putnam's (2001) concepts of social capital will be used as illuminative lenses through which to understand the role of family capital in the educational opportunities of migrant pupils, which will be introduced in detail in Chapter 4. Section 3.3 explores the key factors influencing migrant pupils' educational opportunities through school-level factors based on international studies. The role of teachers in shaping pupils' educational experiences and outcomes is examined.

Then, I take a closer look at the effects of school performance accountability on pupils and teachers and its ongoing issues.

3.2 Personal and family- level factors

Individual educational aspirations

Individual attitudes and aspirations related to perceptions of educational attainment have been identified and discussed in studies of low-income pupils with migrant and minority ethnic backgrounds in many countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union (e.g., Camilleri et al., 2013; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Friberg, 2019; Gonzales, 2016; Jackson, Jonsson, & Rudolphi, 2012; Jackson, 2012; Lynnebakke & Pastoor, 2020; Oliver & Hughes, 2018; Schleicher, 2015; Salikutluk, 2016; Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014; Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017; Tseng, 2006; Williams & Portman, 2014). These studies consistently showed that migrant and minority ethnic pupils from low-income families exhibited higher educational aspirations than local peers, influenced by their migrant status and socioeconomic status. PISA 2006 data also found that migrant pupils from the 14 OECD countries were more eager than local pupils to pursue higher education and work as professionals or managers (Schleicher, 2015).

Globally, education has been seen as a crucial mechanism for the realising opportunity for all and a primary means of achieving upward social mobility by disadvantaged groups (Brown et al., 2011; OECD, 2004; Sammons et al., 2018; UNESCO, 2020). For many migrant parents, education is a critical pathway to more opportunities and increased economic and social mobility for their children. Specific opportunities can arise from access to higher education, such as the acquisition of qualifications, career options, a high standard of living and

development to one's full potential so as to live a meaningful life (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Gonzales et al., 2015). More importantly, educational attainment has been acknowledged as one of the most critical indicators of migrant pupils' integration into local society (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Regarding the formation of pupils' educational aspirations, research showed that family milieu, parental educational expectations and involvement in education played a leading role in shaping pupils' educational aspirations and choices (Agger et al., 2018; Hoskins & Barker, 2017; Sabic & Jokic, 2021; Simpkins et al., 2015; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Notably, international research, including that in the US, UK and EU, consistently found that many low-income migrant parents had expectations of their children's education and careers that matched or exceeded local parents' expectations (e.g., Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Schleicher, 2015; Williams & Bryan, 2013; Williams & Portman, 2014). For instance, research in the UK showed that most minority ethnic and migrant parents had higher educational expectations for their children than white British parents (Strand, 2007). PISA 2012 also indicated that in Germany, Belgium and Hungary, while migrant pupils did not perform as well as local pupils, and their families were more socioeconomically disadvantaged, their parents, more than local parents, expected their children to receive higher education (Schleicher, 2015).

Additionally, researchers pointed out that parental educational expectations and support were more crucial in fostering disadvantaged pupils' academic and personal development than in the case of their advantaged peers. For example, based on data from a survey of 9,000 socially disadvantaged and advantaged youth in the UK, Schoon, Parsons, and Sacker (2004) concluded that parental support and educational aspirations for their children were critical

catalysts for the academic endeavours of pupils from underprivileged backgrounds, motivating them to achieve academically. Similarly, studies found that some migrant pupils from low-income families benefitted from parents with high educational aspirations who perceived education as a barrier-free pathway to upward mobility (Considine & Zappala, 2002). It is reported that because their parents had high educational expectations and provided commensurate support for their children, low-income migrant and minority ethnic pupils with high educational aspirations performed much better academically than those with low educational aspirations (Schleicher, 2015); some migrant pupils also academically performed better than local peers with similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017). PISA (2012) results also showed that in the United States, Australia and Israel, the share of disadvantaged pupils who were the best performers among all pupils participating in PISA was more significant among migrant pupils than local pupils (Schleicher, 2015).

In the Chinese context, many parents also value education while attaching great importance to academic qualifications as a pivotal pathway to upward social mobility, and therefore have high expectations of their children's education (Koo, 2012; Ming, 2014; Murphy, 2014). This attitude is partly the result of Confucian teaching that emphasises education and its economic benefits. Education is expected to generate positive returns (Koo, 2012). In ancient China, senior officials enjoyed the highest status in the bureaucracy. Ordinary people could enter the bureaucracy by performing well in civil examinations (ibid.). In modern China, especially after market reforms, educational attainments remain an essential indicator of rewarding employment and high income (Koo, 2012; Wu & Treiman, 2007). Studies have shown a positive relationship between educational attainment and income in China since the 1980s (De Brauw & Rozelle, 2008).

Furthermore, especially in urban China, parental involvement in pupil learning, such as supervising homework and sending children to after-school tutoring classes (Kim & Fong, 2013), is common due to school requirements. Such parental involvement contributes to pupils' educational performance and the formation of educational aspirations (Wu et al., 2010). In rural China, some researchers also found that despite low educational attainment and socioeconomic status, rural and migrant parents also showed high educational expectations for their children (e.g., Ming, 2014; Murphy, 2014). Murphy (2014) pointed out that despite their low socioeconomic status, Chinese migrant parents tend to provide their children with indirect academic support, such as relying on social networks for homework support and emphasising the significance of education, thus shaping their children's high educational aspirations.

The above findings suggest that since low-income families see higher education as a means of upward social and economic mobility, they subsequently set high educational expectations for their children, which may promote their children's educational aspirations.

Educational aspirations and attainment

Although numerous studies showed that migrant and minority pupils exhibited high educational aspirations influenced by low social socioeconomic status, several scholars noted that high aspirations did not necessarily predict high achievement, especially for migrant and minority ethnic pupils from families of low socioeconomic status. In other words, focusing on aspirations alone does not guarantee success. Appadurai (2004), for instance, argued that all groups in society had aspirations for the future. Still, the capacity to realise those aspirations depended on different groups' social, cultural and economic resources. Numerous

empirical studies corroborated this claim, showing that, while pupils from families with low socioeconomic status did have high aspirations regarding their education and careers, their schooling experiences and limited access to economic, cultural, and social resources may have hindered them from pursuing their aspirations (e.g., Allen, 2014; Bok, 2010; Brown, 2011; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Koo 2012; Rey et al., 2005; Strand, 2007).

More specifically, Kao and Tienda (1998) used the National Education Longitudinal Study in the United States to analyse how the educational aspirations of youth groups in grades 8 through 12 were formed and maintained. The study found that while Black and Hispanic pupils shared similar higher education aspirations to White pupils, the lower socioeconomic status of their families and lack of information about higher education opportunities made them less likely to maintain and achieve their educational goals. Similarly, in a study examining UK pupils' choices of higher education, Reay et al. (2005) found that despite high university aspirations among minority and working-class pupils, they were often constrained by the degree of choice associated with a lack of school support and limited resources, such as cultural, economic and social capital. In addition, international studies on the education of migrant pupils found that, despite the high aspirations of migrant and minority ethnic pupils, they were overrepresented among early school dropouts due to language barriers and their migrant status plus their lower socioeconomic status (Camilleri etc., 2013; UNESCO, 2018).

In the Chinese context, some studies showed that rural pupils, despite their high educational ambitions, tended to have lower educational attainments than their urban peers (Li, 2015). For example, Li (2015) showed that pupils from poor rural areas are 7 and 11 times less likely to attend college and elite universities than urban peers. Regarding migrant children,

Koo (2012) examined the educational aspirations of migrant families through field interviews with a group of migrant families in Beijing. The study concluded that, although the migrant families surveyed had high educational aspirations for their children, limited family economic resources combined with the hukou system hindered migrant families' aspirations for their children to receive higher education.

According to the results of previous international studies as well as those from China, the educational aspirations of migrant pupils are dependent on an interplay of personal and social structural influences. Educational opportunities for migrant pupils appear to be more challenging than for local peers of the same social class. On the one hand, migrant pupils tend to show higher educational aspirations than their local counterparts, which may increase their motivation to learn. However, on the other hand, factors such as different citizenship status and low family socioeconomic status or lack of other capital may reduce their educational opportunities. In short, studying the educational aspirations of migrant pupils should give us a better understanding of how their economic, social and cultural background shapes their educational opportunities and outcomes, which can ultimately shed light on social structural issues.

Family background undoubtedly contributes to the gap between educational aspirations and outcomes. For pupils from underprivileged families, fulfilling their aspirations can be more complicated and challenging than it is for their peers from advanced families (Armstrong & Crombie, 2000; Trusty, 2002). The following section illustrates, by introducing the concept of family capital, how family background shapes educational opportunities for migrant pupils.

Family background: family capital

Family background plays a crucial role in shaping pupils' educational and life opportunities in all societies. Throughout the world, socioeconomic status, which represents pupils' family background, has been widely recognised as a critical factor influencing pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. Family socioeconomic status (SES) typically includes three dimensions: parents' occupation, educational attainment, and family income (Buchmann, 2002). International reports and studies have found that pupils from low-SES families have less access to education and lower educational outcomes than pupils from high-SES families. For instance, the 2018 PISA results showed that children from high-SES families were three times more likely to complete secondary education than those from low-SES families (UNESCO, 2020). Studies also evidence that low SES and migrant status were often intertwined, affecting migrant pupils' educational opportunities. Despite the high educational aspirations of migrant families, international studies concluded that migrant and minority ethnic pupils were overrepresented among early dropouts due to their migrant status and lower SES (Camilleri et al., 2013; OECD, 2010; UNESCO, 2018). For example, the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report revealed the role of migrant status and SES in hindering educational opportunities for migrant children and youth. The report indicated that in the United States, due to migrant status and low family SES, migrant children from Latin American and Caribbean countries often lag behind their local peers in educational achievement and attainment: 40% of Mexican migrants arriving at age seven did not complete secondary education. Similarly, twice as many migrant youths as local peers in the European Union left school in early 2017 (UNESCO, 2018).

Overall, a large body of research on the effect of family background on individuals' education demonstrated that pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes largely depended on family SES (e.g., Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Harwell et al., 2017; Letourneau et al., 2013). While family SES has always been central to the concept of family background, over time, the concept has expanded to include family “capital” to reflect the complicated and multidimensional ways in which family background shapes individuals' educational opportunities and outcomes. Three forms of capital: cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital, are most commonly called on to account for this phenomenon. In other words, differences in the availability of family economic, cultural and social capital ultimately lead to differences in pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. Scholars have shed light on the significance of the different forms of capital in understanding the role of family background factors in shaping pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Buchmann, 2002; Bodovski, 2010; Coleman, 1988; Heath et al., 2010; Reay et al., 2005). In this study, therefore, the concept of family capital, including cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital, will be used to understand how family background shapes the educational opportunities of migrant pupils in post-compulsory education. Chapter 4 will introduce the concepts of these three forms of capital in detail.

In addition to factors of personal and family circumstances, many studies have highlighted that the context of school profoundly shapes pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. The following sections explore how school factors related to the role of teachers and the academically oriented school culture shape pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes.

3.3 School-Level Factors

This section examines the effect of schooling on educational opportunities, drawing on research conducted in different national contexts. Prior international studies have identified and discussed several school-level factors that shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. In this section, I selectively refer to these school-level factors, which are related to teacher attitudes and expectations as well as to school performance accountability, that are relevant to the findings of this study. I first discuss the role of teachers in shaping pupils' educational experiences and outcomes and the issues involved. Then, I take a closer look at the effects of school performance accountability on pupils and teachers and its ongoing issues.

3.3.1 The role of teachers

Previous studies have established that in addition to school culture and policies, teachers play a pivotal role in shaping the educational opportunities and sense of belonging of migrant pupils (both internal and international) (UNESCO, 2018, 2020). As important early developmental figures in pupils' lives, teachers can unwittingly influence their early success through their values, beliefs and biases, which may manifest positively or negatively (Lumpkin, 2008; Milner & Laughter, 2015; Nye et al., 2004). In particular, teacher attitudes, teacher expectations, and teacher-pupil relationships can significantly influence pupils' educational experiences, aspirations, motivation, potential, social identity, self-esteem, well-being, and thus academic success or failure (Appleton et al., 2008; Black, 2004; Eccles & Roeser, 2011; De Boer et al., 2018; Ferguson, 2003; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000; Johnston et al., 2022; Peterson et al., 2016; Prats et al., 2017; Rubie-Davies, 2010; Turner et al., 2015; Wang et al., 2018,2019). International research on inclusive education has also indicated that

teacher expectations and stereotypes play a role in exacerbating racial/ethnic and class academic achievement gaps (UNESCO, 2020). Despite working in inclusive school settings, some teachers were found to hold negative attitudes towards and stereotypes of minority ethnic and migrant pupils, which affected the learning and social integration of these pupil groups (Botelho et al., 2015; Bottini et al., 2016; Cefni & Cooper, 2010; Çelik & İçduygu, 2019; Glock et al., 2019; Kumar & Hamer, 2013; Lyons et al., 2018; Michael & Frederickson, 2013; Peterson et al., 2016; Prats et al., 2017; Quinn, 2017).

Stereotypes, Teacher Expectations, Teacher Attitudes

Teacher expectations influence teaching behaviour and pupil outcomes. The teacher expectations literature has shown that teachers' expectations of individual pupils' success in the classroom vary, and these beliefs are associated with differential treatment and differential pupil outcomes (e.g., De Boer et al., 2018; Eccles & Roeser; 2011, Peterson et al., 2016; Johnston et al., 2022; Turner et al., 2015; Rubie-Davies, 2007,2010; Wang et al., 2018,2019). Relative to low-expectations pupils, teachers usually offer high-expectations pupils more challenging instruction and response opportunities, manage pupils' behaviour more positively, and interact with them in a more caring and supportive way (Rubie-Davies, 2007,2010). In this sense, when teachers have low expectations of a particular group, this could cause them to provide fewer learning opportunities for groups that may need more. Studies also showed that teachers' implicit prejudices and stereotypes about race and socioeconomic status predict differential teacher expectations of pupils from different racial/ethnic and class groups (e.g., Abbas, 2002; Eccles & Roeser; 2011, Gilborn et al., 2012; Rist, 2000; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006). For example, Gillborn suggests that social stereotypes based on race, ethnicity and class shaped many teachers' perceptions of pupils'

learning potential. Gillborn (1990, p. 26) noted that teachers' expectations were often based on "appropriate pupil behaviour", which integrated concepts of race, class and gender in academic achievement and marginalised misfit pupils. A study examining teachers' perceptions of minority ethnic students' education in 11 UK educational institutions reported similar results, with teachers' perceptions and attitudes of minority ethnic students' education being influenced by socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and gender (Abbas, 2002).

The results of several international studies found similar. For instance, in an observational study on social class factors and academic assessment ability at elementary schools in the United States, Rist (1970) found that primary school teachers' perceptions and expectations of pupil performance were based on pupils' social status, in the belief that pupils with higher social status had higher potential, while those with lower social status were stigmatised regardless of their own choices or will. The findings suggest that working-class pupils with the same measured ability as middle-class pupils are more likely to be assigned to lower streams or tracks during schooling due to teachers' social class stereotypes (Rist, 1970, 2000). Similarly, McKown and Weinstein (2008) noted that teachers had higher expectations of white pupils than of African-American and Latino migrant pupils of similar performance. Using a nationally representative general social survey in the United States, Quinn (2017) likewise found that many teachers held racial attitudes that could be detrimental to pupils' learning and development: in 2014, 31% of teachers from preschool, elementary, and middle schools believed that the racial achievement gap was mainly due to a lack of motivation among Black and African Americans, while 4% said that it was primarily due to Black and African Americans being inherently less capable of learning. In a study of New Zealand school teachers' perceptions of the education of minority pupils, Rubie-Davis et al. (2006) reported similar results, with teachers in their sample accepting the Māori stereotype of

disinterest in education, which resulted in teachers having lower expectations of Māori pupils and making less effort to teach them.

Additionally, the 2018 and 2020 Global Education Monitoring Reports, based on recent international research on inclusive education for migrant children and youth, concluded that stereotypes might shape mainstream teachers' negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours, as stereotypes influenced the information that majority groups gather about minorities and can lead to expectations that perpetuate the stereotypes, in turn producing negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour (UNESCO, 2020). Indeed, numerous empirical studies worldwide identified that minority and migrant pupils were more likely to encounter teacher bias and discrimination in schools than mainstream/local pupils (e.g., Botelho et al., 2015; Bottini et al., 2016; Glock et al., 2019; Prats et al., 2017). For instance, based on results from two public schools, Wright (1986) pointed out that teachers' negative attitudes towards Afro-Caribbean pupils resulted in higher rates of suspension and assignment to lower sets for them than for white pupils. Gillborn (1988) also identified that West Indian pupils experienced criticism and conflict in their relationships with teachers more often than their white peers. Similarly, in an extensive study of Mexican, African, and Asian migrant high school pupils growing up in the United States metropolitan areas, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that most of the pupils in their sample had experienced discrimination at school. In a study exploring the schooling experiences of Black and African-American pupils from 58 high schools in Maryland, Bottini, Bradshaw, and Mendelson (2016) noted that Black and African-American pupil participants reported having fewer supportive school staff relationships and lower levels of teacher care than white peers. Botelho et al. (2015) investigated whether racial discrimination in the form of biased assessments of Year 8 pupils was prevalent in Brazilian schools. They identified that maths

teachers were likelier to give a passing grade to white pupils than to their equally proficient ones and well-behaved black peers. In Germany, Sprietsma's (2009) analysis showed that mainstream teachers often gave lower grades to pupils whose names indicated a minority background. In Spain, secondary teachers' low expectations of migrant pupils affected migrant pupil performance and dropout probability (Prats et al., 2017).

Influence of teachers on pupils

Notably, researchers noted that pupils whose ethnicity, class, and culture were least similar to those of their teachers were vulnerable to teacher attitudes and expectations (Fischer et al., 2020; Rist, 1970,2000; Steele, 2011). For example, in a study examining the relationship between teacher expectations and elementary school pupil achievement in the United States, McKown and Weinstein (2002) found that Black and African American pupil participants were likelier to respond to teachers' low expectations and were more vulnerable to low teacher expectations than mainstream pupils. In addition, differential treatments resulting from teachers' low expectations and stereotypes may significantly affect pupils' self-esteem, learning motivation, behaviour, social identity, social and emotional well-being, and eventual educational outcomes (Abbas, 2002; Gillborn, 1990, 1995; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000; Peterson et al., 2016; Turner et al., 2015; Ready & Wright, 2011; Rubie-Davies, 2007, 2010). Indeed, in a Stanford University study on the effect of stereotype threat on Black and African-American student achievement, Steele and Aronson (1998) found that stereotype threat affected Black and African-American test scores even if rather subtle environmental changes caused it. Wassenberg's (2014) findings showed a similar effect that stereotype threats might lead to achievement gaps in the context of diagnostic testing.

Furthermore, research on underachieving pupils from stigmatised groups suggested that teachers' differential treatment or stereotypes of pupils based on race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status may play a role (Berryman & Bishop, 2006; Egalite et al., 2015; Gershenson, Hart et al., 2017; McKown & Weinstein, 2002; UNESCO, 2020). For example, in a longitudinal analysis of African-American adolescents in Year 7 to Year 9, Wong et al. (2003) identified that pupils who sensed more racial discrimination from teachers and peers showed decreased academic motivation and achievement and increased mental health stress. Vega, Moore, and Miranda (2015) examined Latino migrant and African American pupils' perceptions of barriers to educational achievement in Midwestern school districts. They reported similar results, namely that pupils in their study indicated a need for caring and empathetic teachers, as their teachers provided little support for their learning and did not care about the courses they were teaching. Berryman and Bishop (2006) produced similar results for ethnic minority pupils in New Zealand, whom they found less academically engaged in classrooms due to feeling that their teachers had no expectations of them and did not care about them. In Turkey, Syrian refugee pupils reported that negative stereotypes led to stigma, depression, and alienation from school (Çelik & İçduygu, 2019).

In the Chinese context, as discussed in Section 2.5.4, some studies showed, similarly, that some urban teachers explicitly endorsed some stereotypic beliefs about migrant pupils and that rural migrant pupils had poorer academic and behavioural performance compared to urban pupils (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Liu et al., 2015; Liu & Jacob, 2013). Studies also indicated that urban teachers' negative attitudes toward migrant pupils could lead to differential treatment, such as being educated in different classrooms or ignored by teachers in urban public schools (Goodburn, 2009; Lan, 2014; Yiu, 2016).

Many scholars and researchers claim that increasing diversity in the teacher workforce may reduce teacher bias and stereotypes of pupils, which can positively impact pupils' performance. In particular, same-race/minority teachers would benefit black and minority-ethnic pupils in many contemporaneous aspects, such as academic performance, attendance, and expectations (Dee, 2004, 2005). Indeed, some studies have found, in part, that there are educational benefits when pupils and teachers share the same ethnicity/race, as such teachers can act as advocates, role models, or cultural translators (e.g., Egalite et al., 2015; Gershenson et al., 2018; Holt & Gershenson, 2019; Lindsay & Hart, 2017). For example, Dee (2004) analysed data from more than 23,000 elementary school pupils from the Tennessee STAR Program class-size experiment and found that black students improved in reading and math when assigned to teachers of the same race/ethnicity. Egalite, Kishida, and Winters (2015) tracked more than 2.9 million public school pupils from grades 3-10 in Florida for seven years and concluded that there were educational benefits to assigning black and minority ethnic pupils to racially aligned teachers. They found that black and minority ethnic pupils' reading and math test scores went up marginally when assigned to racially consistent teachers, a result that was most pronounced in primary schools and for pupils labelled 'low performing'. Gershenson et al. (2018) used administrative data of more than 106,000 pupils from grades 3-5 in North Carolina to examine the long-run effects of black and white pupils' exposure to black teachers. They reported similar results, namely that exposure to black teachers enhanced the long-term academic achievement of black pupils. In grades K-3, black pupils randomly assigned to at least one black teacher were nine percentage points more likely to graduate from secondary school and six percentage points more likely to enter college than their peers of the same school and race. No effect on white pupils was found(ibid.).

These findings highlight the importance of teacher-pupil ethnic/racial matching in improving teachers' perceptions of pupils, an essential consequence of shared cultural understanding between teachers and pupils. Same-race/ethnicity teachers may hold systematically higher expectations for same-race pupils' performance, thereby stimulating pupils' motivation to learn and their potential.

The above evidence suggests that teachers' beliefs, expectations, and behaviours interact with pupils' perceptions and behaviours to help perpetuate racial and class academic achievement gaps. Teachers' expectations of pupils' learning and achievement are sometimes based on the pupils' racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic status. Because of these stereotypes, some mainstream teachers tend to have lower expectations of the future academic performance of migrant, minority ethnic and socioeconomically disadvantaged groups, which affects these groups' learning opportunities and outcomes. Furthermore, stereotypes may promote negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in the classroom among mainstream teachers, which can significantly negatively impact pupils' learning motivation, social identity, emotional well-being and achievement from the stigmatised groups. Regarding eliminating or reducing teacher bias and stereotypes, increasing the diversity of the teacher workforce can be seen as a solution, as several studies have shown that teachers assigned to the same ethnicity may positively impact the school performance of minority pupils.

Teacher-pupil relationships and school belonging

OECD (2014) and UNESCO (2020) have consistently pointed to the need for schools to pay close attention to teacher-pupil relationships and school belonging of migrant pupils, advocating that inclusive education of migrant pupils cannot be achieved without teachers

serving as agents of change, armed with the values, attitudes and knowledge that enable each pupil to succeed. Studies have also shown that high expectations and care from teachers are fundamental to transforming the school culture towards mutual respect and active pupil engagement (Hantzopoulos, 2013; Johnston et al., 2022; McMahon & Zyngier, 2009).

Several researchers identified that school leaders and teachers had the power to support marginalised adolescents in various ways to eliminate social prejudice and stereotypes, and that their direct or indirect actions could significantly encourage these pupils' investments in learning (De Jesús & Antrop-González, 2006; St. Mary et al., 2018; Wenzel et al. 2010; Wrigley, 2000). For instance, in an analysis of case study data on the schooling experiences of migrant pupils in 10 UK public schools, Wrigley (2000) found that the empathy of teachers and principals, teachers' caring practices, and stimulating teaching significantly contributed to the academic success and social belonging of migrant pupils. Similarly, in a study of African-American migrant pupils growing up in a western city in the United States, St. Mary et al. (2018) found that although most pupils in their sample reported experiencing racism in local society, this could be offset by their teachers' high expectations of them. Wenzel et al. (2010) examined 358 US middle school pupils in grades 6 to 8 about their perceptions of the schooling experience. They also found that pupils who felt more supported by their teachers were more likely to demonstrate positive academic motivation and social and emotional well-being. These findings are consistent with those of De Jesús and Antrop-González (2006), which showed that low-income Latino American immigrant pupils demonstrated high academic outcomes and motivation due to teachers' high expectations and high-quality teacher-pupil relationships.

The above findings suggest that teachers, as pupils' critical figures in the school, can make a difference in eliminating social prejudice and stereotypes. Through high expectations and genuine care and respect for all pupils, school leaders and teachers can help meet pupils' psychological needs, such as the need for belonging and well-being as well as motivation, and empower pupils to learn, thereby enhancing pupils' performance and achievement (Cajic-Seigneur & Hodgson, 2016).

However, recent international research on high-stakes exams and school accountability showed that academic performance-based school accountability could undermine these good teaching practices. As established in UNESCO's (2020) report on inclusive education, teachers rarely explicitly opposed the idea of inclusive education, but at the same time, they indicated that they were not empowered to overcome certain institutional barriers. Studies noted that competitive pressures to increase productivity, efficiency and system-wide excellence could affect schools, school leaders, teachers, and pupils, especially in high-stakes testing contexts. Researchers argued that competition over school financial resources and pupils had shifted teaching practices from "moral purposes to an emphasis on better school ranking tables and higher test scores. Such reforms led to a moral shift in teaching values from 'good teaching', with the primary focus on every pupil's needs, to 'successful teaching' focused on improving the school's ranking in the "global testing culture" (Sahlberg, 2010; Smith, 2016; Yin, 2020, p.503). Consequently, to maximise school league tables and teacher evaluations, teachers are increasingly pressured to teach in ways which violate their core professional values, in order to focus more on high-achieving rather than disadvantaged and underperforming pupils (Santoro, 2013; Yin, 2020).

The following section illustrates how school accountability based on academic performance promotes or restricts pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes for pupils from diverse groups.

3.3.2 School performance accountability

‘Testing is an enduring feature of modern schooling’ across the globe, driven by an ideology of performance and competition (Sahlberg, 2010; Yin, 2020, p. 518). School systems in many countries increasingly use pupil academic performance for accountability purposes to improve all pupils’ education quality. The concept of academic performance-based accountability, also known as high-stakes testing-based accountability, refers to transforming instructional practices to make schools, teachers and pupils more accountable for their own academic performance (Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008).

In the United States, for example, high-stakes testing and accountability policies are now the norm in the public school system, driven mainly by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) of 2002. NCLBA aims to improve the quality of education for all and reduce racial and class inequalities in education (Au, 2013). It mandates pupils in grades 3 to 12 to pass a standardised test to move up a grade or graduate from high school. The failure to make enough progress prompted states to intervene, such as reducing school funding and closing underperforming schools (Ambrein & Berliner, 2002). In England, pupils' academic prospects are largely determined by the results of the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (GCE "A Levels") and General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams. Schools with high scores are more likely to receive additional government

funding than schools with low scores, while schools with the worst scores could be subject to sanctions such as warnings, reforms and even closure in extreme cases (West, 2010).

Similarly, the Chinese education system features high-stakes examinations (see Section 2.2.1). The academic future of pupils mainly depends on the results of senior secondary school and university entrance exams, while principals' career progression, teacher professional development, and teaching evaluation are also related to pupil academic performance (Gu, 2011; OECD, 2010; Qian & Walker, 2013). Therefore, every school activity in China revolves around better academic performance. In short, the prevailing theory of action behind school performance accountability is that pressure to increase academic results will produce genuine gains in pupil achievement: schools will take more effective approaches, teachers will try harder, and pupils will learn more (Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008).

However, the effects of academic performance-based accountability in the public school system have been highly debated. Proponents argued that high-stakes exams and school accountability were essential to improving pupils' educational outcomes and incentivising school improvement. It can motivate schools and teachers to focus on disadvantaged pupils' learning, thus helping to close class and racial academic achievement gaps (World Bank, 2018). The findings of Fuller and Johnson (2001) and Skrla et al. (2001) support this claim, showing that some demonstration schools in Texas, USA, have made significant academic progress by leveraging high-stakes testing and accountability policies.

Critics argued that because test scores depended largely on factors beyond the school's control, such as socioeconomic status, personal abilities, and parent involvement, using pupil test scores as the basis for rewards and sanctions for schools and teachers was unfair (Castro et al., 2015; Hout & Elliott, 2011; Koretz, 2017; Lee & Wong, 2004; Woessmann, 2016). Others contended that such assessments provided an opportunity to change school practices and teaching values, from "good teaching" that primarily focuses on pupils' needs, to "successful teaching" that focuses on improving school rankings (Santoro, 2011; Smith, 2016; Yin, 2020, p.503). Such reforms would further exacerbate inequalities in schooling, leading schools and teachers to marginalise disadvantaged pupils, such as minority and underperforming pupils (Santoro, 2011; Smith, 2016). These claims are corroborated by UNESCO's (2017) Global Education Monitoring Report on Education Accountability, which suggests that academic performance-based accountability in the school system might encourage efforts to "game the system", increasing the exclusion and marginalisation of underperforming and disadvantaged pupils, including pupils from low socioeconomic, minority, and migrant groups and special needs pupils (UNESCO, 2017, 2020). Notably, this report revealed multiple adverse effects of test-based accountability on pupils, teachers and schools in 11 countries, such as the US, the UK, Australia, Singapore and South Korea. The United States, one of the countries with the most widespread use of high-stakes testing and accountability policies, has conducted the most extensive empirical study of the effects of high-stakes testing-based accountability, and the results are worrying as discussed in the next paragraph.

The effects of academic performance-based accountability

Despite the government's intention to improve educational equity in the United States through high-stakes test accountability (Au, 2013), a large body of empirical research in the United States suggests that implementing high-stakes test accountability policies may be detrimental to the promotion of educational equity. Analysis of high-stakes testing data indicated that high-stakes testing policies failed to narrow the racial and class academic achievement gap in the United States (National Research Council, 2011). Responding to Texas high-stakes testing accountability policies that have had a positive effect on some schools, several researchers noted that evidence of the positive effects of high-stakes testing on equity in Texas was mixed and often conflicting (e.g., Dutro and Valencia, 2004; Haney, 2000; Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008). They found that the successful schools tended to be heterogeneous in Texas and that their success was not easily transferable to other schools without equal resources. That is, where educational resources are unevenly distributed among schools, accountability policies may widen academic achievement gaps by rewarding high-performing, advantaged pupils and their schools and punishing disadvantaged ones. For instance, Haney (2000), based on a review of Texas state-wide testing data, identified pupil dropout, grade retention, English-proficiency exemptions, and the testing exclusion for special education as underlying causes of the apparent increase in overall test scores in Texas.

Notably, numerous empirical studies confirm Haney's (2000) findings that school accountability based on academic achievement produced incentives for schools to "game the system" by excluding many disadvantaged pupils from exams and ultimately from school (e.g., Aronson et al., 2016; Hanushek & Raymond, 2005; Hamilton & Hannaway, 2008; Lee & Wong, 2004; Jacob, 2005; McMurrer, 2007; Rothstein et al., 2008; Smyth, 2008). For

example, Heilig and Darling-Hammond (2008) used quantitative and qualitative approaches to examine longitudinal pupil achievement and progress at elementary and secondary school levels in an urban district in Texas. They found that high-stakes testing accountability policies further increased racial and class inequalities in educational attainment. Sharp increases in Year 9 pupil disappearance and retention were associated with increases in Year 10 test results and related accountability ratings. In the elementary grades, underachieving pupils were disproportionately excluded from participating in the high-stakes testing assessment. In the secondary grades, gaming strategies reduced educational opportunities for Latino and African-American high school pupils (Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008). Similarly, Hanushek and Raymond (2005) investigated the relationship between Year 4 and Year 8 pupils' math tests and state-level accountability policies. They reported that while accountability policies improved state-level achievement gains, they increased the racial academic result gap, given that Latino and African American pupils performed much lower according to the test results than white pupils.

Additionally, there is strong evidence that academic performance-based accountability exposes pupils of colour to negative and inequitable treatment in public schools, for example through increasing repetition and dropout rates for these groups, thereby preventing them from taking tests. To improve school performance, schools and teachers often exclude immigrant and minority ethnic pupils from learning and assessments, resulting in substantial increases in dropout rates among the lowest-ability pupils and immigrant and minority pupils (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008; Jacobs, 2005; Smyth, 2008; Wheelock, 2003). For instance, research by Darling-Hammond (2007) indicated that African American and Latino migrant pupils had disproportionately high dropout rates associated with high-stakes testing. In Texas, starting in Year 9, as many as 50% of African American

and Latino migrant pupils failed to complete their high school studies due to exclusion from high-stakes tests. Wheelock's (2003) research found that in 2002, higher grade repetition and dropout rates for African American and Latino migrant pupils were highly correlated with Massachusetts' high-risk testing policy. The schools with the highest-grade retention and dropout rates saw the most significant test scores increase. In addition, using highly detailed pupil-level data, Figlio and Getzer (2002) showed that Florida public schools systematically assigned pupils from low socioeconomic backgrounds and underperforming pupils into special education categories that were exempt from the accountability system. Moreover, these practices have also been identified in research by Booher-Jennings (2005). They indicated that high grade retention and dropout rates for pupils of colour and recent immigrant pupils were associated with high-stakes school accountability policies.

The above findings suggest that school accountability based on academic achievement has been identified as an educational triage practice that operates at the classroom, institutional, and bureaucratic levels in the United States. In addition, such practices have been identified in many other countries worldwide. In the United Kingdom, for example, based on an ethnographic study of two public schools in England, Gillborn and Youdell (2000) examined the effects of high-stakes testing on school-level practices. They found that to maximise school test scores, White and Middle-class pupils were disproportionately categorised as “safe” and left to succeed, and disproportionately Black and Working-class pupils were classified as “hopeless” and left to fail. Similarly, Marks (2014), based on a case study of primary public schools in England, found that in response to accountability pressures, schools grouped pupils according to the likelihood of meeting assessment targets and provided additional learning resources for those closest to target scores. Rustique-Forrester (2005) noted that England's high-stakes accountability system significantly increased pupil

exclusion rates. The above findings illustrated how high-stakes testing provoked schools to turn to practices of educational triage, affecting educational opportunities for disadvantaged pupils.

Furthermore, school accountability based on academic performance has significantly affected teaching and learning worldwide. Studies have shown that teacher accountability based on pupil test scores is increasingly common in many countries but negatively impacts teaching, learning and equity, promoting an unhealthy competitive environment, reducing teacher motivation, and encouraging test-oriented instruction at the expense of less capable pupils. The 2017/2018 Global Education Monitoring Report summarised a review showing that 20 of 101 education systems used academic performance-based accountability to reward and sanction schools and educators. Evaluations showed either no or marginally positive gains from such policies, especially for underperforming schools (UNESCO, 2017). To avoid sanction, many schools and teachers focused solely on pupils' test results rather than on support for pupils' emotional needs and gave more attention and time to those pupils most likely to succeed (Aronson et al., 2016; Booher-Jennings, 2005; Delgado, 2014; Gorman, 2015; Polesel et al., 2014). For instance, in Texas, USA, high-ability pupils can receive additional support from teachers. Teachers also admitted that they would pay more attention to those pupils who were more likely to meet the standard (UNESCO, 2017). Darling-Hammond (2007) concluded that 78% of teachers in the study felt that high-stakes exams limited their time for building meaningful relationships with pupils. In Australia, three-quarters of teachers interviewed agreed that accountability pressures had led them to teach more test-taking knowledge to help pupils pass exams. In South Korea, to improve school performance, schools narrowed the scope of the curriculum, diverted teaching time from non-exam subjects to examination subjects, and arranged for low-performing pupils to be absent

from tests (UNESCO, 2017). In addition, an analysis of the 2009 PISA data showed that schools with high-stakes testing accountability were more likely to have selective admissions based on pupil achievement: 60 per cent of public schools and 87 per cent of private schools had selective admissions. These findings echo an analysis of 2006 PISA science score data from the United States, Australia, Portugal, and South Korea (including 2003-2012), indicating that achievement performance-based school accountability favoured high-ability and higher socioeconomic status pupils over lower socioeconomic status pupils (Gandara & Randall, 2015; Ladd, 2012; Yi, 2015; UNESCO, 2017).

Overall, high-stakes testing accountability policies are designed to improve all pupils' educational quality and close the racial and class academic achievement gap. However, numerous studies suggest that implementing these policies can be detrimental to the promotion of educational equality. Under the pressure of high-stakes exam responsibilities associated with financial resources, school ranking tables, and teacher assessments, Schools and teachers have adjusted instructional practices in response to accountability pressures in multiple ways, such as excluding underperforming pupils from the testing system, making selective admissions based on merit, providing additional support for pupils who can pass exams, narrowing the curriculum, and introducing test-oriented instruction.

In the Chinese context, empirical studies on the education of migrant children have overlooked the effect of high-stakes exams on migrant pupils' schooling process, despite the predominance of academic performance-oriented culture in the education system (Yiu, 2020). The few studies that situate migrant pupils' schooling in urban public schools suggest that academic performance-oriented culture is a key factor in shaping migrant pupils' learning and

inclusion in urban public schools (e.g., Hu & West, 2015; Yiu, 2016). Based on 53 interviews with principals, teachers, and pupils in grades 5 to 8 in five public schools (two primary and three middle schools) in two provincial capital cities, Hu and West (2015) concluded that exam-oriented education promoted migrant pupils' learning opportunities in urban public schools, as they found that migrant pupils received the same academic support as their local peers due to school and teacher accountability based on academic performance. In contrast, in an analysis of the study of migrant pupils' schooling in two Shanghai public middle schools, Yiu (2016) indicated that high-school entrance exams alongside hukou status played a role in encouraging schools and teachers to ignore migrant pupils' learning.

Based on the above studies, the relationships between exam-oriented education and public school and teachers' investment in migrant pupils' learning development merit systematic attention. In this study, therefore, I will explore the effects of the examination-oriented education system on the educational opportunities of migrant pupils in a Shanghai public middle school. Also, I will examine teachers' role in shaping educational opportunities for migrant pupils and how teachers view educational opportunities and the inclusion of migrant pupils in urban public schools. In Chapter 9, I will discuss how the academic performance-oriented school culture shapes migrant pupils' schooling process and the investment of public schools and teachers in migrant pupils' academic development.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion of the relevant literature on the influential factors in migrant pupils' educational opportunities across the individual, family, and school levels.

These factors include individual educational aspirations, parental expectations and

involvement in education, family background (family capital), teacher attitudes and expectations, and school performance accountability. These characteristics provide essential background and context for my study.

Regarding individuals' educational aspirations and opportunities, I have highlighted and discussed the critical role of family background in the gap between educational aspirations and outcomes. In this study, the concept of family capital, including cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital, is used to understand the complicated and multidimensional ways family background shapes the educational opportunities and outcomes of individual migrant pupils in post-compulsory education. The key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam will be utilised to understand the role of family capital in promoting or restricting the educational opportunities of migrant pupils, which will be introduced in the next chapter.

At the educational institutional level, I stressed that schools were important places for providing migrants with equal educational opportunities and social inclusion. At the same time, however, many international studies showed that schools reproduced rather than challenged social inequality. As critical figures for pupils in the school, teachers could eliminate social prejudice and stereotypes, but they can also perpetuate these discriminations in education, affecting the self-esteem and academic achievement of disadvantaged and minority groups. Social biases and stereotypes may influence teacher attitudes and behaviour, leading to low teacher expectations and affecting pupil achievement and self-esteem. High teacher expectations of pupils can facilitate pupil motivation and potential, whereas low teacher expectations can hinder their learning opportunities, motivation, outcomes and sense

of school belonging. I noted that it is essential for school leaders and teachers to address issues regarding discrimination and stereotypes because they play a critical role in setting the school culture and norms.

The pros and cons of high-stakes testing accountability policies were explored and found that high-stakes testing could be detrimental to the promotion of educational equality. The negative consequences of high-stakes accountability appear to outweigh the benefits, especially for the most disadvantaged schools and pupils. Such a system seems unlikely to promote educational equality but may further marginalise and exclude disadvantaged groups, leading to a game of school versus the system.

International research on the education of migrant and ethnic minority pupils highlighted the societal and structural denigration of low social class pupils' aspirations, illuminating the tension between individuals and social structures constraining disadvantaged pupils' chances to fulfil their aspirations. Focus on aspirations alone does not guarantee success. The impact of social structure, especially social class background and family capital, can have a decisive effect on what is and is not possible for low-income pupils, however high their ambitions. Therefore, this study will use the concept of social justice to analyse the impact of social structure on the educational opportunities of migrant pupils. This will be introduced in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

This study draws primarily upon social justice theory and capital theory as conceptual frameworks. As indicated in Chapter 2, my literature review identified a concerning gap in knowledge: namely that, to date, the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools regarding their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling have been largely missing from debates about the issues, and from decisions informing policy aimed at improvement. Those young people most directly affected were not being listened to. Therefore, I adopted a research design and analysis which drew primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. The underlying view of social justice is based on Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional social justice framework, including redistribution (economic), recognition (cultural), and representation (political), which will be used to help understand and analyse the impact of social structure on the educational opportunities of migrant pupils. The key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam will be utilised as illuminative lenses through which to understand the role of family capital and peer social capital in promoting or restricting the educational opportunities of migrant pupils.

4.2 Nancy Fraser's social justice theory

Fraser's view of social justice is unique in that, rather than focusing solely on a single dimension of social justice such as redistributive justice, recognitional justice or representational justice, Fraser incorporated these three dimensions based on the principle of participation parity, forming a tripartite conceptual framework for social justice.

Fraser (2008) stated that her work on social justice was driven by a liberating focus on uncovering domination in modern society. The strength of Fraser's work is that it does not provide us with a model of an ideal society but with a critical theory that enables us to examine and critique the experiences of those affected by injustice (Fraser, 2012). Naples (Fraser & Naples, 2004) described Fraser's framework as directly related to the Marxist emancipation project but belonging to a more complex and intersecting analysis of advocacy strategies.

Inspired by Fraser's three-dimensional framework of social justice, including redistribution (economic), recognition (cultural), and representation (political), I consider her social justice theory as a productive lens for uncovering and analysing the key factors that facilitate or hinder the educational opportunities of migrant pupils, because the issues and challenges faced by migrant pupils in China, encompassing the hukou system, access to urban public schools, social belonging, and lack of voice and representation, are closely related to redistributive, recognitive and representative justice. That is, Fraser's framework encompassing concepts of redistribution, recognition and representation can comprehensively consider the educational issues faced by migrant pupils in China in connection with economic, social/cultural, and political factors.

I am aware that Fraser's work is predominantly conceptualised in the context of the West and the North; however, the dearth of debate in China on migrant children's education concerning social justice has led me to draw on international scholars who are grappling with issues of social justice. Fraser's approach is a potent tool applicable to the Chinese context because of its openness and flexibility, allowing us to identify and analyse where (in)justice exists in the

education of migrant children from economic, social/cultural, and political dimensions. More importantly, Fraser's framework is about identifying and transforming the multidimensional manifestations of injustice (Bahou, 2015) which, in my research, characterises the education of migrant children in China. This transformation requires the development of participatory, inclusive and empowering schooling and communities for migrants. The implication of previous research on the education of migrant children in China for this study is that ensuring equal educational opportunities for all has always been the principle of China's education policy and the foundation of social justice and equity in China (NPC, 2009). However, existing research as discussed in Chapter 2, has shown that due to institutional barriers and social discrimination, the right of migrant children to education is only partially recognised; that distribution of educational resources remains unequal between migrants and locals, especially following compulsory education, and thus requires further recognition and redistribution.

4.2.1 Redistribution

Historically, social justice claims have largely been associated with distributive (economic) justice, which involves countering inequalities in resources, wealth, income, and improving access to status goods such as educational resources and qualifications (Sandel, 2009). Fraser (2007) was also concerned with socioeconomic structure and class inequalities, noting that not all resources were distributed equally. However, for Fraser, there are other factors in addition to the socio-economic status that deny equal sharing of resources, for example, on the basis of gender. Fraser introduced the principles of redistributive injustice and identified three categories of economic(distributive) injustice:

1. Economic marginalisation (limited to unpopular low-wage jobs or inaccessibility)

2. Exploitation (using the fruits of others' labour for one's own profit)
3. Deprivation (being deprived of an adequate material standard of living)

While these three categories operate in different ways, they all strive to deprive certain social groups of the necessary resources to participate in society on an equal footing with their peers (Fraser, 2007). According to Fraser (2007), economic injustices (class inequality or maldistribution) occur when individuals are prevented from participating fully in society because existing economic structures deprive them of the material resources they need to be equal to other members of society. In other words, redistribution (economic justice) is necessary to counter economic marginalisation, denial of an adequate material standard of living for some sections of society, as well as exploitation. Indeed, the principle of redistributive justice has been a critical factor in establishing education equity and policies in many Western countries, such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States (Keddie, 2012). Their focus, for instance, is on allocating additional educational resources and funds to schools in economically disadvantaged areas and allocating additional material and human resources to economically disadvantaged pupils to support their academic achievement and school participation (Keddie, 2012). Drawing on Fraser and Keddie, for this study, the focus on redistribution is significant in the pursuit of social justice in the education of migrant children because all existing studies on migrant children's education show that migrant schools in urban China are an example and product of unequal distribution of educational resource benefits. As discussed in Chapter 2, migrant schools usually receive fewer resources, resulting in the hiring of less qualified or unqualified teachers and in fewer resources for use per pupil, thereby perpetuating economic and class inequalities.

4.2.2 Recognition

Fraser argued that redistributive justice alone was not enough. Unless all social groups are equally recognised, redistribution may continue to miss segments of society. Therefore, Fraser advocated the need for recognitional justice, particularly concerning social status orders (Fraser, 2005). Fraser's view aligns with those of many critical theorists concerned with recognitional justice (e.g., Honneth, 2001; Taylor, 1992; Young, 1990), who argued that redistribution alone rarely secures justice as certain types of injustice were cultural, not just material in origin. Recognitional justice can be understood as respecting, supporting, and defending differences – those social practices, cultures, and identities not represented by mainstream social norms (Benjamin & Arshad, 2020). Fraser (2008) emphasised that recognition was a matter of social status and identified three categories of cultural (recognitive) injustice:

1. Disrespect (suffering from stigma and hostility due to group identity stereotypes)
2. Non-recognition (cultural invisibility)
3. Misrecognition (being subject to communication patterns that are hostile or alien to one's own)

Furthermore, Fraser (2010) noted that injustice arises when cultural norms which are determined by dominant groups using their cultural (and possibly political and economic) power to assert the primacy of their beliefs and values, denying other groups equal status; cultural injustice arises when hierarchical or institutionalised patterns of cultural values lead to social status inequality or misrecognition and disrespect for specific social groups. In other words, misrecognition and disrespect can arise when the social status order fails to reflect

cultural recognition of all social groups; consequently, equal opportunities for marginalised groups are not guaranteed (Benjamin and Arshad, 2020).

According to Fraser's recognition concept, the Chinese hukou system and educational policies for migrant children uphold claims of the need for recognitional and redistributive justice. The implication for this study of previous research on the education of migrant children in China is that educational policy and practice for migrant children have ignored the justice requirement of recognition and, in particular, have repeatedly failed to recognise the intersection and complexity of migrant families' economic circumstances and social status. In other words, the redistribution dimension alone is insufficient because it fails to consider how disrespect and non-recognition hinder migrant children's educational chances and outcomes. For example, the existence of the hukou system, or the lack of changes to enable migrant families to obtain an urban hukou, indicates a lack of status recognition. Current educational policies in Shanghai, through a process of non-recognition, render invisible or silent the educational needs of migrant pupils, particularly after middle school education. Migrant workers, usually characterised by lower socioeconomic status and a lack of higher education qualifications, are unlikely to obtain an urban hukou under the current hukou reform policy. Therefore, despite a change in hukou, while the migrant worker and family might be able to transfer their rural hukou status, the rights associated with having a Shanghai hukou are not accrued by such a transfer. Consequently, unlike local peers, most migrant children without a local urban hukou still face challenges in seeking to receive equal education in the city (Yang, 2017).

Additionally, non-recognition can ignore group characteristics such as values and aspirations, a neglect which may lead to stereotypes and misrepresentation. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), stereotypes may promote negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in the classroom among mainstream teachers, which can have a significant negative impact on learning motivation, social identity, emotional well-being and achievement of pupils from the stigmatised groups (Egalite, Kishida, and Winters, 2015; Gershenson, Hart, Lindsay, and Papageorge, 2017; UNESCO, 2020). In this study, the marginalisation of migrant pupils based on their hukou status indicates a lack of recognition of these pupils' identity and sense of belonging, causing them to experience discrimination and stereotypes. As shown in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.4), in local communities and public school systems in urban China, stereotypes and stigmatisation of rural migrant families are severe at the individual, institutional, and societal levels. Migrant pupils often experience discrimination by teachers and peers in many urban public schools due to their lower social and socioeconomic status (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Qian and Walker, 2015). Again, Fraser's three dimensions of justice are reflected in the structure and implementation of the hukou system in relation to distribution, recognition and representation.

4.2.3 Representation

Fraser (2008) further noted that it is essential to consider issues of representation and status in addition to those of redistribution and recognition as aspects of justice. There is little meaningful redistribution or recognition without representation. She proposed that marginalised groups' lack of political voice in decision-making could cause a lack of representation, leading in turn to economic and cultural injustice (Fraser, 2008). Fraser's view is consistent with that of Phillips (1997), who focused on representative justice and argued

that these three dimensions of social justice were closely related to each other (Riddell & Weedon, 2017). According to Fraser, political(representative) injustice occurs when some groups or individuals are not given an equal voice in decision-making. Fraser (2008) asserted that political injustices were associated with economic and cultural injustices, which hinder full participation by denying certain groups or individuals an equal voice at decision-making levels, resulting in underrepresentation. In Fraser's view, political injustice is a fundamental issue that needs to be addressed as part of social belonging (Fraser, 2008), as the political dimension operates in conjunction with redistributive and recognitional dimensions, creating a complex web of injustices. As far as the education of migrant pupils is concerned, in school settings, ignoring rural-urban migrants' voices and socioeconomic status can marginalise migrant pupils in the classroom and also in the curriculum.

4.2.4 Participation parity

In Fraser's view, parity of participation is a fundamental route through which to pursue social justice because it informs and shapes how distributive, recognitive and representative justice are approached and understood. According to this “democratic interpretation of the principle of equality of moral values” (Fraser, 2005, p. 73), any practice that deprives social members of the opportunity to participate in social life as peers is unjust. In the words of Fraser (2005):

“Social justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others as full partners in social interaction” (p. 73).

Based on the principle of participatory parity, Fraser (2005) proposed that social justice theories must be three-dimensional, combining the political dimension of representation with the cultural dimension of recognition and the economic dimension of distribution because distribution, recognition and representation interpenetrate. In other words, to achieve social justice with parity of participation, three conditions must be met: fair distribution, recognition, and representation. These three dimensions manifest in how societies ensure that resources are distributed equally, the degree to which different social groups' social status and culture are recognised, and how different groups claim their rights in the political system. Fraser particularly emphasised that social justice for all could be possible when economic structures reflected a fair distribution of resources; when the social status order reflected fair patterns of social and cultural recognition, and institutionalised cultural models of interpretation and evaluation ensured equal opportunities and respect for all; and when the political constitution of society ensured fair representation (Fraser, 2010; Keddie, 2012).

In short, as Fraser (2008) noted, achieving social justice for all with participation parity is possible when the economic (distributive), cultural (recognitional), and political (representative) injustices are redressed simultaneously. She proposed that these three spheres were different but inextricably intertwined, noting that unravelling them is essential for understanding how inequality has been developed and maintained through multiple sources. Therefore, efforts to overcome inequalities and achieve participation parity must address all three dimensions so that marginalisation does not re-emerge in new ways (Bahou, 2015).

Fraser's concept of participatory parity is in line with Article 12 of the United Nations (1989) document, which stipulates that children should be given equal opportunity to express their

views in the decisions that affect their lives. More importantly, Fraser's notion of participatory parity is also in line with the "China Child Development Program (2010-2020; 2021-2030) "formulated by the State Council (2020,2021), which stipulates:

1. The guarantee of children's rights to participate and express themselves and the creation of channels for children's opinions through which to express and attach importance to, listen to, and absorb children's views.
2. Respect for children's rights to participate in their own and family affairs and cultivation of children's awareness of participation. Incorporation of child participation into school.
3. The formulation, implementation and evaluation of legal policies involving children and decision-making on significant issues in which there is a need to hear children's views.
4. Ensuring that children are not discriminated against based on household registration, region, gender, ethnicity, belief, educational status, physical status and family property status. All children must enjoy equal rights and opportunities.
5. Conscientious implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In education, the concept of pupil voices is associated with the decision-making process of pupils' participation in education policy and practice (Flutter, 2007; Morgan, 2011). Veck (2009) notably articulated that ignoring pupil voices was a form of exclusion. This argument is consistent with the work of several researchers who stressed that listening to pupils' voices was the best way to promote inclusive education (Messiou, 2012; Morgan, 2011). As Flutter (2007) and Rudduck and McIntyre (2007) pointed out, teachers' views on pupils' learning capability may change after listening to pupils' voices. In other words, listening to pupils enables teachers to challenge their beliefs about pupils and their learning capabilities.

4.3 The concept of capital

One of the focuses of this study is to explore how different resources at the individual and family levels influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils in post-compulsory education, thus providing significant evidence for tackling existing educational inequalities for migrant pupils. Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of cultural, economic and social capital are utilised as a theoretical lens through which to capture resources available to the family. This study also draws on the work of Robert Putnam (2001) and James Coleman (1988) to understand the role of family and community social capital in shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils.

Bourdieu's capital theory is essential in helping us to understand how capital promotes or hinders the educational and life opportunities of migrant pupils from low-SES families. As a sociologist, Bourdieu's main focus in his study is on the area of social and cultural re/production. The concept of capital occupies a key position in Bourdieu's theoretical construction, which has significantly influenced the field of educational research.

In *Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) divided capital into four forms: (1) Economic capital, including economic resources such as wealth, money, incomes and assets. It may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. (2) Cultural capital, including resources related to individuals' credentials, knowledge, education, skill and attitudes. It may be institutionalised in educational qualifications and convertible into economic capital under certain conditions. (3) Social capital, including resources based on relationships, group memberships and social networks of support and influence. It is related to social connections that can be transformed into economic capital under certain conditions. (4) Symbolic capital,

including resources available to individuals based on honour and reputation. Bourdieu claimed that economic, cultural and social capital could function as symbolic capital if they had practical recognition (Bourdieu, 1986).

The key idea of Bourdieu's capital theory is that all forms of capital (cultural, economic, social and symbolic) can weave into each other albeit with varying degrees of mobility or exchangeability. The relationship between each type of capital operates via three mechanisms: accumulation, convertibility, and exclusion. For example, if people have economic capital (money), they can purchase cultural items like books and computers, which convert their economic capital into cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) emphasised that economic capital is the source of cultural and social capital because the transformation from economic capital to cultural or social capital is more accessible than the reverse transformation. Furthermore, unlike economic capital, which can be obtained instantaneously, the acquisition of cultural capital is a gradual, long-term process in which the family and the education system play an essential role.

4.3.1 Cultural capital

The concept of cultural capital helps us to understand the re/production of educational inequality and the influence of family background on educational opportunities, outcomes and school experiences. In Bourdieu's view, cultural capital plays a crucial role in driving social and educational inequality as it is the collection of symbolic elements obtained through particular social classes, which provides an advantage in achieving a higher social status (1986, p. 50).

According to Bourdieu, “cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the objectified state, in the form of cultural products (books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the realisation or trace of theories; in the embodied state, that is, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (preferences, mannerisms, and language); and in the institutionalised state, a form of objectification (professional qualifications, academic credentials) ” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18). Based on cultural capital, Bourdieu also introduced the concept of habitus, which refers to deep-rooted and transposable dispositions or habits developed due to one’s life experiences, which is the actual embodiment of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu (1993, p. 87) argued that “habitus was a transforming machine that leads us to reproduce the social conditions of our own production, but in a relatively unpredictable way, in such a way that one cannot move simply and mechanically from knowledge of the conditions of production to knowledge of the products”.

In educational practices, Bourdieu's theory demonstrated that social class inequality in educational attainment lies in capital distribution, especially cultural capital distribution. For example, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) used the concept of cultural capital in their educational research to explain the academic success of pupils whose parents have high academic qualifications. They found that the primary reason these pupils succeeded in education was the multiple forms of cultural capital they acquired from their parents and their familiarity with the highbrow culture, which was also learned from their family’s habits. In Bourdieu’s view, families with high cultural capital contribute to educational inequality through the education system. Furthermore, the distribution of social and cultural resources is often reproduced through specific transmission mechanisms. Both family and educational institutions provide such mechanisms and constitute the dominant sites for accumulating and legalising cultural capital. The education system, however, further institutionalises cultural

capital through degrees, making educational attainment determine occupational positions and income, thus legitimising social inequalities.

Additionally, Bourdieu (1986) argued that social, economic and cultural capital is acquired and accumulated through interrelationship with social status. Social relations are the result of interactions between habits and forms of capital within and across different fields.

Educational inequalities arise and persist when more privileged groups can secure access to diverse advanced resources (ibid.). In this sense, the re/production of inequality in education can be understood as a product of the unequal distribution of forms of capital between different social groups and the unequal encounters between middle-class and working-class habits (ibid.).

Numerous empirical studies have supported Bourdieu's arguments, showing that family habits, combined with the cultural, economic, and social capital a family possesses, play a critical role in pupils' educational choices and success. For example, Ball (2003) showed that compared with working-class families, middle-class families usually have more economic, social, and cultural capital, thus enabling their children to receive advanced educational resources and support. In particular, because of insufficient family capital (cultural, social, and economic), working-class pupils tend to opt for more "compromising" educational solutions when making higher education decisions. For instance, they are often integrated into lower-status academic institutions. By contrast, middle-class pupils whose families have significant cultural, social, and economic capital often have access to entry into elite universities and majors (Hoskins & Barker, 2017; Reay et al., 2005; Reay, Crozier, & James, 2011, 2013; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010; Waters & Brooks, 2010). Furthermore, as

discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), studies also indicate that low family capital and migrant status were often intertwined, affecting migrant pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. Despite the high educational aspirations of migrant families, international studies concluded that migrant and minority ethnic pupils were overrepresented among early dropouts due to their migrant status and insufficient family capital (Camilleri et al., 2013; OECD, 2010; UNESCO, 2018).

The above findings suggest that educational success is related to specific capital available to pupils from different social classes. In other words, social class status provides unequal access to capital, generating educational inequality. However, at the same time, it is essential to recognise here that, in addition to class and socioeconomic status, the intersectionality of characteristics such as gender, colour, ethnicity, and disability might also exacerbate educational inequalities and access.

In this study, Bourdieu's concept of capital helps us understand the educational barriers migrant children experience in their schooling. Inspired by Bourdieu's concepts of capital, educational problems faced by migrant children in urban China, such as institutional barriers related to hukou, financial barriers, and social discrimination, could be understood as the manifestations of a lack of capital (cultural, economic and social). As Bourdieu (1986) pointed out, unlike economic capital, which can be obtained instantaneously, the acquisition of cultural capital is a gradual and long-term process in which the family plays a significant role. Given that migrant families generally have neither professional qualifications nor high economic status, they have little capacity to provide their children with sufficient cultural and economic capital to succeed in the current education system, such as attainment of local

hukou and adequate educational resources, including advanced computers, private tutors and leisure activities. Regarding post-compulsory education, migrant pupils' educational chances mainly depend on their parents' educational attainment status, according to the points policy system. Such educational policies could significantly affect migrant pupils' academic and life opportunities. In addition, this study also acknowledges Bourdieu's view that school systems endorse the cultural capital of the middle class or those more powerful through the school ethos and curriculum, thereby leading to social and educational reproduction. The inequity experienced by migrant pupils in China could be said to be significantly associated with the reproduction of social class relationships in the education system because of a lack of cultural capital.

4.3.2 Social capital

The three foundational authors, Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2001), who have contributed significantly to the currency of the concept of social capital, defined the concept in different ways and for different purposes, but all agree that the central idea of social capital is that social networks are valuable assets. The central thesis of social capital can be summed up as “relationships matter”. By building social connections with one another and keeping them going over time, people can work together to achieve things they could not achieve alone (Field, 2003, p.1).

Bourdieu is critical in transforming “social capital from a metaphor to a concept” (Field, 2003, p.14). In this study, his theory helps us to understand the general logic of the accumulation of social capital and interaction with other forms of capital, such as economic and cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 248), social capital refers to “the

aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". In Bourdieu's view, social capital belongs to individuals rather than communities. The value of individuals' social capital depends on the size of their social network and the resources available to people within that network (Bourdieu, 1986). Since Bourdieu thought "social capital was an asset for the privileged, a means of maintaining their superiority, there was no place in his concept for the possibility" that the disadvantaged might also benefit from their social networks (Field, 2003, p. 20). Thus, Coleman (1988) developed the concept of social capital further through his work with families, schools, and communities. Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman (1988) argued that social capital could be a positive social force that promoted educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups such as migrant and minority ethnic groups through families and communities. His interpretation is that "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within that structure" (Coleman, 1994, p. 302). In Coleman's view, social capital is not limited to the privileged but can also convey benefits to disadvantaged groups and communities. Kinship and the family represent a societal keystone. In educational practice, Coleman (1988) indicated that social capital within families and local communities was vital in facilitating educational outcomes for disadvantaged pupils from migrant and minority ethnic backgrounds. In a study of the educational outcomes of minority ethnic pupils in impoverished neighbourhoods in the United States, Coleman (1988) found that strong family and community social capital (community links) was critical in reducing dropouts and improving the performances of disadvantaged pupils regardless of their available economic capital. This finding suggests that

social capital benefits entire communities (schools and communities) irrespective of whether the individuals involved are directly involved in the social network (ibid.).

Coleman's theory provides the main engine for the formation of Putnam's social capital theory. Influenced by Coleman's work, Putnam (1995, p. 67) defined social capital as "features of social organisations, such as networks, trust, and norms, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions". An essential contribution of Putnam is the distinction between two types of social capital: 1) bonding social capital, which refers to people in a similar situation who have close relationships, such as family members, relatives and close friends, relying on trust, familiarity, solidarity and reciprocity; and 2) bridging social capital, which includes more distant ties of similar persons, such as loose friendships and relations between colleagues (Putman, 2001). In Putman's view, bonding social capital is suitable for "getting by", while bridging social capital is essential to "getting ahead" (Putman, 2001). Bridging social capital occurs when people cross social distances to share resources and knowledge. In this sense, bridging social capital can facilitate the dissemination of information and ideas among different groups and stakeholders, which is a vital way to reduce social and educational inequality (Frank et al., 2018; Putnam, 2001).

In addition to bonding and bridging social capital, scholars at the World Bank added the concept of linking social capital to describe the relationship between people or institutions at different levels of social power (Claridge, 2018). According to Woolcock (2001), linking social capital can reach out to different individuals in dissimilar situations, such as those outside the community, thereby enabling members to tap into a broader range of resources available within the community. Therefore, the types of social capital have been

distinguished into bonding, bridging and linking based on the connections between actors located at different levels. Bonding social capital is characterised by close and strong relationships within a homogeneous group; bridging social capital is characterised by relationships between members of different social networks (Putnam, 2001); and linking social capital involves links with those in power, including vertical links with formal institutions (Woolcock, 2001). In educational practice, Putnam (2001) showed that bonding and bridging social capital significantly shaped American pupils' educational attainment. Halpern (2005) supported Putnam's (2001) argument, indicating that social capital within the family, school, and community significantly shaped pupils' educational outcomes and development. Specifically, bridging and linking social capital between schools and communities helped to improve disadvantaged pupils' achievement but also helped to motivate their educational aspirations (Halpern, 2005). Similarly, Allan et al. (2009) showed that linking social capital significantly enabled disadvantaged pupils to find further educational opportunities.

Social capital and migrant families

International research on migrant children highlighted the critical role of bonding and bridging social capital in social integration processes and how close kinship within migrant families provided a good educational orientation for many migrant children (e.g., Noguara, 2004; Reynolds, 2006; Ryabov, 2009; Sime & Fox, 2015). In this study, therefore, the concept of social capital (bridging, bonding and linking) will be used to explore and understand the role of migrant pupils' personal and family circumstances in shaping their educational opportunities in post-compulsory education. Within sociological and educational research, the concepts of social capital developed by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and

Putnam (2000) have been widely used to explore the role of the family and community in migrant and minority ethnic pupils' education and integration (e.g., Evergeti & Zantoni, 2006; Garcia-Reid, 2007; Modood, 2004; Noguera, 2004; Ogden & Mazzucato, 2022; Orellana et al., 2003; Reynolds, 2007; Sime & Fox, 2015). Bourdieu (1986), viewing social capital as a source of social inequality, illustrated how social capital could be transferable to cultural and economic capital and how social advantage and educational privilege grow as a result. Coleman (1988) emphasised the positive role of family and community social capital in promoting educational outcomes for migrant and disadvantaged pupils, and argued that human and economic capital themselves might be irrelevant to pupils' success in education if social capital were absent. Finally, Putnam (2000) also demonstrated the importance of social capital in the education of disadvantaged groups and further distinguished the types of social capital between bonding and bridging social capital to reveal disadvantaged groups' lack of access to productive social capital.

However, critics have pointed out that social structure and inequality are relatively marginal in Coleman's and Putnam's analyses (Dika & Singh, 2002). Furthermore, the social networks of children and adolescents are largely absent from the social capital theories of the three foundational authors discussed above (Jørgensen, 2017). Scholars were critical that social capital literature often viewed children and young people as passive recipients of social capital from families and communities rather than as creators or maintainers of their own social capital, thus ignoring their role in accumulating social capital (Jørgensen, 2017; Schaefer McDaniel, 2004). This argument is supported by several researchers who have found that migrant children and youth could facilitate the process of family social capital accumulation through their education, which could be perceived as a vital bridge between migrant families and the local community (e.g., Devine, 2009; Evergeti & Zantoni, 2006;

Orellana et al., 2003; Sime & Fox, 2015). Devine (2009), for example, in a study analysing the schooling and living of migrant pupils in Irish schools, found that in coping with family difficulties, migrant pupils contribute positively to family coping strategies, expanding their parents' social networks and teaching them English when needed. These findings suggest that migrant pupils are not only recipients of parents' social and cultural capital but also are active agents of such capital.

4.3.3 Peer social capital

Studies have identified the significance of peer relationships for pupils. In adolescence, peers, as significant others, play a pivotal role in pupil educational transitions, performance, emotional well-being and sense of belonging (Collins & Laursen, 2004; Keay et al., 2015; Pernice-Duca, 2010; Smith & Skrbiš, 2016; Ryan, 2000; Ryan et al., 2019). In particular, peers are a significant source of emotional support for migrant pupils (Pernice-Duca, 2010). In addition to helping them navigate the challenges and changes of adolescence, peer support provides academic motivation and belonging for pupils (Ogden & Mazzucato, 2022; Ryan et al., 2019). Studies further showed that the values and behaviours of peers could influence pupils' educational participation and performance. In particular, pupils would adopt and be motivated by their classmates' academic values and behaviours (ibid.). These mechanisms also greatly influence the academic outcomes of migrant pupils (Ogden & Mazzucato, 2022). For example, Lee and Lam (2016) examined the role of peer social capital among socioeconomically disadvantaged migrant youth in the United States. The result of the study illustrated the importance of peer and interpersonal trust in shaping educational outcomes for migrant youth in ways that transcend socioeconomic boundaries.

Recognising the significant role of peers and friends in pupils' lives, researchers called for greater inclusion of peer networks in social capital research (e.g., Jørgensen, 2017; Weller, 2010). Several studies have identified pupils' peer networks as a source of social capital (Chesters & Smith, 2015; Holland et al., 2007; Holland, 2008; Ogden & Mazzucato, 2022). In educational research, researchers have acknowledged peer networks and friends to some extent, "illustrated by the use of peer social capital as an analytical tool. The central premise behind the concept of peer social capital is that pupils' school performance, attitudes, emotional well-being and outcomes are influenced by their peers"(Jørgensen, 2017, p.568). For instance, Holland's (2008) study of secondary school transitions among UK pupils found that, in addition to relying on their parents' social and cultural capital, pupils were able to draw on their peers' social capital to help them through this challenging transition. The findings indicate that social networks of school peers and friends are critical for providing coping support and resources during secondary school transitions. When pupils move with friends and peers from their own schools, this foundation of supportive bonds enables them to form new friendships as they move, helping them adjust to their new school life while reducing school transition challenges.

Furthermore, international research on the education of migrant pupils showed that peer networks and friendships were a valuable source of social capital, providing resources and support to migrant pupils as they encounter learning and life challenges (e.g., Devine, 2009; Jørgensen, 2017; Lee & Lam, 2016; Ogden & Marzacotto, 2022; Ream & Rumberger, 2008; UNESCO, 2020). Studies also found that pupils with peers who had dropped out of school could be negatively affected in terms of attitudes and achievement, whereas those with peers who followed school norms tended to reach higher levels of achievement (Devine, 2009; Jørgensen, 2017; Ream & Rumberger, 2008). For example, Ream and Rumberger (2008)

used a national longitudinal database to analyse the educational status of Mexican-American adolescents in the United States. They found that school-oriented friendship networks could potentially reduce dropout rates among Mexican-American adolescents. Also, participating in extracurricular activities at school helped in building friendships with peers who valued educational achievement, thus reducing the likelihood that pupils would be influenced by their dropout peers. On the other hand, Mexican-American pupils' limited economic resources made them less likely than local peers to engage in "school activities, so their access to such educationally beneficial forms of social capital was limited "(Ream & Rumberger, 2008, p. 124).

These findings illustrate the link between different capital types and unequal access issues. Similarly, Jorgensen (2017) conducted ethnographic research to explore friendship and peer networks among migrant youth in two secondary schools in England and Spain, focusing on their composition and outcomes. The study found that the migrant pupils identified friends and peers as the most critical influence on their studies and daily lives. Given the crucial role of friends in pupils' lives, Jorgensen (2017) pointed out that studies of the peer social capital of migrant pupils should examine both barriers and facilitators to friendships in relation to school practices. Moreover, research by Ryabov (2009) showed that migrant youth in the United States were more likely to benefit from bonding social networks (relatives, migrant groups) than from their local peers. These findings highlight the importance of peer social capital and bonding social capital in shaping migrant pupils' educational outcomes and socio-emotional well-being, supporting the increased attention given to peer and family social capital.

In short, international research has revealed that economic, cultural and social capital constitute the family's capital, profoundly shaping pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has presented and discussed the conceptual framework of this study, which draws on Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation), alongside the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, thus providing an analytical lens through which to discuss the main findings and themes that emerged regarding the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

Drawing on Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice, within the focus of this study the three dimensions of redistribution, recognition and representation are all crucial for parity of participation, which I argue is the key to addressing the issue of education for migrant pupils, through the removal of structural barriers that obstruct better participation parity.

Specifically, the distribution of educational resources marks the extent to which migrant pupils can access education in policy and practice. Within this criterion, there needs to be recognition of migrant groups' current unequal social status as urban groups in urban China.

To avoid non-recognition and discrimination, policies and practices need to ensure that migrant children and youth have access to and engagement in educational experiences that equal those of their local peers. In addition, to prevent underrepresentation and misrepresentation, political barriers to participatory parity must be avoided, an example being

a decision-making process that excludes migrant pupils and their parents from exercising their educational rights.

International research has revealed that economic, cultural and social capital constitute the family's capital, profoundly shaping pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. Under the guidance of capital theory and based on the existing empirical research results, this research will analyse the relationship between the family capital (cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital) of migrant pupils and their educational chances. Bourdieu's capital theory helps us to understand how capital promotes or hinders migrant pupils' educational and life opportunities in urban China. Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2001) also help us to understand the role of social capital within the family and schools in shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design adopted for the study, building on the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam alongside social justice theories, namely that of the work of Nancy Fraser. It explains the decision to develop a qualitative case study design, applied to one public middle school in Shanghai, China, and the considerations which led to the foregrounding of migrant pupils' voices within this case study. It then describes the process of recruiting the school and participants for this study, sets out the rationale for the use of semi-structured interviews as the study's primary data collection method, and also explains how and why other methods of data collection were utilised, such as informal conversations, informal observations and desk-based documentary analysis. Finally, it discusses trustworthiness, reflexivity and the ethical issues that arose throughout this study.

Previous research on the education of migrant children in China implies that the topic of migrant children's education is a profound social justice issue, within which the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling are largely missing. I wanted to explore and understand the key factors shaping the educational opportunities and everyday experiences of migrant pupils from the perspectives of migrant pupils themselves. While interviews with migrant pupils' parents, local pupils, teachers and the head teacher are also included to better understand the context of schooling and family circumstances and to uncover possible contradictions in perspectives and explanations, migrant pupils take centre stage in data collection, analysis and discussion. The data collected from the interviews were analysed through a thematic analysis approach influenced by Fraser's concept of social justice.

Section 5.2 below revisits this study's aim and research questions as identified in Chapter 1.

5.2 Research aims and research questions

In Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I reviewed contextual issues, empirical research and the concepts relevant to my inquiry. The central aim of this research is to explore the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context, thus providing evidence which might contribute to addressing existing educational inequalities affecting migrant pupils. The study aims to provide discussion informed by the lived experiences of migrant pupils and their families, teaching staff, educational institutions, and policy contexts in this process. The research questions are formulated as shown below.

Q1. How do personal and family circumstances shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and experiences?

Sub-questions

- *What are the educational aspirations of migrant pupils, and how are these enabled or hindered?*
- *How do the parents of migrant pupils support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations?*

Q2. How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils?

Sub-questions

- *How do migrant pupils perceive their experiences in terms of learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and local communities?*
- *How do teachers and local pupils perceive the inclusion of migrant pupils at school?*

Q3. Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

It should be noted that the above research questions evolved from my original research proposal, which did not include interviews with parents. But as I embarked on fieldwork, after talking to two migrant parents in the local community and conducting interviews with migrant pupils in the participating school, I became aware of the importance of speaking with parents. After piloting and reflection, the research design was expanded to hear from parents of migrant pupils. The purpose of the expanded scope was to allow me, by interviewing parents, to obtain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities at the family level.

5.3 Epistemology: through the lens of social justice

As the policy and literature review has shown, there are systems inequalities which are impacting on the lives of migrant pupils and their progression from school to university, yet the views and perspectives of migrant pupils are largely missing. The research design and analysis adopted in this study are drawn primarily from a social justice perspective and the work of Nancy Fraser in particular, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils at the centre of the inquiry while also seeking the views of migrant parents, teaching staff and local pupils. This will be informed by a critical social constructivist epistemology (also known as interpretivism), in which meaning is constructed from the experiences of research participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Social constructivism enables the researcher to understand the

experiences and perspectives of participants, focusing on the specific contexts in which they work, live and study. This builds an understanding of how migrant pupils' individual and family circumstances along with social and educational systems shape their educational opportunities, aspirations and everyday experiences (Creswell, 2013).

As Fraser (2008) noted, overcoming any injustices requires social arrangements which allow all to participate as peers in our social life. Inspired by Fraser's notion of participatory parity, I consider that the right to speak and be heard at the decision-making level is critical in any conception of justice. The lack of representation at the decision-making level will lead some groups to encounter many injustice issues. Drawing on this fundamental point, I consider that to address the issue of educational justice for migrant children in China, the voices of migrant groups and their communities must be heard at the decision-making level. The place of voice is also essential for engaging in culturally responsive teaching. Through a lens of social justice, therefore, as family capital has a key role to play, the study also aims to identify the strategies migrant pupils' parents have used to support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations, under implementation of a separate senior secondary education policy for migrant children in China. To locate the study of migrant pupils within its context, this research explores teacher and local pupil perceptions of migrant pupils' inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools. It is hoped that, through this multiple-perspective approach, this study can identify key steps that will need to be taken to improve opportunities for migrant pupils in China.

5.4 Qualitative research

This study adopts a qualitative research design. The evolving definition of qualitative research conveys its changing nature, from social construction to interpretivism to social justice (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research considers that the social world can be interpreted and understood through learning about social groups or individuals' perspectives, experiences, and cultural histories. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.3), qualitative research transforms the world by involving "a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices turn the world into various representations, including interviews, conversations, field notes, recordings, etc." Creswell (2013, p. 44) further states that "qualitative research begins with interpretative/theoretical frameworks to inform the study of research questions that address the meaning that social groups or individuals ascribe to a social issue. To investigate this issue, researchers employ an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, collecting data in a natural setting sensitive to the individuals and places under study and data analysis that is both deductive and inductive and establishes themes or patterns." The final research report involves participant voices, "complex description and interpretation of the issue, researchers' reflexivity and its contribution to the literature, or a call for change" (Creswell, 2013, p. 44).

Inspired by the definitions above, I consider qualitative research ideal for identifying factors and generating new in-depth data relevant to social groups or individuals who have been previously understudied or ignored. Qualitative research as social inquiry provides insights into social issues and can gain an in-depth understanding of underlying views, reasons and motivations (Ritchie et al., 2014). More importantly for my research, it gives overlooked or marginalised groups a chance to have a voice, to be recognised and represented. Given that

the topic of migrant children' education is a profound social justice issue in which the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools about their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling are significantly missing, a qualitative research design which provides opportunities to sensitively surface the views and voices of migrant pupils in my view is appropriate for my inquiry.

Quantitative research, such as survey research, is unsuitable for my research for several reasons. First, it cannot generate rich, detailed and complex data but is better able to evidence a general phenomenon, seeking static measurements and statistical generalisability (Gray, 2018). The research topic of education of migrant children and youth in urban China, however, is a complex issue involving economic, cultural and political aspects. This complexity can be better explored and understood by listening sensitively to participants' perspectives and experiences to gain rich or thick data, which entails the use of methods such as interviews (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Second, while quantitative research is considered cost-effective for larger samples and can effectively investigate causal relationships between variables (Gray, 2018), it also gives few opportunities for participant expression and interpretation. For this study, I am seeking a better understanding of and exploring the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities. Central to the inquiry is the principle of emphasising the voices of migrant pupils, while the views of migrant parents, teachers and local pupils are also necessarily sought. Finally, the researcher's role in quantitative research is often authoritative and disconnected from the participants under study (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In this study, however, to effectively explore and understand the perspectives and experiences of participants, I needed to listen to their real concerns within balanced power relations, which required me to reflect on my role in the research process.

5.4.1 Adopting a single case study approach

There are a variety of approaches related to qualitative research, and I chose the single-case study approach, in one urban public middle school as the most appropriate way to explore the complexities of educational opportunities for migrant pupils. According to Yin (2003) and Stake (2013), a case study can select a specific instance designed to explain a more general phenomenon, which enables penetrating methodology to explore complex issues in the real social world while capturing rich data to gain insight into bounded units (Yin, 2003; Stake, 2013). In particular, the single case study allows the researcher to focus on an issue within a bounded context which to study this issue by employing multiple methods of data collection (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The advantage of using a single case study in educational research is that it can enhance our understanding of individuals, communities, and contexts by gathering multiple sources of evidence (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013). Gathering multiple sources of evidence in the context of the research participants' schooling enables the research to maintain a focus of length and breadth, thereby identifying the case's underlying social structure and broader cultural aspects. In light of these advantages, one public middle school in Shanghai, China, was selected as a case study to explore the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities through interviews, informal conversations, observations, and documentary analysis. In-depth case studies require the stories of various research participants to elicit different perspectives. The single case study approach in the school setting has enabled me to recruit diverse research participants, including migrant pupils, parents of migrant pupils, local pupils, and teaching staff all within one context. This allows me to explore/identify the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils from multiple angles: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context, thus providing multi-sourced

evidence which enables a thoughtful discussion of the interactive role played by individuals, families, educational institutions, and policy contexts in this process.

In education research, the qualitative single-case study approach has been successfully employed by researchers to investigate pupils' experiences of schooling in specific school contexts in order to explore social justice issues in education faced by disadvantaged pupils (e.g., Hart, 2012; Keddie, 2012; Romanowski, 2003; Welton et al., 2015; Youdell, 2006). All these case studies found that educational inclusion and exclusion could be formed through the daily practice of the school. Youdell (2006), who conducted her research in a south London school, particularly noted that schools not only provided a formal educational context but also revealed the complexity of social issues. In other words, the school context is an informal social context that can manifest various culturally, politically and economically related social structural issues. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.1), some empirical studies, such as Bourdieu's early work on the Sociology of Education, shed light on the role of schools in the reproduction of social, economic, and cultural relations. His argument has been extended by some researchers concerned with social justice in the education of disadvantaged pupils, such as Keddie's (2012) case study on social justice aspects of refugee pupils' education at an Australian school and Hart's (2012) case study on educational aspirations of pupils at a secondary school in England. Their findings imply that schooling and the ethos of individual schools play a significant role in shaping and reflecting economic, social, cultural and political social justice issues.

Therefore, informed by the above methodological concepts and empirical case studies in the context of schools, I consider that the single-case study approach in the school setting is an effective and practical way to achieve the aims of this study, which is to explore the key

factors shaping migrant pupils' high school educational opportunities in China from multiple perspectives. In this manner, the data can be understood more comprehensively, clearly and deeply because the data is collected from different stakeholders with enriched experiences (migrant pupils, parents of migrant pupils, local pupils, teachers, and the head teacher), providing insight into the educational issues of migrant pupils and the dynamics that come into play in a public middle school context.

Limitations of a single case study

It is also essential to recognise the limitations of a single case study, the use of which means that the research is based on a small sample. Indeed, pupil participation from one school cannot represent the entire population of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools. Each public middle school will have its own distinct practices and attitudes towards the inclusion of migrant children in urban public schools. Another limitation of this study could be that it did not pay sufficient attention to the various forms of intersectionality of characteristics. However, one of the reasons for this was that no specific examples emerged, such as links with gender differences. During the research process, I particularly reflected on issues of gender, but nothing significant was raised in terms of gender differences during interviews and analyses. For instance, there were no significant variations regarding pupils' aspirations, parents' expectations for their children, or teachers' attitudes and expectations that were due to gender differences. Finally, the single case study approach has been criticised as regards its validity and generalisability (Stake, 2013). However, since this qualitative research aims to obtain a deeper understanding and exploration of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities and their everyday experience and views in one school, on which no agreement can be established as to what really exists, the validity and generalisability are not as vitally important as they are in quantitative research (Yin, 2003).

Additionally, a single case study approach allows the researcher to focus on a specific issue and then choose one bounded case to explain this issue (Creswell & Poth, 2018), thus meeting the criteria of authenticity and trustworthiness.

5.5 Recruiting and participants

As noted in the introduction to the thesis, the rationale for focusing the study on Shanghai was based on its unique position as China's most developed city, having the largest internal migrant population. As mentioned, the city is a recognised national leader in migrant children's education, but also faces the greatest challenges in their inclusion in public senior secondary schools since 2014, when population control was implemented in megacities. The city therefore offers a uniquely interesting context within which to study a widespread and deeply concerning phenomenon. Based on the research questions of this study, my goal was to locate a Shanghai public middle school with a diverse pupil demographic of migrants and locals for the case study. In addition, I was interested in interviewing migrant pupils, local pupils, teachers and the head teacher at the study school.

5.5.1 The participating school

The school selected is a typical public middle school in Shanghai, offering four grades from Year 6 to Year 9. While most provinces in China implement a 6+3 compulsory education system, meaning pupils spend six years in primary school and three years in middle school, Shanghai implements a 5+4 system. The school is located in the central urban area of Shanghai, affiliated with District A (so designated for anonymity). District A is located in areas with a diverse mix of internal migrants and locals, characterised by frequent population mobility and commercial prosperity, but also by old residential sections. The area of the

whole district is 20.52 square kilometres. As of 2020, the resident population of District A was about 662,030, of which 178,300, or 27% of the district's population, were internal migrants without local hukou (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021). There are 36 middle schools in District A. The high school enrolment rate is 93.2% (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2021).

It should be explained that there are no official statistics on the socioeconomic status and demographics of the population of schools and neighbourhoods in District A. However, according to the head teacher, the school has an average reputation for academic quality. The pupils, usually from the neighbourhood, are largely migrant and largely working-class, but interspersed with middle-class families as well. For example, teachers' agents who live in the area are generally from middle-class neighbourhoods, and pupils are mainly working class, but there is a mixture. In 2019, my fieldwork year, there were about 67 teachers and 387 pupils, of whom about 50% were migrant pupils. Most migrant pupils in the participating school or other schools in District A were born or raised in Shanghai, but Shanghai was not deemed their local hukou. All the migrant pupils could be characterised as working-class, with parents who had moved from rural China and were engaged in manual occupations; some were self-employed. The parents of most migrant pupils had worked and lived in Shanghai for a long time, ranging from 10 to 20 years. Most of them were manual workers without higher education qualifications.

I chose this particular public middle school for practical reasons of access and depth. The school has both migrant and local pupils, which allowed me to recruit enough migrant pupil participants while exploring a school's broader approach to education equity and inclusion. In addition, migrant pupils in the participating school generally grew up in Shanghai and were

going through the entire public education process in Shanghai, which met my criteria for participants. More importantly, the head teacher of the participating school was interested in my research and agreed to allow me to conduct fieldwork at his school because he also wanted to better understand and manage the diversity of pupils in his school. This head teacher had been recently appointed to the participating school from another school in the same district.

Gaining access to the school

In China, there is no publicly available official information on the number of migrant pupils enrolled in each public school. Thus, through my personal network, I recruited/was able to gain access to the participating school with the help of Professor Chen Yuanyuan from the Institute for Advanced Study of Shanghai University of Finance and Economics. Professor Chen has been engaged in quantitative research on the education of migrant children in Shanghai for a long time, mainly focusing on primary school migrant pupils.

I first met Professor Chen on WeChat (a Chinese communications platform) in March 2018, where I presented my research proposal and received some advice from her. Regarding the selection of migrant pupil participants, in addition to my initial plan of recruiting Year 9 migrant pupils, Professor Chen suggested that Year 7 migrant pupils were also a group worth researching because many migrant pupils left Shanghai after Year 7. In addition, she recommended that the best time to conduct fieldwork at the school was the spring semester (March-June), as she found that many returning migrant pupils usually complete their entire school year in Shanghai. At that meeting, Professor Chen confirmed that she would use her network to help me find a suitable Shanghai public middle school with sufficient migrant pupils to serve as my research school. She would also share my research questions with some

middle school head teachers in Shanghai at the Shanghai Migrant Children Education Annual Conference held by her research institution, to see if they were interested. Then in July 2018, Professor Chen informed me via WeChat that the head teacher of a public middle school whom she knew had expressed interest in my research and might allow me to conduct fieldwork at his school.

In August 2018, I conducted a preliminary field trip in Shanghai. I visited Professor Chen, made initial contacts with the head teacher of the selected school, and then toured and explored the school's location and community. Because the school was on summer vacation, Professor Chen helped me to arrange a WeChat meeting with the head teacher of the participating school in her office. Before the meeting, I sent the head teacher an invitation letter and information sheet (see Appendix 1) outlining the research aims and the number of participants I was interested in interviewing. At that meeting, the head teacher was interested in my research questions and agreed to allow me to conduct a case study at his school in the spring semester of 2019 (March-May). I obtained the participating school's information through that meeting, including pupil demographics, location and reputation. The next day, I visited the school and the surrounding area to get acquainted with the research site. Although the school building was closed during the summer, I managed to talk to the doorman, through whom I learned that the school's pupils comprised both migrants and locals and usually lived nearby. I visited the neighbourhoods near the school and found that many small grocery stores were run by migrants. At the back of each block were many of the oldest tiny dwellings, inhabited by many migrants and local elderly. At the same time, just two blocks away, stood many modern office buildings. Overall, schools are located in areas with a diverse mix of migrants and locals. After visiting and exploring the school site and nearby

neighbourhoods, combined with the information obtained from the head teacher and Professor Chen, I thought that this was a public middle school suitable for my case study.

Fieldwork

As will be discussed in detail in Section 5.10 Ethics, before data collection, informed consent was gained from all potential research participants(see Appendix 2). In December 2018, after getting permission from the Ethics Committee of Moray House School of Education in the University of Edinburgh to carry out this research, I contacted the head teacher of the school selected to confirm the fieldwork timing from March 2009 to May 2019. The head teacher formally agreed to my request to conduct a case study at his school and accepted my invitation to an interview. Following the code of ethics provided by the Ethics Committee of Moray House School of Education at the University of Edinburgh, I obtained written consent from the head teacher of the participating school in advance of the fieldwork.

Fieldwork at the public middle school was carried out over three months, from March to May 2019, including semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and classroom observations. I arrived in Shanghai in late February and arranged accommodation near the participating school to better understand my participants' context. Over time, my presence in the neighbourhood allowed me to learn about the local community.

Before the formal study of the participating school, a one-week pilot study in Shanghai was conducted to become familiar with the research site and the school lives of pupils and teachers and gain insight into the potential challenges of conducting the formal research. In that pilot study, I used my interview guidelines practice to interview two local pupils from public middle schools, one public middle school teacher familiar with the schooling of

migrant pupils, and two migrant parents. All interviews and conversations were face-to-face, except for one teacher (a college classmate of mine who worked in a public middle school in another city in China) who was interviewed online. I found these participants from among my friends, neighbours, and the local community. Following the pilot study, in addition to gaining a clearer idea of how to research pupils, for example through effective means of communication, and a preliminary understanding of teachers' views on the schooling of migrant pupils, I also became aware of migrant parents' complicated choices when arranging high school education for their children. Therefore, it was agreed with my supervisors that we needed to include the parents of migrant pupils among my research participants.

During the three-month fieldwork, under the arrangement and by permission of the head teacher, as a researcher I was allowed to conduct research in the school from noon every school day, as the school's teaching and learning in the morning were very busy and intensive. To allow me to become acquainted and build a rapport with pupil participants, the head teacher also let me audit/participate in his Year 7 classes three times during the first month of the fieldwork. This access also enabled me to observe daily interactions among migrant pupils, local pupils, and teachers. Moreover, I was permitted to attend Year 7 parent-teacher meetings to recruit the parent participants for interviews.

In sum, the selection of the study school was purposeful and gaining access was facilitated through the academic network of senior Chinese researchers and my capacity as a PhD student at a UK university. Using a range of strategies to reduce power relations during the fieldwork, I did not have difficulty in building rapport with pupils, parents and teachers, although I had expected this to be challenging.

5.5.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to select up to 86 participants from the participating school.

Purposive sampling, which means non-random sampling, is a common approach in qualitative research, as it facilitates selecting specific groups that may be particularly experienced with or knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied (Creswell & Piano Clark, 2011). As I sought research participants with specific characteristics (in terms of grades, age, personal and family circumstances, and school context), this was the best way to get participants who met the sought criteria. Meanwhile, purposive sampling enabled the manifestation of the key characteristics of the research population, thus allowing research questions to be explored in depth (Ritchie et al., 2014).

To address the research questions, this study recruited four different groups of participants to participate in the study/for interviews, including:

- Forty-three migrant pupils in Year 7 and Year 9
- Twenty-two local pupils in Year 7
- One head teacher and seven teachers in Year 7 and Year 9
- Thirteen parents of Year 7 migrant pupils

The study ensured that in selecting pupils to interview, there was a predominance of migrant pupils in the participant cohort. Pupils were invited to nominate themselves to be interviewed. A pupil demographics form was provided to enable pupils to self-categorise themselves, e.g., by gender, age, place of birth, and parent employment. An equal number of girls and boys had been recruited as pupil participants. I worked with the head teacher and class teachers to find the best times to work with pupils.

At the time of participant recruitment, all potential participants and parents/ careers of pupil participants received printed research information leaflets/invitation letters and informed consent letters from the researcher explaining this research's purpose and contribution and the participants' rights (see Appendix 2). The study's sample is small as this research aims to seek an in-depth understanding of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities and everyday experiences, rather than statistical generalisability (Ritchie et al., 2014). The four groups of participants are described below.

Migrant pupil participants

The first group interviewed comprised 43 migrant pupils, including 36 Year 7 pupils (age 13) and seven Year 9 pupils (age 15). This group contained 17 girls and 24 boys, most of whom were born or raised in Shanghai, but Shanghai was not deemed their local hukou. All the migrant pupil participants could be characterised as working-class, with parents who had moved from rural China and were engaged in manual occupations; some were self-employed. The basic information of pupil participants is shown in Appendix 5-A.

As migrant pupils' voices and experiences were placed at the centre of the inquiry to represent and understand the status of educational opportunities and aspirations of migrant pupils in one public middle school in Shanghai, migrant pupils constituted the major group of participants in this study. The total number of migrant pupils in Year 7 was 41, so these 36 participants represented about 88% of migrant pupils in Year 7. The total number of migrant pupils in Year 9 was 18, so these seven participants represented about 40% of migrant pupils in Year 9. In the spring semester of 2019, the school had about 387 pupils, including 232 local pupils and 144 migrant pupils, so these 43 participants represented about 30% of

migrant pupils within the school. Notably, at the end of the fall 2018 term, at least 50 migrant pupils had left the school before Year 9.

Why migrant pupils in Years 7 and 9 were chosen as participants

I recruited migrant pupil participants in Year 7 and Year 9 because this group are at a crucial age when pupils shape firm educational aspirations that inform their future educational choices and outcomes. Migrant pupils whose parents cannot meet the Shanghai points system usually make decisions in Year 7 to move to their hometown to prepare for the high school entrance exam if they want to go to university in the future, which means that migrant pupils from Year 7 would have a clearer view of their educational aspirations and experiences. In addition, the number of migrant pupils in Year 9 and Year 8 was small. As I arrived at the study school, the head teacher notified me that many migrant pupils had left Shanghai after Year 7, resulting in the presence of fewer migrant pupils in Year 9 and Year 8 than in Year 7. Still, I recruited as many Year 9 migrant pupils as possible because I believed that Year 9 migrant pupils would have a deeper and more comprehensive understanding and experience of their schooling and educational opportunities because of having gone through the whole process of compulsory education in Shanghai. Year 6 migrant pupils were not involved because they were in their first year of middle school study during the fieldwork; thus I thought that they would not be well suited to engage in the kind of reflective conversations about their middle school educational experiences that the research aims demanded.

At the participating school, there were five classes in Year 7, with 86 pupils: 43 local and 41 migrant pupils. All Year 7 pupils within a year group were invited to participate in my study

to ensure that the study was not divisive. When recruiting pupils, to enhance the study's inclusivity, I did not add any criteria regarding their hukou status.

To recruit Year 7 pupils (both migrant and local pupils) for interviews, with the consent of class teachers and the head teacher, during recess I went to each classroom to introduce myself and explain my role in the school as a PhD student. Then I emphasised that my research aimed to explore middle school pupils' schooling experiences and educational aspirations through pupil voices. Hence, I wanted to interview them and learn from their experiences and perspectives in order to complete my doctoral research 'homework'. I sent participation invitation letters to all pupils in the class, outlining the purpose and contribution of this study and the rights of participants. After pupils agreed to participate, invitation letters and consent letters were then sent to their parents/carers. After the pupils' parents agreed to their children's participation, I arranged an interview with each pupil. Year 7 pupils were very interested in my research topic, so the process of recruiting these pupils went very smoothly.

The Year 9 migrant pupil participants were selected based on the information the Year 9 class teachers provided. With the permission of the head teacher and Year 9 class teachers, I met Year 9 migrant pupils at a vocational high school information session at the participating school, where I introduced my role, explained my research topic, and then invited them for interviews. Meanwhile, I sent them an invitation letter stating the research rationale and outline. After pupils agreed to participate, invitation letters and consent letters were then sent to their parents/carers. After the pupils' parents agreed to their children's participation, I arranged an interview with each pupil. It should be noted that the session was only for Year 9

migrant pupils. In Year 9, most of the migrant pupils at the participating school had been temporarily moved to a vocational high school for study at the suggestion of their teachers (see Chapter 6), so there were few opportunities to meet Year 9 migrant pupils at the participating school.

Local pupil participants

The second group interviewed consisted of 22 local pupils (aged 13): 10 girls and 12 boys. The total number of local pupils in Year 7 was 43, so these 22 participants represented approximately 57% of the local pupils in Year 7. Due to the intense study needed to prepare for the high school entrance examination, Year 9 local pupils were not involved.

In this research, although migrant pupils constituted the major group of participants, I also included local pupils in the class as participants. This was partly for ethical reasons (to avoid singling out migrant pupils), but also because the data from non-migrant pupils can provide a more holistic picture, enabling me to distinguish between general aspirations and anything specific to migrant pupils. To place the study of migrant pupils within particular contexts, this research examined local pupil perceptions of the inclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools, thus gaining a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between migrant pupils and local pupils and examining the role of the Shanghai public middle schools in facilitating the inclusion of migrant pupils.

Teacher participants

The third group interviewed comprised seven teachers in Year 7 and Year 9 and the head teacher from the participating school: five women and three men. The teacher participants were selected based on the information provided by the head teacher. The head teacher introduced me to potential teacher participants in Year 7 and Year 9. After explaining my research topic in person at the school to each potential teacher, I invited them for interviews by sending out an invitation letter stating the research rationale and outline. All Year 7 teachers accepted my invitation to be interviewed. Those who agreed to participate were selected.

The teacher participants included one class teacher in Year 9, five class teachers in Year 7 (who were also subject teachers in Year 7 or 9), one subject teacher in Year 7, and the head teacher (who also was a subject teacher in Year 7). The basic information of teacher participants is shown in Appendix 5-C.

As discussed in Chapter 3, teachers play a profound role as significant others in the educational opportunity and inclusion of migrant pupils. They played critical roles in school leadership, school policy and priorities, and classroom interactions/pedagogies that might impact migrant pupils' educational opportunities and inclusion. Interviews with teachers and the head teacher were included to better understand the context of schooling and uncover possible contradictions in perspectives and explanations. The head teacher was also able to discuss more broadly the school's general approach to issues of equity and inclusion.

Parent participants

The final group interviewed comprised 13 parents of Year 7 migrant pupils: eight women and five men. The parent participants were selected based on the information provided by Year 7 class teachers. After completing the interviews with the pupil participants, with the head teacher's permission, I was introduced to the parents of the Year 7 pupils by Year 7 class teachers at a parent-teacher meeting. After the parent meeting, when I explained my research topic in person, I invited parents for interviews by sending an invitation letter stating the research rationale and outline. The invited parents responded to my invitation the day after the meeting. Those who agreed to participate were selected.

While I prioritised the views and voices of migrant pupils themselves in this study, I also included the parents of the migrant pupils interviewed. The purpose of the expanded scope was that interviewing parents allowed me to obtain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities at the family level. As parental influences are essential, the research also aimed to identify the strategies migrant pupils' parents used to support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations under the implementation of a differential senior secondary education policy for migrant children and youth in China. Appendix 5-B shows the labour market occupation and educational level of all 13 interviewed parents. These 13 parents had worked and lived in Shanghai for a long time, ranging from 10 to 20 years. Most of them were manual workers without higher education qualifications.

5.6 Data collection

The primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews with four groups of stakeholders (migrant pupils, local pupils, teachers, and parents of migrant pupils). Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations. The choice of these methods stems from the research questions of this study and the nature of its inquiry. These methods are discussed in detail below.

5.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

The choice of interviews as the primary source of information stems from their proven effectiveness in qualitative research. Interviews can be a form of conversation that allows for an in-depth exploration of a particular topic. The in-depth interview can be a powerful way of generating descriptions and interpretations of participants' social world (Creswell, 2013; Ritchie et al., 2014). More importantly, since the focus of this research was on illuminating the key factors shaping the educational opportunities and everyday experiences of migrant pupils from the perspectives of migrant pupils themselves while also seeking the views of parents of migrant pupils, teachers and local pupils, in-depth interviews were deemed the most appropriate method of data collection. As Rubin and Rubin (2012) highlighted, in-depth interviews allow researchers to speak with those with relevant experience or knowledge of the issue of interest. Through such interviews, researchers can gain insight into participants' values, attitudes, feelings, perspectives, motivations, and accounts of experiences and learn to see the social world from a perspective other than their own (Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Ritchie et al., 2014). Holstein and Gubrium (2011) also noted that knowledge could be created and negotiated through cooperation between interviewees and interviewers, as, through dialogue,

the interviewer guides the subject to new insights. For this study, in-depth interviews allow for an in-depth investigation of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from multiple angles (individuals, families, educational institutions) that is hoped would provide a holistic overview of the stance of the different stakeholders which in turn can contribute to addressing existing educational inequalities affecting migrant pupils in China.

Furthermore, as the goal was to elucidate and unpack the interactive role played by individuals, families, educational institutions, and policy contexts in the educational opportunities of migrant pupils, individual semi-structured interviews were considered more suitable for this purpose. Unlike structured interviews, which have a fixed order of questions and specific wording, individual semi-structured interviews are characterised by flexibility, allowing for disambiguation, digging deeper, and the freedom to pause and explore when topics of interest arise (Cohen et al., 2008). The method enables researchers and participants to discuss research topics in detail in a comfortable atmosphere by using a set of key questions as guiding questions while providing space for probing other ideas where necessary (Ritchie et al., 2014). In other words, participants can express their thoughts and opinions on the issues discussed in their own way and maintain the natural feel of the interview, while researchers can seek new information with the use of prompting questions (Thomas, 2013). Before the interviews, I designed a different interview schedule for each of the four groups (migrant pupils, parents of migrant pupils, local pupils, and teachers) based on the research questions to provide guiding questions for my semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3 for interview schedules).

However, interviewing is not without its drawbacks. For instance, the view of knowledge as something created in the unique context of interviews has raised concerns among postmodern theory advocates about interview data's stability, reliability, and validity (Ritchie et al., 2014). They refuted the idea that there were individual 'selves' that could be interviewed; maintaining, rather, that "we have many different 'selves' and that the interview is a manifestation of one or more of them, through which data is created that is merely a representation of that single interaction" (Ritchie et al., 2014, p. 180). However, many qualitative research authors take broad and pragmatic views on this subject (e.g., Miller & Glasser, 2011; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). As Miller and Glasser (2011, p. 133) point out, "while the interview is itself a symbolic interaction, this does not preclude the possibility that knowledge of the social world beyond the interaction can be obtained". I was aware of the interview as an interaction between the researcher and participants that would shape the features and form of the data generated. However, taking an extreme postmodern stance on this issue seems to completely negate the possibility of participants being able to share their perspectives and experiences with the researcher meaningfully (Ritchie et al., 2014). In my view, interviews remain a valid and essential method to better explore and understand educational issues with migrant pupils and retain value beyond the context of direct research interactions. Unlike other methods, such as observations or document analysis, it involves the research participants' direct and explicit interpretation and understanding of the research questions (Ritchie et al., 2014). Another major criticism of interviews is that they can generate biased responses. The interviewer and the interviewee may unknowingly bring their own experiential baggage into the interview (Cohen et al., 2008). So, as a researcher, it is vital to be aware that I might be influencing the data. To minimise this potential bias, I employed several strategies before, during and after the interview, such as being well-prepared, developing an effective working relationship with participants, balancing the power

relations with participants, and improving the quality of listening and remembering through audio recordings, etc. (Ritchie et al., 2014). These strategies are discussed in detail below.

The interview processes

Successful interviews require thorough preparation and skill. My interview preparation included thinking and designing questions related to the research issue and the research questions. As Ritchie et al. (2014) noted, the non-judgemental and open-ended nature of the questions enables the interviewer to encourage unexpected stories and statements to emerge. Informed by this description, for this research, four interview schedules (see Appendix 3) were designed before the interviews, one for migrant pupils, one for local pupils, one for parents of migrant pupils, and one for teachers and the head teacher. These interview schedules included guiding questions to support the sequence and organisation of the interviews and to ensure that the conversation covered the research questions I wanted to explore; however, the questions were not set in stone. I tried to ensure that the interview questions were general enough to cover a broad range of experiences yet narrow enough to elicit and illuminate the interviewees' experiences (Ritchie et al., 2014).

Additionally, as Narayan and George (2012) noted, perhaps the two most essential skills of interviewing are rapport (or trust) and the relationship built between the interviewee and the interviewer, and the interviewer's ability to show respect for what is being said and to listen attentively. To ensure that good rapport and trust were established, during the fieldwork, I managed to spend as much time as possible with the participants before interviewing them, including chatting with pupils and teachers at lunchtime and participating in Year 7 pupils' Psychology class, Year 9 migrant pupils' vocational high school information session and Year

7's parent meeting. Also, all participants were consulted when choosing the appropriate time and place to conduct the interviews, so that they would feel more relaxed and comfortable during the interview (Alderson, 2005). Furthermore, I chose to conduct individual interviews rather than focus groups and group interviews because that allowed me to explore more migrant pupils' personal experiences, perspectives, and attitudes in greater privacy.

Meanwhile, migrant pupils did not need to confront potential marginalisation in the group, and I could be more sensitive and responsive to their individual needs and feelings. It is also worth mentioning that in Chinese culture, many people prefer to avoid confronting others despite having different opinions. Therefore, all teacher and parent participants were also interviewed individually so that they could feel more relaxed and comfortable about sharing their thoughts and ideas.

All interviews were conducted in Mandarin (the first language of participants and researcher) and audio-recorded with the explicit and informed written consent of participants. I decided to tape all the interviews because I wanted to be part of the dialogue, not just listen and transcribe. Through my being part of the conversation, not only was the interviewee encouraged to expand on what was said to explore it further, but I could fulfil my wish to represent myself authentically as someone who was genuinely interested in what they were saying. I hoped that being involved in the conversation could also build rapport and trust, which could, in turn, support the interviewee in feeling relaxed and allow the conversation to flow. The following parts detail the interview process for each group.

Interviews with pupils

I first conducted interviews with the pupil group (43 migrant pupils and 22 local pupils), which took about 2.5 months to complete. Pupil interviews were conducted once pupils had

become more familiar with me. I was aware that the researcher needed to balance the power relations and build trust with participants, as this may influence the quality of data collection (Alderson, 2005). Thus, I adopted various strategies to reduce power relations and build rapport and trust with participants. For example, before interviewing Year 7 pupils, I attended Year 7 Psychology classes three times to enable us to get acquainted with each other and to become a familiar figure. Also, after recruiting, I often came to the classroom to talk with them during lunchtime. Year 7 pupils called me 'big sister', and I felt I was seen as approachable. Year 9 migrant pupil interviews were conducted after I had attended their vocational high school information session. Interviews with pupils were held in the school's Psychology room during lunch break or after school. I aimed to create a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere during the interview process. For example, at the beginning of each interview, I usually had candy or chocolate chip cookies and a bottle of water for each interviewee in the interview room.

Before starting each interview, I also reminded pupil participants that they had the right to stop participating in the research without giving a reason; they did not have to answer my questions; and they could ask for a break at any time during the interview. During the interview, I took minimal notes, allowing me to focus on listening to and interacting with pupil participants. All the interviews were audio-recorded with the pupils' consent. These recordings were later transcribed for analysis. Interviews took an average of 70 to 90 minutes for each pupil. Since the interview style was more like a chat with pupils about their schooling and daily life, all pupils appeared relaxed and chatty and spoke openly for a long time, taking beyond the allotted time. Many pupils specifically mentioned that participating in this interview gave them the opportunity to express what they wanted to convey. They also hoped that their stories would be heard so that other pupils could have a better experience in

the future. This made me feel that pupils desired to be heard, given that few such opportunities existed in reality.

It is worth mentioning that many pupils in the interviews sought additional advice from me about their educational choices and relationships with peers and adults (teachers, parents). For example, during the interview, I found that six Year 7 migrant pupils had misunderstood the high school education policy for migrant pupils, so I advised them to consult their class teachers after the interview to ensure that they and their parents had no misunderstandings about the policy. I conducted follow-up interviews with these six pupils to ensure that they made high school education choices with a proper understanding of policy. Overall, in interviews with pupils, I felt that though I was there as a researcher, the questions and advice the pupils sought from me meant I had to be mindful not to stray into the role of a 'proxy counsellor'. I, therefore, referred them to school advisors for further information.

Interviews with migrant pupils were designed to address three research questions:

Q1: How do personal and family circumstances shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and experiences?

Q2: How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils?

Q3: Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

In keeping with these three research questions, the following sub-questions guided the interview with migrant pupils:

- What are the educational aspirations of migrant pupils, and how are these enabled or hindered?
- How do migrant pupils view the high school education policy for migrant children in Shanghai?
- How do the parents of migrant pupils support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations?
- How do migrant pupils perceive their experiences in terms of learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and local communities?

Specifically, interviews with migrant pupils focused on exploring their perceptions and aspirations for the future and beyond the end of compulsory schooling. Questions also explored whether and how they were intending to realise their educational aspirations, how their parents supported them, and how they perceived the impact of Shanghai's high school educational policy. It also focused on exploring the migrant pupils' accounts of their schooling from the time they entered middle school. In particular, it explored how migrant pupils in this study integrated their schooling and daily experiences with their experience of educational barriers and how this related to the formation of their sense of belonging.

Interviews with local pupils were also designed to address the second research question:

Q2: How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils?

According to this research question, the following sub-questions guided the interview with local pupils:

- How do local pupils perceive their experiences of interacting with migrant pupils at school?

- How do local pupils view the high school education policy for migrant children in Shanghai?

Together with the local pupils' perspective, I was able to move towards a better understanding of migrant pupils' inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools, thus gaining a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between migrant pupils and local pupils and examining the role of the Shanghai public middle schools in facilitating the inclusion of migrant pupils.

Interviews with parents of migrant pupil participants

Following the pupil interviews, 13 parents of Year 7 migrant pupil participants were interviewed. Parent interviews were held at different locations to facilitate parent participation: 9 in the Psychology room at the participating school and 4 in the coffee shop. Interviews with each parent took an average of 80 to 120 minutes. During the interview process, I created a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere. For example, at the beginning of each interview, I usually ordered a cup of coffee or tea for the interviewee and chatted for a while to allow us to get to know each other.

Parent interviews also aimed to address the first and third research questions of this study:

Q1: How do personal and family circumstances shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and experiences?

Q 3: Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

It explored how the parents of migrant pupil participants supported their children in pursuing educational aspirations under the implementation of a differential senior secondary education policy for migrant children in China. Three sub-questions are also explored:

- What do parents expect concerning their children's educational achievement?
- How do parents perceive Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant children ?
- How do parents deal with the policy, and what factors underlie their decision-making?

The interviews with parents provided valuable insights into the role of family capital in shaping migrant pupils' high school educational opportunities. The parent participants were willing to talk about their child/ren's educational plans and family circumstances. Three parents specifically mentioned that they hoped their stories would be heard so that other migrant families could have a better experience in the future. This made me feel that parents desired to be heard, given that few such opportunities existed in reality. Together with the migrant pupil participants' perspectives, I was able to move towards a better understanding of the context of family circumstances and uncover possible contradictions in views and explanations.

Interviews with teachers

After completing the interviews with pupils and parents of migrant pupils, interviews with teachers (seven class teachers and one head teacher) were conducted one week before the end of the fieldwork. Like the pupil interviews, the teacher interviews were conducted when teachers had become more familiar with me. Before the interviews, I had many opportunities to build rapport and trust with the teacher participants. For example, I attended the head teacher's class three times and had several meetings with him in his office to get an overview of the school and discuss the process of fieldwork and recruiting participants. I also often met with class teacher participants in the teachers' offices to discuss and schedule the best time for pupil interviews. At lunchtime, I usually brought fruit or chocolates to the teachers' offices to

thank them for their cooperation; I also invited two teacher participants to lunch to thank them for allowing me to attend the Year 7 parent meeting.

Interviews with teachers were held in the school's Psychology room during lunch break or after school. The interview with the head teacher was held in his office. Before starting each interview, in addition to reminding the teachers of their right to stop taking part at any time and to have their identities protected, I reassured them that I was conducting this study out of my interest in hearing their perspectives on including migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools. I was fully aware that when interviewing teacher participants, they could feel vulnerable because teachers are often subject to inspections of their teaching practices. Therefore, I aimed to show an attitude of acceptance rather than judgement during the interviews.

Interviews with teachers were designed to address the second research question: How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils? According to this research question, the following sub-questions guided the interview with teachers:

- How do teachers perceive the inclusion of migrant pupils at school ?
- How do teachers perceive Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant children ?

Since teachers played critical roles in school leadership, school policy and priorities and classroom interactions/pedagogies that might impact migrant pupils' educational opportunities and inclusion, interviews with teachers and the head teacher aimed to better understand the context of schooling and uncover possible contradictions in perspectives and explanations. They added to a contextualised understanding of pupil participants' attitudes

and experiences. The head teacher was also able to discuss the school's general approach to issues of equity and inclusion.

Specifically, these interviews explored teacher perceptions of migrant pupils' inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools. Since pupil interviews revealed a range of issues related to migrant pupils' school transfer, teacher attitudes, and differential treatment by teachers, I was particularly interested in exploring teachers' impression of migrant pupils, their views on migrant pupils' school moves and Shanghai's different education policies for migrant pupils.

During the interviews, teachers seemed quite open with me. Two local teachers even shared their strong stance as local parents. Based on the results of pupils' interviews, specific issues relevant to individual pupils were added to the interviews. For instance, I asked why most Year 9 migrant pupils were moved to a vocational high school in Year 9. I was also able to convey to the class teachers that some of the migrant pupils and their parents had misunderstood the high school education policy and might need the school's guidance and support. Interviews with each teacher took an average of 1.5 to 2.5 hours. Overall, the interviews with teachers provided valuable insights into the complexities and dynamics of the inclusion and exclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools. Together with the pupils' perspectives, I was able to move towards a better understanding of migrant pupils' educational experiences and uncover possible contradictions in views and explanations.

5.6.2 Informal classroom observations and informal conversations

To gain a general sense of the participating school's ethos and build rapport with the pupil and teacher participants so as to understand the context better and triangulate interview data, I conducted informal classroom observations and informal conversations before the interviews.

Specifically, to become acquainted with school life and build a rapport with pupil participants, before conducting interviews, I attended Year 7 pupils' Psychology classes three times during the first month of the fieldwork. This access also enabled me to observe daily interactions among migrant pupils, local pupils, and teachers. During informal classroom observation, I not only sat at the back of the classroom to observe pupils' learning attitude, behaviour, and interaction with their peers and teachers but also participated in some class activities with pupils. The advantage of informal classroom observations was that data triangulation and complementarity would be ensured by classroom observations (Yin, 2003). They gave me the opportunity to obtain deeper insights into behaviours and interactions not revealed by interviews, meanwhile building relationships with participants (Cohen et al., 2008; Ritchie et al., 2014). In other words, informal classroom observation could supplement the limitations of interviews and enhance data quality by triangulation. However, this informal classroom observation only provided snapshots and partial pictures, not the whole underlying picture. Because of the presence of the researcher, it could not guarantee that the participants would behave authentically (Ritchie et al., 2014).

During my fieldwork in the participating school, I managed to have a range of relevant informal conversations with Year 7 pupils, teachers and the head teacher, which provided further insight into the context of schooling and more knowledge of their school routine. In this case study, informal conversations were not part of the interview but provided information for the interview guide. Along with the interview data, they entered the analysis process as field notes that I took during these conversations and interactions. Informal conversations with Year 7 pupils occurred in classrooms during lunch or recess. These conversations often centred on learning about pupils' day-to-day life at school. Informal talks with teachers took place in the teacher's office or on campus when the teachers were

available. The advantage of informal conversations in this case study was that they enhanced the quality of interview data collection, allowing me to balance power dynamics and build rapport and trust with the participants. It also ensured that pupil participants were as relaxed and engaged as they could be in a formal school setting.

5.6.3 Desk-based documentary analysis

A desk-based document analysis was used to provide perspective on the policy and structural level influences that shape educational opportunities for migrant children. It was also used to inform the findings of semi-structured interviews as a supporting data collection method. In other words, desk-based document analysis provided a macro-context and triangulated the data.

This analysis identified policies specifically targeting the education of migrant children, including national and local (Shanghai) policies, and reviewed previous research on the education of migrant children. All documents and research reports were collected and analysed before, during and after the fieldwork to assist me in placing in context information gained during the interview and also assisted in shaping the interview schedule.

The advantage of adopting a desk-based document analysis in this study was the capacity to evaluate the policies that may shape educational opportunities for migrant pupils. It also provided critical pluralism, allowing research questions to be “examined from different perspectives, and it is helpful to combine different methods with different biases” (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 116). That is, a desk-based document analysis provided this study with a top-down perspective from which to understand the underlying factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils.

The desk-based documentary analysis responds to the third research question of this study: Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils? It introduced the policies relevant to shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities and everyday experiences.

The documents gathered and analysed in this case study mainly included official government documents and statistics, and research reports on migrant children. Official government documents and statistics were retrieved from the following Chinese government websites: Ministry of Education, State Council, National People's Congress, National Development and Reform Commission, National Bureau of Statistics of China, Shanghai Municipal Government, Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, and Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Statistics.

Official documents covered education law, hukou reform, national education reform policy, and education policy for migrant children. These documents helped me both to understand the context of migrant pupil education issues and to formulate research questions and interview questions before fieldwork. National documents and policies set out guidelines for local and institutional policies and provided information on what is stipulated in the policy for migrant children. By reviewing these documents, I was also able to evaluate the feasibility of policy objectives. In addition to legal documents and policy, I gathered reports issued by the Ministry of Education. These reports provided information on the enrolment rate of migrant pupils in urban schools, annual reports on national educational achievements, national education funding, and more. I also collected data from the National Bureau of Statistics of China on the rural-urban migrant population, the Chinese government's education expenditure, etc. It should be noted that in the case of government documents and

policies, the focus of the investigation was placed on the content of documents and policies, not the process of how documents and policies develop, which is beyond the scope of my research.

The findings of the desk-based documentary analysis have been presented in Chapter 2. The chapter provided contextual knowledge of the educational issues of migrant children in China. It presented an overview of the background of migrant children in urban China, the Chinese education system, the history and reform of China's hukou and its role in rural-urban migration and the education of migrant children. It also reviewed and evaluated the development of generic policies on education for migrant children, its ongoing issues and challenges. Overall, desk-based document analysis in this study provided a macro-context that sat alongside the data from interviews, which helped to triangulate findings, provide additional information to answer research questions, and strengthen arguments.

In summary, in this research, semi-structured interviews played a primary role, while desk-based document analysis, informal conversations and informal class observations were used to contextualise and triangulate the data.

5.7 Data analysis

Transcribing and translating

This section reviews the steps in the data analysis process. Transcription and translation, as a stage of data analysis, comprised another essential and heavier task that I focused on in the post-fieldwork analysis. Since this study was conducted in China, where English is not the native language, all interviews, conversations, and field notes are in Chinese. All interviews

and conversations were conducted in Mandarin and were transcribed in Chinese. After returning to Edinburgh, I transcribed all the interview recordings of 86 participants into electronic documents in Chinese. While the process was time-consuming (taking about four months), I did not seek help from others: first, because listening to the recording again allowed me to reflect on the interactions in the interview and note down emerging patterns; second, because the identities of the participants needed to be strictly protected for ethical reasons. I noted from the interview transcript the passages of key relevance to my research questions and discussed them with my supervisors during the transcription process.

All data were in Chinese, which involved translation issues. According to Van Ness, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010), linguistic differences matter because language is a way of expressing and shaping meaning; therefore, a good translation should enable readers to understand the meaning at its source. I decided to base my analysis on Chinese transcripts because using my native language would allow me to better understand the meaning, by retaining the cultural and social meaning of words and expressions. In practical terms, due to limited time and resources, translating all the texts into English would add unnecessary work without analytical gain. Thus, I only translated into English those excerpts that I needed to present the findings. In this study, I adopted literal translation; that is, I translated the original text directly without adding my interpretations (Filep, 2009) to avoid losing important information in translation. At the same time, to make the translated text readable, I added the necessary contextual information to support understanding of the meaning.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis was used as the approach in this research for systematically making sense of the data because its characteristics and advantages are suitable for and help to achieve the

purpose of this study, which was to understand the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities and everyday experiences from multiple angles. Thematic analysis is a general method used to analyse all types of qualitative data; it involves identifying, analysing, interpreting, and reporting themes/patterns within data (Victoria et al., 2017). The method enables researchers to analyse data systematically, identifying topics that are progressively integrated into higher-order themes linked to the research questions (Ritchie et al., 2014). What sets thematic analysis apart from most other qualitative analysis methods is its flexibility, as it can not only be used within a 'critical' framework, interrogating patterns of social or personal meaning around a topic, but can also be adopted in a quest to understand participants' thoughts, feelings, and behaviours and to identify patterns within and between data related to participants' views and experiences. In other words, the coding procedure allowed the major themes to emerge directly from the raw data rather than from the study's research questions and theoretical framework. Also, it "can be used for both deductive (theory-driven) and inductive (data-driven) analysis, and captures manifest (explicit) and latent (underlying) meaning " (Victoria et al., 2017, p. 298).

This study's exploratory nature prompted the use of data analysis as an inductive approach for locating the themes emerging from the data. A general inductive approach enables research findings to surface without being limited by methodology (Bryman & Burgess, 2002). This study aimed to establish common themes based on the retrieved data, not to create a theory. Devising a thematic framework involved formulating meaning from the raw data and making connections between themes. Research findings were presented by evidencing the themes' establishment with excerpts from the data. Fraser's social justice model was adopted as a lens through which to assess the meaning of these themes in terms of the factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities. In this study, the perspectives and experiences of pupil,

parent, and teacher participants were the units of analysis embedded in personal, family, school, and social structure contexts.

Code work

Identifying thematic frameworks involves a coding process that helps organise recurring data ideas into themes. The approach of this study analysis consisted of identifying commonalities and differences among migrant pupils, migrant parents, local pupils, and teachers. Different themes emerged across the interviews with different groups of participants (migrant pupils, migrant parents, and teachers), which identified the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities. As the building blocks for themes and a bridge between data and theory, "codes are the smallest units of analysis, capturing interesting data features that may be relevant to research questions " (DeGuir-Gunby et al., 2011; Victoria et al., 2017, p. 297). Code analysis involved transcribing and rereading the data; generating initial codes; identifying broader categories; establishing a thematic network; formulating key themes according to the research questions; and integrating and interpreting main themes (Robson, 2011). Table 4.1 below describes the general process of data analysis.

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
<p>Open coding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -transcribing and rereading the data -grouping the materials -generating initial codes 	<p>Establishing categories</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -identifying connections between the codes -repositioning data by codes -integrating and differentiating codes into categories 	<p>Answering research questions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -comparing and establishing themes -constructing a thematic network -integrating and interpreting main themes

Table 4.1 the general process of data analysis

Code analysis began during the process of transcription. At this stage, reading and rereading the interview transcripts was essential to allow me to become very familiar with all the data, and to recall field experiences with more defined analytical purposes in mind. To get a quick grasp of what was in the data, I first summarised the topics frequently covered in the interviews, such as 'university aspirations', 'returning difficulties' or 'sense of belonging', as a helpful reminder of all available answers from the participants.

The coding process was cyclic, iterative, and recursive (Robson, 2011): I refined the codes back and forth. It included an intensive examination of the consistency and accuracy of the meanings of the codes. As a bridge between theory and data, I considered a code's relationship to other codes to elucidate categories and noted down possible propositions and explanations when I created a code. Five separate code lists were created from each data set (migrant pupils' interviews, parents of migrant pupils' interviews, local pupils' interviews, teachers' interviews, and fieldnotes). Many issues, such as 'university aspirations', 'school transfer', 'peer networks', and 'teacher behaviours and attitudes', were widely shared across data sets, given the differences in data sources. After completing the first round of open coding, I began to focus on exploring connections between codes to identify themes and categories and in turn to "reposition data" based on codes and categories (Cohen et al., 2008). A sample of the first-round open coding is attached in Appendix 4.

Categorising and interleaving data sets occurred iteratively in the second coding cycle. The coded data were sorted by category or topics, then combined and synthesised to identify major themes. I linked data sets using a strategy that identified pathways (Strøm & Fagermoen, 2012). I integrated the data of migrant pupils, local pupils, teachers, and parents of migrant pupils through shared categories. For example, migrant pupils often described how

they developed and negotiated their educational aspirations and choices under the influence of their parents' social status and negotiated their sense of belonging through interactions with peers, teachers, and relatives. Turning to the data on migrant parents and teachers, I noticed how the expectations and capacity of migrant parents shaped their children's educational opportunities and how teachers' perspectives on migrant pupils and education policies for migrant children and youth shaped their practices. I was then able to reach a complete picture of the construction of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational chances and everyday experiences. Finally, I contrasted and compared themes and categories, which systematically elucidated the key factors shaping the educational opportunities and everyday experience of migrant pupils from different perspectives, and so answered the research questions. Fraser's social justice model was adopted as a lens through which to assess what these themes mean in terms of the factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities. Overall, the whole process of data analysis was inevitably iterative, evolving from open coding systems to structured coding systems to answer the research questions (Table 4.1).

5.8 Trustworthiness

In this study, the concept of trustworthiness proposed by Guba (1981) was used to assess the quality control of the study, addressing issues of confirmability, credibility and dependability, by adopting triangulation and reflexivity strategies.

The notion of triangulation involves using multiple data collection methods, different data sources, or different standpoints during the research process (Flick, 2007). In qualitative research, triangulation is defined as "a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form categories or themes in research" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). In other words, triangulation reflects

and ensures the multiple ways of establishing truth. It can explain the researched subjects in more complexity and detail by studying them from different perspectives and rejecting or confirming the results from the multiple methods used (Cohen et al., 2008). I use the strategy of triangulation for this study to mainly enhance and enrich my understanding of the complexities of the factors shaping migrant pupils' educational chances. As Denzin (2017) concluded, triangulation is an effective approach to ensure data accuracy and reduce potential bias as it has three advantages: convergence, contradiction, and inconsistency. Each strength could provide a more robust interpretation of the data analysis in qualitative research, thus giving researchers confidence in the presentation of the findings.

Triangulation of data sources and methods was applied. By including the perspectives of migrant pupils, parents of migrant pupils, local pupils, and teachers, I was able to examine commonalities and differences from each side and gain a better understanding of the situation. The experience and perceptions they reported contributed to a comprehensive and complex account of the factors shaping the educational opportunities of migrant pupils. Also, the multiple data collection methods (interviews, informal class observation, informal conversations, and desk-based document analysis) complemented each other, reducing systematic bias associated with a single method and strengthening my confidence in the representation. For example, informal classroom observation could enhance participants' authenticity during interviews; desk-based document analysis provided a macro-context that sat alongside the data from interviews and informal conversations, which helped to triangulate findings and strengthened arguments.

Furthermore, to enhance dependability and confirmability, I maintained a full and accessible research record, including interview audio recordings, interview transcripts, informal

observation and conversation notes, and documentary analysis, to reflect on, question, and validate my interpretations while collecting and analysing data to ensure rigour.

5.9 Reflexivity and researcher positionality

Another key strategy for addressing trustworthiness in this study was reflexivity, understood as critically examining the researcher's role in the research process. It refers to the continual exploration of the value of the researcher and the recognition in the research process of how the researcher's social status, social background and existing knowledge shape the research (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010). For this study, I constantly tried to bear in mind my positionality and how my experiences, perspectives and identity shaped my actions, the field relationships with research participants, and data interpretations.

The selection of the research topic was shaped in significant ways by my academic experience in the field of Education and Community work, as well as my prior professional experience as a community worker in Canada. During my study time in Canada, I interned for six months at a public secondary school for newcomers in Toronto, where I worked as a community worker helping migrant pupils and international pupils address academic and living issues. This six-month internship was especially influential as it allowed me to become aware of the challenges that migrant pupils and international pupils encountered in multicultural contexts and brought the realisation that the practice of equal education and social inclusion for migrant pupils in schools remains problematic in many nations, including China. I first learned about the educational issue of migrant pupils in China when I was on vacation in Shanghai in 2016, through a report on local TV media. It told the story of migrant pupils with excellent grades who could only attend Shanghai vocational high schools after

graduating from middle school, due to local hukou restrictions. This story left a deep impression on me and made me aware of the injustice surrounding the education of migrant children in China, which in turn sparked my interest in this topic of study. Moreover, my hopes for the research and the selection of the research methodology, namely, that they will promote social justice and attention to migrant pupil voices, are linked to my personal aspiration for the study to help a disadvantaged group in the longer run.

Furthermore, I was very much aware of the significance of balancing the power relations between the participants and researchers to ensure data quality and ethics. I acknowledged differences in status and power due to my positionality associated with my personal characteristics (e.g., age, social class, gender). Scholars have emphasised that researchers should address power relationships embedded in their research, especially when working with children and adolescents (Alderson, 2005; Grover, 2004). Therefore, I acknowledged my identity and institutional characteristics as a Chinese, female, middle-class, international researcher affiliated with a British academic institution. These aspects of my social background and identity as a researcher could create distance between the pupil participants and me. Thus, I adopted multiple strategies in the fieldwork to address and reduce some of these issues to establish more equal power relationships and good rapport and trust with participants. First, I presented myself as a learner, student, and researcher, sincerely wanting to learn from all participants (pupils, teachers, and parents), and needing their help in completing my work and getting to know them better. Being friendly, curious, and non-judgemental enabled me to be quickly accepted by all participants. Second, to differentiate myself from their teachers, I let pupils call me 'older sister', to remind them that I was not a teacher. I also managed to create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere in my interactions with pupils, chatting easily during recess. As a result, I was seen as approachable, and I felt that

pupils were increasingly willing to initiate conversations with me and share their thoughts. Third, I dressed very casually and avoided bringing any luxury items, as I knew how I dressed could impact the interaction with the participants. I did not have difficulties building rapport with the participants by adopting these strategies. As an outgoing, talkative female researcher with several years of educational consulting and management experience in China, I was quickly welcomed and accepted by pupils, teachers, and parents. Finally, it needs to be emphasised that while these strategies may have minimised the social distance between the pupil participants and me, they did not eliminate the differences in power and status.

Additionally, managing risk to researchers throughout a research project is an essential consideration in ensuring their well-being. As Wiles (2012) points out, since qualitative study often necessitates researchers empathising with research participants during data collection, the greater risk to scholars when conducting qualitative research lies in the area of emotional well-being and the possibility of distress. My research involved listening to migrant pupils' and their parents' experiences of injustice, along with local pupils' and teachers' perceptions of migrant groups, which could leave me feeling upset. Indeed, hearing negative perceptions from some teacher participants about the inclusion of migrant pupils was part of the emotional challenge of conducting fieldwork. As will be indicated in greater depth in Chapter 8, during the interviews with teachers, four local teacher participants ignored or did not recognise the migrant pupils' feelings of exclusion. Three of them also showed a sense of privilege as locals and were full of stereotypes about rural migrant families. I was shocked and distressed when I heard these teachers' strongly negative and discriminatory views on migrant families, which they openly shared with me. One of the ways I managed my feelings was simply by focusing on the fact that my study could make a difference, besides using a reflective journal to offload emotional distress.

5.10 Ethics

The nature of this qualitative case study involved careful consideration of ethical issues related to informed consent, power relations, respect, and privacy throughout the research (Alderson, 2005). The Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2018) provided a basis for considering these issues. The study was carried out under the approval of the Ethics Committee of Moray House School of Education in the University of Edinburgh and the head teacher of the participating school.

Informed consent

Before data collection, informed consent was gained from all potential research participants. Permission was also sought from parents/carers of all potential pupil participants as they were all under 17. I prepared three versions of the informed consent letters for teachers, pupils, and parents/carers of pupils, respectively (see Appendix 2). The consent letters explained the research topic and contribution, the participant's right to participate or withdraw at any time, and the principles of anonymity and confidentiality. I ensured that the consent form was clear and contained no complex or technical language. All participants and parents/carers of pupil participants signed paper-based informed consent forms.

Obtaining consent from pupil participants in person is especially important to reduce power dynamics. Pupils may agree to participate in this research due to pressure from their teachers and parents. To avoid this, I managed first to obtain consent from pupils in person to ensure they genuinely wished to participate in this study. I then sought consent from the parents/carers. If a pupil wanted to participate, but the parent refused, then I had to respect the final decision as lying with the parents/carers. As mentioned in section 5.5.2, after obtaining informed consent from the head teacher and class teacher, I organised an

introductory talk in classes to obtain informed consent from the potential pupil participants in person, where I had the opportunity to help pupils better understand what would happen if they did participate and to enable them to ask questions. During the introductory talk, in addition to introducing myself and the research and delivering printed invitation letters (information leaflets) and consent letters to pupils, I particularly stressed that since this study was not schoolwork and my role was not that of a teacher, it was not mandatory to accept my invitation to participate. When a pupil chose not to participate, instead of trying to convince him/her, I avoided making the pupil feel compelled to participate. After pupils agreed to participate, invitation letters and consent letters were then sent to their parents/carers. After the pupils' parents agreed to their children's participation, I arranged an interview with each pupil.

It should be emphasised that obtaining consent was not a one-time process but an ongoing one (Alderson, 2005). All participants (pupils, teachers, parents) were told that they had the right to stop participating in this research at any time without giving a reason. The time and place of interviews were discussed with participants so that they could feel more comfortable and relaxed during the interviews. At the beginning of each interview, I reminded participants of their rights, checking with them about their willingness to proceed. None of the participants withdrew from the research. They were also asked if they would like feedback. Those who ticked 'yes' would be sent a short briefing about key findings (no more than 4 A4 sides). All interviews were audio-recorded with explicit and informed written consent from participants. By adopting these strategies, power relations were upfront rather than unspoken.

Respect

Another important ethical consideration for this case study was avoiding marginalisation and labelling. This study may benefit migrant pupils by listening to their marginalised voices; however, conducting the research in a school setting required the researcher to pay particular attention to the research arrangements. I was aware that selecting one group of pupils so purposively needed to be done with the utmost sensitivity and care to avoid drawing unnecessary attention to this group of pupils. Thus, in order to protect migrant pupils from feeling marginalised and singled out, and to ensure that the study was not divisive, when recruiting pupil participants I invited all Year 7 pupils within a year group to participate in my research. As required by the head teacher and on the advice of my supervisors, to avoid labelling and further singling out migrant pupils, in the invitation letters/information sheets for pupils and parents, I introduced the study as a general educational study without mentioning that its primary focus was on the group of migrant pupils. The use of the individual interview method also helped prevent migrant pupils from needing to confront potential marginalisation in the group. Every effort was made to conduct this research in a manner that did not cause emotional stress to the pupil participants. All participants had the opportunity to ask questions at the end of the interview.

Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity are also crucial in qualitative research because the researcher has much control over the information revealed in interviews. During the data collection phase, confidentiality and anonymity were part of the procedure for obtaining informed consent. Given that the research involved pupils' everyday experiences, there was the possibility of uncovering child protection issues through interviews. I was aware that if child protection issues were involved, I was obliged to take further action on the matter disclosed.

Therefore, all participants were informed in the interview and consent forms that interviews were confidential, with the proviso that if any information about child abuse were involved (issues of emotional or physical harm), this would be passed on to school staff and reported to the local police (for example, by calling 110) following the Chinese Child Protection Protocols. Throughout the fieldwork, I found no incidents of child abuse.

Anonymity is an essential ethical principle when protecting research participants from being identified in research output (Gallagher, 2009). It could also ensure that research participants would feel comfortable speaking openly and sharing their experiences without fear of being identified. All participants were informed that their identities would be fully anonymised in the final study. In writing this thesis, I strictly ensured anonymity to avoid any adverse impact of the research on the participant school and participants. Pseudonyms were used in written output for the school's name (the participating school), school location (District A), and all participants. Each participant was assigned a code during the data analysis. To store all research-related raw materials confidentially and safely, all raw data, including audio recordings and transcripts, were securely stored in the SharePoint system provided by the IT services at the University of Edinburgh, according to the University of Edinburgh's Research Data Management Policy; I am the only person with access to them. The materials will be destroyed three years after completing the research to enable the researcher to interrogate the data for publication purposes.

In sum, ethical practice often requires negotiation. While the risks cannot be eradicated, through careful ethical consideration, I made sure that all participants' rights to participation, wellbeing, and privacy were protected and respected. This enabled pupils, parents, and teachers in this study to enjoy participating in this research, and what they shared with me

exceeded my expectations. At the end of the interview, I gave each participant a small gift (a box of chocolates) as a token of appreciation, but they did not know they were receiving it until then. Thus, these were not an incentive to take part in the study. At the end of the fieldwork, I also received a small gift from a teacher participant and thank-you cards and flowers from Year 7 pupil participants.

5.11 Summary

This chapter has presented the qualitative case study design adapted to respond to the research questions of this thesis. The methodology chosen for this qualitative research has adopted a lens of social justice and aimed to place the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This process was informed by a critical social constructivist epistemology (also known as interpretivism).

I chose the single-case study approach as the most appropriate way to describe this study's nature and explore the complexities of educational opportunities for migrant pupils in one urban public middle school in China. The single qualitative case study approach in the school setting has enabled me to recruit diverse research participants, including migrant pupils, parents of migrant pupils, local pupils, teachers, and the head teacher, all within one context. This allowed me to explore/identify the key factors that facilitate or hinder post-compulsory education opportunities for migrant pupils from multiple angles: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context, thus providing multi-sourced evidence which can contribute to addressing existing educational inequalities affecting migrant pupils in China.

This research recruited 86 research participants from one Shanghai public middle school in China, which included 43 migrant pupils (36 Year 7 pupils and 7 Year 9 pupils), 22 Year 7 local pupils, 13 parents of Year 7 migrant pupil participants, seven teachers and one head teacher. Shanghai was chosen as this study's research site due to its position at the forefront of China's educational reform and the fact that it contains the most significant number of China's internal migrant population. The participating school was chosen for practical reasons of access and depth.

The primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews with four groups of stakeholders (migrant pupils, local pupils, teaching staff, and parents of migrant pupils). Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations. The choice of these methods stems from the research question of this study and the nature of its inquiry. The data were analysed by a thematic analysis approach, drawing on the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, alongside Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation), thus providing an analytical lens through which to discuss the main findings and themes that emerged in relation to key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

The nature of this qualitative case study involved careful consideration of ethical issues related to informed consent, power relations, respect, and privacy throughout the research. I reflected on how my experiences, perspectives and identity shaped my actions, the field relationships with research participants, and data interpretations. Trustworthiness was ensured by adopting the strategies of triangulation and reflexivity.

The next chapter presents this research's findings from the pupils' perspective.

Chapter 6 Educational Opportunities and Experiences of Migrant Pupils: Issues and Concerns

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with the 43 migrant pupils (36 Year 7 and 7 Year 9) and 22 local pupils engaged in the study. Given Shanghai's separate senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils, interviews with migrant pupils were primarily focused on exploring their perceptions and educational aspirations for the future beyond the end of compulsory schooling, and their schooling experiences from entry into middle school. The interview questions explored whether and, if so, how they were intending to fulfil their educational aspirations, how their parents supported them, how they perceived the impact of Shanghai's high school educational policy, how they integrated their schooling and everyday experiences with their experience of educational barriers, and how this related to the formation of their sense of belonging. Interviews with local pupils were primarily focused on exploring their perceptions of their experiences when interacting with migrant pupils at school. The chapter addresses the following sub-questions of Research Questions 1 and 2:

Q1. Sub-questions

- *What are the educational aspirations of migrant pupils, and how are these enabled or hindered?*

Q2. Sub-questions

- *How do migrant pupils perceive their experiences in terms of learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and local communities?*
- *How do local pupils perceive the inclusion of migrant pupils at school?*

The voices of migrant pupils are at the core of the presentation and discussion of the findings. Interview data from local pupils are included alongside migrant pupils' voices, which contributed to a better understanding of migrant pupils' schooling process at the Shanghai public middle school and provided a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between migrant pupils and local pupils, while examining the role of Shanghai public middle schools in facilitating the inclusion of migrant pupils. Analysis of the findings revealed seven key themes: the importance of having a university degree; constraints on obtaining a university degree; the influence of peer social networks; attitudes and behaviours of teachers; treatment by teachers; school segregation; and belonging and identity. These key themes are discussed in detail below.

6.2 The importance of having a university degree

Interviews found that migrant pupils had high aspirations to enter universities. When asked 'What level of educational attainment do you want to obtain?', almost all migrant pupil participants aspired to a university degree. Specifically, 41 of the 43 participants expressed their desire to attend academic senior secondary school after middle school in order to enter universities; the remaining two claimed that their parents wanted them to go to university, although they had not yet considered their further education goals. In the words of Pupil D:

I want to get the highest degree, the higher, the better. I want to get at least a Master's degree, preferably a doctorate, because in Shanghai, the higher the degree is, the better your life will be. (Pupil D, boy, Year 7)

The university aspirations of migrant pupils in this study show the profound role of migrant families in promoting the educational aspirations of these pupils. In the interview, 40 of the 43 pupils pointed out that their families frequently imparted to them the idea of going to university, significantly influencing their ways of thinking. Twenty of them noted that their parents strongly valued higher education and viewed vocational education as a compromise choice; six were also influenced by elder siblings' educational achievements. The remaining three pupils claimed that their parents, while not requiring them to achieve a specific education level, would support their education as long as they were interested in pursuing it. In addition, five pupils also said that teachers often mentioned the importance of having a higher education degree in Shanghai.

When my parents were young, they had no money or chance to attend school. Now, they want me to receive an education as much as possible to have a better life in Shanghai and tell them what university life is like. (Pupil A, girl, Year 7)

Significantly, the majority of migrant pupil participants viewed higher education as the key to achieving social status and economic success. When asked why they wanted to go to university, the participants' answers varied, but they all associated higher education qualifications with higher social status, better jobs, higher incomes, and a better life. They developed strong aspirations to pursue higher education in Shanghai as a proactive response to the issues of their unequal migrant status and unfavourable socioeconomic conditions. These aspects are discussed in more detail below.

Equal rights and social status

All pupil participants considered higher education as a means to improve their social status in Shanghai. When I asked, 'What are the benefits of obtaining a university degree?', the pupil participants gave a variety of answers which all related to improving social status. They thought that having a university degree would enable them to enjoy equal rights as Shanghai locals, to be respected in society and the workplace, and to be able to bring the prestige of education to the entire family accordingly. Specifically, 31 of the 43 participants saw having a university degree as essential to accessing and enjoying equal rights as well as having a stable life in Shanghai. Obtaining a university degree would also enable them to pass on better opportunities for their own children in the future in terms of accessing educational and occupational options. In the words of Pupil D:

I know I cannot attend academic high school here because my parents' education needs to be improved to reach the Shanghai points policy. So, assuming I have a university degree, my children can at least stay in Shanghai to attend academic senior secondary school and university, enjoy the same educational rights as the locals, and compete on an equal footing.
(Pupil D, boy, Year 7)

The above quotation indicates that the migrant pupils in this study have, through their lived experiences, become aware of and are thinking strategically about the future. On the one hand, Shanghai's educational restrictions have hindered migrant pupils and their families from receiving equal opportunities for post-compulsory education. On the other hand, its policy has also stimulated and promoted to these migrant pupil participants the idea of the importance of obtaining a university degree.

In addition to equal rights, most pupils were aware of the relationship between educational attainments and career success and its implications for respect in society. During interviews, nearly all pupils associated higher education with their future careers, believing that possessing a university degree would enable them to pursue a career as a white-collar professional who would not be looked down upon by others. Specifically, 38 of the 43 pupils reported that they wanted to pursue careers as white-collar professionals rather than following their parents' occupations, such as running a store or engaging in manual labour. Twenty-seven of them shared that their parents or older siblings worked under harsh conditions, working long hours but receiving lower incomes as a result of lower educational qualifications. The 24 participants whose parents run small businesses (such as flower shops, small restaurants, and grocery shops) indicated that they usually need to help their parents do business on weekends from elementary school. After experiencing or witnessing how family members' everyday lived experiences and employment were not respected by society due to a low level of education, they viewed higher education as a means to gain respect in society and the workplace.

People with higher education will be highly respected in society and look knowledgeable. They will not be despised by people, especially in Shanghai. My eldest brother, who graduated from the university, has a much better career and life than my second eldest brother, who graduated from vocational education. Their living conditions are entirely different in Shanghai. (Pupil I, boy, Year 7)

Many participants also viewed higher education as the path to improving the social status of the entire family. 26 of the 43 pupils noted that their university aspirations were also the

aspirations of the whole family. They stressed that their parents, because of having had no chance to study in the past due to poverty, expected them to receive as much education as possible to bring glory to the entire family.

My parents want me to go to university and told me that our family members had yet to receive higher education for generations. Therefore, I want to be the first person in our family to get a university degree, bringing glory to my family. (Pupil E, girl, Year 7)

You do not know how important having a university degree is to my family and me. My parents value academic qualifications highly, as they told me that having a bachelor's degree can change our family situation. (Pupil AS, boy, Year 9)

For economic success

Other than social status, the migrant pupils in this study also regard higher education as a way out of poverty. During interviews, 27 of the 43 participants viewed going to university as the means to economic success, saying that people with low academic qualifications could not find stable jobs and earn enough in Shanghai. Notably, all participants whose parents engaged in low-wage manual labour thought that people without a university degree could only work under harsh conditions and earn low incomes. Their firm belief that the positive relationship between educational level and economic reward stems from their family members' employment experience as a low-educated group in Shanghai.

My parents often say that I see them tired from work and life every day because they do not have a degree. My father failed to be admitted to the university at that time..... He has high expectations for my education, as he spent half of his income on my private tutorial classes. If possible, I would like to get a Master's degree because in Shanghai, the higher the degree, the better your life will be. (Pupil P, girl, Year 7)

My father's unstable employment experience in Shanghai made me feel that having a higher education qualification is essential to obtaining a stable and well-paid job. (Pupil AM, girl, Year 9)

In summary, it is evident from the interviews that the migrant pupils in this study thought that having a university degree would give them equal opportunities with their local peers in Shanghai and at the same time, their own and their families' social status and economic status would be raised accordingly. In other words, for migrant families in this study, higher education is the path to improving the social status of the whole family.

6.3 Constraints on obtaining a university degree

Although most migrant pupils in this study aspired to enter university, few had confidence that they would achieve this educational goal. In the following section, I will illustrate how the migrant pupil participants face limited opportunities to access academic senior secondary education in Shanghai and how they are forced to compromise their educational aspirations in the face of multiple barriers and difficulties at the structural and personal levels. My findings suggest that Shanghai's different educational policies for migrant pupils, together with the

anticipated difficulties in transferring from Shanghai to their parents' rural hometown for education, have prevented most migrant pupil participants from fulfilling their educational goals of going to academic high school and university.

6.3.1 Structural barriers to accessing academic senior secondary education in Shanghai

When asked about their plans for the upcoming transition to senior secondary school and their views on realising their educational aspirations, 40 of the 43 participants felt perplexed and frustrated; 30 of them said that entering senior secondary school was the most disturbing and challenging thing for them at the moment due to the barriers they faced in accessing academic senior secondary education in Shanghai. During interviews, all participants were aware that their right to education after middle school was different from that of local pupils in Shanghai. As discussed in Chapter 1, Shanghai established the right of migrant pupils to enter academic senior secondary schools as being dependent entirely on their parents' status (the points policy), especially their parents' educational level. However, the parents of migrant pupils in this study rarely meet the Shanghai points policy requirements because most of them are workers in labour-intensive industries and lack higher education degrees.

When asked for their views on being allowed to enter vocational high schools but prohibited from entering academic high schools in Shanghai, 41 of the 43 participants expressed significant disappointment and frustration over the unfair treatment. They explained that for their parents, the requirements of this policy were impossible to achieve because the parents did not have a Shanghai hukou or a university degree, circumstances that could not be changed easily. Indeed, my data show that most of the participants' parents only have junior secondary

or elementary education, and only three parents had recently obtained college diplomas. Pupil P, whose father had recently met the requirements of the points policy, described how difficult it was for him to satisfy this points system:

This policy criterion should be lowered. My peers' parents with middle school education are less likely to obtain a college diploma. My father has a high school diploma and took university exams when he was young. However, it took him seven years to get a college diploma. (Pupil P, girl, Year 7)

Moreover, 30 of the 43 participants criticised as unreasonable the policy of making the right to education dependent on the parents' ability rather than the children's academic performance. More than half of the pupil participants, including local pupils, also pointed out that the policy was incredibly unfair to high-performing pupils, saying that many of the high-performing pupils in the school were usually migrant pupils rather than local pupils.

For high-performing pupils, this is indeed unfair. Due to parents' low education and no Shanghai hukou, the most high-performing pupils can only go to vocational high schools, while local pupils with low grades can go to academic high schools without requiring their parents to be educated or wealthy. This is a local privilege without fair competition. (Pupil P, girl, Year 7)

We learned from the politics lesson that 'the value of socialism should be that everyone is equal'. However, many classmates with excellent grades dropped out of school and left

Shanghai last term, which is too unfair. Why are we treated differently? (Pupil AK, boy, Year 7)

The views of these pupils show that local privileges have led to differential educational treatment between migrant and local pupils. More than half of the pupil participants, including local pupil participants, strongly believed that the right to education based on parental ability (academic qualifications or financial ability) was neither fair nor beneficial for city development.

In addition to criticising the policy as unfair, an overwhelming majority of participants complained that the system had significantly affected their university aspirations, making these aims more difficult to achieve, or completely blocking them. Faced with Shanghai's different education policies for migrant pupils, migrant pupils who want to attend academic senior secondary school and university must consider returning to their parents' rural hometown where their hukou is located. However, for most migrant pupils in this study, moving to their parents' rural hometowns is a considerable challenge. The following section will discuss the anticipated difficulties for migrant pupils in moving to their parents' rural hometowns for schooling.

6.3.2 Difficulties in moving to their rural hometowns for education

According to Shanghai's points policy, migrant pupils whose parents failed to meet the required points need to return to where their hukou is located if they want to attend academic high school. As the high school entrance examinations vary among provinces, this means that the pupils must attend local schools to prepare for the examinations. Pupils can hardly pass

the examinations in their hukou place if they attend school in Shanghai. When asked how they perceive their chances of successfully attending academic senior secondary school and then university in their place of origin, most of the migrant pupils interviewed felt perplexed, conflicted, and frustrated. For migrant pupil participants, moving to their parents' rural hometown is fraught with difficulties and risks. During interviews, participants shared the insurmountable difficulties they and their parents would face if they moved to their place of origin, including difficulties in adapting to rural education, rural life, and lack of parental care. These difficulties pose a powerful dilemma involving educational interruption, pupils' sense of belonging, family separation and parental employment.

Difficulties in adapting to rural education

Adapting to rural education is a significant difficulty for migrant pupil participants returning to their rural hometowns. Few participants have confidence in adapting to rural education, explaining that the education gap between urban and rural areas was the most obvious challenge they would face in moving to their parents' rural hometowns. According to participants, the perceived learning difficulties can be divided into educational discontinuity, academic pressure, and the uncertainty of entering senior secondary schools in rural hometowns.

Migrant pupils who return to their rural hometowns for secondary education will encounter educational interruption. All 43 pupils interviewed demonstrated primary concerns about their academic performance. In the interview they reported that they would inevitably endure enormous academic pressure if they were to move to their rural hometown for secondary education. The academic pressure they mentioned was mainly related to the differences in

curriculum content, pedagogy and schools, including different textbooks (in subjects like mathematics, Chinese and science), teaching methods and learning environments. For instance, 22 of the 43 participants pointed out that the quality of teaching and the school environment in Shanghai were far superior to those of rural hometowns due to the underdevelopment in rural areas.

I have no confidence in transferring to rural schools because of many cases of failure. The textbook's content differs from that of Shanghai, especially for Maths and Chinese, but the contents are by no means easier than those of Shanghai textbooks. The exams and textbooks are much easier in Shanghai than in my rural hometown. I am also worried about adapting to the teaching methods because rural teachers are usually more aggressive than urban teachers. The quality of teaching in Shanghai is much better than that in rural schools. (Pupil A, girl, Year 7)

Besides academic pressure, there is significant uncertainty about attending senior secondary school in rural hometowns. Nearly all pupil participants indicated that the senior secondary school admission rate in their rural hometowns was much lower than that of Shanghai due to the limited educational resources of rural senior secondary schools.

The high school admission rate is meagre, and competition is fierce in my parent's hometown. Only 1-2 students per school can enter high school every year. My cousin returned to his rural hometown last year but failed to attend high school. Now he has dropped out of school to work, which is an awful experience. Therefore, I am afraid of returning, but I want to attend university. I do not know whether to stay or go; there are too

many uncertainties. I may stay in Shanghai to see if the situation changes. (Pupil A, girl, Year 7)

It is important to note that although most of the interviewed pupils grew up in Shanghai and are not familiar with the nature of education in their rural hometowns, the recent experiences of their peers and cousins returning to rural hometowns for education have added to their anxieties as they worry that they might face similar prospects. Twenty-five pupils interviewed had learned about these experiences from their peers, seven from cousins, two from elder siblings, two from their parents and five from their own observations.

A friend of mine with good grades who transferred to a rural school is now frustrated with her studies as she cannot keep up with the learning process. Every day she feels stressed because she does not understand what the teachers teach, so she must record each class. After school, she needs private tutoring, which is very expensive. Her teachers did not care about her difficulties, so she solved them alone. (Pupil A, girl, Year 7)

One of my classmates who returned to my parent's hometown to study often told us that his daily study time usually starts at 4 am and ends at 8 pm at school; then he finishes his homework at midnight. He regrets the transfer and envies us because we are still studying in Shanghai. This is horrible, and I do not want to be sent back to my rural hometown to study. I feel it isn't easy to learn well, even in Shanghai. How could I study well in rural schools? (Pupil AM, boy, Year 7)

The findings show that migrant pupil participants were reluctant to return to their rural hometowns for education and delayed the transfer time indefinitely. It is apparent that the return experience of their siblings, cousins and peers further undermined migrant pupil participants' confidence in receiving education in their rural hometowns. During the interviews, few pupil participants were confident of achieving acceptable academic performance if sent back to their hometowns for schooling. Only eight pupil participants could confirm to me that their parents finally helped them make up their minds and accompanied them back to their rural hometowns for education. The rest of the pupil participants struggled with their final decisions on whether to stay or return.

Difficulties in adapting to rural life

In addition to difficulties in adapting to rural education, migrant pupil participants were most concerned about the difficulties they would be bound to experience when adapting to rural life. Having grown up predominantly, if not wholly, in Shanghai, the migrant pupil participants largely regard their rural hometowns as unfamiliar places. In the interview, 37 of the 43 migrant pupils reported being unfamiliar with their rural hometown. When asked about the prospects of returning there to live, the lack of peer networks, school bullying, language barriers, and adaptation to the rural lifestyle were the most apparent problems frequently mentioned by the interviewed migrant pupils.

Notably, the lack of peer networks in rural hometowns is a significant concern for most pupils interviewed. The interviews showed that the absence of friends and familiar peers in an unfamiliar hometown would make most pupils feel very depressed and lonely. In the interview, 41 of the 43 participants expressed significant concerns about the lack of friends if

they were to return to rural hometowns for education. More importantly, 16 were particularly worried that they would be bullied in rural schools because their peers and relatives who were familiar with or had transferred to their rural hometown told them that bullying in rural schools was prevalent. Pupils transferring from other places were often bullied. This concern also emerged in subsequent interviews with the parents of migrant pupil participants. Therefore, even if their parents could accompany them when returning to their rural hometown, these pupils were still reluctant to do so due to the unfamiliar environment, the possibility of school bullying and the reality that they would not have friends and their lives would become very lonely and insecure.

The experience of my classmates who moved to their rural hometowns for schooling shocked me. They are not as happy as they used to be because they were bullied in the new school. As far as I know, four of my former peers were bullied by their new peers. After hearing about these terrible experiences, I do not want to move to rural schools. (Pupil AO, girl, Year 9, stayer)

Although my mother will accompany me, I still do not want to leave. Having no friends in a strange place will make me feel scared and lonely. I am worried about being bullied because my brother told me that the school I was going to was a rural boarding school with a bad living environment. So, I decided to transfer there as late as possible to avoid bullying. (Pupil I, boy, Year 7, returned in Year 9)

In addition to worrying about the lack of friends and school bullying, the interviewed pupils mentioned language barriers. They stressed that although Mandarin is a compulsory language

in schools, many teachers in rural schools still cannot speak Mandarin in class, and local pupils usually speak the local dialect in social interactions in rural hometowns. During interviews, 20 of the 43 participants complained that they did not understand the local dialect because they had grown up in Shanghai and rarely went to their hometowns; 5 of them had never done so. Therefore, the first barrier they would need to overcome was the language difference if they were to return to their rural hometown for education. In other words, if pupils do not understand the local dialect, their studying and living, as regards understanding the classes and making friends, would be challenging. The following quotes are relatively representative of the views shared by most participants regarding the difficulties of adapting to rural life.

My parents' hometown is too foreign, and I do not want to separate from my parents and friends. I cannot communicate with the locals because I cannot speak the local language. I feel very uncomfortable when I do not understand what others are saying. My elder sister grew up there and told me the school also speaks in the local dialect, so how can I make friends and solve learning problems? (Pupil AB, boy, Year 7, stayer)

In addition to being unfamiliar with their rural hometown, most of the migrant pupils in this study reported that their quality of life would be significantly affected if they moved to their rural hometowns. When asked how the living conditions in Shanghai were different from those in their hometown, all interviewed pupils indicated that Shanghai is the most developed city in China, with abundant school resources, job opportunities and modern public facilities (such as high-speed internet and transportation). In contrast, their rural hometown is

underdeveloped, without these resources and modern public facilities. Thirty-five interviewed migrant pupils mentioned that they could not adapt to the lifestyle of their rural hometown.

I want to live and work in Shanghai because it is very developed and life is very convenient. My parents' hometown is entirely different from Shanghai, with a small population and remote location. Life in the village is boring because there are only fields and factories. I rarely visit my father's hometown because my body often gets blisters, which is very uncomfortable. I am also worried about insufficient food because I always feel hungry. Moving is a tough choice for me, but if I want to go to university, I have no choice but to move there for education. (Utters a long sigh) I will listen to my parent's decision. (Pupil K, boy, Year 7, transferred)

I want to stay in Shanghai because I grew up here, and my family and friends are here. My father's hometown is backward, located in a mountainous area. The transportation is inconvenient; there is no direct bus to Grandma's house, and no internet. (Pupil AB, boy, Year 7, transferred)

Difficulties in separation from parents

The interviews further showed that separation from their parents is another major problem most participants face when returning to their hometowns. During interviews, 35 of the 43 participants reported that their parents could not accompany them to return to their rural hometown because of the lack of work opportunities in these rural areas.

My mother must continue to run our flower shop in Shanghai to make ends meet, and the business has just stabilised, so she cannot accompany me back to my rural hometown. (Pupil L, boy, Year 7, stayer).

My parents have run a small business in Shanghai for many years, and they need to continue to operate it to maintain our living standards. The rural hometown is too poor to offer work and business opportunities. However, if I move to my rural hometown alone, they will worry about my safety. Besides, they must take care of my younger brother. Anyway, returning to a rural hometown would be too complicated for our family; it is just impossible. (Pupil AN, girl, Year 9)

The findings show that due to economic barriers, the parents of these migrant pupils cannot readily give up their jobs in Shanghai, because their rural hometown is located in remote and underdeveloped areas where job opportunities are scarce. Although many participants' parents work as manual workers for low pay, they have lived in Shanghai for more than a decade, they are now established, and their work can at least support their family in Shanghai. However, if the parents of migrant pupil participants returned to their rural hometowns, they would encounter unemployment, creating an economic crisis for their families. Therefore, their parents must continue to work in Shanghai because they cannot make a living in their rural hometown. Also, even if pupil participants were willing to return alone, their parents would be reluctant to leave their children in an unfamiliar place, considering family separation and safety issues. During interviews, many participants also said that no relatives could take care of them in their rural hometowns because most relatives had moved to the

city like themselves. It can be claimed that Pupil N's narrative sets out the main threads interwoven through most of the migrant pupil participants' accounts:

I want to enter university, but it is hard, and I do not know what to do next. I hope my mother can go with me, but this is unrealistic because, on the one hand, my mother must face giving up everything, such as work and separation from my father; on the other hand, family finances are already tough. If my mother went with me, my father's income would not cover the rent, and finding a job in my father's hometown would be challenging. Besides, since my parents come from different places, even if my mother can accompany me, she is as unfamiliar with my father's hometown as I am. She does not understand the local dialect (utters a long sigh). Also, my father has not had contact with his hometown for many years nor does he know the local school admission criteria. (Pupil N, boy, Year 7, stayer)

Like Pupil N's parents, the parents of nine of the 43 participants are not from the same place, which means that the pupils and their parents face the problem of adapting to alien life. This problem was also mentioned in the interviews with parents. According to migrant pupil participants, since their parents had lived in Shanghai for more than a decade and lacked contact with their rural hometowns, the parents did not clearly understand the admission criteria of local schools. Therefore, for pupils and their parents in this study, moving to their rural hometowns for education would be full of concerns and difficulties. Because of the underdevelopment of rural hometowns and low employment opportunities, the parents of most participants cannot accompany their children to return to their rural hometowns. Therefore, the reality of having no parental companion would be an unsolvable difficulty,

especially for pupils from low-income families, because it would lead to a family crisis involving family separation, parental unemployment, and family economic crisis.

In summary, analysis of the pupil interviews so far shows that Shanghai's points policy has caused migrant pupil participants to face various structural barriers and challenges in pursuing their university dreams, including adaptation to rural education and life and not having their parents around. In response to these circumstances, both migrant pupils and their parents in this study made a tough decision and developed a range of coping strategies for pursuing their educational goals. As will be discussed in great detail in Chapter 7, by the joint decision of parents and pupils, 22 of the 43 migrant pupil participants, regardless of gender, had chosen to transfer to a school outside of Shanghai after Year 7 to obtain the opportunity to enter academic senior secondary schools, which would give them a chance to pursue their university dreams; 18 migrant pupils (11 Year 7 pupils and 7 Year 9 pupils) eventually adopted as a reluctant strategy the compromise of choosing to stay in Shanghai for vocational education after middle school in the hope of one day obtaining a high academic qualification; only three migrant pupils were eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary school because their parents met the requirements of the Shanghai points policy. Chapter 7 will further illustrate how parents of migrant pupil participants can support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations in the face of these structural barriers and difficulties.

The following sections present migrant pupils' accounts of their schooling in the period since their entry into their current middle school. In particular, they describe how the pupils' schooling experiences shape their educational choices, learning opportunities, and sense of belonging.

6.4 The influence of peer social networks

It should be pointed out again that interview data from local pupils are included alongside migrant pupils' voices, providing additional evidence concerning migrant pupils' schooling process and inclusion in Shanghai public middle schools, and thus gaining a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between migrant pupils and local pupils, as well as examining the role of Shanghai public middle schools in facilitating the inclusion of migrant pupils. However, as the focus is on the lived experiences of migrant pupils, their voices are dominant and are foregrounded.

Analysis of pupil interviews shows that the school transfer of peers has significant impacts on both migrant and local pupils in this study. As mentioned earlier, migrant pupils who want to attend academic senior secondary school to pursue university aspirations usually consider school transfer after Year 6, which means that all the pupils interviewed (Year 7 and Year 9 pupils) had experienced their peers leaving Shanghai before participating in this study. When asked their views on the school transfer of their peers, the majority of migrant pupils and local pupils (33 of the 43 migrant pupils and 18 of the 22 local pupils) reported that they felt negatively affected, expressing the sense of unfairness, disappointment, unhappiness, and loneliness, respectively. In particular, 27 of the 33 migrant pupils stressed that the departure of peers from Shanghai, including their cousins, friends and classmates, significantly impaired their peer networks, affecting their daily lives and studies. The perspectives of migrant pupils in the study on peer networks touch on three main aspects: a) the importance of peer networks in learning and daily life, b) awareness of their status differences, and c) impacts on their educational choices. These aspects are discussed in detail below.

The importance of peer networks in their learning and daily lives

Findings in this study suggest that interactions with peers played a critical role in all aspects of pupils' lives, especially in academic and psychological aspects. It is worth mentioning that migrant pupils and local pupils in this study were well-integrated, according to the interviews with migrant pupils, local pupils and teachers. When asked what was most important to them in their daily lives, the majority of pupils (38 of the 43 migrant pupils and 20 of the 22 local pupils) spoke of the importance of having supportive peer networks and stable friendships in their daily lives. In particular, 33 of the 43 migrant pupils illustrated the point that having a stable network of friends and peers creates a sense of belonging. They explained that because their parents were usually busy pursuing their livelihoods and were short of time to accompany them, peers such as cousins, friends, and classmates had come to provide essential support for their learning and socialising.

Friends are significant to me and can change my lonely life because my parents are busy with work from morning till late at night, and it is difficult for me to meet them. If I feel unhappy or need learning support, I often get support from my friends and cousins. But now my two cousins and most of my friends have left, so I want to transfer to my cousin's school to support each other. (Pupil J, girl, Year 7)

The above quotations show that these pupils leveraged peer networks or friendship groups to cope with various issues in companionship and study. According to the pupils and teacher interviews, high-academic ability pupils can play a leading role in learning by creating a positive classroom learning ethos. Usually, many of the high-performing pupils in this school are migrant pupils. However, most of them left before Year 8. In the interviews, more than

half of the pupils (25 migrant pupils and 16 local pupils) complained that the departure of their peers caused them to lose friends and learning partners, besides affecting the classroom ethos through the departure of many high-ability peers.

My friends were humorous, good at learning, and often helped me to solve learning difficulties. Now they have all left and this has affected my study and the learning ethos of the entire class. (Local pupil A, boy, Year7)

Since many outstanding classmates have left, the learning ethos in our classroom is now getting worse, and few classmates are able or willing to answer the teacher's questions in the classroom. No one came to help with my study. (Local pupil D, boy, Year 7)

It is worth noting that for many local pupils, the departure of their peers also brings a time fraught with anxieties. During interviews, 15 of the 22 local pupil participants claimed that the peers' transfer made them want to transfer because they felt destabilised and lonely. The following selected quotation is relatively representative of the views and sentiments shared by most local pupil participants.

School life has become very dull now. The classroom seats will become increasingly empty because many peers have decided to transfer in the next semester. This makes me want to go with them too. (Local pupil C, girl, Year 7)

Awareness of status differences

More importantly, in this study, the departure of peers from Shanghai appeared to be the defining moment in shaping the migrant pupils' awareness of status differences. During interviews, all 43 migrant pupil participants reported that they had learned about their migrant status in Year 4-5 through their parents and teachers but did not understand the implications of their status until their peers left Shanghai one after another in middle school. Specifically, 30 of the 43 migrant pupil participants emphasised that it was not until their cousins, friends, and classmates started to leave Shanghai that they realised they were being treated differently from the local pupils in Shanghai regarding their educational opportunities.

I didn't realise I could not attend high school in Shanghai until many of my friends and classmates started transferring from Year 6. So far, nine classmates have left Shanghai, and the whole class is quiet without them. My two cousins also left. I think Shanghai is meaningless because the people around me often leave. (Pupil Q, girl, Year 7)

The findings show that the constant school moves of peers made many migrant pupil participants understand the difference in their status and simultaneously caused confusion and frustration, followed by a period of shock. During interviews, 35 of the 43 migrant pupils expressed great disappointment and frustration at the unequal education rights and the peer transfers this led to. Eighteen of them claimed that the departure of their peers was the most disturbing thing for them at the time when the interview took place, as they felt isolated and unstable now that their cousins, friends and classmates had left Shanghai.

The departure of my friends made me want to leave with them. I felt upset and confused. I lost interest in studying and didn't want to study hard because I couldn't attend an academic high school here no matter how good my grades were. (Pupil B, girl, Year 7, transferred)

The impact on educational choices

In addition to awareness of status differences and their impact on daily lives and studies, the findings also show that the loss of peer social networks is one of the decisive factors influencing the educational choices of many migrant pupil participants as to whether to stay in Shanghai for vocational education or move to their parents' hometown for secondary education. In other words, this process of school transfer damaged the sense of belonging of many pupil participants, which in turn impacted their educational trajectory and prospects.

Specifically, 14 of the 22 migrant pupils who chose to change schools indicated that besides wanting to pursue their university aspirations, the profound instability and loneliness associated with the loss of their peer networks and friendships made them consider leaving Shanghai. According to these pupils, staying in the city was meaningless since their peer network had been destroyed in Shanghai.

I also decided to leave Shanghai because most of my friends had already left or are about to leave Shanghai. Even if there are many difficulties, I will do this because not only do I want to go to university, but more importantly, I don't want to and no longer need to experience such separation. Moving to my parent's hometown may stabilise my life and my friends' network. (Pupil B, girl, Year 7, transferred)

Friends are vital to me. I want to transfer mainly because they are gone, and I'm here alone. To help me integrate into the new school life, I will ask my parents to send me to the same school my cousin transferred to. I think staying with my cousin will reduce my anxiety about moving and transferring to a new school. (Pupil K, boy, Year 7, transferred)

The above quotations show that for these pupils, the educational choice to leave Shanghai is made not only to reach their educational goals but, more importantly, to end a feeling of being excluded. In other words, the educational decision of these pupils to stay or move depends on how much their peer network in Shanghai is impacted.

The findings show that, in contrast to the above pupils who chose to leave Shanghai, 13 of the 18 pupils who decided to stay in Shanghai for vocational education claimed that, while they wanted to go to university, they would rather stay partly because their peer networks had not been severely disturbed in Shanghai, whereas they did not have social networks in their parents' hometown.

My friends are still here, so I am staying here. They are locals and do not need to leave. I didn't consider leaving Shanghai because my family, relatives and friends were here. I grew up here, so I don't have any contact with my parents' hometown. How can I move there alone? (Pupil AO, girl, Year 9, stayer)

I do not want to leave Shanghai because my friends, aunts, uncles and cousins are all in Shanghai. I want to go to university, and my mother could arrange a boarding school for me outside of Shanghai, but I don't want to move to a strange place alone. I would rather stay in Shanghai to receive vocational education or drop out of school to work in my mother's shop after middle school. (Pupil L, boy, Year 7, stayer)

These quotations show that these migrant pupils lack social networks in their parents' hometowns. In contrast, their peer networks have not been significantly harmed in Shanghai, which prompted them to choose to stay in Shanghai for vocational education. This study found that even if their parents could arrange a boarding school or accompany them in moving to their hometown, these pupils would still be reluctant to do so due to the lack of peer networks in a new place. They adjusted their educational goals and prepared to become manual workers.

In summary, this section has explored the peer relationships of migrant pupils in Shanghai. A range of issues related to the loss of peer social networks have been identified. Most of the interviewed pupils (38 out of 43 migrant pupils and 18 out of 22 local pupils), especially migrant pupils, have been deeply affected by the loss of peer networks. The departure of peers, including cousins, friends, and classmates, played a critical role in fragmenting migrant pupil participants' peer social networks. For them, the experience of losing peers has a profound impact on friendship and learning, their awareness of status differences, and their educational trajectories and prospects. The impact of losing peer networks on the sense of belonging of migrant pupil participants will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.7 of this

chapter. The following two sections discuss pupils' views on teachers and their interaction with teachers.

6.5 Attitudes and behaviours of teachers

This section focuses on Year 7 pupil perceptions of their teachers. Pupil interviews show that in addition to the loss of peer social networks, teachers' behaviours and attitudes play a vital role in shaping migrant pupil participants' learning opportunities, educational choices, and sense of belonging to the school. During interviews, more than half of the migrant pupil participants spoke of the multiple discriminations they face in school and in the community because of their migrant status. Notably, most discrimination they witnessed or experienced in school emanated from teachers rather than local peers. When discussing their experiences of discrimination, whether in spontaneous chats or when directly responding to my questions, Year 7 pupil participants classified teacher discrimination into two categories. The first is migrant status discrimination by labelling and reprimanding. The second is discrimination by teaching and reprimanding in the local dialect. This finding suggests that teachers' discriminatory behaviours and attitudes have profoundly affected the social belonging and educational choices of many migrant pupil participants. These aspects are presented and discussed in detail below.

Migrant status discrimination by labelling and reprimanding

When asked about the perceptions of their teachers, 30 of the 36 Year 7 migrant pupils expressed annoyance with their teachers' behaviours and attitudes. They indicated that some of their teachers often display prejudice and discrimination against their migrant status, labelling them or belittling and reprimanding them in the classroom for no valid reason.

When asked whether teachers provide advice on their educational prospects, 23 of them, including those pupils considered by the interviewed teachers to be excellent, reported that their teachers had no educational expectations of them. They claimed that many teachers only spoke of their educational prospects when reprimanding them, suggesting that pupils with poor grades should return to their place of origin, while pupils with good grades could choose between staying in Shanghai or returning to their place of origin. It is worth noting that these pupils often mention that discriminatory teachers exist across subjects, including teachers of politics, maths, English, and science. During interviews, many pupils expressed annoyance and sadness over their teachers' behaviour and described how their teachers labelled them 'outsiders' in class.

Teachers talk about our educational prospects only when they start yelling. For example, our classroom teacher, the maths teacher, calls us 'non-local pupils' and often scolds us in class, saying, 'You cannot even learn in Shanghai, roll back to your rural hometown.' She does not like us, throwing chalk or something and swearing at every turn. She would say bad words even if we did nothing wrong or made a small mistake. I wish the teacher had better behaviour and did not scold us. Her words 'roll back to your rural hometown' made me not want to study as I feel discriminated against. (Pupil AM, boy, Year 7, transferred)

The teacher's words made me want to leave here. Next semester, I am moving to my father's hometown, so I no longer need to hear this. (Pupil K, boy, Year 7, transferred)

The above quotations show that the discriminatory behaviours of teachers seem to seriously damage these pupils' feeling of belonging to the school, prompting many of them to choose to transfer.

Language discrimination by teaching and reprimanding in the local dialect

Mandarin is the official language in Chinese schools. Teachers are not allowed to speak their local dialect when teaching. However, all pupils interviewed (Year 7 pupils and Year 9 pupils) reported that some teachers such as science, politics, Chinese and English teachers, used the Shanghai local dialect for teaching or reprimanding. Twenty of the 36 Year 7 migrant pupils, who are unfamiliar with the Shanghai local dialect, mentioned the language barriers they faced. They complained that the teachers' speaking in dialect affected their learning and made them feel isolated, especially when reprimanded.

My science score is very low because I have difficulty understanding the scientific vocabulary of the Shanghai dialect spoken by the teacher in the science class. When the teacher spoke Shanghainese, my mind turned blank, and I missed many points. I can only ask my local peers, but sometimes they find it challenging to translate for me. Teachers know we have an issue about this, but they seem not to care about us and never change. I expect teachers to speak Mandarin in class, but I am afraid to ask the teacher for favours. So, I can only guess what they meant by myself. (Pupil W, girl, Year 7, transferred)

In many classes, such as English, politics, and science, teachers use Shanghainese to reprimand us, making me feel very uncomfortable and disrespected. We should not be treated like this. (Pupil B, girl, Year 7, transferred)

It is worth noting that local pupil interviews confirmed these migrant pupils' claims about discriminatory behaviours by teachers. During interviews, all local pupils affirmed that some teachers often use the local dialect for teaching and reprimanding. More than half of local pupils (16 out of 22) said they wished their teachers would not speak the local dialect in class because this affected their learning and made them uncomfortable. In addition, ten of them reported that their teachers often referred to their peers as 'non-local pupils' and advised them to return to their parents' hometowns as soon as possible. These remarks were mainly directed at the migrant pupils with poor grades.

Every day, English teachers say that Shanghai pupils are not like non-local pupils who can at least go back to rural hometown to farm if not suitable for study. Shanghai pupils must study hard to go to high school. (Local pupil Z, boy, Year 7)

Every teacher hopes that local pupils can attend high school and that migrant pupils will leave as soon as possible. Like English, maths and politics teachers often say in class, 'Non-local pupils, let your parents send you back to your hometown as soon as possible.' (Local pupil T, girl, Year 7)

Many teachers, such as English, Chinese and politics teachers, often speak Shanghainese when they scold us. I wish all teachers would speak Mandarin in class because then I would not need to translate for my classmates during the class. It is uncomfortable because my classmates often ask me what the teacher has said, but it is hard to explain when the teacher says bad words. (Local pupil M, boy, Year 7)

The above quotations clearly show that the everyday interactions with teachers constantly reminded these migrant pupils that they were outsiders. Having experienced discrimination by teachers, most migrant pupils stressed the importance of having a good teacher. The following two pupils described the characteristics of a good teacher and the importance of having one. These remarks represent most migrant pupils' perceptions in this study.

Teachers should set an example for us. It is unreasonable for the teacher to speak bad words in class but not let the pupils speak. The teacher's attitude, behaviour and morals will affect us, because we are with the teacher every day from 7 am to 4 pm. We spend more time with our teachers than with our parents, which significantly affects us. (Pupil B, girl, Year 7, transferred)

The teacher's behaviour and attitude are vital to my learning motivation and interest. I wish that the teacher would help us in our studies, instead of scolding us every day. I also wish that the teacher could communicate well with the pupils, was approachable, and had a good temper. (Pupil V, girl, Year 7, transferred)

In summary, this section has explored Year 7 pupils' perceptions of teachers. The issue of teachers' discriminatory behaviours and attitudes emerged clearly from the analysis of the findings. The impact of teachers' discriminatory attitudes and behaviours on the sense of belonging of migrant pupil participants will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.7 of this chapter. The following section explores Year 9 migrant pupils' experiences and perceptions of schooling and interaction with teachers.

6.6 The school experience of migrant pupils in Year 9

Faced with a range of difficulties in moving to rural hometowns for secondary education, Year 9 pupils in this study adopted as a reluctant strategy the compromise of choosing to receive Shanghai vocational education after graduating from middle school, in the hope of one day obtaining a high academic qualification. This section focuses on the Year 9 school experience of migrant pupils, and the analysis of interview data from seven Year 9 migrant pupil participants. The interviews found that after Year 8, a series of unexpected changes had taken place in the school lives of migrant pupils in Shanghai. Before Year 8, migrant pupils felt equal to their peers, but in Year 9, issues of difference as a result of status appeared. These changes were mainly due to two factors, the first being differential teacher treatment and being overlooked by teachers, and the second being the segregation of Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational high schools. These two aspects are presented and discussed in detail below.

6.6.1 Treatment by teachers: being overlooked by teachers

Although the three major subjects (English, Chinese, and Mathematics) of the senior secondary school entrance exams for local pupils and migrant pupils are the same, due to Shanghai's restrictions on migrant pupils' academic senior secondary education, the test scores of migrant pupils who are not eligible to attend Shanghai academic high schools are only applicable for admission to vocational senior secondary school.

The first finding to emerge from the data of Year 9 pupils was the neglect of migrant pupils by the teachers. When asked about the attitude of the teacher and the relationship with the teacher, all seven Year 9 pupil participants reported the issue of differential teacher treatment. They mentioned that after Year 8, many teachers ignored their school performance and lacked interest, support, sympathy, and attention to their personal needs. They felt that most of the teachers' attention, effort, and time was allocated to local pupils. Six of the seven participants indicated that while the graduation requirements and core subject examinations in English, Chinese, and Mathematics were the same as those for local pupils, starting from Year 9, the Maths and English teachers often gave local pupils more challenging learning tasks and support in class to improve local pupils' academic performance. Three of them regarded as high-ability pupils by teachers felt that teachers' requirements and expectations of their school performance had dropped significantly, and reported that teachers often assigned them fewer assignments and learning tasks in class. They were asked to skip challenging exercises in schoolwork and were usually given less homework than their local peers. Facing such differential treatment from teachers, these pupils expressed their helplessness, embarrassment and sense of unfairness.

My local classmates and I felt that it was unfair to be treated differently. When they asked the English teacher why we had different learning tasks, she said I did not need to consider attending high school in Shanghai. After hearing this, I felt very uncomfortable as the teacher did not care about my feelings and my exam results. (Pupil AM, girl, Year 9)

In Year 9, many teachers just ignored us. The physics teacher, for example, told me that as long as I kept quiet, I could do anything in his class, such as sleep or do other homework. I feel embarrassed because I do not want to be treated differently. However, I cannot do anything about it. (Pupil AR, boy, Year 9)

Notably, three pupils, Pupils AP, AR and AM, shared that non-local teachers did treat them equally. They felt that local teachers excluded and discriminated against them.

Many teachers, especially local teachers teaching English, maths, physics, and politics, do not care about my school performance and let me do what I want, such as sleeping in class. Only the Chinese teacher still cares about my learning and examinations, treats me equally and encourages me to study hard because she is not Shanghainese. (Pupil AP, boy, Year 9)

Furthermore, the interview showed that few teachers had expectations of migrant pupils' educational prospects or provided appropriate guidance, consequently misleading them about their educational plans. When asked whether their teachers had expectations of or provided guidance on their educational prospects, six pupils said they were worried about not being admitted to an excellent vocational high school, indicating that they lacked the information

needed to make informed choices. They were confused about vocational schools' majors and about school choices and needed guidance, but few teachers could provide this guidance and information. Many popular majors and schools are customised for locals, and teachers were familiar with the system for local pupils, but these pupils had not known about these restrictions before and were very frustrated. If they had realised that they could not access certain majors or schools, they would not have adopted the compromise of staying in Shanghai for their vocational education. In other words, the school and the teachers had neglected to provide them with this vital information before Year 9 and thus misled them in relation to their educational plans.

Our teachers never mentioned that vocational high schools have restrictions on majors and school admission. If I had known this, I would not have stayed in Shanghai. My parents and I were very frustrated about this, but now it is too late to consider transferring schools. (Pupil AP, boy, Year 9)

Only recently, my parents and I learned that many good vocational schools are only for locals. I have been seeking guidance and support from the school and teachers, but they seem to have no time for me. They only focus on guiding the admission of local pupils to academic high schools. (Pupil AR, boy, Year 9)

In the interviews with Year 7 pupils, I also found that six Year 7 migrant pupils and their parents had doubts or misunderstandings about the high school education policy for migrant pupils, so I advised them to consult their class teachers after the interview to ensure that they and their parents had no such misunderstandings.

My father told me that our teacher said we could attend senior secondary school in Shanghai because of the policy changes. However, as far as I know, many of my classmates will still transfer to another school, so I am perplexed about this. (Pupil AG, girl, Year 7)

My parents are trying to meet the requirements of the points policy, but they are still unsure if they can meet the criteria because it is too complicated. At the same time, we are waiting for policy changes. If the policy change is impossible, I will go for vocational education in Shanghai first. (Pupil AK, boy, Year 7)

In all, the lack of teacher expectations and future education guidance has misled many Year 9 migrant pupil participants about their education plans, making them feel helpless and unfairly treated. The result was that such differential teacher treatment could affect pupils' learning motivation and emotional wellbeing. Pupil AP, regarded as an excellent pupil by teachers, described Year 9 as the worst time in his school life:

It was particularly unfair in Year 9. The teachers' attitude towards me and their neglect of my learning have seriously affected my interest in learning. I do not want to study anymore. (Pupil AP, boy, Year 9)

The following part illustrates how Year 9 migrant pupils' equal schooling opportunities and interaction with peers are limited by the segregation of Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational high schools.

6.6.2 School segregation: segregating Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational schools

In this study, the school appears, whether knowingly or unknowingly, to have been a site of stratification, strengthening and expanding the educational inequalities of migrant pupils. Interviews with Year 9 migrant pupils and teaching staff disclosed that, beyond being treated differentially by teachers, school administrators also implemented a school segregation measure for Year 9 migrant pupils in order to focus on the learning of local pupils: namely, segregating Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational high schools.

According to the headteacher and senior school administrators, the purpose of school segregation is to allow migrant pupils who are not eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary education to experience vocational school life in advance and make better preparations for the senior secondary school entrance examinations. The headteacher added that the school provided this opportunity, but that the decision to transfer to a vocational high school was determined by the pupils and their parents. Some pupils with good academic performance would choose to stay in school rather than move to vocational schools if they felt that their own school had a better learning environment.

In the year 2019 I interviewed – omitting the three Year 9 migrant pupil participants whose parents believed that the present school had a better learning environment – all the Year 9 migrant pupils who moved to the same vocational high school in the middle of Year 9, including four of the seven Year 9 migrant pupil participants (Pupil AR, Pupil AQ, Pupil AN, and Pupil AO). When asked why they had chosen to transfer to the vocational high school in Year 9, these four pupils all indicated that their teachers encouraged migrant pupils, who were not eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary education, to move to

vocational high schools instead of staying in the present school. At the same time, they explained that transferring to vocational high schools to be with entirely migrant peers might enable them to avoid further unequal treatment from the teachers.

The teacher's attitude has made me lose interest in learning. Many teachers pay more attention to the local peers here, making me uncomfortable and stressed. Last semester, on the home teacher's advice, I moved to the vocational school with a dozen classmates. Transferring to a vocational high school means I can be treated the same way as others because all pupils in the vocational school are migrant pupils. (Pupil AR, boy, Year 9)

The choice made by these four pupils to transfer to vocational schools as described above are, to a large degree, promoted and triggered by the school arrangements and teachers' neglectful attitudes and behaviours, which conveyed the message that the school does not value migrant pupils. Teacher attitudes have affected these pupils' school belonging, prompting them to transfer to vocational high schools.

Differences in learning opportunities in vocational high schools

Analysis of findings revealed that these four pupils were unhappy with the vocational high school's learning environment, reporting that vocational school was centred around playing rather than learning. They explained that although vocational high school teachers treated them fairly, they had fewer learning opportunities, including less teaching and learning time, less learning support and fewer teacher expectations. Specifically, all these four pupils reported an apparent difference in teaching time between middle school and vocational high

school. Compared with middle school, they received less in-school instructional time in vocational high school and had much less time for learning and absorbing new knowledge. Also, they indicated that they lacked the learning support needed for high school exam preparation due to vocational high school teachers' unfamiliarity with the middle school curriculum. Two of them complained that the teachers' low expectations led to a poor classroom learning ethos.

We are playing instead of studying there. Everything we learned in the vocational school has been learned before. Compared with here, this vocational high school provides much less school time and less homework. We can end school at 2 pm every day in vocational high school, but we usually end school at 4 pm in middle school. Teachers place no requirements or expectations on us. They only hope we are happy and relaxed. Besides, the teacher does not care about our exam and seems to know little about our exam requirements. It is not good for us, but I did not know this until I went there. (Pupil AQ, boy, Year 9)

I want to enter an excellent vocational high school, but my grades are getting worse and worse because I do not know how to review and prepare for the graduation exam. The teachers were unfamiliar with the high school entrance exam, so they could not support my study. I have to solve the learning questions myself, but I do not know how. (Pupil AO, girl, Year 9)

In addition to the differences in learning opportunities in the vocational high school, two pupils also complained that their middle school teachers restricted interactions between pupils who remained in the middle school and those who moved to the vocational school.

According to these two pupils, the middle school teacher told them that the poor learning ethos of the vocational school would affect the learning of the pupils who remained in the middle school, especially the local pupils. Therefore, migrant pupils who transferred to the vocational high school could only return to middle school when receiving the return notice. This request made the migrant pupils who remained in the middle school, and the migrant pupils who transferred to the vocational high school, feel deeply excluded.

I miss my friends here, but the teacher will not let us return, saying it will affect the pupils studying here. I feel very uncomfortable with this. (Pupil AN, girl, Year 9)

Unlike many peers, I did not move to vocational high school because I wanted to focus on learning. The teacher said that the relaxed learning environment of vocational schools would affect our learning, so we cannot interact with peers who have moved to vocational schools. I miss my friend and think this request is strange and unfair. (Pupil AM, girl, Year 9)

In summary, the above findings suggest that school segregation and differential treatment by teachers have profoundly negative impacts on Year 9 migrant pupils, limiting their access to school-based support and resources and academic development, undermining interaction with peers, and affecting learning motivation and emotional wellbeing.

The following section illustrates how migrant pupil participants formed their conflicted sense of belonging and identity through the experience of peer network loss, teachers'

discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, differential treatment by teachers, and school leaders' practices.

6.7 Belonging and identity

The preceding sections show how migrant pupils in this study experienced and negotiated the loss of peer networks, teachers' discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, differential treatment by teachers, and school segregation during the middle school period due to their migrant status. In this final section, I report my analysis of how these intertwined experiences have significantly affected migrant pupil participants' sense of belonging and identity.

When I asked 'Do you have a sense of belonging to Shanghai?', the pupils' answers were mixed. The majority (30 of the 43 pupils) reported losing their sense of belonging to Shanghai due to their peers leaving Shanghai and the experience of social exclusion both within and outside of school. This is explored in detail below.

The importance of peer social networks in belonging

As indicated in Section 6.4, peer networks played a vital role in pupils' studies and daily lives in this study. For most pupil participants, having a stable peer social network means a sense of belonging. However, due to Shanghai's senior secondary education restrictions, the continuous departure from Shanghai of their peers, such as cousins, friends, and classmates, made many participants feel lonely and unstable, which significantly impaired their sense of belonging to the city. During interviews, 27 of the 30 pupils who had lost their sense of belonging to Shanghai claimed that, although they had become accustomed to living there,

Shanghai's education restrictions which forced their peers to leave all of a sudden, had made them unwilling to stay in Shanghai.

Although I can attend high school in Shanghai as my dad meets the requirements of Shanghai's points policy, I do not like Shanghai because people around me often leave, making me feel very unstable and psychologically stressed. (Pupil P, girl, Year 7, stayer)

My life in Shanghai has become lonely and unstable because my two cousins and most friends have left Shanghai. Their departure made me feel uncomfortable, and I wanted to go with them. I met friends in Shanghai, but because of this policy, they had to leave. Because of this, I'm not fond of Shanghai now. I also want to move to my parent's hometown, where I can stay with my relatives and meet new friends, and my life will become stable without the prospect of facing separation again. (Pupil AE, boy, Year 7, stayer)

Although I was born here, I would not say that I like Shanghai because all my friends have left due to Shanghai's educational restrictions....(Pupil AP, boy, Year 9, stayer)

Furthermore, the loss of the sense of belonging to Shanghai caused by the departure of peers also significantly affected the educational trajectories of many participants. The degree of peer network loss has become one of the determinant factors influencing migrant pupil participants' educational decisions. The following selected quotes are representative of the views and sentiments shared by the pupil participants:

I know that there are many difficulties in moving to my parent's hometown, but my life and peers will stabilise, and I will not face separation. (Pupil B, girl, Year 7, transferred)

I decided to move to my sister's or cousin's school because I felt so lonely. Moving to my parent's hometown will bring many challenges, but I could stay with my sister and cousins more while attending academic high school there. (Pupil W, girl, Year 7, transferred)

The role of social exclusion in belonging

In addition to the loss of peer networks, experiences of exclusion in middle school played a vital role in fragmenting many participants' feelings of belonging to Shanghai. During interviews, 17 of the 30 pupils who lost the sense of belonging to the city indicated that while they were well-integrated into Shanghai life and got along well with local peers, their experiences, including teacher discrimination, differential treatment by teachers, and school segregation, made them feel isolated and conflicted in Shanghai. Specifically, 11 of the Year 7 pupils shared that their diminished sense of belonging to Shanghai was related to teachers' discriminatory attitudes and behaviours. Notably, Pupil Z and Pupil AL revealed that their educational decision to transfer was also a way of negotiating discrimination and belongingness. They chose to move to their hometown for education as a result of feeling uncomfortable with their teachers' behaviours and attitudes.

Many teachers often call us 'non-local pupils', saying that 'non-local pupils who have poor performance should not stay in Shanghai; go back to your rural hometown'. I was frustrated by what the teacher said and did not want to stay here. I have decided to leave Shanghai next

semester as I no longer have to listen to such words. My parents thought it would be better for me to stay in Shanghai because they felt that my academic performance could not enable me to enter high school in my parent's hometown, but I wanted to try. (Pupil Z, girl, Year 7, transferred)

The teacher's words were too unfriendly; it hit my self-esteem and made me want to leave Shanghai. Many teachers speak Shanghainese during teaching and reprimanding, and they often say, 'Go back to your rural home if you do not want to study hard.' This is making me feel discriminated against and uncomfortable. (Pupil AL, boy, Year 7, transferred)

Additionally, the remaining six Year 9 pupils' conflicted feelings about belonging to Shanghai were caused by the differential treatment by teachers and the school's segregation practices. These forms of differential treatment ultimately exacerbated these pupils' feelings of social exclusion, thereby fragmenting their sense of belonging to Shanghai. Pupil AP, born and raised in Shanghai, felt that life in Shanghai was particularly unfair and meaningless due to being treated differently in Year 9. He described Year 9 as the worst period in his school life:

I grew up in Shanghai, but Shanghai is unfriendly and meaningless to me. I felt it was particularly unfair in Year 9. (Pupil AP, boy, Year 9, stayer)

More than experiences of social exclusion in the school context, experiences of social discrimination in local communities also affected the sense of belonging of migrant pupils in this study. When I went on to ask, 'How do you feel about the people in Shanghai? Do you

like learning or speaking Shanghainese?', many participants described the locals as 'arrogant', 'indifferent', and 'rude'. Few participants were interested in learning or speaking Shanghainese because of encountering locals using Shanghainese to curse others. In the words of Pupil AL:

I am not interested in speaking or learning Shanghainese because many teachers and local residents scold people in Shanghainese, making me feel uncomfortable.

During interviews, whether spontaneously chatting or directly answering my questions, these 17 pupils who felt excluded by teachers or the school mentioned their experiences of discrimination outside school, including in their neighbourhoods (6 pupils), parents' workplace (5 pupils), and public places such as buses, cafés or restaurants (6 pupils). Pupil AM, whose parents ran a small grocery store in Shanghai, was emotional and almost cried when talking about the feelings of the local people because of having experienced local customer discrimination in her parents' store.

Many locals have a bad temper, and they look down on people from outside of Shanghai and show no respect for us. In my parents' store, we often encountered local customers cursing and being unreasonable, who often wronged us by saying that we didn't find the right money.
(Pupil AM, girl, Year 9)

Local peers are friendly, but local adults are not, especially in society. They like to use the local dialect to speak bad words. For example, when lining up, we accidentally bumped into

a local person and apologised at a restaurant or coffee shop, but they still yelled at me very rudely. I often meet local people like this, so I'm not too fond of Shanghainese, and I don't want to learn to speak the local dialect because it is too rude. (Pupil AF, girl, Year 7)

I'm not too fond of Shanghainese and local dialects. The neighbours in Shanghai are very unfriendly. They often scold people from outside Shanghai, saying, 'Don't stay in Shanghai, go back to your own place.' (Pupil Q, girl, Year 7)

In sum, the above quotations from pupils show how their experiences of social exclusion in and outside of school reveal the power of educational institutional discrimination, the teachers' discrimination, and the local society's discriminatory attitude towards migrant workers. These negative experiences facilitated the ambivalence of these pupils' sense of belonging and affected their identity in Shanghai. The following part illustrates how pupil participants form conflicted identities driven by structural barriers and social discrimination.

The conflicted identity of migrant pupils

The findings further show that experiences of Shanghai's educational restrictions and social discrimination also profoundly affected the identity formation of migrant pupils in this study. When I asked, 'Where do you think you are from? Do you think you are from Shanghai or your parents' hometown?', most participants felt ambivalent about their identities. They felt that they were not entirely from either Shanghai or their parents' hometown. In Pupil Z's words:

While I was born in Shanghai, I do not feel I'm from here because I can't go to high school here, and the attitude of the locals is not friendly. However, when I visited my parents' hometown, I felt alienated because I had no friends and did not understand the local dialect and customs.

During interviews, only two of the 43 participants viewed themselves as Shanghai locals, pointing out that they were born and raised in Shanghai. In Pupil N's words:

I am from Shanghai because I grew up in Shanghai, and my parents, relatives and friends are all here. I have never been to my parent's hometown, nor can I understand the dialect there; how can I say I am from there?

Indeed, most migrant pupils in this study were unfamiliar with their parents' hometown, as they were born and raised in Shanghai, and seven of the 43 migrant pupils had never been to their parents' hometown. Nevertheless, in the interview, 41 of the 43 participants associated their identity with educational rights, the place where their hukou was registered and the languages they spoke, rather than with their residence, due to Shanghai's educational restrictions and experiences of social discrimination in Shanghai.

Specifically, in response to their exclusion from Shanghai's senior secondary education, 33 of them chose to identify with their parents' hometown where they had educational rights and their hukou was registered, even though they had little familiarity with or emotional attachment to that place. From their viewpoint, since hukou is closely related to education

rights in Shanghai, they explicitly identified education rights and the place where their hukou is registered as indicating an identity, commenting that having a Shanghai hukou means having a local identity and avoiding many forms of social discrimination in Shanghai. In response to discrimination by local people, eight of the pupils who encountered language discrimination in Shanghai also linked the local dialect to their identity, considering that only by speaking the local dialect could they be regarded as locals.

When I was a kid, I often said I was Shanghainese because I was born in Shanghai, and my family and friends are all here. But now, I no longer say that I am from Shanghai because I cannot attend high school here and do not have a Shanghai hukou. The teacher called us 'non-local pupils'. (Pupil K, boy, Year 7, transferred)

If I could go to high school in Shanghai, have a Shanghai hukou, and speak the local dialect, I would call myself a Shanghainese because, without these, people in Shanghai would only discriminate against you. (Pupil AM, boy, Year 7, transferred)

On the other hand, these pupils (37 of the 43 participants) also showed a lack of sense of belonging to their parents' hometown, where they possess academic senior secondary educational rights. Having grown up predominantly, if not wholly, in Shanghai, they have been well integrated into the modern lifestyle of Shanghai, and their hometowns were unfamiliar and underdeveloped places for them. Although some of them liked to visit their parents' hometown during the holidays, they preferred Shanghai's modern lifestyle and did not look forward to moving to their hometown to live. During interviews, 28 of them pointed out that they could not adapt to the rural lifestyle, describing their rural hometown as remote

and underdeveloped places with inadequate school resources, fewer job opportunities, and poor internet and public transportation facilities. Thirty-four expressed significant concerns about the lack of a social network if they moved to their parents' hometown for schooling. Twenty of them were unable to speak the dialect of their hometown. In the words of Pupil Z, who felt socially excluded at school and outside school and decided to transfer to her father's hometown:

This is a very complicated feeling and situation. Before, I thought I was from Shanghai because I grew up here. But now, I don't think I belong here because I don't have the right to attend high school in Shanghai. Our teachers often remind us of such things. But although I will move to my father's hometown for education next term, I don't think I'm from there because I am unfamiliar with anything there, don't have friends, and can't speak the local dialect.

6.8 Summary

This chapter has explored migrant pupils' perceptions and educational aspirations for the future beyond the end of compulsory schooling and their experiences and perceptions of their schooling and integration in a Shanghai public middle school. It has also explored local pupils' perceptions of their experiences of interacting with migrant pupils at school. Through interviewing 43 migrant pupils and 22 local pupils in their class, contributing factors and issues shaping the educational aspirations, educational experiences and schooling of migrant pupils were identified and discussed.

The findings show that most migrant pupils in this study developed strong aspirations for pursuing higher education in Shanghai as a proactive response to the issues of their unequal

migrant status and unfavorable family socioeconomic conditions. Migrant pupil participants' perception of the importance of obtaining a university degree was mainly driven by family members' employment and everyday lived experiences in Shanghai, parental high educational aspirations for them, and their understanding of Shanghai's education restrictions. In addition, the school culture of pursuing academic achievements played a certain role in pupil participants' high educational aspirations. All these factors are intertwined to shape and stimulate the strong aspirations of most participants to enter universities. Although most of the migrant pupils in this study aspired to enter universities, few were confident of achieving this educational goal due to the Shanghai points policy and the anticipated difficulties in transferring from Shanghai to their rural hometown for education, including the problems of adapting to rural education and life and not having their parents around. In response to these circumstances, both migrant pupils and their parents in this study had made a tough decision and developed a range of coping strategies for pursuing their educational goals, which will be illustrated in detail in Chapter 7.

Migrant pupils' accounts of schooling experiences revealed that they experienced and negotiated the loss of peer networks, faced teachers' negative attitudes and behaviours with resultant differential treatment by teachers, and underwent school segregation, particularly in Year 9 of the middle school period, due to their migrant status. The result was that these intertwined experiences had significantly affected most of the migrant pupil participants' sense of belonging and identity. Most of the migrant pupils in this study were left without the means to integrate either into Shanghai, where they were born or grew up, or into their unfamiliar rural hometowns, because of experiencing Shanghai's educational barriers and social exclusion both within and outside of school. The complexity of these issues and concerns will be further elaborated in the Discussion chapter in conjunction with the findings

reported in Chapters 7 and 8. The next chapter will present the findings from the parent interviews.

Chapter 7 Migrant Parental Aspirations: Issues and Concerns

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with the 13 parents of migrant pupil participants engaged in the research. The previous chapter showed that migrant pupils in this study had developed strong aspirations to pursue higher education in Shanghai as a proactive response to the issues of their unequal migrant status and unfavourable family socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, however, they faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education so as to pursue their university dreams, due to Shanghai's points policy and difficulties in moving to their rural hometowns for schooling. Parent interviews are primarily focused on exploring how the parents of migrant pupil participants support their children in pursuing university aspirations under Shanghai's different educational policies for migrant children. Three sub-questions are also explored: (1) what are the expectations held by parents about migrant pupils' educational achievement? (2) how do parents perceive Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils? (3) how do parents deal with the policy, and what factors underlie their decision-making?

Appendix 5.2 shows the labour market occupation and educational level of all 13 interviewed parents. These 13 parents had worked and lived in Shanghai for a long time, ranging from 10 to 20 years. Most of them were manual workers without higher education qualifications. Six parents were low-skilled workers, such as repairmen, cleaners, cooks, servers, and shop assistants; four ran small businesses, such as grocery stores and fruit shops; while the three parents who had recently obtained a college diploma were electricians, patternmakers, and

office clerks. It is important to note that few parents of migrant pupil participants are employed with guaranteed long-term contracts.

7.2 Parents' educational expectations for their children

The first clear finding from the parent interview data was that parents held high expectations for their children's educational achievement. When asked 'What level of education do you want your children to obtain?', 11 of the 13 parents said that they expected their children to enter universities and attached great importance to their children's academic performance. The remaining two parents said that while they held no specific expectations of their children's educational achievement, they would support the children's educational aspirations. This is consistent with the findings from migrant pupil interviews.

For me, children's education is the most important thing. From my experience, having a good life and developing a career without a university degree was not easy. I gave up studying when I was young because I did not realise the importance of education. As a result, I can only do low-skilled work, making my career development difficult. (Parent B)

Notably, these 11 parents regarded vocational education as a compromise, due to their arduous employment and life experience in Shanghai. During interviews, they strongly expressed the importance of getting higher education qualifications for the sake of decent jobs and a better life, and expected their children to obtain the highest possible academic qualifications. They indicated that their low level of education was the primary cause of their difficulties in the labour market.

A university degree is a stepping stone to a promising career. The minimum requirement for our company's recent recruitment is a university degree. Vocational education graduates can only engage in manual labour. I do not want my son to do manual work because it is too hard. I hope my son can receive higher education so that his life will be easy. (Parent C)

Going to university is the only way out for my daughter. I didn't get into college, so now my life is tough. (Parent A)

7.3 The views of parents on Shanghai's senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils

When asked for their views on Shanghai's senior secondary education policies for migrant children and youth, all 13 parents interviewed expressed great disappointment, anxiety, and powerlessness. Overall, the views of parents can be divided into three aspects: awareness of and disappointment with social injustice in education, multiple impacts of policies and restrictions, and expectations of policy changes.

Awareness of and disappointment with social injustice in education

All 13 parents interviewed showed an awareness of social injustice in the education of migrant children as a feature within the education system and society in Shanghai. Eight parents particularly criticised the system for being a local priority policy that wholly ignored the contribution of migrant workers to the development of Shanghai.

We pay taxes in the same way as locals by local regulations. Why can't our children enjoy the same education as local children? Why are parents required to have academic qualifications? Migrant workers develop the prosperity of Shanghai, but migrant workers cannot enjoy anything, such as education. (Parent B)

In addition, the other five parents who were interviewed felt firmly that the policy of allowing their children only to enter vocational senior secondary school instead of academic senior secondary school appeared to be discriminatory against migrant workers. They indicated that this policy had strengthened the social exclusion of migrant workers and that Shanghai's education system has always been unfair to migrant workers.

Why can our children only receive vocational education in Shanghai? Shanghai should not discriminate against non-locals because we are all Chinese and have the same nationality. Non-locals developed Shanghai, and migrant workers made many contributions to the development of Shanghai. However, this policy expelled us. (Parent L)

All parents pointed out that education was a fundamental right that must be respected, and the family background should not be related to the right to access education. Seven parents interviewed stressed that the policy based on parental abilities (such as education and employment) was unreasonable and unfair. They indicated that many high-ability children were forced to leave Shanghai, which was unjust. The right to education should not be determined by the status of parents. Opportunities for vocational or academic senior secondary school education should depend on academic performance rather than migrant status.

We lack education but cannot change because we live at the bottom of society. Our children should be treated like local children, as they did nothing wrong and cannot be regarded as inferior to others. (Parent D)

Additionally, most parents indicated that satisfying Shanghai's points policy was impossible for migrant workers because it ignored the reality of migrant workers' low socioeconomic status. Nine parents criticised the policy as not being designed for low-income and low-educated people like themselves. During interviews, many parents frequently referred to themselves as the lower class. They emphasised that this policy applied to the upper class. As Parent D, who worked as a waiter in a small restaurant for 20 years in Shanghai, complained:

The government never cares about lower-class people like us. The points policy is ridiculous because we cannot satisfy it even if we have worked for over 50 years. We lack education because we did not have the opportunity to receive an education when we were young; as members of the lower class, this is something we cannot change. As parents, we should work hard to support our children and family; but the government should treat our children equally because they have done nothing wrong and cannot and should not be regarded as the lower class. This policy completely blocked our children's chances. (Parent D)

Multiple impacts of policies and restrictions

In addition to criticising the policy as unjust and unrealistic, all parents interviewed demonstrated that Shanghai's discriminatory education system had caused a series of adversities for the entire family, including family separation and instability, children's lack of

a sense of belonging, children's compromised educational opportunities, and changed academic expectations of parents and children.

Five of the 13 parents interviewed explicitly emphasised the importance of family stability. They pointed out that no parents wanted to be separated from their children, and all parents cared about their children's education. However, the harsh reality forced them to choose family separation or abandon their children's educational goals. The three parents who decided to send their children to their rural hometowns for education complained that such policies made their family life unstable and troublesome.

I am anxious about the future of our family. We cannot be with our children. My daughter is willing to transfer to another school to attend university. As parents, we must work hard to support and respect her ideas. We will send her to the best private boarding school near our rural hometown. However, my youngest son will encounter this problem soon after he grows up, so our family cannot be together, which is disturbing. We have lived and worked in Shanghai for over 15 years; it is annoying to have to consider returning to our rural hometown. We need to figure out what to do. The whole family will face financial problems if we return to our rural hometown. (Parent M)

Moreover, the other two parents who decided to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education described being torn by conflicting feelings and anxieties. On the one hand, they wanted to be with their children; on the other hand, they wanted their children to receive as much education as possible. However, family financial barriers prevented them from achieving the best for themselves as a family and the best for their children. In other

words, the points policy and their disadvantaged socioeconomic status have put them into a dilemma.

We cannot return to our rural hometown because it is a less developed place with no job opportunities; there are only the elderly and left-behind children. To earn a living, we must live in Shanghai. Otherwise, we cannot afford to live with two children. (Parent E)

Six of the 13 parents also indicated that the points policy significantly affected the children's educational opportunities and sense of belonging. They complained that the policy put tremendous pressure on their children, especially psychologically, because, having grown up in Shanghai, the children were unfamiliar with their rural hometown. Two other parents who had decided to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education also said that their children felt very depressed and lonely when seeing many of their peers leaving. At the same time, they felt upset as they knew that local peers could take the high school entrance exam.

My son often says that he wants to go to senior secondary school and university; he told me that most of his classmates have moved to other schools and that more classmates will leave next semester. I know he feels alone, but I worry about my son's mental health because he grew up in Shanghai. If he moves to our rural hometown, he will encounter many problems, such as language barriers, having no friends, etc. (Parent D)

The above findings clearly show that the system severely affected parents' educational expectations for their children. The current system has made decision-making or goal-setting

difficult or entirely impossible for these migrant families. However, the Shanghai points policy also appeared to be a double-edged sword. One parent, while firmly believing that it was unfair for children's right to education to depend on parents, admitted that the points policy has also reinforced his idea of the importance of education. He stressed that obtaining a university degree was their only way or strategy with which to deal with this injustice.

This policy is unreasonable because we are workers, not company owners or professionals. However, having learned about this policy, I want my children to receive higher education because this is a requirement of society. Living a better life with a higher degree is easier, especially in Shanghai. (Parent F)

All parents interviewed were fully aware that the points policy is wholly unfair and constitutes social discrimination against them. However, they also felt powerless and unable to find a way to overcome this social injustice because of their disadvantaged social and economic status. During interviews, Parent A specifically mentioned that he wanted his story to be heard so that other migrant families could have a better experience in the future.

This policy is unfair and unreasonable because it assesses parents' abilities. Most parents cannot meet its requirements. Parents are parents, and children's educational opportunities should not be restricted by parents' incompetence. When you write this report, please publish more information about this issue, as we can only rely on your report to help improve the situation. (Parent A)

7.4 Migrant family coping strategies for pursuing university aspirations

Overall, interview data from 43 migrant pupils and 13 parents of 43 migrant pupils showed that parents developed three coping strategies for realising their children's educational goals: meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy, transferring to a school outside of Shanghai, and staying in Shanghai for vocational education. Analysis shows that despite parents' great efforts, the overwhelming systemic structural barriers made most parents' strategies compromised and inadequate. These strategies are discussed in more detail below

7.4.1 Strategy One: Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy

The findings show that only three of the 43 migrant pupils were eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary school because of their parents meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy. According to these three parents, they succeeded in satisfying the points policy through their efforts to obtain a college diploma and their ability to maintain a stable income record for four years. It is important to note that these three parents had senior secondary education before adopting this strategy. Although their income is not high, these three parents' professional skills and education levels are slightly higher than those of other parents in this study. Parent A is an electrician, Parent B is a patternmaker, and Parent C works as a clerk in a small private company.

According to these three parents, it usually takes more than five years to meet the requirements of the Shanghai points policy. Despite their success in doing so, these three parents also complained that the Shanghai points policy was designed for highly-educated and high-income groups. Parent A and Parent B explained that to succeed in this strategy,

they needed to spend much time in understanding the points application process, registering for college courses, studying for and passing the exams, and maintaining a stable income to support the whole family.

It took me five years to meet this points policy: two years to get a college diploma and five years to complete the income requirement. I am lucky because my income has just reached the minimum requirement. However, few migrant families can meet the requirements of the Shanghai points policy because only senior secondary school graduates can apply for college courses. (Parent A)

Things would be easy if I had a university degree and a high income. I prepared for four years in advance to meet the requirements of this policy. The entire application process was arduous, and it took me three years to get a college diploma. I usually go to class after work every day. Also, this policy requires my wages to reach 6000 yuan for four consecutive years to pay social insurance and must be reviewed annually. I just barely passed the points requirement. If my income had been a little lower, I would not have managed it. So, I am just a little luckier than others. (Parent B)

These three parents were very supportive of their children's education. Despite the great challenge of satisfying this points policy, they expressed their willingness to sacrifice everything to support their children's education. They firmly believed that education was the only way to improve people's social and economic status, especially for migrant families with few social networks or financial resources.

I have prepared my daughter for going to university ever since she started elementary school. We usually spend 30% of our family income on our daughter's education, for example on private tutoring. Although this is difficult for us, as long as our daughter can attend university, these challenging experiences are worthwhile. (Parent A)

In addition, Parent C mentioned that adopting this strategy could ensure that her son will enjoy equal rights in Shanghai and avoid family separation.

I do not want my children to be sent back to rural hometowns to become left-behind children. Two of my friends were very depressed after sending their children back to the countryside for education. (Parent C)

7.4.2 Strategy Two: Transferring to a school outside of Shanghai

Under the joint decision of parents and pupils, 22 of the 43 migrant pupil participants, regardless of gender, had chosen to transfer to a school outside of Shanghai after Year 7 to obtain the opportunity to enter academic senior secondary schools, which would give them a chance to pursue their university dreams. However, this strategy comes with challenges for the pupils and their families. These include the uncertainty of entrance to academic senior secondary schools, adjusting to rural schooling and life, and lacking parental care. To cope with these, the parents of these 22 transfer pupils managed to employ multiple approaches, including the transition to reputable schools such as private boarding schools (12 pupils), repeating a grade (two pupils), homestay with a teacher (three pupils), transferring to the

same school as peers (eight pupils), moving with the mother (five pupils), and living with relatives (four pupils). The findings reveal that social capital (social networks) and economic capital (family financial resources) were vital in successfully implementing these measures. In the following paragraphs, I will elaborate on these measures.

Coping strategies for the transition to rural education

As shown in Chapter 6, migrant pupil interviews revealed that adapting to rural education was the primary concern of every migrant pupil interviewee when moving to their rural hometown for education. According to the parents interviewed, the senior secondary school progression rate and education quality in their rural hometowns were usually low due to rural poverty and backwardness. To enhance their children's chances of entering senior secondary schools, the parents of these 22 transfer pupils adopted two coping strategies: transition to a reputable school and repeating a grade. In particular, transferring to reputable schools such as private boarding schools in a town near their rural hometowns or near Shanghai has been considered a proven path to enhanced chances of transfer pupils progressing to senior secondary school and university. Of the 22 transfer pupils, 12 were able to transfer to private boarding schools in towns near their rural hometowns or Shanghai, while 10 moved to the rural day school near their rural hometown due to a lack of family economic resources or local social connections.

Of the 13 parents interviewed, five were able to transfer their children to schools outside Shanghai after Year 7 to obtain the opportunity to enter academic senior secondary schools. Three of the parents who were able to transfer their children to private boarding schools indicated that not only was the progression rate to academic senior secondary school much

higher for those who attended private boarding schools than for those who attended rural day schools, but also, boarding schools could partially solve the lack of parental care for transfer pupils. In other words, boarding schools helped parents to deal with two issues at once – by increasing the possibility of their children entering senior secondary schools, and solving the problem of the lack of parental care.

Moving to a good boarding school will make my daughter feel safe. Since many boarding schoolteachers live on campus, my children can get more learning and living support from the teachers after class. (Parent L)

In addition to the strategy of transferring to boarding schools, four parents considered repeating a grade to solve the problems of adapting to rural education. Three parent interviewees expressed the view that repeating a grade would significantly enhance their confidence in transferring their children to their hometown for schooling. They explained that repeating a grade could make up for the interruption in education, providing enough time for their children to adjust to rural schooling, reducing the academic pressure involved in catching up in the next grade, and ensuring children's future senior secondary school entrance exam results.

It should be noted that local social networks played a crucial role in implementing the strategy of transferring schools. The five parents who chose to have their children move schools all mentioned that they would not have obtained the correct school information for getting their children into a suitable school without help from returned relatives and friends.

Finding a suitable school takes work because you need local social connections. Fortunately, my brother just sent his son to a boarding school in a town near our hometown last year, and he helped me choose this school so our children could stay together in the same school.

(Parents I)

Nevertheless, the data show that not all parents had finally succeeded in implementing the strategy of transferring to reputable schools or repeating a grade. My follow-up contacts show that two transfer pupils whose parents initially planned to transfer them to a boarding school reported that they eventually moved to a local day school in their rural hometowns due to family financial constraints. In addition, two parents interviewed ultimately failed to implement the strategy of repeating a grade. Parent J, who could not take forward this strategy, explained that his lack of social relations with the proposed school and unfamiliarity with the local school authorities prevented him from doing so. Parent R, who successfully adopted this strategy, illustrated how applying for the opportunity to repeat a grade was a complicated process that took much time and extensive local social networks. Also, Parent M, who succeeded in sending her daughter to a private boarding school in a town near her rural hometown, emphasised the importance of family economic resources and social networks for transferring to a reputable school.

With the local social connection of my husband's older sister, we are able to send our daughter to a private boarding school near our hometown. Because she lives there and knows a teacher from that school, she helped us collect school information and select the right school. In addition, boarding school is costly for us, but my daughter wants to go to university, so as parents, we need to support her wish.... (Parent M)

Public schools are not allowed to repeat a grade. If you want to transfer to a private school where you can repeat a grade, you need a solid and relevant social connection and sufficient money. With the help of my husband's brother, my son can eventually transfer to a private boarding school where he can repeat the grade, but we have to pay extra tuition. This strategy took nearly two years to complete with the help of our relatives. (Parent R)

The above quotations indicate that transferring to reputable schools such as private boarding schools and repeating a grade required parents to have a range of local social networks and sufficient financial resources if they were to succeed in the strategy. Most parents in this study knew little about school admission criteria in their hometowns due to having left their hometown and lived in Shanghai for more than a decade. Therefore, they had to mobilise their social networks to investigate the quality of education provided in multiple schools to decide on which best suited their children's needs.

Coping strategies for the transition to rural life

To reduce children's loneliness and anxiety about moving to an unfamiliar place and help them integrate into a new life, 11 parents attempted to send their children to the same school their cousins or peers had transferred to. However, only nine parents were eventually able to adopt this strategy with the help of their friends and relatives: five pupils transferred to the same school their cousins were transferred to, and four pupils transferred to the same school their peers were transferred to. In follow-up contact with transfer pupils, Pupil AA, whose parents failed to apply this strategy, reported that implementing it needed strong local school social connections and extra money paid to the school, which her parents could not afford.

This finding further reveals that due to the lack of relevant supporting regulations to help migrant pupils cope with the issue of the transition from urban to rural schooling, the implementation of this strategy is entirely dependent on the social network and financial resources of their parents.

Coping strategies for the lack of parental care

The lack of parental care is another major issue faced by transfer pupils. 17 of the 22 transfer pupils were unaccompanied pupils. For these 17 unaccompanied pupils, their parents adopted multiple measures to minimize the impact of lack of parental care, including sending them to boarding schools (12 pupils), homestay with a school teacher (3 pupils), and living with relatives or a host family (4 pupils). According to parents, boarding schools and homestays with a school teacher were effective measures that simultaneously reduced the issues of adapting to rural education and the lack of caregivers. The benefits of homestay with a school teacher would also enable transfer pupils to get more learning support and daily life care while avoiding school bullying. In this study, three unaccompanied pupils who moved to day schools in their rural hometown lived with a school teacher. In the case of the 12 pupils who transferred to boarding schools, their parents also arranged to live with relatives during the school holidays.

Once again, social capital was crucial in reducing these transfer pupils' difficulties in adapting to rural life. In particular, returned migrants and networks of extended family members, such as siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles, and grandparents, substantially impacted school choices and living arrangements. 12 of 22 transfer pupils received help from

extended family members concerning their living arrangements. The extracts from Parent M and Parent L below revealed that extended family social networks provided transfer pupils with a broad spectrum of support:

My husband's sister will help us look after my daughter; our families are close. Many children of our extended family who moved back to rural hometowns for education lived with her. (Parent M)

We are not worried about safety because my mother lives in my hometown, and my sister moved back to my hometown. So, they can take care of my children during the school holidays. (Parent)

Despite the many measures taken by the parents, family separation is an unsolvable issue faced by these 22 transfer pupils. While the mothers of six of the 22 transfer pupils could accompany them during the transfer, their fathers had to stay in Shanghai to earn a living for the whole family due to the lack of job opportunities in their rural hometowns. In addition, accompanying their children for transfer posed a dilemma for these mothers because of the level of sacrifice involved. Such a move contributes to undermining the family's stability. Two mothers who decided to accompany their children for transfer showed conflicted and complex emotions during interviews. They explained that not only did they have to give up their jobs in Shanghai and become separated from other family members to support their children's university dreams; they also had to adapt to their husband's hometown instead of their own in those instances where parents came from different places.

For me, this is a tough decision. As parents, we must support our daughter's education. On the one hand, since she is still a child, we could not let her move to an unfamiliar place alone, so I decided to accompany my daughter to my husband's hometown. However, on the other hand, it will be very challenging for me because leaving Shanghai means losing my job, family and friends. I will be separated from my mother and sister, who live in Shanghai. My husband will continue to work in Shanghai, but I need to familiarise myself with my husband's hometown since we are from different places. My husband's parents have passed away, so he has no relatives in his hometown. (Parent K)

7.4.3 Strategy Three: Staying in Shanghai for vocational education

Faced with a range of difficulties in moving to their rural hometowns for secondary education, by a joint decision with their parents, 18 of the 43 migrant pupils (11 Year 7 pupils and 7 Year 9 pupils) eventually adopted as a reluctant strategy the compromise of staying in Shanghai for vocational education after middle school but hoping that they could obtain a high academic qualification one day. They employed this strategy mainly based on four factors: the family's financial situation, the likelihood of getting a place within a rural senior secondary school, the children's sense of belonging and family stability, and the chances of policy reform.

Family's financial situation – family economic constraints

Family financial constraints were the most decisive factor in driving 11 of the 18 pupils to accept staying in Shanghai for vocational education. It was difficult for their parents to choose between their educational aspirations and family life. In Parent D's words:

The only realistic choice is to receive vocational education in Shanghai, leaving behind university dreams.

In interviews with 13 parents, three of the five parents who decided to let their children receive vocational education in Shanghai made it clear that family financial constraints were the primary factor in their decision not to send their children back to their hometown for schooling. They explained that because of the low quality of education in their village, if children moved to their rural hometowns, they would have to transfer to expensive private boarding schools to increase their chances of entering academic senior secondary schools. However, since they were all low-income workers or families with two children, attending private boarding schools would consume much of their household income, which they could not afford. Therefore, considering their financial capacity and the educational quality gap between Shanghai and surrounding villages, these three parents thought that receiving vocational education in Shanghai would be the best choice for their children, at least much better than rural vocational education.

Money is a big problem if we return to our hometown for education. We have struggled with this issue for a long time, thinking it over every day. We hope our children can attend university, but we let our son stay in Shanghai for vocational education because we have two children to raise. The school in our village is not good. Therefore, we would have to send my son to a private boarding school in a town near our village. However, the tuition fees for private boarding schools are too high for us to afford. Besides, since our hometown is very underdeveloped, we will be unemployed if we all move back. Considering all these factors, staying in Shanghai is our best choice. (Parent E)

In addition to the lack of funds for expensive tuition fees, these three parent interviewees also indicated that due to economic constraints, they would have to continue to work in Shanghai because their rural hometowns were located in remote and underdeveloped areas where job opportunities were scarce. If they returned to their rural hometowns, they would encounter unemployment, bringing an economic crisis to their families. Consequently, the lack of any parental companion when transferring schools is an unsolvable issue for migrant families, especially for migrant pupils from low-income families.

As this finding suggests, parents cannot send their children back to their hometowns for education primarily because they lack financial resources. Therefore, the limitations of household economic resources could be understood as the principal factor that has motivated the parents of these 11 migrant pupils to choose to stay in Shanghai for their children's vocational education.

The possibilities of obtaining a place in rural senior secondary schools

Besides financial constraints, the low success rate in obtaining a place in a rural senior secondary school has prompted parents to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education. During interviews, the five parents who decided to let their children do this expressed concern about their children's academic performance and the uncertainty of gaining entry to rural senior secondary schools. These parents had little confidence in their children's ability to enter the rural academic high school and were anxious about the academic pressures their children would face due to the interruption of their education. They explained that moving to rural hometowns for education would cause educational discontinuity for their

children, due to differences in the curriculum content, pedagogy, academic performance standards and school resources between urban and rural education.

Transferring to rural schools is not suitable for my son. First, the class teacher told me my son's grades might not be good enough to enter senior secondary schools. If he moves to rural schools, he would need to repeat a year of study to catch up because the learning content in rural schools is much more difficult than in Shanghai. Also, my hometown is an impoverished village, and the school is not good. Like my nephew, many children have dropped out of school since Year 7, and the rural schoolteachers do not care. (Parent F)

These parental concerns are echoed in pupil interviews. 13 of the 18 migrant pupils who chose to stay in Shanghai reported that they had no confidence in their chances of obtaining a place in a rural senior secondary school due to the different educational content in their rural hometown.

Children's sense of belonging and family stability

In addition to the family's financial situation and the likelihood of obtaining a place in a rural senior secondary school, children's sense of belonging and family stability present another critical consideration for parents in deciding to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education. During interviews, all the five parents who let their children receive vocational education were concerned about their children's sense of belonging and safety in moving to rural hometowns alone. They explained that no relatives could care for their children in rural hometowns as most relatives had moved to the city. Also, they are unwilling

to be separated either from their children or from their spouse. It should be noted that the findings show that the parents of nine of the 43 pupils are from different places, which means that not only the pupils but also at least one of the two parents will face adaptation to life in an area they did not grow up in. Therefore, moving to their rural hometowns is fraught with difficulties for these pupils and their parents.

Besides academic challenges, I am also worried about my son's mental health because he grew up in Shanghai. If he moves to his father's hometown, he will encounter many problems, such as language barriers, lack of friends etc. (Parent D)

We do not want to be separated from our children. Considering the psychological and safety issues, I let my son stay in Shanghai for vocational education. As far as I know, a girl committed suicide after moving to my hometown because of pressures in learning and living. (Parent G)

The possibilities of policy reform

Two of the five parents who decided to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education also said that they had adopted a "wait and watch" approach and expected good policy reforms to be introduced soon.

We now have a wait-and-see attitude and expect this policy to change in Year 9. Shanghai did not allow us to receive compulsory education many years ago, but now we can.

Therefore, I guess senior secondary school education may soon open up. (Parent D)

My husband has a college diploma, but we have yet to figure out whether we meet the requirements. The points policy is complicated and strict; no one can help or respond to our questions. (Parent H)

The account of these parents is echoed in pupil interviews. Five of the 18 pupils who stayed in Shanghai for vocational education revealed that their parents had difficulty understanding the policy during interviews. Therefore, it could be understood that limited access to educational policy information and school support made it difficult for these parents to understand the policy and make accurate decisions.

Expectations of receiving more education after vocational education

It is important to note that although these five parent interviewees chose to let their children receive vocational education in Shanghai, they still viewed education as an essential part of their children's lives. They explained that since academic qualifications were increasingly desired for China's fast-growing economy, their children still needed to receive more education after vocational school.

Although I want my children to attend high school and university, we chose to stay in Shanghai for vocational education due to the harsh realities. We will work hard to find a

suitable major in the right vocational school to enable my son to obtain advanced professional skills instead of becoming a low-skilled worker like me. At the same time, I hope he can receive more education after vocational education. (Parent F)

We felt vocational education might be too inferior to enable better survival in Shanghai. Therefore, I hope to see whether the policy will change in future, or try to find a way to enable my son to receive more education after vocational education. (Parent E)

7.5 Summary

This chapter has explored migrant parents' educational expectations for their children and how they perceive and cope with the points policy to support their children's educational aspirations. It addressed the second sub-question of the second research question: 'How do the parents of migrant pupils support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations?' Through interviews with the 13 parents of 43 migrant pupil participants and 43 migrant pupil participants, contributing factors and issues in the coping strategies developed by the migrant families in this study for realising their children's educational goals were identified and discussed.

Most of the parents of migrant pupil participants have high educational expectations for their children, believing that higher education is the only way for the children to succeed; parents' high educational aspirations for their children are derived from their work and life experiences in Shanghai. Most parents wanted their children to receive as much education as possible and were very supportive of their children's education because they believed that vocational education was insufficient to improve their children's lives. At the same time, they

were fully aware of the social injustice surrounding their children's education. All 13 parents interviewed were anxiously waiting for policy changes.

In response to Shanghai's inequitable educational policy for migrant children, and to support their children's university aspirations, parents of migrant pupils in this study have made great efforts to employ a range of coping strategies for overcoming senior secondary education barriers that their children face, including meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy, transferring to a school outside of Shanghai, and staying in Shanghai for vocational education.

Undoubtedly, the strategy of meeting the Shanghai points policy demonstrates the perseverance and resilience of migrant families in confronting systemic barriers. However, this strategy is highly challenging for most migrant families in this study because most of the parents have only a middle school or elementary school education. Transferring schools is a complicated and arduous strategy for these 22 migrant families because of the lack of relevant supporting regulations to help migrant pupils cope with the issues of transition from urban to rural schooling. The parents of these 22 transfer pupils have made great efforts to overcome the problems their children face in moving schools. The strategy of staying in Shanghai for vocational education is a reluctant compromise for these 18 migrant families, neither completely voluntary nor completely involuntary, due to a range of difficulties in moving to their rural hometowns for education, such as the family's financial situation, the chances of getting a place in a rural senior secondary school, children's sense of belonging and family stability.

The analysis suggests that the educational barriers to senior secondary school education for migrant pupils need to be overcome by migrant families accumulating sufficient family capital, in the form of the parents' cultural, economic and social capital. At the same time, however, the overwhelming structural barriers and lack of institutional support made most parents' strategies compromised and inadequate, despite their great efforts. These summary points will be further elaborated in the Discussion chapter in conjunction with the findings in Chapters 6 and 8. The next chapter will present the key findings from the teacher interviews.

Chapter 8 Teacher Perceptions of Inclusion of Migrant Pupils in Shanghai Public Middle Schools

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from interviews with the eight teachers (seven teachers and one headteacher) engaged in this study. These interviews are primarily focused on exploring teachers' perceptions of the inclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools. Since pupil interviews revealed a range of issues and concerns related to migrant pupils' school transfer, teacher attitudes, differential treatment by teachers, and school segregation for Year 9 migrant pupils, I was particularly interested in exploring/understanding teachers' impressions of migrant pupils, along with their views on migrant pupils' school moves and Shanghai's different education policies for migrant pupils. The interviews were conducted in order to address the third sub-question of the second research question and the third research question: How do teachers perceive the inclusion of migrant pupils at school? Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

The analysis of the data suggests that teachers' interpretations of the inclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools, especially the practices of differential treatment of migrant pupils by teachers and school segregation for Year 9 migrant pupils, were informed and influenced by the school culture's orientation towards academic performance, Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils, as well as teachers' attitudes towards and perceptions of migrant workers. The following sections discuss these aspects in detail.

8.2 Teachers' impressions of migrant pupils

Interviews found that the teachers interviewed were all aware that many of the high-performing pupils in the school were migrant pupils. They also indicated that these migrant pupils integrated well with local pupils. They commented that migrant pupils were much better than local pupils in terms of academic performance, learning attitude, learning ability and respect for teachers, especially before Year 8. Five of the seven teachers indicated that because many migrant pupils study harder than local pupils, the pupils with good academic performance in school were often migrants. In the words of Teacher E:

In our school and other schools in our district, good pupils are always migrant pupils. If migrant pupils were allowed to attend academic senior secondary schools in Shanghai, 80% of pupils admitted to academic senior secondary schools would be migrant pupils. Local pupils can only go to vocational senior secondary schools. (Teacher E)

Interestingly, three of them who believed that Shanghai's educational restriction policies were fair for migrant families also commented that the learning attitude of migrant pupils and their parents' attitude towards pupils' learning were better than those of local pupils and their parents. In Teacher F's words:

Indeed, migrant pupils respond quickly in class and have a better attitude towards learning. Their parents are easy to communicate with and cooperate with. Many local pupils are lazy and often refuse to do homework, but the migrant pupils never do this. Their parents respect the teacher and collaborate with my work. (Teacher F)

Teachers' views on Shanghai's educational restriction policy on migrant pupils are discussed further in Section 8.5.

When asked why the school performance of migrant pupils was better than that of local pupils, three of the seven teachers believed that it was the migrant pupils' understanding of their disadvantaged position that made them study harder than local pupils. In Teacher A's words:

They understand their living conditions and hope to change them through education. Local pupils do not study hard because they lead a comfortable life and do not face the problem of high school education restrictions, and their parents usually spoil them. (Teacher A)

However, teacher interviews indicate that teachers were aware that the school transfer of migrant pupils triggered by Shanghai's education restriction on migrant pupils significantly affected these pupils' school performance and learning motivation. During interviews, the headteacher added that:

The polarization of migrant pupils in our school is quite severe. The best pupils are migrant pupils, and the worst pupils are also migrant pupils, because facing the choice of staying in or leaving Shanghai sometimes affects their motivation for learning.

Furthermore, many teachers complained that the educational restrictions have caused many high-performing migrant pupils to leave Shanghai, which in turn affected their work enthusiasm, workload and evaluation of teachers. The following section illustrates how the school transfer of migrant pupils affects teachers and schools in this study.

8.3 Teachers' views on migrant pupils' school transfer

The findings show that the school transfer of migrant pupils has a negative impact not only on migrant pupils but also on local pupils, the teachers, and the schools the migrant pupils attend. When asked for their views on the school transfer of migrant pupils, all the teachers interviewed, including the headteacher, emphasised that the school transfer of migrant pupils has had a significant negative impact on the school and the teachers. They consistently pointed out that the school transfer of migrant pupils, especially those with good school performance, had adversely affected teachers' evaluation, work enthusiasm, workload, and the classroom learning environment. This finding also brings to the surface how an academic performance-oriented school culture could prompt school administrators and teachers to treat migrant pupils differently (see Section 8.4).

More specifically, the headteacher complained that the constant transfer of high-performing migrant pupils deprived him and the teachers of a sense of accomplishment and affected the school's development. Six of the seven teachers emphasized the importance of high-performing pupils to teachers' work enthusiasm. Five of them respectively elaborated on how the school transfers of migrant pupils raised their daily workload and affected the classroom learning environment. One also expressed the feeling of unfairness that teacher evaluation often depended on pupils' academic performance.

The transfer of migrant pupils affects my daily work a lot. Because of good pupils leaving, the average grade of the class is declining every year. In Year 9, we are required to meet certain academic performance and academic high school entrance rates. This is not only a requirement of the school but also of the school district. This sort of evaluation is unfair. Schools like ours cannot be evaluated solely by academic performance. (Teacher A)

After good migrant pupils left, the school's average test scores became very low. Our teachers have also lost work enthusiasm because the remaining pupils usually do not perform well academically, which is a challenging situation to try to improve. (Teacher F)

Our teachers are tired and have a heavy workload. To improve the academic performance of local pupils, I had to use the lunch break to teach pupils. Year 9 is exhausting, sometimes even more tiring than preparing for the college entrance examination. (Teacher B)

Excellent pupils can play a leading role in the class. However, by Year 9, our school has very few good pupils. Therefore, the learning environment is getting worse. Not only have our teachers lost their motivation to teach, but many remaining pupils have also lost their motivation to learn. My class average and ranking are getting lower and lower. (Teacher C)

In all, the quotations from these teachers indicate that, in a school culture oriented to academic performance, the continuous loss of high-performing migrant pupils places many teacher interviewees under pressure to achieve better academic results. From these teachers' perspectives, the school transfer of high-performing migrant pupils could adversely affect the

teachers' work enthusiasm, workloads and teacher evaluation. From the school's perspective, the transfer of migrant pupils has led to instability in the number of pupils in school and a decline in pupils' overall academic achievement. As a result, the school's overall academic performance and learning environment have been affected. According to the headteacher, school resources involving parent resources, high-quality pupil resources, and teaching and training opportunities have also been negatively affected, which means that the development of the school was constrained.

The following section illustrates how an academic performance-oriented school culture could prompt school administrators and teachers to treat migrant pupils differently.

8.4 Teacher perceptions of differential treatment of migrant pupils at school

The academic performance-oriented school culture

The findings show that the academic performance-oriented school culture had prompted school administrators and teachers to no longer maintain an equal schooling environment.

When asked whether schools and teachers would treat migrant pupils differently throughout the middle school education process, six of the seven teachers indicated that, under the pressure of academic high school promotion rate and teacher evaluation, the school and teachers would inevitably treat migrant pupils, who are not eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary schools, differently. In Teacher C's words:

Because the test scores of migrant pupils have little to do with the evaluation of schools and teachers, especially in Year 9, we must pay attention to local pupils and do valuable things. We are powerless. (Teacher C)

During interviews, many teacher participants mentioned the pressure on teachers to achieve better academic performance. The differential treatment of migrant pupils mentioned by the interviewed teachers corresponds to the findings of the Year 9 migrant pupil interviews, which reveal the practices of segregating Year 9 migrant pupils who are not eligible to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary schools into vocational high schools and paying more attention to local pupils' learning.

Regarding the school practice of channelling Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational high schools, five of the seven teachers believed that this approach would enable teachers to focus on local pupils' learning, thus benefiting everyone. They explained that in Year 9, the school's main focus was senior secondary school entrance exam preparation because the test scores of Year 9 pupils represented the high school promotion rate, which was crucial for school ranking and teacher assessment. Furthermore, since the test scores of Year 9 migrant pupils would not be counted, although their test scores were used for admission to vocational high schools, under the school culture focusing on academic performance, these five teachers felt that the learning of Year 9 migrant pupils was of no value to the school and teachers.

From the perspective of input and output, migrant pupils with poor academic performance are best not staying at school because these pupils will waste teachers' time and affect teacher evaluation and other pupils' learning. Therefore, the school will arrange for them to

attend a vocational high school to prepare for the high school entrance examination.

(Teacher D)

Although the school did not treat migrant pupils differently before Year 9, there was a subconsciously implemented difference between migrant pupils and local pupils from the teacher's point of view. In Year 9, for local pupils, no matter how poor their academic performance was, teachers would strive to improve the academic performance of each local pupil because the academic results of local pupils have a decisive impact on teacher evaluation. In contrast, migrant pupils' results have no effect. (Teacher G)

Teachers will naturally have lower requirements for migrant pupils in Year 9. They focus on the pupils who can attend high school because that is linked to their assessment at work. (The headteacher)

The influence of personal opinions and attitudes on teachers' differential treatment

In addition to the impact of school culture, which focuses on academic performance, this study showed that teachers' opinions and attitudes towards migrant workers also played a decisive role in integrating migrant pupils into Shanghai public middle schools. In other words, my study has found that whether migrant pupils are valued, accepted and treated equally is primarily determined by the teachers' attitudes towards and perceptions of migrant workers.

When I asked whether they would treat migrant pupils differently in class and whether the migrant pupils who stayed in Shanghai for vocational education would face any particular problems after Year 8, teachers' responses differed according to their moral and ethical stances. Two of the seven teachers, Teachers A and B, emphasised fair treatment for all pupils, and indicated that they were committed to every pupil's learning and participation. Another five teachers held a different view. According to these five teachers, the remaining migrant pupils would have a negative learning attitude from Year 8 onwards due to being unable to attend Shanghai's academic high schools. They would become aware that there was less pressure to pass the high school entrance examination as they were unlikely to enter academic high school in Shanghai. This is in sharp contrast to local pupils who become more anxious as the examination dates approach. The disparity in practice impacted the overall learning environment and classroom ethos.

In Year 9, migrant pupils will absolutely feel that they cannot go to academic senior secondary school. This feeling would come from the teacher's requirements. Everyone's learning intensity is different when approaching the examination. Local pupils are more nervous about studying, but migrant pupils do not need to. Psychologically, migrant pupils will not pay as much attention to their studies as local pupils. (Teacher F)

Some academically able migrant pupils choose to stay in school. They will be psychologically unstable and emotionally irritable because they feel upset about not going to high school by contrast with local peers; they will get tired of learning. So, it is good for them to move to a vocational school without local pupils because there is no pressure, and everyone is the same. (Teacher C)

These five teachers' responses show that they were also aware of migrant pupils' feelings of unfairness and frustration when receiving unequal treatment from teachers. However, to improve the academic performance of local pupils, they felt that sacrificing the learning of migrant pupils was an unavoidable compromise. Three of them justified their practice by referring to migrant pupils' emotional wellbeing. They believed that once migrant pupils were away from the high academic pressure of the present school, they would gain significant emotional benefits.

They will feel too pressured to receive the same education as their local peers in Year 9 because the standards are for local pupils. I know they feel unfairly treated, even if they say nothing. Therefore, in Year 9, they're better off moving to an outside vocational school as the vocational school has indeed given them a happy environment. Everyone will be treated the same in vocational schools, and they do not need to study hard. (Teacher C)

Year 9 learning is very stressful, and I do not believe migrant pupils are willing to bear such a stressful learning environment. They may feel it is painful to stay in school. So, moving to a vocational school is a good choice for them and their teachers. (Teacher F)

From the learning environment perspective, there is some unfairness, but from the perspective of society, it is very fair. As a local, I think education resources in Shanghai should be protected for locals. (Teacher D)

Contrary to the opinions of these five teachers, Teacher A and Teacher B stressed the need to treat all pupils the same in classroom teaching, viewing the channelling of migrant pupils to attend vocational high schools as having a damaging impact on those pupils' academic development and behaviour. They believed that once pupils were in their classes, they would be responsible for them regardless of their differences. This commitment is an important starting point from which to ensure that every pupil feels included in the classroom.

*Although they cannot attend Shanghai academic senior secondary school, I treat them equally. They will feel more comfortable when not treated differently from local pupils.
(Teacher B)*

The learning environment is loose in vocational schools, which is unsuitable for pupils. They will give up studying and drop out of school after moving to vocational schools, so they are better off staying in middle school. (Teacher A)

The quotations above show that teachers' attitudes and perceptions played a large part in influencing their practice towards migrant pupils.

In summary, teacher interviews revealed how an academic performance-oriented school culture could prompt teachers and administrators to treat migrant pupils differently. In addition, the teachers' thoughts, choices, and moral and professional values could also play a decisive role in preventing migrant pupils from being treated differently in schools. In other

words, whether migrant pupils would be treated equally and valued by teachers was primarily related to these teachers' attitudes and views regarding migrant workers.

The following section illustrates how teachers' perceptions of Shanghai's policies on migrant children's education interact with teachers' attitudes towards migrant workers, thereby influencing the schooling of migrant pupils in this study.

8.5 Teachers' views on Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils

Teachers' views on Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant children indicate that these restrictions have reinforced teachers' discriminatory attitudes towards migrant families. When asked for their views on Shanghai's restrictions on migrant pupils attending academic senior secondary schools, all teacher interviewees agreed that very few such parents could meet the policy requirements due to their low level of educational achievement. At the same time, they also felt that this policy was a kind of protection for the locals. Nevertheless, when asked whether this policy was fair to migrant pupils, only two teachers (Teacher A and Teacher B), who believed that migrant pupils should not be treated differently at school, expressed sympathy for migrant pupils, saying that this restriction was unfair to these pupils and their parents. They believed that education, as a public resource, should not be the subject of a local protection policy or linked to parents' abilities.

Education should be a citizen's right, and the right to education should be equal, and at least it should provide a fair starting point for migrant pupils. Most of the migrant pupils in our school cannot attend Shanghai high school because of their parents' low educational level.

This is unreasonable because most migrant pupils' academic performance is much better than that of local pupils, and they should have equal educational opportunities. (Teacher A)

Many parents want their children to go to university to change their lives, but this policy has put migrant families into an unfair dilemma. (Teacher B)

The views of Teacher A and Teacher B demonstrate a commitment to every pupil's learning and participation. In their opinion, education should be regarded as a public resource of relevance to everyone, regardless of social status. It should be pointed out that many pupils in this study called Teacher A and Teacher B 'good' teachers during interviews. In the pupils' eyes, they treated migrant pupils equally and responded to their questions and requests in class without differential treatment.

Contrary to the views of Teacher A and Teacher B, the five teachers who supported the school practice of differential treatment of migrant pupils believed that this policy was fair enough for migrant pupils. In the interview, four of them emphasized their identity as locals and had contradictory views on migrant pupils. They claimed that Shanghai's positioning as a 'high-end talent city' indeed required 'highly educated and high-quality' human resources, whereas migrant workers, as 'low-quality and low-educated' people, were not suitable residents of Shanghai. Ironically, at the same time, they worried that because many migrant pupils had good academic performance, if they were allowed to attend academic senior secondary school in Shanghai, the impact on locals would be huge. Two of them expressed the view that migrant families were fortunate to live and receive vocational education in Shanghai compared with life in their impoverished rural hometowns.

This policy is very suitable for them. Some migrant pupils with good grades in my class choose to stay in Shanghai to receive vocational education, and then they can try to get a diploma in society. This is at least much better than living in their poor rural hometown. For them, staying in Shanghai is the key. (Teacher F)

In our school, many young teachers are newcomers with high academic qualifications, so their educational requirements for their children must be very high. These newcomers have already affected our local interests. If migrant families can settle in Shanghai, our interests will be hurt even more. (Teacher D)

If the policy is liberalized, it will significantly impact our locals, as good pupils in our school are always migrant pupils. If they were allowed to attend high school, 80% of pupils admitted to academic high school would be migrant pupils. And other schools in our school district face the same situation. Local pupils can only go to vocational schools. (Teacher E)

This policy requires high-end talents, so we fully understand and feel that this policy is excellent and reasonable. If parents cannot reach this policy, they can return to their rural hometowns to work hard. Shanghai only needs high-quality human resources. (Teacher C)

In the interview, Teacher C indicated that as a native of Shanghai, she preferred that the government should implement school segregation for migrant pupils as before. She shared during the interview that she would avoid sending her children to school with migrant children. In her view, the children of migrant workers lacked ‘good family education and

behavioural restraint'. Ironically, when asked about her views on the school transfer of migrant pupils, she indicated that since many migrant pupils were much better than local pupils in many aspects, such as academic performance, learning ability and survivability, transferral to rural hometowns should help to cultivate pupils' social viability.

Migrant pupils have strong survivability, and there will be no big problems in transferring... As locals, I think educational resources should be protected... Although many migrant pupils have good academic performance, they come from rural families and lack strict family education and behavioural restraints. Many local parents do not want their children to go to school with the children of migrant workers. My child will be in Year 7, and I also want to avoid choosing a school with more migrant pupils because schools without migrant pupils are more stable. Moreover, I think school segregation and classroom segregation are good for locals. However, the government closed many migrant schools in Shanghai, and our school used to have classroom segregation for migrant pupils many years ago, but now our headteacher refuses to maintain this policy. (Teacher C)

During interviews, the headteacher, who settled in Shanghai through a higher education qualification and has lived in Shanghai for more than 20 years, shared his conflicted view. On the one hand, he indicated that the current policy was reasonable as he felt it was never easy for first-generation migrants. On the other hand, he expressed sympathy for migrant pupils.

I work in this system, and you can say that I was brainwashed. I have been asked to look at this issue differently. Shanghai has cultivated these good migrant pupils, and there must be setbacks behind the success. Because many migrant pupils have good academic performance,

the impact on locals will be huge if they can go to academic high schools in Shanghai. Even in vocational education, the admission assessment of local and migrant pupils differs, and many excellent vocational schools are still not open to migrant pupils. (The headteacher)

As indicated by the above quotations, five teachers believed that Shanghai's education restrictions on migrant children were fair. They also held the view that allowing migrant pupils to attend Shanghai academic senior secondary schools would harm the interests of the locals. Three of them showed a sense of privilege as locals, believing that Shanghai's education resources should only serve locals and that vocational schools were sufficient for migrant pupils. As a researcher, I was shocked and upset when I heard these thoughts coming from educators, as they held strongly negative and discriminatory views on migrant families, which they openly shared with me.

8.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have explored teachers' views on the inclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public high schools from the perspective of a range of issues faced by migrant pupils in this study, including teachers' impressions of migrant pupils, migrant pupils' school transfer, the differential treatment of migrant pupils by teachers, school segregation, and Shanghai's senior secondary education restrictions on migrant pupils.

The findings show that many teachers have contradictory views on migrant pupils. On the one hand, most teachers admitted that migrant pupils were hardworking and had good school performance. On the other hand, many teachers (five teachers) supported the practice of school segregation and differential treatment by teachers, four of them holding the view that

Shanghai's educational resources should only serve locals. Teachers' interpretations of the inclusion of migrant pupils in Shanghai public middle schools were mainly informed by the school culture's orientation towards academic performance, Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils, and the teachers' individual opinions and perceptions of migrant families. The complexity of these issues will be expanded upon in the following Discussion chapter, in conjunction with the findings reported in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 9 Summary and Discussion of Findings

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the key themes emerging from the study by drawing together the main findings from all interviewee groups under the research aim. I will first discuss the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from the perspectives of personal and family circumstances. This is followed by a discussion of the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities from the perspectives of the context of the school. At the end of the chapter, I further discuss the key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities at the policy and structural levels.

In this study, I draw on Nancy Fraser's conceptual framework; in particular, prioritising the importance of recognitional justice. Therefore, the views and voices of migrant pupils shape each discussion within the chapter. I have also chosen to place front and centre the voices of migrant pupils, as this is a crucial and unique contribution of this study. Migrant parent voices are also included, as these voices add to the existing studies that explore the impact of China's educational policies on migrant pupils. The key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam are utilised to understand the role of family capital in promoting or restricting the educational opportunities of migrant pupils.

9.2 Migrant pupils and their parents have high educational aspirations: possibilities and barriers

The findings show that the educational aspirations of migrant pupils in this study were high. Many aspired to obtain the highest possible university degree, such as Master's or PhD,

believing that this was a way to improve their social status and future economic positions, as well as opening up opportunities for themselves, their families or their children in the future.

Family members' employment and everyday lived experiences in Shanghai played a vital role in influencing migrant pupils in this study to develop university aspirations. During interviews, most migrant pupils were very aware of how their parents' low educational attainment significantly contributed to the parents' disadvantaged status in society and the workplace. Few were satisfied with their parents' employment, usually in manual industries, with low social respect, low wages, and long working hours. After witnessing their family members' arduous work experience in Shanghai, migrant pupil participants firmly believed that obtaining a university degree would allow them to pursue careers as white-collar professionals, gaining respect and earning higher salaries. In other words, parents' migrant status and socioeconomic status, in matters such as educational attainment, occupation, and financial situation, significantly contributed to the pupil participants' perception of the importance of higher education. This resonates with a range of international studies showing that educational aspirations of low-income pupils from migrant and ethnic minority backgrounds are generally high in many countries, including the US, UK and EU, and are influenced by their immigration status and socioeconomic status (e.g., Baker, 2017; Feliciano and Lanuza, 2016; Friberg, 2019; Gonzales, 2016; Lynnebakke & Pastoor, 2020; Oliver and Hughes, 2018; Schleicherian, 2015; Salikutluk, 2016; Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017). For migrant pupils, educational attainment is regarded not only as one of the critical indicators that facilitates opportunities to integrate into the local society (Ager & Strang, 2008), but also as an important way to obtain increased social and economic mobility (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Gonzales et al., 2015).

Furthermore, the migrant pupil participants' understanding of the Shanghai points policy has played a profound role in stimulating these pupils' awareness of the importance of higher education. These pupils were aware that parents with higher education qualifications were accorded more points in the Shanghai points policy. That policy appeared to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it created barriers for migrant pupils and their families by denying them equal opportunity to receive post-compulsory education. On the other hand, it stimulated and promoted among migrant pupils the idea of the importance of obtaining a university degree.

Migrant pupils' aspirations also reflect their parents' educational expectations of them. For migrant families in this study, higher education would not only give them opportunities equal to those of their local peers in Shanghai, but could also raise their own and their families' social status. Most of the parents interviewed (11 of the 13) had university aspirations for their children. They hoped that their children could be admitted to the university in order to change their disadvantaged social and economic status and could thus lead a better life than they themselves had experienced. This chimes with the findings of Ming (2014), Murphy (2014), and Koo (2012) on rural and migrant families in China. These researchers found that, despite low educational attainment and socioeconomic status, rural and migrant parents expressed high educational expectations for their children. A survey in Shanghai also showed that 75% of migrant parents wanted their children to have the opportunity to enter Shanghai's academic senior secondary schools after completing compulsory education to pursue their university dreams (Yang, 2009).

The above also concurs with findings from other international studies showing that parental educational expectations and family milieu play a leading role in shaping pupils' educational

aspirations (e.g., Agger et al., 2018; Hoskins & Barker, 2017; Simpkins et al., 2015; Sabic & Jokic, 2021; Wang & Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). Research, including that conducted in the US, UK and EU, consistently found that many low-income migrant parents had expectations of their children's education and careers that matched or exceeded local parents' expectations (e.g., Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Schleicher, 2015; Williams & Bryan, 2013; Williams & Portman, 2014). Combined with previous research, the findings suggest that since migrant families see higher education as a means of upward social and economic mobility, they subsequently set high educational expectations for their children, which may promote the children's educational ambitions.

9.2.1 Barriers to fulfilling educational aspirations

Overall, the migrant pupils and their parents in this study have, through their lived experience, become aware and are thinking strategically of the future. Nevertheless, the findings reveal that migrant pupils faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education in order to pursue their university dreams, due to Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils. Most of the parents of migrant pupils in this study rarely met the higher education qualification requirements of the Shanghai points policy. Consequently, migrant pupils who want to enter universities must consider moving to their place of origin (parents' rural hometown), where their hukou is located, for secondary education. Moving to their parents' hometown seems to offer migrant pupils better opportunities to pursue their university aspirations. However, the data analysis of migrant pupils and parents indicated that moving to their parents' hometown for education was a gamble for migrant pupils, fraught with significant uncertainties and difficulties.

Interviews with migrant pupils and their parents demonstrated concerns about adapting to rural education. Few pupils were confident of achieving acceptable academic performance if sent back to their parents' hometowns for schooling due to differences in curriculum content, pedagogy, academic performance standards and school resources in urban and rural education. Pupils moving to their parents' rural hometowns for secondary education are likely to encounter educational discontinuity. Pupils were concerned that this would place them at a disadvantage, causing them to face educational disruption, substantial academic pressure and the uncertainty of attending senior secondary school in their place of origin, which would in turn harm their academic performance and university aspirations. The unfamiliarity of the rural hometown was another major issue and concern faced by most of the interviewed migrant pupils. Having grown up predominantly, if not wholly, in Shanghai, the migrant pupils largely regarded their parents' hometowns as unfamiliar places. Thus, they were concerned most about the difficulties they would be bound to experience when adapting to rural life in their parents' hometowns, including the lack of peer networks and parental care, school bullying, language (dialect and accent) barriers, and adaptation to the rural lifestyle.

In addition to difficulties in adapting to rural education and life, family separation is a key concern most pupil participants face when moving to their place of origin. Because of the underdevelopment of rural hometowns and low employment opportunities, the parents of most migrant pupil participants cannot accompany their children to return to their rural hometowns. In this study, only six mothers of the migrant pupils eventually accompanied them back to their rural hometowns for education, which meant that both the children and their parents suffered from family separation. Most of the migrant pupil participants reported that their parents could not accompany them to return to their rural hometowns because of the lack of work opportunities in these rural areas. They described their parents' hometown as

remote and underdeveloped, with low employment opportunities and poor infrastructure as regards school resources, internet and public transportation facilities. Equally, most of the interviewed parents (12 out of 13) indicated that due to economic barriers, they could not readily give up their jobs in Shanghai because their hometown was located in a remote and underdeveloped area where job opportunities were scarce.

During interviews, few participants were confident about returning to their parents' hometowns for education. This option was fraught with uncertainties and risks for the migrant pupils and their parents in this study. The issues and concerns reported by these pupils and parents about moving to rural hometowns for education chime with the findings of Han et al. (2020), Koo et al. (2014), and Ling (2017) on returning migrant pupils in rural China. Based on interviews with 39 returning migrant pupils (Years 8-9) and their teachers in 12 rural middle schools in Hebei province, Koo et al. (2014) pointed out that although these returning pupils had achieved good academic performance in Beijing public schools, they were less likely than their rural peers to enter their rural academic high schools in their hometowns due to educational differences between Beijing and their rural hometowns. The findings showed that the academic foundation of returning migrant pupils was much lower than that of rural pupils. Similarly, Ling (2017) analysed the experience of returning migrant pupils adapting to the rural education system through field research and interviews with returning migrant pupils from rural schools who had once lived in Shanghai, and concluded that urban-rural differences, cultural differences and institutional discrimination had led to many setbacks and contradictions in migrant pupils' returning experiences.

However, Shanghai's inequitable education policy and the difficulties of moving to their rural hometowns for education were inevitable facts faced by migrant families in this study. In

response to these circumstances, both migrant pupils and their parents in this study made tough decisions and developed a range of family capital-based coping strategies for pursuing their educational goals.

The following section, by discussing the coping strategies of migrant families, illustrates how family capital profoundly shapes the educational opportunities of migrant pupils under the influence of Shanghai's points policy.

9.2.2 The role of family capital in educational opportunities for migrant pupils

Family background plays a profound role in shaping pupils' educational and life opportunities in all societies. A large body of research on the effect of family background on individuals' education demonstrated that pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes largely depended on differences in the availability of family economic, cultural and social capital (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986; Bodovski, 2010; Buchmann, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Heath et al., 2010; Reay, et al., 2005; Harwell et al., 2017; Letourneau et al., 2013; Reay & Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010). This is very much in evidence in the present study.

As shown in Chapter 7, in response to Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils, the parents of the 43 migrant pupils in this study developed three major coping strategies, based on their respective family capital. Analysis of findings suggests that the educational barriers to academic senior secondary school education for migrant pupils need to be overcome by migrant families through accumulating sufficient family capital in the form of cultural, economic, and social capital. At the same time, however, the overwhelming structural barriers and lack of institutional support made most parents' strategies compromised and inadequate, despite their great efforts. This is discussed below.

(a) The role of cultural capital: Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy

Among the 43 migrant pupils interviewed, only three, whose parents had met the requirements of the Shanghai points policy, would be eligible for entry to academic senior secondary schools in Shanghai. These three parents had senior secondary education and succeeded in satisfying the Shanghai points policy through their efforts to obtain a college diploma and their ability to maintain a stable income record for four years. Despite their success in meeting these requirements, these three parents were very conscious of the unfair treatment suffered by other migrant families who could not satisfy the points policy. They indicated that, as migrant workers, fulfilling the Shanghai points policy was arduous and took them about five to seven years. This study found that satisfaction of Shanghai's points policy was unattainable or unrealistic for migrant workers, as the majority of the parents of migrant pupils in this study had only junior secondary or elementary education: and this is before considering the reality of migrant workers' disadvantaged socioeconomic status. As the remaining ten interviewed parents noted, it would be unrealistic for them to try to meet the requirements of this policy because their lives were inherently difficult, leaving them without the ability and time to obtain a degree. The distribution of the Shanghai points system, which requires migrant parents to have at least a college diploma to be eligible for evaluation in the system, clearly reflects Bourdieu's views that family cultural capital plays a profound role in influencing social and educational inequality, as it is the collection of symbolic elements obtained by particular social classes, which provides an advantage in achieving a higher social status (1986, p. 50). In other words, the Shanghai points system further institutionalises cultural capital by means of degrees, making parents' educational attainment determine their children's educational opportunities and thus legitimising social inequalities.

(b) The role of social and economic capital: Transferring to a school outside of Shanghai

Instead of implementing the strategy of meeting the Shanghai points policy, by a joint decision with their parents, 22 of the 43 migrant pupil interviewees chose to transfer to a school outside of Shanghai after Year 7 to obtain the opportunity to enter academic senior secondary schools in order to pursue their university dreams. To alleviate their children's difficulties and anxiety in transferring schools, the parents of these 22 transfer pupils made every effort to take multiple measures, including transferral of the children to private boarding schools near Shanghai or as close as possible to their hometowns, repeating grades, homestay with a schoolteacher, moving with mothers, living with relatives, or transferring to the same school as peers. Analysis of the findings reveals that implementing these measures was complicated and arduous. Without solid social capital (social network) and sufficient economic capital (financial resources), these parents could not undertake these measures successfully.

The role of bonding social capital

Coleman (1988) noted that social capital could be a positive social force that promoted educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups such as migrant and minority ethnic groups through families and communities. Much international research on migrant children concurs with Coleman's claim, highlighting the critical role of bonding and bridging social capital in social integration processes and how close kinship within migrant families provided a good educational orientation for many migrant children (e.g., Noguara, 2004; Reynolds, 2006; Ryabov, 2009; Sime & Fox, 2015). Equally, the findings of this study show that social capital within families and local communities is vital in assisting the transfer pupils through provision of school choices and living arrangements. Without a good local social network,

the parents of these 22 transfer pupils would not have been able to gather the correct information needed to deal with the issues their children would face in transferring schools, let alone formulate and implement the measures needed to solve them. According to parents and migrant pupils, most parents know little about school admission criteria in their hometowns due to having left their hometown and lived in Shanghai for over a decade. Therefore, they had to mobilise their social capital to investigate the quality of education provided in multiple schools to decide which best suited their children's needs. It should be noted that this kind of social capital is bonding social capital, a range of interpersonal relationships based on kinships and friendships which provide parents with help and information about school selection and living arrangements. All five interviewed parents who transferred their children to schools outside of Shanghai indicated that they needed to mobilise social capital to conduct these strategies and mentioned support from previously returned migrants and extended family social networks as a crucial factor influencing them to make a school transfer decision and develop these coping strategies. Among 22 transfer pupils, eight received support from extended family members (siblings and cousins) who had sent their children to their hometown for education in the previous year, five received advice from extended family members (siblings and mothers) living in their hometowns, and one received help from a local friend.

Lack of bridging and linking social capital

However, not every parent of transfer pupils had substantial or diversified social capital (social networks). Even if the parents of transfer pupils possessed bonding social capital, this capital could only help them collect school information or make living arrangements, but not implement strategies such as repeating a grade or sending children to a reputable school. This is because returned migrants and extended family members have the same social status – they

are migrant workers with almost no access to bridging and linking social capital such as local authorities or an educational institutional social network. Among the parents of 22 transfer pupils, five parents were unable to take the measures they had planned due to the lack of bridging and linking social capital between local schools and communities (social relations with local communities and educational institutions): three parents failed to send their children to a reputable school as scheduled, and two parents were unable to carry out the strategy of repeating a grade. These five parents' failure to implement their approach was due not to their lack of motivation but mainly to their disadvantaged social and economic status or lack of local social connections to local school authorities. This finding reveals that in the absence of relevant institutional support and regulations to help these transfer pupils cope with the issue of transition from urban to rural schooling, the implementation of this strategy is difficult and utterly dependent on the individual social and economic capital of migrant families.

The above finding corroborates the ideas of Putnam (2001), who demonstrated the importance of bridging social capital in the education of disadvantaged groups. Putnam suggests that bonding social capital is suitable for "getting by" while bridging social capital is key to "getting ahead". Bridging social capital occurs when people cross social distances to share knowledge and resources. In this sense, bridging and linking social capital can facilitate innovation and the dissemination of information and ideas among different groups and stakeholders, which is a vital way to reduce social and educational inequality (Frank et al., 2018; Putnam, 2001). Halpern (2005) and Allan et al. (2009) supported Putnam's argument, indicating that bridging and linking social capital between schools and communities significantly enabled disadvantaged pupils to find further educational opportunities.

The importance of economic capital

In this study, family economic capital (financial conditions/resources) played a central role in the way parents of transfer pupils mobilised social capital to implement these coping strategies. Parents who possessed more financial resources were then able to transmit this through their social networks to carry out their strategy. In other words, social capital often draws on economic capital (financial means) to achieve an end. Parents' low reserves of economic resources could limit their mobilisation of social networks in implementing their coping strategies, such as sending their children to a reputable school or repeating a grade. For example, two of the five parents interviewed who chose to transfer their children to a school outside Shanghai indicated that they possessed social connections but could not use them to send their children to boarding schools as planned due to insufficient financial resources. Indeed, the findings show that the family economic conditions of transfer pupils who transferred to private boarding schools were better than the conditions of those who moved to the rural day school or stayed in Shanghai for vocational education. Most of their parents were owners of small shops, such as flower shops and seafood stalls. This finding again echoes and reinforces the views of Bourdieu (1986), who noted that economic capital is the source of social and cultural capital because the transformation from economic capital to social or cultural capital is more accessible than the reverse transformation.

Nevertheless, transferring schools also brought substantial financial burdens to the parents of these transfer pupils. During interviews, five of the parents who chose to transfer their children to schools outside Shanghai described the financial pressure they faced. Two reported that they had to purchase accommodation properties near the transfer school many years in advance in order to transfer their hukou, so that their children could then move to the public school there. To this end, they had to work hard to make more money to pay the

mortgage. The other three, who sent their children to a private boarding school near Shanghai, also complained that boarding schools were so expensive that they had to double their efforts to make money in Shanghai to support their children's education.

Overall, the findings reveal that the strategy of transferring to a school outside of Shanghai was a compromise involving hardship for these 22 migrant families. Although the parents of transfer pupils did their best to mobilise their social and economic capital (social network and financial resources) to minimise the difficulties of transition to rural education, family separation, pupils' sense of belonging, and academic challenges remained issues for all transfer pupils. Except for two transfer pupils who could repeat a grade, most transfer pupils still faced educational interruptions and academic pressure due to the educational gap between urban and rural areas.

(c) Lack of family capital: Staying in Shanghai for vocational education

Bourdieu (1986) particularly stressed that social, economic and cultural capital are acquired and accumulated through interrelationships with social status. Educational inequalities arise and persist when more privileged groups can secure access to diverse advanced resources. For example, studies show that because of insufficient family capital (cultural, social, and economic), working-class pupils tend to opt for more "compromising" educational solutions when making higher education decisions, such as integrating into lower-status academic institutions (Crozier & James, 2011, 2013; Hoskins & Barker, 2017; Mullen, 2009; Reay et al., 2005; Reay et al., 2011, 2013; Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010; Tavares et al., 2008; Waters & Brooks, 2010). Numerous studies have also shown that while pupils from families with low socioeconomic status did have high aspirations regarding their education and careers, their schooling experiences and limited access to economic, cultural, and social capital may have

hindered them from pursuing these ambitions (e.g., Allen, 2014; Baker, 2017; Bok, 2010; Brown, 2011; Hoskins & Barker, 2017; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Rey et al., 2005; Strand, 2007). Hoskins and Barker (2017) concluded, based on qualitative data from interviews with 32 students at two UK academies, that the family milieu was the principal place where aspirations were formed, and that family capital was a key factor affecting students' pursuit of aspirations. These findings suggest that educational choices and success are closely associated with specific capital available to pupils from different social classes. In other words, social class status provides unequal access to capital, generating educational inequality. This is very much in evidence in this research.

The strategy of staying in Shanghai for vocational education illustrates the power of systemic structural barriers and lack of family capital (cultural, economic and social capital) affecting migrant pupils' educational opportunities. By a joint decision with their parents, 18 of the 43 migrant pupil participants reluctantly adopted this strategy of compromise, choosing to stay in Shanghai for vocational education after middle school but hoping to obtain a high academic qualification someday. The findings reveal that while these 18 pupils and their parents believed that obtaining a university degree was the only path to improving their social status and achieving economic success in China, their disadvantaged migrant status and socioeconomic status forced them to adjust their educational goals. Although five of the 13 parents interviewed decided to let their children receive vocational education in Shanghai, they still strongly supported their children's learning and hoped that one day the children could obtain a higher education degree. Equally, 12 of the 18 pupils who chose to stay in Shanghai for vocational education reported that their parents still encouraged them to continue to study hard and strongly supported their learning, in ways such as spending money on private classes to improve their academic performance.

Significantly, the limitation of family economic capital (financial resources) appeared to be decisive in adopting any compromised but reluctant strategy. With few exceptions, the migrant pupil participants from low-income families could not afford private boarding schools which would reduce the risk of being unable to enter rural academic senior secondary schools and thus solve the lack of parental care. Because of the underdevelopment of rural hometowns and low employment opportunities, most parents could not accompany their children to their rural hometowns for education. In addition, since most parents had lived in Shanghai for over a decade, they lacked the social networks needed to obtain information such as the admission criteria of local schools. This echoes the findings of Koo (2012), who examined the educational aspirations of migrant families through field interviews with a group of migrant families in Beijing. The study concluded that, although the migrant families surveyed had high educational aspirations for their children, limited family economic resources combined with the hukou system hindered migrant families' ambitions for their children to receive higher education.

Combining the results of this study and previous studies, it is shown that under systemic structural barriers, migrant pupils' family background determines the form of capital available to them and thus plays an essential role in forming their educational goals while limiting educational opportunities.

In addition to insufficient family capital, the negative impacts on the children's mental health and the disadvantages of family separation are critical considerations for parents in deciding to let their children stay in Shanghai for vocational education. These parents when interviewed have shown significant anxiety about their children moving from the familiar urban to the unfamiliar rural, and the developed urban to the undeveloped rural. These issues

created real dilemmas for most migrant pupil participants, which their parents perceived as impacting their children's mental health and academic performance. Parental concerns were echoed in pupil interviews. 13 of the 18 migrant pupils who chose to stay in Shanghai for vocational education indicated that lack of confidence in obtaining a place in a rural academic high school and lack of peer networks in their hometown were the two main factors that prompted them to stay in Shanghai for vocational education. The following section illustrates how peer social capital (peer networks) influences migrant pupils' educational choices and sense of belonging.

9.2.3 The role of peer social capital

As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.3), extensive research has shown that peers play a pivotal role in pupil educational transitions, performance, emotional well-being and sense of belonging (e.g., Collins & Laursen, 2004; Keay et al., 2015; Pernice-Duca, 2010; Smith & Skrbiš, 2016; Ryan, 2000; Ryan et al., 2019). Several studies have identified pupils' peer networks as a source of social capital (Chesters & Smith, 2015; Holland et al., 2007; Holland, 2008; Ogden & Marzacotto, 2022). International research on the education of migrant pupils has also indicated that peer networks and friendships were a valuable source of social capital, providing resources and support to migrant pupils as they encountered learning and life challenges (e.g., Devine, 2009; Jørgensen, 2017; Lee & Lam, 2016; Ogden & Marzacotto, 2022; Ream & Rumberger, 2008). In particular, peer emotional support provides academic motivation and belonging for migrant pupils (Holland et al., 2007; Pernice-Duca, 2010; Ryan et al., 2019). Also, the behaviours and values of peers could influence pupils' educational participation and performance (Lee & Lam, 2016; Ryan et al., 2019). This is very apparent in this study.

Interviews with migrant and local pupils indicated that, for most pupil participants, having stable peer social capital (peer network) created a sense of belonging, due to playing a vital role in pupils' studies and daily lives. However, the loss of peer networks profoundly impacted migrant pupils and local pupils in this study, shrinking all pupils' peer networks and friendships, affecting migrant pupils' sense of belonging and, in turn, shaping educational decision-making as to whether to stay or transfer.

Previous studies on the education of migrant children in China suggest that the interaction of local and migrant pupils remains an issue in urban public schools. In Shanghai and Beijing, for example, some researchers have noticed that some migrant pupils experienced marginalisation and discrimination from their local peers while studying in public schools. Few migrant pupils made local friends despite attending public schools, as local pupils often look down on migrant pupils from rural areas and do not play with them in public schools (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Lu, 2006; Sui, 2005). However, contrary to the above studies, based on my field observations and interviews with pupils, teachers, and parents, migrant pupils integrated well with local pupils in this study and did not face marginalisation and discrimination from their local peers. This may be because the present school did not practise class separation between local and migrant pupils: all pupils are mixed and educated in the same classrooms at school. Migrant pupils are not segregated from local pupils in the present school's class, although the school sorted migrant pupils into vocational high schools in Year 9. This is consistent with the results of Chen and Feng (2019), showing that migrant pupils were well-integrated with local peers in some public primary schools in Shanghai.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, according to the results of this study, the school transfer of migrant pupils significantly affected most pupils' learning and daily lives. More than half of the pupils (25 migrant pupils and 16 local pupils) indicated that the transfer of their peers brought a time fraught with anxieties, making them feel unstable and lonely, and therefore wishing to transfer. They complained that the departure of their peers caused them to lose friends and learning partners, besides affecting the classroom ethos through the departure of many high-ability peers. Equally, teachers indicated that due to the departure of many high-ability migrant pupils, the learning environment and classroom ethos were affected, leading teachers to lose motivation to teach and pupils to lose motivation to learn.

More importantly, the loss of belonging to Shanghai caused by the departure of peers significantly affected the educational trajectories of many migrant pupil participants. Many of these participants agreed with their peers' views on educational choice. As a result, these peers became a large community of influence that could either negatively or positively impact these pupils' educational choices. The lack of peer networks in rural hometowns was a significant concern for most pupils interviewed when discussing school transfer (41 of the 43 participants). For them, peers played a vital role in all aspects (but primarily academic and psychological) of their lives. 14 of the 22 pupils who chose to transfer schools claimed that in addition to pursuing university aspirations, the profound instability and loneliness associated with losing peer networks (peers transfer) within their current school also prompted them to leave Shanghai. Among them, five pupils transferred to the same school that their cousins transferred to, four pupils transferred to the same school that their friends or classmates transferred to, and one pupil transferred to the school her sister transferred to. According to these pupils, moving to the same school as their peers could have reduced the loneliness and anxiety about moving to a new place and, at the same time, provided the opportunity to

achieve their educational goals. In contrast, 13 of the 18 pupils who decided to stay in Shanghai for vocational education claimed that, while they wanted to go to university, they would rather stay, partly because their peer networks had not been severely disturbed in Shanghai, whereas they did not have social networks in their parents' hometown. For example, even if parents could arrange a boarding school or accompany them in moving to their hometown, two pupils were still reluctant to do so due to the lack of peer networks in the new place. It is apparent that the degree of peer network loss had become one of the decisive factors influencing migrant pupil participants' educational decisions. The above finding resonates with multiple international studies on the education of migrant pupils, which found that pupils with peers who had dropped out of school could be negatively affected in their own attitudes and achievement (Devine, 2009; Jørgensen, 2017; Ream & Rumberger, 2008). Holland's (2008) study of secondary school transitions among UK pupils also found that, in addition to relying on their parents' social and cultural capital, pupils could draw on their peers' social capital to help them through this challenging transition. The findings indicate that social networks of school peers and friends are critical for providing coping support and resources during secondary school transitions (Holland, 2008).

The existence of a supportive and stable peer network makes the difference between feeling included or excluded in the school and the local community. The findings show that the departure of peers from Shanghai appeared to be the defining moment in shaping the migrant pupils' awareness of status differences. The peers' constant school moves heightened their awareness of the impacts of being a migrant pupil and, in turn, triggered a series of emotional reactions, including feeling unstable and isolated in their daily lives. During interviews, more than half of the pupil participants (35 migrant pupils and 16 local pupils) expressed great disappointment and frustration at their unequal educational rights and the peer transfers this

led to. When I asked, “If you had power, what would you want to change?”, they immediately said they wanted to change the policy restricting migrant pupils from attending Shanghai academic senior secondary education because it forced their peers such as relatives, friends, and classmates to leave Shanghai, leaving them feeling unstable, lonely, and isolated. In Pupil B's words:

If I had the power, I would remove this policy so that my sister, cousins, friends, and I could live in Shanghai together. I wish we could study in the same school from the beginning to graduation. Do not let us learn half and then make us go away. It frustrated us a lot.

In summary, existing international research has revealed that economic, cultural and social capital constitutes family capital and peer social capital, profoundly shaping pupils' educational opportunities and outcomes. Equally, this study highlights the profound role family capital and peer social capital play in facilitating or hindering the educational and life opportunities of migrant pupil participants, given the backdrop of Shanghai's different educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy).

The accounts of migrant pupils' educational aspirations and choices and their parents' coping strategies confirm that the migrant pupils in the study were experiencing and negotiating multiple social injustices. These issues and concerns manifest across all three domains of injustice identified by Fraser: redistribution, recognition and representation, respectively, which will be unpacked further in section 9.4 of this chapter.

9.3 School-level factors

This study also explored the schooling experience of migrant pupils from the perspective of school-level factors. The following sections illustrate how the academically oriented school culture and the role of teachers affect migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of belonging.

9.3.1 The influence of academic performance-oriented school culture

As discussed in Chapter 2 (see section 2.2.1), the Chinese education system features high-stakes examinations. In such an academic performance-oriented system, school principals and teachers are responsible for pupil performance and are therefore highly committed to supporting their academic learning in the interests of better performance. Hu and West (2015), based on 53 interviews with head teachers, teachers, and pupils in grades 5-8 in five public schools (two primary and three middle schools) in two provincial capital cities, found that, although urban public school access was unequal for migrant pupils, they were treated in the same way as their local peers while studying at public schools. They were successfully included in urban public schools, without reports of discrimination against them by their teachers, and received the same academic support as their local peers, which Hu and West (2015) attribute to schools' accountability for pupils' academic performance. In other words, China's academic performance-oriented school culture promotes equal treatment of migrant pupils in public schools (Hu & West, 2015). However, the findings of my study do not support this point. The interviews with pupils and teaching staff showed that this academic performance-oriented school culture is one of the more negative factors affecting migrant pupils' equal learning opportunities and sense of belonging at the school level.

The academic performance-oriented school culture is closely related to high-stakes testing systems. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), its advantages and disadvantages have been debated worldwide. Many international scholars contended that such assessments provided an opportunity to change school practices and teaching values from "good teaching" that primarily focuses on pupils' needs, to "successful teaching" that focuses on improving school rankings (Santoro, 2011; Smith, 2016; Yin, 2020). Another impact is that a focus on high-stakes testing systems would further exacerbate inequalities in schooling, leading schools and teachers to marginalise disadvantaged pupils, such as minority and underperforming pupils (Santoro, 2011; Smith, 2016). These claims are corroborated by global empirical research on high-stakes testing and school accountability from over 11 countries, suggesting that school accountability based on academic performance has significantly affected teaching and learning worldwide. Academic performance-based accountability in the school system might encourage efforts to "game the system", increasing the exclusion and marginalisation of underperforming and disadvantaged pupils, including pupils from low socioeconomic, minority, and migrant groups as well as special needs pupils (e.g., Aronson et al., 2016; Hanushek & Raymond, 2005; Hamilton & Hannaway, 2008; McMurrer, 2007; UNESCO, 2017, 2020). Additionally, there is strong evidence that academic performance-based accountability exposes pupils of colour to negative and inequitable treatment in public schools. For example, numerous studies in the United States have shown that to improve school performance, schools and teachers often exclude immigrant and minority ethnic pupils from learning and assessments, resulting in substantial increases in dropout rates among the lowest-ability pupils and immigrant and minority pupils (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2007; Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008; Jacobs, 2005; Smyth, 2008; Wheelock, 2003).

Similarly, in this study, pupil and teacher interviews brought to the surface the ways in which an academic performance-oriented school culture could prompt school administrators and teachers to treat migrant pupils differently. In order to achieve better academic high school promotion rates and teacher evaluation, school administrators and teachers practised differential treatment of migrant pupils, including channelling Year 9 migrant pupils who are not eligible to attend Shanghai academic high schools to a vocational high school, paying more attention to local pupils' learning after Year 8, and recommending that high-performing migrant pupils stay in school until Year 9. These issues are discussed in detail below.

School segregation

As described in section 2.4, since 2003 national policies have stipulated that migrant pupils should enjoy the same treatment as local pupils in public schools. Local public schools must adopt the same admission standards so as to teach migrant children in the same class as urban children and should provide academic support for migrant children in order to narrow the academic gap between them and urban children (State Council, 2003, 2014). Still, in Year 9, the school sorted migrant pupils into vocational high schools, which not only violated the policy and deprived migrant pupils of equal learning opportunities, but also hurt their sense of belonging to the school. According to some of the teachers and Year 9 pupils interviewed, this practice was prevalent in Shanghai public middle schools.

Regarding the school practice of channelling Year 9 migrant pupils to vocational high schools, only two teachers (Teacher A and Teacher B) stressed the need to treat all pupils the same in classroom teaching, viewing the channelling of migrant pupils as having a damaging impact on those pupils' academic development and behaviour. They expressed sympathy for migrant pupils, saying that the Shanghai points policy was unfair to these pupils and their

parents. By contrast, most of the other teachers in this study (five teachers) believed that the channelling approach was a win-win strategy, saying that it would not only allow migrant pupils to experience vocational school life in advance and make better preparation for the senior secondary school entrance examinations, but also allow teachers to focus on local pupils' learning, thereby benefitting everyone. In their view, migrant pupils would have a negative learning attitude from Year 8 onwards due to being unable to attend academic high school; hence, channelling them to vocational high schools could help to free them from the high academic pressure of their current school and provide significant emotional benefits. Furthermore, since the test scores of Year 9 migrant pupils would not be counted, these five teachers felt that the learning of Year 9 migrant pupils was of little value to the school and teachers. Therefore, they encouraged migrant pupils to transfer to vocational high schools in Year 9, even though they were fully aware that many migrant pupils felt this to be unfair or were made uncomfortable by being treated differently.

However, contrary to these five teachers' views, the interviewed migrant pupils and their parents showed high educational aspirations and positive learning attitudes. Year 9 migrant pupils were especially eager to receive learning support from their teachers because they wanted to be admitted to an excellent vocational high school and prepare for the future. Interviews with Year 9 migrant pupils revealed differences in learning opportunities and learning environments between vocational high school and middle school, areas which included teaching and learning time, learning support for exam preparation, learning requirements and teacher expectations. The Year 9 migrant pupils who moved to vocational schools initially considered moving to vocational high schools to avoid receiving unequal treatment from middle school teachers. However, since Year 9 pupils were not included in

the responsibility structure of Shanghai vocational high school education, vocational school teachers had no sense of responsibility for the learning of these Year 9 migrant pupils.

This made the vocational high school's learning opportunities and environment inferior to those of middle schools. Due to the reduction in instruction time, low teacher expectations, and the vocational high school teachers' unfamiliarity with the middle school curriculum, these Year 9 pupils received far less favourable learning opportunities and learning environments than they would have received in middle schools. Also, their middle school teachers' requirement to limit peer interaction made them feel isolated and unfairly treated. In short, Year 9 migrant pupils' equal learning opportunities and peer interaction have been hurt by school segregation. These findings echo a range of previous studies on the education of migrant children in public schools in urban China, showing that migrant pupils were segregated from local pupils in many public schools. They were educated in different buildings or classrooms or ignored by their teachers in classes (e.g., Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016).

Differential treatment by teachers

In terms of the differential treatment of migrant pupils by teachers, most teachers (six out of eight teaching staff) in this study indicated that the factors were the consequences of the academic performance-oriented school culture and Shanghai's academic senior secondary education restrictions for migrant pupils. These six teachers suggested that under the pressure of the academic high school promotion rate and teacher evaluation, teachers would inevitably treat migrant pupils, who are not eligible to attend academic high school, differently and admitted that they had little incentive to invest in migrant pupils academically, especially in Year 9.

In addition, the head teacher and all teachers complained that the transfer of migrant pupils, especially those with good school performance, had adversely affected the school's overall academic performance, learning environment, teachers' work enthusiasm and workloads, and teacher evaluation. Yet interviews with teachers found that they usually avoided giving direct advice on whether migrant pupils should stay or transfer because they felt that they could not afford the consequences. However, interviews with migrant pupils revealed that some teachers, in order to maintain good class academic performance, which can impact on teacher evaluation through the results their pupils achieve, gave vague educational guidance to high-performing migrant pupils, thus affecting pupils' educational choices and prospects. Furthermore, although most teachers admitted that many migrant pupils are hardworking, in a school culture oriented to academic performance they did not view migrant pupils with poor academic performance or behaviour as worthwhile targets of academic investment in terms of their time and effort.

Studies have shown that teachers' expectations of individual pupils' success in the classroom vary, and these beliefs are associated with differential treatment and differential pupil outcomes (e.g., Eccles & Roeser, 2011; De Boer et al., 2018; Johnston et al., 2022; Rubie-Davies, 2007, 2010; Wang et al., 2018, 2019). Teachers usually offer high-expectation pupils more challenging instruction and response opportunities, manage pupils' behaviour more positively, and interact with them in a more caring and supportive way (Rubie-Davies, 2010). In this sense, when teachers have low expectations of a particular group, this could cause them to provide fewer learning opportunities for groups that may need more. The evidence in this study further supports these points.

All Year 9 migrant pupil participants wished to be admitted to an excellent vocational high school in Shanghai. However, compared with local peers, they did not receive equal expectations, attention and support from most teachers regarding learning and educational prospects guidance. All Year 9 migrant pupil participants were aware that their teachers prioritised local pupils' academic development in Year 9, and reported issues such as being overlooked by teachers, receiving lower teacher expectations and facing enforced school segregation. They reported that many teachers (of subjects such as English and Maths), especially local teachers, had overlooked them after Year 8. These teachers' acts of giving local pupils more challenging learning materials and assignments to enhance their academic performance led to unequal learning opportunities between local and migrant pupils, thus failing to meet the requirements of the compulsory education period. This difference in learning task assignment is closely related to the teacher's expectations. High academic expectations have led teachers to provide local pupils with more challenging learning materials and assignments to facilitate learning and improve their academic achievement.

Additionally, limited access to educational guidance from the school led to three parents and six migrant pupils in this study having difficulty in understanding policies, or misinterpreting them. Interviews with Year 9 migrant pupils revealed that the lack of teacher expectations and future education guidance had misled three migrant pupils as to their education plans, making them feel helpless, isolated and unfairly treated. In Pupil AP's words:

I felt it was particularly unfair in Year 9. The teacher's attitude towards me and their neglect of my learning has seriously affected my learning interest. Teachers never mentioned that vocational high schools have restrictions on majors and school admission. If I had known

this, I would not have stayed in Shanghai. My parents and I were very frustrated about this, but now it is too late to consider school transferring. (Pupil AP, boy, Year 9)

Equally, interviews with Year 7 pupils also revealed the issue of low teacher expectations and a lack of proper educational guidance for migrant pupils and their parents, which led some pupils and their parents (four pupils) to misunderstand the policy. More than half of Year 7 migrant pupil participants (23 pupils), including those pupils considered excellent by the interviewed teachers, reported that many teachers only spoke of their educational prospects when reprimanding them, suggesting that pupils with poor grades should return to their place of origin, while pupils with good grades could choose between staying in Shanghai or moving back to their place of origin, which is misleading as regards some high-performing pupils' educational plans.

The above findings concur with some studies that examined the experiences of migrant pupils in public schools in urban China, indicating that high school entrance exams alongside hukou status played a role in encouraging school administrators and teachers to ignore migrant pupils' learning (e.g., Kwong, 2011; Yiu, 2016). Based on interview data from two public schools in Shanghai, Yiu (2016) indicated that teachers' views of migrant pupils were influenced by the secondary school policy which rewards teachers in terms of pay and promotion based on pupils' academic success. Therefore, teachers invest less care and time in migrant pupils who are less likely to be able to enter academic high schools.

Teacher attitudes played a large part in influencing their practice towards migrant pupils. Some teachers allowed their assumption, for example, of how migrant pupils would feel about going to vocational school to determine their practice. They then used those

assumptions and perceptions to influence practice, resulting in a negative bias towards migrant pupils. The study also found that teachers' attitudes and perceptions towards migrant families could play a counteracting role in preventing migrant pupils from being treated differently in school. In other words, whether migrant pupils will be treated equally and valued by teachers involves teachers' moral and ethical considerations. The following section illustrates how teacher attitudes and behaviours influence migrant pupils' learning and sense of belonging.

9.3.2 Teacher attitudes and behaviours

International studies have indicated that teachers play a pivotal role in shaping the educational opportunities and sense of belonging of migrant pupils (UNESCO, 2018, 2020). As important early developmental figures in pupils' lives, teachers can unwittingly influence all pupils' early success through their values, beliefs and biases, which may manifest positively or negatively (Milner & Laughter, 2015; Nye et al., 2004). Indeed, the 2018 and 2020 Global Education Monitoring Reports, based on recent international research on inclusive education for migrant children, concluded that stereotypes might shape mainstream teachers' negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours, as stereotypes influence the information that majority groups gather about minorities and can lead to expectations that perpetuate the stereotypes, in turn producing negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour (UNESCO, 2020). Numerous empirical studies worldwide identified that minority and migrant pupils were more likely to encounter teacher bias and discrimination in schools than mainstream/local pupils (e.g., Botelho et al., 2015; Bottini et al., 2016; Glock et al., 2019; Prats et al., 2017). International research on inclusive education has also indicated that despite working in inclusive school settings, some teachers were found to harbour stereotypes and negative attitudes towards minority ethnic and migrant pupils, which affected the

learning and social integration of these pupil groups (Botelho et al., 2015; Bottini et al., 2016; Cefni and Cooper, 2010; Çelik and İçduygu, 2019; Fraire et al., 2013; Glock et al., 2019; Kumar & Hamer, 2013; Lyons et al., 2018; Michael & Frederickson, 2013; Peterson et al., 2016; Prats et al., 2017; Quinn, 2017).

The results of this study were similar. The findings show that, besides their peers, teachers also play a crucial role in the learning and sense of belonging of migrant pupil participants. Analysis of the findings clearly reveals teacher attitudes and behaviour issues that influenced migrant pupils' learning opportunities, educational choices, and sense of belonging to the school.

Teachers' understanding of Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils indicated that some local teachers held stereotyped and discriminatory attitudes towards migrant families. During interviews, four local teacher participants ignored or did not recognise the migrant pupils' feelings of exclusion. Only two teachers believed that migrant pupils should not be treated differently in school and pointed out that Shanghai's point policy was unfair to migrant pupils and their parents. Most teachers in this study, including senior school administrators, believed that Shanghai's academic high school education restrictions on migrant pupils were fair for migrant families. These teachers held contradictory views on migrant pupils. On the one hand, they admitted that migrant pupils were hardworking and had good school performance. On the other hand, they thought that migrant pupils should not use Shanghai's educational resources, which should be reserved for Shanghai locals. In their view, allowing migrant pupils to attend Shanghai academic high schools was equivalent to harming the interests of the locals. Three teacher participants also showed a sense of privilege as locals, believing that Shanghai's education resources should only serve locals and that

vocational high schools were sufficient to meet the educational needs of migrant pupils. One of them even disapproved of including migrant children in urban public schools, saying that migrant children should be assigned to migrant schools as before. As a local parent, she said she would avoid sending her children to schools with more migrant children and expressed stereotypes of migrant families, for example regarding certain customs or bad behaviours of rural families, while acknowledging that many migrant pupils in this school often did well academically. As educators, these three teaching staff failed to consider the educational rights of migrant pupils from the perspective of morality and professionalism. Instead, they only considered their interests as locals and were full of stereotypes about rural migrant families.

The above findings echo the results of pupil interviews, showing that migrant pupils in this study encountered bias and discrimination by teachers during middle school, which negatively impacted their learning opportunities, educational choices, and emotional well-being. These issues are discussed in detail below.

Influence of teachers on pupils

Interviews with Year 7 pupils (local and migrant pupils) revealed that the everyday interactions with some teachers constantly reminded migrant pupils that they were outsiders. In addition to low educational expectations of migrant pupils, many teachers, including English, maths, politics and science teachers, also intentionally or unintentionally displayed discriminatory behaviours in the classroom, especially when they were in a bad mood or pupils did not obey classroom discipline. Teacher behaviours, including teaching and reprimanding in the local dialect, labelling pupils and calling them names because of their migrant status, made many Year 7 migrant pupils feel isolated and uncomfortable. Labelling migrant pupils as "non-local pupils" or "rural pupils" and name-calling pupils because of

migrant status made these pupils' status differences noticeable, thus increasing the differences in social status between migrant pupils and local pupils. It is worth noting that this label was assigned to migrant pupils from Year 7, shaping interactions with teachers and influencing the way pupils perceived themselves. Teachers' attitudes and behaviours made these migrant pupils feel excluded. However, ironically, they also stimulated and reinforced the university aspirations of these pupils, although this was not the initial intention of the teachers' discriminatory remarks. Pupil Z and Pupil AL stated that they chose to transfer to their hometown for education as a result of feeling uncomfortable with their teachers' behaviours and attitudes, even though they knew that they faced a low success rate regarding entry to the academic high school of their hometown based on their current academic performance. In other words, the educational decision of these pupils to stay or transfer was also a way of negotiating discrimination and belonging.

Equally, Year 9 pupils indicated that the teacher's neglect of their learning, the lack of educational guidance, and the school's practice of channelling them to vocational schools highlighted their differential status, reminded them that they were outsiders, and made them feel isolated. These differential treatments ultimately exacerbated these pupils' feelings of social exclusion, affecting their equal learning chances and fragmenting their sense of belonging to Shanghai.

The above findings are consistent with a range of studies on the perceptions of urban teachers in China, showing that some urban teachers explicitly endorsed some stereotypes of migrant pupils and the belief that rural migrant pupils had poorer academic and behavioural performance compared to urban pupils (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Liu et al., 2015; Liu & Jacob, 2013). Research on the experiences of migrant pupils in public schools in urban China also

indicated that in some public schools in Beijing and Shanghai, some teachers ignored migrant pupils in class and did not give them the support they needed, unlike the treatment given to local peers. Instead, teachers often undermined their self-confidence and humiliated them by criticising their rural accents in Chinese or English classes (Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Shi, 2005; Zhang & Luo, 2016; Yiu, 2016).

The results of this study further reinforce the importance of recognising the impact of teachers' and school administrators' actions and attitudes on migrant pupils' learning and sense of social belonging. The following part illustrates how migrant pupil participants form conflicted identities driven by systemic structural barriers and social exclusion.

9.3.3 Belonging and identity

The range of experiences, as discussed in previous paragraphs, of being made to feel different significantly affected these pupils' learning opportunities, educational aspirations and choices, and their sense of belonging and identity.

A sense of belonging is essential for migrant pupils who must traverse cultural, sociolinguistic, and socioeconomic boundaries to integrate into a local school where most cultural norms often predominate (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Garcia-Reid et al., 2005). At the same time, public schools are ideal places for migrant pupils to develop a sense of belonging, integrate into local society, learn about local culture, make friends, establish peer networks, and achieve educational goals. Thus, OECD (2014) and UNESCO (2020) have consistently pointed to the need for schools to pay close attention to the teacher-pupil relationships and school belonging of migrant pupils, advocating that inclusive education of these pupils cannot be achieved without teachers serving as agents of change, armed with the values,

attitudes and knowledge that enable each pupil to succeed. While the migrant pupils in my study may not be what are commonly understood as migrant pupils (that is, coming from another country with different linguistic, cultural and possibly faith backgrounds), the principles of inclusion, and of the importance of peer networks and of being recognised, are ones that do apply to the Chinese migrant pupils.

Interviews with migrant pupils found that most of the migrant pupils in this study developed an ambivalent sense of belonging and identity. Specifically, 41 of the 43 migrant pupils confirmed that the Shanghai points policy limited their educational opportunities and destroyed their sense of belonging to Shanghai. They were left without the means to integrate either into Shanghai, where they were born or grew up, or into their unfamiliar rural hometowns, because of experiencing Shanghai's educational barriers and social exclusion both within and outside of school. In other words, they were caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, most migrant pupil participants were born, raised and educated in Shanghai, so they thought that Shanghai was home and was where their future would lie. However, after entering middle school, experiences of Shanghai's senior secondary education restrictions, peers leaving Shanghai, teachers' discriminatory attitudes, differential treatment by teachers, and school segregation led most migrant pupil participants to struggle, forming an ambivalent sense of identity and belonging to Shanghai. In the words of Pupil A and Pupil Z:

Shanghai gives a sense of belonging only from the perspective of the family because my parents are still in Shanghai. But socially, I didn't have a sense of belonging to Shanghai because I could not attend an academic high school like my peers here. Due to this restriction, my friends and relatives have all left in the last year.

This is a very complicated feeling and situation. Before, I thought I was from Shanghai because I grew up here. But now, I don't think I belong here because I don't have the right to attend academic high school in Shanghai. Our teachers often remind us of such things. But although I will move to my father's hometown for education next term, I don't think I'm from there because I am unfamiliar with anything there, don't have friends, and can't speak the local dialect.

The account of migrant pupil participants conveys a sense of identity conflict. Their positionality as a migrant population illustrates the power of systemic structural barriers and social discrimination in shaping identity on different scales, prompting them to identify the right to education, the place where their hukou is registered, and language as determinants of identity rather than their place of residence. The experiences of institutional exclusion and social discrimination at school and in local communities made many migrant pupil participants feel helpless and isolated and could even lead to issues with self-esteem. Many pupils' accounts revealed the deep anxiety and embarrassment associated with being labelled an outsider.

The above finding resonates with a range of US studies that have examined the impact of undocumented immigrant status on those who grow up in the United States (e.g., Gonzales, 2011, 2016; Gonzales et al., 2013; Mallet et al., 2017; Torres & Wicks-Asbun, 2014; Torres-Olave et al., 2021). These studies illustrate the power of immigration policies, regulations, and societal discrimination to shape conflicting identities and sense of belonging and to promote but limit the higher education aspirations of undocumented Latino youth.

The accounts of migrant pupils' schooling experiences, educational aspirations and choices, and their parents' coping strategies confirm that the migrant pupils in the study were experiencing and negotiating multiple social injustices. The following section concludes the account of these issues by drawing on Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation).

9.4 Social injustice facing migrant pupils

Migrant pupils' account of their aspirations, educational choices, and schooling experiences, as well as their parents' coping strategies, revealed that these pupils were experiencing and negotiating multiple social injustices that are closely associated with Fraser's conception of social justice as parity of participation, encompassing (re)distribution (economic), recognition (cultural), and representation (political), thus highlighting the power of systemic structural barriers and social exclusion to affect migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of social belonging. In Fraser's view, parity of participation is a fundamental route through which to pursue social justice because it informs and shapes how distributive, recognitive and representative justice are approached and understood. According to this "democratic interpretation of the principle of equality of moral values" (Fraser, 2005, p. 73), any practice that deprives social members of the opportunity to participate in social life as peers is unjust.

Based on the principle of participatory parity, Fraser (2005) proposed that social justice theories must be three-dimensional, combining the political dimension of representation with the cultural dimension of recognition and the economic dimension of distribution, because distribution, recognition and representation interpenetrate. Drawing on Fraser's concept of social justice, it would not be unfair to suggest that the Chinese hukou system and Shanghai points system deny migrant pupils and their parents recognitional and representative justice.

Findings from this and previous studies on the education of migrant pupils suggest that current policies fail to recognise migrant pupils' post-compulsory education rights, nor do they take into account the impact of disrespect and non-recognition of migrant pupils' educational aspirations, learning, everyday experiences, social belonging and identity.

9.4.1 Lack of recognitional injustice within the hukou and points-based systems

Fraser (2008) emphasised that recognition was key to achieving parity of social status. She noted that cultural injustice arises when hierarchical or institutionalised patterns of cultural values lead to social status inequality or disrespect for specific social groups. Equity for marginalised groups cannot be guaranteed when the order of social status fails to reflect cultural recognition of all social groups (Benjamin & Arshad, 2020).

As these educational aspirations are not recognised in policy discourse, because of migrant pupils being included in what Fraser refers to as a subordinated or marginalised way (Fraser, 2007), recognitional injustice is taking place. Under Shanghai's points system, migrant pupils' social status is not recognised in post-compulsory education, and this lack of recognition prevents them from participating as "full partners in social interactions" (Fraser, 2007, p. 315). Most migrant pupils in this study developed strong aspirations for pursuing higher education; however, they faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education so as to pursue their university aspirations due to Shanghai's points policy interacting with the hukou system. Since the reformed hukou system has been driven by family culture and economic capital (economic status and educational qualifications), migrant families with low socioeconomic status and inadequate educational qualifications are less likely to obtain an urban hukou or meet the requirements of the points policy.

The findings of this study and previous research have shown that migrants who have obtained urban hukou or meet these requirements are usually highly educated and in high-end employment (Sun & Fan, 2011). Especially in first-tier cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, only those with a Master's degree and employed by selected employers or having self-owned enterprises can apply for local hukou; rural migrant workers with low educational levels and low incomes cannot meet these higher assessment criteria (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). In other words, the reformed hukou system, driven mainly by educational qualifications and economic status, has become a social stratification project rather than a way of promoting freedom of movement and inclusion. As a result of the reforms and following increased inequality in regional development, the socioeconomic status of urban dwellers has been considered superior to that of rural dwellers. The hukou system has thus resulted in a series of problems related to educational justice, social inclusion, and life chances (Dong & Goodburn, 2020; Wu & Zhang, 2015; Xu & Wu, 2016).

Although the Chinese central government issued the "Guidelines on the Senior Secondary School and University Entrance Examination for Migrant Children and Youth in Destination Cities" in 2012 to allow migrant pupils to attend senior secondary schools and take university entrance exams in destination cities, over half of the provincial governments have implemented this policy by establishing a points-based system dependent on parental status to determine the rights of migrant pupils to academic high school education (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). Shanghai became the first city to establish, in 2013, a residence permit points system dependent on parental status (the points policy) to determine the opportunities of migrant children and youth for post-compulsory education, and its experience has influenced the national model. From a practical point of view, the Shanghai points system still follows the idea of the hukou system, mainly targeting highly educated and high-income

groups by requiring migrant parents to have at least a college diploma to be eligible for evaluation in the system. However, the findings of this and other studies show that migrant parents can rarely meet the requirements of the Shanghai points policy because most of them are workers in labour-intensive industries and have low educational attainments (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). So, while on the surface the central government guidelines appear to promote equality of opportunity, in practice there is indirect discrimination against migrant families.

News reports in 2015 stated that only 170,000 of Shanghai's 10 million migrants met the requirements of the points policy, so that the proportion of migrant children who could enter Shanghai academic senior secondary schools was extremely low (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). The points policy is essentially a competition based on family cultural and economic capital (educational qualifications and economic status). Migrant pupils who are eliminated by this screening mechanism are often forced to drop out of school or return to their hometowns. Because of many parents' inability to satisfy the requirements of the Shanghai points policy, migrant pupils can only receive Shanghai's vocational education after compulsory education, so that many migrant pupils who want to attend academic senior secondary schools have to drop out during middle school and return to their rural hometowns for education, in order to prepare for senior secondary school entrance exams – which has, in turn, triggered a range of issues and concerns for returning pupils.

The points policy clearly fails to recognise migrant pupils' aspirations or afford them status recognition and this has significantly affected these pupils' academic and life opportunities in post-compulsory education. From the perspective of ensuring migrant children's equal rights to schooling, although vocational education could meet their educational needs to a certain

extent, it is largely a reluctant choice made after their demands for attendance at academic senior secondary schools have been refused. The results of this study and previous studies show that, because migrant families hope that their children might be admitted to the university in order to change their disadvantaged social and economic status, many migrant children aged 12 to 15 are consequently moved to their rural hometowns for schooling (e.g., Han et al., 2020; Koo et al., 2014; Ling, 2017). A 2016 survey of Shanghai public middle schools indicated that about 60% of migrant pupils in Year 8 and 40% in Year 7 had dropped out to move to their rural hometowns for education (Dong & Goodburn, 2020). In addition, a survey by Shanghai University showed that the number of migrant pupils enrolled in compulsory education in Shanghai dropped by 38,000 in 2015 (Liu & Wang, 2016).

Based on the results of this and other studies, I argue that the lack of change in preventing migrant families from obtaining an urban hukou means that the lack of access to urban education persists. Both the reformed hukou system and the points system based on parental status are unequal institutional arrangements that have become an integral part of China's social stratification system for increasing control over migration selectivity, resulting in unequal life and educational opportunities for migrant children and youth. As Bourdieu (1986) pointed out, cultural capital contributes to social and educational inequality through the education system or specific transmission mechanisms. This is very much in evidence in this study. The distribution of educational resources is often reproduced through the hukou and the points system, which further institutionalises cultural capital by means of degrees, making parents' educational attainment determine their children's educational opportunities and social and economic status, and legitimising social and educational inequalities. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), Shanghai's points policy also reflects the contradiction between the "population control" policy and educational justice. A serious challenge that the

Shanghai government must face is how to strike an effective balance between the two and solve the educational injustice that affects the future of about 1 million migrant children in Shanghai. Even with limited public resources, the Shanghai government should prioritise the most vulnerable groups in society when controlling the population and distributing public services, which would align with the social equity and justice principles emphasised by China's overall national education policy (NPC, 2009).

Stereotypes and stigmatisation

Non-recognition can ignore group characteristics such as aspirations, values and culture, a neglect which may lead to stereotypes, stigmatisation, and misrepresentation. In this study, the marginalisation of migrant pupils based on their parents' migrant status and hukou status indicates a lack of recognition of these pupils' aspirations, identity and sense of belonging, causing them to experience discrimination, stigmatisation, and stereotypes at the institutional, societal, and individual levels.

Studies have shown that teachers' implicit prejudices and stereotypes about race and socioeconomic status predict differential teacher expectations of pupils from different racial/ethnic and class groups (e.g., Abbas, 2002; Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Fischer et al., 2020; Gillborn et al., 2012; Rist, 1970, 2000; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006). In addition, stereotypes may promote negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in the classroom among mainstream teachers, which can have a significant negative impact on learning motivation, social identity, emotional well-being and achievement of pupils from the stigmatised groups (Egalite et al., 2015; Gershenson et al., 2017; UNESCO, 2020; Wong et al., 2003). This is very apparent in the present study.

In this study, teachers' stereotyped attitudes towards migrant families are evident. Teachers' attitudes and behaviours have profoundly affected the social belonging and educational trajectories of many migrant pupils, exacerbating their social exclusion in the school system: in particular, labelling the impacted migrant pupils by making them feel that the teachers did not accept them, undermining their sense of belonging to the school and prompting many to transfer. Although all teachers admitted that many migrant pupils are diligent and had good school performance, more than half of the teachers still believed that only locals should enjoy Shanghai's educational resources. Teacher interviews imply that the biases of local teachers are mainly based on their long-term experience of enjoying local privileges as urban residents. At the same time, the academic performance-oriented school culture and the institutional barrier of Shanghai's educational restrictions on migrant pupils had profound implications for teachers, motivating and reinforcing local teachers' stereotypes and discrimination against migrant workers, in turn inciting teachers and school administrators to practise differential treatment of migrant pupils.

The findings of this study resonate with a range of studies on migrant pupils' public schooling experiences in urban China, showing that in local communities and public school systems in urban China, stigmatisation and stereotypes of rural migrant families are severe at the institutional, societal, and individual levels. Migrant households often experience discrimination by locals in many Chinese cities due to their lower social and socioeconomic status (Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Qian & Walker, 2015). As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.4), after Shanghai implemented the attendance of migrant children at local public schools, many local parents suggested that in the case of children of migrant workers who are poor and less well-educated, the government should separate them from local pupils and build migrant schools for them (Lan, 2014). Although the Chinese central government

required local governments and public schools to ensure that migrant pupils received the same treatment in public schools as local pupils (State Council, 2003, 2014), some migrant pupils continued to lack access to the same educational resources as local pupils while studying in public schools. Instead, they experienced marginalisation and discrimination due to stigmatisation and stereotypes of migrant groups by locals and institutions (e.g., Goodburn, 2009; Kwong, 2011; Lan, 2014; Liu et al., 2015; Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016). Some studies showed that migrant pupils were still segregated from local pupils in public schools (Southern Metropolis Daily, 2010; Xiong, 2012; Yiu, 2016; Zhang & Luo, 2016). Significantly, some researchers attributed the root cause of marginalisation primarily to locals' or teachers' prejudice against migrant pupils, a phenomenon existing at a personal level (e.g., Lan, 2014); others also argued that institutional barriers to the education of migrant pupils in urban high schools led to different treatment of migrant pupils by teachers and school administrators in public schools (e.g., Kwong 2011; Yiu, 2016). Both views are very apparent in the present study.

Such negative school experiences at public schools can significantly affect migrant pupils' learning and social interaction. Lan (2014) and Kwong (2011) have noted that many migrant pupils want to transfer out of public schools or drop their studies because they feel excluded by the school, teachers and local peers. Sun et al. (2015) also found that migrant pupils in public schools had more severe mental health issues and lower well-being levels than local peers.

Based on the findings of this and previous studies, I argue that, at the school level, in addition to the academic performance-oriented school culture, teacher expectations as well as teacher attitudes and behaviours played a pivotal role in affecting the educational opportunities and

sense of belonging of migrant pupils in this study. These pupils' experiences of social exclusion in and outside of school illustrated the power of educational institutional discrimination, teachers' bias, and the local society's discriminatory attitude towards migrant workers. These discriminations, in turn, increased the ambivalence of these pupils' sense of belonging and affected their identity in Shanghai.

High-quality teacher-pupil relationships and classroom belonging are critical for promoting learning, engagement, motivation, and social and emotional well-being among marginalised pupils (OECD, 2014; UNESCO, 2018, 2020). In regard to eliminating or reducing teacher bias and stereotypes, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), several researchers identified that school leaders and teachers had the power to support marginalised adolescents in various ways to eliminate social prejudice and stereotypes and that their direct or indirect actions could significantly encourage these pupils' investments in learning (e.g., Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Hantzopoulos, 2013; Johnston et al., 2022; St. Mary et al., 2018; Wenzel et al., 2010). In addition, increasing the diversity of the teacher workforce can be seen as a solution, as several studies have shown that teachers assigned to the same ethnicity/race may positively impact the school performance of minority and black pupils (e.g., Dee, 2004, 2005; Gershenson et al., 2018; Holt and Gershenson, 2019; Lindsay & Hart, 2017; Michael & Constance, 2021).

Therefore, I noted that it is essential for school administrators and teachers to address issues of discrimination and stereotypes. The school ethos, particularly that of teachers and school leaders, is integral to migrant pupils' educational opportunities, outcomes and sense of belonging. Teaching practices that recognise and care about pupils' aspirations and learning

are participatory and empower pupils to transform their marginalisation, which can promote academic achievement and social justice (Hantzopoulos, 2013; Johnston et al., 2022).

9.4.2 Redistributive injustice

According to Fraser (2007), redistributive injustices (class inequality or maldistribution) occur when individuals are prevented from participating fully in society because existing economic structures deprive them of the material resources they need to be equal to other members of society. In other words, redistribution (economic justice) is necessary to counter economic marginalisation, denial of an adequate material standard of living for some sections of society, and exploitation. Regarding redistributive injustice, the findings of this study indicate that the combination of uneven distribution of educational and economic resources between regions and urban and rural areas in China, together with high-stakes testing systems, have profoundly affected migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of belonging.

Unequal distribution of educational and economic resources

The educational choices of migrant pupils and the coping strategies of their parents based on their respective family capital illustrate the power of uneven distribution of educational and economic resources in rural China and the lack of institutional support affecting migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3), due to the uneven economic development between urban and rural areas (Zhang, 2006) and the decentralised educational finance system, education in rural and poverty-stricken areas has faced severe unequal distribution of educational funds and resources (Bao, 2006; Law & Pan, 2009; MoE, 2005; OECD, 2016;

Roberts & Hannum, 2018; Shi & Sercombe, 2020; Wang et al., 2012). As a result, rural schools are generally allocated far fewer educational resources than urban schools, resulting in significant differences in pedagogy, teaching and learning, curriculum content, and performance standards between urban and rural schools in China (Kipnis, 2001; Lin, 2011; Wang & Zhao, 2011). Much research has indicated that the number of senior secondary schools and senior secondary school enrolment rates in rural areas are much lower than in urban areas (e.g., Chen et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2009; Li & Xue, 2021).

The uneven distribution of educational and economic resources between regions and between rural and urban areas in China has created various issues and concerns for migrant pupils returning to their hometowns for education. Studies have found that most returning migrant pupils who want to attend academic senior secondary school to realise their university dreams have better academic performance and family economic and social capital before moving to their rural hometowns (Han et al., 2020; Han & Yu, 2020). At the same time, the experience of returning has had a significant negative impact on these returning migrant pupils. Among the main challenges facing returning migrant pupils are differences in educational resources, changes in urban and rural environments, and lack of parental care. Due to the educational and living standards gap between urban and rural areas in China, most returning migrant pupils' academic performance dropped significantly, causing them to lack confidence or to give up studying in rural schools, thereby limiting their opportunities to receive academic senior secondary education (Han et al., 2020; Ling, 2017).

Similarly, in this study, although their parents adopted a range of coping strategies to help them pursue their educational goals by drawing on family capital, including cultural, economic and social capital, the educational prospects of most migrant pupils in this research

still encountered dilemmas. The findings suggest that the educational barriers to academic senior secondary education for migrant pupils cannot be overcome by solely relying on family capital in the form of economic and social capital. The reality of overwhelming systemic structural barriers, such as uneven distribution of educational and economic resources in rural areas and lack of institutional support, which are intertwined, made many parents' strategies compromised and inadequate.

Whether they transfer to a school outside of Shanghai or stay in Shanghai for vocational education, migrant pupils' educational prospects and belonging face a dilemma as well as social exclusion. Transferring schools seems to provide migrant pupils with opportunities to pursue university aspirations. However, due to the uneven distribution of educational and economic resources between urban and rural areas and regions, unfamiliarity with new places, and their disadvantaged family socioeconomic status, these transfer pupils will still encounter a range of inevitable difficulties and uncertainties, including interruption of education, family separation, and adaptation to the low quality of education and life. In response to Shanghai's different senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils, most transfer pupils complained that this policy had significantly affected their study progression and confidence in realising university aspirations and social belonging. While staying in Shanghai for vocational education allows migrant pupils to avoid separation from their parents and maintain their accustomed lives, the policies have restricted their educational opportunities. In response to Shanghai's separate senior secondary education policies for migrant pupils, all these pupils who stayed in Shanghai for vocational education felt frustrated with their situation, indicating that they would not have a chance to realise their university aspirations if the Shanghai policy remained unchanged. In other words, these 18 pupils' educational opportunities and university aspirations will be largely compromised or

blocked. Therefore, I argue that migrant pupils face dual exclusion from urban and rural education. The coping strategies of parents and pupils can only go a limited distance against the power of systemic structural barriers in shaping educational opportunities for migrant pupils.

High-stakes testing systems

The academic performance-oriented school culture associated with high-stakes testing systems is another form of distributive injustice that affects migrant pupil participants' equal learning opportunities and sense of belonging, especially for Year 9 migrant pupil participants.

As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), high-stakes testing accountability policies in many countries, such as the United States, are designed to improve all pupils' educational quality and close the class and racial academic achievement gap. However, numerous studies in the US and internationally have shown that the negative consequences of high-stakes accountability appear to outweigh the benefits, especially for the most disadvantaged schools and pupils. In high-stakes testing contexts, competitive pressures to increase efficiency, productivity and system-wide excellence could affect schools, school leaders, teachers, and pupils (Yin, 2020). In other words, high-stakes testing accountability policies can be detrimental to the promotion of educational equality. Instead, it affects good teaching and learning practice. As established in UNESCO's (2020) report on inclusive education, teachers rarely explicitly opposed the idea of inclusive education, but at the same time, they indicated that they were not empowered to overcome certain institutional barriers. To maximise school league tables and teacher evaluations, teachers are increasingly pressured to teach in ways that violate their core professional values, in order to focus more on high-achieving rather

than disadvantaged and underperforming pupils (UNESCO 2020). This is very noticeable in the present study.

Year 9 migrant pupil accounts of schooling experiences further illustrate the power of high-stakes testing systems in prompting school administrators and teachers to practise differential treatment of migrant pupils. In order to achieve better academic high school promotion rates and teacher evaluation, migrant pupils were incorporated into a different educational track that is increasingly stratified upon entry to Year 9. The school practice influenced this sense of belonging by dividing local pupils into deserving categories and migrant pupils into undeserving categories. As evidenced by interview data from pupils and teachers, teachers' expectations and attitudes, plus the school segregation of Year 9 migrant pupils, together reinforced these categories. Local pupils felt deserving and were privileged in school, while migrant pupils, labelled undeserving, felt increasingly excluded. These differentiated treatments have put Year 9 migrant pupil participants in an awkward position as regards learning and a sense of belonging. Differential teacher treatment and the school practice of segregating Year 9 migrant pupils into vocational high schools prevented migrant pupils in this study from obtaining schooling opportunities equal to those of their local peers, which constitutes a practice of social exclusion. However, to improve the academic performance of local pupils, most teachers viewed sacrificing the learning of migrant pupils as an unavoidable compromise. The consequence was that most teachers in this study ignored or did not recognise the migrant pupils' feelings of exclusion, which profoundly affected these pupils' access to equal learning and school-based support and resources, academic development, interaction with local peers, and emotional well-being, thereby affecting their sense of social belonging and identity.

The findings from this and other research suggest that school accountability based on academic achievement has been identified as an educational triage practice that operates at the classroom, institutional, and bureaucratic levels. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), such practices have also been identified in many other countries worldwide, such as the US and the UK, which illustrates the power of high-stakes testing to incite schools to turn to educational triage practices, affecting (and limiting) educational opportunities for disadvantaged pupils. Under the pressure of high-stakes exam responsibilities associated with financial resources, school ranking tables, and teacher assessments, school leaders and teachers may be more inclined to exclude underperforming pupils in response to such pressure, thereby reducing support for disadvantaged as well as underperforming pupils. In such a system, evidence of negative impact on educational equity is evident, with minority ethnic and underperforming pupils often excluded in practice (UNESCO,2020). They are not given the same treatment concerning their education as their peers, which tends to perpetuate social-class academic performance gaps.

In short, given that encouraging the education system to function more like a market may benefit better-resourced schools and families, thus promoting educational stratification, I argue that the issues of educational equity need to be given more significant consideration in implementing high-stakes accountability policies. As some Chinese scholars have pointed out, the high-stakes testing system was based on the ideology of elite education that plays a role in promoting educational inequality, which is contrary to the goal of China's educational equality reform (e.g., Lu et al. 2007; Liu, 2008; Wu and Shen, 2006).

9.4.3 Representative injustice

Fraser (2008) noted that there is little meaningful redistribution or recognition without representation. She proposed that marginalised groups' lack of political voice in decision-making could cause a lack of representation, leading to economic and cultural injustice (Fraser, 2008). The findings of this study suggest that in school settings, ignoring rural-urban migrants' voices and socioeconomic status can marginalise migrant pupils both in the classroom and in the curriculum. Migrant pupil participants' experiences of Shanghai's educational barriers and social exclusion within and outside of school revealed that the voices of migrant pupils and their parents are currently rendered inaudible or are excluded by the education system, where schools show a lack of qualified teachers recognised as migrant teachers. The key issues are the lack of access to decision-making positions at different levels, the impact of the lack of recognitional justice leading to the continued marginalisation of migrant pupils, and the continued invisibility of this group and of their worth and contributions; they have become an “easy to ignore” group as a result of lack of representation.

Most of the migrant pupils (41 of the 43 participants) expressed significant disappointment, frustration, and sense of unfairness in regard to Shanghai's policy of allowing them to enter vocational schools but prohibiting them from entering academic high schools. They criticised as unreasonable the policy of making the right to education dependent on the parents' ability rather than the children's academic performance. The views of these pupils show that local privileges have led to differential educational treatment between migrant and local pupils. Equally, all parents interviewed expressed great disappointment, anxiety, and powerlessness. They showed an awareness of social injustice in the education of migrant children as a feature within the education system and society in Shanghai, and indicated that local

privileges and social discrimination against migrant workers drove this. Eight parents pointed out, from a taxpayer's perspective, that Shanghai's policies violated their children's right to receive senior secondary school education in Shanghai. They particularly criticised the system for being a local priority policy that wholly ignored the contribution of migrant workers to the development of Shanghai. Five of them mentioned, with disappointment, that even though they had worked in Shanghai for over 15 years and paid taxes to the national standard, their children were still not entitled to enjoy the same education rights as local children. Most parents interviewed were anxiously waiting for policy changes and suggested that children's right to education should not depend on parental social and socioeconomic status. However, because of their disadvantaged status in these respects, they felt powerless and unable to find a way to remove this social injustice. This powerlessness and lack of access to opportunities to voice their frustrations or to have these frustrations heard and understood is exacerbated by the lack of representational justice.

As Fraser (2008) noted, overcoming any injustices requires social arrangements which allow all to participate as peers in our social life. Inspired by Fraser's notion of participatory parity, I consider that being given the right to speak and be heard at the decision-making level is critical in any conception of justice. Drawing on this fundamental point, I consider that to address the issue of educational justice for migrant children in China, the voices of migrant pupils and their parents must be heard at the decision-making level.

Migrant workers play a vital role in developing the economy in urban China; however, the reformed educational policy remains exclusionary in addressing matters of educational justice for migrant children. Therefore, I argue that to avoid underrepresentation and misrepresentation, political barriers to participatory parity must be avoided, such as a process

of decision-making that excludes migrant pupils and their parents from exercising their educational rights.

9.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of this study by drawing together the key themes from all interviewee groups under the research aim. Drawing on the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam alongside social justice theories, specifically that found in the work of Nancy Fraser, while deriving connections from the literature reviews of this study, I critically analysed and discussed the influential factors in migrant pupils' post-compulsory educational opportunities and everyday experiences at one Shanghai public middle school in China across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context.

In terms of individual and family circumstances, this study highlights the profound role family capital and peer social capital play in facilitating or hindering the post-compulsory educational and life opportunities of migrant pupil participants, given the backdrop of Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy). At the school level, I illustrated the power of the academic performance-oriented school culture and the role of teachers in affecting migrant pupils' equal learning opportunities and sense of belonging.

Migrant pupils' accounts of their aspirations, educational choices, and schooling experiences, as well as their parents' coping strategies, revealed that these pupils were experiencing and negotiating multiple social injustices that are closely associated with Fraser's conception of social justice as parity of participation, encompassing (re)distribution (economic), recognition

(cultural), and representation (political), thus highlighting the power of systemic structural barriers and social exclusion to affect migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of social belonging.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as the conclusion of my thesis. It begins with a summary of the study's main findings and discussions in order to answer the research questions. I follow this by underlining the implications for policy and practice and future research. At the end of this chapter, the knowledge contribution will be articulated.

This study aimed to explore the key factors that shape post-compulsory education (15+ years old) opportunities for migrant pupils (children of rural-urban migrant workers) enrolled in one Shanghai public middle school in China, across three dimensions: personal and family circumstances, the context of school, and the policy context. Desk research and over three-months' in-depth field research provided new evidence about the impacts of educational inequalities affecting migrant children and youth. The rationale for focusing the study in Shanghai was based on its unique position as China's most developed city with the largest internal migrant population. The city is recognised as a national leader in dealing with the education of migrant children, but also faces the greatest challenges in including migrant pupils in public senior secondary schools since the implementation of population control in megacities in 2014. My aim was to ensure that insights gained through the study about the inequalities in educational experiences in Shanghai would generate relevant and interesting data in themselves, but also contribute to wider understandings about the experiences of migrant pupils more generally. My literature review identified a concerning gap in knowledge, noting that, to date, the voices of migrant pupils in urban public middle schools concerning their educational experiences, aspirations and schooling have been largely missing from debates about the issues, and from decisions informing policy aimed at improvements. Those young people, who were the ones most directly affected, were not

being listened to. Therefore, I adopted a research design and analysis which drew primarily on a social justice perspective, with the aim of placing the voices of migrant pupils and those close to them (parents, teaching staff and local pupils) at the centre of the inquiry. This research adopted a qualitative single-case study design, involving interviews with 43 migrant pupils, 22 local pupils, 13 parents of migrant pupils, and eight teaching staff in one Shanghai public middle school. Other data collection methods were used to contextualise and triangulate the data, including desk-based documentary analysis, informal conversations, and informal classroom observations. The data were analysed with a thematic analysis approach, drawing on the key concepts of capital as espoused by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, alongside Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice (redistribution, recognition and representation), thus providing an analytical lens through which to discuss the main findings and themes that emerged in relation to key factors shaping migrant pupils' educational opportunities.

10.2 Summary of the main findings and discussions

This section summarises the main findings and discussions of this study as they serve to answer the three main research questions.

Research question 1: How do personal and family circumstances shape migrant pupils' educational opportunities and experiences?

(1) The educational aspirations of migrant pupils and their parents in this study are high

My findings disrupt any deficit assumptions about the aspirations of migrant pupils, as the educational aspirations of the migrant pupils in this study are high. Many aspired to obtain the highest possible university degree, such as Master's or PhD. Most migrant pupil participants firmly believed that obtaining a university degree would allow them to pursue

careers as white-collar professionals, gain respect, and earn higher salaries. Parents of migrant pupil participants, despite having low educational attainment themselves, were keen for their children to gain improved life opportunities via higher education. Migrant pupil participants were fully aware of the inequity they faced as a result of the Shanghai points policy. Their understanding of Shanghai's educational restrictions, intertwined with awareness of parents' migrant status and socioeconomic status in matters such as educational attainment, occupation, and financial situation, and parents' high educational aspirations, prompted them to attach importance to higher education and led to their yearning for university admission. In other words, migrant pupils in this study viewed going to university as the only path through which to change their destiny to one leading to a better future, or to a future different from that of their parents. At the same time, however, they faced considerable educational dilemmas in accessing academic senior secondary education so as to pursue their university aspirations, due to Shanghai's separate educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy) interacting with the hukou system and the limitations of family cultural and economic capital.

(2) Returning to their local hukou to pursue their aspirations comes at a high cost

Since the Shanghai points policy mainly benefits highly educated and high-income groups, requiring migrant parents to have at least a college diploma to be eligible for evaluation in the system, most of the parents of migrant pupil participants, having low socioeconomic status and inadequate educational qualifications, were less likely to meet the requirements of the points policy. Consequently, migrant pupils wishing to fulfil their aspirations must consider moving back to their parents' hometown, where their hukou is located, to pursue higher education. However, my findings revealed that moving back to their local hukou was viewed as a risk and few pupils or their parents would, if given a choice, have opted for this route.

Moving to the local hukou meant adaptation to a new system (as regards both environment and curriculum), consequent educational disruption, encounter with new dialects, and anxieties resulting from family separation and lack of support from immediate close family or peers (friends). Since rural hometowns were often located in remote and underdeveloped areas where job opportunities were scarce, most parents of migrant pupil participants needed to remain in Shanghai to continue to have favourable job opportunities.

(3) The role of cultural, economic and social capital in the pursuit of educational opportunities

In response to Shanghai's inequitable education policy and the difficulties of moving to their rural hometowns for education, both migrant pupils and their parents in this study inevitably had to make a tough decision. The study demonstrated that the level of economic, cultural and social capital, constituting family capital and peer social capital, profoundly facilitated or hindered migrant pupils' educational opportunities, given the backdrop of Shanghai's differential educational policies for migrant pupils (Shanghai points policy). Although migrant families were highly skilled at developing a range of family capital sources and coping strategies with which to achieve their educational goals, the educational prospects of most migrant pupils in this study still present dilemmas as a result of existing systemic structural barriers.

In my study, only three pupil participants had parents able to meet the requirements of the Shanghai points policy. For the other parents, who generally had only a middle or elementary school education, it was out of reach: clearly impractical and unfeasible.

The strategy of transferring to a school outside of Shanghai was a compromise involving hardship for these 22 migrant families, illustrating the way that family economic and social capital, in Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's terms, have significantly impacted migrant pupils' chances of pursuing their educational goals. The more the economic capital (financial resources) and the stronger the social capital (social relationships) available, the more likely it was that migrant pupils could minimise the difficulties of transferring schools. On the other hand, academic challenges, family separation and pupils' sense of belonging remain issues for all transfer pupils as a result of existing systemic structural barriers. In addition, transferring schools often placed substantial financial burdens on the parents of these transfer pupils. For example, two parents interviewed reported that they had to purchase accommodation near the transfer school many years in advance in order to transfer their hukou, so that their children could then move to the public school there. Others concentrated on drawing on bonding social capital that they had access to, e.g., relatives living in their local hukou that their child could live with, sending their children to live with schoolteachers in the local hukou, one parent (often the mother) going with the child, or selecting local hukou schools to which friends of the migrant pupils had already transferred. However, taking these strategies forward in practice was often complicated and carried both emotional and financial tariffs. These findings suggest that the transition to rural education is a systemic issue requiring help from local government and educational institutions to enable migrant families to deal with it.

The strategy of staying in Shanghai to receive vocational education strongly illustrates that without abundant family capital, including cultural, economic, and social capital, the combination of Shanghai's points policy and the uneven distribution of educational and economic resources in rural China had overwhelmingly prevented these 18 pupils from obtaining the same level of educational opportunity as their local peers so as to pursue

university aspirations. In addition, the lack of bridging or linking capital (coupled with ever-present regulations and the absence of institutional advice and support) meant that some families were left with no choice but to stay in Shanghai and lose out on higher education opportunities. For these pupils and their parents, staying in Shanghai for vocational education was a feasible strategy, reluctantly adopted due to family financial constraints, the risk of failing to obtain a place in rural high schools, the disadvantages of family instability, and the impact of these factors on children's belongingness. While staying in Shanghai for vocational education allowed migrant pupils to avoid separation from their parents and peers and to maintain their accustomed lives, the Shanghai points policy restricted their educational opportunities. In other words, the strategies for overcoming these barriers demanded family capital all forms of which are often beyond the means of many migrant families.

This study also highlights the particular role of peer social capital in influencing the educational choices of migrant pupils. For most pupil participants, having stable peer social capital (peer social networks) created a sense of belonging, as it plays a vital role in pupils' studies and daily lives. However, the loss of peer networks (through peers' school transfer) profoundly impacted migrant pupils and local pupils in this study, shrinking all pupils' peer networks and friendships, affecting migrant pupils' sense of belonging and, in turn, influencing educational decision-making as to whether to stay or transfer.

Research question 2: How does the context of school influence the educational opportunities of migrant pupils?

At the school level, this study has illustrated the power of the academic performance-oriented school culture and the role of teachers in influencing migrant pupils' educational opportunities and sense of belonging. Migrant pupils' accounts of schooling experiences

revealed teachers' negative attitudes and behaviour with resultant differential treatment. One clear example of this was school segregation, particularly in Year 9 of the middle school period, due to their migrant status. My study has highlighted in detail for the first time how these interlinked experiences significantly affect these pupils' learning opportunities, educational choices, and sense of belonging and identity.

(1) The academic performance-oriented school culture

Turning to consideration of my interviews with teachers, the findings here revealed the complex impacts of their perceptions of the integration of migrant pupils: for example, in the way that the intersection of the prevalent school culture of academic competition and the Shanghai points policy played a driving role in motivating school administrators and teachers to give up on maintaining an equal school environment for all pupils. I noted how they were driven to practise differential, negative treatment of migrant pupils, who they know are unlikely to move on to academic high school education and thus improve the school's academic attainment level. In order to maintain academic high school promotion rates and teacher evaluation, school administrators and teachers treated migrant pupils differently from local pupils.

(2) Teacher attitudes, behaviour and expectations

The findings of this study revealed that teacher attitudes, behaviour and expectations together constitute one of the key factors that negatively impact and shape migrant pupil participants' learning opportunities, educational choices and emotional well-being. While stereotyping was evident in over half of the teacher participants, it is important to note that two teachers in the study, with more positive attitudes and perceptions of migrant families, were able to play a

counteracting role in preventing migrant pupils from being treated differently in school. As recognised by the pupil participants, teachers, as the key decision-makers, were found to play a key role in shaping pupils' exclusion and inclusion in schools overall. Many Year 7 migrant pupil participants' educational decisions to transfer and Year 9 migrant pupil participants' moves to vocational high schools provided them with ways to negotiate the experience of discrimination and low expectations on the part of teachers. Their educational trajectories and sense of belonging to the school were all affected. More than half of the migrant pupils indicated that their experiences, including teacher attitudes and behaviour, differential treatment by teachers and school segregation, made them feel isolated and conflicted in Shanghai.

(3) Impact on migrant pupils' sense of belonging and identity

The study also found that most of the migrant pupils in this study developed an ambivalent sense of belonging and identity. The pupils reported having little sense of belonging to Shanghai as a result of the city's educational barriers and social exclusion both in and outside of school. Sadly too, they lacked a sense of belonging to their rural hometown due to unfamiliarity with and lack of emotional attachment to it. Such ambivalence towards the two places led to identity confusion for most participants and affected their educational plans for the post-middle school stage. The educational barriers and uncertain future that they faced made them feel that they belonged nowhere: neither to Shanghai nor to their parents' hometowns.

Research question 3: Which policies promote or hinder educational opportunities for migrant pupils?

(1) Shanghai points policy and hukou system

My thesis has demonstrated how Shanghai's points policy clearly fails to recognise migrant pupils' aspirations or to afford them status recognition, and how this has significantly affected these pupils' academic and life opportunities in post-compulsory education. Most migrant pupils in this study faced considerable educational challenges in accessing academic senior secondary education in order to pursue their university aspirations, due to Shanghai's points policy interacting with the hukou system. Since both the reformed hukou system and the points policy based on parental status have been driven by criteria of family cultural and economic capital (economic status and educational qualifications), migrant families with low socioeconomic status and inadequate educational qualifications are less likely to obtain an urban hukou or meet the requirements of the points policy. As all parents interviewed pointed out, Shanghai's point policy is designed to benefit high-income and highly-educated people, ignoring the reality of migrant workers' disadvantaged socioeconomic status. The migrant pupils interviewed indicated that the Shanghai points policy had significantly affected their pursuit of university dreams, their peer networks and their accustomed lives. Before entering middle school, most of these pupil participants had not been fully aware of the impact of their migrant status. They had never identified themselves as non-locals growing up in Shanghai. However, after experiencing the educational restrictions in Shanghai (Shanghai points policy) that led to their peers leaving the city and to differential treatment by schools and teachers, their status as non-locals became a noticeable identity feature. This aggravated their feeling of exclusion, undermined their previous sense of belonging, and ultimately affected their educational choices.

I have argued that Shanghai's points policy makes migrant pupils' entitlement to academic high school entirely dependent on parents' educational level, embodying and reinforcing Bourdieu's (1986) argument about the power of cultural capital in fuelling educational and social inequality. Such systems/policies are unequal institutional arrangements that have become an integral part of China's social stratification system for increasing control over migration selectivity, resulting in unequal life and educational opportunities for migrant children and youth (Dong & Goodburn, 2020).

(2) Unequal distribution of educational and economic resources

The educational choices of migrant pupils and the coping strategies of their parents based on their respective family capital also illustrate the power of uneven distribution of educational and economic resources in rural China and the lack of institutional support affecting migrant pupils' educational opportunities. The educational barriers to academic senior secondary education for migrant pupils cannot be overcome by solely relying on family economic or social capital. The reality of overwhelming systemic structural barriers, such as uneven distribution of educational and economic resources in rural areas and lack of institutional support, which are intertwined, made many parents' strategies compromised and inadequate. In other words, the coping strategies of parents and pupils can only go a limited distance against the power of systemic structural barriers in shaping educational opportunities for migrant pupils. Therefore, I argue that migrant pupils face dual exclusion from urban and rural education.

(3) High-stakes testing systems

In this study, the academic performance-oriented school culture associated with high-stakes testing systems is another form of distributive injustice that affects migrant pupil participants'

equal learning opportunities and sense of belonging, especially for Year 9 migrant pupil participants. The findings suggest that the prevalent school culture of academic competitiveness has significantly reinforced the social exclusion of migrant pupil participants, prompting school administrators and teachers to use the utilitarian logic of treating pupils as products to promote school rankings and teacher evaluation. To improve the academic performance of local pupils, more than half of the teachers interviewed viewed sacrificing the learning of migrant pupils as an unavoidable compromise. Such a system appears unlikely to promote educational equality but instead may further marginalise and exclude disadvantaged groups such as migrant pupils. With clear rewards and sanctions, academic performance may become central to schooling rather than just one of the schools' educational goals. School administrators and teachers may take steps to boost test scores quickly, at the expense of learning opportunities for disadvantaged pupils, rather than ensuring the quality of education for all. These practices have distorted learning and teaching, denying disadvantaged pupils equal access to educational resources and opportunities surrounding the learning process and its outcomes (UNESCO, 2020). The findings of this study imply that high-stakes exams could further disadvantage already disadvantaged pupils. Given that encouraging the education system to function more like a market may benefit better-resourced schools and families, thus promoting educational stratification, I argue that the issues of educational equity need to be given more significant consideration in implementing high-stakes accountability policies.

10.3 Implications

Implications for policy

As my findings have indicated, in China, the education of migrant pupils should be understood as a systemic, structural issue that needs to be addressed systematically by national and local governments and educational institutions.

Although the Chinese education system is undergoing profound reforms at the national policy level, promoting equity and achievement (MoE, 2021), findings from this and existing studies have indicated that educational inequalities for migrant children persist, especially after compulsory education.

This study's findings imply that the issues and concerns surrounding migrant pupils' post-compulsory education in China are closely associated with redistributive, recognitive and representative injustice, which are embedded in systemic structural barriers involving the points policy, the national hukou system, the uneven distribution of educational and economic resources between regions and between rural and urban areas, and the academic performance-oriented school culture associated with high-stakes testing systems. These systemic structural barriers shape parents' social and socioeconomic status which, in turn, profoundly affects their children's educational opportunities. At the same time, social exclusion, in the form of school exclusion practices, teacher attitudes, and local social prejudice against migrant workers, also affect migrant pupils' equal learning opportunities and social belonging. In other words, they face dual exclusion from urban and rural education, and from the sense of belonging and identity. All these systemic structural and cultural contributing factors are intertwined, resulting in forms of social injustice for migrant pupils that affect their life and educational opportunities and their sense of social belonging

and identity. These issues stand in stark contrast to the principles of China's education policy and the foundations of social justice and equity in China.

Therefore, I suggest that a starting point in pursuing social justice for migrant pupils would be to remove policy barriers such as the points system based on parents' social status. Access to equal academic senior secondary educational opportunities in Shanghai is essential for enabling migrant pupils' pursuit of university aspirations and their sense of social belonging as found in this study. Migrant pupils' liminal status, whereby they both encounter social exclusion and legally attend middle school but are limited to senior secondary education, magnifies the role of institutional policy in their educational trajectories and daily lives, as well as in their identity formation and social belonging.

However, the Chinese government will not immediately abandon the hukou or points system until economic development among regions is balanced, because these systems have become a means of controlling population mobility within China in the light of uneven regional economic development and uneven distribution of educational resources between rural and urban areas. Therefore, as a long-term strategy, the fundamental solution to the educational issue of migrant children would be for the Chinese central government to balance regional economic development and thus address the uneven distribution of economic and educational resources between regions and between rural and urban areas. This strategy corresponds to the current mission of the Chinese central government, which has now taken common prosperity (Chinese: 共同富裕) for all as its goal. Common prosperity is the central government's political slogan, expressing its stated goal of promoting economic equity and social equality, which is a realistic long-term task.

Regarding the distribution of educational resources, I suggest that both national and local governments in China increase public education funding. The results of this study, combined with evidence from existing literature, indicate three main problems in embedding the education of migrant children into the compulsory education financial system: a) the total amount of national education funds is too small, b) the proportion of central government expenditure is too low, and c) the distribution of central government financial transfer payments is insufficient. From the perspective of overall education expenditure, although China's education expenditure accounted for 4.22% of GDP in 2020 (MoE, 2021), it is still lower than the world average. According to the "2017-2018 Global Education Monitoring Report" released by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2017, the proportion of public finance education expenditure in GDP in 2015 was 4.7% globally, with UNESCO advocating 4% as the minimum standard (UNESCO, 2017).

Furthermore, as a key short-term strategy, based on the findings of this study and existing studies, I propose including assessment of the academic performance of migrant pupils in compulsory schooling's accountability system, especially in Year 9. Under this revised policy, migrant pupils could expect to receive a fairer type of education and less discrimination in Shanghai's public middle schools.

Implications for practice

There are several points that should be underlined in terms of practice development in education. First, there is a need to develop social justice literacy in initial and continuing professional education for teachers. Social justice literacy would include recognition of how

systemic and structural issues impact on inclusion of migrant pupils; the roles teachers and schools can play in providing greater equity (tackling their own values and attitudes as part of their professional identity and practice); the role the formal and hidden curriculum can play in ensuring greater recognition of migrant pupils, parents and community aspirations and contributions; avoidance of the view of migrants as needy or as a deficit. Second, schools should work with local government and charities to provide more information and support for migrant parents so that they are better informed about the support available. Third, school administrators and teachers should respect all pupils as equal partners in the task of improvement by listening to their voices and views so as to understand their aspirations, and then making changes in their teaching practice based on what they have learned when listening; and the school's psychological counselling service should provide all pupils with real services that meet their needs, avoiding engagement in formalism. Finally, increasing the diversity of the teacher workforce can be seen as a strategy for reducing teacher stereotypes and discrimination, as several studies have shown that teachers assigned to the same ethnicity may positively impact the academic performance of minority pupils (e.g., Dee, 2004, 2005; Gershenson et al., 2018; Holt & Gershenson, 2019; Lindsay & Hart, 2017; Michael & Constance, 2021).

In all, drawing on Fraser's three dimensions of social justice based on the principle of parity of participation, I suggest that there is a need to focus on (1) migrant pupils' and their parents' voices and participation in decision-making on education within the school, (2) recognition of and response to migrant pupils' and their parents' social status, aspirations and sense of social belonging and identity, and (3) equity in the distribution of educational and

economic resources, affecting opportunities and outcomes for all. Considering all these concepts together can help establish a socially just response.

Implications for future research

Future research can build on the work carried out in this study in several ways. First, further research could proceed with a longitudinal study of one cohort of migrant pupils. Since the implementation period considered in this research extends only into early adulthood (secondary education period), it would be more productive to turn this research project into a longitudinal study exploring the educational and life trajectories of migrant pupil participants beyond early adulthood, as the lives of the participants are constantly evolving, with other transitions, such as the transition from school to workplace, finding a spouse, or having their own children, affecting their life experience. Such longitudinal research, involving ongoing follow-up interviews, could provide further insights into the impact of systematic structural barriers on the educational and life chances of migrant pupils. Second, since the generalisability of findings to other cities in China may extend primarily to megacities but not to smaller sized cities, a future study could usefully compare the city context and key factors shaping the migrant pupils' educational opportunities identified in Shanghai with those in second- and third-tier cities.

10.4 Contributions to knowledge

This study makes a contribution to knowledge in three key ways. Firstly, it adds to the literature on social justice for migrant pupils in China by placing the voices of middle school migrant pupils and their parents at the centre of the inquiry for the first time. This can be related back to the theoretical influence of Fraser on my study and my desire to ensure better

representation of migrant pupil voices. Secondly, this study adds to the literature on the role of family capital in shaping educational opportunities for migrant pupils and stresses the importance of peer social capital, a relatively unresearched area in relation to migrant pupils in China. Finally, it contributes to a deeper understanding of the academic performance-oriented school culture associated with high-stakes testing systems and the role of teachers in influencing the inclusion of migrant pupils in China, suggesting that Chinese teachers, school leaders and policymakers would benefit from a better understanding, through a social justice lens, of teaching and learning affecting migrant pupils. In all, this study provides multi-sourced evidence that assists in identifying key steps that will need to be taken to improve opportunities for migrant pupils in China.

References

- Abbas, T. (2002). Teacher perceptions of South Asians in Birmingham schools and colleges. *Oxford Review of Education*, 28(4), 447–471.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0305498022000013616>
- Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>
- Agger, C., Meece, J., & Byun, S. Y. (2018). The influences of family and place on rural adolescents' educational aspirations and post-secondary enrollment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 47(12), 2554–2568. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0893-7>
- Alderson, P. (2005). Designing ethical research with children. In A. Farrell (Ed.), *Ethical research with children* (pp. 27–36). Open University Press.
- Allan, J., Ozga, J., & Smyth, G. (2009). *Social capital, professionalism and diversity*. Sense Publishers.
- Amrein, A. L., & Berliner, D. C. (2002). High-stakes testing & student learning. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 10, Article 18. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v10n18.2002>
- Antrop-González, R., & De Jesús, A. (2006). Toward a theory of critical care in urban small school reform: Examining structures and pedagogies of caring in two Latino community-based schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(4), 409–433. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390600773148>
- Appadurai, A. (2004). The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. In V. Rao & M. Walton (Eds.), *Culture and public action* (pp. 59–84). Stanford University Press.
- Appleton, J. J., Christenson, S. L., & Furlong, M. J. (2008). Student engagement with school: Critical conceptual and methodological issues of the construct. *Psychology in the Schools*, 45(5), 369–386. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.20303>

- Armstrong, P. I., & Crombie, G. (2000). Compromises in adolescents' occupational aspirations and expectations from grades 8 to 10. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56(1), 82–98. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1999.1709>
- Aronson, B., Murphy, K. M., & Saultz, A. (2016). Under pressure in Atlanta: School accountability and special education practices during the cheating scandal. *Teachers College Record*, 118(14), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811611801411>
- Au, W. (2013). Hiding behind high-stakes testing: Meritocracy, objectivity and inequality in US education. *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, 12(2), 7–19. <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/IEJ/article/view/7453>
- Bahou, L. (2015). Addressing issues of (in) justice in public schools within postwar Lebanon: Teachers' perspectives and practices. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 43, 63–76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.05.004>
- Baker, W. (2017). Aspirations: The moral of the story. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(8), 1203–1216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2016.1254540>
- Ball, S. (2003). *Class strategies and the education market: The middle classes and social advantage*. Routledge.
- Bao, C. Y. (2006). Policies for compulsory education disparity between urban and rural areas in China. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 1(1), 40–55. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11516-005-0003-y>
- Beijing Daily. (2019, December 16). *Beijing population development research report (2019) released the resident population declines for two consecutive years*. <http://www.chinadevelopment.com.cn/sh/2019/1216/1592712.shtml>
- Benjamin, S., & Arshad, E. (2020). Key concepts and theories: From ambiguity to clarity. In R. Arshad, T. Wrigley, & L. Pratt (Eds.), *Social justice re-examined: Dilemmas and solutions for the classroom teacher* (pp. 33–47). Trentham Books.

- Berryman, M., & Bishop, R. (2006). *Culture speaks: Cultural relationships and classroom learning*. Huia Publishers.
- Bhowmik, M. K., Kennedy, K. J., & Hue, M. (2018). Education for all—but not Hong Kong’s ethnic minority students. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 21(5), 661–679.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2017.1294573>
- Black, L. (2004). Teacher–pupil talk in whole-class discussions and processes of social positioning within the primary school classroom. *Language and Education*, 18(5), 347–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500780408666888>
- Bodovski, K. (2010). Parental practices and educational achievement: Social class, race, and habitus. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), 139–156.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903539024>
- Booher-Jennings, J. (2005). Below the bubble: “Educational triage” and the Texas accountability system. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(2), 231–268.
<https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312042002231>
- Botelho, F., Madeira, R. A., & Rangel, M. A. (2015). Racial discrimination in grading: Evidence from Brazil. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 7(4), 37–52.
<https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20140352>
- Bottiani, J. H., Bradshaw, C. P., & Mendelson, T. (2016). Inequality in Black and White high school students’ perceptions of school support: An examination of race in context. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45, 1176–1191. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0411-0>
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). (1993b) *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (Vol.

4). SAGE Publications.

Borjas, G. (2001). Migration, Economics of. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 9803-9809. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02263-4>

Bradley, R. H., & Corwyn, R. F. (2002). Socioeconomic status and child development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), 371–399.

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135233>

British Educational Research Association (BERA). (2018). *Ethical guidelines for educational research* (4th ed.). British Educational Research Association.

Brown, G. (2011). Emotional geographies of young people's aspirations for adult life.

Children's Geographies, 9(1), 7–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2011.540435>

Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Ashton, D. (Eds.). (2011). *The global auction: The broken promises of education, jobs and income*. Oxford University Press.1

Buchmann, C. (2002). Measuring family background in international studies of education: Conceptual issues and methodological challenges. In A. C. Porter & A. Gamoran (Eds.), *Methodological advances in cross-national surveys of educational achievement* (pp. 150–197). National Academy Press.

Cajic-Seigneur, M., & Hodgson, A. (2016). Alternative educational provision in an area of deprivation in London. *London Review of Education*, 14(2), 25–37.

<https://doi.org/10.18546/LRE.14.2.03>

Camilleri, A. F., Griga, D., Mühleck, K., Miklavic, K., Nascimbeni, F., Proli, D., & Schneller, C. (2013). *Evolving diversity II: Participation of students with an immigrant background in European higher education*. MENON Network.

<https://doi.org/10.25656/01:8281>

Castro, M., Expósito-Casas, E., López-Martín, E., Lizasoain, L., Navarro-Asencio, E., & Gaviria, J. L. (2015). Parental involvement on student academic achievement: A

meta-analysis. *Educational Research Review*, 14, 33–46.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2015.01.002>

Cefai, C., & Cooper, P. (2010). Students without voices: The unheard accounts of secondary school students with social, emotional and behaviour difficulties. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 25(2), 183–198.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/08856251003658702>

Çelik, Ç., & İçduygu, A. (2019). Schools and refugee children: The case of Syrians in Turkey. *International Migration*, 57(2), 253–267. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12488>

Chan, K. W., & Buckingham, W. (2008). Is China abolishing the hukou system? *The China Quarterly*, 195, 582–606. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741008000787>

Chen, L., Su, S., Li, X., Tam, C. C., & Lin, D. (2014). Perceived discrimination, schooling arrangements and psychological adjustments of rural-to-urban migrant children in Beijing, China. *Health Psychology and Behavioral Medicine: An Open Access Journal*, 2(1), 713–722. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21642850.2014.919865>

Chen, X., Shi, Y., Mo, D., Chu, J., Loyalka, P., & Rozelle, S. (2013). Impact of a senior high school tuition relief program on poor junior high school students in rural China. *China & World Economy*, 21(3), 80–97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-124X.2013.12023.x>

Chen, Y., & Feng, S. (2013). Access to public schools and the education of migrant children in China. *China Economic Review*, 26, 75–88.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2013.04.007>

Chen, Y., & Feng, S. (2017). Quality of migrant schools in China: Evidence from a longitudinal study in Shanghai. *Journal of Population Economics*, 30(3), 1007–1034.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-016-0629-5>

Chen, Y., & Feng, S. (2019). The education of migrant children in China's urban public elementary schools: Evidence from Shanghai. *China Economic Review*, 54, 390–402.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2019.02.002>

- Chen, Y., Feng, S., & Han, Y. (2020). The effect of primary school type on the high school opportunities of migrant children in China. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 48(2), 325–338. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2019.10.006>
- Chesters, J., & Smith, J. (2015). Social capital and aspirations for educational attainment: A cross-national comparison of Australia and Germany. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18(7), 932–949. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.1001831>
- Claridge, T. (2018). Functions of social capital—bonding, bridging, linking. *Social Capital Research*, 20(1), 1–7. <https://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Functions-of-Social-Capital.pdf>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2008). *Research methods in education*. Routledge.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95–S120. <https://doi.org/10.1086/228943>
- Coleman, J. S. (1994). *Foundations of social theory*. Harvard University Press.
- Collins, W. A., & Laursen, B. (2004). Changing relationships, changing youth: Interpersonal contexts of adolescent development. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 24(1), 55–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431603260882>
- Considine, G., & Zappalà, G. (2002). The influence of social and economic disadvantage in the academic performance of school students in Australia. *Journal of Sociology*, 38(2), 129–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/144078302128756543>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124–130. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2
- Creswell, J., & Poth, C. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five*

approaches (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2007). Race, inequality and educational accountability: The irony of 'no child left behind'. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 10(3), 245–260.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320701503207>

De Boer, H., Timmermans, A. C., & Van Der Werf, M. P. (2018). The effects of teacher expectation interventions on teachers' expectations and student achievement: Narrative review and meta-analysis. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 24(3–5), 180–200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2018.1550834>

De Brauw, A., & Rozelle, S. (2008). Reconciling the returns to education in off-farm wage employment in rural China. *Review of Development Economics*, 12(1), 57–71.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9361.2007.00376.x>

De Jesus, A., & Antrop-González, R. (2006). Instrumental relationships and high expectations: Exploring critical care in two Latino community-based schools. *Intercultural Education*, 17(3), 281–299. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980600841660>

DeCuir-Gunby, J. T., Marshall, P. L., & McCulloch, A. W. (2011). Developing and using a codebook for the analysis of interview data: An example from a professional development research project. *Field Methods*, 23(2), 136–155.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X10388468>

Dee, T. S. (2004). Teachers, race, and student achievement in a randomized experiment. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86(1), 195–210.

<https://doi.org/10.1162/003465304323023750>

Dee, T. S. (2005). A teacher like me: Does race, ethnicity, or gender matter? *American Economic Review*, 95(2), 158–165. <https://doi.org/10.1257/000282805774670446>

Delgado, R. (2014). Standardized testing as discrimination: A reply to Dan Subotnik. *University of Massachusetts Law Review*, 9(1), Article 4.

<https://scholarship.law.umassd.edu/u/mlr/vol9/iss1/4>

Dello-Iacovo, B. (2009). Curriculum reform and ‘quality education’ in China: An overview.

International Journal of Educational Development, 29(3), 241–249.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.02.008>

Denzin, N. K. (2017). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*.

Routledge.

Devine, D. (2009). Mobilising capitals? Migrant children’s negotiation of their everyday lives in school. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(5), 521–535.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903101023>

Dong, Y., & Goodburn, C. (2020). Residence permits and points systems: New forms of educational and social stratification in urban China. *Journal of Contemporary China*,

29(125), 647–666. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2019.1704997>

Dutro, E., & Valencia, S. (2004). The relationship between state and district content

standards: Issues of alignment, influence and utility. *Education Policy Analysis*

Archives, 12, Article 45. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v12n45.2004>

Eccles, J. S., & Roeser, R. W. (2011). Schools as developmental contexts during adolescence.

Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21(1), 225–241. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00725.x)

[7795.2010.00725.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00725.x)

Egalite, A. J., Kisida, B., & Winters, M. A. (2015). Representation in the classroom: The

effect of own-race teachers on student achievement. *Economics of Education Review*,

45, 44–52. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2015.01.007>

Ergun, A., & Erdemir, A. (2010). Negotiating insider and outsider identities in the field:

“Insider” in a foreign land; “Outsider” in one’s own land. *Field Methods*, 22(1), 16–

38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X09349919>

Evergeti, V., & Zontini, E. (2006). Introduction: Some critical reflections on social capital,

- migration and transnational families. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), 1025–1039.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870600960271> .
- Feliciano, C., & Lanuza, Y. R. (2016). The immigrant advantage in adolescent educational expectations. *International Migration Review*, 50(3), 758–792.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12183>
- Ferguson, R. F. (2003). Teachers' perceptions and expectations and the Black-White test score gap. *Urban Education*, 38(4), 460–507.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085903038004006>
- Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203634080>
- Figlio, D. N., & Getzer, L. S. (2002). *Accountability, ability, and disability: Gaming the system* (NBER Working Paper 9307). National Bureau of Economic Research.
<https://www.nber.org/papers/w9307>
- Filep, B. (2009). Interview and translation strategies: Coping with multilingual settings and data. *Social Geography*, 4(1), 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.5194/SG-4-59-2009>
- Fischer, C. S., Hout, M., Jankowski, M. S., Lucas, S. R., Swidler, A., & Voss, K. (2020). *Inequality by design: Cracking the bell curve myth*. Princeton University Press.
- Flick, U. (2007). *Designing qualitative research*. SAGE Publications.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208826>
- Flutter, J. (2007). Teacher development and pupil voice. *The Curriculum Journal*, 18(3), 343–354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585170701589983>
- Frank, K., Lo, Y., Torphy, K., & Kim, J. (2018). Social networks and educational opportunity. In B. Schneider (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of education in the 21st century* (pp. 297–316). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76694-2_13
- Fraser, N. (2005). Reframing justice in a globalizing world. *New Left Review*, 36, 69–88.
<https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii36/articles/nancy-fraser-reframing-justice-in-a->

[globalizing-world](#)

- Fraser, N. (2005b). Toward a non-culturalist sociology of culture: On class and status in globalizing capitalism. In M. D. Jacobs & N. W. Hanrahan (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to the sociology of culture* (pp. 444–459). Blackwell Publishing.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996744.ch29>
- Fraser, N. (2007). Identity, exclusion, and critique: A response to four critics. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 6(3), 305–338.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885107077319>
- Fraser, N. (2008). Prioritising justice as participatory parity: A reply to Kompridis and Forst. In K. Olson (Ed.), *Adding Insult to Injury: Nancy Fraser debates her critics* (pp. 327–346). Verso Books.
- Fraser, N. (2008b). Reframing social justice in a globalising world. In K. Olson (Ed.), *Adding insult to injury: Nancy Fraser debates her critics* (pp. 273–295). Verso Books.
- Fraser, N. (2008c). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalising world*. Polity Press.
- Fraser, N. (2010). Injustice at intersecting scales: On ‘social exclusion’ and the ‘global poor’. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13(3), 363–371.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431010371758>
- Fraser, N. (2012). On justice: Lessons from Plato, Rawls and Ishiguro. *New Left Review*, 74, 41–51. <https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii74/articles/nancy-fraser-on-justice>
- Fraser, N., & Naples, N. A. (2004). To interpret the world and to change it: An interview with Nancy Fraser. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29(4), 1103–1124.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/382631>
- Friberg, J. H. (2019). Does selective acculturation work? Cultural orientations, educational aspirations and school effort among children of immigrants in Norway. *Journal of*

Ethnic and Migration Studies, 45(15), 2844–2863.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1602471>

Fuller, E. J., & Johnson Jr, J. F. (2001). Can state accountability systems drive improvements in school performance for children of color and children from low-income homes?

Education and Urban Society, 33(3), 260–283.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124501333003>

Gándara, F., & Randall, J. (2015). Investigating the relationship between school level accountability practices and science achievement. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23, Article 112.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2013>

Gao, Q., Li, H., Zou, H., Cross, W., Bian, R., & Liu, Y. (2015). The mental health of children of migrant workers in Beijing: The protective role of public-school attendance.

Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 56(4), 384–390.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/sjop.12232>

Garcia-Reid, P. (2007). Examining social capital as a mechanism for improving school engagement among low income Hispanic girls. *Youth & Society*, 39(2), 164–181.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X07303263>

Gershenson, S., Hart, C. M., Hyman, J., Lindsay, C., & Papageorge, N. W. (2018). *The long-run impacts of same-race teachers* (NBER Working Paper 25254). National Bureau of Economic Research.

<https://doi.org/10.3386/w25254>

Gillborn, D. (1990). *'Race', ethnicity and education: Teaching and learning in multi-ethnic schools*. Routledge.

Gillborn, D. A. (1988). Ethnicity and educational opportunity: Case studies of West Indian male-white teacher relationships. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 9(4),

371–385. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569880090401>

Gillborn, D., & Youdell, D. (2000). *Rationing education: Policy, practice, reform and equity*.

Open University Press.

Gillborn, D., Rollock, N., Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2012). 'You got a pass, so what more do you want?': Race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the Black middle class. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(1), 121–139.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.638869>

Glock, S., Kovacs, C., & Pit-ten Cate, I. (2019). Teachers' attitudes towards ethnic minority students: Effects of schools' cultural diversity. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 89(4), 616–634. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjep.12248>

Gonzales, R. G. (2011). Learning to be illegal: Undocumented youth and shifting legal contexts in the transition to adulthood. *American Sociological Review*, 76(4), 602–619. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411411901>

Gonzales, R. G. (2016). *Lives in limbo: Undocumented and coming of age in America*. University of California Press.

Gonzales, R. G., Heredia, L. L., & Negrón-Gonzales, G. (2015). Untangling Pyle's legacy: Undocumented students, schools, and citizenship. *Harvard Educational Review*, 85(3), 318–341. <https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.3.318>

Gonzales, R. G., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Dedios-Sanguinetti, M. C. (2013). No place to belong: Contextualizing concepts of mental health among undocumented immigrant youth in the United States. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(8), 1174–1199.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213487349>

Goodburn, C. (2009). Learning from migrant education: A case study of the schooling of rural migrant children in Beijing. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29(5), 495–504. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.04.005>

Goodburn, C. (2016). Educating migrant children: The effects of rural-urban migration on access to primary education. In S. Guo & Y. Guo (Eds.), *Spotlight on China: Changes*

in education under China's market economy (pp. 365–380). Sense Publishers.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-881-7_21

Gorman, L. (2015). *The impact on school performance of no child left behind program sanctions*. National Bureau of Economic Research.

<https://www.nber.org/digest/feb15/impact-school-performance-no-child-left-behind-program-sanctions>

Gray, D. E. (2018). *Doing research in the real world*. SAGE Publications.

Grover, S. (2004). Why won't they listen to us? On giving power and voice to children participating in social research. *Childhood*, 11(1), 81–93.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568204040186>

Gu, Q. (2011). Leaders who build and sustain passion for learning: Capacity building in practice. In T. Townsend & J. MacBeath (Eds.), *International handbook of leadership for learning* (pp. 991–1009). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-1350-5_54

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries.

Educational Communication and Technology, 29(2), 75–91.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30219811>

Halpern, D. (2005). *Social capital*. Polity Press.

Hamilton, L., & Corbett-Whittier, C. (2013). Defining case study in education research. In *Using case study in education research* (pp. 3–22). SAGE Publications.

Han, J. L. (2004). Survey report on the state of compulsory education among migrant children in Beijing. *Chinese Education and Society*, 37(5), 29–55.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10611932.2004.11031663>

Han, J. L. (2020). The current situation, trends and challenges of China's migrant children's education in new urbanisation. In J. L. Han, L. Zhu, & Y. Liu (Eds.), *Annual report on China's education formigrant children (2019-2020)* (pp. 1–40). Social Sciences

Academic Press.

Han, J. L., & Yu, J. Q. (2020). Children's educational choices by the new generation migrant workers' families in the trend of new-type urbanization. *Social Science of Beijing*, (6), 4–13. <https://doi.org/10.13262/j.bjsshkxy.bjshkx.200601>

Han, J. L., Liu, Y., & Yang, J. X. (2020). How do returning migrant children overcome “acclimatisation”? Case study under population control policy in megacities. In J. L. Han, L. Zhu, & Y. Liu (Eds.), *Annual report on China's education for migrant children (2019-2020)* (pp. 270–282). Social Sciences Academic Press.

Han, J. L., Zhu, L., & Liu, Y. (2020). *Annual report on China's education for migrant children (2019-2020)*. Social Sciences Academic Press.

Haney, W. (2000). The myth of the texas miracle in education. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 8, Article 41. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v8n41.2000>

Hannaway, J., & Hamilton, L. (2008). *Performance-based accountability policies: Implications for school and classroom practices*. Urban Institute and RAND Corporation.
https://webarchive.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411779_accountability_policies.pdf

Hantzopoulos, M. (2013). Building relationships to engage at-risk youth: A case study of a New York city public high school. In *Education and disadvantaged children and young people* (pp. 11–30). Continuum.

Hanushek, E. A., & Raymond, M. E. (2005). Does school accountability lead to improved student performance? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 24(2), 297–327.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.20091>

Hart, C. S. (2012). *Aspirations, education and social justice: Applying Sen and Bourdieu*. A&C Black.

Harwell, M., Maeda, Y., Bishop, K., & Xie, A. (2017). The surprisingly modest relationship

- between SES and educational achievement. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 85, 197–214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.2015.1123668>
- Heath, S., Fuller, A., & Johnston, B. (2010). Young people, social capital and network-based educational decision making. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(4), 395–411. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2010.484918>
- Heilig, J. V., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2008). Accountability Texas-style: The progress and learning of urban minority students in a high-stakes testing context. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 30(2), 75–110. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373708317689>
- Holland, J. (2008). *Young people and social capital: What can it do for us* (Families & Social Capital Research Group Working Paper No. 24). London South Bank University. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251915395>
- Holland, J., Reynolds, T., & Weller, S. (2007). Transitions, networks and communities: The significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10(1), 97–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260600881474>
- Holt, S. B., & Gershenson, S. (2019). The impact of demographic representation on absences and suspensions. *Policy Studies Journal*, 47(4), 1069–1099. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12229>
- Honneth, A. (2001). Recognition or redistribution? Changing perspectives on the moral order of society. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18(2–3), 43–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02632760122051779>
- Hoskins, K., & Barker, B. (2017). Aspirations and young people’s constructions of their futures: Investigating social mobility and social reproduction. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 65(1), 45–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2016.1182616>
- Hout, M., & Elliott, S. W. (2011). *Incentives and test-based accountability in education*.

National Academies Press.

Hu, B., & West, A. (2015). Exam-oriented education and implementation of education policy for migrant children in urban China. *Educational Studies*, 41(3), 249–267.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2014.977780>

Jackson, M. (2012). Bold choices: How ethnic inequalities in educational attainment are suppressed. *Oxford Review of Education*, 38(2), 189–208.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2012.676249>

Jackson, M., Jonsson, J. O., & Rudolphi, F. (2012). Ethnic inequality in choice-driven education systems: A longitudinal study of performance and choice in England and Sweden. *Sociology of Education*, 85(2), 158–178.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040711427311>

Johnston, O., Wildy, H., & Shand, J. (2022). ‘That teacher really likes me’-Student-teacher interactions that initiate teacher expectation effects by developing caring relationships. *Learning and Instruction*, 80, Article 101580.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2022.101580>

Jørgensen, C. H. R. (2017). ‘Peer social capital’ and networks of migrants and minority ethnic youth in England and Spain. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(4), 566–580. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2015.1131144>

Kanbur, R., & Zhang, X. (2005). Fifty years of regional inequality in China: A journey through central planning, reform, and openness. *Review of Development Economics*, 9(1), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9361.2005.00265.x>

Kao, G., & Tienda, M. (1998). Educational aspirations of minority youth. *American Journal of Education*, 106(3), 349–384. <https://doi.org/10.1086/444188>

Keay, A., Lang, J., & Frederickson, N. (2015). Comprehensive support for peer relationships at secondary transition. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 31(3), 279–292.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02667363.2015.1052046>

Keddie, A. (2012a). Pursuing justice for refugee students: Addressing issues of cultural (mis) recognition. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(12), 1295–1310.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2011.560687>

Keddie, A. (2012b). Schooling and social justice through the lenses of Nancy Fraser. *Critical Studies in Education*, 53(3), 263–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2012.709185>

Kim, S., & Fong, V. L. (2013). How parents help children with homework in China: Narratives across the life span. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 14, 581–592.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-013-9284-7>

Kipnis, A. (2001). The disturbing educational discipline of “peasants”. *The China Journal*, (46), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3182305>

Koo, A. (2012). Is there any chance to get ahead? Education aspirations and expectations of migrant families in China. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33(4), 547–564.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.678755>

Koo, A., Ming, H., & Tsang, B. (2014). The doubly disadvantaged: How return migrant students fail to access and deploy capitals for academic success in rural schools.

Sociology, 48(4), 795–811. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038513512729>

Kumar, R., & Hamer, L. (2013). Preservice teachers’ attitudes and beliefs toward student diversity and proposed instructional practices: A sequential design study. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 64(2), 162–177.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487112466899>

Kwong, J. (2004). Educating migrant children: Negotiations between the state and civil society. *The China Quarterly*, 180, 1073–1088.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S030574100400075X>

Kwong, J. (2011). Education and identity: The marginalisation of migrant youths in Beijing. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(8), 871–883.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2011.607435>

Lai, F., Liu, C., Luo, R., Zhang, L., Ma, X., Bai, Y., Sharbono, B., & Rozelle, S. (2014). The education of China's migrant children: The missing link in China's education system. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 37, 68–77.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2013.11.006>

Lan, P. C. (2014). Segmented incorporation: The second generation of rural migrants in Shanghai. *The China Quarterly*, 217, 243–265.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S030574101300146X>

Law, W. W., & Pan, S. Y. (2009). Legislation and equality in basic education for all in China. *Interchange*, 40(4), 337–372. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10780-009-9099-y>

Lee, J., & Wong, K. K. (2004). The impact of accountability on racial and socioeconomic equity: Considering both school resources and achievement outcomes. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(4), 797–832.

<https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312041004797>

Lee, M., & Lam, B. O. Y. (2016). The academic achievement of socioeconomically disadvantaged immigrant adolescents: A social capital perspective. *International Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 144–173.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2016.1112528>

Letourneau, N. L., Duffett-Leger, L., Levac, L., Watson, B., & Young-Morris, C. (2013). Socioeconomic status and child development. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 21, 211–224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063426611421007>

Li, D. M. (2020). Investigating equity-minded migrant education policies in Shanghai from migrant parents' perspectives. *ECNU Review of Education*, 3(2), 357–379.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/2096531120911801>

Li, H., Loyalka, P., Rozelle, S., Wu, B., & Xie, J. (2015). Unequal access to college in China:

- How far have poor, rural students been left behind? *The China Quarterly*, 221, 185–207. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741015000314>
- Li, J., & Xue, E. Y. (2021). *Education policy in Chinese high schools: Concept and practice*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2358-5>
- Liang, Z. (2016). China's great migration and the prospects of a more integrated society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42, 451–471. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081715-074435>
- Liang, Z., Li, Z., & Ma, Z. (2014). Changing patterns of the floating population in China, 2000–2010. *Population and Development Review*, 40(4), 695–716. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2014.00007.x>
- Lin, Y. (2011). *Turning rurality into modernity: Suzhi education in a suburban public school of migrant children in Xiamen*. *The China Quarterly*, 206, 313–330. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741011000282>
- Lindsay, C. A., & Hart, C. M. (2017). Exposure to same-race teachers and student disciplinary outcomes for Black students in North Carolina. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 39(3), 485–510. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373717693109>
- Ling, M. (2017). Returning to no home: Educational remigration and displacement in rural China. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 90(3), 715–742. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/anq.2017.0041>
- Liu, C., Zhang, L., Luo, R., Rozelle, S., Sharbono, B., & Shi, Y. (2009). Development challenges, tuition barriers, and high school education in China. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 29(4), 503–520. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790903312698>
- Liu, F. X. (2008). Provision of “equal” education policy: Basic education responsibility of the government. *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Sciences)*, (4), 5–10. <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-0209.2008.04.001>

- Liu, J., & Jacob, W. J. (2013). From access to quality: Migrant children's education in urban China. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 12(3), 177–191.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10671-012-9136-y>
- Liu, S., & Zhao, X. (2019). How far is educational equality for China? Analysing the policy implementation of education for migrant children. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 18(1), 59–74. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10671-018-9226-6>
- Liu, S., Liu, F., & Yu, Y. (2017). Educational equality in China: Analysing educational policies for migrant children in Beijing. *Educational Studies*, 43(2), 210–230.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2016.1248904>
- Liu, T., Holmes, K., & Albright, J. (2015). Urban teachers' perceptions of inclusion of migrant children in the Chinese educational institution: A comparative study. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 19(9), 994–1008.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2015.1024762>
- Liu, Y. Z., & Wang, Y. T. (2016). An analysis of the education of migrant children in Shanghai. In D. P. Yang, H. Y. Qin, & J. Y. Wei (Eds.), *Annual report on education for China's migrant children* (pp. 121–140). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Lou, J. (2011). Suzhi, relevance, and the new curriculum: A case study of one rural middle school in northwest China. *Chinese Education & Society*, 44(6), 73–86.
<https://doi.org/10.2753/CED1061-1932440605>
- Lu, J. F. (2013). Education equality for the migrant workers' children: Reflection on the education of migrant workers' children in Shanghai. *Research on Modern Basic Education*, 10(2), 7–20.
http://qktg.shnu.edu.cn/jyb/ch/reader/view_abstract.aspx?file_no=201310002&flag=1
- Lu, W. (2006). The urban Chinese educational system and the marginality of migrant children. In V. L. Fong & R. Murphy (Eds.), *Chinese citizenship: Views from the*

margin (pp. 27–40). Routledge.

Lu, X. X., Tang, J. F., & Luo, X. F. (2007). Institutional analysis of exam-oriented system in China. *Journal of Hubei University*, 5(6), 5–12.

<https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1672-626X.2007.06.001>

Lu, Y., & Zhou, H. (2013). Academic achievement and loneliness of migrant children in China: School segregation and segmented assimilation. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(1), 85–116.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/667790>

Lynnebakke, B., & Pastoor, L. D. W. (2020). “It’s very hard, but I’ll manage.” Educational aspirations and educational resilience among recently resettled young refugees in Norwegian upper secondary schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 15(sup2), Article 1785694.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17482631.2020.1785694>

Lyons, E. M., Simms, N., Begolli, K. N., & Richland, L. E. (2018). Stereotype threat effects on learning from a cognitively demanding mathematics lesson. *Cognitive Science*,

42(2), 678–690. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cogs.12558>

Mallet, M. L., Calvo, R., & Waters, M. C. (2017). “I don’t belong anymore”: Undocumented Latino immigrants encounter social services in the United States. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 39(3), 267–282.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986317718530>

Marks, R. (2014). Educational triage and ability-grouping in primary mathematics: A case-study of the impacts on low-attaining pupils. *Research in Mathematics Education*,

16(1), 38–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14794802.2013.874095>

McKown, C., & Weinstein, R. S. (2008). Teacher expectations, classroom context, and the achievement gap. *Journal of School Psychology*, 46(3), 235–261.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2007.05.001>

McMahon, B. J., & Zyngier, D. (2009). Student engagement: Contested concepts in two

- continents. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 4(2), 164–181.
<https://doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2009.4.2.164>
- Messiou, K. (2012). Collaborating with children in exploring marginalisation: An approach to inclusive education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(12), 1311–1322.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2011.572188>
- Michael, S., & Frederickson, N. (2013). Improving pupil referral unit outcomes: Pupil perspectives. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 18(4), 407–422.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2013.801112>
- Miller, J., & Glassner, B. (2011). The ‘inside’ and the ‘outside’: Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Issues of theory, method and practice* (pp. 99–112). SAGE Publications.
- Ming, H. (2014). *The education of migrant children and China’s future: The urban left behind*. Routledge
- Ministry of Education, National Bureau of Statistics, & Ministry of Finance. (2021, November 22). *2020 Statistical announcement on the implementation of national education funding*.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A05/s3040/202111/t20211130_583343.html
- Ministry of Education. (2001, July 16). *Guidelines for curriculum reform in basic education*.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A26/moe_714/200107/t20010716_167350.html
- Ministry of Education. (2005, May 25). *Several opinions on further promoting equity in compulsory education*.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A06/s3321/200505/t20050525_81809.html
- Ministry of Education. (2021a). *Notice on supervising and further promoting the education of migrant children*. <http://www.moe.gov.cn/>
- Ministry of Education. (2021b, October 13). *Reply to recommendation No.9128 of the Fourth*

Session of the 13th National People's Congress.

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xxgk/xxgk_jyta/jyta_jijiaosi/202111/t20211102_577159.html

Ministry of Education. (2021c, November 15). *Overview of educational achievements in China in 2020.*

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_sjzl/s5990/202111/t20211115_579974.html

Modood, T. (2004). Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications. *Cultural Trends*, 13(2), 87–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0954896042000267170>

Mok, K. H., Wong, Y. C., & Guo, Y. (2011). Transforming from economic power to soft power: Challenges for managing education for migrant workers' children and human capital in Chinese cities. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 31(3), 325–344.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2011.594248>

Morgan, B. (2011). Consulting pupils about classroom teaching and learning: Policy, practice and response in one school. *Research Papers in Education*, 26(4), 445–467.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02671520903330992>

Murphy, R. (2014). Study and school in the lives of children in migrant families: A view from rural Jiangxi, China. *Development and Change*, 45(1), 29–51.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12073>

Narayan, K., & George, K. (2012). Stories about getting stories: Interactional dimensions in folk and personal narrative research. In J. F. Gubrium, J. A. Holstein, A. B. Marvasti, & K. D. McKinney (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of interview research* (2nd ed., pp. 511–524). SAGE Publications.

National Bureau of Statistics of China. (2021a, September 16). Statistical chart of economic and social development: The basic population situation of megacities in the seventh national census. http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2021-09/16/c_1127863567.htm

- National Bureau of Statistics of China. (2021b, February 28). *Statistical communiqué of the People's Republic of China on national economic and social development in 2020*.
http://www.stats.gov.cn/xxgk/sjfb/zxfb2020/202102/t20210228_1814159.html
- National Bureau of Statistics of China. (2021c, May 11). *Bulletin of the seventh national population census: Urban and rural population and floating population*.
http://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2021-05/13/content_5606149.htm
- National Development and Reform Commission. (2014, April 11). *National new urbanisation plan for 2014 to 2020*.
https://www.ndrc.gov.cn/fggz/fzzlgh/gjzgh/201404/t20140411_1190354.html
- National Development and Reform Commission. (2019, April 8). *Key tasks of new urbanization construction in 2019*. http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-04/08/content_5380457.htm
- National People's Congress. (2009a, July 23). *Compulsory education law of the People's Republic of China*.
http://en.moe.gov.cn/Resources/Laws_and_Policies/201506/t20150626_191391.html
- National People's Congress. (2009, May 26). *Education law of the People's Republic of China*. http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/laws_policies/201506/t20150626_191385.html
- National Research Council. (2011). *Incentives and test-based accountability in education* (M. Hout & S. W. Elliott, Eds.). National Academies Press.
- National Working Committee on Children and Women under State Council. (2017, April 5). *China children's development outline (2010-2020)*. https://www.nwccw.gov.cn/2017-04/05/content_149166.htm
- National Working Committee on Children and Women under State Council. (2021, September 27). *China children's development outline (2021-2030)*.
http://www.nwccw.gov.cn/2021-09/27/content_295436.htm

- Newbold, K. B. (2005). Dynamic Migration Modeling. *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement*, 705-714. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-12-369398-5/00363-7>
- Noguera, P. A. (2004). Social capital and the education of immigrant students: Categories and generalizations. *Sociology of Education*, 77(2), 180–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070407700206>
- Ogden, L. J., & Mazzucato, V. (2022). Transnational peer relationships as social capital: Mobile migrant youth between Ghana and Germany. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 25(3), 344–361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2020.1869197>
- Oliver, C., & Hughes, V. (2018). Bordering education: Migrants’ entitlements to post-compulsory education in the United Kingdom. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 27(2–3), 128–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2018.1426997>
- Olson, K. (2008). Participatory parity and democratic justice. In K. Olson (Ed.), *Adding insult to injury: Nancy Fraser debates her critics* (pp. 246–272). Verso Books.
- Orellana, M. F., Dorner, L., & Pulido, L. (2003). Accessing assets: Immigrant youth’s work as family translators or para-phrasers. *Social Problems*, 50(4), 505–524. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2003.50.4.505>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2004). *Learning for tomorrow’s world: First results from PISA 2003*. OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/education/school/programmeforinternationalstudentassessment/pisa/learningfortomorrowsworldfirstresultsfrompisa2003.htm>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2010). *Shanghai and Hong Kong: Two distinct examples of education reform in China*. In *Strong performers and successful reformers in education: Lessons from PISA for the United States* (pp. 83–115). OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/countries/hongkongchina/46581016.pdf>

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2014). *PISA 2012 in focus: What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*. OECD. <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results-overview.pdf>
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2016). *Education in China: A snapshot*. OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/china/Education-in-China-a-snapshot.pdf>
- Pernice-Duca, F. M. (2010). An examination of family and social support networks as a function of ethnicity and gender: A descriptive study of youths from three ethnic reference groups. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13(3), 391–402. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260903447536>
- Peterson, E. R., Rubie-Davies, C., Osborne, D., & Sibley, C. (2016). Teachers' explicit expectations and implicit prejudiced attitudes to educational achievement: Relations with student achievement and the ethnic achievement gap. *Learning and Instruction*, 42, 123–140. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2016.01.010>
- Phillips, A. (1997). From inequality to difference: A severe case of displacement? *New Left Review*, 224, 143–153. <https://newleftreview.org/issues/i224/articles/anne-phillips-from-inequality-to-difference-a-severe-case-of-displacement>
- Polesel, J., Rice, S., & Dulfer, N. (2014). The impact of high-stakes testing on curriculum and pedagogy: A teacher perspective from Australia. *Journal of Education Policy*, 29(5), 640–657. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2013.865082>
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies*. University of California Press.
- Prats, J., Deusdad, B., & Cabre, J. (2017). School xenophobia and interethnic relationships among secondary level pupils in Spain. *Education as Change*, 21(1), 95–112. <http://doi.org/10.17159/1947-9417/2017/750>
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of*

Democracy, 6(1), 65–78. <https://www.journalofdemocracy.com/articles/bowling-alone-americas-declining-social-capital/>

Putnam, R. D. (2001). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*.

Simon and Schuster.

Qian, H., & Walker, A. (2013). How principals promote and understand teacher development under curriculum reform in China. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 41(3),

304–315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1359866X.2013.809050>

Qian, H., & Walker, A. (2015). The education of migrant children in Shanghai: The battle for equity. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 44, 74–81.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.07.009>

Qiu, H. H. (2018, August 31). *After the “isolation gate” of Suzhou centennial primary school, Gusu District Education Commission responded to three questions*. The Paper.

https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_2396826

Quinn, D. M. (2017). Racial attitudes of preK–12 and postsecondary educators: Descriptive evidence from nationally representative data. *Educational Researcher*, 46(7), 397–

411. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X17727270>

Ready, D. D., & Wright, D. L. (2011). Accuracy and inaccuracy in teachers’ perceptions of young children’s cognitive abilities: The role of child background and classroom

context. *American Educational Research Journal*, 48(2), 335–360.

<https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831210374874>

Ream, R. K., & Rumberger, R. W. (2008). Student engagement, peer social capital, and school dropout among Mexican American and non-Latino white students. *Sociology of Education*, 81(2), 109–139. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070808100201>

Reay, D., Crozier, G. & James, D. (2011). *White middle-class identities and urban schooling*.

Palgrave Macmillan.

- Reay, D., David, M. E., & Ball, S. (2005). *Degrees of choice: Social class, race and gender in higher education*. Trentham Books.
- Rees, P. (2001). Internal Migration (Rural–Urban): Industrialized Countries. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 7741-7749.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02199-9>
- Reynolds, T. (2006). Caribbean families, social capital and young people's diasporic identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), 1087–1103.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870600960362>
- Reynolds, T. (2007). Friendship networks, social capital and ethnic identity: Researching the perspectives of Caribbean young people in Britain. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10(4), 383–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260701381192>
- Riddell, S., & Weedon, E. (2017). Social justice and provision for children with additional support needs in Scotland. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 12(1), 36–48.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197916683469>
- Rist, R. (1970). Student social class and teacher expectation: The self-fulfilling prophesy of ghetto education. *Harvard Education Review*, 40(3), 411–454.
<https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.40.3.h0m026p670k618q3>
- Rist, R. (2000). HER classic: Student social class and teacher expectations: The self fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70(3), 257–302.
<https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.70.3.1k0624l6102u2725>
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. SAGE Publications.
- Roberts, P., & Hannum, E. (2018). Education and equity in rural China: A critical introduction for the rural education field. *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*, 28(2), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.47381/aijre.v28i2.231>

- Robson, C. (2011). *Real world research: A resource for users of social research methods in applied settings* (3rd ed.). Wiley.
- Romanowski, M. H. (2003). Meeting the unique needs of the children of migrant farm workers. *The Clearing House*, 77(1), 27–33.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00098650309601225>
- Rothstein, R., Jacobsen, R., & Wilder, T. (2008). *Grading education: Getting accountability right*. Teachers College Press.
- Rubie-Davies, C. M. (2007). Classroom interactions: Exploring the practices of high-and low-expectation teachers. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 77(2), 289–306.
<https://doi.org/10.1348/000709906X101601>
- Rubie-Davies, C. M. (2010). Teacher expectations and perceptions of student attributes: Is there a relationship? *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 80(1), 121–135.
<https://doi.org/10.1348/000709909X466334>
- Rubie-Davies, C., Hattie, J., & Hamilton, R. (2006). Expecting the best for students: Teacher expectations and academic outcomes. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 76(3), 429–444. <https://doi.org/10.1348/000709905X53589>
- Rudduck, J., & McIntyre, D. (2007). *Improving learning through consulting pupils*. Routledge.
- Rustique-Forrester, E. (2005). Accountability and the pressures to exclude: A cautionary tale from England. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 13, Article 26.
<https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v13n26.2005>
- Ryabov, I. (2009). The role of peer social capital in educational assimilation of immigrant youths. *Sociological Inquiry*, 79(4), 453–480. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2009.00300.x>
- Ryan, A. M. (2000). Peer groups as a context for the socialization of adolescents' motivation,

- engagement, and achievement in school. *Educational Psychologist*, 35(2), 101–111.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326985EP3502_4
- Ryan, L. (2011). Migrants' social networks and weak ties: Accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration. *The Sociological Review*, 59(4), 707–724.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.02030.x>
- Ryan, L., D'Angelo, A., Kaye, N., & Lorinc, M. (2019). Young people, school engagement and perceptions of support: A mixed methods analysis. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(9), 1272–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1571178>
- Šabić, J., & Jokić, B. (2021). Elementary school pupils' aspirations for higher education: The role of status attainment, blocked opportunities and school context. *Educational Studies*, 47(2), 200–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2019.1681941>
- Sahlberg, P. (2010). Rethinking accountability in a knowledge society. *Journal of Educational Change*, 11(1), 45–61. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-008-9098-2>
- Salikutluk, Z. (2016). Why do immigrant students aim high? Explaining the aspiration–achievement paradox of immigrants in Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 32(5), 581–592. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcw004>
- Sammons, P., Toth, K., & Sylva, K. (2018). The drivers of academic success for 'bright' but disadvantaged students: A longitudinal study of AS and A-level outcomes in England. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 57, 31–41.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.stueduc.2017.10.004>
- Sandel, M. (2009). *Justice: What's the right thing to do?* Penguin.
- Santoro, D. A. (2011). Good teaching in difficult times: Demoralization in the pursuit of good work. *American Journal of Education*, 118(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1086/662010>
- Santoro, D. A. (2013). "I was becoming increasingly uneasy about the profession and what was being asked of me": Preserving integrity in teaching. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43(5),

563–587. <https://doi.org/10.1111/curi.12027>

Schaefer-McDaniel, N. J. (2004). Conceptualizing social capital among young people:

Towards a new theory. *Children Youth and Environments*, 14(1), 153–172.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7721/chilyoutenvi.14.1.0153>

Schleicher, A. (2015). *Helping immigrant students to succeed at school—and beyond*. OCDE.

<https://www.oecd.org/education/Helping-immigrant-students-to-succeed-at-school-and-beyond.pdf>

Schoon, I., Parsons, S., & Sacker, A. (2004). Socioeconomic adversity, educational resilience, and subsequent levels of adult adaptation. *Journal of Adolescent Research*,

19(4), 383–404. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558403258856>

Shanghai Bureau of Statistics. (2020). *Shanghai Basic facts 2020*. Shanghai People's Press.

<https://tjj.sh.gov.cn/html/shanghaigailan.pdf>

Shanghai Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Shanghai statistical yearbook 2020*. China Statistics

Press. <https://tjj.sh.gov.cn/tjnj/20210303/2abf188275224739bd5bce9bf128aca8.html>

Shanghai Municipal Education Commission. (2010, September 17). *Shanghai's three-year action plan for implementing compulsory education for children of migrant workers*.

http://edu.sh.gov.cn/xwzx_jyjb/20100917/0015-xw_59352.html

Shi, B. (2005). *The urban marginalized: Research on migrant family and their children*.

Social Sciences Academic Press.

Shi, J., & Sercombe, P. (2020). Poverty and inequality in rural education: Evidence from

China. *Education as Change*, 24(1), 1–28. <http://doi.org/10.25159/1947-9417/4965>

Sianou-Kyrgiou, E. (2010). Stratification in higher education, choice and social inequalities

in Greece. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 64(1), 22–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2273.2009.00427.x>

Sime, D., & Fox, R. (2015). Migrant children, social capital and access to services post-

- migration: Transitions, negotiations and complex agencies. *Children & Society*, 29(6), 524–534. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12092>
- Simpkins, S. D., Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2015). The role of parents in the ontogeny of achievement-related motivation and behavioral choices. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 80(2), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mono.12156>
- Skrla, L., Scheurich, J. J., Johnson Jr, J. F., & Koschoreck, J. W. (2001). Accountability for equity: Can state policy leverage social justice? *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 4(3), 237–260. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13603120110057073>
- Smith, J. F., & Skrbiš, Z. (2016). Arenas of comfort and conflict: Peer relationship events and young people’s educational attainment. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 19(5), 646–664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2015.1098767>
- Smith, W. (Ed.). (2016). *The global testing culture*. Symposium Books.
- Smyth, J., & Wrigley, T. (2013). *Adolescent cultures, school, and society: Vol. 61. Living on the edge: Rethinking poverty, class, and schooling*. Peter Lang Publishing.
- Smyth, T. S. (2008). Who is no child left behind leaving behind? *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 81(3), 133-137. <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.81.3.133-137>
- Southern Metropolis Daily. (2010, June 12). “Fences” exist for a while, which will affect children for a lifetime. Education Review Study Network. <https://zixun.7139.com/8/26/14967.html>
- Sprietsma, M. (2009). *Discrimination in grading? Experimental evidence from primary school*. Centre for European Economic Research Discussion Paper No. 09-074. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1520546
- St. Mary, J., Calhoun, M., Tejada, J., & Jenson, J. M. (2018). Perceptions of academic achievement and educational opportunities among black and African American youth.

Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 35(5), 499–509.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-018-0538-4>

Stake, R. E. (2013). *Multiple case study analysis*. Guilford Press.

State Council. (2001, May 29). *Decision on reform and development of basic education*.

http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2001/content_60920.htm

State Council. (2005a, August 12). *Notification on further improving management and*

service related to migrants. http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2005-08/12/content_21839.htm

State Council. (2005b, August 14). *Advice on improving education of rural to urban*

migrants' children. http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2005-08/14/content_22464.htm

State Council. (2006, March 27). *Some advice on solving the problems related to rural to*

urban migrants. http://www.gov.cn/jrzg/2006-03/27/content_237644.htm

State Council. (2008, August 12). *Notifications on the implementation of tuition waiver for urban pupils in the compulsory education*.

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xgk/moe_1777/moe_1778/tnull_38125.html

State Council. (2009, August 12). *Interim Regulations on Implementing National Financial*

Incentive Measures for Compulsory Education for Children of Migrant Workers

State Council. (2011, July 30). *The outline of child development in China (2011—2020)*.

http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2011/content_1927200.htm

State Council. (2012, August 31). *Opinions on the high school entrance examination for*

migrant children in destination cities. [http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2012-](http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2012-08/31/content_2214566.htm)

[08/31/content_2214566.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2012-08/31/content_2214566.htm)

State Council. (2012, August 31). *Opinions on promoting balanced education*.

http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2012-08/31/content_2214566.htm

State Council. (2014, July 30). *Opinions of the state council on further promoting the reform*

of household registration system. <http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2014->

07/30/content_8944.htm

State Council. (2016, July 2). *Several opinions on promoting the integrated reform and development of compulsory education in urban and rural areas.*

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xgk/moe_1777/moe_1778/201607/t20160711_271476.html

State Council. (2018, August 27). *Opinions on further adjusting and optimizing the structure to improve the efficiency of the use of educational funds.*

http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2018-08/27/content_5316874.htm

State Council. (2019, February 23). *China's education modernization 2035.*

http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2019-02/23/content_5367987.htm

State Council. (2021, September 27). *The outline of child development in China (2021-2030).*

http://www.nwccw.gov.cn/2021-09/27/content_295282.htm

Steel, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1998). Stereotype threat and the test performance of academically successful African-Americans. In C. Jencks & M. Phillips (Eds.), *The BlackWhite test score gap* (pp. 401–427). Brookings Institution Press.

Steele, C. M. (2011). *Whistling Vivaldi: How stereotypes affect us and what we can do (issues of our time)*. W. W. Norton.

Strand, S. (2007). *Minority ethnic pupils in the longitudinal study of young people in England* (Research report DCSF-RR029). Department for Children, Schools and Families.

<https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7916/1/DCSF-RR029.pdf>

Strøm, A., & Fagermoen, M. S. (2012). Systematic data Integration—A method for combined analyses of field notes and interview Texts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 11(5), 534–546. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691201100502>

Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). Immigration and Migration: Cultural Concerns. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 7211-7217.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/04604-0>

- Suárez-Orozco, M. M., Darbes, T., Dias, S. I., & Sutin, M. (2011). Migrations and Schooling*. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-111009-115928>
- Sui, X. (2005). *A study of Chinese rural workers*. Qunyen Chubanse.
- Sun, M., & Fan, C. C. (2011). China's permanent and temporary migrants: Differentials and changes, 1990–2000. *The Professional Geographer*, 63(1), 92–112.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2010.533562>
- Sun, X., Chen, M., & Chan, K. (2015). A meta-analysis of the impacts of internal migration on child health outcomes in China. *BMC Public Health*, 16, Article 66.
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-2738-1>
- Sun, X., Chui, E. W., Chen, J., & Fu, Y. (2020). School adaptation of migrant children in Shanghai: Accessing educational resources and developing relations. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 29(6), 1745–1756. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01608-0>
- Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and 'The politics of recognition'*. Princeton University Press.
- Thomas, G. (2013). *How to do your research project*. SAGE Publications.
- Tjaden, J. D., & Hunkler, C. (2017). The optimism trap: Migrants' educational choices in stratified education systems. *Social Science Research*, 67, 213–228.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.04.004>
- Torres, R. M., & Wicks-Asbun, M. (2014). Undocumented students' narratives of liminal citizenship: High aspirations, exclusion, and “in-between” identities. *The Professional Geographer*, 66(2), 195–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2012.735936>
- Torres-Olave, B. M., Torrez, M. A., Ferguson, K., Bedford, A., Castillo-Lavergne, C. M., Robles, K., & Chang, A. (2021). Fuera de lugar: Undocumented students, dislocation, and the search for belonging. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 14(3), 418–

428. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000182>

Trusty, J. (2002). African Americans' educational expectations: Longitudinal causal models for women and men. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 80*(3), 332–345.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2002.tb00198.x>

Turner, H., Rubie-Davies, C. M., & Webber, M. (2015). Teacher expectations, ethnicity and the achievement gap. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 50*(1), 55–69.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-015-0004-1>

United Nations (UN). (1989). *Convention on the rights of the child*. UN.

https://downloads.unicef.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2010/05/UNCRC_PRESS200910web.pdf

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2017).

Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments. UNESCO.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259338>

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2018).

Global education monitoring report 2019: Migration, displacement and education: Building bridges, not walls. UNESCO.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265866>

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2020).

Global education monitoring report 2020: Inclusion and education: All means all.

UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373718>

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2014).

Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all. UNESCO.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000225654>

Van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: Is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing, 7*(4), 313–316.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-010-0168-y>

- Vega, D., Moore III, J. L., & Miranda, A. H. (2015). Who really cares? Urban youths' perceptions of parental and programmatic support. *School Community Journal*, 25(1), 53–72. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1066219.pdf>
- Veck, W. (2009). Listening to include. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 13(2), 141-155.
- Victoria, C., Virginia, B., & Nikki, H. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), 297–298. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613>
- Walker, A., & Qian, H. Y. (2015). Review of research on school principal leadership in mainland china, 1998-2013: Continuity and change. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 53(4), 467–491. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JEA-05-2014-0063>
- Wang, J., & Zhao, Z. (2011). Basic education curriculum reform in rural China: Achievements, problems, and solutions. *Chinese Education & Society*, 44(6), 36–46. <https://doi.org/10.2753/CED1061-1932440603>
- Wang, L. (2008). The marginality of migrant children in the urban Chinese educational system. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(6), 691–703. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802423361>
- Wang, L. (2012). Social exclusion and education inequality: Towards an integrated analytical framework for the urban–rural divide in China. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33(3), 409–430. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.659455>
- Wang, L., & Holland, T. (2011). In search of educational equity for the migrant children of Shanghai. *Comparative Education*, 47(4), 471–487. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2011.559701>
- Wang, M. T., & Sheikh-Khalil, S. (2014). Does parental involvement matter for student and mental health in high school? *Child Development*, 85(2), 610–625.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12153>

Wang, R., Liu, M., Liu, L. X., Zhao, X., & Li, M. (2010). *Institutional and fiscal arrangements for primary and junior secondary education in China*. UNESCO Bangkok Education Policy and Reform Unit.

http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/epr/ED-FIN-PDF/03Country_Case_studies/China.pdf

Wang, S., Rubie-Davies, C. M., & Meissel, K. (2018). A systematic review of the teacher expectation literature over the past 30 years. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 24(3–5), 124–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2018.1548798>

Wang, S., Rubie-Davies, C. M., & Meissel, K. (2019). Instructional practices and classroom interactions of high and low expectation teachers in China. *Social Psychology of Education*, 22(4), 841–866. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-019-09507-4>

Wang, S., Sun, X., Li, Y., & Lei, J. (2011, August 29). *Some migrant students back to hometown due to inaccessible high education in Beijing*. Jinhua Times. <http://news.qq.com/a/20110829/000138.htm>

Wang, W., Zheng, X., & Zhao, Z. (2012). Fiscal reform and public education spending: A quasi-natural experiment of fiscal decentralization in China. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 42(2), 334–356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjr039>

Wasserberg, M. J. (2014). Stereotype threat effects on African American children in an urban elementary school. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 82(4), 502–517. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.2013.876224>

Waters, J., & Brooks, R. (2010). Accidental achievers? International higher education, class reproduction and privilege in the experiences of UK students overseas. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), 217–228.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903539164>

- Wei, D. X., & Shen, X. M. (2018). Settlement threshold, skill bias and left-behind children: An empirical study on monitoring data of Chinese domestic migrants in 2014. *China Economic Quarterly*, 17(2), 549–578. <https://doi.org/10.13821/j.cnki.ceq.2018.01.05>
- Wei, J. W., & Hou, J. W. (2010). The household registration system, education system, and inequalities in education for migrant children. *Chinese Education & Society*, 43(5), 77–89. <https://doi.org/10.2753/CED1061-1932430505>
- Wei, Jia.yu. (2023). *Report on the Development of Children of Migrant Population in China 2023*. New Citizenship Project.
https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/mYObi_q9H6FOkHYczFwEDw
- Weller, S. (2010). Young people’s social capital: Complex identities, dynamic networks. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(5), 872–888.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903254653>
- Welton, A. D., Harris, T. O., La Londe, P. G., & Moyer, R. T. (2015). Social justice education in a diverse classroom: Examining high school discussions about race, power, and privilege. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 48(4), 549–570.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2015.1083839>
- Wentzel, K. R., Battle, A., Russell, S. L., & Looney, L. B. (2010). Social supports from teachers and peers as predictors of academic and social motivation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 35(3), 193–202.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2010.03.002>
- West, A. (2010). High stakes testing, accountability, incentives and consequences in English schools. *Policy & Politics*, 38(1), 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557309X445591>
- Wheelock, A. (2003). *School awards programs and accountability in Massachusetts: Misusing MCAS scores to assess school quality*. Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED476866.pdf>

- Whyte, M. (2010). *One country, two societies: Rural-urban inequality in contemporary China*. Harvard University Press.
- Wiles, R. (2012). *What are qualitative research ethics?* (p. 128). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Williams, J. M., & Bryan, J. (2013). Overcoming adversity: High-achieving African American youth's perspectives on educational resilience. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 91*(3), 291–300. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.2013.00097.x>
- Williams, J. M., & Portman, T. A. (2014). 'No one ever asked me': Urban African American students' perceptions of educational resilience. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling And Development, 42*, 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2014.00041.x>
- Woessmann, L. (2016). The importance of school systems: Evidence from international differences in student achievement. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 30*(3), 3–32. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.30.3.3>
- Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71*(6), 1197–1232. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.7106012>
- Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. *Canadian Journal of Policy Research, 2*(1), 11–17. <http://www.social-capital.net/docs/The%20Place%20of%20Social%20Capital.pdf>
- World Bank. (2018). *World development report 2018: Learning to realize education's promise*. World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2018>
- Wright, C. (1986). School processes: An ethnographic study. In J. Eggleston, D. Dunn, & M. Anjali (Eds.), *Education for Some: The Educational and Vocational Experiences of 15-18 year-old Members of Minority Ethnic Groups*. Trentham Books.
- Wrigley, T. (2000). *The power to learn: Stories of success in the education of Asian and*

other bilingual pupils. Trentham Books.

Wu, N., & Zhu, F. Y. (2016). On the implementation of new policies allowing migrant children to take college entrance examination: Based on the sample analysis in ten cities. *Educational Research*, 38(12), 43–49.

<https://d.wanfangdata.com.cn/periodical/jyyj201612006>

Wu, Q., Palinkas, L. A., & He, X. (2010). An ecological examination of social capital effects on the academic achievement of Chinese migrant children. *British Journal of Social Work*, 40(8), 2578–2597. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcq051>

Wu, X. (2011). The household registration system and rural-urban educational inequality in contemporary China. *Chinese Sociological Review*, 44(2), 31–51.

<https://doi.org/10.2753/CSA2162-0555440202>

Wu, X., & Treiman, D. J. (2007). Inequality and equality under Chinese socialism: The hukou system and intergenerational occupational mobility. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(2), 415–445. <https://doi.org/10.1086/518905>

Wu, X., & Zhang, Z. (2015). Population migration and children's school enrollments in China, 1990–2005. *Social Science Research*, 53, 177–190.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.05.007>

Wu, Z., & Shen, J. (2006). School selection and pursuit of education equality: An examination of reform of urban public schools from the perspective of changing school selection policy. *Tsinghua University Education Research*, 27(6), 112–118.

<https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1001-4519.2006.06.020>

Xiong, Y. (2015). The broken ladder: Why education provides no upward mobility for migrant children in China. *The China Quarterly*, 221, 161–184.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741015000016>

Xiong, Y. H. (2012). Holistic governance and social integration of migrant children. *Chinese*

Public Administration, (5), 79–83.

<https://d.wanfangdata.com.cn/periodical/zgxzgl201205022>

Xu, D., & Dronkers, J. (2016). Migrant children in Shanghai: A research note on the PISA-Shanghai controversy. *Chinese Sociological Review*, 48(3), 271–295.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/21620555.2016.1165605>

Xu, D., & Wu, X. (2016). *Separate and unequal: Hukou, school segregation, and migrant children's education in urban China*. Population Studies Centre Research Report No. 16–586.

Xu, Q. F., & He, P. C. (2009). Education for children outside the Household Registration System: An educational equity perspective. *Compulsory Education*, 6(1), 21–26.

Yang, D. (2017). *Annual report on education for China's migrant children*. Social Science Academic Press

Yang, J., Liu, X., Zhao, F., Wang, L., Liu, X., Zhou, H., & Shi, B. (2019). The effects of perceived discrimination and city identity on the social adaptation of migrant children in public and private schools. *Stress and Health*, 35(3), 341–349.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/smi.2869>

Yang, X. (2009). The issue of “post-compulsory” education of the second generation of migrant workers. *Shanghai Education*, (10), 6.

<http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotal-SHJZ200910005.htm>

Yi, P. (2015). Do school accountability and autonomy affect PISA achievement? Evidence from South Korea. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, 12(2), 197–223.

<http://doi.org/10.22804/kjep.2015.12.2.004>

Yin, H., Lee, J. C. K., & Wang, W. (2014). Dilemmas of leading national curriculum reform in a global era: A Chinese perspective. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 42(2), 293–311. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143213499261>

- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research design and methods* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publishing.
- Yiu, L. (2016). The dilemma of care: A theory and praxis of citizenship-based care for China's rural migrant youth. *Harvard Educational Review*, 86(2), 261–288.
<https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.86.2.261>
- Yiu, L. (2020). Educational injustice in a high-stakes testing context: A mixed methods study on rural migrant children's academic experiences in Shanghai public schools. *Comparative Education Review*, 64(3), 498-524.
- Youdell, D. (2006). *Impossible bodies, impossible selves: Exclusions and student subjectivities*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-4549-2>
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton University Press.
- Yuan, X., Fang, X., Liu, Y., & Li, Z. (2009). Educational settings and city adaptation of migrant children. *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Science)*, (5), 25–32.
<https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-0209.2009.05.004>
- Zhang, D., & Luo, Y. (2016). Social exclusion and the hidden curriculum: The schooling experiences of Chinese rural migrant children in an urban public school. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 64(2), 215–234.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2015.1105359>
- Zhang, X. (2006). Fiscal decentralization and political centralization in China: Implications for growth and inequality. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 34(4), 713–726.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2006.08.006>
- Zhou, J. P. (2020). Witness the ten years of education for the children of migrant workers in Shanghai (2008-2018). In J. L. Han, L. Zhu, & Y. Liu (Eds.), *Annual report on China's education formigrant children (2019-2020)* (pp. 333–350). Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Zhou, S., & Cheung, M. (2017). Hukou system effects on migrant children's education in

China: Learning from past disparities. *International Social Work*, 60(6), 1327–1342.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872817725134>

Appendix 1: Information Sheet for School Staff (English translation)

Research Title: Educational aspirations and experiences of migrant pupils in one public middle school in Shanghai

About the research

With an increasing number of migrant children now able to access Shanghai public middle schools, little has been known about the experiences, aspirations, and schooling of migrant pupils in public middle schools in Shanghai. To fill this gap, this research aims to explore migrant pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in one public middle school in Shanghai. The voices of the migrant pupils (aged 13 to 15) will be placed at the centre of the inquiry to give voice to a section of the pupil population that does not necessarily have a voice as a matter of course. However, to ensure that the study is not divisive, all pupils within a year group will be invited to participate. In doing this research, I hope that through an understanding of pupils' views and experiences, education policy and practice in relation to migrant pupils can be better informed and shaped.

Research questions

- What are the educational aspirations of migrant pupils, and how are these enabled or hindered?
- How do the parents of migrant pupils support their children in pursuing their educational aspirations?
- How do migrant pupils perceive their experiences in learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and communities?
- How do teachers and local pupils perceive the integration of migrant pupils at school?

What the research will involve

- This research will be carried out from March to May 2019 in a Shanghai public middle school. I will visit one public middle school to conduct research activities, including classroom warm-up activities, semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and classroom observation.
- The research intends to recruit 45 research participants in the school, including about 30 migrant pupils, 10 local pupils, 5 class teachers and the school Principal.

- All pupil participants will be in Year 9 (aged 13-15 years old), as they will have a clearer view of their educational experiences and aspirations because of having to make decisions about their future education in the final year.
- A pupil demographics form will be provided to enable pupils to self-categorise themselves as regards, e.g., gender, age, place of birth, parent employment, and parent place of birth. Pupils will be invited to nominate themselves to be interviewed. The study will ensure that in selecting pupils to interview there will be a dominance of migrant pupils in the participant cohort.
- A classroom warm-up activity will be conducted as pilot work for interviews with pupil participants to ensure that they are as relaxed and engaged as possible in a formal school setting. The activity can be arranged during lunchtime or after school in the classroom, and all pupil participants will be invited.
- All participants will be interviewed individually, and all interviews will be audio-recorded. Permission will be sought to enable this. If consent is not given to audio-record, then notes will be taken as well as possible. Interviews with pupil participants will explore their views of their schooling experiences and aspirations for the future and beyond the end of compulsory schooling. Interviews with teacher participants will explore how teachers engage with challenges of social integration and educational aspirations of migrant pupils. Interviews will be conducted at the proposed school, and each interview with education staff will last one hour; interviews with pupils will last between 40 and 45 minutes.
- Classroom observations may also help the researcher to understand pupils' learning experiences and build relationships with participants. Classroom observations may reflect new ideas, which need to be sought for this research. Classroom observations can only be conducted under the conditions allowed by class teachers. Field notes will record classroom observations.

Practical and ethical issues

- The data from this research will be used to complete my PhD dissertation and possibly some journal articles.
- Before data collection, informed consent will be gained from all potential research participants. Permission will also be sought from parents/carers of all potential pupil participants as they are all under 17. The consent letters explain the purpose and

contribution of the study, the participant's right to participate or withdraw at any time, and the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

- All participants (pupils, teachers, parents) will be told that they have the right to stop participating in this research at any time without giving a reason. The time and place of interviews were discussed with participants so that they could feel more comfortable and relaxed during the interviews.
- All participants will be informed in the interview and consent forms that interviews are confidential, with the proviso that should any information about child abuse be involved (issues of emotional or physical harm), this will be passed on to school staff and reported to the local police (for example, by calling 110) following the Chinese Child Protection Protocols.
- All participants will be informed that their identities will be fully anonymised in the final study. The study will ensure anonymity to avoid any adverse impact of the research on the participating school and participants. In written output, pseudonyms are used for the school's name (the participating school), school location (District A), and all participants. Each participant will be assigned a code during the data analysis.
- To store all research-related raw materials confidentially and safely, all raw data, including audio recordings and transcripts, were securely stored in the SharePoint system provided by the IT services at the University of Edinburgh, according to the University of Edinburgh's Research Data Management Policy; I am the only person with access to them. The materials will be destroyed three years after completion of the research, giving time to enable the researcher to interrogate the data for publication purposes.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you need any additional information.

Jian Liao
PhD Candidate - Educational Research
University of Edinburgh
Tel: *****
E-mail: *****

**Appendix 2- A: Informed Consent Letter for School Staff
(English translation)**

Permission for Fieldwork in the School

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am a second year PhD student at the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh. I am doing research to explore migrant pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective education policy for migrant children can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would be very grateful if you would allow me to conduct the study in your school.

The study is expected to be carried out from February to May 2019. I will visit your school to conduct research activities, including classroom warm-up activities, individual interviewing, and classroom observation. This research intends to recruit about 45 research participants, including about 30 migrant pupils, 10 local pupils, 5 class teachers and the school Principal. Interviews with pupil participants will explore their views on their schooling experiences and aspirations for the future beyond the end of compulsory schooling. Interviews with teacher participants will focus on exploring how teachers view the integration of migrant pupils into Shanghai public middle schools. Interviews with you will focus on discussing the school's general approach to issues of equity and inclusion. I also hope to have some classroom observation time with your permission and support.

The name of the school will be replaced by a pseudonym in reports. No staff member will be identified. All the interviews are confidential.

If you agree to allow me to conduct the research at your school, please sign the consent form and return it to me.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I agree to let the researcher conduct the research in my school.

- I have read and understood the information sheet provided.
- I understand that my school will not be identified in reports.
- I understand that my school could stop taking part in this research at any stage.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's PhD thesis and possibly in other publications.
- I understand that all data will be treated as confidential, and that my name, the school's name, and the names of pupils and teaching staff will not appear in any research findings.
- I understand that confidentiality may be compromised should information about child abuse or neglect be disclosed.

Signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

Appendix 2- B: Informed Consent Letter for Pupils (English translation)

My educational aspirations and educational experiences in Shanghai

Dear pupils,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am studying for my doctoral degree in the UK. I am doing my research to explore pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective educational policy can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would be very grateful if you could take part in this study.

I intend to interview you and observe your school life, including lessons and activities. I will learn your views on schooling and living experiences in Shanghai and your educational aspirations. I need to tape the interview to remember what you told me because I need to write a report on it. All the interviews are confidential. I will write your story into my research report, where your name will be replaced by a pseudonym. This is not schoolwork, and you can decide whether to take part.

If you want to participate in this research, please sign the consent form and return it to me.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your participation.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I want to take part in this study.

- I know that I can ask to stop at any time.
- I know that no-one will recognise me in the research report.
- I understand that I can leave the study at any time and do not need to answer questions during the interview.
- I agree that the interview may be recorded.
- I know that the interview is confidential.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's PhD thesis and possibly other publications.
- I allow the researcher to observe classes and activities that include me.
- I understand that unless someone is hurt, what I say will be kept private.

My name: _____

Signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

**Appendix 2- C: Informed Consent Letter for Pupils' Parents
(English translation)**

Your child's educational aspirations and educational experiences in one public middle school in Shanghai

Dear parent/carer,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am a second year PhD student at the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh, UK. I am doing my research to explore pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective education policy can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would appreciate your help in supporting your child to participate in this study.

I would like to interview and observe your child's school life, including classes and activities. I will talk to her/him to get her/his perspective on schooling and educational aspirations. I need to record the interview to remember what your child told me because I need to write a report on it. Interviews will be kept confidential. Your child's name will be replaced with a pseudonym in the report.

If you would like your child to participate in this study, please sign the consent form and return it to the school promptly.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I agree to have my child take part in this research.

- I have read and understood the research information sheet provided.
- I understand that my child can leave the study at any time and that s/he does not have to answer the researcher's questions during the interview.
- I agree that the interview can be recorded.
- I allow researchers to observe classes and activities that include my child.
- I know that the interview is confidential.
- I understand that my child will not be recognised in the report.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's doctoral thesis and possibly other publications.
- Confidentiality may be compromised when information about child neglect or abuse is disclosed.

Pupil's name: _____

Parent's signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

**Appendix 2- D: Informed Consent Letter for Pupils' Parents
(English translation)**

Your child's educational aspirations and educational experiences in one public middle school in Shanghai

Dear parent/carer,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am a second year PhD student at the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh, UK. I am doing my research to explore pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective education policy can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would really appreciate it if you could participate in this study.

I would like to interview you to talk about your views and plans regarding your child's educational aspirations and how you can support your child to pursue their educational goals after middle school. If you agree, I will tape the interview because I need to write the report on it. Interviews will be kept confidential. Your name will be replaced with a pseudonym in the report.

If you would like to take part in this study, please sign the consent form with your name and return it to me.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I want to take part in this research.

- I have read and understood the research information sheet provided.
- I know that I can ask to stop the interviews at any time.
- I understand that no-one will recognise me in the research report.
- I know that I can leave the study at any time and do not need to answer questions during the interview.
- I agree that the interview can be recorded.
- I understand that the interview will be confidential.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's PhD thesis and possibly other publications.
- I understand that unless someone is hurt, what I say will be kept private.

Signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

Appendix 2- E: Informed Consent Letter for Teachers (English translation)

Dear teacher,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am a second year PhD student at the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh. UK. I am doing my doctoral research to explore migrant pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective education policy for migrant children can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would really appreciate it if you could participate in this research.

I intend to observe your class, including lessons and activities. Also, I would like to interview you to learn more about how you engage with the challenges of social integration and educational aspirations of migrant pupils. If you agree, I will tape the interview because I need to write the report. The interview will be kept confidential. Your name will be replaced with a pseudonym on the report.

If you would like to take part in this study, please sign the consent form with your name and return it to me.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I agree to participate in this study.

- I have read and understood the study information sheet provided.
- I know that I can leave the study at any time and that I do not have to answer the researcher's questions during the interview.
- I agree that the interview may be recorded.
- I know that the interview is confidential.
- I understand that my identity will not appear on the report.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's doctoral thesis and possibly other publications.
- I allow researchers to observe classes and activities in my class.
- Confidentiality may be compromised when information about child abuse or neglect is disclosed.

Signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

**Appendix 2- F: Interview Consent Letter for Headteachers
(English translation)**

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Jian Liao, and I am a second year PhD student at the Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh, UK. I am doing my doctoral research to explore migrant pupils' educational aspirations and experiences in public middle schools in Shanghai. By doing this research, I hope that a more effective education policy for migrant children can be reformed based on an understanding of pupils' views and experiences. I would really appreciate it if you could participate in this research.

I would like to interview you to discuss your school's general approach to social inclusion of migrant pupils. If you agree, I will tape the interview because I need to write the report. Interviews will be kept confidential. Your name will be replaced with a pseudonym on the report.

If you would like to take part in this study, please sign the consent form with your name and return it to me.

If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at *****or call *****at any time.

Many thanks for your support.

Yours sincerely,
Jian Liao

Consent Form

I agree to participate in this study.

- I have read and understood the study information sheet provided.
- I know that I can leave the study at any time and that I do not have to answer the researcher's questions during the interview.
- I agree that the interview can be recorded.
- I know that the interview is confidential.
- I understand that my identity will not appear in the report.
- I understand that the data will be used to complete the researcher's doctoral thesis and possibly other publications.
- I allow researchers to observe classes and activities in my class.
- Confidentiality may be compromised when information about child abuse or neglect is disclosed.

Signature: _____

Do you want to know the results of the research?

If yes, please tell us the best way to contact you:

Address: _____

Email: _____ Mobile: _____ Telephone: _____

Appendix 3- A: Guidelines for interviews with migrant pupils

Could you tell me about your living experiences?

- How long have you been living in Shanghai? What do you like most about Shanghai? What do you like least?
- Are you familiar with your parents' hometown? What do you think about the people in Shanghai and the people in your parents' hometown?
- What is the hardest thing about moving if you have to move to another place?
- Do you and your family have to move frequently? If so, why?
- Do you keep in touch with relatives or family members? Where do they live?
- Do you think having a local hukou is essential to you? If so, in which respects?
- Do you need to help your parents do housework or business? If so, what kind of work do you do and how frequently?
- Are you satisfied with the economic conditions of your family? Why?
- What advice might you give other pupils who want to move to Shanghai?
- When asked where you are from, which place do you tend to name in your reply?
- Are you going to live in Shanghai for the long term?
- Do you want to stay in Shanghai?

Can we talk about your educational aspirations?

- What is your current goal in studying?
- What level of educational attainment do you want to reach?
- What is your plan after finishing middle school study? How do you perceive your further education?
- What would you like to do when you grow up? What are your hopes for the future? (studies, life, careers)
- How might you go about achieving these? What are the opportunities that you consider to be provided for you? What might prevent them from being met?
- What are your parents' expectations for your study and life?
- What are your teachers' expectations of you?
- What are your study and life expectations? Do you want to go to university? If so, do you think it is easy to pursue this goal?
- Do you know the points policy in Shanghai? How do you understand the Shanghai points policy?
- What is the most challenging thing in your life right now?
- Do you have any unmentioned content you want to share with me?

Could you tell me about your schooling experiences?

- Why did you select the present school? Did you have any difficulties getting into the current school? If so, do you know how your parents addressed them?
- Did you ever change schools when living in Shanghai? Which school do you like best? Why? What were the reasons for leaving?
- How long have you been studying at the present school? Do you like studying here? Why or why not? What do you like best about school here? What do you like least about school here?
- What are the differences between your previous school and the present school?
- How do you feel about the learning atmosphere in your class?
- What is your hobby? Have you attended any school activities? Do you like school activities? Why or why not?
- Are you and your parents satisfied with your school and learning achievements?
- What makes studying difficult for you? What are the main difficulties you have encountered during your study? Who can help you deal with these difficulties?
- Do you think your parents are concerned about your studies? How do they support your learning? Are they in close contact with your teachers?
- Are your teachers concerned about your performance and learning achievement? How do they support your learning?
- Do you feel you have enough support from the school? Why?
- What do you think of middle school graduation? Where would you like to go to school after graduating from middle school?
- Can you tell me about any learning and life issues you may have now and in the future?
- How do you want your school to change to improve your study and life?
- If you had power, what would you want to change?

Can we talk about your social interaction in Shanghai?

- What do you usually do after school? Whom do you play with? In your community, what do you do for fun??
- How is your relationship with your peers? Do you have any close friends at school? How many? Where are they from? Why have you become close to them?
- Have you had any difficulties in interacting with your peers and teachers?
- Do you like your teachers? Whom do you like most, and why? Whom do you like least, and why? How does your teacher treat most students? How does your teacher treat you?
- When you have trouble in school, whom do you turn to? Peers, teachers or parents? And who usually helps to address those problems?
- Is there anything you would improve or change?

Appendix 3- B: Guidelines for interviews with local pupils

Could you tell me about your living experiences?

- How long have you been living in Shanghai? What do you like most about Shanghai? What do you like least?
- What is the hardest thing about moving if you have to move to another place?
- Do you think having a local hukou is essential to you? If so, in which respects?
- Do you need to help your parents do housework or business? If so, what kind of work do you do and how frequently?
- Are you satisfied with the economic conditions of your family? Why?
- What advice might you give other students who want to move to Shanghai?

Can we discuss your educational aspirations?

- What is your current goal in studying?
- What level of educational attainment do you want to reach?
- What is your plan after finishing middle school study? How do you perceive your further education?
- What would you like to do when you grow up? What are your hopes for the future? (studies, life, careers)
- How might you go about achieving these? What are the opportunities that you consider to be provided for you? What might prevent them from being met?
- What are your parents' expectations for your study and life?
- What are your teachers' expectations of you?
- What are your study and life expectations? Do you want to go to university? If so, what are the barriers that will prevent you from going to university?
- Do you know the points policy in Shanghai? How do you understand the Shanghai points policy?
- Do you have any unmentioned content you want to share with me?

Could you tell me about your schooling experiences?

- Why did you select the present school? Did you have any difficulties getting into the current school? If so, do you know how your parents addressed them?
- How long have you been studying at the present school? Do you like studying here? Why or why not? What do you like best about school here? What do you like least about school here?
- How do you feel about the learning atmosphere in your class?
- What is your hobby? Have you attended any school activities? Do you like school activities? Why or why not?
- Are you and your parents satisfied with your school and learning achievements?
- What are the main difficulties you have encountered during your study? Who can help you deal with these difficulties?

- Do you think your parents are concerned about your studies? How do they support your learning? Are they in close contact with your teachers?
- Are your teachers concerned about your performance and learning achievement? How do they support your learning?
- Have you had any additional support from the school to assist your learning? Do you feel you have enough support from the school?
- What do you think of middle school graduation? Where would you like to go to school after graduating from middle school?
- Can you tell me about any learning and life issues you may have now and in the future?
- How do you want your school to change to improve your study and life?
- If you had power, what would you want to change?

Can we talk about your social interaction in Shanghai?

- What do you usually do after school? In your community, what do you do for fun? Whom do you play with? Are your friends mainly local children? Why?
- How is your relationship with your peers? Do you have any close friends at school? How many? Where are they from? Why have you become close to them?
- Have you had any difficulties interacting with your peers and teachers?
- Do you like your teachers? Whom do you like most, and why? Whom do you like least, and why? How does your teacher treat most students? How does your teacher treat you?
- When you have trouble in school, whom do you turn to? Peers, teachers or parents? And who usually helps in addressing those problems?
- Is there anything you would improve or change?
- If you had power, what would you want to change?

Appendix 3- C: Guidelines for interview with the Principal

- Could you please tell me how long you have worked in this school? What is your major responsibility? What is your school role?
- Could you tell me about your training for including migrant pupils in education?
- How many migrant pupils are in your school? How are migrant pupils enrolled in this school? Is it easy for them to enter public schools now? Why?
- How do you perceive the integration of migrant pupils at school?
- Are classes divided by hukou status? (with local pupils in one class, and migrant pupils in another class)
- Are there any differences in teaching and learning between local and migrant pupils? Are they assigned in the same classroom?
- How much do you think migrant pupils' parents care about their children's education? If a great deal, how do they care? If not, what is the reason for the lack of parental involvement?
- What do you think are the hopes for the future of migrant pupils? (e.g., studies, life and career)
- What do you think of the school transfer of migrant pupils in your school, and what impact will it have on the school, teachers and pupils?
- Do you think migrant pupils should have a right equal to that of local pupils to enter urban public high schools? Why?
- Under the current education policy for migrant children, how does your school address the transition of migrant pupils to high school education? What are the main problems and challenges facing your school?
- What is your view of current educational policies for migrant pupils? Do you think the current policy on migrant children's education should be reformed? Why?
- In your opinion, what key issues need to be addressed regarding educational opportunities for migrant workers?
- Is there anything you would change or improve in your work with migrant pupils?

Appendix 3- D: Guidelines for interviews with class teachers

- Could you please tell me how long you have worked in this school? What is your major responsibility? What is your school role?
- Could you tell me about your teaching experience with migrant pupils?
- Can you tell me about your training for including migrant pupils in education?
- How are migrant pupils enrolled in this school? How many migrant pupils are in your class? Is the number of migrant pupils similar to that in previous years? Is it easy for them to enter public schools?
- What are the challenges and problems faced by migrant pupils in terms of their learning and living?
- Do migrant pupils have any differences in curriculum compared to local pupils? If so, why?
- How do you describe migrant pupils in your class in terms of learning attitudes, performance, learning abilities and achievements compared with local students?
- What challenges do you encounter when facing migrant pupils' educational needs? And how do you manage to address these challenges?
- Do you think migrant pupils need additional support? How does the administration support pupils? How does the administration support the challenges of educating migrant pupils?
- Are classes divided by hukou status? (with local pupils in one class, and migrant pupils in another class)
- How do you perceive the integration of migrant pupils at school?
- Are there any differences in teaching and learning between local and migrant pupils? Are they assigned to the same classroom?
- In your view, are there many interactions between migrant and local pupils in the school?
- How much do you think migrant pupils' parents care about their children's education? If a great deal, how do they care? If not, what is the reason for the lack of parental involvement?
- What kind of studies and occupations might migrant pupils wish to pursue? What are your expectations for migrant pupils in your class? How might they fulfil these? Do you have different learning expectations for local and migrant students? If so, why?
- How do you perceive the further education of migrant pupils? What are the main challenges confronted by them throughout the whole education process?
- Do you think migrant pupils should have a right equal to that of local pupils to enter urban public high schools? Why?
- In your opinion, what key issues need to be addressed regarding educational opportunities for migrant workers?
- Under the current education policy for migrant children, how does the school address the transition of migrant pupils to high school education?
- Would you like to provide some advice for the practice and policy of migrant children's education?

Appendix 3- E: Guidelines for interviews with parents

Could you tell me about your living experiences?

- How long have you been living in Shanghai? What's your job?
- What do you like most about Shanghai? What do you like least?
- What do you think about the people in Shanghai and the people in your hometown?
- Do you keep in touch with relatives or family members? Where do they live?
- Do you think having a local hukou is essential to you? If so, in which respects?
- Are you satisfied with the economic conditions of your family? Why?
- What advice might you give other people who want to move to Shanghai?
- Are you going to live in Shanghai for the long term? Do you want to stay in Shanghai?

Can we discuss your plans for your child's education after middle school?

- What level of educational attainment do you want your child to reach?
- What are your expectations for your child's study and career? Why?
- Do you want your child to go to university? If so, do you think it is an easy goal to pursue?
- What is your plan for your child after finishing middle school study? How do you perceive your child's further education?
- How can you support your child in pursuing educational goals?
- Do you know the points policy in Shanghai? How do you understand the Shanghai points policy?
- What is the most challenging thing in your life right now?
- Do you have any unmentioned content you want to share with me?

Could you tell me about your views on your child's schooling in Shanghai?

- Why did you choose the present school for your child? Did you have any difficulties getting your child into her/his current school?
- Are you satisfied with your child's school and learning achievements?
- Do teachers seem concerned about your child's performance and learning achievement? How do they support your child's learning?
- Do you feel you have enough support from the school? Why?
- How do you perceive your child's experiences in learning and interacting with local peers, teachers, and communities in Shanghai?
- To make your child's study and life better, how do you want the school to change?

Appendix 4: Sample of coding process

Themes	Categories	Codes	Data from pupils (quotations)
The importance of having a university degree	For equal rights and social status	<i>To improve social status in Shanghai</i>	<i>People with higher education will be highly respected in society and look knowledgeable. They will not be despised by people, especially in Shanghai.</i>
		<i>Enjoying equal rights as Shanghai locals</i>	<i>Assuming I have a university degree, my children can at least stay in Shanghai to attend academic senior secondary school and university, enjoy the same educational rights as the locals, and compete on an equal footing.</i>
		<i>Respected in society and the workplace</i>	<i>If I had a higher degree, I would not be laughed at in society and would find a decent job with a good salary.</i>
		<i>Bring educational glory to the entire family</i>	<i>I want to be the first person in our family to get a university degree, bringing glory to my family.</i>
	For economic success	<i>Stable jobs</i>	<i>My father's unstable employment experience in Shanghai made me feel that having a higher education qualification is essential to obtaining a stable and well-paid job.</i>
		<i>Earn higher salaries</i>	<i>In Shanghai, the higher the degree, the higher the salary, and the better your life will be.</i>
Constraints on obtaining a university degree	Structural barriers to accessing academic senior secondary education in Shanghai	<i>The points policy</i>	<i>I know I cannot attend academic high school here because my parents' education needs to be improved to reach the Shanghai points policy.</i>
		<i>The hukou system</i>	<i>Due to parents' low education and no Shanghai hukou, the most competent and diligent pupils can only go to vocational schools, while local pupils with low grades can go to academic high school without requiring their parents to be educated or wealthy. This is a local privilege without fair competition.</i>
	Difficulties in moving to their hometowns for education	<i>Difficulties in adapting to rural education</i>	<i>A friend of mine with good grades who transferred to a rural school is now frustrated with her studies as she cannot keep up with the learning process.</i>
		<i>Difficulties in adapting to rural life</i>	<i>My father's hometown is backward, located in a mountainous area. The transportation is inconvenient; there is no direct bus to Grandma's house and no internet. I can't understand the local dialect and have no friends there.</i>
		<i>Difficulties in separation from parents</i>	<i>My parents have run a small business in Shanghai for many years, and they need to continue to operate it to maintain our living standards. The rural hometown is too poor to offer work and business opportunities. However, if I move to my rural hometown alone, they will worry about my safety. Besides, they must take care of my younger brother.</i>

Appendix 5-A: Migrant Pupils Demographic information

Code	Age	Gender	Age of arrival in Shanghai	Educational attainment (Father / Mother)	Occupation (Father / Mother)	Siblings	Pupil's current situation
A	13	Girl	1	Middle School	Stall Owner	Younger brother	Return to rural hometown alone in Year 8
B	13	Girl	5	Vocational School/ Middle School	Stall Owner	Younger brother	Return to rural hometown alone in Year 9 (live with a school teacher)
C	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Shop Owner	Elder sister	Return to rural hometown alone in Year 8 (live with grandmother)
D	13	Boy	3	High School/ Middle School	Shop Owner	/	Transfer to a private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
E	13	Girl	5	Middle School/ Vocational High School	Stall Owner	Younger brother	Return to rural hometown in Year 9 (repeat Year 8, live with grandmother)
F	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Vocational High School/ Middle School	Stall Owner	/	Transfer to a private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
G	13	Boy	2	Middle School	Stall Owner	/	Transfer to a private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
H	13	Girl	Born in Shanghai	High School/ Middle School	Stall Owner	Younger brother	Transfer to a private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
I	13	Boy	3	Middle School/ Primary School	Shop Owner	2 Elder brothers	Return to rural hometown in Year 9 with mother
J	13	Girl	Born in Shanghai	Primary School	Waiter / Waitress	Elder sister	Transfer to a school next to hometown alone in Year 8 (public boarding school)
K	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Stall Owner	/	Transfer to a school near hometown with mother in Year 8
L	13	Boy	6	Primary School	Shop Owner	/	Staying in Shanghai
M	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Shop Owner	Younger sister	Transferred to private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
N	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Cleaner / Cleaner	/	Staying in Shanghai
O	13	Boy	6	College Diploma / Vocational High School	Tailor / Tailor	Younger sister	Staying in Shanghai (Father satisfied points policy)
P	13	Girl	7	College Diploma/ Middle School	Electrician / Waitress	/	Staying in Shanghai (Father satisfied points policy)
Q	13	Boy	3	Middle School/ College Diploma	Shop Owner / Clerk	Younger brother	Staying in Shanghai (Mother satisfied points policy)
R	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Vocational High School/ Middle School	Cook / Shop assistant	/	Return to rural hometown with mother in Year 8 (Repeat Year 7)
S	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Stall Owner	Younger sister	Transfer to a private boarding school near Shanghai in Year 8
T	13	Boy	3	Vocational High School/ Primary School	Cook / Cook	/	Transfer to a school near Shanghai in Year 8
U	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Vocational High School/ Primary School	Cook / Waitress	/	Return to rural hometown with mother in Year 8

V	13	Girl	Born in Shanghai	Middle School/ Primary School	Shop Owner	Elder brother	Return to rural hometown alone (public boarding school) in Year 8
W	13	Girl	2	High School/Middle School	Shop Owner	Younger sister	Transfer to a school near rural hometown alone (public boarding school) in Year 8
S	13	Girl	3	Primary School	Shop Owner	Younger brother	Transfer to a school near rural hometown alone (private boarding school) in Year 8
Y	13	Girl	6	High School/ Middle School	Fitness coach / Shop assistant	/	Return to rural hometown with mother in Year 8
Z	13	Girl	1	Primary School/ Middle School	Stall Owner	/	Transfer to a school near rural hometown alone (public boarding school) in Year 9
AA	13	Girl	1	High School/ Middle School	Shop Owner	Elder sister	Transfer to a school near rural hometown alone in Year 8 (live with a group of pupils who also returned alone)
AB	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School	Repairer / Waitress	Elder sister	Staying in Shanghai
AC	13	Boy	6	Primary School	Security Guard / Cleaners	Younger sister	Staying in Shanghai
AD	13	Boy	2	Middle School	Repairer / Waitress	/	Staying in Shanghai
AE	13	Boy	1	Middle School	Shop Owner / Waitress	/	Staying in Shanghai
AF	13	Girl	6	High School/ Middle School	Cook / Shop assistant	/	Staying in Shanghai
AG	13	Girl	Born in Shanghai	Primary School	Stall Owner	Elder brother	Staying in Shanghai
AK	13	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School	Stall Owner	/	Staying in Shanghai
AL	13	Boy	6	Vocational High School/Middle School	Cook	/	Staying in Shanghai
AM	13	Girl	5	Middle School/High School	Stall Owner	Younger brother	Staying in Shanghai
AN	15	Girl	Born in Shanghai	Primary School	Shop Owner		Staying in Shanghai
AO	15	Girl	5	Middle School	Cook / Waitress	Younger brother	Staying in Shanghai
AQ	15	Boy	4	Middle School	Deliverer / Waitress		Staying in Shanghai
AP	15	Boy	Born in Shanghai	Middle School	Stall Owner		Staying in Shanghai
AQ	15	Girl	6	Middle School	Stall Owner		Staying in Shanghai
AR	15	Boy	5	Middle School	Electrician / shop assistant		Staying in Shanghai
AS	15	Boy	4	Middle School	Cleaner / Waitress		Staying in Shanghai

Appendix 5-B Parents of Year 7 Migrant Pupils Demographic Information

Code	Gender	Years in Shanghai	Educational attainment	Occupation	Spouse Educational attainment	Spouse Occupation	Number of Children	Strategies for reaching educational goals
A	Male	10	College diploma	Electrician	Middle School	Waitress	1	Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy
B	Male	13	College diploma	Patternmaker	Vocational High School	Patternmaker	2	Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy
C	Female	16	College diploma	Clerk	Middle School	Shop Owner	2	Meeting the requirements of the Shanghai points policy
D	Female	20	Middle School	Waitress	Middle School	Repairer	2	Staying in Shanghai for vocational education
E	Female	15	Primary School	Cleaner	Primary School	Security Guard	2	Staying in Shanghai for vocational education
F	Male	20	Middle School	Repairer	Middle School	Waitress	1	Staying in Shanghai for vocational education
G	Male	18	Middle School	Stall Owner	Middle School	Waitress	1	Staying in Shanghai for vocational education
H	Female	13	Middle School	Shop assistant	High School	Cook	1	Staying in Shanghai for vocational education
I	Female	16	Middle School	Shop assistant	Vocational High School	Cook	1	Transfer to a private boarding school near their rural hometown
J	Male	15	Vocational High School	Baker	Vocational High School	Cook	1	Transfer to a public school near their rural hometown
K	Female	10	Middle School	Shop assistant	High School	Fitness coach	1	Transfer to a day school near their rural hometown
L	Male	20	Middle School	Stall Owner	Primary School	Same as spouse	2	Transfer to a public boarding school in a rural hometown
M	Female	15	Primary School	Shop Owner	Primary School	Same as spouse	2	Transfer to a private boarding school near their rural hometown

Appendix 5- C: Teachers Demographic information

Code	Years of teaching	Role	Teaching subjects	Educational attainment	Hometown
A	23	Class teacher	Chinese	Bachelor's degree	Shanghai
B	20	Class teacher	Chemistry	Bachelor's degree	Shanghai
C	19	Class teacher	Maths	Bachelor's degree	Shanghai
D	24	Senior school administrator	Maths	Bachelor's degree	Shanghai
E	28	Class teacher	Politics	Bachelor's degree	Shanghai
F	7	Class teacher	History	Master's degree	Shanghai
G	4	Class teacher	Maths	Master's degree	
H	24	Headteacher		Bachelor's degree	

