

A Study of Social Integration of Urban Household Migrants from the Perspective of Social Exclusion: An Empirical Analysis based on Housing Inequality

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Abstract: With the prelude of the "people war" in major cities, various settlement policies have attracted numerous talents with higher education to settle in cities and become the population with the city's household registration, which we can call household migrants. At present, most of the studies on migrants in China focus on the mobile population, and less on this part of people who are screened and left behind by the city as elites. Housing has a certain significance for immigrants, and can be said to be one of the more important issues in the process of urban integration, housing not only solves the major problem of living, more importantly, it contains the sentiment of home. Therefore, owning a set of their own house has become the goal of many immigrants to fight for, and household immigrants, as a member of the immigrant army, are no exception. Household immigrants, as elites screened out by the city, have an advantage in the labor market and an advantage in income, does this mean that they will have a smoother integration process in the city? An analysis of microdata from the General Social Survey verifies that even for household migrants, they may not have an advantage in acquiring housing because urban housing prices have continued to rise over the years and it is increasingly difficult for urban latecomers to obtain housing, coupled with the intergenerational inheritance nature of housing. In other words, for household migrants, there is a situation of housing exclusion in the process of urban integration.


1 INTRODUCTION


Housing is a mirror of social change, and changes in housing consumption patterns reflect trends in individual occupational and family instability and mobility in the transition from industrial to post-industrial societies. In China, housing inequality has also been widely discussed. Micro-level structural factors such as education and family background, job changes (Li, 2006), and social status, as well as unit systems, housing system changes, housing finance systems, and intergenerational differences, all influence housing access and housing inequality among urban residents. Housing is also the best lens through which to view China's social transformation. In the academic debate on "market transformation", researchers have used different data to test the logic

of housing access and inequality in the transition process, developing, revising, and refuting theories of market transformation. In summary, housing disparities are often seen as a result of occupational and household wealth differences.

In terms of research related to urban migration, the current academic focus is on mobile populations, such as those who migrate to cities for work, or those without local household registration. The floating population is "all the people who flow into the place without official change of household registration, as opposed to those who have officially changed their household registration and achieved official migration". If urban migrants, migrant populations, and workers in the city (including those who have the will to stay in the city for long-term work and residence) are understood as immigrants in the city,

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the social exclusion of them by urban housing is significant, and most studies have focused on their housing dilemmas in the city and the role of housing as a barrier to their integration into urban society. Moreover, the exclusion they experience is not scattered and individual, but to a considerable extent a "holistic, institutional exclusion". For these so-called "immigrants," the obstacles to urban integration can be attributed to their low economic power. Their dilemma in the real estate market is rooted in their socioeconomic status (including income and occupation), i.e., they tend to be at the bottom of the urban economy and labor market (Fan, 2002). That is, the housing exclusion they experience in the urban integration process is actually a consequence of the exclusion they experience in the labor market.

Unlike previous studies that have focused on migrant populations and workers moving to cities, this study aims to examine the housing exclusion suffered by residents who have non-agricultural household registration in their cities and have lived in that city for a long time, which can be referred to as household migrants, and the social impacts they suffer from housing exclusion in the process of urban integration. Specifically, first, do household migrants exhibit a group disadvantage in accessing housing resources in a given city? Second, does group disadvantage in access to housing resources in a given city become a barrier for household migrants in integrating into a given social life situation? Third, if either of these scenarios exists, then access to housing will become the basis for broader social exclusion, i.e., an important barrier to the social integration and social mobility of household migrants.

In recent years, the continuous increase in housing prices has had a significant impact on migrants' access to urban housing, and the difficulty in accessing housing has to some extent become a major obstacle to migrants' integration into cities, forming a kind of social exclusion that affects their entry and integration into urban life, discourages people from moving upward, and ultimately affects social mobility. When urban housing and its access become the basis of a new mechanism of social exclusion, policy interventions targeting housing become important in order to promote social mobility and integration.

Based on the above discussion, this study takes the housing access of urban household migrants as an example to analyze whether urban household migrants encounter social exclusion in the process of housing resource access, and on this basis, discusses the social impact of such exclusion.

2 HOUSEHOLD MIGRATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION THEORY

2.1 Household Migration

Household migrants are those who have lived in a city for a long time, but are not "born and raised" in that city, and have a non-agricultural household registration in the city where they live. They have more advantages than urban migrants, such as the floating population.

2.2 Social Exclusion Theory

Social exclusion originated from Weber's discussion of social closure, which, in Weber's view, refers to the barrier effect of a particular community on people outside the community who try to enter the community (Weber, 1978), and this barrier effect was later expressed by sociologists as the concept of social exclusion. Social exclusion has also been widely used in migration studies or ethnic integration studies to interpret social integration.

Usually, social exclusion manifests itself through certain mechanisms, which can be artificially set up or pre-existing and spontaneously formed, in order to limit the access of some individual members or certain groups to certain resources, to prevent them from entering a certain class or from integrating into a certain social life environment. In other words, social exclusion has two different dimensions, either in terms of access to a certain resource or in terms of access to a certain class status or identity. At the same time, these two levels are closely related, as access to resources helps people to enter a particular class or acquire a certain status, and if access to resources is blocked, often the access to a particular class or status is also blocked. Thus, in a broader sense, social exclusion actually refers to factors or mechanisms that impede social mobility.

When the object of social exclusion has a group or distinctive category characteristic, this exclusion is what Parkin calls collective social exclusion (Parkin, 1974). The concept of collective social exclusion implies the existence of a force that transcends individual exclusion, and when exclusion is not directed at individuals, it naturally enters the scope of social science research and becomes a topic of focus for social science. Immigrants have certain commonalities, so they are prone to encounter the same type of problems in the process of urban integration, showing certain collective

characteristics. In recent years, housing prices in domestic cities have been rising, especially in large cities and mega-cities, which increases the cost of urban integration for immigrants, and the later they enter the cities, the more expensive and difficult they have to pay for housing. The process of accessing housing resources is socially excluded, and this exclusion is not individual, but is characterized by the collective social exclusion proposed by Parkin.

Social exclusion attracted widespread academic attention in Europe in the 1960s, but it was not until the 1980s that European societies generally responded to social exclusion as a social fact at the policy level (Silver, 1994). After the 1990s, empirical research on social exclusion and anti-social exclusion social policy practices generally emerged in Europe, and in order to defuse social exclusion and promote social integration, European countries adopted a series of control measures. During this period, the role of housing in social exclusion has received widespread attention, and housing is often seen as an important factor contributing to social exclusion (Munch, 2012). It is commonly believed that housing may have a social exclusionary effect on two levels. On the one hand, it affects people's access to housing resources, and on the other hand, it causes problems in achieving status or social mobility due to unsuccessful access to housing resources, blocking access to a certain class, acquiring a certain status, or blocking the path to integrate into a certain social life scenario, and encountering obstacles to social mobility.

In contrast, although the concept of social exclusion does not appear in the official documents of China, China did eliminate some institutional mechanisms that could generate social exclusion during the process of reform and opening up, by actively developing the market economy, reforming the household registration system and the unit system, breaking down the previous institutional barriers, promoting social mobility and social integration. In addition, China is aware of the social exclusion of housing and has introduced subsidized housing in an attempt to eliminate some of the negative effects caused by housing exclusion. However, because of the small range of people to whom subsidized housing is applicable, and therefore the radiation is small, the improvement effect is not obvious compared to the many immigrants, and housing still has a social exclusion effect on a larger scale.

3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

European social exclusion theories and policy intervention practices show that social exclusion mainly involves the following aspects: economic exclusion, political exclusion, public service exclusion, and social relationship exclusion (Anderson and Duncan, 2000). The traditional research view is that housing exclusion is a result of labor market inequality, i.e., income inequality, and is a form of economic exclusion. Unlike previous studies, this paper argues that housing exclusion has formed a new kind of social exclusion, which has become a major obstacle for household migrants in the process of urban integration.

This argument is presented first of all based on a factual empirical judgment that for the household migrants. Their ability to successfully settle is precisely the result of the city's screening through various conditions of what we call elites. To be able to migrate successfully, they are at least equipped with advantages in human capital, and therefore, have a better advantage in the labor market, their economic income is not low and they are not economically excluded. However, due to the continuous increase in housing prices in recent years, even though they have settled in the city and have a good wage income, they still have difficulty to afford to buy a house. In contrast, urban natives can purchase a house before the price rises, or inherit the family home. As a result, even for household migrants with higher social status and more economic income, they are at a disadvantage in terms of access to housing resources compared to urban residents, and "cannot afford to buy a house even if they have money", and the continuously rising housing prices in cities (especially big cities) make housing exclusion a new social exclusion independent of economic exclusion. Housing exclusion has become a new kind of social exclusion independent of economic exclusion, which affects the process of urban integration of household migrants and becomes a major obstacle to their social integration.

Based on the above discussion, this paper proposes the following hypothesis: relative to the original urban residents, urban household migrants have an advantage in economic income but not in access to housing resources, and there exists a kind of housing exclusion independent of economic exclusion, which in turn affects the process of their social integration.

4 DATA SOURCES AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Data Source

The study argues the above questions with the help of official statistics and data from several sample surveys, including official data on housing prices in various cities, housing statistics in 70 large and medium-sized cities, the data from the 2017 China Household Income Survey, the 2015-2017 China Household Dynamics Survey, and the 2017 China General Social Survey.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis

People's housing status is usually measured by two variables: homeownership and housing size. Homeownership is converted into three types based on the original measurement: ownership housing, ownership housing owned by immediate family members, and rental or other types of housing.

Housing size is measured as the floor area of the house in which the respondent lives.

From the available data, the probability that a household migrant lives in an owned home versus a home owned by an immediate family member is only 44.3% of that of a native urban resident, as shown in “Tab. 1”. The probability that a household migrant lives in a home owned by an immediate family member versus a rented home is only 41.1% of that of a native urban resident, as shown in “Tab. 1”. Thus, it can be seen that urban residents have an advantage over household migrants in terms of housing ownership. In terms of the probability of living in rented or other housing, household migrants are 2.1 times more likely to live in rented or other housing relative to living in owned housing or housing owned by immediate family members than urban natives, as more likely to live in rented or other housing relative to urban natives. The conclusion is clear that urban natives have more advantages in terms of housing ownership than household migrants.

Similarly, urban migrants are at a similar disadvantage in terms of housing area, with household migrants having an average of 6.21 square

Table 1: Housing ownership.

	Model 1		Model 2
	$\ln(p_1/p_3)$	$\ln(p_2/p_3)$	$\ln[p_3/(1-p_3)]$
Fixed Effect	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)
Intercept Distance	-2.76(0.35)***	0.09(0.37)	0.61(0.25)*
Gender(Male=0)	0.24(0.06)***	0.09(0.06)	-0.15(0.04)***
Age	0.04(0.00)***	0.01(0.01)**	-0.03(0.00)***
On-the-job(No=0)	0.05(0.07)	-0.52(0.08)***	0.17(0.05)***
Work Experience In State-owned Units(None=0)	0.14(0.09)	0.01(0.10)	-0.07(0.06)
Personal Annual Income(Million)	0.03(0.01)**	-0.04(0.02)*	-0.01(0.01)
Years Of Education	0.08(0.01)***	0.06(0.01)***	-0.06(0.01)***
Household Immigration	-0.83(0.10)***	-0.90(0.11)***	0.66(0.08)***
Original City Residents	-0.66(0.11)***	-0.54(0.12)***	0.52(0.08)***
Random Effects	Variance Components	Variance Components	Variance Components
Intercept Distance	0.86***	0.63***	0.79***
Household Immigration	0.46*	0.52*	0.43**
Original City Residents	0.62**	0.42	0.52**
Log-likelihood Value	-21651.18		-14524.21
Layer 1 Observations	11244		11244
Layer 2 Observations	124		124

meters less than urban natives in terms of household housing area, as shown in “Tab. 2”.

In terms of income, it is inferred from the empirical level that household migrants are the result of screening by urban elites, who have certain socioeconomic status advantages, or at least human capital advantages, and thus, the income of household migrants is not disadvantageous relative to that of urban natives, and to some extent, has a considerable advantage, as shown in “Tab. 3”.

Summing up the results of the analysis of the above data, it can be said that the exclusion suffered

by household migrants in housing is verified to some extent. Previous studies usually consider social exclusion based on housing as a kind of economic exclusion, which is rooted in the result of economic income gap caused by inequality in the labor market, and this conclusion still applies to mobile and urban migrant workers, but household migrants have more advantages compared to them, presenting different characteristics from previous studies. For the household migrants, they are not at a disadvantage in

Table 2: Housing size.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed Effect	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)
Intercept Distance	97.04(3.18)***	48.02(6.34)***	37.92(7.6)***
Own			32.63(2.32)***
Owned By Immediate Family			36.15(3.57)***
Control Variables		Controlled	Controlled
Household Immigration		-5.89(1.89)**	-2.40(1.50)
Original City Residents		4.26(3.16)	6.63(3.32)*
Random Effects	Variance Componen-ts	Variance Componen-ts	Variance Componen-ts
Intercept Distance	1177.13***	1366.40***	471.57***
Own			321.82***
Owned By Immediate Family			1103.81***
Household Immigration		78.89	58.27
Original City Residents		485.41***	501.95***
Layer 1 Randomized items	4987.7	4751.88	4491.31
Log-likelihood Value	-63397.45	-63148.21	-62881.67
Layer 1 Observations	11137	11137	11137
Layer 2 Observations	124	124	124

Table 3: Income differences.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed Effect	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)	Coefficient(Standard Errors)
Intercept Distance	9.07***	4.24(0.38)***	4.25(0.38)***
Household Immigration		0.21(0.06)***	0.23(0.05)***
Original City Residents		-0.35(0.1)***	-0.29(0.1)**
Random Effects	Variance Componen-ts	Variance Componen-ts	Variance Componen-ts
Intercept Distance	1.00***	0.58***	0.53***
Household Immigration			0.02
Original City Residents			0.45***
Layer 1 Randomized items	7.96	5.88	5.82
Log-likelihood Value	-27765.25	-26070.64	-26054.15
Layer 1 Observations	11244	11244	11244
Layer 2 Observations	124	124	124

the labor market, and to some extent have considerable advantages, with significant income, and thus, they are not suffering from economic exclusion.

5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Chinese people have a special affection for home. Therefore, housing can be considered the top priority for families. If there is no sense of belonging, how can we talk about integration?

Currently, housing has become a hot topic of general concern. Along with the continuous increase in housing prices in recent years, housing has become a major problem for urban migrants, and the unaffordability of housing has become a common status quo. Previous studies have often considered the difficulty in accessing housing resources as a result of labor market inequality. But from empirical extrapolation and data validation, urban household migrants, as a result of elite screening, are not at a disadvantage in the labor market. However, they are still at a disadvantage in accessing housing resources. Thus, this paper examines the possible social exclusionary effects of housing, using access to housing resources as an example, and argues that it adversely affects the social integration of urban household migrants.

Previous studies have argued that whether people are disadvantaged in accessing housing resources usually boils down to being influenced by the magnitude of their ability to pay, which is mainly related to people's position in the labor market. Thus, disadvantage in accessing housing resources can be attributed to disadvantage in the labor market and is a form of economic exclusion. However, the urban household migrants in this study exhibit characteristics that are different from previous studies. From the empirical analysis as well as the results of data validation, household migrants do not suffer from economic exclusion, but instead show considerable income advantages, which is consistent with the logic of urban elite screening. That is, household migrants are not disadvantaged in the labor market, are not excluded, and even outperform urban natives, but they show a significant disadvantage in access to housing resources due to the continuous increase in housing prices in recent years. And the later they enter the city, the more difficult it is to access housing. This finding verifies the hypothesis proposed in the previous paper that, relative to urban

natives, urban household migrants have an advantage in economic income but not in access to housing resources, and that housing exclusion has become an independent social exclusion, which in turn affects their social integration process.

Housing exclusion has emerged as a separate form of social exclusion, which is not unrelated to the continuous increase in housing prices in recent years. As housing prices continue to rise, compared to the original residents, household migrants do not have previous housing accumulation when they move to the city, such as inheriting a home or purchasing a home when prices are cheaper, thus making it more difficult to access housing resources. In contrast, urban residents can purchase housing when prices are cheaper, or even inherit the family home, so housing exclusion is actually a "time-accumulative" exclusion.

From the existing studies, housing exclusion has become a new kind of social exclusion, therefore, in the future, we should focus on housing in a broader sense, rethink the role of housing in people's livelihood, and strengthen policy interventions targeting housing.

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