

Stigma toward the rural-to-urban migrants in China: A qualitative study

Jian Guan¹

Department of Social Psychology, NanKai University, P. R. China

Abstract

The paper discusses the status stigma of rural-to-urban migrants in China from the perspective of social representations. Stigma associated with social status is frequently reported in academic community but there is little published information about stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants in China. The data were collected by open-ended individual interviews with 138 participants (60 urban citizens and 78 rural-to-urban migrants) in a general community in Tianjin city. On the basis of research data, this study identify, describe and analyze the structured content and meaning of social stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants which are entrenched in Chinese society and communicated by urban citizens. This study found the three dimensions (appearance, peril and origin) of stigmatizing conditions on rural-to-urban migrants from urban citizens. Interpersonal interaction of stigma between migrants and citizens are differentiation and labeling, linking of labeled differences with stereotypes, differentiation between ingroup and outgroup, involving experienced status loss and discrimination. And then, there are asymmetries between stigma and perceived stigma. The results show, the social stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants as a social representation is embedded deeply in the collective memory of Chinese society, and it is generated from, and dialogically interdependent with the socio-cultural context.

Keywords: stigma; social representations; urban citizens; rural-to-urban migrants

Society has long faced the challenges of breaking down stigma and discrimination associated with social status. China's rural-to-urban migration has received much attention from the scholarly community in recent years. Numerous empirical studies of the migration have focused on economic status, social policy and migration population tide(Li and Li, 2007,; Nielsen et al, 2007; Wong & Song, 2008; Li, 2006, p.175; Goodkind & West, 2002; Fan, 2003; Roberts, 2002; Zhang & Song, 2003; Lague, 2003). However, these researches have little mentioned the stigma and discrimination from the field of social psychology. In this paper we want to describe and analyze the dimension and meaning of rural-to-urban migrant status which are

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entrenched in Chinese society and communicated by ordinary Chinese people, to document the social representations and stigma of rural-to-urban migrant amongst Chinese urban-citizens, and to understand and explore the meaning system pertaining to social stigma towards migrants among the urban citizens. It is dedicated to answering to the following questions: Why are the rural-to-urban migrants stigmatized by urban citizens? What are the contents of stigma towards migrants? How do migrants feel their status stigma?

Rural-to-urban migrant is a special group in China who are still rural residents by official identity according to the household registration system, owning farmland according to the land contract system, but now doing non-agricultural work in urban areas and living on wages (Li, & Li, 2007). It is expected that the total number of rural-to-urban migrants will have reached 300 million by 2010 (Lague, 2003). Although migrants play an indispensable role in economic growth in China, they are frequently portrayed negatively. Rural-to-urban migrants also appear to be more willing than locals to do the so-called '3D jobs'-jobs that are dangerous, dirty and demeaning (Roberts, 2001). They are perceived as a threat to social stability, and are often linked to the increase in crime rates in cities. They are also perceived as competing with unemployed urban residents who have been laid off from the state-owned enterprises (Wong et al., 2007; 2008). Indeed, the hostility displayed by urban citizens has hurt migrants' self-image and self-esteem, and has widened the social gap between migrants and citizens.

According to Goffman (1963), a stigma is a powerful negative social label, stemming from a discrediting attribute of the individual, which radically changes their social identity. The term stigma originated from Ancient Greeks, and it referred to bodily signs (cuts, burns) purposefully designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier, thus providing a type of marker that denoted "pollution" or deviation from "normalcy". Stigma is a powerful phenomenon, inextricably linked to the value placed on varying social identities (Dovidio, Major, & Crocker, 2000; Dovidio & Hebl, 2000). It is a social construction that involves at least two fundamental components: (1) the recognition of difference based on some distinguishing characteristic, or "mark"; and (2) a consequent devaluation of the person (Todd, 2000). Stigma as a social representation is a collective phenomenon which is co-constructed by individuals in their daily talk and action. The theory of social representation is a social psychological framework of studying psychosocial phenomena in modern societies. In the light of this framework, social stigma can only be properly

understood when it is seen as being embedded in historical, cultural and macro-social conditions. The stigma of rural-to-urban migrant status is socially shared knowledge about what counts as the stigma of the migrant status constructed in communicative genres and structurally bound up with the context which it emerges and circulates in Chinese society. This sort of social knowledge provides a symbolic thinking environment within which the urban citizens organize their daily life, establish their priorities, and form their attitudes. So, the stigma of rural-to-urban migrant status is alive in society in the form of a social representation.

Methods

A qualitative approach is especially suited to understanding the subjective experiences of stigma and perceived stigma; social, psychological, cultural and political influences on stigmatic attitude and behavior; and interactions with stigma representations.

1. Study design and sample

In this exploratory study, we conducted in-depth interviews with rural-to-urban migrants and with urban-citizens. A qualitative research method is particularly suited for exploring the subjective views on the issue. They put the subject and their perception of the world at the centre of their attention. The living experiences of those studied or their accounts of it serve as the basis for data analysis. Qualitative research lends itself to investigating fundamental understandings of complex interactions and relationships. It is used to describe and gain insight into the opinions, values and attitudes of people, together with meanings and interpretations that they place on their life experiences (Liggins, 2005). A qualitative method, aims to develop theory as it emerges from the data, rather than the data being collected to confirm, or otherwise, a preconceived theory (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). There were two groups of participants in this study, rural-to-urban migrants and urban citizens. The data were collected by open-ended individual interviews with 138 participants (60 urban citizens and 78 rural-to-urban migrants) in a general community in Tianjin city.

The interviewees were found in the street or identified at their outdoor workplace. Occasionally, the interviewer was led to new interviewees through the

introductions by previous interviewees. Three out of four people approached agreed to do the interview. Some interviewees at work agreed to book an interview for a later time. The interviewer either came back to the same place or visited the interviewee's place of residence to carry out the interview.

2. Data collection

Each session of interviews lasted about 1 hour. Approximately 140 hours of interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviewer had a list of topics to cover, attempting to promote a dialogue and allowing the participants to raise issues which they saw as important. When the interviewees were answering the questions they were not interrupted and were allowed to elaborate on issues they found important.

Examples of questions asked for rural-to-urban participant were: (a) Can you tell me what is your feeling the attitudes of urban citizens? Please give an example that happened in your life? (b) How did you feel about this group? (c) What is your past experience of working with people with urban citizens? (d) Can you tell me that feeling? Etc. Examples of questions for urban citizens were: (a) Can you tell me what is your feeling of rural-to-urban migrants? How would you describe this group? Etc. (b) How did you feel about this group? (c) What is your past experience of working with people with rural-to-urban migrants? (d) Can you tell me that feeling? Etc.

In the course of an interview, the questions asked varied depending on the actual development of the dialogue and discussion. When a theme, for instance, impolite, emerged in a session, the interviewer normally led the dialogues to progress towards the following three levels: (a) Descriptions, for example: In your view, what is impolite, please give an example to explain it? (b) Explanations, for example: Why do you think rural-to-urban migrants impolite, and please give an example to explain it? (c) Comparisons, for example: comparing with the other factors, why is education more important to them? Etc.

3. Data analysis

Initial coding of all interviews was done using the qualitative data analysis software. Consistent with qualitative methodology the analysis of the data began

following the first interview. An early decision in this analysis was to analyze all the interviews together rather than as two separate groups, urban citizens and rural-to-urban migrants. This recognized that all participants are part of the process of stigma and allowed additional opportunities for making comparisons-looking for similarities and differences. Meanwhile, concepts were identified using either a label of our own making or part of a direct quote. As the concepts were better identified, it became clear that they could be grouped together by unifying themes---this was the stage of category generation. This process occurred mid-way through the interviews/data collection and helped further inform the interview questions as we sought to elaborate on these themes.

Results and Analysis²

1. Dimension of stigma towards the rural-to-urban migrants

If members of a group share a particular set of social representation, then does it follow that group membership can be automatically attributed to someone who is sharing a specific set of social representations with a group? Or, can someone share social representations with a group without belonging to it? Alternatively, can someone belong to a group without sharing essential social representations with the group? Which social representations are group-specific and what should we include in the study of a specific social representation? Researchers have long sought to organize stigma attributes into meaningful categories. For example, Goffman (1963) distinguished three different varieties of stigma or stigmatizing conditions: abominations of the body, “physical deformities”; blemishes of individual character, “mental disorders, addictions, unemployment”; tribal identities, “race, sex, religion, or nation”. But, what are dimensions of the social stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants?

The participants in this study did not explicit the stigma towards rural-to-urban migrants as a unitary construction, but as understanding for heterogeneous meanings.

² M: male - F: female. For Example: “Rural-to-urban participant (F-062)” means that these words are extracted by a female rural-to-urban migrant, and this participant number is 062.

This study found the following dimensions of stigmatizing conditions on rural-to-urban migrants from urban citizens.

(a) Appearance. It refers to subjective reactions to the unattractiveness of rural-to-urban migrants. If a rural-to-urban migrant is frumpish, he often is stigmatized. But if he is well dressed, the stigma degree is low. Some citizens even stated that migrants are related to poor mental health.

(b) Peril. It involves the perceived danger of rural-to-urban migrants to others. Most of the participants were aware of the migrants maybe associated with some infectious disease, such as hepatitis. Some urban citizens thought some rural-to-urban migrants were criminal and aggressive. Other were afraid of virus on the bodies of migrants, that living in unsanitary and usually overcrowded dormitories and provided by their employers or in shared accommodations with others.

(c) Origin. This refers to the origin of rural-to-urban migrants. As some farmers from Henan province were infected with HIV/AIDS when selling blood in the 1990s (ref?), some urban interviewees were worried about HIV/AIDS when contacting with the rural-to-urban migrants originated from Henan province

2. Interpersonal interaction of stigma between rural-to-urban migrants and urban citizens

In this study, we found that stigma exists when some specific components converge. Stigma and discrimination experienced in the context of social relationships are interpersonal interaction.

The first component is differentiation and labeling. Identifying which outgroup differences are salient, and therefore worthy of labeling, is a social process. There are two primary factors to examine when considering the extent to which this process is a social one. The first issue is the fact that significant oversimplification is needed to create groups. The broad groups of rural-to-urban migrants and urban citizens are all examples of this. Secondly, the differences that are socially judged to be relevant differ vastly according to time and place. An example of this is the emphasis that the rural-to-urban migrants group in the 1950s' –which was believed to be an indication of a person's degree of excellent parentage. Now, rural-to-urban migrant is symbol of some characteristic, such as poverty, low educational attainment, unwisdom and low quality of life and income.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (F-062)

When I first come here, I was very lonely. I feel urban citizens are busy everyday. If I talk to some one, they answer my questions on their guard.

Extract urban participant (M-031)

I have no rural-to-urban migrants as my friends. I think their low education and bad habits. For example, they often spit expectoration everywhere. One day, I see a peasant which is pumpshiping on the grass during daytime.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (M-023)

We work very hard every day. After work, our clothes become dirty and smelly. As a result, we get nasty abuse from the locals very often.

The second component of this model centers on the linking of labeled differences with stereotypes. This process of applying certain stereotypes to differentiated groups of individuals has garnered a large amount of attention and research in recent decades as it helps to understand the psychological nature of the thought process taking place as this linkage occurs. Meanwhile, rural-to-urban migrant is symbol of some psychological characteristic, such as aggressive, fatuity, old-fashioned and conservative.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (F-013)

People in the city are not very friendly to each other. They also think very highly of themselves. They think they are superior to us.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (F-022)

I came from Guizhou Province, one of China's poorest provinces, and I spoke a local dialect. When I answered the teacher's question in my primary school, my classmates laughed my pronunciation. I feel sadly.

The third component is differentiation between ingroup and outgroup. The linking of negative attributes to differentiated groups of individuals described above facilitates a sense of separation between the proverbial "us" and "them." Within Turner's self-categorisation theory (Turner, et al., 1987), such discrete and hierarchically arranged social groups are termed 'ingroups' and 'outgroups'; an ingroup being a more superior, or socially powerful group, and an outgroup being a socially inferior, or less powerful, group. This sense that the individuals of the labeled group are

fundamentally different causes stereotyping to take place with little hesitation. Prejudice towards same-group, and against other-group, members serves only to deepen ingroup-outgroup divides because, as Plous (2003, 3) observed, “where prejudices lurk, stereotypes are seldom far behind”. Stereotypes are frequently negative and this observation seems piercingly valid in the context of urban China. In this way, language can be a powerful source and sign of stigma. The term *mangliu*, which is used to describe the floating population, means vagrant or misfeasance.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (M-041)

The people here are often polite to me. However, it is impossible to discuss with them my unhappiness. I could occasionally talk to other rural-to-urban migrants. I have no local dweller friends.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (F-033)

I am an Anhui woman. My husband and I all collect waste here, our son was left in the home. My son is only 5 years old. He often looks forward to playing with those citizen children. I think they have a lot of good toys. But, he almost sit aside and see it. They don't like to play with him. Maybe they think my son is a dirty boy.

The fourth component of stigma in this model involves experienced status loss and discrimination. Many definitions of stigma do not include this aspect, however it is the belief that this loss occurs inherently as individuals are “labeled, set apart, and linked to undesirable characteristics.” The members of the labeled groups are subsequently disadvantaged in the most common group of life chances including income, education, mental well-being, housing status, health, and medical treatment. However, the participants are quick to point out that even though some groups are able to escape some of the disadvantages listed, the principle is sound when broadly applied.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (M-019)

This barber's shop is a very primitive one. The employer is also the hairdresser. I learned how to cut hair and I love to do it. When the boss is not around, I take over. However, the wage is too low. I have reached the highest level I can achieve here. I want to become a more professional hairdresser and go to work at bigger shops. However, they only hire people who have graduated from vocational schools, even if I am much more experienced and am keen to learn. Unfortunately, the tuition fee for the professional certificate is too expensive for me.

Extract rural-to-urban participant (M-008)

All my family members were born in the countryside and we all have had many struggles for an equal life to the city dwellers. Although we now all live in the city, we have to pay much more for children's education and other things because our hukous are rural ones.

3. Stigma and perceived stigma as asymmetric representations

According to the theory of social satisfaction (Wright, 1997), one's economic condition and economic status decide his or her social attitude. That might be the main reason that some scholars regard rural-to-urban migrants as a factor threatening social stability. However, our research showed the opposite. The migrants, who apparently had a lower economic status, held more positive social attitudes. This study found that there are asymmetries between stigma and perceived stigma. Rural-to-urban migrant individuals stigmatized by society, based on their group affiliation or trait, may not feel the stigma as intensely as one might expect. Curiously, prior studies (Crocker, et al., 1998) have focused mainly on social stigma. In other words, society's view of the stigma associated with a particular stressor, rather than on affected individuals' perceptions of stigma. This focus has led to the assumption that all individuals with a stigmatized stressor must feel equally stigmatized. Yet, the limited research (Michelson, 2001) on perceived stigma finds quite a bit of variability among affected individuals. In fact, those most socially stigmatized sometimes perceive the least amount of stigma. Perceived stigma is defined in this study as the individual's personal feelings about the stressor. The present study supports the idea that not all rural-to-urban migrant individuals experience the same level of stigma, even though they have the same socially stigmatized stressor. In other words, rural-to-urban migrants, who are at the bottom level of city life in terms of income, not express strong disagreement with society. And then, those who live in shabby places and are often treated unfairly in the city, have no tendency to carry out large-scale collective protest. They consider that there are benefits for industrialization of off-farm migrations, temporary relocation to urban areas also has benefits for rural-to-urban migrants. These benefits come in the form of increased employment opportunities, increased income-especially for women. In a word, rural-to-urban migrants have shown positive attitudes toward society, though urban citizens stigma them.

Instead of being pessimistic about society because of their lower incomes, status stigma and social status, rural-to-urban migrants show a positive attitude toward society. Many migrants, unlike their predecessors in previous years who came and left, now intend to settle down in the city. While there have been major policies changes in the last five years, migrants are still, in many respects, for cities and for the whole of Chinese society. With poorer education and lower future expectations, the rural-to-urban migrants, in comparison to other social groups(e.g. urban citizens), more often felt satisfied with the environment, thus giving positive answers to questions about their sense of social justice, sense of satisfaction and social discrimination. And then, rural-to-urban migrants often like to compare their life and conditions with those who are still living and working in their home villages. They don't like to compare their feeling with other urban citizens. The other way round is that they like to compare their current living conditions with those of the past.

Theoretically, there are at least two possible relationships that exist between migration stress and social stigma. First, a direct effect assumes that people with a positive and optimistic meaning of migration will have better frame of mind, regardless of their level of stress. Second, a moderating effect suggests that individuals who have a positive and optimistic meaning of migration will be able to appraise and deal with migration difficulties and stress positively, resulting in positive attitude.

4. Rural-to-urban migrants stereotypes is evaluatively mixed

The stereotype content model (SCM) is a framework that describes and predicts how groups are “sorted” in a given society, and how a group’s position in this assortment relates to the types of prejudice its members might suffer (Cuddy, Fiske& Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick,& Xu, 2002). Based on two primary dimensions of stereotypes, warmth and competence, the SCM yields four clusters of groups—two that are evaluatively consistent (high/high or low/low) and two that are evaluatively inconsistent (high/low or low/high). The SCM focuses on the evaluatively inconsistent, or mixed, clusters comprising groups stereotyped as competent and cold or as warm and incompetent. Across interviewees’ responses, rural-to-urban migrants have been consistently stereotyped as high on warmth and low on competence. Compared to urban citizens, migrants have been rated as warmer and friendlier, but also as less ambitious, less responsible , and less intellectually competent. Low status, non-competitive groups

viewed as warm and incompetent elicit pity (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Pity tends to be directed downward (Smith, 2000) at people with stigmas for which they are not responsible. For example, when rural-to-urban migrants are described as onset uncontrollable (e.g., fate, natural status) they elicit pity; when the same stigmas are portrayed as onset controllable (e.g., idleness, unwisdom), pity diminishes.

Extract urban participant (F-024)

Urban participant: Rural-to-urban migrants are very interesting. They don't tell a lie. They are very warm and friendly, but some urban citizens often scheming.

Extract urban participant (M-057)

Urban participant: urban dwellers enjoy a range of social, economic and cultural benefits while farmers, the majority of the Chinese population, are treated as second-class citizens. If you come to a city without an urban permit you'll have a lot of problems. You get paid less, your children don't have the same education rights and it's hard to get any welfare. So they are very pity.

In the current study, when the rural-to-urban migrants target behaved conspicuously consistently with the negative stereotype—incompetence. In fact, positive stereotype is existent, that is warmth. The evaluatively mixed nature of the rural-to-urban migrants stereotype (warm and incompetent) leads to an evaluatively mixed pattern of prejudice; people feel pity or disgust toward them. And then the behaviour is excluding or helping, but not only exclusive.

Discussion

Rural-to-urban migrants, who form a huge segment of China's population, are a product of China's reform and development. They have not only given a powerful push to China's transition from a planned to a market economy, by pioneering a competitive labor market, but also have formed a leading force in the country's manufacturing industry, thus greatly promoting the transition of Chinese society from an agricultural to an industrial one. But stigma has a major impact on many rural-to-urban migrants, especially if it loads to self-stigma, and may interfere with various aspects of life, including work, housing, health care, social life and self-esteem.

In social representation theory, the phenomenon is the different kinds of folk theories, common sense and everyday knowledge, which we call social representations. A scientific theory has the obligation to describe and explain a phenomenon. By doing so, a theory puts the phenomena which are captured by concepts in processual and causal order. The concept of social representation indicates a specific form of knowledge, i.e. common-sense knowledge, the contents of which reveal the operation of processes that are generative and that (serve) distinct social purpose. More generally, it indicated a form of social thought. The social representations of rural-to-urban migrant status stigma are practical and communicable ways of thinking that are oriented towards and understanding and mastery of the environment.

The social representations approach operates on the basic assumption that our knowledge about the world is acquired through social and interaction processes. The notion of social stigma is largely conceived through talking and interacting with others (Guerin, 1992). As noted by Moscovici (2000, p.4), “By social representations we mean a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications...they might even be said to be the contemporary version of commonsense.” According to Flick (2002, p.23), a study of social representations “would address the problem of how such socially and culturally shared knowledge influences individual ways of perception, experience and action.” Wagner (1998, p.300) noted that research practice has redefined and expanded the view of social representations. Most of the recent research “conveys the impression that a social representation can be of any social or cultural fact...”. Farr (1998) emphasized the dynamic and changing social representations of phenomena. As noted by Campos (1998), Farr (1998, p.334) posed a “minimal definition” of social representations. As per this definition, social representation is a representation “that exists—or has existed—in two or more minds”. Given the expanded view, dynamic nature and minimal definition, it appears that social representations of social stigma can offer important insights into people’s understanding of the phenomenon. Such insight can be further expanded to design effective programme of stigma abatement and aid in important anti-stigma?.

Social representations refer to the stock of common knowledge and information (concepts or ideas as well as images) which are consensually shared by people belonging to a group or social category. Social representations are also social in origin as they are created and generated through communication by individuals and groups.

The concept of social representation of social stigma is multi-dimensionality. On the one hand, social representation approach conceives a stigma as the process of communication and discourse, in the course of which meanings and social objects are generated and elaborated. On the other hand, primarily in empirical content oriented research, social representations approach see stigma as individual attributes, as individual structures of stigma knowledge, stigma symbols, and stigma affect, which are shared with other people in a group or society. How people represent the contemporary world is likely to have real consequences for what they believe and the way they act. This is not just because such representations are shared by many individuals, but also because they constitute a social reality which can influence human behavior.

Social representations of the rural-to-urban migrant status stigma can be explained by giving the socio-structural and socio-dynamic conditions of groups. The stigmatized internalize the devaluation, negative images, and stereotypes about them, which are abound in the culture. This internalization can in turn alter or even damage the personality of the stigmatized person. In summary, stigma is a term that involves both deviate and prejudice but goes beyond both. Stigma involves perceptions of deviate but extends to more general attributions about character and status. Stigma is more inclusive than prejudice because it involves individual-based responses to deviate, as well as group-based reactions as a function of category membership. Because stigma is socially defined, there is considerable variation across cultures and across time about what marks are stigmatizing. Thus the major negative impact of stigmatization normally resides not in the physical consequences of the mark, but rather in its social and psychological consequences.

Two deleterious consequences of stigma can only briefly be mentioned here. First, public stigma results in everyday life discriminations encountered by persons with rural-to-urban migrants in interpersonal interactions as well as in stereotyping and negative images of rural-to-urban migrants in the media. Second, structural discrimination includes private and public institutes of persons with migrants. To avoid such problems, there need to be further changes in urban policies and urban society, taking account of the needs and interests of these migrants. The state needs to recognize the role of the whole urban society in social integration, which can be negative or positive. On the negative side, not only the policy implementers are disrespectful of migrants, but also many urban citizens think they are superior to migrants. This attitude is reflected in their daily interactions with migrants. As shown in the research,

disrespect is detrimental to social cohesion and harmony, can cause resentment. To overcome this, the government, the media and the education system can all play their important roles. Current anti-stigma initiatives certainly have a good intention, further empirical work is necessary to find out what strategy and content is best to reduce stigmatizing attitudes and behavior in what target group. We also still need to find out whether, in addition to public approaches, policy approaches and institutional approach might support rural-to-urban migrants to better cope with stigma until public stigma has been substantially diminished. Now, in order to support Chinese rural-to-urban migrants successful long-term anti-stigma campaigns are necessary to reduce social stigma in society.

Conclusions

There are two levels of the stigma: the levels of individual and of social. The individual level of stigma considers the stigma of the rural-to-urban migrant status as a social psychological concept which refers to stigma and discrimination phenomena within the subjective world of understanding, feeling, and willing of the individual person. It comprises some psychological description as attitudes, intentions, emotions and behaviors, etc. So, the phenomena of stigma are a kind of social, cultural or group level. It is not within the reach of individual psychological methods, but depends on the methods of social psychology, sociology, economics and cultural anthropology. The social fact of a collectively elaborated representation assessed by media and history analyses refers to the group as a whole. The relationship between a stigma representation assessed at the individual level and a representation assessed at the social level is macro-reductive. The existence of the stigma process explains the individuals' knowledge system. The group's collective system of understanding, justification, and rationalization of its practice defines the frame within which the group members can attain an understanding of stigma and status.

This study found the three dimensions (appearance, peril and origin) of stigmatizing conditions on rural-to-urban migrants from urban citizens. *Interpersonal interaction of stigma between migrants and citizens* are differentiation and labeling, linking of labeled differences with stereotypes, differentiation between ingroup and outgroup, involving experienced status loss and discrimination. And then, there are asymmetries between stigma and perceived stigma. The results show, the social stigma

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