

**'SEA TURTLES' IN SHANGHAICHINESE STUDENT CIRCULAR MIGRATION AND GLOBAL CITY
FORMATION**

WEI SHEN

Loughborough University in association with Sciences Po Paris

INTRODUCTION

This paper first seeks to investigate student return migration to China in order to assess how it helps Shanghai's path to becoming a global city. It will focus on the circulating network and mobility of student migration. Second, it aims to understand Chinese student migration in Europe in a comparative perspective through the study on Chinese students in Paris. Europe has attracted a massive number of Chinese migrants through both legal and illegal channels. Among them, student migration is said to constitute an important social network for linking China and Europe (Skeldon 1992) and is highlighted by the European Commission as an important area of cooperation between the governments of China and all European Union member states¹.

The research will address a total of four research aims and ten specific objectives. The primary research aim is the investigation of student return migration to Shanghai and its role in the Shanghai's global city formation process. The return of students is considered to be a potential, positive win-win student migration cycle. As the majority of Chinese students choose management and business subjects as their main courses of studies, this project will therefore examine the role of management/business student returnees on Shanghai's pathway to become China's global city through its integration to world city network. The basic question this research asked is: how does student return migration constitutes to the rise of Shanghai as a world/global city in the recent past, present and near future?

The second research aim is to investigate China's outbound student migration in Europe and assess this phenomenon on a city level (as key stopping point - Paris) in the flow pattern of Chinese student migration. The basic research question asked here is: how do contemporary Chinese students in Paris see their career development choices and how may they be related to (the development and economy of) Shanghai?

BACKGROUND

Migration is the key driving force shaping our global economy and transforming our society. The United Nations Population Division estimates that approximately 175 million persons or 3% of the world population live outside their country of origin. There are many different forms of migration, from forced migrations like refugees and asylum seekers to volunteer migration with economic interests, e.g. labour migration. Globalisation has further accelerated trade liberalisation, thus labour migration is acknowledged as an important complement to the international negotiations on trade and mobility of capital and services.

In today's world, most societies are characterised by rapid urbanisation as more people are migrating to cities, especially mega cities, across the globe. In the 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller 2003), cities across the world are the main destinations for this human movement. However migration is not a new subject for cities. Until the mid-1800s, cities were often overcrowded and unhealthy places, the number of deaths exceeded births in many large European cities. During this period, migration was one of the vital factors for city growth as it accounted for as much as 90 percent of the city population. There were only 8 mega-cities (cities with population over 5 millions) in 1950, it turned almost 5 times into 41 mega-cities in 2000 and is predicted to rise to 59 (within them, 23 cities are expected to have over 10 millions) in 2015. This rapid growth is not only attributed to demographic gains but also to the

¹ Please refer to the Memo of EU-China Summit (2004) in the Hague, the Netherlands: MEMO/04/284 - Brussels, 6 December 2004: http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/china/summit_1204/memo04_284.htm

contribution of both internal (rural-urban) and international migration to urban areas.

The most recent UN-HABITAT report, 'The State of the World's Cities 2004' has highlighted the importance of migrants and their impact on multiculturalism in cities. While praising the need for 'cities of difference', it also noted the growing urban poverty and inequality in many cities. Nevertheless, it clearly showed migrants' contribution to urban cosmopolitan culture, in terms of arts, languages, gastronomy, among others. This reminds us of Jane Jacobs' (1969) classic neighbourhood theory, in which she argues for social interaction as an important asset. Nowadays we see immigrant groups cluster creatively in major cities, no matter if it is China Town or Jewish Quarter. They add social fabrics to our societies, interlink local and trans-local networks and add vibrancy to the urbanity of their host cities. The diversity of cities due to migration has even been fashioned into an urban strength by leading multicultural cities like Toronto.

Migration from China to Europe has existed for a long time. Chinese migrants arrived in Germany and the United Kingdom as early as the first half of the eighteenth century. Chinese community is one of London's oldest communities, dating back to the mid 1800's. In France, the settlement of Chinese sojourners can be traced to the very beginning of the twentieth century (Archambault 1952). The total stock of Chinese migrants in Europe is smaller than in the North Americas and Oceania and mainly concentrated in a few countries including the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and Italy. Chinese migrants are usually considered as a quiet, hard-working and entrepreneurial ethnic group with few political and social problems (Giese 2003). In the past two decades, there has been a sharp increase of Chinese migration to Europe. However this flow is often overshadowed by the media coverage of Chinese illegal migrants. The tragic events of Dover (June 2000) and Morecambe Bay (February 2004) have put Chinese migration under the spotlight and consequently caused wide public debate. Nevertheless this can not be seen as the complete picture of Chinese migration. Recent statistics and research (IOM, Laczko, and Pieke 2003) have shown the increasing diversity of Chinese migration. In particular, student migration from China has become a notable trend in Europe.

Since the economic reform in China in the late 1970s, the government has deregulated its policy allowing more students to study abroad. China's recent entry to WTO has given further incentives for wealthy Chinese families to send their children to acquire foreign qualifications in order to secure a good career in China after graduation. Europe, especially the United Kingdom and France, have become popular destinations for Chinese student migration. According to a recent report from UNESCO and China's Ministry of Education, China is the No.1 source country for international students, with 460,000 in 103 countries across the world in 2002. In the UK alone, the Embassy of P.R. China in London estimates that there are as many as 80,000 Chinese students for the year of 2004/2005, a massive increase of 10,000 for the previous academic year. There has also been a sharp rise of Chinese students in France in the past decade. The Chinese student population has increased more than 10 times from 1994 to 2002. Over 4,000 student visas were given by the French consulates in China in 2003 (Ministry of National Education, France 2004). However, partly due to the lack of adequate data, only limited research in the social sciences has been devoted to this emerging phenomenon. In addition, the multiple economic and social effects of migration flow has become a dynamic branch of international relations such as refugees, diaspora network and posing challenges for national policies. The recent research and analysis of migration patterns (De Wenden 2004) in a changing Europe have also clearly called for a revision of migration policy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Without theory, there is nothing to research.

Silverman (1994:1)

This post-graduate research project will touch upon two major domains of social sciences theories, the primary theory of reference lies in the studies on global city and world city network formation. International migration theories will serve as a good contextual basis for return migration and comparing different student migration flows. This chapter will give a review on existing theories to understand these two intriguing phenomena of globalisation.

Globalisation and World Cities

The linking of cities with the process globalisation is a critical area of research (many of the key works on Globalisation and World City (GaWC and network) can be found in Friedmann 1986, Hall 1984, Sassen 1991, Knox and Taylor 1995, Clark 1996, Short and Kim 1999, Short et al 2004) and reveal some of the physical features of economic globalisation such as concentration of headquarters, emergence of global financial capitals, clustering of advanced producer services etc.

From 1960s, social scientists like Hall (1966) and Friedmann (1982, 1986) have set the research agenda in global city research by placing emphasis on control power and the 'functional reach' in the changing organisation of the global economy. These great cities are where international capital is concentrated. The globalisation of production has important implications for international migration and eventually resulted in the so-called 'new international division of labour'. Global capital and corporations use some key cities in advance economies as their 'basing points' and assign them with functions in the re-structured spatial division of labour, production and market. Furthermore they are interconnected in a complex and hierarchical urban system, ranked by their functions, control and command power.

With the transformation of information technology and increasing multilevel of flows of information, knowledge and services, Saskia Sassen (1991) underlines the new strategic role for major cities in a highly connected society. The key features of global cities can be reflected on the concentration of investment, high-proportion of (advanced) producer services and their strategic controlling power in the global economic and city network. This 'interlocking' network was further explained by cross-sectional study (Taylor 2004) of advanced producers services firms and their global location strategies, where world cities are conceptualised as the nodal points of the network.

Despite the well developed theories in global city hypothesis, one long existed problem still lies in the relative lack of empirical evidence and statistical proof. Past researches have predominantly focused on the simple attributes of cities, such as number of companies and corporations headquarters (O'Connor 2005). Size, power and control functions are the major factors in measuring cities in a hierarchical model. Attempts are nevertheless made by Taylor (summarised in Taylor 2004) to identify the relations and interconnectedness of cities, but again only a limited of sources (six advance producer services) are consulted. In both approaches, the economic measures are central criteria. As a consequence, the social-cultural factors (the human side) are largely neglected (Benton-Short et al 2004) and even their rectification is still attribute based. My research will add new dimension to the existing (in fact extensively-studied) debates on global cities and their network through the incorporation of new focus on human mobility using relative data on student migration. This research project will use both methods,

attributional and relational/network analysis to develop what Peter Taylor (2004) calls, a network with hierarchy tendencies, as constituted by student migration. This is because the stock of international (student) migrants is the attributional measurement of a city (the size and capacity of international migration) and the return migration reflects the inter-city flow and connectivity in global city network hierarchy.

Overall, the global city literature concentrates on established world/global cities and their formation. However, in my research, to study a potential global city formation in an emerging world city like Shanghai requires the bringing in a further theoretical approach. Shanghai needs a city mechanism that expands its economic life (Jacobs 1970, 1984 and Taylor 2004, 2005) to be in tune with current economic globalisation. This mechanism needs to be developed both internally and externally. Shanghai's attributional gains in office spaces, infrastructure improvements can be viewed as the internal growth. My research, however, will furthermore demonstrate the importance as well as impact of its external growth, through intercity connection and integration to world economy, basing on the mobility and network of student migration.

International Migration

Migration is a multifaceted and complex global issue, which today touches every country in the world. (World Migration 2005, International Organisation for Migration, Geneva, Switzerland)

Migration can be the movements of people within a nation state, namely internal migration such as rural urban migration. It can also be the population movements between nation states. This research mainly deals with the latter case, international migration. The physical movement of persons is considered as the human face, key aspect of globalisation and global mobility in our contemporary world (Smith & Favell 2006). In the 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller 2003), migratory flows have affected more and more countries on a global scale in tune with the accelerating trade liberalisation. Without doubt, international migration has become one defining factor in shaping our world politics and societies.

Due to the complexity of migratory process, Brettell and Hollifield (2000) has concluded that past and current migration research is intrinsically interdisciplinary, involving theories and studies from sociology, political science, history, economics to geography, demography, psychology and law. The growth of global cities attracts large influx of immigrants. Consequently it has been proved to be impossible to have a detailed survey of migratory theory (Massey et al 1993) given the different approaches and research methods.

Nevertheless, Castles and Miller (2003) have summarised three main types of approaches in dealing with contemporary migration:

Economic theories: migration is an economic behaviour and driven by the aim of utility maximisation (Borjas 1989). That explains the South-North migration because of economic disparities, i.e. people from the poorer countries migrate to rich countries hoping to have a better career and life.

Historical-structural approach: This approach is rooted from political economy and the inequality in world system theory. It stresses the unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy. Labour migration was seemed as the 'legacy of colonialism and the result of war and regional inequality'.

Migration systems theory: Based on the critiques of previous two approaches (both of them are studied

in a 'simplistic way' and only one-sided), a migration systems theory adds new dimensions and interdisciplinary approach to migration research, incorporating the sending as well as receiving contexts and focus on the links between the two sides (states) of the migratory flow. Fawcett and Arnold (1987) categorise these linkages as 'state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections and family and social networks'.

International migration also suffers from the data problem as we have seen in the case of global city hypothesis. The information available on illegal migration is very scarce and even legal migration statistics still have serious problems (this will be discussed in the methodology chapter in details). Also the above three approaches of migration research are not applicable to all types of migration. For example, the economic theories can not be used to explain student migration in general as in fact many student migrations are North-North migration rather than South-North migration. Comparing with the well-developed research on low-skilled migration, the studies on (highly) skilled migration are still under-developed despite the fact international migration of skilled persons has assumed increased importance in recent years reflecting the impact of globalisation, revival of growth in the world economy and the explosive growth in the information and communication technology (Abella of ILO, in Findlay and Stewart 2002).

Also international migration is researched mainly on the nation state levels. In a 'de-territorialised world' (Elden 2005) thanks to the economic globalisation, migration research may require new analysis, maybe a more decentralised approach. This is shown on the research on elite migration and inter-company transfer of skilled personnel. In Beaverstock and Boardwell (200)'s research on transnational service firms professionals, migration is pronounced between global cities. For instance, the mobility of bankers and financial professionals are constituted in the flow between international financial centres such as London, New York, Tokyo, Singapore, Frankfurt and elite (business) student migration are also articulated in the spaces and flow between their hosting cities of their institutes. Thus research on the inter-city flow of migration will play a complementary role in understanding and the flows and spaces of contemporary international migration.

In the nexus of migration and development theory, both permanent and temporary migration is viewed as development tools (IOM 2003, 2005; UNDP 2003). On one hand, remittances from overseas diasporas (who usually migrated permanently) have gained substantial praises in helping the economic development of sending countries. But this economic impact of remittances is shown largely to be dissipated in the housing sector and or used for immediate consumptions (Jacobs 1984, King 1986). On the other hand, return migration² of temporary migrants are said to be both sustainable and attractive (Ghosh 2000). The knowledge transfer and brain gain (Solimano 2004) through return migration is far more productive than the increase in consumptional financial capital. This is particularly the case with return student migration, because of their huge embedded intellectual assets and knowledge, i.e. human capital.

Student Migration

Student migration is often argued to be the precursor of highly skilled migration (Skeldon 1992) based on case studies from Australia, USA, and Canada. Those so-called traditional migration countries have seen a great number of foreign students particularly from Asia changing status to economic migrants.

² Officially refers to the movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin after one year or more, this may or may not be voluntary (IOM 2005).

The outcome of this movement is not predictable and often unexpected. Therefore in traditional migration and development studies, this is viewed as potential brain drain³ for developing countries suffering from the loss of their talents (Solimano 2002, 2004).

However, recent research on the nexus of migration and development has suggested a potential win-win situation for both sending and receiving countries through the transfer of knowledge, financial and human capital of returning students and diasporas as well as benefiting from transnational migration networks (Xiang 2005, Vertovec 2004, Sørensen et al 2002).

There are few data on the international student movement. One reliable source is from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In their publication (SOPEMI 2002), student migration has been considered as one of the dominating sources for skilled migration between OECD countries. On the one hand, advanced level students working at research level often engage in lab work and academic projects as skilled labour. On the other hand, the high costs of studying abroad have led them to seek part-time jobs to defray tuition burdens. Due to the nature of their work and low pay, they could be considered as a form of the low-skilled migrant labour in the global cities as defined by Saskia Sassen (1992).

Student migration is also said to provide a new research agenda for understanding the global city hierarchy in O'Connor's (2005) recent studies on international students and global cities. Education, through the internationalisation process can be seen as 'tradable activity'. Educational institutions are seen as the specialist producers who trade academic learning and training in a global market. Also, leading scholars like Peter Hall (1997, Hardy in Elliott et al 1996) have shown universities (students) are strongly associated with urban communities and contribute greatly to regional growth. As a result, the flow and movement of students have now given 'an alternative stream of global connections' (O'Connor 2005) to global cities and even smaller cities with concentration of educational organisations.

Bridging International Migration and World City Network

In the 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller 2003), migratory flows have affected more and more countries on a global scale in tune with the acceleration of trade liberalisation. Cities (the economic centres of a nation state) and the formation of a global city have attracted a large influx of immigrants in order to fuel its growing economic activities. In return, international migration has facilitated the increasing incorporation of cities into the global economic system (Skeldon 2003). On one hand, according to the theory of Sassen (1991), this migration flow is demand driven, where massive migrants from Third-World Countries were pulled into the expanding but low-service sectors in mega cities. This also explained the informalisation of economies and social polarisation in these cities.

On the other hand, a different level (higher value-added) of labour supply, skilled migration, managerial transfers and expatriation played an important role in the development of global cities and are strongly

³ One of the negative effects for the country of origin in migration process is the problem of 'brain drain'. It refers to the loss of human capital, skilled/trained and professional workforce for migrants sending countries. To the contrary, it gives 'brain gain' to the receiving countries. In fact this idea was not raised from developing country, but from UK in 1950s, when the Royal Society was worried about the outflows of British scientists to the United States. Since then the topic has been put on the discussion tables of the United Nations and governments around the world. Thus for a while, (labour) migration was not seen as a development tool for many countries because of the possibility of 'brain drain'. However recent migration studies have shown many positive sides of (labour) migration especially the remittances that migration has brought to home countries are now considered as very important sources of income and development resources. In some cases, student movements to developed countries are still, however, viewed as part of the brain drain because the fact that many students choose to overstay or look for jobs in developed countries after their graduation.

associated with the formation of a world city network (Beaverstock 2002). In a knowledge based economy, contacts, especially face-to-face contacts are essential for exchanging information. Thus in a 'network society' (Castells 2000) elite migrant workers (Doyle 2001) are circulated through inter- and intra-company transfers (ICTs) to maintain contact and accumulate knowledge (Moore 2004). This has formed a new pattern of international migration (Salt 1997, King 2002).

However the research on this pool of highly skilled talents' movement is relatively limited considering their significant economic contribution to urban growth (Findlay, Li 1996). In addition, the impact of immigration is still not recognised as criteria for ranking global urban hierarchy (Short et al 2004), despite the fact that it was identified as an important factor in the original formulation of the world city hypothesis by Friedmann (1986, also recalled in Short 2004, Beaverstock et al 2000). Moreover, human capital, knowledge and financial capital embedded in migrants are created and articulated in their local and transnational relationships (Williams 2004), their spaces of origin and destination. These local and spatially stretched relationships (Massey 1994; Allen 1998) are constituted in the networks of social relations and are temporally locked into particular places. This type of human mobility is however said to be neglected by human geographers (Wallace 2004).

As seen above, there exists a considerable academic literature on the subjects of international migration and the global / world city. However the migration literature tends to study international migration in a national context and much is policy oriented. There is also, unfortunately, a lack of geography research on migrants in the world's cities. One reason to explain this, according to Findlay et al. (1996), is that migration appears to be both the consequence and part cause of global city formation.

In view of Samers (2002), the global city hypothesis needs 'significant revision' and should be incorporated with transnationalism. The notions of transnationalism and transnational communities have emerged in recent years defining the new linkages between societies based on migration. Our contemporary globalisation has resulted in the 'deterritorialisation of nation states' (Basch et al 1994). Human agency is central to this notion. Immigrants are able to build up real life and virtual networks and communities thanks to the development of information technology, it is also called as the 'transnationalism from below' (see Smith et al 1998). According to Castles and Miller (2003), both transnationalism and transnational communities are said to grow swiftly and will play more important role for organising activities, relationships and identity for the transmigrants (people with affiliations in two or more countries). In the view of Samers (2002), global cities are the 'locus' of trans-national political mobilisation and are connected in 'inter-urban' networks formed by migrants.

Therefore the niche of my research attempts to integrate the international migration theory with the current studies on global cities, through the case study on Shanghai. My aim is to analyse how student migration is contributing to Shanghai's progress in gaining the status of a global city, by mediating the relationships between 'local and global spaces' through networks, contacts and other social factors.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chinese Students in Paris – At a Glance

Geographic selectivity in the movement of students is said to be associated with the differences in urban development (O'Connor 2005). This can explain the concentration of Chinese students in major European cities, particularly capital cities due to the size, reputation and highly urbanised infrastructure

and metropolitan lifestyle. Most Chinese students in Europe come from urban areas in China therefore bigger cities could provide more services and living standards which the students are used to when at home. National education systems in some European countries also play a role in the distributions of higher education institutions. For example, most universities concentrate in the Randstadt in the case of the Netherlands and most elite *grande écoles* (e.g. HEC, Sciences-Po, ESSEC, EAP-ESCP) are located in Paris.

There are also exceptions like smaller university towns in UK (Cambridge, Oxford) and in Germany (Heidelberg) and Sweden (Lund). Paris is the economic, financial, political and cultural centres for UK and France respectively. Both of them have the highest density of higher education institutions and have become the basing points for Chinese students in both countries. The statistics from France also shows the steady increase of Chinese students enrolled in the tertiary education, which reaches its peak in 2004 (Figure 1).

However it is not enough just to treat Chinese and other international students as 'saviour' for under funded universities. It raises the concerns over modifications required to immigration policies and the social debates should ensue matters, arising from the massive increase in student flow in Europe in an orderly manner.

Therefore it is essential to recognise the importance of universities' foreign relations through international student recruitment and to incorporate the student community into city management and policy making (Van den Berg et al 2004). Student communities are a vital component of city development. They add fresh, creative and innovative spirits into urban cultures of our cities. Universities, colleges and *grande écoles* in Paris are the core research and development (R&D) actors for both cities and even to some extent respective nations. Students from these cities are the potential highly-skilled workers who will fuel the urban development once they graduate.

It is impossible to neglect the substantial stock of Chinese students and their impacts in Paris. However the problem is the lack of data and research for this particular group. Just like student communities in general, their stays are usually temporary and often students are seen as invisible population due to this temporariness. Foreign students are usually more difficult to calculate as they are often more mobile than home students. It would be very difficult to identify how many Chinese students are in Paris and there are no existing data available. Thus my first task will be to collect data on the Chinese student population from various resources. Part of the research will be looking at the patterns and distribution of Chinese students in Paris, ranging from their study programmes, length of stays, residential distribution, and career development (part-time job or training)⁴.

An important aspect of this study will be the economic contributions of Chinese students through the analysis of their consumption cultures, generation of tuition fees, jobs, and services among others. The increasing emergence of Chinese students have without doubt created a particular business and service market which cater for their needs, ranging from financial/banking to travel agents and takeaways. Equally important is the social impact of these student migrants. In the age of globalisation, migration and multiculturalism, Chinese students are highly relevant to the formation of a diverse city.

Chinese students in Paris are closely associated with the existing Chinese communities. Research

⁴ This is still a research component yet to be realised thus findings in Paris are omitted in this report.

(www.haigui.org 2004) has also shown they retain close contacts with communities back at home. Thus they can be seen as the mediators and interface of two networks, linking overseas diasporas network with mainland China. From there, information about academic, social and business opportunities are exchanged between cities in this dynamic migration network. Observations on Chinese migrants (not exclusively to students) in France further indicate secondary migration system between France and other European countries through migrants' social network (Ma Mung 2000). Certainly, this will be an imperative connection for Paris's external reach with greater China and the international human capital and knowledge network.

The selection of Paris is on the basis of its status in the global city network and European cities hierarchy. Paris is arguably the second largest city in Europe, the political, economic, financial and cultural heart of France and radiates far beyond in Europe. Although Germany has the second largest population of Chinese students in Europe, there are no comparable cities to the level of Paris⁵. The following figure (2) clearly shows the large stock of student populations in Paris and the high percentage of international students. Previous research on MBA schools also confirms the important role of Paris as the No. 5 city in the business education network. Thus this research selects Paris in Europe as the site for studying Chinese migration.

The choice of selecting Shanghai as the location for studying return migration is due to Shanghai being the biggest recipient of return migration and China's arguably most suitable candidate for global city (Lin 2004, Wu et al 2002). Figure 4 has shown the relatively higher stock of student returnees in Shanghai comparing nine other major cities in China. Furthermore, a survey conducted by a newspaper⁶ has asked more than 3,000 Chinese students in 49 countries about their first choice of city where they wish to return. It turns out that, with a popularity of 37.3% and 31.8% respectively, Shanghai and Beijing are the two most favourite Chinese cities for returning students.

IS STUDENT RETURN MIGRATION SHAPING SHANGHAI AS CHINA'S GLOBAL CITY?

Singapore officials say that Shanghai is likely to overtake the island-nation within a decade as a corporate headquarters city for East Asia and is likely to draw away major companies and banks.

San Francisco Chronicle (7-August-2005)

This question is both the prime and guiding purpose of my research. Below is my initial literature for the question. China is currently one of the fastest growing economies in the world with a current growth of 9.5% (GDP First Quarter 2005 BBC Source). It all started with its economic reform in the 1970s through the adoption of so-called 'Open-door' policy. Since then, Massive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has flooded into this largest developing country in the world. Cities in East and Southeast costal lines are the initial and biggest benefactors from this policy. They were given preferential policies by the central administration to attract FDI. This later led to the emergence of three core regional economies, namely Pearl River Delta (Hong Kong plus Guangdong Province), Yangtze Basin (Shanghai and surrounding cities) and the Beijing / Tianjin Corridor. These regions also represent three leading metropolitan regions in China, who are keen to play a major regional and global role in economic and cultural life. Among them, Shanghai is said to be the most suitable candidate for a potential Chinese global city and to gain a

⁵ Due to the federal structure of Germany, its economy is more decentralised and more or less evenly distributed across its regions, like political capital is Berlin and Bonn, financial capital is Frankfurt, trade and shipping centre is Hamburg, business centre is Munich and so on, when comparing to the highly centralised economy of UK and France.

⁶ *Elite Reference* 2004: www.haiguiss.org .

comparable position to Hong Kong and Singapore in the region (Wu et al 2002).

In a recent study, Lin Ye (2004) used three criteria for evaluating Shanghai's qualification for a global city: centrality to the national economy; concentration node for global capital and professional services. Currently, Shanghai has 5.4 per cent share of China's GDP and 10.9 per cent of national total FDI, Shanghai has showed its vital economic role in China's economy and strategic position for international capital and investment, therefore Shanghai seems to have satisfied the first two criteria. However, as China is still a developing country, Shanghai is still in the transformation of 'de-industrialisation' (Savitch; Kantor 2002). But the result is encouraging, nowadays the tertiary industry employment is accounted almost half of the total and the GDP generated by the service sector is 8% of the national production, leaving other Chinese cities beyond.

However Shanghai lacks connectivity and globalness in the world city network. The GaWC project (2004) ranked 34th Shanghai among 315 cities around the globe, on the basis of 100 firms in six different sectors, law, advertising, banking and finance, accountancy, management consulting and insurance. Shanghai has much less offices than New York, London and Tokyo and Asian neighbours of Singapore and Hong Kong, just in close ties with Beijing. A large and mobile pool of skilled labour is the boosting factor for strengthening service sector in the global city (Moore 2004) and international migration is an important component for leading Asian cities' labour market. In Singapore, 27.7% of its workforce is foreigners (Yap 2003), while in Hong Kong 6.7% of the population are of foreign nationalities; there are also considerable amount of legal and illegal workers in major Japanese cities and cities in Southeast Asia, e.g. Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok. Only 72,8957 are coming from abroad to live, study and work in Shanghai out of its staggering 13 millions population. There are only 4,913 foreign students/interns in Shanghai, less than 10% of its in Paris. China, as a whole, has a small stock of foreigners in cities (Skeldon 2003).

Despite the economic and trade liberalisation, one major critique for Shanghai and other Chinese cities is the lack of openness (Enright et al 1997, Wu et al 2002). This is rooted from tight control under the Communist ruling political system. Openness is not only reflected in economic terms but also socially and culturally. China's entry to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has resulted in the acceleration of economic development and pushed China's integration to global economy. In a knowledge based network economy, human capital is crucial fuel to secure sustained prosperity and competitiveness. In the 'International Competitiveness Report 2000' by IMD in Lausanne, Switzerland, China had dropped its position due to the brain drain, outflow of highly skilled human resources (Zhang 2003). China ranks last and second last for the availability of qualified engineers and information technicians. While improving urban infrastructure and other 'hardware' of Shanghai, the key agenda for Shanghai is to maintain its advantage in its service sector, by having a steady supply of highly-skilled workers. Intellectual talents are wanted in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou and any other cities in China, and they hunted both domestically and internationally. So far, Shanghai has set up 7 student recruitment agencies in 7 strategic locations worldwide, London, Los Angeles, Paris, Düsseldorf, Hong Kong, Sydney and Toronto.

Universities and other higher education institutions are the breeding ground for a skilled labour force. China's huge population and their education needs can not be met with their existing university system. Therefore under the internationalisation of education, the fierce university entrance examination and family pressure for university education has pushed Chinese students to seek alternative sources of

⁷ *Annual Statistics 2004*, Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau, Shanghai, China

learning outside China. English and other foreign language skills are the basis for getting a professional job in China. Thus overseas education is a perfect opportunity to gain advancement in foreign languages and internationally recognised qualifications, experiences and knowledge. There are also pulling factors for this phenomenon, the quality of foreign institutions and sometimes generous scholarship and research facility also appeals to many qualified Chinese students. There are a few government schemes particularly aiming at attracting most talented students to study abroad, such as British Government's Chevening scholarships, US Government's Fulbright Programmes and German Government's Humboldt Fellowships. Entry to WTO once more raises the demand for international human resources, adding more incentives for Chinese families to send children abroad for studying programmes.

It proves to be impossible to calculate how many Chinese students are pursuing education abroad. Nevertheless, after graduation, these students are usually equipped with advanced qualifications and language skills, and will be the key factor in expanding China's service sector and filling the important managerial positions in public and private sectors, particularly in the services industry. Swiss Bank, UBS's report (Research Focus – China and India 2004) suggested that Indian diasporas invest much more to home regions in terms of Foreign Direct Investment than Chinese diasporas. However, it also highlighted the growing new wave of Chinese returning students from abroad to become entrepreneurs in the homeland. So for China, the main concern is the return of students, because if recruitment policies succeed, it will produce the most important asset for China and will not only improve China's scoring on human resources in the World Competitiveness Index but also increase its FDI particularly in the high-tech sector (for instance, enterprises set up by returning students from Silicon Valley). In order to do so, Chinese central administration and local governments have implemented a series of preferential policies for attracting overseas students to invest and work in the homeland. These policies seem to be successful (Xiang 2003). The recent statistics showed more than 20,000 students returned in 2003, an increase of 12.3% to the previous year (see figure 3). More than 5,000 high-tech firms have been set up by returning students with total revenues of 3.75 billion USD.

Through my initial research, the pattern of return shows strong intercity connections, as they intend to concentrate in urban areas and within multinational companies. The most reliable and recent survey conducted online by a leading Chinese newspaper (Elite Reference) and governmental agency (www.haiguiss.org 2004) revealed Shanghai (37.3%) and Beijing (31.8%) as the leading destination cities after study by 3097 Chinese students from 49 countries. Among them 47% chose multinationals as their career ambition. It also shows the satisfactory integration of returnees based on the employment rate, 71% of returned students found a job within 6 months after arriving back in China.

Student return migration has become a 'calculated strategy' by the national government (Zweig 2005) to accumulate skills, knowledge, network and financial resources abroad. Comparing to other major cities across the globe, Shanghai has a much smaller rate in terms of both tertiary education entrances and percentage of university and college graduates (Figures 5 & 6). It is also at the heart of Shanghai's global city. The '10,000 Overseas Scholars Converging Programme' implemented in 2003 already had attracted 10,203 Chinese students abroad to work in Shanghai. The success of this initiative has led to the new extension of 10,000 Overseas Talents Converging Programme which was launched in January 2006.

Having a rich supply of internationally competent talents is vital to Shanghai's pathway to become China's global city. Therefore with foreign MBAs, language proficiency and working experiences, the

French business graduates I have interviewed all have shown their impact on the city's development. About half of them works for French company which directly involves their French knowledge to link China and France economically. One interviewee's employer is a leading international law firm where more than 70% of his colleagues have studied abroad. This shows the critical contribution of overseas returnees to Shanghai's rapidly developing service sector. As shown in Figure 7, around than 58 INSEAD (one of the highest ranking MBA Schools in Europe and the world) are working in Shanghai in 2004. The city has outrivaled any other cities in the mainland.

However, almost everyone I have interviewed expressed the cultural shocked when they returned to Shanghai. Environment and quality of people are among the biggest concerns. When comparing to Paris, most returned students pointed out the lack of deep and sophisticated cultural base in Shanghai. Of course, overseas returnees are only a small group of people who could not change this situation alone, but they are definitely adding more diversity in the cosmopolitan of Shanghai by spreading their ideas appreciation of other cultures to colleagues, friends and family.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One long existed problem for researches in world cities and international migration lies in the relative lack of empirical evidence and statistical proof. Past researches have predominantly focused on the simple attributes of cities, such as number of companies and corporations headquarters (O'Connor 2005). Size, power and control functions are the major factors in measuring cities in a hierarchical model. Attempts are nevertheless made by Taylor (summarised in Taylor 2004) to identify the relations and interconnectedness of cities, but again only a limited of sources (six advance producer services) are consulted. In both approaches, the economic measures are central criteria. As a consequence, the social-cultural factors (the human side) are largely neglected (Benton-Short et al 2004) and even their rectification is still attribute based.

My research adds new dimension to the existing (in fact extensively-studied) debates on global cities and their network through the incorporation of new focus on human mobility using relative data on student migration. This research project will use both methods, attributional and relational/network analysis to develop what Peter Taylor (2004) calls, a network with hierarchy tendencies, as constituted by student migration. This is because the stock of international (student) migrants is the attributional measurement of a city (the size and capacity of international migration) and the return migration reflects the inter-city flow and connectivity in global city network hierarchy.

Overall, the global city literature concentrates on established world/global cities and their formation. However, in my research, to study a potential global city formation in an emerging world city like Shanghai requires the bringing in a further theoretical approach. Shanghai needs a city mechanism that expands its economic life (Jacobs 1970, 1984 and Taylor 2004, 2005) to be in tune with current economic globalisation. This mechanism needs to be developed both internally and externally. Shanghai's attributional gains in office spaces, infrastructure improvements can be viewed as the internal growth. My research, however, will furthermore demonstrate the importance as well as impact of its external growth, through intercity connection and integration to world economy, basing on the mobility and network of student migration.

I expect my specific findings on the influences of Chinese student migration in London/Paris (an assessment of the migratory flow, student migrants retention and return intentions and their contributions

to the economic and socio-cultural development of both cities) and Shanghai (the study of their student returnee's career development) to stimulate new debates on the formulation of world city network through other sources of references, such as business education sector and global student mobility. My research will also try to show the possibilities of expanding economic life (Jacobs 1984, Taylor 2005) envisaged from the linking of cities through education and student network.

Both Europe and China needs fresh talents to construct their knowledge societies. China's huge population and their education needs can not be met with their existing university system. Therefore under the internationalisation of education, the fierce university entrance examination and family pressure for university education has pushed Chinese students to seek alternative sources of learning outside China. Entry to WTO once more raises the demand for international human resources, adding more incentives for Chinese families to send children abroad for studying programmes.

For Europe, this massive student influx will be a golden opportunity to develop and strengthen its education system. Bologna, Paris once the birthplaces for modern education, modern thinking and modernity are now the inspiring places for youth and students from across the world. The internationalisation education will give more incentives for European countries to improve their education policies in the direction of the Europeanisation. The newly implemented Erasmus Mundus is a great example to reveal its charm and attractiveness in international education market. It is also an important step towards the ambitious Lisbon Strategy.

Without doubt, globalisation and borderless education has provided an inspirational outreach to connect youth and students through learning. It has brought Europe and China, two apparent distant neighbours ever nearer. It is therefore vital for both governments to strengthen this link and foster greater intellectual and cultural exchange. The European Commission has highlighted migration as key area of cooperation with China and other developing countries. Therefore it is of great interest for both European governments and for China to conduct more comprehensive policy reviews and improvements to ensure a 'win-win' partnership.

NB: Please understand that this work is still working under progress, please do not quote any text or data unless after explicit permission. I'd be happy to provide any references and bibliography upon request, please contact me: W.Shen@lboro.ac.uk , thank you for your interest and understanding.

FIGURES

Figure 1.

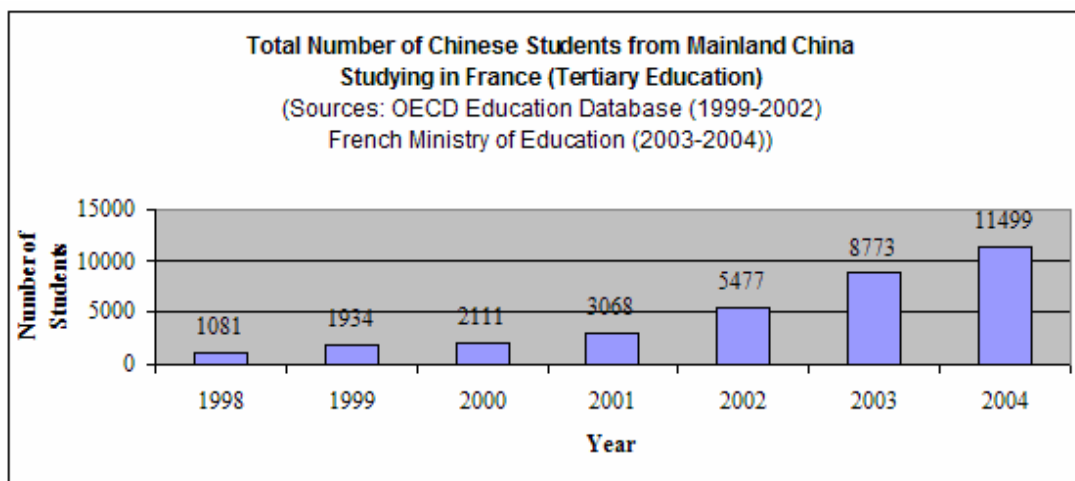


Figure 2.

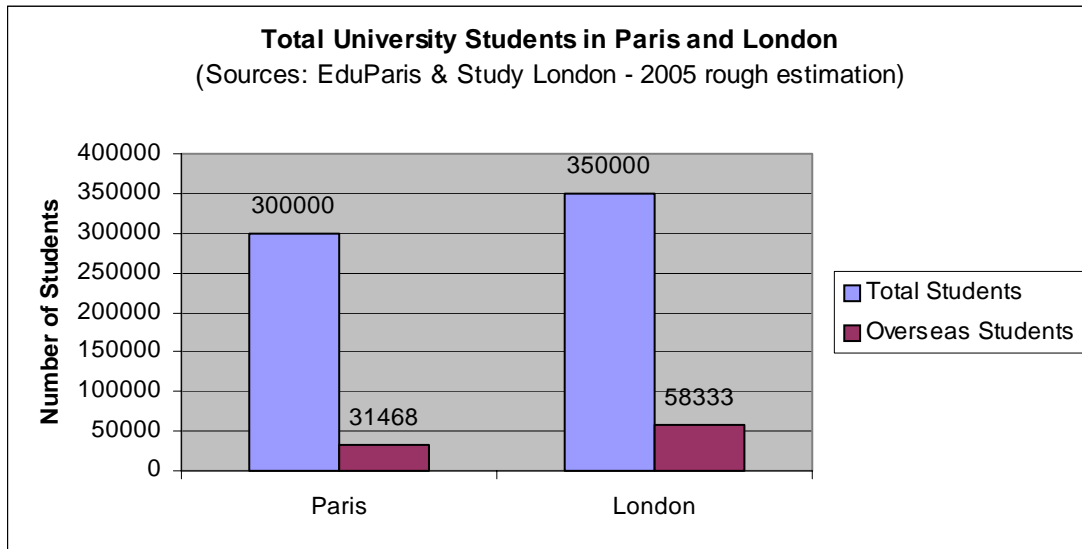


Figure 3.

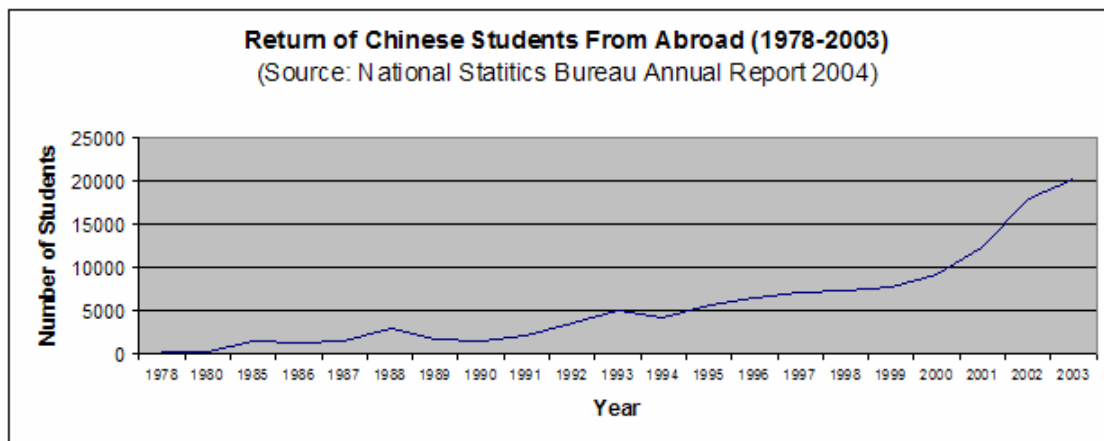


Figure 4.

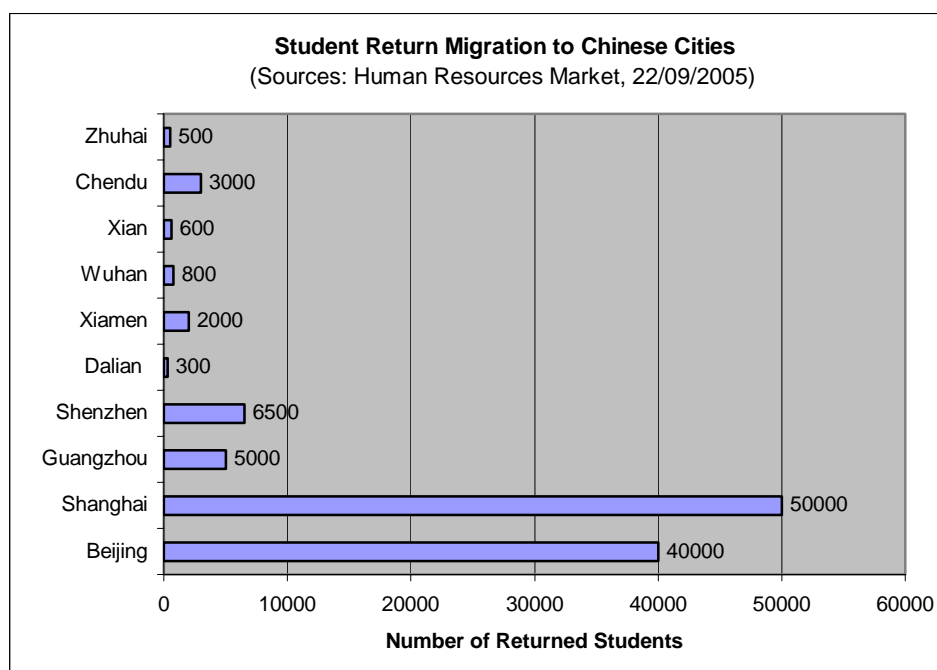


Figure 5.

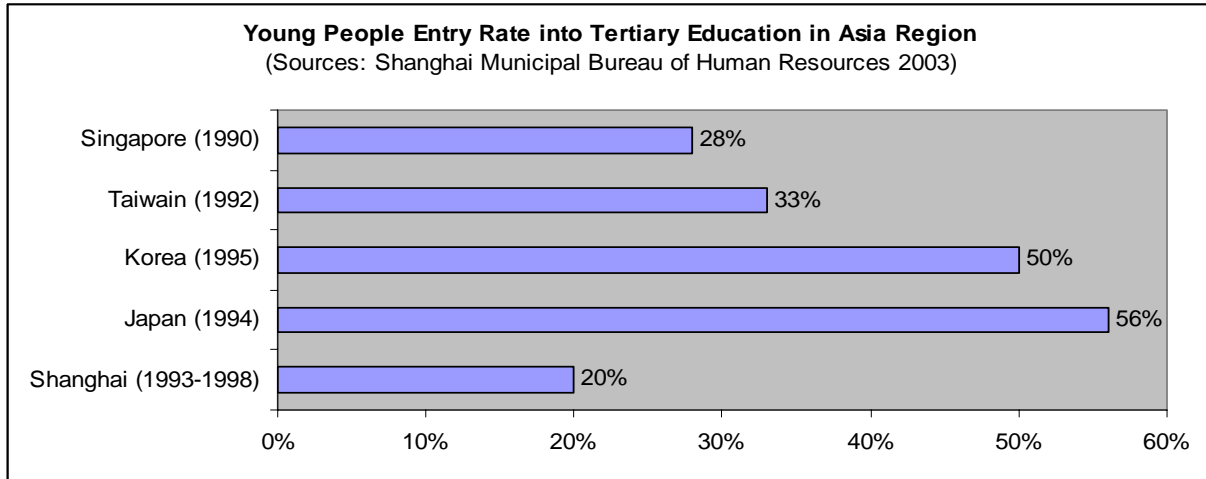


Figure 6.

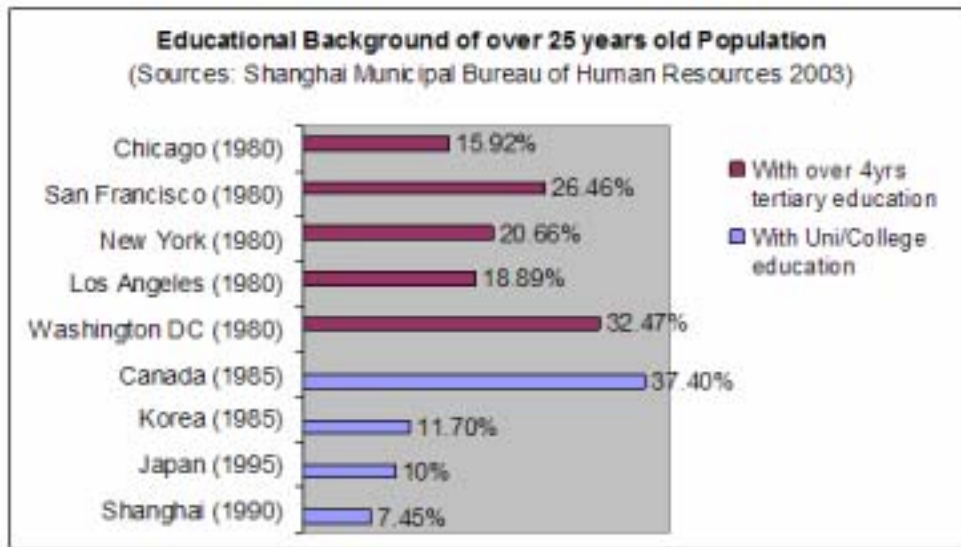


Figure 7.

