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Ethnic Inequality in China: Structural Violence, Educational Stratification,  
and the Rural Household Income Gap

By

Christopher Barrett Sullivan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology and Demography

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Thomas Gold, Chair

Professor Michael Hout

Professor Ann Swidler

Professor Kevin O'Brien

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## Abstract

### Ethnic Inequality in China: Structural Violence, Educational Stratification, and the Rural Household Income Gap

by

Christopher Barrett Sullivan

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology and Demography

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Thomas Gold, Chair

This dissertation is divided into three papers that approach the topic of ethnic inequality in China in different ways. The first paper has two main goals: first, at the empirical level, it examines trends in household income inequality between ethnic groups in China from 1989-2009. Second, at the theoretical level, this study examines the importance of ethnicity relative to other socio-economic indicators and control variables in accounting for household income inequality over time. Using data from eight waves of the China Health and Nutrition Survey, this study finds growing ethnic differences at the aggregate level between Han and non-Han Chinese. The growing difference between ethnic groups at the aggregate level is the result of two main trends: 1) increasing returns to higher education levels, certain occupational categories, and geographic regions in China; and 2) a larger proportion of Han in the categories that have experienced the greatest increases in economic returns. However, once controlling for additional variables, the analysis finds a declining significance of ethnicity as a predictor of income at the household level over time.

The second paper draws upon 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork with a group of Uyghur Chinese Muslim entrepreneurs to examine the relevance of the concept of structural violence for understanding ethnic domination and inequality in Chinese society. Critics of structural violence have argued the concept lacks analytical precision, does not offer a clear account of change over time, and downplays the role of agency on the part of challengers. This article offers a new analytical approach to understanding structural violence. First, utilizing insights from the “multi-institutional politics” approach, this article documents changing conditions of structural violence, strategies of resistance to police pressures, and changing Uyghur identity over time. Second, the results of my fieldwork outline two mechanisms that explain how structural violence changes over time. Third, this research challenges conventional wisdom on the relationship between structural violence and agency by demonstrating how Uyghur entrepreneurs exercised greater agency under increasingly harsh climates of structural violence.

The third paper examines educational stratification in China. Previous studies of educational stratification in China have highlighted regional differences in educational attainment between residents in urban and rural areas, the historical gender gap in educational attainment, and the increasing importance of education in shaping occupational outcomes in an era of marketization.

First, this paper examines the relative importance of social origins and political background in shaping educational attainment in different historical periods of educational expansion and decline; second, it reexamines the applicability of the Maximally Maintained Inequality (MMI) hypothesis to the case of China; and third, it examines differences in educational outcomes between the Han majority and non-Han ethnic minorities. The results indicate a growing importance of parental origins, relative to political background, in educational attainment; limited support for the MMI hypothesis; and a Han advantage in making certain educational transitions.

For my parents,  
James Sullivan and Patricia Wrobel

## Table of Contents

<b>Paper One: <i>Household Income &amp; Ethnic Inequality in Rural China: 1989-2009</i></b>	<b>01</b>
Introduction	01
Literature Review	03
Data & Methods	04
Results	06
Analysis	18
Limitations & Conclusions	22
Bibliography	23
Appendices	25
<b>Paper Two: <i>Structural Violence &amp; Strategies of Resistance in the Uyghur-Chinese Marketplace</i></b>	<b>105</b>
Introduction: Rethinking Structural Violence	105
Part One: Uyghur History, the “Selling Space” and Entrepreneurs	109
Part Two: Summary of Fieldwork	113
Part Three: Discussion	124
Bibliography	130
<b>Paper Three: <i>Educational Stratification in China: Social Origins, Political Background, and Ethnicity (1925-1986)</i></b>	<b>131</b>
Introduction	131
Literature Review	131
Data & Methods	134
Results	137
Analysis	151
Limitations & Conclusions	153
Bibliography	155
Appendices	156

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# Household Income & Ethnic Inequality in Rural China: 1989-2009

## INTRODUCTION

### Research Question

Over the past 30 years, processes of global and national economic development have increasingly generated inequalities within nations. In particular, much attention has been paid to growing regional inequalities in many countries. While these growing regional inequalities have been well documented, internal divisions along racial and ethnic lines are less well understood. Ethnic inequalities have existed and continue to exist in many nations. Yet the relationship between regional inequalities and racial and ethnic inequalities is often unclear. Are racial and ethnic inequalities growing alongside regional inequalities, or are such differences being reduced or eliminated? And if ethnic inequalities are growing, are they the result of ethnic discrimination, byproducts of regional inequality, or some combination of these and other factors?

This study has two main goals: first, at the empirical level, it examines trends in household income inequality between ethnic groups in China, focusing on a recent 20-year period of reform. Second, at the theoretical level, this study examines the importance of ethnicity relative to other socio-economic indicators and control variables in accounting for household income inequality over time. Owing to its rapid economic development, China offers a unique case to examine how patterns of ethnic income inequality are related to its growing regional inequalities.

China is home to 56 state-recognized ethnic categories. Today, the largest category, the Han, makes up over 90% of China's population. The majority of China's ethnic minority populations live in rural and less well-off provinces. It would be expected that, ignoring other factors, members of the majority Han ethnic group would report higher levels of socio-economic indicators, such as income and education levels, by virtue of disproportionately living in wealthier provincial regions in China. However, do members of the Han and non-Han ethnic groups living in the same area report similar levels of household income? Controlling for region of residence and other measures of socio-economic indicators, does the Han advantage persist?

Using data from eight waves of the China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS), I first examine recent trends in rural ethnic income inequality in China between 1989-2009.

### Predictions/Justifications

Two broad theoretical frameworks for analyzing ethnic inequality are: 1) the convergence model, and 2) the divergence model. At the most general level, the convergence model posits that ethnic inequalities – including differences in income levels, educational attainment, occupational categories, and other socio-economic indicators – tend to fade away or are reduced alongside national economic development. Under this framework, the significance of ethnicity in shaping patterns of inequality declines over time, typically as ethnic or racial identity becomes less salient in society, as minority groups “assimilate” to the ethnic majority culture, or as class replaces race and ethnicity as an important predictor of inequality (for example, Wilson 1980). Under this model, one would expect income and education levels to tend to converge between ethnic groups over time.

In contrast, the divergence model posits that ethnic differences along these measures are exacerbated as members of the dominant ethnic group disproportionately reap the benefits of economic growth. Under this model, members of the ethnic majority secure better occupations, have access to higher levels of education, and earn higher income levels in comparison to ethnic minorities in the same regions or positions. The significance of race and/or ethnicity becomes more salient in society, as ethnic divisions remain an important predictor of individual social

mobility and socio-economic status attainment (for example, Hechter 1975). Under this framework, one would expect income and education levels to diverge over time in favor of the dominant ethnic group.

One problem with both the convergence and divergence frameworks is these frameworks conflate increases or decreases in income inequality between ethnic groups at the aggregate level with increases and/or decreases in the influence, or net effect, of ethnicity on these changing income inequalities at the individual level. For example, income levels may be converging between ethnic groups at the aggregate level, but the net effect of ethnicity at the individual level may actually be increasing (what I refer to as the “Diverging Convergence” model). Conversely, income levels may be diverging between ethnic groups over time at the aggregate level, while the net effect of ethnicity at the individual level might be decreasing (the “Converging Divergence” model). Instead of two outcomes that relate ethnic income inequality at the aggregate and the individual levels, it is possible to imagine four different scenarios<sup>1</sup>. Here is a four-fold model on the relationship between ethnic income inequality at the aggregate level, and the net effect of ethnicity at the individual level:

Ethnic Income Inequality	Growing Significance of Ethnicity as Predictor at Individual Level	Declining Significance of Ethnicity as Predictor at Individual Level
Growing Inequality at Aggregate Level	Divergence Model	Converging Divergence Model
Declining Inequality at Aggregate Level	Diverging Convergence Model	Convergence Model

Based on an initial analysis of CHNS data, this study finds significant differences in both total household income and log total household income (see Figures 1 and 2) between Han and non-Han households across each of the eight waves of data. At the same time, initial results show a growing gap between Han and non-Han households in log total household income<sup>2</sup> between 1989-2009 in favor of Han households (see Figure 3). While surface inequalities in log total household income are growing between ethnic groups over time at the aggregate level, it is unclear if Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of household income over time at the household level. Is this growing gap at the aggregate level attributable to ethnicity, or to some combination of other factors, including region of residence and/or growing returns to education and certain occupations?

We initially considered four possible scenarios to shed light on the relationship between ethnic income inequality at the aggregate level and the significance of ethnicity as an explanatory variable at the household level, but this growing gap in ethnic income inequality (Figures 1, 2 and 3) suggests we restrict ourselves to two possible frameworks: the “Divergence” model, and the “Converging Divergence” model. Inspired by this framework, I set forth two competing hypotheses to explain the significance of ethnicity at the household level in relationship to this growing gap in household income between the Han and non-Han over time at the aggregate level:

<sup>1</sup> Allowing for the possibility that there is no change in income inequality between ethnic groups, and/or no change in the significance of ethnicity as a predictor, would create a total of nine scenarios. For the sake of simplicity (and to acknowledge levels do change over time), I limit my analysis to only four possible outcomes.

<sup>2</sup> Both household income and log household income have been standardized to 2009 RMB levels.

(1) Under the “Converging Divergence” model, we would expect the significance of ethnicity as a predictor of household income to be reduced or eliminated once controlling for region of residence and other socio-economic indicators, suggesting growing ethnic inequality is driven by factors other than ethnicity (including region of residence, or increasing returns to education); and

(2) Under the “Divergence” model, we would expect the significance of ethnicity as a predictor of household income to remain once controlling for region of residence and other socio-economic indicators, suggesting ethnicity remains a salient predictor of growing ethnic inequality (and socio-economic status) in Chinese society.

At the theoretical level, this study can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between regional and ethnic inequality under a project of rapid national economic and social development, and shed light on the relationship between changes in ethnic income inequality at the aggregate level and individual level.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Whether ethnic and racial disparities continue to grow or decline has been a central focus of social science research on social stratification and inequality (Grusky 2008). Tremendous bodies of research have been conducted in the United States, Europe, Latin America, Africa and parts of Asia. Yet research on ethnic disparities in China has received only a fraction of the attention bestowed on other parts of the world.

Studies of within-country inequality in China have focused on the growing gap in inequality between rural and urban areas in China, as well as on larger macro-areas in China (paying particular attention to differences between the coastal provinces, inland provinces and western provinces). There is tremendous scholarly consensus that regional inequalities exist and continue to widen in China (Bian 2002; Cai et al. 2010; Goh et al. 2009; Harvie 2000; Khan 2001; Riskin 2001; Wang and Hu 1999; Wei 2000; World Bank 1998; Xie and Hannum 1996).

While regional inequality in China has received a great deal of scholarly attention, much less attention has been paid to ethnic inequalities. These works have examined ethnic inequality in education (Hannum 2002, Hasmath 2007), occupation (Hannum and Xie 1998), rural income (Gustafsson and Li 2003, Gustafsson and Sai 2009), and representation in political leadership (Zang 1998), but have come to different conclusions about the role of ethnicity in explaining observed differences between the Han and non-Han along these measures of inequality. These studies have not yet reached a consensus over whether ethnic inequality is primarily the result of ethnic discrimination, region of residence, differences in socio-economic status, or a combination of these factors.

The results to date have been mixed, and have fallen largely into two camps. In one corner, some scholars argue that ethnic inequality exists between the Han majority and ethnic minority groups, based on small-scale surveys limited to specific regions in China (Hannum 2002; Hannum and Xie 1998) or using larger scale surveys (Gustafsson and Sai 2009). Other research contends that ethnic inequality does *not* exist between the Han majority and minority groups in terms of rural income, drawing upon a large rural sample (Gustafsson and Li 2003). Still other research argues that while surface inequalities exist between ethnic groups, such ethnic inequalities are due more to economic than cultural or ethnic factors (Bhalla and Qui 2006). While these studies do not share a definition or measurement of ethnic inequality, it is clear that there are differing arguments about the existence of ethnic inequality, as well as what constitutes it. I will attempt to reconcile these positions by including a comprehensive analysis of ethnic inequality in China using rural household income data from 1989-2009.

The creation of these 56 ethnic categories was the result of a decades long ethnic classification project (referred to as the *minzu shibie*, 民族识别), that mixed political considerations with historical understandings of ethnicity, as well as social scientific and linguistically based approaches to understanding ethnic group identity. Research has confirmed that while ethnicity in China is complicated and not without contestation, ethnic group identity is growing among both the Han and ethnic minorities (Harrell 2001). Additional works on ethnicity in China have examined changing ethnic identity (Gladney 1994, 1996; Kaup 2002; Yee 2003), ethnicity as a historical construction (DiKotter 1992; Harrell 1997, 2001; Mullaney 2011), and ethnicity and consumption in contemporary China (Davis 2000; Gillette 2002). There is a general intuition in these works that the 55 ethnic minority groups within China's borders do not share the same access to educational, social or occupational mobility as do their Han neighbors.

Per capita GDP has increased at a dramatic rate in China from the initiation of market reforms in 1978 up through today, but national economic growth or “development” should not be simply measured by looking at this aggregate variable. While measures of household income cannot completely describe how individuals have experienced larger processes of economic growth, it serves as a proxy and illustrates how the benefits of economic growth are distributed within one country undergoing rapid economic growth.

## DATA & METHODS

### Data

This paper analyzes data from the China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS), gathered by the UNC Carolina Population Center in collaboration with the National Institute of Nutrition and Food Safety at the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention. This is a longitudinal data set with household level data collected across 8 waves between 1989 and 2009. The survey was conducted in nine provinces in China: Guangxi, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Liaoning, and Shandong provinces (See Figure 4 for a map of the provinces included in the survey).

I limit my analyses of ethnic inequality in total household income levels to rural China for two main reasons: first, household income is an appropriate measure of income in rural areas, where working-age members of a household are highly likely to be engaged in the same occupational category. In urban areas, it is more appropriate to examine income at the level of the individual earner, since members of a household are much less likely to be in the same occupational category. Second, China has been a historically rural nation. In 1990, China remained over 70% rural<sup>3</sup> -- however, owing to a combination of relaxed internal migration and changes in urban/rural geographic classifications, China fell to just under 50% rural in 2010. In addition, changes in the classification of rural and urban areas have occurred during this 20-year period. Since the overall trend has been to reclassify rural areas as urban, focusing on rural areas avoids the problems associated with urban/rural reclassification over the course of the survey.

### Methods/Analytic Strategy

My research strategy is as follows: first, I present descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables in my sample across each wave of the data. Second, I turn towards the inferential statistics portion of my analysis. Here, I analyze each wave separately, and examine patterns of household income inequality between the Han and non-Han across each wave of data. While ethnic inequality was not the primary focus of this particular data set, the China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS) included information about the respondent's ethnicity, household

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<sup>3</sup> [http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Country-Profiles/country-profiles\\_1.htm](http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Country-Profiles/country-profiles_1.htm) (accessed February 2013)

income, region of residence, educational attainment, occupational category, and other key socio-economic variables. Using a variety of multiple regression techniques, I analyze variations in outcomes in log total household income between the Han majority and a collective non-Han ethnic minority group controlling for a set of socio-economic indicators and region of residence.

#### *Level 1: Household & Respondent Variables*

My dependent variable is log total household income. Total household income was created by summing up all sources of income (from both market and non-market activities). This includes income from nine sources: business, farming, fishing, gardening, livestock, non-retirement wages, retirement income, subsidies, and other income. Values for each wave of the data were then inflated to 2009 Renminbi (RMB) currency levels, where 1 USD ~ 6.83 RMB. I further limited my analysis to households with positive incomes. Households that reported a “0” income made up less than one percent of all households in each wave of the survey.

Simply comparing mean levels of total household income between the majority Han Chinese and non-Han ethnic minorities finds substantial differences across the waves in favor of Han households, ranging from approximately 1,500 RMB in 1989, to nearly 6,000 RMB in 2009. Yet as we will see, this relationship becomes more complex when additional variables, such as the household head’s level of completed education, occupation, and the clustered nature of the sample are taken into consideration.

The independent variables include: ethnicity, broken down into Han and non-Han. The collective non-Han category consists of: the Miao, Buyi, Manchu, Tujia and a combined category of Other; the household respondent’s sex, age, age-squared, and marital status (married or not married); the household size; the household head’s highest completed level of education—disaggregated into “completed high school” or not; and three occupational categories: farmer (the reference category), professional and service occupations, and a skilled worker/non-skilled worker/“other” occupation category (the “other” occupational subcategory includes soldiers, army officers, drivers, household business, athletes/actors/musicians, and a category other); and finally, 9 provinces: Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Jiangsu, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, and Guizhou.

#### Imputation Strategy:

For the analysis, I treat each wave of the data as a separate data set. For the dependent variable, total household income, I deleted missing data as well as respondents who reported negative or “0” incomes<sup>4</sup>. The original sample size was thus reduced in each wave by: (-45) in 1989, (-19) in 1991, (-23) in 1993, (-45) in 1997, (-42) in 2000, (-54) in 2004, (-48) in 2006, and (-59) in 2009. I then imputed each data set separately using the ICE program in Stata 11. Data for region, gender, household size and the community ID variable were complete. I imputed missing data for the Han dummy variable; age and age-squared (separately, not passively imputed – see von Hippel 2009 for a more detailed discussion); marital status; the “completed high school” dummy variable; and the occupational categories. In addition to measuring the fixed effects of the household variables (level 1), I include an additional regional variable to account for clustering at the county (level 2) level. There are 218 counties distributed in 9 provinces, with each county containing on average 20 households.

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<sup>4</sup> I removed individuals with negative incomes because I assumed it was a coding or response error. The question asked for income intake from all sources, not income minus debts owed or paid. While removing respondents with a “0” income may introduce bias, owing to the log transformation and relatively few cases with a “0” reported household income it was preferable to imputing values or adjusting the values (adding +1) for these individuals.

To examine this relationship between ethnicity and log total household income, I make use of three techniques: ordinary least-squares regression, cluster-adjusted regression, and multi-level modeling techniques. I perform the analysis using the regress and xtmixed set of commands in Stata 11. First, I examine each wave of data using ordinary least squares regression. However, this set of regression techniques ignores any potential clustering effects at the county level that may affect the results. Second, I make use of cluster adjusted regression techniques to correct for any clustering effects at the county level. Third, while cluster-adjusted regression techniques produce more reliable information on standard errors, they are not able to estimate or account for variability at the county level. Multi-level modeling techniques are appropriate for examining the relationship between total household income, ethnicity, and several additional socio-economic indicators while accounting for clustering effects and variability at the county level. This third set of models implies a two-level hierarchical structure with households (level one) nested within counties (level two). These techniques take into consideration the multi-stage cluster sampling design of the data.

While I am careful not to assume that a correlation between these variables means that one variable causes another, nonetheless these relationships can tell us how these independent variables can predict levels of log household income.

## **RESULTS**

### **Descriptive Statistics: Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable is log total household income (from all sources). In addition, I also discuss summary statistics for the total household income level (in non-log form) across each of the 8 waves. In 1989, the average rural household income for all respondents was 10,520 RMB. For the Han, it was 10,754 RMB, while for the non-Han it was 9,167 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han was 1,587 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 8.89; for the Han 8.95; and for the non-Han 8.57. (NOTE: household income and log household income were imputed as separate variables). (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C; See Table II for un-imputed values)

In 1991, the average rural household income for all respondents was 10,327 RMB. The average Han household income was 10,698 RMB, while for the non-Han it was 8,210 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han was 2,488 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 8.93; for the Han 8.96; and for the non-Han 8.78. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Turning to 1993, the average rural household income for all respondents grew to 11,884 RMB. For Han households, the average income was 12,314 RMB, while for non-Han households it was 9,495 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han also grew to 2,819 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.02; for the Han 9.05; and for the non-Han 8.85. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 1997, the average rural household income for all respondents was 14,484 RMB. Average Han household income was 14,850 RMB, while for the non-Han it was 11,876 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han was 2,975 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.23; for the Han 9.25; and for the non-Han 9.05. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 2000, the average rural household income for all respondents was 17,145 RMB. For Han households, it was 17,596 RMB, while for non-Han households it was 14,385 RMB. The

difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han was 3,210 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.31; for the Han 9.33; and for the non-Han 9.16. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Turning to 2004, the average rural household income for all respondents was 19,848 RMB. Han households reported an average household income of 20,694 RMB, while non-Han households reported an average household income of 14,802 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han grew to 5,892 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.45; for the Han 9.49; and for the non-Han 9.19. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 2006, the average rural household income for all respondents was 23,357 RMB. For Han households, the average income was 24,271 RMB, while for non-Han households it was 17,970 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han increased again to 6,301 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.54; for the Han 9.57; and for the non-Han 9.35. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Finally, in 2009 the average rural household income for all respondents was 33,407 RMB. Han households reported an average of 34,300 RMB, while non-Han households reported an average household income of 28,322 RMB. The difference in average household income levels between the Han and non-Han declined slightly to 5,978 RMB. In log household income units, the average rural household income level was 9.92; for the Han 9.93; and for the non-Han 9.81. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

### **Descriptive Statistics: Independent Variables**

First, we examine the Han ethnicity variable. Members of the Han ethnic group made up 85.2% of the sample in 1989; 85.1% in 1991; 84.7% in 1993; 87.7% in 1997; 85.9% in 2000; 85.6% in 2004; 85.5% in 2006; and 85.1% in 2009.<sup>5</sup> The overall ethnic make-up of China's population is approximately 93% Han in 2010, thus ethnic minorities are over-represented in the CHNS data set. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Second, male household heads made up 89.4% of the sample in 1989; 89.8% of the sample in 1991; 90.5% in 1993; 90.0% in 1997; 90.4% in 2000; 90.6% in 2004; 90.6% in 2006; and 91.2% in 2009. Across the 8 waves, non-Han households were more likely to have a male household head. In 1989, 88.8% of Han households had a male household head compared to 93.3% of non-Han households. In 2009, 90.8% of Han households had a male household head compared to 93.9% of non-Han households. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Third, the average age of household heads in 1989 was 41.7; 43.8 in 1991; 45.5 in 1993; 48.0 in 1997; 49.9 in 2000; 53.1 in 2004; 54.6 in 2006; and 56.6 in 2009. Across each of the 8 waves, non-Han households reported a slightly older household head: in 1989, the average age of the household head for Han households was 41.6, compared to 42.5 for non-Han households. In 2009, the average age of the household head for Han households was 56.5, compared to 57.1 for non-Han households. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Fourth, I examine trends in the percentage of households married across the twenty-year period. In 1989, 93.5% of household heads were married; 91.6% in 1991; 92.2% in 1993; 90.0% in 1997; 89.3% in 2000; 89.2% in 2004; 90.1% in 2006; and 89.1% in 2009. Han household heads were more likely to be married in 7 of the 8 waves. In 1989, 93.7% of Han household heads were married, compared to 92.6% of non-Han household heads. In 2009, 88.9%

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<sup>5</sup> While the CHNS data is a panel data set that interviews the same households each wave, discrepancies arise as households leave the survey and new households enter.



of Han household heads were married, compared to 90.2% of non-Han household heads. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Fifth, the results show the average household size of the sample was 4.3 in 1989; 4.2 in 1991; 4.2 in 1993; 3.9 in 1997; 3.8 in 2000; 3.5 in 2004; 3.6 in 2006; and 3.5 in 2009. In each of the 8 waves of data, non-Han households reported larger household sizes: in 1989, the average household size for Han households was 4.3, and for non-Han households 4.6. In 2009, the average household size for Han households was 3.5, and for non-Han households 3.8. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Sixth, we turn to the household head's highest level of completed education. This variable was recoded into a dummy variable representing whether the household head had completed high school. In 1989, 10.7% of household heads in the sample had completed high school; 11.4% in 1991; 12.1% in 1993; 11.5% in 1997; 13.7% in 2000; 15.2% in 2004; 17.1% in 2006; and 14.9% in 2009. There were dramatic differences in education levels between Han and non-Han household heads across each of the 8 waves in favor of the Han – nearly twice as many Han household heads had completed high school compared to non-Han household heads in many of the waves. In 1989, 11.8% of Han household heads had completed high school, compared to only 4.1% of non-Han household heads. In 2009, 15.7% of Han household heads had completed high school, compared to only 10.1% of non-Han household heads. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Seventh, we examine trends in occupational categories over time. Occupation is measured by the household head's main occupational category. This variable was recoded into three categories: 1) farmer; 2) professional and service occupations; and 3) a skilled worker/non-skilled worker/"other" occupation category. Here, the "other" occupational subcategory included soldiers, army officers, drivers, household business, athletes/actors/musicians, and a category "other." In 1989, 70.7% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 11.7% in professional/service occupations; and 17.5% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In each of the 8 waves, non-Han household heads were more likely to be engaged in farming activities relative to Han household heads. In 1989, 68.5% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 12.5% in professional and service occupations; and 19.0% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 83.6% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 7.5% in professional and service occupations; and 8.8% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 1991, 68.9% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 12.0% in professional/service occupations; and 19.0% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 1991, 66.3% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 12.9% in professional and service occupations; and 20.7% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 83.6% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 7.0% in professional and service occupations; and 9.4% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 1993, 67.9% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 13.2% in professional/service occupations; and 18.9% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 1993, 65.2% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 14.4% in professional and service occupations; and 20.4% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 83.0% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 6.5% in

professional and service occupations; and 10.5% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 1997, 70.6% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 13.1% in professional/service occupations; and 16.3% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 1997, 68.3% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 14.1% in professional and service occupations; and 17.6% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 87.1% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 6.1% in professional and service occupations; and 6.7% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 2000, 69.8% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 13.6% in professional/service occupations; and 16.6% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 2000, 68.2% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 14.3% in professional and service occupations; and 17.4% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 79.1% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 9.1% in professional and service occupations; and 11.9% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 2004, 66.6% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 15.1% in professional/service occupations; and 18.3% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 2004, 65.5% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 15.7% in professional and service occupations; and 18.8% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 73.2% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 11.8% in professional and service occupations; and 15.0% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

In 2006, 67.1% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 13.8% in professional/service occupations; and 19.1% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 2006, 66.2% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 14.4% in professional and service occupations; and 19.4% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 72.7% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 10.1% in professional and service occupations; and 17.2% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Finally, in 2009 66.5% of the overall sample was engaged in farming activities; 14.9% in professional/service occupations; and 18.7% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In 2009, 65.6% of the Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 15.3% in professional and service occupations; and 19.1% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. In comparison, 71.6% of the non-Han sample was engaged in farming activities; 10.1% in professional and service occupations; and 16.3% in skilled/non-skilled worker & other occupations. (See Tables I-A, I-B, and I-C)

Eighth, we examine the region variable. This variable consisted of 9 provinces: Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Jiangsu, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, and Guizhou. 7 of the 9 provinces were included in all waves of the data: Jiangsu, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, and Guizhou. Heilongjiang province was added to the CHNS survey in 1997, and is only in 5 waves of the survey: 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006 and 2009. Liaoning province was removed from the survey in the 1997, but brought back in the 2000 wave. Liaoning province is in each of the remaining 7 waves of data. (See Table III)

Table III shows each province represented approximately 1/8 of the overall survey in 1989, 1991, 1993 and 1997 (when either Liaoning or Heilongjiang province was omitted), and

1/9 of the overall survey in 2000, 2004, 2006 and 2009 when all provinces were included. However, the percent of each province that is Han Chinese varies dramatically from one province to the next. Approximately 100% of Jiangsu and Shandong provinces are Han Chinese across all waves of the survey. Hubei province is close with about 99.7% respondents classified as Han Chinese across all waves. Henan province ranges from 96.5% to 97.1% Han Chinese across the 8 years; Heilongjiang province ranges from 94.0% to 96.1% Han Chinese across the 5 waves it was included in the survey; and Hunan province ranges from 86.9% to 92.8%. Guangxi province ranges from 87.8% to 89.2% Han Chinese across all 8 waves; while Liaoning province ranges from 70.3% to 72.7% Han Chinese across the 7 years it was included in the survey. Finally, Guizhou province is the only province that had a majority non-Han presence – it ranges from 31.8% to 39.2% Han Chinese. While several provinces do not include much ethnic variation, I keep these provinces in the data set to prevent significant losses to the overall sample size.

Lastly, I treat the community-level identifier as a level 2 variable to account for clustering at the community level. Each province contained 16 of these county-level units.

### **Inferential Statistics**

For each wave of the data, I analyze three sets of models: first, an ordinary least squares regression model (OLS); second, a cluster-adjusted ordinary least squares regression model that corrects the standard errors; and third, a mixed-effects model that corrects the standard errors and allows us to measure variability at the county level (level 2). Within each of these three larger sets of models, there are 8 models that examine the relationship between log total household income and ethnicity controlling for several independent variables.

Across the three sets of models (OLS, cluster-adjusted OLS, and mixed-effects), model 1 examines the relationship between Han ethnicity and log total household income; model 2 adds variables that account for basic demographic characteristics of the household head (age, age-squared, marital status) and of the household (household size); model 3 adds whether or not the household head has completed a high school education; model 4 adds the occupation of the household head; model 5 adds controls for each of the provinces; model 6 adds interaction effects between male and several other independent variables; model 7 includes only interaction effects between Han ethnicity and several other key independent variables; and model 8 includes both sets of interaction variables (both the male- and Han- sets of interaction terms). I next turn to examine the three sets of models in each wave of data. My interpretation focuses on the mixed-effects models, though I also briefly discuss the statistical significance of Han ethnicity across the other two sets of models.

#### 1989

In the set of standard OLS regression models, Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (Table IV-A, models 89-1A through 89-6A). The largest reduction in the magnitude of the Han coefficient occurs after adding in controls at the provincial level. For example, in model 89-5A, households with a Han head of household have, on average, .234 more log units of log total household income compared to non-Han households, controlling for region of residence and other characteristics of the household head. However, adding Han interactions removes the significance of the Han ethnicity variable (models 89-7A and 89-8A), though many of these interaction effects are not statistically significant.

The coefficients remain the same for the clustered-adjusted set of regression models, though the standard errors are adjusted to account for clustering at the county level. Han

ethnicity remains a significant predictor of log total household income in the first six models (89-1B through 89-6B), though the significance level changes in the last two models (89-5B and 89-6B) from .01 to .10. Still, the overall picture suggests a Han advantage in log total household income controlling for region of residence and other characteristics of the household head in 1989.

Turning next to the third set of models, I use mixed-effects regression techniques to correct the standard errors and measure variability at the county level. First, Han ethnicity remains a significant predictor of log total household income in the first six models (models 89-1C through 89-6C). Compared to the other two sets of models, the magnitude of the coefficients is smaller, although the significance levels remain at either .01 or .05. Once again, adding Han interaction effects removes the significance of the Han coefficient, although only two of the Han interaction effects are themselves significant (Han x Married & Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other) at the .10 significance level. However, an examination of model fit shows that models 89-5C and 89-6C are the best fits to the data. In both of these models the Han coefficient remains significant (in favor of the Han) at the .05 significance level.

In addition to Han ethnicity, age and age-squared are both significant predictors across each of the models (89-2C through 89-8C). There is a positive association between age of the household head and log total household income, but a slight negative association between age-squared and log total household income, suggesting that log household income increases with age up to a certain point, but then begins to decrease. Marital status of the household head is not a significant predictor of log total household income across any of the models. As one would expect, household size is a positive predictor of log total household income, with each additional household member increasing log total household income by approximately 0.15 log units across the models.

The household head's education is a significant predictor of log total household income in model 89-3C, but this significance is eliminated once controlling for the household head's occupational category. Relative to being a farmer, if the household head is either in the "professional/service" category, or in "skilled/unskilled/other," there are significant benefits to log total household income. In model 89-5C, households with household heads in the "professional/service" category have a .420 higher log total household income; and households with household heads in the "skilled/unskilled/other" category have a .399 higher log total household income, both relative to households with the household head in the farming occupation. However, the significance of these two variables is eliminated once adding controls for the interaction effects between male x occupational categories.

Adding controls for each of the provinces (model 89-5C) diminishes the magnitude of the Han ethnicity coefficient, although Han ethnicity remains a significant predictor of log total household income. Relative to households in Liaoning province, households in Jiangsu, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi and Shandong\* ( \* at the .10 significance level) provinces all report significantly higher log total household incomes. Households in Henan and Guizhou provinces do not report significantly different log total household incomes relative to households in Liaoning province.

In model 89-6C, I added controls for several interactions: interacting male with the age, age-squared, marital status, occupation and education of the household head. Male x age and male x age-squared were both significant, with a reduction in log total household income associated with each year of age for male household heads, and a small increase in log total household income associated with each year of age-squared for male household heads. The

coefficient for age increased in magnitude, although this is partially offset for male household heads by the negative value of the male x age coefficient. This suggests that, all other factors constant, households with a female household head gain more per unit of age in log total household income than do households with a male household head.

In model 89-6C, there also appears to be a “marriage penalty” in log total household income for households with a male household head who is married. This may be partially offset by household size, with households with a male household head who is married having larger household sizes. However, once again female household heads do not suffer this marriage penalty. Finally, there is a bonus in log total household income for households with a male household head in the skilled/unskilled/other category, relative to those in farming.

In model 89-7C, I added control for several interactions between Han ethnicity and age, age-squared, marital status, gender, occupation, education and region. While the significance of the Han ethnicity variable was eliminated, only two of the interaction variables were significant: Han x married (in favor of the Han), and Han x skilled/unskilled/other (in favor of the non-Han). Model 89-8C added back in the control for the male interaction variables, and once again, the same collection of interaction effects remained significant across the models.

However, tests of model fit suggest that models 89-5C and 89-6C are the best-fit models to the data. In both of these models, the Han ethnicity variable remained significant, suggesting that in 1989, Han ethnicity was a significant predictor of log total household income, favoring Han households.

#### 1991

From the first set of standard OLS regression models in 1991, we can see Han ethnicity was a significant predictor of log total household income in models 91-1A through 91-4A (see Table IV-B). Here, adding controls for each of the provinces both reduced the magnitude of the Han ethnicity coefficient, and eliminated its statistical significance. Once again, the coefficients for the clustered-adjusted set of regression models are the same, though the standard errors are adjusted to account for clustering at the county level. Han ethnicity remains a significant predictor of log total household income in the first four models (91-1B through 91-4B), though the significance level is eliminated once adding controls for region. In 1991, the overall picture suggests a mixed result: a significant Han advantage in log total household income, but an advantage that is eliminated once controlling for region of residence.

Turning next to the two-level mixed effects set of models, we see that Han ethnicity is significant in two models (91-2C and 91-3C), and only at the .10 significance level. This significance is removed once adding in controls for the occupation of the household head. Once again, the magnitude of the Han ethnicity coefficient is further reduced once adding in regional controls.

Having a male household head has a significant negative effect on log total household income in two models (91-4C and 91-5C). This significance is removed once adding in interaction effects involving male and several characteristics of the household head. Age and age-squared are both significant across all sets of models (91-2C through 91-8C), with each year of age positively affecting log total household income, and each year of age-squared negatively affecting log income. Marital status is a significant predictor in five models (91-2C through 91-6C), with married household heads reporting a higher log total household income. Household size remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income.

Households with a high school graduate as household head saw significant positive returns to log total household income (models 91-3C through 91-5C), although the significance

of this variable dropped out in the models including interaction effects. Relative to farming, having a household head in either the “professional/service” or “skilled/unskilled/other” category also brought significant positive returns to total household income across all models (91-4C through 91-8C).

At the regional level, we see three provinces reporting a negative effect on log household income compared to Liaoning province: Henan (.10 significance), Guangxi, and Guizhou (.10 significance). The remaining provinces reported no significant differences with the reference category, Liaoning province.

Only two of the interaction effects were significant: male x age (.10), and male x age-squared. It is worth noting that the effect of male x age-squared was close to zero (.000 log units), and significant at the .05 level in only one model. The remaining interaction effects did not prove to be significant. Once again, running tests of model fit indicate that model 91-5C and 91-6C are the best fit to the data. In both of these models, the Han ethnicity coefficient failed to be statistically significant.

### 1993

Turning now to 1993, in the set of standard OLS regression models, we see that the Han ethnicity coefficient is significant in six of the eight models (Table IV-C, models 93-1A through 93-6A). The biggest reduction in the magnitude of the coefficient occurs after adding in the occupational variables. However, adding in the regional variables brings an increase in the magnitude of the Han coefficient. The significance of the ethnicity variable is removed once adding in the Han interaction variables, although none of these Han interaction variables are themselves significant.

The coefficients are the same for the cluster-adjusted set of ordinary least squares regression models, although the significance level on the Han variable changes as the standard errors are adjusted. Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of log total household income in the first three models (93-1B through 93-3B), and in the fifth model (93-5B), but only at the .10 significance level in this last model. The significance of the Han variable is eliminated in the fourth model, controlling for the respondent’s occupational category. In the last two models (93-7B and 93-8B), two of the Han x regional interaction coefficients are significant: Han x Henan province, and Han x Hunan province, suggesting a Han advantage in these two provinces.

For the two-level mixed effects set of models, Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (models 93-1C through 93-6C). The values of the coefficients range from .149 log units in the first model, to .187 in the second model. The gender of the household head is not a significant predictor of log total household income levels in any of the models.

Age is a significant positive predictor of log income levels (models 93-2C through 93-5C), while age-squared is a significant negative predictor of log income levels (models 93-2C through 93-6C). Once again, this suggests an increase in log total household income level with age, but only up to a certain point, at which the benefits to age begin to decrease. Married household heads also report significantly higher log total household incomes in four models (93-2C through 93-5C). Finally, household size remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income across all models (93-2C through 93-8C).

The education level of the household head is a significant positive predictor in only one model (93-3C), and only at the .10 significance level. This significance level is eliminated once controlling for the occupation of the household head. Relative to the farming category, the other two categories both see significant positive returns to total household income. The

professional/service occupation category is significant in four models (93-4C through 93-7C), while the skilled/unskilled/other category is significant in the last five models (93-4C through 93-8C).

At the regional level, only one province, Henan, reports a significant coefficient across the four models including the regional dummy variables. In two models (93-5C and 93-6C), residents in Henan province report a significantly lower log total household income than residents in the reference category, Liaoning province. The remaining provinces do not report significantly different log total household incomes, controlling for other factors.

Finally, the last three models include interactions for male and Han ethnicity with several different characteristics of the household head and region. None of the interaction effects prove to be statistically significant. Once again, goodness-of-fit tests suggest models 93-5C and 93-6C to be the best fit to the data. In both of the models, the Han coefficient is significant at the .05 level, indicating Han households have an advantage in log total household income controlling for other factors.

#### 1997

In 1997, the ordinary least-squares regression models show that Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of log household income in four of the eight models (Table IV-D, models 97-1A through 97-4A). Adding in controls for region both eliminates the significance of the Han ethnicity coefficient, and dramatically reduces its magnitude. At the same time, the Han coefficient remains significant in the first four cluster-adjusted OLS models (97-1B through 97-4B), although this significance drops out once controlling for the regional variables.

Turning to the two-level mixed effects models, we can see that Han ethnicity is a significant positive predictor of log total household income in only three models (97-2C through 97-4C), and only at the .10 significance level in each of these models. Once again, adding in controls for region eliminates the significance level and reduces the size of the coefficient. The gender of the household head is not a significant predictor of log total household income levels in any of the models.

Once again, the age of the household head is a significant positive predictor of log income levels in four models (models 97-2C through 97-5C), while age-squared is a significant negative predictor of log income levels (models 97-2C through 97-5C). Married household heads also report significantly higher log total household incomes in five models (97-2C through 97-BC). Finally, household size remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income across all models (97-2C through 97-8C).

The education level of the household head is a significant positive predictor of log household income in only one model (97-3C). Adding in controls for the household head's occupation eliminates the significance of the education variable. The professional/service category sees positive returns to log household income, relative to farming, in five models (97-4C through 97-8C). The skilled/unskilled/other category also sees positive returns to log household income, relative to farming, in three of the models (97-4C, 97-5C, and 97-7C).

At the regional level, only one province proves to be significant: households in Jiangsu province report higher levels of total household income, relative to Heilongjiang province, in two of the models (97-5C and 97-6C). The remaining provinces do not report significantly different log total household incomes from Heilongjiang province.

The last three models include interaction terms for male and Han ethnicity with several characteristics of the household head and region. Only one of the interaction terms, male x HS graduate, proved to be significant. In two of the models (97-6C and 97-8C), there was a positive

effect on log total household income for households with a male high school graduate respondent. Model fit statistics show that models 97-5C and 97-6C are the best fit to the data. In both of these models, Han ethnicity is not a significant predictor of log total household income, controlling for other factors.

## 2000

In 2000, the ordinary least-squares regression models show Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (Table IV-E, models 00-1A through 00-6A), controlling for several independent variables. Adding interaction terms for Han ethnicity and several characteristics of the household head eliminates the significance of the Han coefficient, although only one Han interaction (Han x Hunan province) proves to be significant (in models 00-7A and 00-8A).

In the cluster-adjusted set of regression models, the coefficients remain the same, however the standard errors are adjusted to account for clustering at the county level. Han ethnicity remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (00-1B through 00-6B), although the significance level drops to the .10 level. Once again, adding in the Han interactions eliminates the significance of the Han coefficient. The Han x Hunan interaction term remains significant in two of the models (00-7B and 00-8B).

Turning to the two-level mixed effects set of regression models, we can see that Han ethnicity is not a significant predictor of log total household income across any of the eight models. In contrast to both the OLS regression models, and clustered-adjusted OLS models, the Han variable is not a significant predictor of total household income levels.

The gender of the household head is a significant negative predictor of log total household income levels in two models (00-4C and 00-5C), but only at the .10 significance level. The age of the household head remains a significant positive predictor of total household income in five models (00-2C through 00-5C, and 00-7C), while age-squared remains a significant negative predictor of household income levels in six models (00-2C through 00-7C). The marital status of the household head is not a significant predictor of log total household income levels in any of the eight models. Finally, household size remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels across each of the eight models.

The education level of the household head is a significant positive predictor of log household income in three models (00-3C through 00-5C), although this significance drops out once adding in controls for the male and Han interaction terms. The professional/service occupational category is a significant positive predictor of log total household income, relative to farming, in five models (00-4C through 00-8C). The skilled/unskilled/other occupational category is also a significant positive predictor of log total household income, relative to farming, in four models (00-4C through 00-7C).

The year 2000 marks the first year all nine provinces were included in the survey. Several of the provincial dummy variables are significant. In two models, households in Heilongjiang province report a significantly lower log total household income than do households in Liaoning province (00-5A and 00-6A). Households in Jiangsu report significantly higher log total household incomes than Liaoning province in two models (00-5C and 00-6C). Households in Henan, Hunan and Guizhou provinces both report significantly lower log total household incomes than do households in Liaoning province in four models (00-5C through 00-8C). Finally, households in Hubei also report significantly lower log total household incomes in two models (00-5C and 00-6C) relative to households in Liaoning province.



The final three models include interaction terms for both male and Han ethnicity. However, none of the interaction terms prove to be significant. Model fit statistics again show models 00-5C and 00-6C to be the best fit to the data. In both of these models, the Han ethnicity variable was not a significant predictor of log total household income levels.

#### 2004

In 2004, results from the OLS regression models show that Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (Table IV-F, models 04-1A through 04-6A). The significance of the Han ethnicity coefficient was eliminated once adding in controls for the Han interaction terms. However, only one of the Han interaction terms proved to be significant: Han x male was a significant negative predictor of log total household income in the last two models (04-7A and 04-8A). Notably, the magnitude of the Han coefficient was also reduced once adding in controls for region, although the statistical significance remained.

Results from the cluster-adjusted set of OLS regression models also show that Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log total household income in six of the eight models (04-1B through 04-6B). Once again, adding controls for the Han interaction terms removed the significance of the Han ethnicity coefficient. In this set of models, none of the interaction terms were themselves significant.

Turning to the two-level mixed effects set of regression models, we see that Han ethnicity is not a significant predictor of income across any of the eight models. Again, this contrasts with both the OLS and clustered-adjusted OLS set of regression models that do find a significant positive effect of Han ethnicity on total household income levels.

Age is a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in only two models (04-4C and 04-5C), while age-squared is a significant negative predictor in four models (04-2C through 04-5C). Marital status is a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in four models (04-2C through 04-5C), with married household heads reporting higher total household income levels. However, this effect drops out once adding in interaction terms for both male and Han ethnicity. Household size remains a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels across each of the eight models.

The education level of the household head (high school graduate or not) proved to be a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in four models (04-3C through 04-5C, and 04-7C). The professional/service category was also a significant positive predictor in five models (04-4C through 04-8C), relative to the farming category. The skilled/unskilled/other category was also a significant positive predictor in two models (04-4C and 04-5C), relative to the farming category.

In 2004, households in only two provinces reported significantly different log total household incomes compared to Liaoning province: Jiangsu province reported significantly higher log household incomes in two models (04-5C and 04-6C), and Guizhou province reported significantly lower log household incomes in two models (04-5C and 04-6C), though only at the .10 level.

The last three models include interaction terms for both male and Han ethnicity. However, only one interaction term proved to be significant: the Han x male coefficient showed a significant negative effect on log total household income in two models (04-7C and 04-8C). Once again, model fit statistics showed model 04-5C and 04-6C to be the best fit to the data. In both of these models, Han ethnicity failed to be a significant predictor of log total household income levels.

## 2006

In 2006, results from the OLS regression models show that Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in six of the eight models (Table IV-G, models 06-1A through 06-6A). Adding in controls for the Han interaction terms removed the significance level of the Han coefficient. However, none of the Han interaction terms proved to be significant. The results from the cluster-adjusted OLS regression models also show Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in four of the eight models (06-1B through 06-4B). In this set of models, adding the regional variables removed the significance of the Han ethnicity variable.

In the two-level mixed effects set of regression models, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor of log household income in any of the eight models. Having a male household head saw a significant negative effect on log total household income in four models (06-2C through 06-5C). This effect was eliminated once adding in controls for the male and Han interactions.

The coefficient for age failed to be significant in any of the models. However, age-squared was a significant negative predictor of log total household income in four models (06-2C through 06-5C). Married household heads reported significantly higher log total household incomes in four of the models (06-2C through 06-5C). Once again, adding in controls for the interaction terms eliminated the significance of both age-squared and the married coefficients. Household size remained a significant positive predictor of log total household income in all eight of the models (06-1C through 06-8C).

The education level of the household head was a significant positive predictor of log household income in three models (06-3C through 06-5C), although the addition of the occupation variable significantly reduced the magnitude of the size of the coefficient. Household heads engaged in the “professional/service” category reported significantly higher total log household incomes in five models (06-4C through 06-8C) compared to those engaged in farming. Finally, household heads engaged in the “skilled/unskilled/other” category also reported significantly higher log total household incomes in two models (06-4C and 06-5C) compared to those engaged in farming.

Across the eight models, only three of the provinces proved significant predictors of log total household income. Hunan province was a significant negative predictor of log household income, relative to Liaoning province, in two models (06-7C and 06-8C). Guangxi province and Guizhou province were both negative predictors of log household income, relative to Liaoning province, in two models (06-5C and 06-6C)-- although only at the .10 significance level.

The last three models included interaction effects for male and Han. None of the interaction effects proved to be significant. Tests of model fit showed model 06-5C and 06-6C to be the best fit models to the data. In both of these models, Han ethnicity failed to be a significant predictor of log total household income.

## 2009

In 2009, results from the set of OLS regression models show Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log total household income in four of the eight models (see Table IV-H, models 09-1A through 09-4A). However, adding in controls for each of the provinces removed the statistical significance of this variable. In the cluster-adjusted set of OLS models, Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of log income in three of the models (09-1B through 09-3B), although only at the .10 significance level in two of the models. Here, adding

controls for the occupational category of the household head eliminated the significance of the Han coefficient.

In the two-level mixed effects set of models, Han ethnicity failed to be a significant predictor of log total household income levels in any of the eight models. Male household heads reported significantly lower log total household income levels in five models (09-2C through 09-5C, 09-7C). Age was a significant positive predictor in only two models (09-4C and 09-7C), although only at the .10 significance level. Age-squared was a significant negative predictor of log household income levels in five models (09-2C through 09-5C, 09-7C).

Married household heads reported significantly higher log total household income levels in four models (09-2C through 09-5C), although this significance level was eliminated once adding in controls for the interaction terms. Household size again was a significant predictor of log total household income across all eight models.

The education level of the household head was a significant positive predictor of log household income in three models (09-3C through 09-5C), although the magnitude of the coefficient was reduced once adding in controls for the household head's occupational category. Household heads engaged in the "professional/service" category reported significantly higher log household incomes in four models (09-4C through 09-7C), while those engaged in the "skilled/unskilled/other" category reported significantly higher log household incomes in two models (09-4C and 09-5C), both relative to household heads engaged in farming.

At the regional level, households in three provinces reported significantly different log household income levels. Compared to Liaoning province, households in Jiangsu province reported significantly higher log total household income levels in two models (09-5C and 09-6C). Households in Henan province reported significantly lower levels of log total household income compared to Liaoning province in two models (09-5C and 09-6C). Finally, households in Guangxi province also reported significantly lower levels of household income compared to Liaoning province in four models (09-5C through 09-8C), although only at the .10 significance level in each model.

The last three models included interaction effects for both male and Han ethnicity. None of the interaction effects proved to be significant. Test of model fit again showed models 09-5C and 09-6C to be best fit to the data. In both of these models, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor of log total household income levels.

### ANALYSIS

Based on my analysis of the CHNS data, I argue that there are two counteracting trends at work from 1989-2009: first, a growing gap in log total household income between the Han and non-Han at the aggregate level; and second, a declining significance of ethnicity in accounting for that gap at the household level. While ethnic inequality existed in log total household income between the Han and non-Han at the household level in some of the earlier waves of data (1989, 1993, 1997) controlling for region of residence and several socio-economic indicators, the coefficient for Han ethnicity became less significant over time. This suggests the growing gap in ethnic inequality at the aggregate level is driven by factors other than the ethnicity of the household head, such as increasing returns to education and certain occupational categories.

The findings across the eight waves of data paint a mixed picture on the relationship between Han ethnicity and log total household income. Results from the OLS set of regression models find Han ethnicity to be a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in 1989, 1993, 2000, 2004 and 2006, controlling for the full set of independent variables (excluding interaction effects). Results from the cluster-adjusted set of OLS regression models

find Han ethnicity to be a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in four years— 1989, 1993, 2000 and 2004— controlling for the full set of independent variables (excluding interaction effects).

However, my interpretation focused on the set of two-level mixed effects models. This set of models both corrected standard errors to account for clustering at the community level, and allowed us to measure variability at the community level. From this set of models, we find Han ethnicity to be a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in 1989 and 1993 (and to a limited extent in 1997), controlling for the full set of independent variables (excluding interaction effects). Over time, there was both a general reduction in the magnitude of the Han ethnicity coefficient (from a high of .171 log units in 1989, to -.003 log units in 2009), and an elimination of the significance of the Han ethnicity coefficient across the eight models.

In 1989 and 1993, (and to some extent in 1997) Han households reported significantly higher log total household income levels than non-Han households, even after controlling for characteristics of the household head, household size, and region. Yet this “Han advantage” in log household income levels faded over time. By 2009, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor of log income levels in any of the eight models, and while not statistically significant, the Han coefficient itself became negative in the two-level mixed effects models.

The results find evidence of a Han advantage in the earlier waves of the CHNS survey data, but a complete elimination of the significance of the Han coefficient over time once controlling for additional variables. Beginning in the year 2000, Han ethnicity failed to be a significant predictor of log total household income level in any of the eight models. Aside from a slight increase in 2006, the magnitude of the Han coefficient also decreased over time beginning in 2000.

While the significance (and magnitude) of the Han coefficient has been declining over time, the absolute difference in log (and non-log) total household income between Han and non-Han households at the aggregate level continues to grow over this same period. If Han ethnicity is becoming less salient over time in predicting levels of log household income at the individual household level, what factors can account for the growing gap between Han and non-Han households at the aggregate level?

Across all waves of data, there are several consistent positive predictors of log household income. Household size is a significant positive predictor of log household income levels across all waves. The non-Han do have an advantage here: on average, non-Han households are larger than Han households across each wave of the data. However, three additional variables proved to be consistent significant predictors of household income: the education level of the household head, the occupation of the household head, and the region of residence. But here, the Han retained a proportional advantage across each of these categories.

First, the education level of the household head was a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels in each wave of the data, with higher education levels reporting higher household income levels. At the same time, the “returns” to education grew across the 8 waves of data: in 1989, high school graduates earned on average, .069 more log RMB units than those with less than a junior high education; by 2009, this amount increased to .220 log RMB units. (Model 89-5C, Table VI-C)

While the returns to education grew over this 20-year period, Han household heads were more likely to have completed high school than non-Han household heads. This partially explains why Han household income levels are growing faster than for non-Han households at

the aggregate level. Han household heads are more likely to be high school graduates, and disproportionately reap the benefits of the increasing returns to education.

However, it is very important to note the lack of significance of the interaction effect (Han x education). This implies two things: first, it shows there is no additional Han advantage in returns to education; and second, it suggests non-Han who do manage to graduate from high school can expect the same returns to education as their Han peers. Thus the issue is not about differential returns to education for the Han and non-Han once they reach the same education level, but rather highlights the Han are more likely to reach higher education levels than their non-Han peers.

A similar phenomenon is occurring across occupational categories. The occupational category of the household head was also a significant positive predictor of log total household income levels across all 8 waves of data. Household heads engaged in occupations both in the professional/service and the unskilled/skilled/other categories reported significantly higher log total household incomes than those household heads engaged in farming. Over time, the economic returns to these two occupational categories grew faster than did economic returns to farming. Whereas the difference between the professional/service and farming categories was only .420 log RMB units in 1989, it grew to .674 log RMB units in 2009. At the same time, the difference between the unskilled/skilled/other categories and farming categories was .399 log RMB units in 1989, but grew to .509 log RMB units in 2009. (Model 04-5C, Table VII-C2)

Once again, compared to the non-Han, Han household heads are more likely to be engaged in professional/service and unskilled/skilled/other occupations, relative to farming. Over time, these two occupational categories experienced increasing economic returns at a faster rate compared to the farming category. The Han are more likely to be engaged in these categories, relative to farming, than the non-Han. As such, the Han disproportionately reap the benefits of increasing returns to these occupations at the aggregate level. It is again worth noting that the interaction effects (Han x occupation) are not significant, suggesting that for the non-Han who are employed in these categories (controlling for other factors), there is no difference with Han household heads in total household income levels.

Finally, households in several provinces reported significantly lower total household income levels than the reference category, Liaoning province (Heilongjiang province was the reference category in 1997). In particular, households in Guizhou and Guangxi provinces both reported significantly lower log household income levels in several waves of data. At the same time, the majority of non-Han households in the sample live in these two provinces. However, it is also worth noting that the Han who live in these provinces are just as “bad off” as the non-Han who live in these areas. In other words, there is no Han advantage within these regions – but simply that non-Han disproportionately live in the structurally poorer provinces of China. (See Table III)

To summarize the main findings, the growing gap in log total household income levels between ethnic groups at the aggregate level can be attributed to several factors. First, Han household heads are disproportionately more likely to have completed a high school education; are disproportionately more likely to be engaged in occupational categories with higher income potential; and are disproportionately more likely to live in wealthier provinces than are non-Han household heads. At the same time, the returns to these more lucrative education levels, occupational categories, and region of residences have been increasing over time at a faster rate. However, it is worth mentioning one final time that the non-Han who are in these categories or regions receive the same returns to log household income as do the Han. The lack of significance

of Han interaction effects suggests there is no additional Han advantage to these various categories, controlling for other variables.

### **What do the findings mean for the research question?**

Since the early 1950s, the Chinese government has directed resources into the “backward” provinces of Western and Central China. From campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s, to the “Great Development of the West” initiative issued by Jiang Zemin in 1999, the PRC government has been well aware that significant inequalities exist between the wealthier Northern and Coastal provinces and China’s interior. Yet what has been less clear is how these geographic inequalities relate to ethnic disparities in China. The findings presented here support that surface ethnic inequalities in rural total household income not only exist, but also grew in absolute terms between 1989 and 2009. At the same time, there has been a declining significance of ethnicity in explaining differences in total household income between the Han and non-Han at the individual level.

The household head’s education, occupational category, region of residence and marital status all significantly predict household income levels – and in the earlier waves of data, the ethnicity of the household head is also a significant predictor of household income levels. The findings here indicate while ethnic differences in total household income remained even after controlling for key socio-economic indicators in earlier waves of the survey (1989, 1993), ethnicity alone failed to be a significance predictor of differences in household income levels in later waves of the survey. Non-Han Chinese disproportionately live in rural areas and in poorer macro-regions of China, have lower levels of education than the majority Han, and are more likely to be engaged in farming activities. In contrast, Han Chinese are concentrated in the wealthier provinces of China, are more likely to have completed higher levels of education, and are more likely to engage in high paying occupations.

Returning to the original convergence/divergence framework reported earlier, the results here suggest ethnic inequality remains a salient issue in contemporary economic development. While growing differences in household income between the Han and non-Han may be occurring, there is evidence to suggest at the household level, the significance of ethnicity in explaining household income differences is declining. In the most recent waves of the survey, ethnic differences do not exist over and above disparities in the proportions of Han and non-Han in various regions, occupations, and levels of completed education.

Examining total household income data from 9 provinces over a 20-year period shows a decline in the significance of ethnicity over time at the household level. While the convergence/divergence frameworks do not separate out the effects of ethnicity and other variables at the household level, or distinguish between changes in income levels at the aggregate level and the household level, the results here indicate that ethnic minorities do not differ significantly from the Han majority in total household income once controlling for region of residence and measures of education and occupation.

The preceding analysis offers support to what I have termed a “converging divergence” model. “Converging” because there is a declining significance of ethnicity in explaining ethnic income differences at the household level, and a “divergence” because ethnic income inequality continues to widen as a function of other variables at the aggregate level. The “converging divergence” model predicts that while ethnic inequality in household income would continue to grow, over time the Han would not retain an advantage in household income levels after controlling for additional variables – a conclusion the findings support. The findings here suggest

further investigation into the salience of the “converging divergence” model is needed, using additional measures of socio-economic status as well as additional data over time.

China’s adoption of market-based reforms over the past twenty-five years has resulted in unprecedented economic growth. China’s growing economy has brought economic prosperity to many Chinese residents, and in recent scholarship significant attention has been paid to how this growth has been distributed both socially and geographically across Chinese society. In conclusion, the results find ethnic minority households in China appear to be worse off than their Han counterparts in total household income. There is evidence to support the claim that ethnic inequality must be understood not simply as a result of ethnic differences or differential rates of return, but largely as byproducts of growing returns to education and certain occupational categories, as well as growing regional inequalities. The income gap between ethnic minorities and the majority Han at the aggregate level will likely continue to increase if inequalities in access to these occupations and higher education levels are not addressed.

### **LIMITATIONS & CONCLUSIONS**

One major limitation of the data is the survey only includes 9 provinces in China. It excludes provinces in western China, including Tibet and Xinjiang, many of which are home to large percentages of non-Han populations. A second limitation is that the CHNS does not include a wider range of non-Han ethnic groups. While China is home to 55 state-recognized ethnic minority groups, the sample under investigation does not include all of these groups. While I employ a category “non-Han,” this refers only to the non-Han respondents in my sample, and not all 55 ethnic minority groups in China. Finally, a third limitation is that the analysis focused on ethnic differences in rural areas. Future research will extend the analysis to include urban areas, and focus on individual earners, rather than the household, as the unit of analysis. While in 2013 China is no longer a majority rural nation, rates of economic growth and development have increased more rapidly in urban areas. It remains to be seen if the “converging divergence” framework applies outside of rural areas.

Future research will also include additional level-2 community variables (possibly including relevant policy decisions that apply to some regions, and not others), and variables such as distance to major cities/transportation hubs, that might potentially affect the relationship between ethnicity, region and total household income.

In conclusion, the results show differences in household income between Han and non-Han households are reduced after controlling for the respondent’s region of residence and several socio-economic indicators. Ethnic minorities disproportionately live in poorer, rural regions of China, and this accounts for a significant portion of the differences in total household income levels. In addition, ethnic minorities are less well-educated and more likely to be engaged in farming activities, on average, relative to the Han. The economic “returns” to higher education levels and non-farming occupations have grown between 1989-2009, further exacerbating differences in total household income levels between ethnic groups. Growing ethnic differences at the aggregate level are due to: 1) increasing returns to higher education levels, occupational categories, and particularly geographic regions in China; and 2) a larger proportion of Han in each of these categories, relative to the non-Han. Once controlling for these variables, however, there has been a trend towards the elimination of the significance of ethnicity as a predictor of household income over time.

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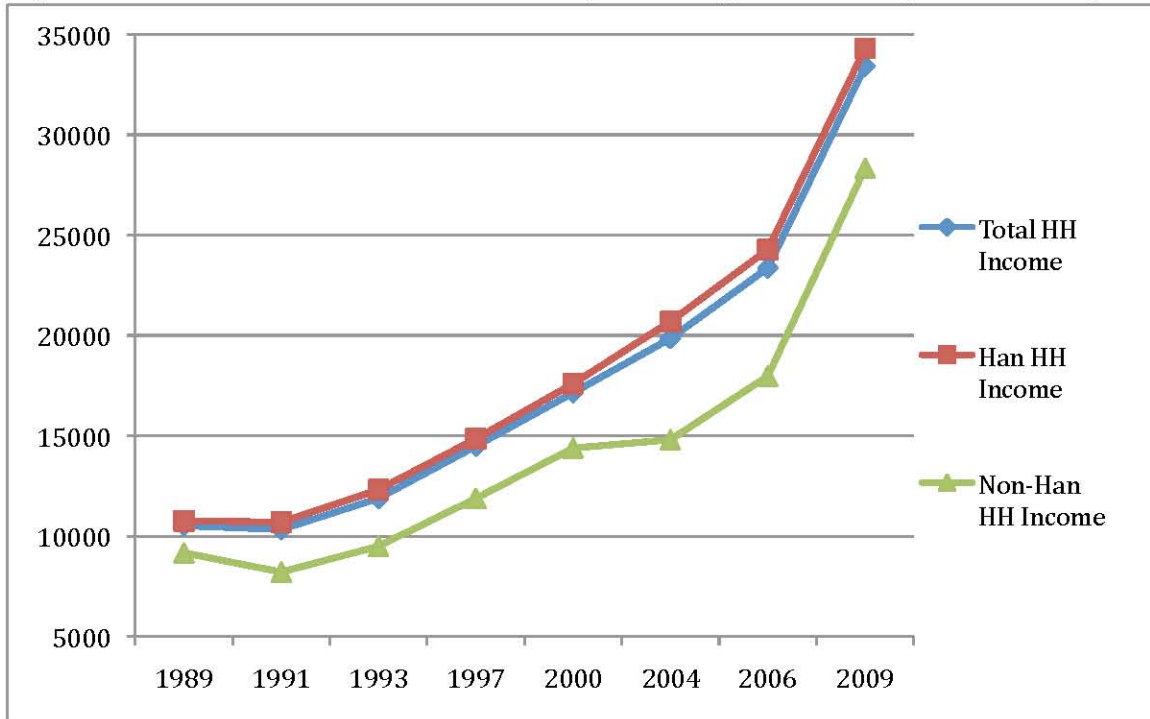
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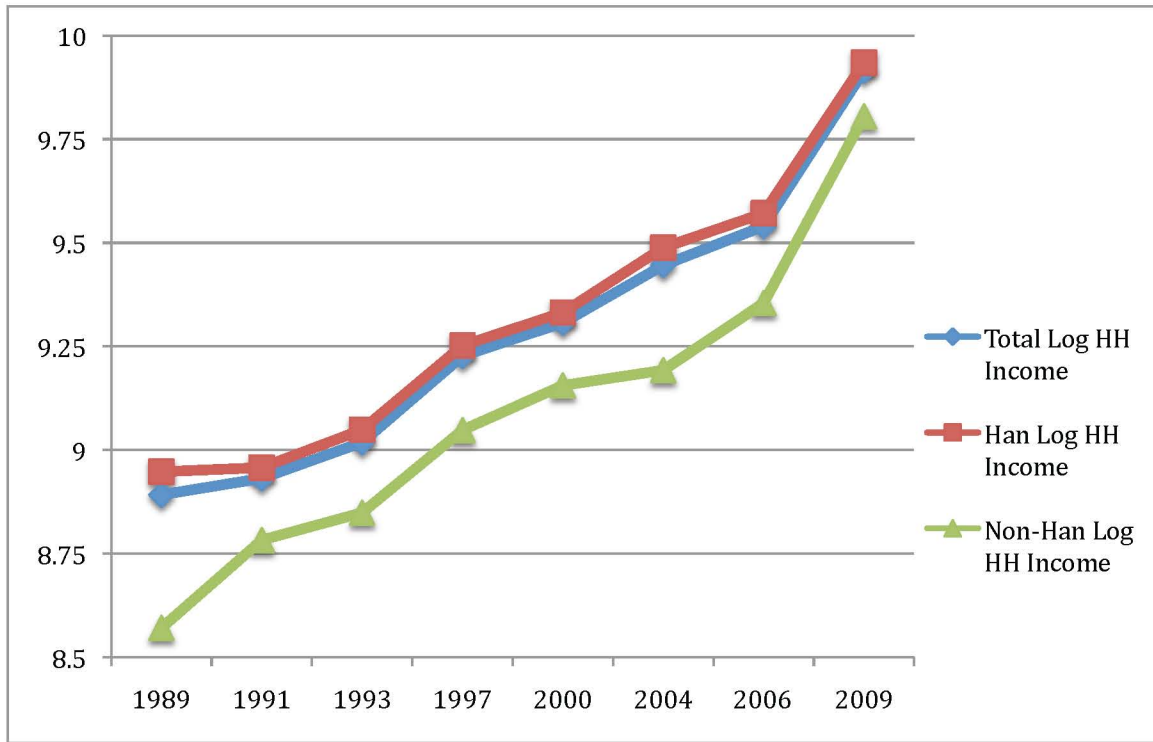
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**APPENDICES**

**Figure 1: Total Rural Household Income by Ethnicity, 1989-2009 (in 2009 RMB)**



**Figure 2: Log Total Rural Household Income by Ethnicity, 1989-2009 (in log 2009 RMB)**



**Figure 3: Han/Non-Han Total Household Income Difference (in 2009 RMB)**

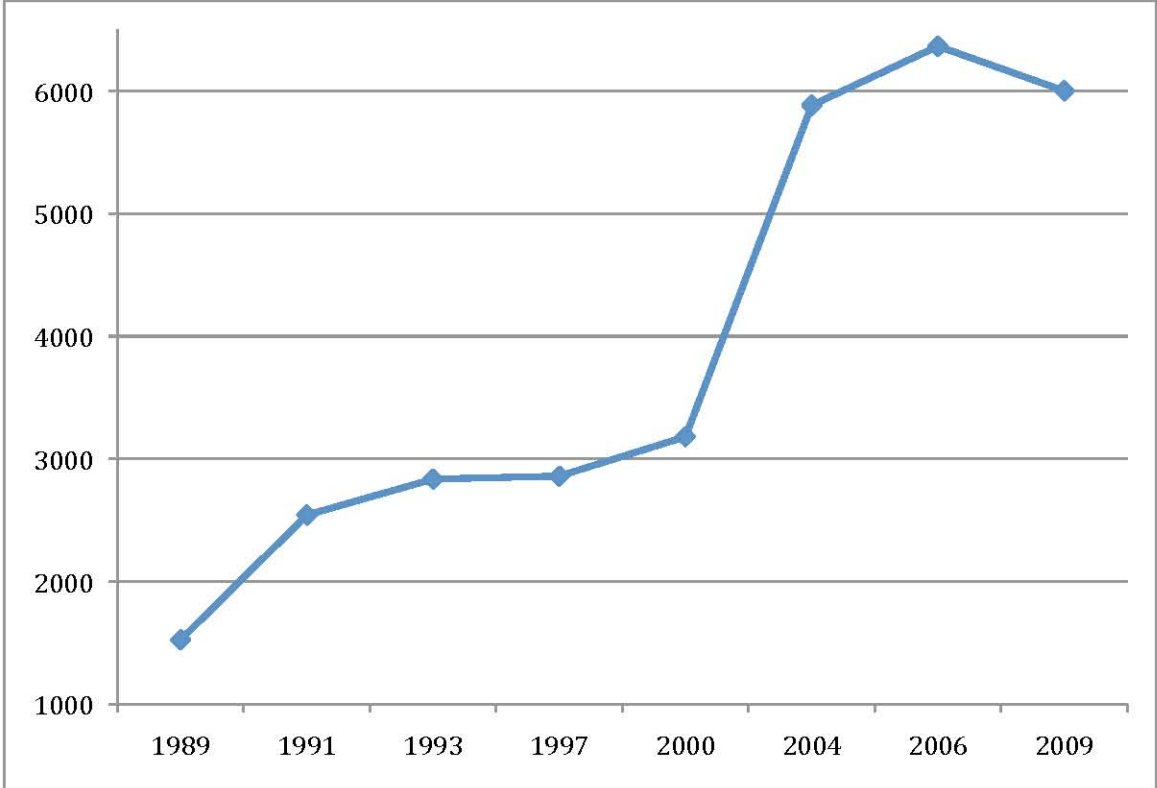


Figure 4: Map of Participating Provinces in China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS)



Source: [http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/china/proj\\_desc/chinamap](http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/china/proj_desc/chinamap)

		Summary Statistics for the Total Sample (Using Imputed Data)							
		1989	1991	1993	1997	2000	2004	2006	2009
<b>Income</b>									
Household Income		10519.6	10326.8	11884	14483.7	17144.6	19847.5	23356.9	33406.9
Log HH Income		8.892	8.932	9.018	9.227	9.307	9.446	9.540	9.915
<b>Ethnicity</b>									
Han		0.852	0.851	0.847	0.877	0.859	0.856	0.855	0.851
<b>Household Characteristics</b>									
Male Household Head		0.894	0.898	0.905	0.900	0.904	0.906	0.906	0.912
Age of HH Head		41.7	43.8	45.5	48.0	49.9	53.1	54.6	56.6
Age-Squared		1907.6	2084.9	2230.8	2479.8	2662.7	2994.1	3159.2	3382.8
Married HH Head		0.935	0.916	0.922	0.900	0.893	0.892	0.901	0.891
Household Size		4.324	4.233	4.189	3.949	3.789	3.520	3.609	3.528
<b>Education</b>									
High School Graduate		0.107	0.114	0.121	0.115	0.138	0.152	0.171	0.149
<b>Occupation</b>									
Professional/Service		0.117	0.120	0.132	0.131	0.136	0.151	0.138	0.149
Unskilled/Skilled/Other		0.175	0.190	0.189	0.163	0.166	0.183	0.191	0.187
Farming		0.707	0.689	0.679	0.706	0.698	0.666	0.671	0.665
<b>Province</b>									
Liaoning		0.127	0.122	0.119		0.116	0.117	0.116	0.117
Heilongjiang					0.119	0.108	0.105	0.106	0.108
Jiangsu		0.120	0.120	0.126	0.126	0.115	0.114	0.111	0.112
Shandong		0.124	0.124	0.121	0.123	0.109	0.109	0.108	0.106
Henan		0.124	0.124	0.121	0.127	0.108	0.110	0.112	0.109
Hubei		0.124	0.128	0.124	0.125	0.109	0.109	0.104	0.106
Hunan		0.127	0.123	0.126	0.117	0.101	0.104	0.109	0.105
Guangxi		0.127	0.126	0.128	0.131	0.118	0.114	0.113	0.122
Guizhou		0.128	0.132	0.135	0.131	0.116	0.118	0.121	0.115
Sample Size		2481	2407	2351	2522	2887	2889	2916	2942

	<b>1989</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2009</b>
<b>Income</b>								
Household Income	10753.8	10697.5	12314.1	14850.3	17595.7	20693.9	24271	34300.2
Log HH Income	8.948	8.958	9.049	9.252	9.332	9.488	9.571	9.935
<b>Household Characteristics</b>								
Male Household Head	0.888	0.893	0.901	0.896	0.898	0.901	0.901	0.908
Age of HH Head	41.6	43.7	45.3	47.8	49.7	52.9	54.4	56.5
Age-Squared	1903.8	2078.1	2221.3	2460.9	2647.4	2979.8	3141.3	3373.5
Married HH Head	0.937	0.916	0.924	0.903	0.894	0.893	0.901	0.889
Household Size	4.278	4.181	4.148	3.899	3.733	3.480	3.557	3.487
<b>Education</b>								
High School Graduate	0.118	0.124	0.132	0.121	0.147	0.162	0.181	0.157
<b>Occupation</b>								
Professional/Service	0.125	0.129	0.144	0.141	0.143	0.157	0.144	0.153
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	0.190	0.207	0.204	0.176	0.174	0.188	0.194	0.191
Farming	0.685	0.664	0.652	0.683	0.683	0.655	0.662	0.656
<b>Province</b>								
Liaoning	0.105	0.100	0.098		0.097	0.097	0.099	0.098
Heilongjiang				0.130	0.120	0.117	0.118	0.119
Jiangsu	0.140	0.142	0.149	0.144	0.134	0.133	0.130	0.132
Shandong	0.146	0.145	0.143	0.140	0.127	0.127	0.126	0.125
Henan	0.140	0.141	0.138	0.141	0.122	0.125	0.127	0.125
Hubei	0.145	0.150	0.146	0.142	0.127	0.127	0.121	0.124
Hunan	0.133	0.128	0.133	0.120	0.109	0.110	0.113	0.107
Guangxi	0.132	0.132	0.135	0.133	0.120	0.116	0.117	0.126
Guizhou	0.058	0.061	0.060	0.050	0.043	0.047	0.049	0.044
Sample Size (Approx.)	2115	2048	1992	2211	2481	2474	2493	2502

**TABLE I-C Summary Statistics for the Non-Han Sample (Using Imputed Data)**

	1989	1991	1993	1997	2000	2004	2006	2009
<b>Income</b>								
Household Income	9167.14	8209.86	9495.23	11875.6	14385.3	14802.4	17970.3	28322
Log HH Income	8.571	8.783	8.849	9.048	9.156	9.193	9.355	9.805
<b>Household Characteristics</b>								
Male Household Head	0.933	0.927	0.928	0.929	0.940	0.939	0.939	0.939
Age of HH Head	42.5	44.7	46.5	49.7	51.1	54.0	55.6	57.1
Age-Squared	1929.0	2123.6	2283.8	2614.4	2756.4	3079.3	3265.0	3435.9
Married HH Head	0.926	0.913	0.912	0.874	0.887	0.887	0.901	0.902
Household Size	4.589	4.532	4.419	4.308	4.133	3.755	3.916	3.763
<b>Education</b>								
High School Graduate	0.041	0.052	0.060	0.075	0.081	0.093	0.112	0.101
<b>Occupation</b>								
Professional/Service	0.075	0.070	0.065	0.061	0.091	0.118	0.101	0.121
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	0.088	0.094	0.105	0.067	0.119	0.150	0.172	0.163
Farming	0.836	0.836	0.830	0.871	0.791	0.732	0.727	0.716
<b>Province</b>								
Liaoning	0.256	0.243	0.237		0.229	0.237	0.218	0.224
Heilongjiang				0.045	0.030	0.034	0.035	0.043
Jiangsu	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Shandong	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Henan	0.028	0.029	0.028	0.030	0.023	0.022	0.026	0.023
Hubei	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
Hunan	0.091	0.096	0.089	0.100	0.052	0.068	0.086	0.091
Guangxi	0.093	0.091	0.091	0.118	0.102	0.097	0.090	0.097
Guizhou	0.528	0.537	0.552	0.703	0.562	0.541	0.542	0.519
Sample Size (Approx.)	366	359	359	311	406	415	423	440



**TABLE II-A1 Summary Statistics for the Total Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	1989				1991					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2481	10519.6	15233.6	55.5	622368.0	2407	10326.8	8414.8	33.9	88428.0
Log HH Income	2481	8.892	0.917	4.016	13.341	2407	8.932	0.859	3.524	11.390
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2349	0.850	0.357	0	1	2325	0.850	0.357	0	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2481	0.894	0.307	0	1	2407	0.898	0.302	0	1
Age of HH Head	2473	41.7	12.8	18.0	86.0	2399	43.8	12.8	21.0	88.0
Age-Squared	2473	1907.2	1196.0	324.0	7396.0	2399	2084.7	1238.3	441.0	7744.0
Married HH Head	2478	0.935	0.247	0	1	2367	0.918	0.275	0	1
Household Size	2481	4.324	1.480	1	11	2407	4.233	1.428	1	12
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2438	0.108	0.310	0	1	2366	0.115	0.319	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	2418	0.117	0.322	0	1	2322	0.120	0.325	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	2418	0.175	0.380	0	1	2322	0.192	0.394	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2481	0.127	0.333	0	1	2407	0.122	0.327	0	1
Heilongjiang										
Jiangsu	2481	0.120	0.325	0	1	2407	0.120	0.326	0	1
Shandong	2481	0.124	0.330	0	1	2407	0.124	0.329	0	1
Henan	2481	0.124	0.329	0	1	2407	0.124	0.330	0	1
Hubei	2481	0.124	0.329	0	1	2407	0.128	0.335	0	1
Hunan	2481	0.127	0.333	0	1	2407	0.123	0.329	0	1
Guangxi	2481	0.127	0.333	0	1	2407	0.126	0.332	0	1
Guizhou	2481	0.128	0.334	0	1	2407	0.132	0.338	0	1

**TABLE II-A2 Summary Statistics for the Total Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	1993				1997					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2351	11884.0	10369.2	9.9	104431.3	2522	14483.7	12863.4	84.1	194318.2
Log HH Income	2351	9.018	0.961	2.297	11.556	2522	9.227	0.931	4.432	12.177
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2324	0.847	0.360	0	1	2477	0.876	0.330	0	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2351	0.905	0.294	0	1	2522	0.900	0.300	0	1
Age of HH Head	2343	45.5	12.6	22.0	90.0	2506	48.0	13.3	18.0	94.0
Age-Squared	2343	2230.7	1261.2	484.0	8100.0	2506	2480.3	1371.5	324.0	8836.0
Married HH Head	2269	0.926	0.261	0	1	2377	0.905	0.293	0	1
Household Size	2351	4.189	1.429	1	13	2522	3.949	1.413	1	11
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2260	0.124	0.330	0	1	2350	0.119	0.324	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	2195	0.132	0.338	0	1	2175	0.132	0.339	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	2195	0.192	0.394	0	1	2175	0.168	0.374	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2351	0.119	0.324	0	1					
Heilongjiang						2522	0.119	0.324	0	1
Jiangsu	2351	0.126	0.332	0	1	2522	0.126	0.332	0	1
Shandong	2351	0.121	0.326	0	1	2522	0.123	0.328	0	1
Henan	2351	0.121	0.326	0	1	2522	0.127	0.333	0	1
Hubei	2351	0.124	0.329	0	1	2522	0.125	0.331	0	1
Hunan	2351	0.126	0.332	0	1	2522	0.117	0.322	0	1
Guangxi	2351	0.128	0.334	0	1	2522	0.131	0.338	0	1
Guizhou	2351	0.135	0.342	0	1	2522	0.131	0.337	0	1

**TABLE II-A3 Summary Statistics for the Total Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	2000					2004				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2887	17144.6	18562.0	44.7	412145.8	2889	19847.5	20194.8	42.8	223787.8
Log HH Income	2887	9.307	1.061	3.800	12.929	2889	9.446	1.044	3.756	12.318
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2845	0.859	0.348	0	1	2869	0.856	0.351	0	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2887	0.904	0.294	0	1	2889	0.906	0.292	0	1
Age of HH Head	2867	49.9	13.2	21.0	97.0	2871	53.1	13.3	19.0	98.0
Age-Squared	2867	2662.5	1417.9	441.0	9409.0	2871	2992.8	1495.8	361.0	9604.0
Married HH Head	2575	0.904	0.294	0	1	2405	0.901	0.299	0	1
Household Size	2872	3.792	1.410	1	11	2889	3.520	1.432	1	11
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2603	0.144	0.352	0	1	2405	0.162	0.369	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	2330	0.139	0.346	0	1	1563	0.160	0.367	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	2330	0.181	0.385	0	1	1563	0.218	0.413	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2887	0.116	0.320	0	1	2889	0.117	0.322	0	1
Heilongjiang	2887	0.108	0.310	0	1	2889	0.105	0.307	0	1
Jiangsu	2887	0.115	0.319	0	1	2889	0.114	0.318	0	1
Shandong	2887	0.109	0.311	0	1	2889	0.109	0.312	0	1
Henan	2887	0.108	0.311	0	1	2889	0.110	0.313	0	1
Hubei	2887	0.109	0.312	0	1	2889	0.109	0.311	0	1
Hunan	2887	0.101	0.302	0	1	2889	0.104	0.305	0	1
Guangxi	2887	0.118	0.322	0	1	2889	0.114	0.317	0	1
Guizhou	2887	0.116	0.320	0	1	2889	0.118	0.323	0	1

**TABLE II-A4 Summary Statistics for the Total Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	2006					2009				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2916	23356.9	31796.3	6.4	812594.9	2942	33407.0	40175.0	6.2	628580.3
Log HH Income	2916	9.540	1.113	1.851	13.608	2942	9.915	1.124	1.823	13.351
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2897	0.855	0.352	0	1	2922	0.851	0.356	0	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2916	0.906	0.292	0	1	2942	0.912	0.283	0	1
Age of HH Head	2898	54.6	13.4	18.0	100.0	2921	56.6	13.5	23.0	103.0
Age-Squared	2898	3158.5	1542.3	324.0	10000.0	2921	3383.9	1603.9	529.0	10609.0
Married HH Head	2364	0.912	0.283	0	1	2356	0.906	0.292	0	1
Household Size	2916	3.609	1.561	1	13	2942	3.528	1.617	1	13
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2356	0.183	0.386	0	1	2351	0.159	0.365	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	1680	0.146	0.354	0	1	1644	0.162	0.368	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	1680	0.232	0.422	0	1	1644	0.234	0.423	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2916	0.116	0.320	0	1	2942	0.117	0.321	0	1
Heilongjiang	2916	0.106	0.308	0	1	2942	0.108	0.310	0	1
Jiangsu	2916	0.111	0.314	0	1	2942	0.112	0.316	0	1
Shandong	2916	0.108	0.310	0	1	2942	0.106	0.308	0	1
Henan	2916	0.112	0.316	0	1	2942	0.109	0.312	0	1
Hubei	2916	0.104	0.305	0	1	2942	0.106	0.308	0	1
Hunan	2916	0.109	0.312	0	1	2942	0.105	0.306	0	1
Guangxi	2916	0.113	0.316	0	1	2942	0.122	0.327	0	1
Guizhou	2916	0.121	0.326	0	1	2942	0.115	0.319	0	1

**TABLE II-B1** Summary Statistics for the Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)

	N	1989			1991					
		Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	1997	10772.8	9181.4	55.5	100262.6	1976	10728.3	8743.7	33.9	88428.0
Log HH Income	1997	8.951	0.904	4.016	11.516	1976	8.967	0.867	3.524	11.390
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	1997	1.000	0.000	1	1	1976	1.000	0.000	1	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	1997	0.896	0.306	0	1	1976	0.898	0.302	0	1
Age of HH Head	1992	41.2	12.8	19.0	86.0	1971	43.3	12.7	21.0	88.0
Age-Squared	1992	1863.4	1182.4	361.0	7396.0	1971	2038.2	1226.6	441.0	7744.0
Married HH Head	1997	0.941	0.235	0	1	1963	0.923	0.267	0	1
Household Size	1997	4.320	1.482	1	11	1976	4.210	1.408	1	11
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	1982	0.116	0.320	0	1	1962	0.127	0.333	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	1952	0.118	0.323	0	1	1932	0.128	0.334	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	1952	0.188	0.391	0	1	1932	0.207	0.405	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	1997	0.102	0.302	0	1	1976	0.100	0.300	0	1
Heilongjiang										
Jiangsu	1997	0.145	0.352	0	1	1976	0.144	0.351	0	1
Shandong	1997	0.137	0.344	0	1	1976	0.140	0.347	0	1
Henan	1997	0.137	0.344	0	1	1976	0.139	0.346	0	1
Hubei	1997	0.145	0.352	0	1	1976	0.149	0.356	0	1
Hunan	1997	0.138	0.345	0	1	1976	0.132	0.338	0	1
Guangxi	1997	0.136	0.343	0	1	1976	0.135	0.341	0	1
Guizhou	1997	0.061	0.239	0	1	1976	0.061	0.240	0	1

**TABLE II-B2 Summary Statistics for the Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	1993					1997				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	1969	12350.7	10771.2	18.9	104431.3	2170	14764.9	13086.1	109.3	194318.2
Log HH Income	1969	9.054	0.965	2.938	11.556	2170	9.249	0.923	4.695	12.177
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	1969	1.000	0.000	1	1	2170	1.000	0.000	1	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	1969	0.900	0.300	0	1	2170	0.894	0.308	0	1
Age of HH Head	1964	45.2	12.8	22.0	90.0	2163	47.6	13.3	18.0	94.0
Age-Squared	1964	2204.2	1274.8	484.0	8100.0	2163	2439.3	1376.1	324.0	8836.0
Married HH Head	1924	0.928	0.258	0	1	2065	0.909	0.288	0	1
Household Size	1969	4.160	1.438	1	13	2170	3.912	1.419	1	11
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	1920	0.134	0.341	0	1	2050	0.123	0.328	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	1858	0.144	0.351	0	1	1882	0.139	0.346	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	1858	0.207	0.405	0	1	1882	0.182	0.386	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	1969	0.098	0.297	0	1					
Heilongjiang						2170	0.132	0.339	0	1
Jiangsu	1969	0.148	0.355	0	1	2170	0.145	0.352	0	1
Shandong	1969	0.140	0.347	0	1	2170	0.133	0.339	0	1
Henan	1969	0.138	0.345	0	1	2170	0.141	0.348	0	1
Hubei	1969	0.147	0.354	0	1	2170	0.145	0.352	0	1
Hunan	1969	0.134	0.340	0	1	2170	0.121	0.326	0	1
Guangxi	1969	0.135	0.341	0	1	2170	0.133	0.340	0	1
Guizhou	1969	0.060	0.238	0	1	2170	0.051	0.219	0	1

**TABLE II-B3 Summary Statistics for the Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	2000					2004				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2444	17593.7	19080.9	50.5	412145.8	2457	20705.2	20795.8	42.8	223787.8
Log HH Income	2444	9.333	1.058	3.923	12.929	2457	9.489	1.047	3.756	12.318
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2444	1.000	0.000	1	1	2457	1.000	0.000	1	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2444	0.898	0.303	0	1	2457	0.900	0.300	0	1
Age of HH Head	2432	49.5	13.2	21.0	97.0	2446	52.8	13.3	19.0	98.0
Age-Squared	2432	2628.1	1423.9	441.0	9409.0	2446	2962.2	1495.2	361.0	9604.0
Married HH Head	2209	0.905	0.293	0	1	2066	0.902	0.298	0	1
Household Size	2434	3.747	1.401	1	11	2457	3.483	1.426	1	11
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2236	0.153	0.360	0	1	2066	0.172	0.377	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	1988	0.145	0.353	0	1	1306	0.165	0.372	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	1988	0.189	0.391	0	1	1306	0.225	0.418	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2444	0.097	0.297	0	1	2457	0.098	0.297	0	1
Heilongjiang	2444	0.122	0.327	0	1	2457	0.118	0.323	0	1
Jiangsu	2444	0.134	0.341	0	1	2457	0.133	0.340	0	1
Shandong	2444	0.124	0.330	0	1	2457	0.126	0.332	0	1
Henan	2444	0.122	0.327	0	1	2457	0.125	0.330	0	1
Hubei	2444	0.128	0.334	0	1	2457	0.127	0.333	0	1
Hunan	2444	0.110	0.313	0	1	2457	0.110	0.313	0	1
Guangxi	2444	0.121	0.326	0	1	2457	0.116	0.321	0	1
Guizhou	2444	0.043	0.203	0	1	2457	0.047	0.212	0	1

**TABLE II-B4 Summary Statistics for the Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

	2006				2009					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	2477	24327.2	33564.1	6.4	812594.9	2486	34370.7	41499.5	55.7	628580.3
Log HH Income	2477	9.576	1.112	1.851	13.608	2486	9.937	1.126	4.021	13.351
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	2477	1.000	0.000	1	1	2486	1.000	0.000	1	1
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	2477	0.900	0.300	0	1	2486	0.907	0.290	0	1
Age of HH Head	2467	54.3	13.3	18.0	100.0	2473	56.4	13.4	23.0	103.0
Age-Squared	2467	3124.3	1539.5	324.0	10000.0	2473	3359.7	1603.4	529.0	10609.0
Married HH Head	2029	0.913	0.282	0	1	2002	0.906	0.292	0	1
Household Size	2477	3.558	1.545	1	13	2486	3.486	1.607	1	12
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	2022	0.193	0.395	0	1	1998	0.168	0.374	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	1432	0.152	0.359	0	1	1362	0.167	0.373	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	1432	0.236	0.425	0	1	1362	0.239	0.427	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	2477	0.099	0.299	0	1	2486	0.098	0.298	0	1
Heilongjiang	2477	0.119	0.324	0	1	2486	0.120	0.325	0	1
Jiangsu	2477	0.129	0.335	0	1	2486	0.131	0.338	0	1
Shandong	2477	0.126	0.331	0	1	2486	0.125	0.330	0	1
Henan	2477	0.126	0.332	0	1	2486	0.125	0.330	0	1
Hubei	2477	0.122	0.327	0	1	2486	0.124	0.330	0	1
Hunan	2477	0.113	0.317	0	1	2486	0.107	0.309	0	1
Guangxi	2477	0.117	0.322	0	1	2486	0.126	0.332	0	1
Guizhou	2477	0.049	0.216	0	1	2486	0.044	0.205	0	1



**TABLE II-C1 Summary Statistics for the Non-Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

Variable	1989				1991					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	352	9248.6	33427.7	459.8	622368.0	349	8187.3	5654.9	396.7	39018.0
Log HH Income	352	8.580	0.914	6.131	13.341	349	8.780	0.720	5.983	10.572
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	352	0.000	0.000	0	0	349	0.000	0.000	0	0
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	352	0.932	0.252	0	1	349	0.926	0.263	0	1
Age of HH Head	349	42.6	11.1	20.0	77.0	346	44.7	11.1	22.0	79.0
Age-Squared	349	1939.3	1019.9	400.0	5929.0	346	2124.3	1059.2	484.0	6241.0
Married HH Head	349	0.926	0.263	0	1	345	0.913	0.282	0	1
Household Size	352	4.608	1.329	1	8	349	4.550	1.363	1	9
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	348	0.037	0.190	0	1	345	0.052	0.223	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	344	0.070	0.255	0	1	338	0.068	0.252	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	344	0.087	0.283	0	1	338	0.092	0.289	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	352	0.244	0.430	0	1	349	0.238	0.426	0	1
Heilongjiang										
Jiangsu	352	0.000	0.000	0	0	349	0.000	0.000	0	0
Shandong	352	0.000	0.000	0	0	349	0.000	0.000	0	0
Henan	352	0.028	0.166	0	1	349	0.029	0.167	0	1
Hubei	352	0.003	0.053	0	1	349	0.003	0.054	0	1
Hunan	352	0.094	0.292	0	1	349	0.097	0.297	0	1
Guangxi	352	0.094	0.292	0	1	349	0.092	0.289	0	1
Guizhou	352	0.537	0.499	0	1	349	0.542	0.499	0	1

**TABLE II-C2 Summary Statistics for the Non-Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

Variable	1993					1997				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	355	9515.9	7490.8	9.9	60377.5	307	11905.8	9737.0	84.1	63252.4
Log HH Income	355	8.853	0.906	2.297	11.008	307	9.054	0.950	4.432	11.055
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	355	0.000	0.000	0	0	307	0.000	0.000	0	0
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	355	0.927	0.261	0	1	307	0.928	0.258	0	1
Age of HH Head	352	46.4	11.1	24.0	81.0	298	49.8	11.9	23.0	85.0
Age-Squared	352	2280.3	1102.0	576.0	6561.0	298	2618.2	1218.3	529.0	7225.0
Married HH Head	341	0.915	0.279	0	1	285	0.884	0.321	0	1
Household Size	355	4.431	1.333	1	9	307	4.313	1.293	1	9
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	336	0.063	0.242	0	1	281	0.078	0.269	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	334	0.066	0.248	0	1	276	0.065	0.247	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	334	0.108	0.311	0	1	276	0.072	0.260	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	355	0.237	0.426	0	1					
Heilongjiang						307	0.046	0.209	0	1
Jiangsu	355	0.000	0.000	0	0	307	0.000	0.000	0	0
Shandong	355	0.000	0.000	0	0	307	0.000	0.000	0	0
Henan	355	0.028	0.166	0	1	307	0.029	0.169	0	1
Hubei	355	0.003	0.053	0	1	307	0.003	0.057	0	1
Hunan	355	0.090	0.287	0	1	307	0.101	0.302	0	1
Guangxi	355	0.090	0.287	0	1	307	0.117	0.322	0	1
Guizhou	355	0.552	0.498	0	1	307	0.704	0.457	0	1

**TABLE II-C3 Summary Statistics for the Non-Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

Variable	2000				2004					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	401	14413.4	14978.3	44.7	153041.8	412	14821.7	15392.0	68.3	163046.8
Log HH Income	401	9.157	1.062	3.800	11.938	412	9.193	0.994	4.225	12.002
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	401	0.000	0.000	0	0	412	0.000	0.000	0	0
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	401	0.940	0.238	0	1	412	0.939	0.239	0	1
Age of HH Head	393	51.1	12.0	26.0	88.0	405	54.0	12.8	22.0	92.0
Age-Squared	393	2758.9	1271.9	676.0	7744.0	405	3079.3	1414.2	484.0	8464.0
Married HH Head	355	0.901	0.299	0	1	339	0.897	0.305	0	1
Household Size	399	4.145	1.400	1	9	412	3.750	1.439	1	8
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	357	0.087	0.282	0	1	339	0.103	0.305	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	333	0.096	0.295	0	1	257	0.132	0.339	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	333	0.129	0.336	0	1	257	0.183	0.387	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	401	0.229	0.421	0	1	412	0.238	0.426	0	1
Heilongjiang	401	0.030	0.171	0	1	412	0.034	0.181	0	1
Jiangsu	401	0.000	0.000	0	0	412	0.000	0.000	0	0
Shandong	401	0.000	0.000	0	0	412	0.000	0.000	0	0
Henan	401	0.022	0.148	0	1	412	0.022	0.146	0	1
Hubei	401	0.002	0.050	0	1	412	0.002	0.049	0	1
Hunan	401	0.052	0.223	0	1	412	0.068	0.252	0	1
Guangxi	401	0.102	0.303	0	1	412	0.097	0.296	0	1
Guizhou	401	0.561	0.497	0	1	412	0.539	0.499	0	1

**TABLE II-C4 Summary Statistics for the Non-Han Sample (Using Unimputed Data)**

Variable	2006				2009					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Income</b>										
Household Income	420	17961.4	17882.2	11.8	155239.3	436	28368.6	32015.0	6.2	326900.9
Log HH Income	420	9.355	1.088	2.464	11.953	436	9.806	1.101	1.823	12.697
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Han	420	0.000	0.000	0	0	436	0.000	0.000	0	0
<b>Household Characteristics</b>										
Male Household Head	420	0.938	0.241	0	1	436	0.938	0.241	0	1
Age of HH Head	412	55.6	12.9	24.0	94.0	428	57.0	13.5	25.0	95.0
Age-Squared	412	3260.6	1471.1	576.0	8836.0	428	3434.9	1544.6	625.0	9025.0
Married HH Head	335	0.907	0.290	0	1	352	0.909	0.288	0	1
Household Size	420	3.912	1.613	1	10	436	3.759	1.620	1	13
<b>Education</b>										
High School Graduate	334	0.120	0.325	0	1	351	0.108	0.311	0	1
<b>Occupation</b>										
Professional/Service	248	0.113	0.317	0	1	281	0.139	0.346	0	1
Unskilled/Skilled/Other	248	0.206	0.405	0	1	281	0.203	0.403	0	1
<b>Province</b>										
Liaoning	420	0.219	0.414	0	1	436	0.225	0.418	0	1
Heilongjiang	420	0.036	0.186	0	1	436	0.044	0.204	0	1
Jiangsu	420	0.000	0.000	0	0	436	0.000	0.000	0	0
Shandong	420	0.000	0.000	0	0	436	0.000	0.000	0	0
Henan	420	0.026	0.160	0	1	436	0.023	0.150	0	1
Hubei	420	0.002	0.049	0	1	436	0.002	0.048	0	1
Hunan	420	0.086	0.280	0	1	436	0.092	0.289	0	1
Guangxi	420	0.090	0.287	0	1	436	0.096	0.295	0	1
Guizhou	420	0.540	0.499	0	1	436	0.518	0.500	0	1

TABLE III

## Summary Statistics for Provinces

Province	1989			1991			1993			1997		
	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*
Liaoning	316	0.127	0.704	293	0.122	0.703	280	0.119	0.696	0	0.000	0.000
Heilongjiang	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	301	0.119	0.953
Jiangsu	297	0.120	1.000	290	0.120	1.000	297	0.126	1.000	318	0.126	1.000
Shandong	308	0.124	1.000	298	0.124	1.000	284	0.121	1.000	309	0.123	1.000
Henan	307	0.124	0.966	299	0.124	0.965	284	0.121	0.965	321	0.127	0.971
Hubei	307	0.124	0.996	309	0.128	0.996	291	0.124	0.996	316	0.125	0.997
Hunan	315	0.127	0.894	297	0.123	0.885	296	0.126	0.892	296	0.117	0.895
Guangxi	314	0.127	0.891	304	0.126	0.892	301	0.128	0.892	331	0.131	0.892
Guizhou	317	0.128	0.390	317	0.132	0.392	318	0.135	0.378	330	0.131	0.338
<b>Total</b>	2481	1.000		2407	1.000		2351	1.000		2522	1.000	
* % Han an approximation using imputed data												
Province	2000			2004			2006			2009		
	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*	N	% Sample	Han*
Liaoning	335	0.116	0.722	339	0.117	0.710	338	0.116	0.727	344	0.117	0.713
Heilongjiang	311	0.108	0.961	304	0.105	0.954	310	0.106	0.952	317	0.108	0.940
Jiangsu	333	0.115	1.000	330	0.114	1.000	324	0.111	1.000	330	0.112	1.000
Shandong	314	0.109	1.000	315	0.109	1.000	315	0.108	1.000	313	0.106	1.000
Henan	312	0.108	0.971	318	0.110	0.971	327	0.112	0.966	322	0.109	0.969
Hubei	316	0.109	0.997	314	0.109	0.997	303	0.104	0.997	311	0.106	0.997
Hunan	292	0.101	0.928	300	0.104	0.906	318	0.109	0.886	308	0.105	0.869
Guangxi	340	0.118	0.878	328	0.114	0.877	329	0.113	0.884	359	0.122	0.881
Guizhou	334	0.116	0.318	341	0.118	0.342	352	0.121	0.349	338	0.115	0.325
<b>Total</b>	2887	1.000		2889	1.000		2916	1.000		2942	1.000	
* % Han an approximation using imputed data												

**TABLE IV-A1 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

	Model 89-1A	Model 89-2A	Model 89-3A	Model 89-4A	Model 89-5A	Model 89-6A	Model 89-7A	Model 89-8A
Han	0.377 *** (0.052)	0.425 *** (0.051)	0.409 *** (0.051)	0.341 *** (0.049)	0.234 *** (0.059)	0.231 *** (0.059)	-0.663 (0.909)	-0.640 (0.908)
Male		-0.202 *** (0.060)	-0.211 *** (0.060)	-0.163 *** (0.058)	-0.137 ** (0.058)	1.103 ** (0.556)	-0.384 * (0.203)	0.883 (0.589)
Age		0.040 *** (0.009)	0.042 *** (0.009)	0.036 *** (0.009)	0.031 *** (0.008)	0.074 *** (0.021)	0.020 (0.016)	0.060 ** (0.026)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)
Married		0.162 ** (0.078)	0.156 ** (0.078)	0.046 (0.075)	0.060 (0.074)	0.292 ** (0.131)	-0.257 (0.218)	0.012 (0.236)
Household Size		0.112 *** (0.013)	0.114 *** (0.013)	0.143 *** (0.012)	0.138 *** (0.013)	0.141 *** (0.013)	0.169 *** (0.037)	0.171 *** (0.037)
High School Graduate			0.241 *** (0.059)	0.062 (0.059)	0.054 (0.059)	0.111 (0.252)	-0.333 (0.266)	-0.266 (0.367)
Professional/Service				0.605 *** (0.057)	0.647 *** (0.059)	0.383 * (0.197)	0.964 *** (0.212)	0.712 ** (0.307)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.596 *** (0.046)	0.605 *** (0.047)	0.224 (0.140)	0.998 *** (0.173)	0.628 *** (0.231)
Jiangsu					0.534 *** (0.070)	0.538 *** (0.070)	0.964 (0.809)	0.990 (0.804)
Shandong					0.238 *** (0.070)	0.239 *** (0.069)	0.670 (0.809)	0.691 (0.804)
Henan					0.226 *** (0.071)	0.235 *** (0.071)	0.631 ** (0.283)	0.633 ** (0.281)
Hubei					0.347 *** (0.070)	0.340 *** (0.070)	0.768 (0.806)	0.783 (0.801)
Hunan					0.451 *** (0.068)	0.448 *** (0.068)	0.900 *** (0.174)	0.906 *** (0.173)
Guangxi					0.408 *** (0.071)	0.394 *** (0.070)	0.796 *** (0.183)	0.782 *** (0.182)
Guizhou					0.251 *** (0.072)	0.250 *** (0.072)	0.600 *** (0.125)	0.603 *** (0.124)
Male x Age						-0.055 ** (0.023)		-0.051 ** (0.023)
Male x Age Squared						0.001 *** (0.000)		0.001 *** (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.390 ** (0.159)		-0.422 *** (0.161)
Male x Professional/Service						0.294 (0.207)		0.244 (0.211)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.433 *** (0.149)		0.384 ** (0.152)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.062 (0.258)		-0.062 (0.259)

**TABLE IV-A1 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

(continued)	Model 89-1A	Model 89-2A	Model 89-3A	Model 89-4A	Model 89-5A	Model 89-6A	Model 89-7A	Model 89-8A
Han x Age							0.011 (0.016)	0.011 (0.016)
Han x Age Squared							-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.394 (0.240)	0.374 (0.227)
Han x Household Size							-0.035 (0.040)	-0.034 (0.039)
Han x Male							0.254 (0.214)	0.194 (0.211)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.367 (0.228)	-0.332 (0.223)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.435 ** (0.184)	-0.399 ** (0.179)
Han x HS Graduate							0.414 (0.276)	0.403 (0.266)
Han x Liaoning							0.528 (0.810)	0.550 (0.805)
Han x Henan							0.011 (0.846)	0.039 (0.841)
Han x Hunan							-0.040 (0.817)	-0.029 (0.812)
Han x Guangxi							0.024 (0.819)	0.047 (0.815)
Han x Guizhou							-0.021 (0.809)	-0.004 (0.804)
Constant	8.571 *** -0.048	7.230 *** (0.206)	7.157 *** (0.207)	7.124 *** (0.197)	7.025 *** (0.196)	6.135 *** (0.532)	7.421 *** (0.425)	6.510 *** (0.660)
N	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B1 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

	Model 89-1B	Model 89-2B	Model 89-3B	Model 89-4B	Model 89-5B	Model 89-6B	Model 89-7B	Model 89-8B
Han	0.377 *** (0.118)	0.425 *** (0.115)	0.409 *** (0.115)	0.341 *** (0.104)	0.234 * (0.122)	0.231 * (0.122)	-0.663 (0.478)	-0.640 (0.473)
Male		-0.202 *** (0.066)	-0.211 *** (0.066)	-0.163 ** (0.069)	-0.137 ** (0.066)	1.103 * (0.595)	-0.384 * (0.204)	0.883 (0.589)
Age		0.040 *** (0.011)	0.042 *** (0.011)	0.036 *** (0.010)	0.031 *** (0.010)	0.074 *** (0.023)	0.020 (0.017)	0.060 ** (0.027)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)
Married		0.162 ** (0.081)	0.156 * (0.080)	0.046 (0.076)	0.060 (0.072)	0.292 ** (0.135)	-0.257 (0.200)	0.012 (0.222)
Household Size		0.112 *** (0.018)	0.114 *** (0.018)	0.143 *** (0.016)	0.138 *** (0.015)	0.141 *** (0.015)	0.169 *** (0.038)	0.171 *** (0.038)
High School Graduate			0.241 *** (0.073)	0.062 (0.059)	0.054 (0.059)	0.111 (0.195)	-0.333 (0.263)	-0.266 (0.319)
Professional/Service				0.605 *** (0.064)	0.647 *** (0.078)	0.383 * (0.192)	0.964 *** (0.216)	0.712 ** (0.295)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.596 *** (0.053)	0.605 *** (0.053)	0.224 * (0.129)	0.998 *** (0.225)	0.628 ** (0.262)
Jiangsu					0.534 *** (0.181)	0.538 *** (0.182)	0.964 *** (0.313)	0.990 *** (0.309)
Shandong					0.238 (0.169)	0.239 (0.170)	0.670 ** (0.306)	0.691 ** (0.302)
Henan					0.226 (0.177)	0.235 (0.179)	0.631 (0.470)	0.633 (0.471)
Hubei					0.347 ** (0.172)	0.340 * (0.172)	0.768 *** (0.285)	0.783 *** (0.281)
Hunan					0.451 ** (0.179)	0.448 ** (0.178)	0.900 *** (0.230)	0.906 *** (0.225)
Guangxi					0.408 ** (0.175)	0.394 ** (0.175)	0.796 *** (0.242)	0.782 *** (0.246)
Guizhou					0.251 (0.211)	0.250 (0.211)	0.600 ** (0.232)	0.603 ** (0.230)
Male x Age						-0.055 ** (0.025)		-0.051 ** (0.024)
Male x Age Squared						0.001 ** (0.000)		0.001 ** (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.390 ** (0.170)		-0.422 ** (0.170)
Male x Professional/Service						0.294 (0.193)		0.244 (0.193)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.433 *** (0.135)		0.384 *** (0.136)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.062 (0.201)		-0.062 (0.201)



**TABLE IV-B1 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

(continued)	Model 89-1B	Model 89-2B	Model 89-3B	Model 89-4B	Model 89-5B	Model 89-6B	Model 89-7B	Model 89-8B
Han x Age							0.011 (0.016)	0.011 (0.016)
Han x Age Squared							-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.394 * (0.222)	0.374 * (0.203)
Han x Household Size							-0.035 (0.041)	-0.034 (0.041)
Han x Male							0.254 (0.219)	0.194 (0.208)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.367 (0.230)	-0.332 (0.222)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.435 * (0.237)	-0.399 * (0.230)
Han x HS Graduate							0.414 (0.269)	0.403 (0.257)
Han x Liaoning							0.528 * (0.309)	0.550 * (0.306)
Han x Henan							0.011 (0.493)	0.039 (0.494)
Han x Hunan							-0.040 (0.289)	-0.029 (0.281)
Han x Guangxi							0.024 (0.294)	0.047 (0.296)
Han x Guizhou							-0.021 (0.338)	-0.004 (0.335)
Constant	8.5707 *** (0.115)	7.230 *** (0.278)	7.157 *** (0.278)	7.124 *** (0.252)	7.025 *** (0.266)	6.135 *** (0.586)	7.421 *** (0.444)	6.510 *** (0.662)
N	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C1 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

	Model 89-1C	Model 89-2C	Model 89-3C	Model 89-4C	Model 89-5C	Model 89-6C	Model 89-7C	Model 89-8C
Han	0.184 ** (0.077)	0.223 *** (0.075)	0.219 *** (0.075)	0.217 *** (0.072)	0.171 ** (0.075)	0.176 ** (0.075)	-0.772 (0.843)	-0.773 (0.842)
Male		-0.011 (0.055)	-0.017 (0.054)	-0.018 (0.054)	-0.018 (0.054)	1.683 *** (0.531)	-0.313 (0.193)	1.422 ** (0.567)
Age		0.035 *** (0.008)	0.037 *** (0.008)	0.035 *** (0.008)	0.034 *** (0.008)	0.093 *** (0.021)	0.026 * (0.015)	0.082 *** (0.025)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)
Married		0.015 (0.069)	0.013 (0.069)	-0.021 (0.068)	-0.019 (0.068)	0.189 (0.120)	-0.312 (0.197)	-0.080 (0.213)
Household Size		0.145 *** (0.012)	0.144 *** (0.012)	0.149 *** (0.012)	0.149 *** (0.012)	0.152 *** (0.012)	0.155 *** (0.034)	0.157 *** (0.034)
High School Graduate			0.160 *** (0.053)	0.071 (0.054)	0.069 (0.054)	0.227 (0.230)	-0.208 (0.229)	-0.033 (0.324)
Professional/Service				0.414 *** (0.057)	0.420 *** (0.057)	0.149 (0.184)	0.617 *** (0.193)	0.370 (0.281)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.397 *** (0.046)	0.399 *** (0.046)	0.129 (0.130)	0.708 *** (0.161)	0.464 ** (0.213)
Jiangsu					0.563 *** (0.155)	0.569 *** (0.154)	0.788 (0.763)	0.838 (0.756)
Shandong					0.292 * (0.153)	0.292 * (0.152)	0.518 (0.762)	0.561 (0.756)
Henan					0.182 (0.153)	0.189 (0.153)	0.339 (0.315)	0.342 (0.313)
Hubei					0.302 ** (0.153)	0.297 * (0.152)	0.520 (0.759)	0.561 (0.753)
Hunan					0.464 *** (0.152)	0.463 *** (0.151)	0.678 *** (0.255)	0.704 *** (0.253)
Guangxi					0.371 ** (0.153)	0.359 ** (0.152)	0.633 ** (0.278)	0.600 ** (0.274)
Guizhou					0.158 (0.154)	0.163 (0.154)	0.273 (0.192)	0.287 (0.190)
Male x Age						-0.071 *** (0.022)		-0.068 *** (0.022)
Male x Age Squared						0.001 *** (0.000)		0.001 *** (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.338 ** (0.145)		-0.364 ** (0.147)
Male x Professional/Service						0.299 (0.190)		0.244 (0.194)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.306 ** (0.137)		0.253 * (0.140)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.169 (0.236)		-0.168 (0.236)

**TABLE IV-C1 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1989)**

(continued)	Model 89-1C	Model 89-2C	Model 89-3C	Model 89-4C	Model 89-5C	Model 89-6C	Model 89-7C	Model 89-8C
Han x Age							0.008 (0.015)	0.008 (0.015)
Han x Age Squared							-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.369 * (0.217)	0.359 * (0.206)
Han x Household Size							-0.006 (0.036)	-0.006 (0.036)
Han x Male							0.320 (0.204)	0.255 (0.199)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.227 (0.207)	-0.198 (0.202)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.338 * (0.171)	-0.313 * (0.166)
Han x HS Graduate							0.301 (0.238)	0.283 (0.229)
Han x Liaoning							0.254 (0.752)	0.298 (0.746)
Han x Henan							0.057 (0.792)	0.105 (0.785)
Han x Hunan							-0.001 (0.770)	0.013 (0.764)
Han x Guangxi							-0.057 (0.779)	0.013 (0.774)
Han x Guizhou							0.109 (0.756)	0.139 (0.750)
Constant	8.730 *** (0.079)	7.371 *** (0.196)	7.310 *** (0.198)	7.250 *** (0.194)	7.019 *** (0.213)	5.671 *** (0.523)	7.648 *** (0.411)	6.281 *** (0.634)
Ins1_1_1 Constant	-0.762 *** (0.073)	-0.728 *** (0.072)	-0.735 *** (0.072)	-0.859 *** (0.074)	-0.936 *** (0.076)	-0.940 *** (0.076)	-0.944 *** (0.076)	-0.948 *** (0.077)
Insig_e Constant	-0.246 *** (0.015)	-0.295 *** (0.015)	-0.296 *** (0.015)	-0.311 *** (0.015)	-0.311 *** (0.015)	-0.319 *** (0.015)	-0.317 *** (0.015)	-0.323 *** (0.015)
N	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481	2481

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A2 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

	Model 91-1A	Model 91-2A	Model 91-3A	Model 91-4A	Model 91-5A	Model 91-6A	Model 91-7A	Model 91-8A
Han	0.175 *** (0.050)	0.235 *** (0.047)	0.220 *** (0.047)	0.127 *** (0.044)	0.064 (0.053)	0.060 (0.053)	-0.156 (0.874)	-0.164 (0.871)
Male		-0.206 *** (0.059)	-0.213 *** (0.058)	-0.190 *** (0.055)	-0.191 *** (0.055)	0.096 (0.618)	-0.231 (0.190)	0.020 (0.646)
Age		0.036 *** (0.009)	0.039 *** (0.009)	0.033 *** (0.008)	0.034 *** (0.008)	0.044 ** (0.022)	0.035 * (0.018)	0.045 * (0.027)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.001 ** (0.000)
Married		0.437 *** (0.069)	0.422 *** (0.069)	0.309 *** (0.065)	0.280 *** (0.064)	0.400 *** (0.133)	0.064 (0.190)	0.205 (0.225)
Household Size		0.140 *** (0.012)	0.143 *** (0.012)	0.169 *** (0.011)	0.187 *** (0.012)	0.187 *** (0.012)	0.159 *** (0.031)	0.160 *** (0.031)
High School Graduate			0.243 *** (0.054)	0.086 (0.052)	0.073 (0.052)	0.018 (0.220)	0.037 (0.189)	-0.020 (0.290)
Professional/Service				0.641 *** (0.052)	0.611 *** (0.052)	0.432 *** (0.162)	0.428 ** (0.193)	0.239 (0.264)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.651 *** (0.041)	0.628 *** (0.042)	0.561 *** (0.144)	0.604 *** (0.160)	0.548 ** (0.211)
Jiangsu					0.044 (0.064)	0.041 (0.064)	-0.177 (0.738)	-0.170 (0.736)
Shandong					-0.153 ** (0.064)	-0.156 ** (0.064)	-0.373 (0.737)	-0.367 (0.735)
Henan					-0.177 *** (0.065)	-0.176 *** (0.065)	0.126 (0.262)	0.119 (0.261)
Hubei					0.138 ** (0.064)	0.124 * (0.064)	-0.082 (0.735)	-0.085 (0.733)
Hunan					0.083 (0.063)	0.071 (0.063)	-0.376 ** (0.159)	-0.378 ** (0.158)
Guangxi					-0.317 *** (0.065)	-0.327 *** (0.065)	-0.370 ** (0.165)	-0.385 ** (0.165)
Guizhou					-0.215 *** (0.066)	-0.223 *** (0.066)	-0.231 ** (0.112)	-0.240 ** (0.112)
Male x Age						-0.017 (0.023)		-0.014 (0.023)
Male x Age Squared						0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.222 (0.152)		-0.230 (0.154)
Male x Professional/Service						0.197 (0.171)		0.198 (0.171)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.070 (0.150)		0.053 (0.150)
Male x HS Graduate						0.060 (0.227)		0.058 (0.227)

**TABLE IV-A2 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	91-1A	91-2A	91-3A	91-4A	91-5A	91-6A	91-7A	91-8A	
Han x Age							-0.002 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.018)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							0.259 (0.208)	0.245 (0.204)	
Han x Household Size							0.033 (0.034)	0.032 (0.034)	
Han x Male							0.053 (0.204)	0.066 (0.202)	
Han x Professional/Service							0.198 (0.208)	0.207 (0.209)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.021 (0.171)	0.026 (0.164)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.031 (0.198)	0.035 (0.194)	
Han x Liaoning							-0.235 (0.737)	-0.225 (0.736)	
Han x Henan							-0.539 (0.782)	-0.521 (0.781)	
Han x Hunan							0.293 (0.754)	0.293 (0.752)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.168 (0.757)	-0.153 (0.756)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.272 (0.747)	-0.260 (0.745)	
Constant	8.783 (0.046)	*** 7.176 (0.217)	*** 7.084 (0.220)	*** 7.075 (0.202)	*** 7.102 (0.202)	*** 7.024 (0.604)	*** 7.487 (0.455)	*** 7.416 (0.720)	***
N	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B2 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

	Model 91-1B	Model 91-2B	Model 91-3B	Model 91-4B	Model 91-5B	Model 91-6B	Model 91-7B	Model 91-8B
Han	0.175 ** (0.081)	0.235 *** (0.081)	0.220 *** (0.082)	0.127 * (0.074)	0.064 (0.087)	0.060 (0.086)	-0.156 (0.525)	-0.164 (0.516)
Male		-0.206 *** (0.059)	-0.213 *** (0.058)	-0.190 *** (0.056)	-0.191 *** (0.057)	0.096 (0.567)	-0.231 (0.189)	0.020 (0.615)
Age		0.036 *** (0.011)	0.039 *** (0.011)	0.033 *** (0.009)	0.034 *** (0.009)	0.044 ** (0.022)	0.035 * (0.018)	0.045 * (0.026)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.001 * (0.000)
Married		0.437 *** (0.081)	0.422 *** (0.080)	0.309 *** (0.073)	0.280 *** (0.069)	0.400 ** (0.160)	0.064 (0.181)	0.205 (0.231)
Household Size		0.140 *** (0.016)	0.143 *** (0.015)	0.169 *** (0.014)	0.187 *** (0.014)	0.187 *** (0.014)	0.159 *** (0.025)	0.160 *** (0.025)
High School Graduate			0.243 *** (0.073)	0.086 (0.066)	0.073 (0.059)	0.018 (0.177)	0.037 (0.164)	-0.020 (0.239)
Professional/Service				0.641 *** (0.066)	0.611 *** (0.065)	0.432 ** (0.168)	0.428 ** (0.196)	0.239 (0.269)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.651 *** (0.052)	0.628 *** (0.054)	0.561 *** (0.134)	0.604 *** (0.161)	0.548 *** (0.201)
Jiangsu					0.044 (0.148)	0.041 (0.148)	-0.177 (0.276)	-0.170 (0.274)
Shandong					-0.153 (0.099)	-0.156 (0.099)	-0.373 (0.252)	-0.367 (0.250)
Henan					-0.177 * (0.103)	-0.176 * (0.104)	0.126 (0.225)	0.119 (0.223)
Hubei					0.138 (0.121)	0.124 (0.123)	-0.082 (0.222)	-0.085 (0.221)
Hunan					0.083 (0.130)	0.071 (0.128)	-0.376 * (0.195)	-0.378 * (0.194)
Guangxi					-0.317 *** (0.113)	-0.327 *** (0.113)	-0.370 ** (0.180)	-0.385 ** (0.181)
Guizhou					-0.215 (0.130)	-0.223 * (0.131)	-0.231 (0.189)	-0.240 (0.190)
Male x Age						-0.017 (0.022)		-0.014 (0.023)
Male x Age Squared						0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.222 (0.189)		-0.230 (0.190)
Male x Professional/Service						0.197 (0.172)		0.198 (0.175)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.070 (0.134)		0.053 (0.135)
Male x HS Graduate						0.060 (0.178)		0.058 (0.178)

**TABLE IV-B2 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	91-1B	91-2B	91-3B	91-4B	91-5B	91-6B	91-7B	91-8B	
Han x Age							-0.002	-0.003	
							(0.018)	(0.018)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000	0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.259	0.245	
							(0.202)	(0.198)	
Han x Household Size							0.033	0.032	
							(0.030)	(0.029)	
Han x Male							0.053	0.066	
							(0.207)	(0.204)	
Han x Professional/Service							0.198	0.207	
							(0.210)	(0.212)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.021	0.026	
							(0.176)	(0.171)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.031	0.035	
							(0.177)	(0.173)	
Han x Liaoning							-0.235	-0.225	
							(0.233)	(0.232)	
Han x Henan							-0.539 *	-0.521 *	
							(0.309)	(0.307)	
Han x Hunan							0.293	0.293	
							(0.296)	(0.294)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.168	-0.153	
							(0.290)	(0.291)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.272	-0.260	
							(0.303)	(0.304)	
Constant	8.783 ***	7.176 ***	7.084 ***	7.075 ***	7.102 ***	7.024 ***	7.487 ***	7.416 ***	
	(0.070)	(0.262)	(0.265)	(0.233)	(0.245)	(0.565)	(0.466)	(0.699)	
N	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C2 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

	Model 91-1C	Model 91-2C	Model 91-3C	Model 91-4C	Model 91-5C	Model 91-6C	Model 91-7C	Model 91-8C
Han	0.071 (0.071)	0.122 * (0.066)	0.119 * (0.066)	0.098 (0.062)	0.067 (0.065)	0.065 (0.065)	-0.047 (0.815)	-0.046 (0.807)
Male		-0.057 (0.053)	-0.063 (0.053)	-0.087 * (0.052)	-0.092 * (0.052)	0.743 (0.562)	-0.163 (0.178)	0.620 (0.587)
Age		0.031 *** (0.008)	0.034 *** (0.008)	0.031 *** (0.008)	0.031 *** (0.008)	0.060 *** (0.021)	0.032 * (0.018)	0.058 ** (0.025)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.001 *** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.001 ** (0.000)
Married		0.237 *** (0.061)	0.227 *** (0.061)	0.197 *** (0.059)	0.194 *** (0.059)	0.307 ** (0.121)	-0.001 (0.181)	0.135 (0.211)
Household Size		0.196 *** (0.011)	0.196 *** (0.011)	0.197 *** (0.011)	0.201 *** (0.011)	0.202 *** (0.011)	0.158 *** (0.029)	0.158 *** (0.029)
High School Graduate			0.194 *** (0.048)	0.107 ** (0.048)	0.103 ** (0.048)	-0.038 (0.201)	0.055 (0.172)	-0.085 (0.265)
Professional/Service				0.489 *** (0.051)	0.483 *** (0.051)	0.387 *** (0.149)	0.517 *** (0.181)	0.435 * (0.240)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.464 *** (0.042)	0.461 *** (0.042)	0.463 *** (0.136)	0.579 *** (0.144)	0.595 *** (0.194)
Jiangsu					0.047 (0.134)	0.048 (0.134)	-0.241 (0.687)	-0.231 (0.684)
Shandong					-0.119 (0.132)	-0.124 (0.132)	-0.405 (0.686)	-0.401 (0.683)
Henan					-0.227 * (0.133)	-0.225 * (0.132)	-0.022 (0.284)	-0.034 (0.283)
Hubei					0.106 (0.132)	0.097 (0.132)	-0.186 (0.684)	-0.186 (0.681)
Hunan					0.069 (0.131)	0.062 (0.131)	-0.107 (0.225)	-0.100 (0.224)
Guangxi					-0.359 *** (0.132)	-0.366 *** (0.132)	-0.233 (0.234)	-0.254 (0.235)
Guizhou					-0.260 * (0.133)	-0.263 ** (0.133)	-0.188 (0.166)	-0.188 (0.166)
Male x Age						-0.037 * (0.021)		-0.033 (0.021)
Male x Age Squared						0.000 ** (0.000)		0.000 * (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.191 (0.138)		-0.203 (0.140)
Male x Professional/Service						0.107 (0.155)		0.089 (0.155)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.002 (0.141)		-0.019 (0.141)
Male x HS Graduate						0.149 (0.207)		0.142 (0.207)



**TABLE IV-C2 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1991)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	91-1C	91-2C	91-3C	91-4C	91-5C	91-6C	91-7C	91-7C	91-8C
Han x Age							-0.002	-0.002	
							(0.017)	(0.017)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000	0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.232	0.217	
							(0.197)	(0.193)	
Han x Household Size							0.050	0.050	
							(0.032)	(0.032)	
Han x Male							0.084	0.087	
							(0.191)	(0.188)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.040	-0.037	
							(0.193)	(0.194)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.136	-0.133	
							(0.156)	(0.150)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.050	0.057	
							(0.180)	(0.177)	
Han x Liaoning							-0.281	-0.272	
							(0.677)	(0.674)	
Han x Henan							-0.509	-0.486	
							(0.720)	(0.717)	
Han x Hunan							-0.085	-0.092	
							(0.701)	(0.698)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.429	-0.405	
							(0.708)	(0.705)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.406	-0.401	
							(0.691)	(0.688)	
Constant	8.869 ***	7.186 ***	7.099 ***	7.082 ***	7.179 ***	6.576 ***	7.535 ***	6.956 ***	
	(0.072)	(0.201)	(0.204)	(0.195)	(0.209)	(0.558)	(0.454)	(0.673)	
Ins1_1_1									
Constant	-0.884 ***	-0.806 ***	-0.814 ***	-0.995 ***	-1.095 ***	-1.097 ***	-1.101 ***	-1.103 ***	
	(0.074)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.078)	(0.078)	
Insig_e									
Constant	-0.286 ***	-0.382 ***	-0.385 ***	-0.412 ***	-0.412 ***	-0.416 ***	-0.415 ***	-0.419 ***	
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	
N	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	2407	

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A3 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

	Model 93-1A	Model 93-2A	Model 93-3A	Model 93-4A	Model 93-5A	Model 93-6A	Model 93-7A	Model 93-8A
Han	0.200 *** (0.055)	0.240 *** (0.054)	0.231 *** (0.054)	0.125 ** (0.051)	0.163 *** (0.061)	0.161 *** (0.061)	-0.401 (1.075)	-0.417 (1.076)
Male		-0.224 *** (0.069)	-0.230 *** (0.069)	-0.196 *** (0.065)	-0.179 *** (0.065)	-0.283 (0.757)	-0.285 (0.207)	-0.481 (0.799)
Age		0.024 ** (0.010)	0.026 ** (0.010)	0.019 ** (0.009)	0.017 * (0.009)	0.017 (0.026)	0.014 (0.024)	0.011 (0.034)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.356 *** (0.083)	0.351 *** (0.083)	0.254 *** (0.079)	0.265 *** (0.079)	0.313 * (0.163)	0.051 (0.216)	0.116 (0.263)
Household Size		0.149 *** (0.014)	0.151 *** (0.014)	0.186 *** (0.013)	0.195 *** (0.013)	0.195 *** (0.013)	0.241 *** (0.036)	0.242 *** (0.036)
High School Graduate			0.137 ** (0.060)	-0.025 (0.058)	-0.013 (0.058)	0.041 (0.259)	-0.008 (0.201)	0.061 (0.332)
Professional/Service				0.728 *** (0.057)	0.686 *** (0.057)	0.525 ** (0.221)	0.567 ** (0.224)	0.399 (0.320)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.707 *** (0.048)	0.673 *** (0.049)	0.563 *** (0.195)	0.650 *** (0.181)	0.540 ** (0.264)
Jiangsu					0.130 * (0.074)	0.125 * (0.074)	0.484 (0.860)	0.493 (0.860)
Shandong					-0.039 (0.076)	-0.049 (0.076)	0.315 (0.861)	0.319 (0.860)
Henan					-0.258 *** (0.077)	-0.261 *** (0.077)	-0.469 (0.292)	-0.484 * (0.292)
Hubei					-0.195 ** (0.075)	-0.207 *** (0.076)	0.164 (0.857)	0.165 (0.857)
Hunan					0.102 (0.074)	0.091 (0.074)	-0.026 (0.185)	-0.028 (0.185)
Guangxi					0.023 (0.075)	0.014 (0.075)	0.254 (0.185)	0.239 (0.186)
Guizhou					-0.013 (0.076)	-0.021 (0.076)	-0.038 (0.126)	-0.047 (0.126)
Male x Age						-0.004 (0.028)		-0.000 (0.028)
Male x Age Squared						0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.121 (0.190)		-0.137 (0.191)
Male x Professional/Service						0.174 (0.235)		0.173 (0.237)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.120 (0.206)		0.121 (0.205)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.057 (0.266)		-0.066 (0.267)

**TABLE IV-A3 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	93-1A	93-2A	93-3A	93-4A	93-5A	93-6A	93-7A	93-8A
Han x Age							0.003 (0.025)	0.002 (0.025)
Han x Age Squared							-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.272 (0.235)	0.266 (0.237)
Han x Household Size							-0.053 (0.039)	-0.054 (0.039)
Han x Male							0.122 (0.219)	0.139 (0.226)
Han x Professional/Service							0.132 (0.239)	0.141 (0.240)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.021 (0.192)	0.020 (0.191)
Han x HS Graduate							-0.012 (0.210)	-0.018 (0.212)
Han x Liaoning							0.369 (0.861)	0.382 (0.861)
Han x Henan							0.576 (0.897)	0.603 (0.897)
Han x Hunan							0.501 (0.866)	0.505 (0.866)
Han x Guangxi							0.106 (0.868)	0.127 (0.867)
Han x Guizhou							0.376 (0.857)	0.393 (0.857)
Constant	8.849 (0.051)	*** 7.600 (0.254)	*** 7.541 (0.255)	*** 7.453 (0.234)	*** 7.448 (0.234)	*** 7.689 (0.726)	*** 7.623 (0.604)	*** 7.934 (0.921)
N	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B3 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

	Model 93-1B	Model 93-2B	Model 93-3B	Model 93-4B	Model 93-5B	Model 93-6B	Model 93-7B	Model 93-8B
Han	0.200 ** (0.092)	0.240 *** (0.091)	0.231 ** (0.091)	0.125 (0.080)	0.163 * (0.092)	0.161 * (0.092)	-0.401 (0.697)	-0.417 (0.691)
Male		-0.224 *** (0.068)	-0.230 *** (0.068)	-0.196 *** (0.064)	-0.179 *** (0.060)	-0.283 (0.796)	-0.285 (0.170)	-0.481 (0.808)
Age		0.024 ** (0.012)	0.026 ** (0.012)	0.019 * (0.010)	0.017 * (0.010)	0.017 (0.026)	0.014 (0.025)	0.011 (0.035)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.356 *** (0.111)	0.351 *** (0.111)	0.254 ** (0.101)	0.265 *** (0.098)	0.313 * (0.163)	0.051 (0.212)	0.116 (0.264)
Household Size		0.149 *** (0.018)	0.151 *** (0.018)	0.186 *** (0.016)	0.195 *** (0.016)	0.195 *** (0.016)	0.241 *** (0.035)	0.242 *** (0.034)
High School Graduate			0.137 * (0.070)	-0.025 (0.060)	-0.013 (0.056)	0.041 (0.194)	-0.008 (0.155)	0.061 (0.257)
Professional/Service				0.728 *** (0.073)	0.686 *** (0.069)	0.525 ** (0.210)	0.567 *** (0.211)	0.399 (0.300)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.707 *** (0.055)	0.673 *** (0.058)	0.563 ** (0.214)	0.650 *** (0.168)	0.540 ** (0.261)
Jiangsu					0.130 (0.157)	0.125 (0.156)	0.484 * (0.285)	0.493 * (0.288)
Shandong					-0.039 (0.160)	-0.049 (0.159)	0.315 (0.288)	0.319 (0.290)
Henan					-0.258 * (0.139)	-0.261 * (0.139)	-0.469 (0.322)	-0.484 (0.327)
Hubei					-0.195 (0.149)	-0.207 (0.150)	0.164 (0.234)	0.165 (0.237)
Hunan					0.102 (0.134)	0.091 (0.134)	-0.026 (0.194)	-0.028 (0.193)
Guangxi					0.023 (0.131)	0.014 (0.131)	0.254 (0.189)	0.239 (0.194)
Guizhou					-0.013 (0.130)	-0.021 (0.130)	-0.038 (0.193)	-0.047 (0.195)
Male x Age						-0.004 (0.028)		-0.000 (0.028)
Male x Age Squared						0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.121 (0.220)		-0.137 (0.222)
Male x Professional/Service						0.174 (0.220)		0.173 (0.223)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.120 (0.225)		0.121 (0.224)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.057 (0.204)		-0.066 (0.205)

**TABLE IV-B3 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	93-1B	93-2B	93-3B	93-4B	93-5B	93-6B	93-7B	93-8B	
Han x Age							0.003	0.002	
							(0.026)	(0.026)	
Han x Age Squared							-0.000	-0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.272	0.266	
							(0.235)	(0.235)	
Han x Household Size							-0.053	-0.054	
							(0.038)	(0.038)	
Han x Male							0.122	0.139	
							(0.184)	(0.187)	
Han x Professional/Service							0.132	0.141	
							(0.235)	(0.237)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.021	0.020	
							(0.187)	(0.184)	
Han x HS Graduate							-0.012	-0.018	
							(0.168)	(0.172)	
Han x Liaoning							0.369	0.382	
							(0.271)	(0.274)	
Han x Henan							0.576 *	0.603 *	
							(0.343)	(0.346)	
Han x Hunan							0.501 **	0.505 **	
							(0.237)	(0.237)	
Han x Guangxi							0.106	0.127	
							(0.237)	(0.244)	
Han x Guizhou							0.376	0.393	
							(0.250)	(0.252)	
Constant	8.849 ***	7.600 ***	7.541 ***	7.453 ***	7.448 ***	7.689 ***	7.623 ***	7.934 ***	
	(0.078)	(0.290)	(0.293)	(0.241)	(0.256)	(0.753)	(0.648)	(0.970)	
N	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C3 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

	Model 93-1C	Model 93-2C	Model 93-3C	Model 93-4C	Model 93-5C	Model 93-6C	Model 93-7C	Model 93-8C
Han	0.149 *	0.187 **	0.186 **	0.149 **	0.158 **	0.158 **	-0.202	-0.203
	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.073)	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.997)	(0.998)
Male		-0.053	-0.057	-0.082	-0.081	0.255	-0.261	0.007
		(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.689)	(0.192)	(0.727)
Age		0.020 **	0.021 **	0.018 **	0.017 **	0.032	0.020	0.031
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.032)
Age Squared		-0.000 ***	-0.000 ***	-0.000 **	-0.000 **	-0.000 *	-0.000	-0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married		0.183 **	0.181 **	0.163 **	0.165 **	0.204	-0.016	0.048
		(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.152)	(0.205)	(0.245)
Household Size		0.195 ***	0.196 ***	0.203 ***	0.206 ***	0.205 ***	0.239 ***	0.239 ***
		(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.033)	(0.033)
High School Graduate			0.092 *	0.017	0.018	-0.015	-0.055	-0.071
			(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.238)	(0.187)	(0.305)
Professional/Service				0.529 ***	0.520 ***	0.415 *	0.521 **	0.437
				(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.213)	(0.212)	(0.303)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.490 ***	0.483 ***	0.399 **	0.568 ***	0.491 *
				(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.187)	(0.172)	(0.253)
Jiangsu					0.125	0.125	0.469	0.482
					(0.152)	(0.151)	(0.800)	(0.799)
Shandong					-0.026	-0.032	0.319	0.326
					(0.150)	(0.150)	(0.800)	(0.799)
Henan					-0.325 **	-0.324 **	-0.499	-0.516
					(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.324)	(0.323)
Hubei					-0.233	-0.239	0.111	0.118
					(0.150)	(0.150)	(0.797)	(0.796)
Hunan					0.088	0.083	-0.001	-0.000
					(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.262)	(0.262)
Guangxi					-0.037	-0.042	0.254	0.247
					(0.150)	(0.149)	(0.275)	(0.275)
Guizhou					-0.081	-0.083	0.009	0.009
					(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.190)	(0.190)
Male x Age						-0.019		-0.014
						(0.025)		(0.025)
Male x Age Squared						0.000		0.000
						(0.000)		(0.000)
Male x Married						-0.082		-0.116
						(0.178)		(0.178)
Male x Professional/Service						0.113		0.091
						(0.226)		(0.226)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.094		0.088
						(0.196)		(0.195)
Male x HS Graduate						0.033		0.019
						(0.244)		(0.244)

**TABLE IV-C3 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1993)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	93-1C	93-2C	93-3C	93-4C	93-5C	93-6C	93-7C	93-7C	93-8C
Han x Age							-0.004	-0.004	
							(0.024)	(0.024)	
Han x Age Squared							-0.000	0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.240	0.237	
							(0.221)	(0.222)	
Han x Household Size							-0.040	-0.041	
							(0.036)	(0.036)	
Han x Male							0.209	0.205	
							(0.203)	(0.209)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.002	-0.001	
							(0.228)	(0.227)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.099	-0.100	
							(0.185)	(0.184)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.075	0.072	
							(0.197)	(0.199)	
Han x Liaoning							0.377	0.391	
							(0.791)	(0.790)	
Han x Henan							0.525	0.557	
							(0.828)	(0.828)	
Han x Hunan							0.455	0.462	
							(0.806)	(0.806)	
Han x Guangxi							0.034	0.051	
							(0.814)	(0.813)	
Han x Guizhou							0.167	0.178	
							(0.792)	(0.791)	
Constant	8.887 ***	7.555 ***	7.508 ***	7.444 ***	7.493 ***	7.284 ***	7.491 ***	7.336 ***	
	(0.082)	(0.232)	(0.234)	(0.225)	(0.240)	(0.672)	(0.582)	(0.866)	
Ins1_1_1									
Constant	-0.784 ***	-0.727 ***	-0.730 ***	-0.917 ***	-0.979 ***	-0.983 ***	-0.972 ***	-0.977 ***	
	(0.075)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.077)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	
Insig_e									
Constant	-0.171 ***	-0.241 ***	-0.242 ***	-0.263 ***	-0.264 ***	-0.265 ***	-0.268 ***	-0.269 ***	
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	
N	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	2351	

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A4 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

	Model 97-1A	Model 97-2A	Model 97-3A	Model 97-4A	Model 97-5A	Model 97-6A	Model 97-7A	Model 97-8A
Han	0.204 *** (0.057)	0.274 *** (0.053)	0.266 *** (0.053)	0.160 *** (0.051)	0.001 (0.065)	0.005 (0.064)	-0.063 (1.021)	-0.114 (1.023)
Male		-0.156 *** (0.060)	-0.160 *** (0.060)	-0.110 * (0.057)	-0.130 ** (0.057)	-0.673 (0.682)	-0.266 (0.200)	-0.918 (0.739)
Age		0.037 *** (0.009)	0.038 *** (0.009)	0.034 *** (0.008)	0.030 *** (0.008)	0.012 (0.023)	0.014 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.032)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.362 *** (0.069)	0.358 *** (0.069)	0.282 *** (0.066)	0.296 *** (0.066)	0.391 ** (0.164)	0.100 (0.190)	0.209 (0.240)
Household Size		0.188 *** (0.013)	0.189 *** (0.013)	0.201 *** (0.012)	0.208 *** (0.012)	0.206 *** (0.013)	0.223 *** (0.038)	0.221 *** (0.038)
High School Graduate			0.197 *** (0.055)	0.039 (0.053)	0.048 (0.053)	-0.355 (0.231)	-0.025 (0.201)	-0.447 (0.301)
Professional/Service				0.642 *** (0.055)	0.583 *** (0.055)	0.669 *** (0.234)	0.593 ** (0.263)	0.692 ** (0.339)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.668 *** (0.047)	0.592 *** (0.049)	0.310 (0.209)	0.630 *** (0.238)	0.361 (0.322)
Jiangsu					0.362 *** (0.068)	0.354 *** (0.068)	-0.089 (0.866)	-0.083 (0.865)
Shandong					0.042 (0.069)	0.038 (0.069)	-0.411 (0.866)	-0.402 (0.865)
Henan					-0.044 (0.066)	-0.041 (0.066)	0.397 (0.355)	0.393 (0.354)
Hubei					-0.007 (0.066)	-0.007 (0.066)	-0.452 (0.864)	-0.437 (0.863)
Hunan					0.074 (0.068)	0.080 (0.068)	0.464 * (0.265)	0.463 * (0.264)
Guangxi					0.029 (0.068)	0.029 (0.068)	0.447 * (0.269)	0.437 (0.269)
Guizhou					-0.178 ** (0.078)	-0.173 ** (0.078)	0.200 (0.235)	0.199 (0.234)
Male x Age						0.021 (0.024)		0.025 (0.025)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.130 (0.181)		-0.137 (0.181)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.099 (0.257)		-0.113 (0.256)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.312 (0.223)		0.301 (0.222)
Male x HS Graduate						0.428 * (0.240)		0.430 * (0.241)



**TABLE IV-A4 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	97-1A	97-2A	97-3A	97-4A	97-5A	97-6A	97-7A	97-7A	97-8A
Han x Age							0.018	0.019	
							(0.023)	(0.023)	
Han x Age Squared							-0.000	-0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.239	0.228	
							(0.220)	(0.220)	
Han x Household Size							-0.019	-0.018	
							(0.041)	(0.041)	
Han x Male							0.148	0.165	
							(0.213)	(0.219)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.008	-0.009	
							(0.278)	(0.279)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.043	-0.046	
							(0.250)	(0.250)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.086	0.104	
							(0.210)	(0.210)	
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.428	-0.414	
							(0.866)	(0.865)	
Han x Henan							-0.896	-0.875	
							(0.878)	(0.876)	
Han x Hunan							-0.841	-0.819	
							(0.852)	(0.851)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.874	-0.852	
							(0.853)	(0.852)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.848	-0.828	
							(0.850)	(0.850)	
Constant	9.048	*** 7.323	*** 7.280	*** 7.210	*** 7.429	*** 7.929	*** 7.836	*** 8.456	***
	(0.053)	(0.227)	(0.226)	(0.216)	(0.214)	(0.652)	(0.590)	(0.892)	
N	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Heilongjiang.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B4 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

	Model 97-1B	Model 97-2B	Model 97-3B	Model 97-4B	Model 97-5B	Model 97-6B	Model 97-7B	Model 97-8B
Han	0.204 ** (0.087)	0.274 *** (0.088)	0.266 *** (0.087)	0.160 ** (0.075)	0.001 (0.076)	0.005 (0.077)	-0.063 (0.641)	-0.114 (0.648)
Male		-0.156 ** (0.075)	-0.160 ** (0.075)	-0.110 (0.072)	-0.130 * (0.070)	-0.673 (0.625)	-0.266 (0.232)	-0.918 (0.688)
Age		0.037 *** (0.011)	0.038 *** (0.011)	0.034 *** (0.010)	0.030 *** (0.010)	0.012 (0.021)	0.014 (0.023)	-0.009 (0.031)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.362 *** (0.077)	0.358 *** (0.077)	0.282 *** (0.072)	0.296 *** (0.071)	0.391 ** (0.176)	0.100 (0.226)	0.209 (0.272)
Household Size		0.188 *** (0.017)	0.189 *** (0.017)	0.201 *** (0.016)	0.208 *** (0.017)	0.206 *** (0.017)	0.223 *** (0.050)	0.221 *** (0.051)
High School Graduate			0.197 *** (0.067)	0.039 (0.058)	0.048 (0.058)	-0.355 (0.216)	-0.025 (0.154)	-0.447 * (0.258)
Professional/Service				0.642 *** (0.068)	0.583 *** (0.065)	0.669 *** (0.239)	0.593 ** (0.248)	0.692 ** (0.330)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.668 *** (0.058)	0.592 *** (0.056)	0.310 (0.225)	0.630 *** (0.221)	0.361 (0.313)
Jiangsu					0.362 *** (0.120)	0.354 *** (0.118)	-0.089 (0.389)	-0.083 (0.391)
Shandong					0.042 (0.128)	0.038 (0.127)	-0.411 (0.389)	-0.402 (0.391)
Henan					-0.044 (0.114)	-0.041 (0.112)	0.397 (0.267)	0.393 (0.271)
Hubei					-0.007 (0.113)	-0.007 (0.111)	-0.452 (0.370)	-0.437 (0.371)
Hunan					0.074 (0.110)	0.080 (0.110)	0.464 ** (0.203)	0.463 ** (0.206)
Guangxi					0.029 (0.104)	0.029 (0.101)	0.447 ** (0.192)	0.437 ** (0.193)
Guizhou					-0.178 (0.114)	-0.173 (0.114)	0.200 (0.156)	0.199 (0.157)
Male x Age						0.021 (0.022)		0.025 (0.022)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.130 (0.193)		-0.137 (0.193)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.099 (0.264)		-0.113 (0.263)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.312 (0.233)		0.301 (0.232)
Male x HS Graduate						0.428 * (0.222)		0.430 * (0.221)

**TABLE IV-B4 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	97-1B	97-2B	97-3B	97-4B	97-5B	97-6B	97-7B	97-8B
Han x Age							0.018 (0.023)	0.019 (0.024)
Han x Age Squared							-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.239 (0.253)	0.228 (0.254)
Han x Household Size							-0.019 (0.052)	-0.018 (0.052)
Han x Male							0.148 (0.246)	0.165 (0.245)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.008 (0.267)	-0.009 (0.268)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.043 (0.236)	-0.046 (0.235)
Han x HS Graduate							0.086 (0.168)	0.104 (0.169)
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.428 (0.386)	-0.414 (0.387)
Han x Henan							-0.896 * (0.444)	-0.875 * (0.444)
Han x Hunan							-0.841 ** (0.403)	-0.819 * (0.404)
Han x Guangxi							-0.874 ** (0.392)	-0.852 ** (0.394)
Han x Guizhou							-0.848 ** (0.403)	-0.828 * (0.405)
Constant	9.048 (0.078)	*** 7.323 (0.301)	*** 7.280 (0.300)	*** 7.210 (0.271)	*** 7.429 (0.267)	*** 7.929 (0.612)	*** 7.836 (0.543)	*** 8.456 (0.811)
N	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Heilongjiang.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C4 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

	Model 97-1C	Model 97-2C	Model 97-3C	Model 97-4C	Model 97-5C	Model 97-6C	Model 97-7C	Model 97-8C
Han	0.095 (0.090)	0.145 * (0.086)	0.147 * (0.085)	0.131 * (0.078)	0.028 (0.087)	0.030 (0.087)	-0.075 (0.958)	-0.124 (0.958)
Male		-0.051 (0.057)	-0.055 (0.057)	-0.058 (0.056)	-0.066 (0.056)	-0.370 (0.672)	-0.257 (0.185)	-0.709 (0.721)
Age		0.031 *** (0.008)	0.032 *** (0.008)	0.033 *** (0.008)	0.031 *** (0.008)	0.018 (0.022)	0.013 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.030)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.273 *** (0.064)	0.272 *** (0.064)	0.237 *** (0.063)	0.243 *** (0.063)	0.372 ** (0.157)	0.100 (0.184)	0.246 (0.233)
Household Size		0.213 *** (0.012)	0.213 *** (0.012)	0.213 *** (0.012)	0.215 *** (0.012)	0.213 *** (0.012)	0.224 *** (0.037)	0.222 *** (0.037)
High School Graduate			0.117 ** (0.052)	0.039 (0.051)	0.039 (0.051)	-0.342 (0.218)	-0.020 (0.195)	-0.414 (0.290)
Professional/Service				0.486 *** (0.055)	0.470 *** (0.055)	0.563 ** (0.225)	0.564 ** (0.252)	0.678 ** (0.328)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.490 *** (0.051)	0.471 *** (0.051)	0.264 (0.201)	0.600 *** (0.223)	0.406 (0.304)
Jiangsu					0.396 *** (0.119)	0.387 *** (0.119)	-0.096 (0.823)	-0.086 (0.821)
Shandong					0.082 (0.120)	0.076 (0.120)	-0.412 (0.823)	-0.398 (0.821)
Henan					-0.048 (0.119)	-0.047 (0.118)	0.413 (0.378)	0.434 (0.378)
Hubei					-0.011 (0.119)	-0.012 (0.118)	-0.498 (0.822)	-0.480 (0.819)
Hunan					0.106 (0.120)	0.109 (0.119)	0.460 (0.314)	0.461 (0.313)
Guangxi					0.035 (0.120)	0.033 (0.119)	0.434 (0.320)	0.440 (0.319)
Guizhou					-0.168 (0.130)	-0.166 (0.130)	0.205 (0.266)	0.211 (0.265)
Male x Age						0.016 (0.024)		0.022 (0.024)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.166 (0.172)		-0.180 (0.172)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.104 (0.245)		-0.124 (0.244)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						0.232 (0.214)		0.218 (0.213)
Male x HS Graduate						0.405 * (0.227)		0.404 * (0.227)

**TABLE IV-C4 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (1997)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	97-1C	97-2C	97-3C	97-4C	97-5C	97-6C	97-7C	97-8C	
Han x Age							0.021	0.021	
							(0.021)	(0.021)	
Han x Age Squared							-0.000	-0.000	
							(0.000)	(0.000)	
Han x Married							0.176	0.168	
							(0.212)	(0.211)	
Han x Household Size							-0.011	-0.012	
							(0.039)	(0.039)	
Han x Male							0.209	0.233	
							(0.196)	(0.203)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.098	-0.102	
							(0.266)	(0.268)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.140	-0.140	
							(0.236)	(0.237)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.071	0.087	
							(0.203)	(0.204)	
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.473	-0.452	
							(0.818)	(0.816)	
Han x Henan							-0.961	-0.963	
							(0.831)	(0.828)	
Han x Hunan							-0.845	-0.824	
							(0.813)	(0.811)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.902	-0.891	
							(0.816)	(0.814)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.904	-0.888	
							(0.807)	(0.805)	
Constant	9.138 ***	7.505 ***	7.467 ***	7.313 ***	7.391 ***	7.662 ***	7.883 ***	8.294 ***	
	(0.088)	(0.225)	(0.224)	(0.220)	(0.230)	(0.648)	(0.572)	(0.857)	
Ins1_1_1									
Constant	-0.946 ***	-0.910 ***	-0.919 ***	-1.145 ***	-1.253 ***	-1.260 ***	-1.254 ***	-1.260 ***	
	(0.078)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.083)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	
Insig_e									
Constant	-0.170 ***	-0.276 ***	-0.277 ***	-0.297 ***	-0.297 ***	-0.301 ***	-0.301 ***	-0.305 ***	
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	
N	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	2522	

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Heilongjiang.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A5 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

	Model 00-1A	Model 00-2A	Model 00-3A	Model 00-4A	Model 00-5A	Model 00-6A	Model 00-7A	Model 00-8A
Han	0.176 *** (0.057)	0.251 *** (0.054)	0.229 *** (0.054)	0.176 *** (0.051)	0.229 *** (0.063)	0.230 *** (0.063)	-0.042 (1.088)	-0.074 (1.089)
Male		-0.189 *** (0.066)	-0.201 *** (0.065)	-0.147 ** (0.065)	-0.172 *** (0.063)	-0.260 (0.819)	-0.179 (0.203)	-0.304 (0.865)
Age		0.039 *** (0.010)	0.039 *** (0.009)	0.034 *** (0.009)	0.028 *** (0.009)	0.020 (0.026)	0.028 (0.020)	0.019 (0.033)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.141 * (0.075)	0.132 * (0.075)	0.066 (0.071)	0.053 (0.071)	0.322 * (0.176)	0.061 (0.206)	0.350 (0.260)
Household Size		0.200 *** (0.014)	0.204 *** (0.014)	0.216 *** (0.013)	0.226 *** (0.013)	0.226 *** (0.013)	0.218 *** (0.034)	0.217 *** (0.034)
High School Graduate			0.370 *** (0.056)	0.088 (0.056)	0.112 ** (0.055)	0.096 (0.258)	-0.161 (0.195)	-0.191 (0.320)
Professional/Service				0.905 *** (0.059)	0.811 *** (0.058)	0.657 ** (0.269)	0.889 *** (0.227)	0.732 ** (0.328)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.587 *** (0.052)	0.476 *** (0.052)	0.488 * (0.267)	0.347 * (0.206)	0.358 (0.363)
Heilongjiang					-0.373 *** (0.075)	-0.371 *** (0.076)	0.108 (0.278)	0.109 (0.278)
Jiangsu					0.234 *** (0.074)	0.233 *** (0.074)	0.338 (0.906)	0.333 (0.904)
Shandong					-0.123 (0.075)	-0.129 * (0.076)	-0.019 (0.906)	-0.029 (0.904)
Henan					-0.539 *** (0.075)	-0.540 *** (0.076)	-0.416 (0.324)	-0.431 (0.326)
Hubei					-0.355 *** (0.075)	-0.365 *** (0.075)	-0.253 (0.903)	-0.267 (0.902)
Hunan					-0.364 *** (0.075)	-0.371 *** (0.076)	-1.967 *** (0.222)	-1.973 *** (0.223)
Guangxi					-0.170 ** (0.074)	-0.169 ** (0.074)	0.128 (0.190)	0.137 (0.190)
Guizhou					-0.185 ** (0.078)	-0.186 ** (0.078)	-0.195 (0.119)	-0.199 * (0.119)
Male x Age						0.011 (0.027)		0.011 (0.027)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.344 * (0.192)		-0.344 * (0.189)
Male x Professional/Service						0.168 (0.288)		0.174 (0.283)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.015 (0.284)		-0.016 (0.283)
Male x HS Graduate						0.017 (0.266)		0.026 (0.260)

**TABLE IV-A5 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	00-1A	00-2A	00-3A	00-4A	00-5A	00-6A	00-7A	00-8A	00-8A
Han x Age							0.000 (0.021)	0.001 (0.021)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							0.007 (0.228)	-0.015 (0.228)	
Han x Household Size							0.012 (0.037)	0.013 (0.037)	
Han x Male							0.015 (0.213)	0.051 (0.227)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.085 (0.250)	-0.088 (0.249)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.125 (0.224)	0.127 (0.220)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.280 (0.204)	0.284 (0.204)	
Han x Liaoning							0.091 (0.906)	0.086 (0.905)	
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.395 (0.945)	-0.398 (0.944)	
Han x Henan							-0.030 (0.953)	-0.019 (0.952)	
Han x Hunan							1.827 * (0.924)	1.822 * (0.923)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.238 (0.922)	-0.252 (0.921)	
Han x Guizhou							0.030 (0.912)	0.033 (0.911)	
Constant	9.156 *** (0.053)	7.706 *** (0.264)	7.627 *** (0.259)	7.516 *** (0.251)	7.864 *** (0.252)	7.976 *** (0.785)	7.994 *** (0.598)	8.143 *** (1.013)	***
N	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B5 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

	Model 00-1B	Model 00-2B	Model 00-3B	Model 00-4B	Model 00-5B	Model 00-6B	Model 00-7B	Model 00-8B
Han	0.176 *	0.251 **	0.229 **	0.176 *	0.229 *	0.230 *	-0.042	-0.074
	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.089)	(0.121)	(0.121)	(0.725)	(0.716)
Male		-0.189 ***	-0.201 ***	-0.147 **	-0.172 **	-0.260	-0.179	-0.304
		(0.070)	(0.069)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.836)	(0.203)	(0.872)
Age		0.039 ***	0.039 ***	0.034 ***	0.028 **	0.020	0.028	0.019
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.027)	(0.022)	(0.034)
Age Squared		-0.000 ***	-0.000 ***	-0.000 ***	-0.000 ***	-0.000	-0.000 *	-0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married		0.141 *	0.132	0.066	0.053	0.322	0.061	0.350
		(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.076)	(0.196)	(0.209)	(0.277)
Household Size		0.200 ***	0.204 ***	0.216 ***	0.226 ***	0.226 ***	0.218 ***	0.217 ***
		(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.042)	(0.042)
High School Graduate			0.370 ***	0.088	0.112 *	0.096	-0.161	-0.191
			(0.079)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.247)	(0.189)	(0.299)
Professional/Service				0.905 ***	0.811 ***	0.657 **	0.889 ***	0.732 **
				(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.265)	(0.252)	(0.348)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.587 ***	0.476 ***	0.488 *	0.347	0.358
				(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.276)	(0.227)	(0.380)
Heilongjiang					-0.373 ***	-0.371 **	0.108	0.109
					(0.136)	(0.136)	(0.257)	(0.257)
Jiangsu					0.234 *	0.233 *	0.338	0.333
					(0.130)	(0.130)	(0.305)	(0.306)
Shandong					-0.123	-0.129	-0.019	-0.029
					(0.130)	(0.129)	(0.304)	(0.305)
Henan					-0.539 ***	-0.540 ***	-0.416 *	-0.431 *
					(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.225)	(0.229)
Hubei					-0.355 **	-0.365 **	-0.253	-0.267
					(0.135)	(0.136)	(0.269)	(0.271)
Hunan					-0.364 *	-0.371 *	-1.967 ***	-1.973 ***
					(0.199)	(0.199)	(0.212)	(0.211)
Guangxi					-0.170 *	-0.169 *	0.128	0.137
					(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.184)	(0.185)
Guizhou					-0.185	-0.186	-0.195	-0.199
					(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.174)	(0.174)
Male x Age						0.011		0.011
						(0.028)		(0.028)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000		-0.000
						(0.000)		(0.000)
Male x Married						-0.344		-0.344
						(0.208)		(0.207)
Male x Professional/Service						0.168		0.174
						(0.282)		(0.276)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.015		-0.016
						(0.291)		(0.291)
Male x HS Graduate						0.017		0.026
						(0.251)		(0.242)



**TABLE IV-B5 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

(continued)	Model 00-1B	Model 00-2B	Model 00-3B	Model 00-4B	Model 00-5B	Model 00-6B	Model 00-7B	Model 00-8B
Han x Age							0.000 (0.022)	0.001 (0.022)
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.007 (0.233)	-0.015 (0.233)
Han x Household Size							0.012 (0.045)	0.013 (0.045)
Han x Male							0.015 (0.213)	0.051 (0.227)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.085 (0.275)	-0.088 (0.275)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.125 (0.243)	0.127 (0.238)
Han x HS Graduate							0.280 (0.197)	0.284 (0.197)
Han x Liaoning							0.091 (0.277)	0.086 (0.279)
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.395 (0.360)	-0.398 (0.361)
Han x Henan							-0.030 (0.297)	-0.019 (0.301)
Han x Hunan							1.827 (0.337)	*** 1.822 (0.338)
Han x Guangxi							-0.238 (0.295)	-0.252 (0.297)
Han x Guizhou							0.030 (0.302)	0.033 (0.303)
Constant	9.156 (0.091)	*** 7.706 (0.354)	*** 7.627 (0.345)	*** 7.516 (0.332)	*** 7.864 (0.336)	*** 7.976 (0.816)	*** 7.994 (0.673)	*** 8.143 (1.037)
N	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C5 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

	Model 00-1C	Model 00-2C	Model 00-3C	Model 00-4C	Model 00-5C	Model 00-6C	Model 00-7C	Model 00-8C
Han	-0.015 (0.086)	0.048 (0.081)	0.047 (0.081)	0.054 (0.077)	0.066 (0.081)	0.066 (0.081)	0.286 (1.019)	0.264 (1.019)
Male		-0.086 (0.060)	-0.098 (0.060)	-0.102 * (0.061)	-0.110 * (0.060)	0.044 (0.768)	-0.152 (0.188)	-0.087 (0.819)
Age		0.033 *** (0.008)	0.034 *** (0.008)	0.033 *** (0.009)	0.032 *** (0.008)	0.030 (0.024)	0.031 * (0.018)	0.028 (0.030)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.074 (0.068)	0.070 (0.068)	0.040 (0.066)	0.038 (0.066)	0.257 (0.162)	0.002 (0.198)	0.239 (0.246)
Household Size		0.241 *** (0.013)	0.241 *** (0.013)	0.240 *** (0.012)	0.241 *** (0.012)	0.241 *** (0.013)	0.232 *** (0.032)	0.231 *** (0.032)
High School Graduate			0.249 *** (0.052)	0.093 * (0.052)	0.097 * (0.052)	0.062 (0.234)	-0.198 (0.187)	-0.250 (0.299)
Professional/Service				0.684 *** (0.058)	0.673 *** (0.058)	0.590 ** (0.241)	0.841 *** (0.214)	0.764 ** (0.304)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.408 *** (0.053)	0.392 *** (0.053)	0.505 ** (0.240)	0.341 * (0.193)	0.455 (0.333)
Heilongjiang					-0.365 ** (0.154)	-0.361 ** (0.153)	-0.243 (0.317)	-0.244 (0.316)
Jiangsu					0.265 * (0.153)	0.266 * (0.153)	-0.126 (0.862)	-0.127 (0.860)
Shandong					-0.106 (0.153)	-0.111 (0.153)	-0.497 (0.861)	-0.504 (0.860)
Henan					-0.537 *** (0.154)	-0.536 *** (0.153)	-0.614 * (0.353)	-0.616 * (0.354)
Hubei					-0.349 ** (0.154)	-0.356 ** (0.153)	-0.740 (0.859)	-0.748 (0.858)
Hunan					-0.395 ** (0.155)	-0.400 ** (0.155)	-1.402 *** (0.315)	-1.407 *** (0.315)
Guangxi					-0.178 (0.153)	-0.177 (0.152)	-0.025 (0.277)	-0.012 (0.278)
Guizhou					-0.299 * (0.156)	-0.301 * (0.155)	-0.311 * (0.181)	-0.314 * (0.180)
Male x Age						0.003 (0.026)		0.005 (0.026)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.275 (0.176)		-0.279 (0.177)
Male x Professional/Service						0.092 (0.258)		0.091 (0.258)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.123 (0.255)		-0.124 (0.257)
Male x HS Graduate						0.039 (0.241)		0.051 (0.239)

**TABLE IV-C5 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2000)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	00-1C	00-2C	00-3C	00-4C	00-5C	00-6C	00-7C	00-7C	00-7C	00-8C
Han x Age							-0.000	0.000		
							(0.019)	(0.018)		
Han x Age Squared							-0.000	-0.000		
							(0.000)	(0.000)		
Han x Married							0.046	0.029		
							(0.217)	(0.216)		
Han x Household Size							0.010	0.010		
							(0.035)	(0.035)		
Han x Male							0.047	0.080		
							(0.198)	(0.211)		
Han x Professional/Service							-0.175	-0.180		
							(0.238)	(0.237)		
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.058	0.058		
							(0.210)	(0.207)		
Han x HS Graduate							0.318	0.323		
							(0.194)	(0.195)		
Han x Liaoning							-0.406	-0.407		
							(0.854)	(0.852)		
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.516	-0.512		
							(0.898)	(0.897)		
Han x Henan							-0.315	-0.315		
							(0.902)	(0.901)		
Han x Hunan							0.713	0.712		
							(0.896)	(0.894)		
Han x Guangxi							-0.567	-0.582		
							(0.884)	(0.883)		
Han x Guizhou							-0.423	-0.419		
							(0.865)	(0.864)		
Constant	9.306	*** 7.837	*** 7.761	*** 7.612	*** 7.856	*** 7.734	*** 8.014	*** 7.969	***	***
	(0.088)	(0.246)	(0.244)	(0.245)	(0.261)	(0.743)	(0.557)	(0.942)		
Ins1_1_1										
Constant	-0.671	*** -0.625	*** -0.643	*** -0.785	*** -0.935	*** -0.939	*** -1.024	*** -1.030	***	***
	(0.070)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.071)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.081)	(0.081)		
Insig_e										
Constant	-0.064	*** -0.168	*** -0.171	*** -0.198	*** -0.198	*** -0.200	*** -0.199	*** -0.201	***	***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)		
N	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2887		2887

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A6 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

	Model 04-1A	Model 04-2A	Model 04-3A	Model 04-4A	Model 04-5A	Model 04-6A	Model 04-7A	Model 04-8A
Han	0.296 *** (0.055)	0.319 *** (0.053)	0.293 *** (0.053)	0.267 *** (0.051)	0.188 *** (0.061)	0.183 ** (0.071)	0.877 (1.292)	0.852 (1.283)
Male		-0.226 *** (0.067)	-0.238 *** (0.066)	-0.182 ** (0.074)	-0.235 *** (0.071)	0.091 (0.830)	0.136 (0.214)	0.654 (0.871)
Age		0.018 * (0.009)	0.019 ** (0.009)	0.023 ** (0.009)	0.019 ** (0.009)	0.022 (0.025)	0.031 (0.021)	0.041 (0.032)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.312 *** (0.079)	0.299 *** (0.079)	0.231 *** (0.076)	0.221 *** (0.073)	0.291 (0.187)	0.283 (0.228)	0.330 (0.310)
Household Size		0.144 *** (0.013)	0.147 *** (0.013)	0.168 *** (0.013)	0.186 *** (0.013)	0.183 *** (0.015)	0.158 *** (0.033)	0.154 *** (0.034)
High School Graduate			0.415 *** (0.056)	0.171 *** (0.059)	0.220 *** (0.058)	0.167 (0.294)	0.403 * (0.205)	0.353 (0.353)
Professional/Service				0.867 *** (0.068)	0.787 *** (0.068)	0.914 *** (0.330)	0.827 ** (0.362)	0.935 * (0.492)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.588 *** (0.061)	0.500 *** (0.061)	0.510 (0.464)	0.438 (0.326)	0.437 (0.520)
Heilongjiang					0.002 (0.078)	0.004 (0.086)	0.527 * (0.269)	0.526 * (0.279)
Jiangsu					0.510 *** (0.075)	0.506 *** (0.076)	0.826 (0.940)	0.823 (0.934)
Shandong					-0.026 (0.076)	-0.030 (0.080)	0.290 (0.939)	0.287 (0.933)
Henan					-0.198 ** (0.077)	-0.190 ** (0.083)	-0.203 (0.330)	-0.176 (0.338)
Hubei					-0.252 *** (0.077)	-0.244 *** (0.079)	0.062 (0.938)	0.071 (0.932)
Hunan					-0.165 ** (0.077)	-0.166 ** (0.078)	-0.344 (0.206)	-0.338 (0.210)
Guangxi					-0.180 ** (0.076)	-0.180 ** (0.078)	0.164 (0.182)	0.154 (0.184)
Guizhou					-0.164 ** (0.077)	-0.164 ** (0.081)	0.172 (0.129)	0.169 (0.133)
Male x Age						-0.003 (0.027)		-0.010 (0.027)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.107 (0.231)		-0.083 (0.239)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.149 (0.366)		-0.129 (0.365)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.017 (0.499)		-0.003 (0.500)
Male x HS Graduate						0.052 (0.310)		0.044 (0.303)

**TABLE IV-A6 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	04-1A	04-2A	04-3A	04-4A	04-5A	04-6A	04-7A	04-8A	
Han x Age							-0.015 (0.023)	-0.014 (0.022)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							-0.080 (0.258)	-0.070 (0.257)	
Han x Household Size							0.032 (0.036)	0.033 (0.036)	
Han x Male							-0.393 * (0.227)	-0.401 * (0.237)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.058 (0.422)	-0.053 (0.418)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.063 (0.374)	0.058 (0.374)	
Han x HS Graduate							-0.206 (0.221)	-0.199 (0.217)	
Han x Liaoning							0.395 (0.940)	0.394 (0.934)	
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.221 (0.981)	-0.221 (0.980)	
Han x Henan							0.325 (1.002)	0.307 (0.996)	
Han x Hunan							0.537 (0.952)	0.530 (0.947)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.052 (0.949)	-0.039 (0.944)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.206 (0.955)	-0.198 (0.950)	
Constant	9.193 (0.051)	*** 8.364 (0.271)	*** 8.278 (0.267)	*** 7.779 (0.257)	*** 8.036 (0.255)	*** 7.762 (0.792)	*** 7.121 (0.701)	*** 6.688 (1.047)	***
N	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B6 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

	Model 04-1B	Model 04-2B	Model 04-3B	Model 04-4B	Model 04-5B	Model 04-6B	Model 04-7B	Model 04-8B
Han	0.296 *** (0.092)	0.319 *** (0.089)	0.293 *** (0.088)	0.267 *** (0.080)	0.188 ** (0.088)	0.183 * (0.094)	0.877 (1.143)	0.852 (1.119)
Male		-0.226 *** (0.079)	-0.238 *** (0.078)	-0.182 ** (0.080)	-0.235 *** (0.075)	0.091 (0.792)	0.136 (0.273)	0.654 (0.865)
Age		0.018 (0.012)	0.019 (0.011)	0.023 ** (0.011)	0.019 * (0.010)	0.022 (0.024)	0.031 (0.023)	0.041 (0.032)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.312 *** (0.086)	0.299 *** (0.085)	0.231 *** (0.081)	0.221 *** (0.078)	0.291 (0.198)	0.283 (0.250)	0.330 (0.338)
Household Size		0.144 *** (0.019)	0.147 *** (0.018)	0.168 *** (0.017)	0.186 *** (0.016)	0.183 *** (0.018)	0.158 *** (0.032)	0.154 *** (0.032)
High School Graduate			0.415 *** (0.085)	0.171 ** (0.072)	0.220 *** (0.070)	0.167 (0.300)	0.403 * (0.187)	0.353 (0.346)
Professional/Service				0.867 *** (0.080)	0.787 *** (0.074)	0.914 ** (0.333)	0.827 ** (0.367)	0.935 * (0.498)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.588 *** (0.068)	0.500 *** (0.062)	0.510 (0.466)	0.438 (0.330)	0.437 (0.526)
Heilongjiang					0.002 (0.146)	0.004 (0.152)	0.527 *** (0.163)	0.526 ** (0.178)
Jiangsu					0.510 *** (0.137)	0.506 *** (0.137)	0.826 ** (0.333)	0.823 ** (0.330)
Shandong					-0.026 (0.154)	-0.030 (0.155)	0.290 (0.335)	0.287 (0.333)
Henan					-0.198 (0.159)	-0.190 (0.161)	-0.203 (0.470)	-0.176 (0.468)
Hubei					-0.252 * (0.150)	-0.244 (0.150)	0.062 (0.315)	0.071 (0.314)
Hunan					-0.165 (0.174)	-0.166 (0.173)	-0.344 (0.275)	-0.338 (0.276)
Guangxi					-0.180 (0.133)	-0.180 (0.134)	0.164 (0.155)	0.154 (0.157)
Guizhou					-0.164 (0.129)	-0.164 (0.130)	0.172 (0.151)	0.169 (0.153)
Male x Age						-0.003 (0.026)		-0.010 (0.026)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.107 (0.242)		-0.083 (0.249)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.149 (0.369)		-0.129 (0.367)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.017 (0.501)		-0.003 (0.503)
Male x HS Graduate						0.052 (0.312)		0.044 (0.304)

**TABLE IV-B6 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	04-1B	04-2B	04-3B	04-4B	04-5B	04-6B	04-7B	04-8B	
Han x Age							-0.015 (0.024)	-0.014 (0.024)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							-0.080 (0.282)	-0.070 (0.279)	
Han x Household Size							0.032 (0.036)	0.033 (0.036)	
Han x Male							-0.393 (0.283)	-0.401 (0.293)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.058 (0.427)	-0.053 (0.423)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.063 (0.378)	0.058 (0.378)	
Han x HS Graduate							-0.206 (0.205)	-0.199 (0.201)	
Han x Liaoning							0.395 (0.347)	0.394 (0.347)	
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.221 (0.399)	-0.221 (0.405)	
Han x Henan							0.325 (0.571)	0.307 (0.564)	
Han x Hunan							0.537 (0.448)	0.530 (0.448)	
Han x Guangxi							-0.052 (0.359)	-0.039 (0.356)	
Han x Guizhou							-0.206 (0.381)	-0.198 (0.382)	
Constant	9.193 (0.081)	*** 8.364 (0.361)	*** 8.278 (0.351)	*** 7.779 (0.331)	*** 8.036 (0.313)	*** 7.762 (0.758)	*** 7.121 (0.932)	*** 6.688 (1.166)	***
N	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C6 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

	Model 04-1C	Model 04-2C	Model 04-3C	Model 04-4C	Model 04-5C	Model 04-6C	Model 04-7C	Model 04-8C
Han	0.032 (0.080)	0.038 (0.077)	0.046 (0.077)	0.076 (0.073)	0.039 (0.076)	0.034 (0.083)	0.649 (1.228)	0.642 (1.217)
Male		-0.132 ** (0.062)	-0.149 ** (0.062)	-0.144 ** (0.067)	-0.158 ** (0.066)	0.333 (0.776)	0.190 (0.197)	0.879 (0.820)
Age		0.012 (0.008)	0.012 (0.008)	0.018 ** (0.008)	0.017 ** (0.008)	0.024 (0.023)	0.024 (0.020)	0.037 (0.031)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.235 *** (0.072)	0.231 *** (0.072)	0.205 *** (0.070)	0.203 *** (0.070)	0.276 (0.174)	0.221 (0.213)	0.277 (0.286)
Household Size		0.187 *** (0.013)	0.187 *** (0.013)	0.193 *** (0.013)	0.196 *** (0.013)	0.193 *** (0.014)	0.156 *** (0.031)	0.152 *** (0.031)
High School Graduate			0.305 *** (0.052)	0.164 *** (0.054)	0.173 *** (0.054)	0.144 (0.269)	0.405 ** (0.195)	0.379 (0.329)
Professional/Service				0.650 *** (0.065)	0.642 *** (0.065)	0.758 ** (0.300)	0.730 ** (0.325)	0.831 * (0.440)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.443 *** (0.059)	0.428 *** (0.059)	0.453 (0.415)	0.389 (0.302)	0.407 (0.470)
Heilongjiang					0.004 (0.145)	0.009 (0.148)	0.226 (0.307)	0.238 (0.311)
Jiangsu					0.550 *** (0.144)	0.546 *** (0.144)	0.621 (0.889)	0.626 (0.883)
Shandong					0.031 (0.145)	0.029 (0.146)	0.103 (0.888)	0.110 (0.882)
Henan					-0.208 (0.145)	-0.199 (0.147)	-0.274 (0.355)	-0.241 (0.360)
Hubei					-0.231 (0.145)	-0.220 (0.145)	-0.164 (0.888)	-0.145 (0.882)
Hunan					-0.165 (0.145)	-0.162 (0.144)	-0.187 (0.258)	-0.177 (0.259)
Guangxi					-0.178 (0.144)	-0.176 (0.144)	0.151 (0.272)	0.148 (0.272)
Guizhou					-0.257 * (0.146)	-0.256 * (0.146)	0.023 (0.183)	0.021 (0.183)
Male x Age						-0.006 (0.025)		-0.013 (0.025)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.096 (0.209)		-0.082 (0.218)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.135 (0.335)		-0.119 (0.334)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.036 (0.448)		-0.022 (0.451)
Male x HS Graduate						0.029 (0.284)		0.022 (0.278)



**TABLE IV-C6 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2004)**

(continued)	Model 04-1C	Model 04-2C	Model 04-3C	Model 04-4C	Model 04-5C	Model 04-6C	Model 04-7C	Model 04-8C
Han x Age							-0.008 (0.022)	-0.008 (0.021)
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							-0.028 (0.242)	-0.018 (0.241)
Han x Household Size							0.047 (0.034)	0.048 (0.034)
Han x Male							-0.380 * (0.210)	-0.397 * (0.220)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.110 (0.385)	-0.107 (0.380)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							0.042 (0.351)	0.035 (0.350)
Han x HS Graduate							-0.253 (0.211)	-0.249 (0.207)
Han x Liaoning							0.121 (0.882)	0.129 (0.877)
Han x Heilongjiang							-0.152 (0.927)	-0.152 (0.924)
Han x Henan							0.141 (0.944)	0.124 (0.937)
Han x Hunan							0.115 (0.900)	0.115 (0.894)
Han x Guangxi							-0.291 (0.908)	-0.276 (0.901)
Han x Guizhou							-0.388 (0.900)	-0.374 (0.895)
Constant	9.410 *** (0.081)	8.636 *** (0.248)	8.540 *** (0.246)	8.094 *** (0.250)	8.204 *** (0.264)	7.744 *** (0.749)	7.590 *** (0.672)	6.956 *** (1.010)
Ins1_1_1 Constant	-0.738 *** (0.072)	-0.673 *** (0.069)	-0.701 *** (0.070)	-0.847 *** (0.074)	-1.019 *** (0.079)	-1.027 *** (0.081)	-1.036 *** (0.081)	-1.043 *** (0.082)
Insig_e Constant	-0.074 *** (0.014)	-0.147 *** (0.014)	-0.153 *** (0.014)	-0.181 *** (0.014)	-0.182 *** (0.014)	-0.189 *** (0.016)	-0.190 *** (0.016)	-0.197 *** (0.017)
N	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889	2889

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A7 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

	Model 06-1A	Model 06-2A	Model 06-3A	Model 06-4A	Model 06-5A	Model 06-6A	Model 06-7A	Model 06-8A
Han	0.217 *** (0.059)	0.240 *** (0.056)	0.212 *** (0.056)	0.191 *** (0.054)	0.150 ** (0.066)	0.145 ** (0.069)	1.353 (1.327)	1.357 (1.313)
Male		-0.266 *** (0.074)	-0.275 *** (0.073)	-0.194 ** (0.077)	-0.232 *** (0.077)	0.142 (1.058)	-0.017 (0.251)	0.436 (1.081)
Age		0.012 (0.010)	0.014 (0.009)	0.017 * (0.009)	0.013 (0.009)	0.010 (0.027)	0.023 (0.025)	0.022 (0.037)
Age Squared		-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.398 *** (0.096)	0.366 *** (0.095)	0.320 *** (0.091)	0.313 *** (0.092)	0.384 * (0.217)	0.249 (0.353)	0.320 (0.393)
Household Size		0.129 *** (0.013)	0.135 *** (0.013)	0.146 *** (0.012)	0.157 *** (0.013)	0.156 *** (0.014)	0.142 *** (0.033)	0.142 *** (0.033)
High School Graduate			0.479 *** (0.057)	0.233 *** (0.059)	0.252 *** (0.059)	0.388 (0.311)	0.115 (0.204)	0.254 (0.351)
Professional/Service				0.874 *** (0.073)	0.830 *** (0.075)	0.928 ** (0.431)	0.857 ** (0.369)	0.933 * (0.512)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.623 *** (0.058)	0.559 *** (0.060)	0.951 (0.619)	0.566 (0.357)	0.920 (0.678)
Heilongjiang					-0.125 (0.084)	-0.115 (0.085)	0.311 (0.299)	0.312 (0.297)
Jiangsu					0.134 (0.083)	0.144 (0.087)	-0.751 (1.003)	-0.775 (0.995)
Shandong					-0.135 (0.084)	-0.132 (0.090)	-1.026 (1.002)	-1.056 (0.995)
Henan					-0.212 ** (0.084)	-0.208 ** (0.090)	-0.222 (0.333)	-0.207 (0.333)
Hubei					-0.189 ** (0.084)	-0.175 * (0.089)	-1.077 (0.998)	-1.095 (0.989)
Hunan					-0.244 *** (0.083)	-0.223 ** (0.088)	-0.833 *** (0.218)	-0.798 *** (0.236)
Guangxi					-0.240 *** (0.083)	-0.235 *** (0.085)	-0.128 (0.207)	-0.132 (0.203)
Guizhou					-0.228 *** (0.083)	-0.227 ** (0.085)	-0.142 (0.142)	-0.146 (0.138)
Male x Age						0.004 (0.031)		0.001 (0.031)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.099 (0.267)		-0.086 (0.264)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.116 (0.492)		-0.098 (0.477)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.430 (0.669)		-0.396 (0.661)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.148 (0.329)		-0.141 (0.321)

**TABLE IV-A7 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	06-1A	06-2A	06-3A	06-4A	06-5A	06-6A	06-7A	06-8A
Han x Age							-0.010 (0.026)	-0.008 (0.026)
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.061 (0.403)	0.055 (0.392)
Han x Household Size							0.019 (0.036)	0.018 (0.036)
Han x Male							-0.226 (0.269)	-0.212 (0.271)
Han x Professional/Service							-0.043 (0.422)	-0.033 (0.395)
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.019 (0.416)	-0.011 (0.403)
Han x HS Graduate							0.145 (0.217)	0.135 (0.211)
Han x Liaoning							-0.882 (1.003)	-0.916 (0.995)
Han x Heilongjiang							-1.339 (1.024)	-1.365 (1.016)
Han x Henan							-0.880 (1.038)	-0.924 (1.031)
Han x Hunan							-0.214 (1.003)	-0.266 (0.999)
Han x Guangxi							-1.021 (1.007)	-1.044 (0.999)
Han x Guizhou							-1.099 (0.995)	-1.124 (0.987)
Constant	9.355 (0.054)	*** 8.788 (0.288)	*** 8.628 (0.282)	*** 8.144 (0.275)	*** 8.424 (0.284)	*** 8.094 (0.921)	*** 8.109 (0.836)	*** 7.714 (1.269)
N	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B7 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

	Model 06-1B	Model 06-2B	Model 06-3B	Model 06-4B	Model 06-5B	Model 06-6B	Model 06-7B	Model 06-8B
Han	0.217 ** (0.093)	0.240 ** (0.093)	0.212 ** (0.089)	0.191 ** (0.082)	0.150 (0.103)	0.145 (0.103)	1.353 (0.926)	1.357 (0.906)
Male		-0.266 *** (0.094)	-0.275 *** (0.091)	-0.194 ** (0.089)	-0.232 *** (0.086)	0.142 (1.048)	-0.017 (0.298)	0.436 (1.066)
Age		0.012 (0.011)	0.014 (0.011)	0.017 (0.010)	0.013 (0.010)	0.010 (0.026)	0.023 (0.026)	0.022 (0.036)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.398 *** (0.112)	0.366 *** (0.110)	0.320 *** (0.105)	0.313 *** (0.104)	0.384 (0.224)	0.249 (0.368)	0.320 (0.411)
Household Size		0.129 *** (0.017)	0.135 *** (0.017)	0.146 *** (0.016)	0.157 *** (0.017)	0.156 *** (0.017)	0.142 *** (0.036)	0.142 *** (0.037)
High School Graduate			0.479 *** (0.081)	0.233 *** (0.068)	0.252 *** (0.067)	0.388 (0.333)	0.115 (0.195)	0.254 (0.364)
Professional/Service				0.874 *** (0.083)	0.830 *** (0.084)	0.928 * (0.438)	0.857 ** (0.374)	0.933 (0.520)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.623 *** (0.071)	0.559 *** (0.071)	0.951 (0.633)	0.566 (0.364)	0.920 (0.693)
Heilongjiang					-0.125 (0.137)	-0.115 (0.138)	0.311 (0.215)	0.312 (0.212)
Jiangsu					0.134 (0.141)	0.144 (0.143)	-0.751 ** (0.280)	-0.775 ** (0.281)
Shandong					-0.135 (0.135)	-0.132 (0.140)	-1.026 *** (0.270)	-1.056 *** (0.276)
Henan					-0.212 (0.148)	-0.208 (0.151)	-0.222 (0.386)	-0.207 (0.390)
Hubei					-0.189 (0.144)	-0.175 (0.147)	-1.077 *** (0.234)	-1.095 *** (0.233)
Hunan					-0.244 (0.181)	-0.223 (0.179)	-0.833 * (0.455)	-0.798 (0.452)
Guangxi					-0.240 ** (0.115)	-0.235 * (0.117)	-0.128 (0.194)	-0.132 (0.191)
Guizhou					-0.228 (0.149)	-0.227 (0.149)	-0.142 (0.203)	-0.146 (0.200)
Male x Age						0.004 (0.031)		0.001 (0.031)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.099 (0.278)		-0.086 (0.276)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.116 (0.498)		-0.098 (0.483)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.430 (0.682)		-0.396 (0.672)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.148 (0.343)		-0.141 (0.333)

**TABLE IV-B7 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

(continued)	Model 06-1B	Model 06-2B	Model 06-3B	Model 06-4B	Model 06-5B	Model 06-6B	Model 06-7B	Model 06-8B
Han x Age							-0.010 (0.027)	-0.008 (0.027)
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Han x Married							0.061 (0.421)	0.055 (0.407)
Han x Household Size							0.019 (0.042)	0.018 (0.042)
Han x Male							-0.226 (0.316)	-0.212 (0.319)
Han x Profession Han x Professional/Service							-0.043 (0.427)	-0.033 (0.399)
Han x Skilled/Un Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.019 (0.423)	-0.011 (0.409)
Han x HS Graduate							0.145 (0.208)	0.135 (0.203)
Han x Liaoning							-0.882 *** (0.254)	-0.916 *** (0.258)
Han x Heilongjiang							-1.339 *** (0.200)	-1.365 *** (0.205)
Han x Henan							-0.880 ** (0.336)	-0.924 ** (0.347)
Han x Hunan							-0.214 (0.411)	-0.266 (0.409)
Han x Guangxi							-1.021 *** (0.181)	-1.044 *** (0.186)
Han x Guizhou							-1.099 *** (0.226)	-1.124 *** (0.231)
Constant	9.355 *** (0.088)	8.788 *** (0.332)	8.628 *** (0.329)	8.144 *** (0.322)	8.424 *** (0.325)	8.094 *** (0.876)	8.109 *** (0.877)	7.714 *** (1.242)
N	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C7 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

	Model 06-1C	Model 06-2C	Model 06-3C	Model 06-4C	Model 06-5C	Model 06-6C	Model 06-7C	Model 06-8C
Han	0.091 (0.085)	0.118 (0.082)	0.116 (0.081)	0.123 (0.076)	0.092 (0.083)	0.087 (0.084)	1.500 (1.269)	1.495 (1.251)
Male		-0.177 ** (0.072)	-0.197 *** (0.072)	-0.168 ** (0.074)	-0.178 ** (0.074)	0.192 (1.023)	0.038 (0.237)	0.477 (1.049)
Age		0.006 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)	0.013 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.008 (0.025)	0.019 (0.023)	0.017 (0.035)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.288 *** (0.092)	0.274 *** (0.092)	0.264 *** (0.089)	0.262 *** (0.089)	0.354 (0.210)	0.241 (0.344)	0.336 (0.383)
Household Size		0.167 *** (0.013)	0.170 *** (0.013)	0.173 *** (0.013)	0.176 *** (0.013)	0.174 *** (0.014)	0.157 *** (0.031)	0.156 *** (0.031)
High School Graduate			0.346 *** (0.056)	0.193 *** (0.057)	0.198 *** (0.057)	0.255 (0.301)	0.069 (0.202)	0.116 (0.339)
Professional/Service				0.699 *** (0.072)	0.689 *** (0.072)	0.783 * (0.414)	0.746 ** (0.348)	0.826 * (0.483)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.524 *** (0.059)	0.506 *** (0.059)	0.832 (0.597)	0.541 (0.338)	0.844 (0.654)
Heilongjiang					-0.146 (0.148)	-0.137 (0.148)	0.142 (0.338)	0.144 (0.335)
Jiangsu					0.150 (0.148)	0.161 (0.148)	-0.962 (0.963)	-0.972 (0.954)
Shandong					-0.109 (0.148)	-0.105 (0.150)	-1.227 (0.962)	-1.244 (0.954)
Henan					-0.223 (0.148)	-0.217 (0.150)	-0.285 (0.369)	-0.261 (0.368)
Hubei					-0.197 (0.148)	-0.181 (0.149)	-1.311 (0.959)	-1.316 (0.950)
Hunan					-0.241 (0.147)	-0.221 (0.148)	-0.794 *** (0.273)	-0.759 ** (0.285)
Guangxi					-0.258 * (0.147)	-0.252 * (0.147)	-0.288 (0.295)	-0.289 (0.291)
Guizhou					-0.274 * (0.148)	-0.274 * (0.148)	-0.251 (0.193)	-0.256 (0.190)
Male x Age						0.005 (0.029)		0.002 (0.029)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.120 (0.258)		-0.114 (0.255)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.110 (0.475)		-0.099 (0.462)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.362 (0.645)		-0.342 (0.637)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.063 (0.316)		-0.049 (0.309)

**TABLE IV-C7 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2006)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	06-1C	06-2C	06-3C	06-4C	06-5C	06-6C	06-7C	06-7C	06-7C	06-8C
Han x Age							-0.008	-0.006		
							(0.024)	(0.024)		
Han x Age Squared							0.000	0.000		
							(0.000)	(0.000)		
Han x Married							0.014	0.008		
							(0.393)	(0.381)		
Han x Household Size							0.022	0.020		
							(0.035)	(0.035)		
Han x Male							-0.232	-0.223		
							(0.255)	(0.256)		
Han x Professional/Service							-0.070	-0.062		
							(0.401)	(0.374)		
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.048	-0.042		
							(0.397)	(0.383)		
Han x HS Graduate							0.141	0.136		
							(0.215)	(0.209)		
Han x Liaoning							-1.134	-1.154		
							(0.957)	(0.949)		
Han x Heilongjiang							-1.415	-1.429		
							(0.984)	(0.976)		
Han x Henan							-1.054	-1.095		
							(1.001)	(0.994)		
Han x Hunan							-0.485	-0.524		
							(0.968)	(0.963)		
Han x Guangxi							-1.091	-1.104		
							(0.979)	(0.970)		
Han x Guizhou							-1.242	-1.253		
							(0.955)	(0.947)		
Constant	9.462	8.972	8.843	8.330	8.534	8.197	8.259	7.870		
	(0.084)	(0.272)	(0.268)	(0.270)	(0.286)	(0.891)	(0.799)	(1.214)		
Ins1_1_1										
Constant	-0.812	-0.757	-0.800	-0.971	-1.029	-1.041	-1.058	-1.069		
	(0.075)	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.081)	(0.082)	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.086)		
Insig_e										
Constant	0.020	-0.047	-0.053	-0.079	-0.079	-0.090	-0.087	-0.097		
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.020)		
N	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916	2916		

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-A8 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

	Model 09-1A	Model 09-2A	Model 09-3A	Model 09-4A	Model 09-5A	Model 09-6A	Model 09-7A	Model 09-8A
Han	0.130 ** (0.058)	0.161 *** (0.056)	0.136 ** (0.055)	0.117 ** (0.054)	-0.012 (0.065)	-0.012 (0.069)	-0.259 (1.378)	-0.247 (1.401)
Male		-0.218 *** (0.075)	-0.208 *** (0.074)	-0.160 ** (0.076)	-0.174 ** (0.075)	0.468 (1.076)	-0.509 ** (0.238)	0.184 (1.148)
Age		0.011 (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)	0.018 ** (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)	0.020 (0.028)	0.038 * (0.021)	0.047 (0.036)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.299 *** (0.091)	0.258 *** (0.090)	0.231 *** (0.089)	0.200 ** (0.088)	0.266 (0.196)	0.110 (0.245)	0.174 (0.310)
Household Size		0.145 *** (0.013)	0.148 *** (0.012)	0.163 *** (0.012)	0.183 *** (0.013)	0.181 *** (0.014)	0.142 *** (0.033)	0.141 *** (0.033)
High School Graduate			0.473 *** (0.060)	0.214 *** (0.063)	0.243 *** (0.063)	0.266 (0.322)	0.213 (0.217)	0.255 (0.352)
Professional/Service				0.779 *** (0.071)	0.713 *** (0.075)	0.909 * (0.494)	0.742 * (0.410)	0.930 * (0.552)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.578 *** (0.064)	0.502 *** (0.067)	0.572 (0.548)	0.589 (0.367)	0.662 (0.618)
Heilongjiang					0.173 ** (0.083)	0.170 * (0.085)	0.216 (0.265)	0.221 (0.266)
Jiangsu					0.413 *** (0.083)	0.418 *** (0.089)	1.087 (1.144)	1.081 (1.146)
Shandong					0.109 (0.082)	0.104 (0.086)	0.779 (1.145)	0.762 (1.148)
Henan					-0.292 *** (0.083)	-0.291 *** (0.090)	-0.422 (0.345)	-0.422 (0.352)
Hubei					0.106 (0.084)	0.108 (0.086)	0.782 (1.140)	0.772 (1.143)
Hunan					-0.031 (0.083)	-0.024 (0.086)	-0.060 (0.211)	-0.067 (0.210)
Guangxi					-0.217 *** (0.082)	-0.213 ** (0.085)	-0.362 * (0.194)	-0.362 * (0.197)
Guizhou					-0.166 ** (0.084)	-0.171 * (0.088)	0.013 (0.142)	0.006 (0.145)
Male x Age						-0.008 (0.030)		-0.009 (0.032)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.095 (0.247)		-0.097 (0.251)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.217 (0.548)		-0.217 (0.550)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.070 (0.584)		-0.074 (0.588)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.027 (0.340)		-0.034 (0.332)



**TABLE IV-A8 Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	09-1A	09-2A	09-3A	09-4A	09-5A	09-6A	09-7A	09-8A	
Han x Age							-0.032 (0.022)	-0.031 (0.022)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							0.114 (0.277)	0.118 (0.271)	
Han x Household Size							0.041 (0.037)	0.039 (0.037)	
Han x Male							0.360 (0.256)	0.351 (0.274)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.040 (0.486)	-0.032 (0.492)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.106 (0.435)	-0.105 (0.431)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.028 (0.236)	0.015 (0.242)	
Han x Liaoning							0.698 (1.148)	0.686 (1.150)	
Han x Heilongjiang							0.621 (1.171)	0.600 (1.177)	
Han x Henan							0.809 (1.178)	0.798 (1.181)	
Han x Hunan							0.736 (1.149)	0.741 (1.150)	
Han x Guangxi							0.844 (1.151)	0.837 (1.152)	
Han x Guizhou							0.289 (1.141)	0.277 (1.145)	
Constant	9.805 (0.054)	*** 9.216 (0.285)	*** 9.125 (0.280)	*** 8.530 (0.270)	*** 8.803 (0.276)	*** 8.188 (1.002)	*** 8.517 (0.722)	*** 7.866 (1.269)	***
N	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-B8 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

	Model 09-1B	Model 09-2B	Model 09-3B	Model 09-4B	Model 09-5B	Model 09-6B	Model 09-7B	Model 09-8B
Han	0.130 *	0.161 **	0.136 *	0.117	-0.012	-0.012	-0.259	-0.247
	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.076)	(0.073)	(0.085)	(0.088)	(1.075)	(1.109)
Male		-0.218 **	-0.208 **	-0.160 *	-0.174 **	0.468	-0.509 *	0.184
		(0.085)	(0.084)	(0.082)	(0.076)	(0.923)	(0.245)	(1.037)
Age		0.011	0.011	0.018 *	0.011	0.020	0.038	0.047
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.033)
Age Squared		-0.000 **	-0.000 **	-0.000 **	-0.000 *	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Married		0.299 ***	0.258 **	0.231 **	0.200 **	0.266	0.110	0.174
		(0.104)	(0.100)	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.200)	(0.242)	(0.308)
Household Size		0.145 ***	0.148 ***	0.163 ***	0.183 ***	0.181 ***	0.142 ***	0.141 **
		(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.041)	(0.041)
High School Graduate			0.473 ***	0.214 ***	0.243 ***	0.266	0.213	0.255
			(0.076)	(0.067)	(0.065)	(0.343)	(0.193)	(0.356)
Professional/Service				0.779 ***	0.713 ***	0.909	0.742	0.930
				(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.496)	(0.410)	(0.554)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.578 ***	0.502 ***	0.572	0.589	0.662
				(0.071)	(0.069)	(0.547)	(0.370)	(0.619)
Heilongjiang					0.173	0.170	0.216	0.221
					(0.125)	(0.126)	(0.277)	(0.273)
Jiangsu					0.413 ***	0.418 ***	1.087	1.081
					(0.117)	(0.121)	(0.663)	(0.675)
Shandong					0.109	0.104	0.779	0.762
					(0.128)	(0.130)	(0.667)	(0.682)
Henan					-0.292 **	-0.291 *	-0.422	-0.422
					(0.124)	(0.129)	(0.290)	(0.292)
Hubei					0.106	0.108	0.782	0.772
					(0.144)	(0.144)	(0.650)	(0.665)
Hunan					-0.031	-0.024	-0.060	-0.067
					(0.145)	(0.144)	(0.221)	(0.217)
Guangxi					-0.217	-0.213	-0.362 *	-0.362 *
					(0.133)	(0.135)	(0.168)	(0.170)
Guizhou					-0.166	-0.171	0.013	0.006
					(0.134)	(0.136)	(0.174)	(0.176)
Male x Age						-0.008		-0.009
						(0.025)		(0.027)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000		-0.000
						(0.000)		(0.000)
Male x Married						-0.095		-0.097
						(0.256)		(0.260)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.217		-0.217
						(0.551)		(0.552)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.070		-0.074
						(0.583)		(0.587)
Male x HS Graduate						-0.027		-0.034
						(0.356)		(0.347)

**TABLE IV-B8 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	09-1B	09-2B	09-3B	09-4B	09-5B	09-6B	09-7B	09-8B	
Han x Age							-0.032 (0.024)	-0.031 (0.023)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							0.114 (0.278)	0.118 (0.273)	
Han x Household Size							0.041 (0.044)	0.039 (0.044)	
Han x Male							0.360 (0.261)	0.351 (0.284)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.040 (0.488)	-0.032 (0.493)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.106 (0.439)	-0.105 (0.434)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.028 (0.216)	0.015 (0.222)	
Han x Liaoning							0.698 (0.668)	0.686 (0.681)	
Han x Heilongjiang							0.621 (0.695)	0.600 (0.712)	
Han x Henan							0.809 (0.672)	0.798 (0.686)	
Han x Hunan							0.736 (0.644)	0.741 (0.655)	
Han x Guangxi							0.844 (0.652)	0.837 (0.664)	
Han x Guizhou							0.289 (0.660)	0.277 (0.676)	
Constant	9.805 (0.069)	*** 9.216 (0.306)	*** 9.125 (0.302)	*** 8.530 (0.299)	*** 8.803 (0.286)	*** 8.188 (0.837)	*** 8.517 (0.777)	*** 7.866 (1.198)	***
N	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE IV-C8 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

	Model 09-1C	Model 09-2C	Model 09-3C	Model 09-4C	Model 09-5C	Model 09-6C	Model 09-7C	Model 09-8C
Han	0.042 (0.081)	0.066 (0.080)	0.071 (0.079)	0.081 (0.075)	-0.003 (0.080)	-0.005 (0.083)	-0.313 (1.332)	-0.306 (1.351)
Male		-0.196 *** (0.074)	-0.200 *** (0.073)	-0.184 ** (0.075)	-0.185 ** (0.074)	0.297 (1.056)	-0.550 ** (0.229)	-0.036 (1.118)
Age		0.006 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)	0.014 * (0.008)	0.012 (0.008)	0.015 (0.028)	0.039 * (0.020)	0.041 (0.036)
Age Squared		-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 ** (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 * (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Married		0.228 ** (0.088)	0.205 ** (0.088)	0.196 ** (0.087)	0.188 ** (0.087)	0.292 (0.193)	0.085 (0.234)	0.185 (0.305)
Household Size		0.186 *** (0.013)	0.186 *** (0.013)	0.193 *** (0.013)	0.198 *** (0.013)	0.196 *** (0.014)	0.156 *** (0.032)	0.155 *** (0.032)
High School Graduate			0.402 *** (0.059)	0.210 *** (0.062)	0.220 *** (0.062)	0.178 (0.307)	0.213 (0.206)	0.194 (0.340)
Professional/Service				0.691 *** (0.073)	0.674 *** (0.074)	0.827 * (0.479)	0.712 * (0.391)	0.858 (0.535)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.537 *** (0.066)	0.509 *** (0.067)	0.570 (0.535)	0.560 (0.358)	0.627 (0.609)
Heilongjiang					0.166 (0.128)	0.164 (0.128)	-0.186 (0.295)	-0.170 (0.295)
Jiangsu					0.404 *** (0.128)	0.409 *** (0.131)	0.956 (1.118)	0.949 (1.119)
Shandong					0.108 (0.127)	0.103 (0.129)	0.659 (1.119)	0.641 (1.121)
Henan					-0.305 ** (0.127)	-0.305 ** (0.131)	-0.517 (0.375)	-0.506 (0.380)
Hubei					0.091 (0.128)	0.093 (0.129)	0.646 (1.114)	0.635 (1.116)
Hunan					-0.035 (0.127)	-0.029 (0.128)	-0.337 (0.261)	-0.344 (0.260)
Guangxi					-0.233 * (0.126)	-0.229 * (0.128)	-0.460 * (0.267)	-0.461 * (0.268)
Guizhou					-0.194 (0.129)	-0.200 (0.131)	-0.121 (0.180)	-0.129 (0.182)
Male x Age						-0.001 (0.029)		-0.002 (0.031)
Male x Age Squared						-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
Male x Married						-0.146 (0.245)		-0.145 (0.247)
Male x Professional/Service						-0.167 (0.533)		-0.167 (0.532)
Male x Skilled/Unskilled/Other						-0.061 (0.570)		-0.067 (0.573)
Male x HS Graduate						0.043 (0.326)		0.026 (0.318)

**TABLE IV-C8 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income, using Imputed Data (2009)**

(continued)	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
	09-1C	09-2C	09-3C	09-4C	09-5C	09-6C	09-7C	09-8C	
Han x Age							-0.032 (0.022)	-0.031 (0.022)	
Han x Age Squared							0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Han x Married							0.127 (0.264)	0.130 (0.260)	
Han x Household Size							0.044 (0.036)	0.042 (0.036)	
Han x Male							0.395 (0.247)	0.383 (0.264)	
Han x Professional/Service							-0.049 (0.467)	-0.041 (0.471)	
Han x Skilled/Unskilled/Other							-0.064 (0.424)	-0.065 (0.420)	
Han x HS Graduate							0.005 (0.224)	-0.003 (0.230)	
Han x Liaoning							0.534 (1.118)	0.521 (1.119)	
Han x Heilongjiang							0.916 (1.142)	0.884 (1.146)	
Han x Henan							0.770 (1.154)	0.746 (1.156)	
Han x Hunan							0.912 (1.127)	0.914 (1.127)	
Han x Guangxi							0.797 (1.132)	0.790 (1.131)	
Han x Guizhou							0.267 (1.116)	0.259 (1.118)	
Constant	9.878 (0.078) ***	9.347 (0.280) ***	9.239 (0.276) ***	8.639 (0.273) ***	8.771 (0.284) ***	8.315 (0.988) ***	8.637 (0.711) ***	8.169 (1.252) ***	
Ins1_1_1 Constant	-0.993 (0.084) ***	-0.889 (0.077) ***	-0.929 (0.078) ***	-1.057 (0.084) ***	-1.262 (0.095) ***	-1.270 (0.099) ***	-1.257 (0.098) ***	-1.268 (0.102) ***	
Insig_e Constant	0.059 (0.013) ***	-0.005 (0.013)	-0.013 (0.013)	-0.039 (0.014)	-0.040 (0.014) ***	-0.048 (0.016) ***	-0.050 (0.019) ***	-0.059 (0.021) ***	
N	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	2942	

\* p&lt;0.10, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

Reference category for province is Liaoning.

Reference category for occupation is farmer/fisherman.

**TABLE V-A**                      **Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income**  
**Han Ethnicity Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1A	Model 89-2A	Model 89-3A	Model 89-4A	Model 89-5A	Model 89-6A	Model 89-7A	Model 89-8A
1989								
Han	0.377 *** (0.052)	0.425 *** (0.051)	0.409 *** (0.051)	0.341 *** (0.049)	0.234 *** (0.059)	0.231 *** (0.059)	-0.663 (0.909)	-0.640 (0.908)
	Model 91-1A	Model 91-2A	Model 91-3A	Model 91-4A	Model 91-5A	Model 91-6A	Model 91-7A	Model 91-8A
1991								
Han	0.175 *** (0.050)	0.235 *** (0.047)	0.220 *** (0.047)	0.127 *** (0.044)	0.064 (0.053)	0.060 (0.053)	-0.156 (0.874)	-0.164 (0.871)
	Model 93-1A	Model 93-2A	Model 93-3A	Model 93-4A	Model 93-5A	Model 93-6A	Model 93-7A	Model 93-8A
1993								
Han	0.200 *** (0.055)	0.240 *** (0.054)	0.231 *** (0.054)	0.125 ** (0.051)	0.163 *** (0.061)	0.161 *** (0.061)	-0.401 (1.075)	-0.417 (1.076)
	Model 97-1A	Model 97-2A	Model 97-3A	Model 97-4A	Model 97-5A	Model 97-6A	Model 97-7A	Model 97-8A
1997								
Han	0.204 *** (0.057)	0.274 *** (0.053)	0.266 *** (0.053)	0.160 *** (0.051)	0.001 (0.065)	0.005 (0.064)	-0.063 (1.021)	-0.114 (1.023)
	Model 00-1A	Model 00-2A	Model 00-3A	Model 00-4A	Model 00-5A	Model 00-6A	Model 00-7A	Model 00-8A
2000								
Han	0.176 *** (0.057)	0.251 *** (0.054)	0.229 *** (0.054)	0.176 *** (0.051)	0.229 *** (0.063)	0.230 *** (0.063)	-0.042 (1.088)	-0.074 (1.089)
	Model 04-1A	Model 04-2A	Model 04-3A	Model 04-4A	Model 04-5A	Model 04-6A	Model 04-7A	Model 04-8A
2004								
Han	0.296 *** (0.055)	0.319 *** (0.053)	0.293 *** (0.053)	0.267 *** (0.051)	0.188 *** (0.061)	0.183 ** (0.071)	0.877 (1.292)	0.852 (1.283)
	Model 06-1A	Model 06-2A	Model 06-3A	Model 06-4A	Model 06-5A	Model 06-6A	Model 06-7A	Model 06-8A
2006								
Han	0.217 *** (0.059)	0.240 *** (0.056)	0.212 *** (0.056)	0.191 *** (0.054)	0.150 ** (0.066)	0.145 ** (0.069)	1.353 (1.327)	1.357 (1.313)
	Model 09-1A	Model 09-2A	Model 09-3A	Model 09-4A	Model 09-5A	Model 09-6A	Model 09-7A	Model 09-8A
2009								
Han	0.130 ** (0.058)	0.161 *** (0.056)	0.136 ** (0.055)	0.117 ** (0.054)	-0.012 (0.065)	-0.012 (0.069)	-0.259 (1.378)	-0.247 (1.401)

**TABLE V-B Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income**

**Han Ethnicity Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1B	Model 89-2B	Model 89-3B	Model 89-4B	Model 89-5B	Model 89-6B	Model 89-7B	Model 89-8B
<b>1989</b>								
Han	0.371 *** (0.118)	0.425 *** (0.115)	0.409 *** (0.115)	0.341 *** (0.104)	0.234 * (0.122)	0.231 * (0.122)	-0.663 (0.478)	-0.640 (0.473)
	Model 91-1B	Model 91-2B	Model 91-3B	Model 91-4B	Model 91-5B	Model 91-6B	Model 91-7B	Model 91-8B
<b>1991</b>								
Han	0.171 ** (0.081)	0.235 *** (0.081)	0.220 *** (0.082)	0.127 * (0.074)	0.064 (0.087)	0.060 (0.086)	-0.156 (0.525)	-0.164 (0.516)
	Model 93-1B	Model 93-2B	Model 93-3B	Model 93-4B	Model 93-5B	Model 93-6B	Model 93-7B	Model 93-8B
<b>1993</b>								
Han	0.200 ** (0.092)	0.240 *** (0.091)	0.231 ** (0.091)	0.125 (0.080)	0.163 * (0.092)	0.161 * (0.092)	-0.401 (0.697)	-0.417 (0.691)
	Model 97-1B	Model 97-2B	Model 97-3B	Model 97-4B	Model 97-5B	Model 97-6B	Model 97-7B	Model 97-8B
<b>1997</b>								
Han	0.204 ** (0.087)	0.274 *** (0.088)	0.266 *** (0.087)	0.160 ** (0.075)	0.001 (0.076)	0.005 (0.077)	-0.063 (0.641)	-0.114 (0.648)
	Model 00-1B	Model 00-2B	Model 00-3B	Model 00-4B	Model 00-5B	Model 00-6B	Model 00-7B	Model 00-8B
<b>2000</b>								
Han	0.176 * (0.097)	0.251 ** (0.098)	0.229 ** (0.097)	0.176 * (0.089)	0.229 * (0.121)	0.230 * (0.121)	-0.042 (0.725)	-0.074 (0.716)
	Model 04-1B	Model 04-2B	Model 04-3B	Model 04-4B	Model 04-5B	Model 04-6B	Model 04-7B	Model 04-8B
<b>2004</b>								
Han	0.296 *** (0.092)	0.319 *** (0.089)	0.293 *** (0.088)	0.267 *** (0.080)	0.188 ** (0.088)	0.183 * (0.094)	0.877 (1.143)	0.852 (1.119)
	Model 06-1B	Model 06-2B	Model 06-3B	Model 06-4B	Model 06-5B	Model 06-6B	Model 06-7B	Model 06-8B
<b>2006</b>								
Han	0.217 ** (0.093)	0.240 ** (0.093)	0.212 ** (0.089)	0.191 ** (0.082)	0.150 (0.103)	0.145 (0.103)	1.353 (0.926)	1.357 (0.906)
	Model 09-1B	Model 09-2B	Model 09-3B	Model 09-4B	Model 09-5B	Model 09-6B	Model 09-7B	Model 09-8B
<b>2009</b>								
Han	0.130 * (0.078)	0.161 ** (0.079)	0.136 * (0.076)	0.117 (0.073)	-0.012 (0.085)	-0.012 (0.088)	-0.259 (1.075)	-0.247 (1.109)

**TABLE V-C Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income  
Han Ethnicity Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1C	Model 89-2C	Model 89-3C	Model 89-4C	Model 89-5C	Model 89-6C	Model 89-7C	Model 89-8C
<b>1989</b>								
Han	0.184 ** (0.077)	0.223 *** (0.075)	0.219 *** (0.075)	0.217 *** (0.072)	0.171 ** (0.075)	0.176 ** (0.075)	-0.772 (0.843)	-0.773 (0.842)
	Model 91-1C	Model 91-2C	Model 91-3C	Model 91-4C	Model 91-5C	Model 91-6C	Model 91-7C	Model 91-8C
<b>1991</b>								
Han	0.071 (0.071)	0.122 * (0.066)	0.119 * (0.066)	0.098 (0.062)	0.067 (0.065)	0.065 (0.065)	-0.047 (0.815)	-0.046 (0.807)
	Model 93-1C	Model 93-2C	Model 93-3C	Model 93-4C	Model 93-5C	Model 93-6C	Model 93-7C	Model 93-8C
<b>1993</b>								
Han	0.149 * (0.081)	0.187 ** (0.078)	0.186 ** (0.078)	0.149 ** (0.073)	0.158 ** (0.078)	0.158 ** (0.078)	-0.202 (0.997)	-0.203 (0.998)
	Model 97-1C	Model 97-2C	Model 97-3C	Model 97-4C	Model 97-5C	Model 97-6C	Model 97-7C	Model 97-8C
<b>1997</b>								
Han	0.095 (0.090)	0.145 * (0.086)	0.147 * (0.085)	0.131 * (0.078)	0.028 (0.087)	0.030 (0.087)	-0.075 (0.958)	-0.124 (0.958)
	Model 00-1C	Model 00-2C	Model 00-3C	Model 00-4C	Model 00-5C	Model 00-6C	Model 00-7C	Model 00-8C
<b>2000</b>								
Han	-0.015 (0.086)	0.048 (0.081)	0.047 (0.081)	0.054 (0.077)	0.066 (0.081)	0.066 (0.081)	0.286 (1.019)	0.264 (1.019)
	Model 04-1C	Model 04-2C	Model 04-3C	Model 04-4C	Model 04-5C	Model 04-6C	Model 04-7C	Model 04-8C
<b>2004</b>								
Han	0.032 (0.080)	0.038 (0.077)	0.046 (0.077)	0.076 (0.073)	0.039 (0.076)	0.034 (0.083)	0.649 (1.228)	0.642 (1.217)
	Model 06-1C	Model 06-2C	Model 06-3C	Model 06-4C	Model 06-5C	Model 06-6C	Model 06-7C	Model 06-8C
<b>2006</b>								
Han	0.091 (0.085)	0.118 (0.082)	0.116 (0.081)	0.123 (0.076)	0.092 (0.083)	0.087 (0.084)	1.500 (1.269)	1.495 (1.251)
	Model 09-1C	Model 09-2C	Model 09-3C	Model 09-4C	Model 09-5C	Model 09-6C	Model 09-7C	Model 09-8C
<b>2009</b>								
Han	0.042 (0.081)	0.066 (0.080)	0.071 (0.079)	0.081 (0.075)	-0.003 (0.080)	-0.005 (0.083)	-0.313 (1.332)	-0.306 (1.351)



**TABLE VI-A** **Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income**  
**Education Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1A	Model 89-2A	Model 89-3A	Model 89-4A	Model 89-5A	Model 89-6A	Model 89-7A	Model 89-8A
1989								
High School Graduate			0.241 *** (0.059)	0.062 (0.059)	0.054 (0.059)	0.111 (0.252)	-0.333 (0.266)	-0.266 (0.367)
	Model 91-1A	Model 91-2A	Model 91-3A	Model 91-4A	Model 91-5A	Model 91-6A	Model 91-7A	Model 91-8A
1991								
High School Graduate			0.243 *** (0.054)	0.086 (0.052)	0.073 (0.052)	0.018 (0.220)	0.037 (0.189)	-0.020 (0.290)
	Model 93-1A	Model 93-2A	Model 93-3A	Model 93-4A	Model 93-5A	Model 93-6A	Model 93-7A	Model 93-8A
1993								
High School Graduate			0.137 ** (0.060)	-0.025 (0.058)	-0.013 (0.058)	0.041 (0.259)	-0.008 (0.201)	0.061 (0.332)
	Model 97-1A	Model 97-2A	Model 97-3A	Model 97-4A	Model 97-5A	Model 97-6A	Model 97-7A	Model 97-8A
1997								
High School Graduate			0.197 *** (0.055)	0.039 (0.053)	0.048 (0.053)	-0.355 (0.231)	-0.025 (0.201)	-0.447 (0.301)
	Model 00-1A	Model 00-2A	Model 00-3A	Model 00-4A	Model 00-5A	Model 00-6A	Model 00-7A	Model 00-8A
2000								
High School Graduate			0.370 *** (0.056)	0.088 (0.056)	0.112 ** (0.055)	0.096 (0.258)	-0.161 (0.195)	-0.191 (0.320)
	Model 04-1A	Model 04-2A	Model 04-3A	Model 04-4A	Model 04-5A	Model 04-6A	Model 04-7A	Model 04-8A
2004								
High School Graduate			0.415 *** (0.056)	0.171 *** (0.059)	0.220 *** (0.058)	0.167 (0.294)	0.403 * (0.205)	0.353 (0.353)
	Model 06-1A	Model 06-2A	Model 06-3A	Model 06-4A	Model 06-5A	Model 06-6A	Model 06-7A	Model 06-8A
2006								
High School Graduate			0.479 *** (0.057)	0.233 *** (0.059)	0.252 *** (0.059)	0.388 (0.311)	0.115 (0.204)	0.254 (0.351)
	Model 09-1A	Model 09-2A	Model 09-3A	Model 09-4A	Model 09-5A	Model 09-6A	Model 09-7A	Model 09-8A
2009								
High School Graduate			0.473 *** (0.060)	0.214 *** (0.063)	0.243 *** (0.063)	0.266 (0.322)	0.213 (0.217)	0.255 (0.352)

**TABLE VI-B Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income Education Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1B	Model 89-2B	Model 89-3B	Model 89-4B	Model 89-5B	Model 89-6B	Model 89-7B	Model 89-8B
1989								
High School			0.241 ***	0.062	0.054	0.111	-0.333	-0.266
Graduate			(0.073)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.195)	(0.263)	(0.319)
	Model 91-1B	Model 91-2B	Model 91-3B	Model 91-4B	Model 91-5B	Model 91-6B	Model 91-7B	Model 91-8B
1991								
High School			0.243 ***	0.086	0.073	0.018	0.037	-0.020
Graduate			(0.073)	(0.066)	(0.059)	(0.177)	(0.164)	(0.239)
	Model 93-1B	Model 93-2B	Model 93-3B	Model 93-4B	Model 93-5B	Model 93-6B	Model 93-7B	Model 93-8B
1993								
High School			0.137 *	-0.025	-0.013	0.041	-0.008	0.061
Graduate			(0.070)	(0.060)	(0.056)	(0.194)	(0.155)	(0.257)
	Model 97-1B	Model 97-2B	Model 97-3B	Model 97-4B	Model 97-5B	Model 97-6B	Model 97-7B	Model 97-8B
1997								
High School			0.197 ***	0.039	0.048	-0.355	-0.025	-0.447 *
Graduate			(0.067)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.216)	(0.154)	(0.258)
	Model 00-1B	Model 00-2B	Model 00-3B	Model 00-4B	Model 00-5B	Model 00-6B	Model 00-7B	Model 00-8B
2000								
High School			0.370 ***	0.088	0.112 *	0.096	-0.161	-0.191
Graduate			(0.079)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.247)	(0.189)	(0.299)
	Model 04-1B	Model 04-2B	Model 04-3B	Model 04-4B	Model 04-5B	Model 04-6B	Model 04-7B	Model 04-8B
2004								
High School			0.415 ***	0.171 **	0.220 ***	0.167	0.403 *	0.353
Graduate			(0.085)	(0.072)	(0.070)	(0.300)	(0.187)	(0.346)
	Model 06-1B	Model 06-2B	Model 06-3B	Model 06-4B	Model 06-5B	Model 06-6B	Model 06-7B	Model 06-8B
2006								
High School			0.479 ***	0.233 ***	0.252 ***	0.388	0.115	0.254
Graduate			(0.081)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.333)	(0.195)	(0.364)
	Model 09-1B	Model 09-2B	Model 09-3B	Model 09-4B	Model 09-5B	Model 09-6B	Model 09-7B	Model 09-8B
2009								
High School			0.473 ***	0.214 ***	0.243 ***	0.266	0.213	0.255
Graduate			(0.076)	(0.067)	(0.065)	(0.343)	(0.193)	(0.356)

**TABLE VI-C Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income Education Coefficient (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1C	Model 89-2C	Model 89-3C	Model 89-4C	Model 89-5C	Model 89-6C	Model 89-7C	Model 89-8C
1989								
High School			0.160 ***	0.071	0.069	0.227	-0.208	-0.033
Graduate			(0.053)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.230)	(0.229)	(0.324)
	Model 91-1C	Model 91-2C	Model 91-3C	Model 91-4C	Model 91-5C	Model 91-6C	Model 91-7C	Model 91-8C
1991								
High School			0.194 ***	0.107 **	0.103 **	-0.038	0.055	-0.085
Graduate			(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.201)	(0.172)	(0.265)
	Model 93-1C	Model 93-2C	Model 93-3C	Model 93-4C	Model 93-5C	Model 93-6C	Model 93-7C	Model 93-8C
1993								
High School			0.092 *	0.017	0.018	-0.015	-0.055	-0.071
Graduate			(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.238)	(0.187)	(0.305)
	Model 97-1C	Model 97-2C	Model 97-3C	Model 97-4C	Model 97-5C	Model 97-6C	Model 97-7C	Model 97-8C
1997								
High School			0.117 **	0.039	0.039	-0.342	-0.020	-0.414
Graduate			(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.218)	(0.195)	(0.290)
	Model 00-1C	Model 00-2C	Model 00-3C	Model 00-4C	Model 00-5C	Model 00-6C	Model 00-7C	Model 00-8C
2000								
High School			0.249 ***	0.093 *	0.097 *	0.062	-0.198	-0.250
Graduate			(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.234)	(0.187)	(0.299)
	Model 04-1C	Model 04-2C	Model 04-3C	Model 04-4C	Model 04-5C	Model 04-6C	Model 04-7C	Model 04-8C
2004								
High School			0.305 ***	0.164 ***	0.173 ***	0.144	0.405 **	0.379
Graduate			(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.269)	(0.195)	(0.329)
	Model 06-1C	Model 06-2C	Model 06-3C	Model 06-4C	Model 06-5C	Model 06-6C	Model 06-7C	Model 06-8C
2006								
High School			0.346 ***	0.193 ***	0.198 ***	0.255	0.069	0.116
Graduate			(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.301)	(0.202)	(0.339)
	Model 09-1C	Model 09-2C	Model 09-3C	Model 09-4C	Model 09-5C	Model 09-6C	Model 09-7C	Model 09-8C
2009								
High School			0.402 ***	0.210 ***	0.220 ***	0.178	0.213	0.194
Graduate			(0.059)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.307)	(0.206)	(0.340)

**TABLE VII-A1**

**Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income  
Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1A	Model 89-2A	Model 89-3A	Model 89-4A	Model 89-5A	Model 89-6A	Model 89-7A	Model 89-8A
1989								
Professional/Service				0.605 *** (0.057)	0.647 *** (0.059)	0.383 * (0.197)	0.964 *** (0.212)	0.712 ** (0.307)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.596 *** (0.046)	0.605 *** (0.047)	0.224 (0.140)	0.998 *** (0.173)	0.628 *** (0.231)
	Model 91-1A	Model 91-2A	Model 91-3A	Model 91-4A	Model 91-5A	Model 91-6A	Model 91-7A	Model 91-8A
1991								
Professional/Service				0.641 *** (0.052)	0.611 *** (0.052)	0.432 *** (0.162)	0.428 ** (0.193)	0.239 (0.264)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.651 *** (0.041)	0.628 *** (0.042)	0.561 *** (0.144)	0.604 *** (0.160)	0.548 ** (0.211)
	Model 93-1A	Model 93-2A	Model 93-3A	Model 93-4A	Model 93-5A	Model 93-6A	Model 93-7A	Model 93-8A
1993								
Professional/Service				0.728 *** (0.057)	0.686 *** (0.057)	0.525 ** (0.221)	0.567 ** (0.224)	0.399 (0.320)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.707 *** (0.048)	0.673 *** (0.049)	0.563 *** (0.195)	0.650 *** (0.181)	0.540 ** (0.264)
	Model 97-1A	Model 97-2A	Model 97-3A	Model 97-4A	Model 97-5A	Model 97-6A	Model 97-7A	Model 97-8A
1997								
Professional/Service				0.642 *** (0.055)	0.583 *** (0.055)	0.669 *** (0.234)	0.593 ** (0.263)	0.692 ** (0.339)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.668 *** (0.047)	0.592 *** (0.049)	0.310 (0.209)	0.630 *** (0.238)	0.361 (0.322)
	Model 00-1A	Model 00-2A	Model 00-3A	Model 00-4A	Model 00-5A	Model 00-6A	Model 00-7A	Model 00-8A
2000								
Professional/Service				0.905 *** (0.059)	0.811 *** (0.058)	0.657 ** (0.269)	0.889 *** (0.227)	0.732 ** (0.328)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.587 *** (0.052)	0.476 *** (0.052)	0.488 * (0.267)	0.347 * (0.206)	0.358 (0.363)

Reference Category is Farming

**TABLE VII-A2** **Standard OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income**  
(continued) **Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 04-1A	Model 04-2A	Model 04-3A	Model 04-4A	Model 04-5A	Model 04-6A	Model 04-7A	Model 04-8A
2004								
Professional/Service				0.867 *** (0.068)	0.787 *** (0.068)	0.914 *** (0.330)	0.827 ** (0.362)	0.935 * (0.492)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.588 *** (0.061)	0.500 *** (0.061)	0.510 (0.464)	0.438 (0.326)	0.437 (0.520)
	Model 06-1A	Model 06-2A	Model 06-3A	Model 06-4A	Model 06-5A	Model 06-6A	Model 06-7A	Model 06-8A
2006								
Professional/Service				0.874 *** (0.073)	0.830 *** (0.075)	0.928 ** (0.431)	0.857 ** (0.369)	0.933 * (0.512)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.623 *** (0.058)	0.559 *** (0.060)	0.951 (0.619)	0.566 (0.357)	0.920 (0.678)
	Model 09-1A	Model 09-2A	Model 09-3A	Model 09-4A	Model 09-5A	Model 09-6A	Model 09-7A	Model 09-8A
2009								
Professional/Service				0.779 *** (0.071)	0.713 *** (0.075)	0.909 * (0.494)	0.742 * (0.410)	0.930 * (0.552)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.578 *** (0.064)	0.502 *** (0.067)	0.572 (0.548)	0.589 (0.367)	0.662 (0.618)

Reference Category is Farming

**TABLE VII-B1 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income  
Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1B	Model 89-2B	Model 89-3B	Model 89-4B	Model 89-5B	Model 89-6B	Model 89-7B	Model 89-8B
1989								
Professional/Service				0.605 *** (0.064)	0.647 *** (0.078)	0.383 * (0.192)	0.964 *** (0.216)	0.712 ** (0.295)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.596 *** (0.053)	0.605 *** (0.053)	0.224 * (0.129)	0.998 *** (0.225)	0.628 ** (0.262)
	Model 91-1B	Model 91-2B	Model 91-3B	Model 91-4B	Model 91-5B	Model 91-6B	Model 91-7B	Model 91-8B
1991								
Professional/Service				0.641 *** (0.066)	0.611 *** (0.065)	0.432 ** (0.168)	0.428 ** (0.196)	0.239 (0.269)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.651 *** (0.052)	0.628 *** (0.054)	0.561 *** (0.134)	0.604 *** (0.161)	0.548 *** (0.201)
	Model 93-1B	Model 93-2B	Model 93-3B	Model 93-4B	Model 93-5B	Model 93-6B	Model 93-7B	Model 93-8B
1993								
Professional/Service				0.728 *** (0.073)	0.686 *** (0.069)	0.525 ** (0.210)	0.567 *** (0.211)	0.399 (0.300)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.707 *** (0.055)	0.673 *** (0.058)	0.563 ** (0.214)	0.650 *** (0.168)	0.540 ** (0.261)
	Model 97-1B	Model 97-2B	Model 97-3B	Model 97-4B	Model 97-5B	Model 97-6B	Model 97-7B	Model 97-8B
1997								
Professional/Service				0.642 *** (0.068)	0.583 *** (0.065)	0.669 *** (0.239)	0.593 ** (0.248)	0.692 ** (0.330)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.668 *** (0.058)	0.592 *** (0.056)	0.310 (0.225)	0.630 *** (0.221)	0.361 (0.313)
	Model 00-1B	Model 00-2B	Model 00-3B	Model 00-4B	Model 00-5B	Model 00-6B	Model 00-7B	Model 00-8B
2000								
Professional/Service				0.905 *** (0.067)	0.811 *** (0.066)	0.657 ** (0.265)	0.889 *** (0.252)	0.732 ** (0.348)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.587 *** (0.068)	0.476 *** (0.067)	0.488 * (0.276)	0.347 (0.227)	0.358 (0.380)

Reference Category is Farming

**TABLE VII-B2 Cluster-Adjusted OLS Regression on Rural Log Household Income**  
(continued) **Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 04-1B	Model 04-2B	Model 04-3B	Model 04-4B	Model 04-5B	Model 04-6B	Model 04-7B	Model 04-8B
2004								
Professional/Service				0.867 *** (0.080)	0.787 *** (0.074)	0.914 ** (0.333)	0.827 ** (0.367)	0.935 * (0.498)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.588 *** (0.068)	0.500 *** (0.062)	0.510 (0.466)	0.438 (0.330)	0.437 (0.526)
	Model 06-1B	Model 06-2B	Model 06-3B	Model 06-4B	Model 06-5B	Model 06-6B	Model 06-7B	Model 06-8B
2006								
Professional/Service				0.874 *** (0.083)	0.830 *** (0.084)	0.928 * (0.438)	0.857 ** (0.374)	0.933 (0.520)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.623 *** (0.071)	0.559 *** (0.071)	0.951 (0.633)	0.566 (0.364)	0.920 (0.693)
	Model 09-1B	Model 09-2B	Model 09-3B	Model 09-4B	Model 09-5B	Model 09-6B	Model 09-7B	Model 09-8B
2009								
Professional/Service				0.779 *** (0.075)	0.713 *** (0.074)	0.909 (0.496)	0.742 (0.410)	0.930 (0.554)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.578 *** (0.071)	0.502 *** (0.069)	0.572 (0.547)	0.589 (0.370)	0.662 (0.619)

Reference Category is Farming

**TABLE VII-C1 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 89-1C	Model 89-2C	Model 89-3C	Model 89-4C	Model 89-5C	Model 89-6C	Model 89-7C	Model 89-8C
1989								
Professional/Service				0.414 *** (0.057)	0.420 *** (0.057)	0.149 (0.184)	0.617 *** (0.193)	0.370 (0.281)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.397 *** (0.046)	0.399 *** (0.046)	0.129 (0.130)	0.708 *** (0.161)	0.464 ** (0.213)
	Model 91-1C	Model 91-2C	Model 91-3C	Model 91-4C	Model 91-5C	Model 91-6C	Model 91-7C	Model 91-8C
1991								
Professional/Service				0.489 *** (0.051)	0.483 *** (0.051)	0.387 *** (0.149)	0.517 *** (0.181)	0.435 * (0.240)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.464 *** (0.042)	0.461 *** (0.042)	0.463 *** (0.136)	0.579 *** (0.144)	0.595 *** (0.194)
	Model 93-1C	Model 93-2C	Model 93-3C	Model 93-4C	Model 93-5C	Model 93-6C	Model 93-7C	Model 93-8C
1993								
Professional/Service				0.529 *** (0.057)	0.520 *** (0.057)	0.415 * (0.213)	0.521 ** (0.212)	0.437 (0.303)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.490 *** (0.050)	0.483 *** (0.050)	0.399 ** (0.187)	0.568 *** (0.172)	0.491 * (0.253)
	Model 97-1C	Model 97-2C	Model 97-3C	Model 97-4C	Model 97-5C	Model 97-6C	Model 97-7C	Model 97-8C
1997								
Professional/Service				0.486 *** (0.055)	0.470 *** (0.055)	0.563 ** (0.225)	0.564 ** (0.252)	0.678 ** (0.328)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.490 *** (0.051)	0.471 *** (0.051)	0.264 (0.201)	0.600 *** (0.223)	0.406 (0.304)
	Model 00-1C	Model 00-2C	Model 00-3C	Model 00-4C	Model 00-5C	Model 00-6C	Model 00-7C	Model 00-8C
2000								
Professional/Service				0.684 *** (0.058)	0.673 *** (0.058)	0.590 ** (0.241)	0.841 *** (0.214)	0.764 ** (0.304)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.408 *** (0.053)	0.392 *** (0.053)	0.505 ** (0.240)	0.341 * (0.193)	0.455 (0.333)

Reference Category is Farming



**TABLE VII-C2 Two-Level Mixed Effects Regression on Rural Log Household Income**  
**(continued) Occupation Coefficients (1989-2009)**

	Model 04-1C	Model 04-2C	Model 04-3C	Model 04-4C	Model 04-5C	Model 04-6C	Model 04-7C	Model 04-8C
2004								
Professional/Service				0.650 *** (0.065)	0.642 *** (0.065)	0.758 ** (0.300)	0.730 ** (0.325)	0.831 * (0.440)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.443 *** (0.059)	0.428 *** (0.059)	0.453 (0.415)	0.389 (0.302)	0.407 (0.470)
	Model 06-1C	Model 06-2C	Model 06-3C	Model 06-4C	Model 06-5C	Model 06-6C	Model 06-7C	Model 06-8C
2006								
Professional/Service				0.699 *** (0.072)	0.689 *** (0.072)	0.783 * (0.414)	0.746 ** (0.348)	0.826 * (0.483)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.524 *** (0.059)	0.506 *** (0.059)	0.832 (0.597)	0.541 (0.338)	0.844 (0.654)
	Model 09-1C	Model 09-2C	Model 09-3C	Model 09-4C	Model 09-5C	Model 09-6C	Model 09-7C	Model 09-8C
2009								
Professional/Service				0.691 *** (0.073)	0.674 *** (0.074)	0.827 * (0.479)	0.712 * (0.391)	0.858 (0.535)
Skilled/Unskilled/Other				0.537 *** (0.066)	0.509 *** (0.067)	0.570 (0.535)	0.560 (0.358)	0.627 (0.609)

Reference Category is Farming

## **Structural Violence & Strategies of Resistance in the Uyghur-Chinese Marketplace**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Omar lifted up his shirt and pointed at his stomach. “Do you see a bomb strapped around my waist? Do you?” He rolled his shirt back down, but anger and embarrassment lingered on his face. Moments before, Omar and three friends had walked through the entrance of a bus station, headed to lunch at a friend’s restaurant. A young guard of no more than 17, fresh faced and in an ill-fitting uniform, stopped them and asked where they were going. “Hey, what are you guys up to?” the guard snarled as the four men walked by. Omar tightened. “How dare you ask us what we’re up to!” Immediately the four men circled the guard and began to shove him back and forth between them. “What do you mean, what are we up to?” shouted one of the men. The situation looked like it could explode at any moment. But just as quickly as things heated up, the four men stepped away from him and began to walk away. Omar and his friends regrouped and continued into the bus station. As the four men waited in line, other passengers gave them a wide berth. The ride was quiet. Omar sat apart from the other three men, still fuming. The others sat in the back of the bus, loudly chatting away as if nothing unusual had just happened.

I first encountered Omar and his friends in February 2009. They were part of a larger group of male entrepreneurs from Western China who had migrated to a large Chinese city. These men were members of the Uyghur ethnic group, a Turkic Muslim population, and one of China’s 56 state recognized ethnic groups. They lived and worked on the margins of a large sprawling city, thousands of miles from home. The overwhelming majority of entrepreneurs were born in rural Western China, in Xinjiang Province. Members of this group had been living in the city anywhere from a few months to more than a decade.

During the day, the entrepreneurs sold Xinjiang-style treats and snacks to tourists, commuters and neighborhood residents. Most of their customers were members of the dominant Han ethnic group. Over the course of 18 months, I visited Omar and his friends as they sold these treats on the streets. I observed interactions with customers, local guards and police, and among the sellers themselves. I interviewed the Uyghur entrepreneurs about their experiences in the city; about their relationship to the dominant Han Chinese; and about their relationship to the local police and guards.

During the 18-months I spent in the field, two large-scale national events profoundly altered the lives of the entrepreneurs and the selling space where they worked. First, the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Protests in June 2009 increased police presence and restricted the hours the entrepreneurs could sell their goods. Second, the Uyghur uprising in Urumqi in July 2009 caused a further intensification of police presence—but this time, targeted directly at the Uyghur entrepreneurs. These two incidents impacted not only the economic livelihood of the entrepreneurs, but also their relationship to the police, their strategies of responding to the police presence, and their own Uyghur identity.

### **Theory & Research Questions**

One prominent approach in the social sciences to studying forms of domination and their effects is through the lens of structural violence. Structural violence explores conditions that shape a broad spectrum of “offensives against human dignity,” (Farmer 2003, p. 7) including human rights abuses, sexism and racisms, and social inequalities. Focusing on the concept of structural violence highlights how everyday forms of violence need not be carried out directly at the hands of individuals. Violence impacts the lives of the marginalized in less visible, yet equally damaging ways.

The concept of structural violence is frequently used in both theological and social science circles. The term is credited to Johan Galtung, whose 1969 article first employed the concept. Galtung<sup>1</sup> originally described structural violence in the following way:

The fourth distinction to be made and the most important one is on the subject side: whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts... We shall refer to the type of violence where there is an actor that commits the violence as personal or direct, and to violence where there is no such actor as structural or indirect. In both cases individuals may be killed or mutilated, hit or hurt in both senses of these words, and manipulated by means of stick or carrot strategies. But whereas in the first case these consequences can be traced back to concrete persons as actors, in the second cases this is no longer meaningful. There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. (Galtung 1969, p. 170-171)

According to Galtung, the main feature of structural violence is the lack of “concrete persons as actors.” Even though violence is not carried out at the hand of individuals, it nonetheless “shows up as unequal power” and “life chances.” Examples of structural violence<sup>2</sup>, in contrast to personal violence, include sexism, racism/ethnic discrimination, heavily skewed income distributions, and poverty. While these forms of indirect, or structural violence may also influence individuals to commit acts of personal violence (such as racially motivated physical violence), they also impact the life chances and choices of individuals in indirect ways.

Such indirect channels include the unequal division and access to resources (such as medical care, education, and certain occupations), and a lack of opportunity to influence decision-making/ assume positions of authority. According to Galtung, these forms of violence are “structural” or “indirect” since they are not directly carried out at the hands of individuals. Yet the ways in which they affect the choices, opportunities, and physical bodies of the marginalized are considered a form of violence. To illustrate one example, it is not difficult to imagine how a lack of access to medical care affects the overall health, life choices, and even life expectancy of individuals living in poverty.

Since Galtung’s initial article, the concept of structural violence has been adapted and elaborated by different researchers. One could argue this concept has received its greatest champion in the works of Paul Farmer. For Farmer, the term structural violence refers to:

... violence exerted systematically—that is, indirectly—by everyone who belongs to a certain social order... In short, the concept of structural

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<sup>1</sup> Galtung distinguishes between six different axes of violence: 1) physical vs. psychological; 2) negative vs. positive approach to influence; 3) whether or not an object is hurt; 4) personal vs. structural; 5) intended vs. unintended; and 6) manifest vs. latent. The concept of personal vs. structural violence has been the most influential in articulating forms of violence not directly committed at the hands of individuals, but which nonetheless have significant effects. (Galtung 1969)

<sup>2</sup> Galtung also explains structural violence as when: “Resources are unevenly distributed, as when income distributions are heavily skewed, literacy/education unevenly distributed, medical services existent in some districts and for some groups only, and so on. Above all the power to decide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed. The situation is aggravated further if the persons low on income are also low in education, low on health, and low on power—as is frequently the case because these rank dimensions tend to be heavily correlated due to the way they are tied together in the social structure.” (Galtung 1969: 171)

violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression. (Farmer 2004, p. 307)

Farmer expands on Galtung's initial conception of structural violence in two important ways. First, he proposes an emphasis on understanding the historical roots of current conditions of structural violence. Second, he calls for attention to the material/political economy. Farmer uses "material" to refer to the body, to materials used to control/demarcate space, as well as to different modes of production. Building on Galtung's notion of structural violence, Farmer argues it is important to situate different forms of structural violence, as well as other forms of everyday violence, in their historical and political-economic contexts. He argues:

In each of these situations, acts of violence are perpetrated, usually by the strong against the weak, in complex social fields. In each of these situations, a set of historically given and, often enough, economically driven conditions—again, here termed 'structural violence'—guarantee that violent acts will ensue. (Farmer 2003, p. 9)

Farmer developed a framework for studying structural violence that emphasized uncovering the set of historical and political-economic conditions that have shaped a particular climate of structural violence. While Farmer made important contributions to the concept as initially put forth by Galtung, many issues remain unclear.

Critics<sup>3</sup> of structural violence have challenged the concept, saying that it lacks analytical precision; it fails to offer a clear account of change over time; and it downplays the role of agency on the part of those subjected to structural violence. In particular, the concept of structural violence needs to be amended to account for three specific challenges: 1) to analyze the variety of forms structural violence takes in different contexts, and develop a more precise analytical definition and approach to examining it; 2) to explore how changes in structural violence occur, and examine what prompts changes to the modal form of violence exercised at a given time; and 3) to pay greater attention to the agency exercised on the part of the dominated in response to changing conditions of structural violence. In answering these questions, I draw upon alternative understandings of violence from sociology and other social science traditions to critique and strengthen the concept of structural violence.

I employ this concept of structural violence to examine what Bourdieu calls "the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination." (Bourdieu 1992, p. 14-15) I utilize this concept for several reasons: first, because it highlights how forms of violence extend beyond direct, physical acts of aggression; second, because it is a potentially powerful conceptual tool that actively engages with existing scholarship across the social sciences and humanities; and third, because it allows for linkages between different types of non-physical violence (whether symbolic, economic, or political), and different structures of domination.<sup>4</sup> The challenge in defining structural violence is that it is often intimately linked with what Galtung termed "personal violence," or violence carried out at the hands of individuals. Nonetheless, for purposes of analytical clarity, and based on the definitions of structural violence developed from Galtung and Farmer, I define the term as:

*The amalgamation of particular forms of violence -- discrimination, inequality, oppression and domination, among others -- linked to certain historical, political*

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<sup>3</sup> See Robben (2008) for criticisms of the concept of structural violence.

<sup>4</sup> While Wacquant (2004) offers a powerful critique of the concept, I contend the broad theoretical "umbrella" it offers for understanding violence is a strength, rather than a weakness.

*and economic conditions that are experienced indirectly (that is, not at the hands of individuals) and that serve to limit the opportunities, choices and life chances of individuals.*

While I offer criticisms of this concept, these criticisms are made in the hopes of theoretically advancing this concept—not discarding it. Empirically, I draw on an ethnographic and historical perspective to examine the complexities of structural violence – in this case at the intersection of ethnic and religious discrimination, “undocumented migrant” status, and class inequality -- experienced by a group of Uyghur Muslim entrepreneurs.

### **Rethinking Structural Violence**

This article develops the concept of structural violence in three ways. First, I utilize insights from the “multi-institutional politics approach” and its emphasis on changing strategies, identities, and relationships between challengers and targets to further expand on the concept of structural violence. In a recent article, Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) developed and synthesized a new framework for studying social movements and other change efforts – what they term the “multi-institutional politics approach.” The authors ask:

Why do challenges take the forms that they do? What does the interaction between challengers and target tell us about the nature of domination in society? Under what conditions do challenges originate, survive, and succeed? (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008, p. 76)

The authors developed this framework as a challenge to the political process approach to studying social movements –and as such its primary application is geared towards studying larger scale change efforts. However, I propose to repurpose this framework in analyzing structural violence, how it changes over time, as well as smaller-scale acts of resistance to it.

The “multi-institutional politics approach” offers several insights and analytical tools that can be used to strengthen the concept of structural violence. This approach centers on understanding the actors, strategies, goals, and relationships between challengers and targets involved in change efforts to gain insight into the inner workings of various forms of domination in society. Based on this framework, I examine changes in structural violence through the evolving relationships between the vendors and police, alterations in the physical space, and fluctuations in individual identity at the micro-level.

Second, I examine how and why the climate of structural violence in the selling space changed over my 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork. Paul Farmer argues that the concept of structural violence is not static over time. He states: “Structural violence takes on new forms in every era.” (Farmer 2004, p. 315) Yet the mechanisms for how and why structural violence changes are not clearly spelled out. Does resistance from below change structural violence (a bottom-up approach)? Does structural violence change as a result of the development of new techniques or methods of oppression? Or do changes in structural violence occur randomly – that is with minor fluctuations and adjustments that eventually return to “equilibrium”?

I argue the two events mentioned above shifted the climate of structural violence in the field, and in particular strengthened anti-Uyghur sentiment. This strengthened climate of structural violence and anti-Uyghur sentiment expressed itself not only through an increase in police presence and new tactics of control, but also through reconfigured spatial and temporal arrangements that directly and indirectly targeted Uyghur economic activity. These shifts, in turn, shaped the Uyghur entrepreneurs’ own strategies of resistance.

Third, Paul Farmer has argued for an inverse relationship between the “strength” of structural violence and the ability of agents to respond. Despite the limits placed on individuals

as a result of these unequal conditions, what is the relationship between agency and structural violence? Farmer argues:

The term is apt because such suffering is “structured” by historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces that conspire—whether through routing, ritual, or, as is more commonly the case, the hard surfaces of life—to constrain agency. For many, including most of my patients and informants, choices both large and small are limited by racism, sexism, political violence, and grinding poverty. (Farmer 2003, p.40)

It remains unclear: 1) whether individual actors reinforce, reproduce, maintain, or challenge structural violence; and 2) how agents respond to changing conditions of structural violence. In applying this concept to my fieldwork, do the ethnographic data show a weakened capacity for agency under an increasingly “strong” climate of structural violence, or the opposite?

In this article, I examine how strategies of resistance change in relationship to changing conditions of structural and personal violence. As restrictions on economic activity and movement increased during my fieldwork, the Uyghur entrepreneurs responded in new and novel ways. In contrast to Paul Farmer’s observations, I argue the entrepreneurs became more assertive in countering police tactics despite greater restrictions in the field.

### **Article Organization**

The remainder of this article is organized into three parts. In part one, I examine the initial conditions shaping structural violence in the field. I provide a brief exploration of how larger processes of economic development and modernization, along with more recent state views of Uyghurs as “Islamic terrorists” have contributed to shaping the underlying conditions of structural violence and Uyghur identity more broadly. I then provide an introduction to the selling space and the primary actors involved at my two field sites.

In part two, I utilize insights from the “multi-institutional politics approach” to explore how two events, the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Protests, and the Uyghur uprising in Urumqi in 2009, shifted the climate of structural violence in the selling space, and in turn, influenced the strategies of resistance on the part of these Uyghur entrepreneurs. These two events divide my 18 months in the field into three distinct periods. In each of these three periods, I examine: 1) changes in the physical boundaries and contours of the selling space; 2) Uyghur relations with the police, including strategies for dealing with the police presence; 3) Han-Uyghur relations and perceptions of ethnic inequality; and 4) Uyghur identity, masculinity and religion. Together, I utilize these four points of comparison to examine changing conditions of structural violence on the ground and strategies of resistance to it. These four dimensions are not static, either at the group or individual level, but change over time.

Finally, in part three, I utilize the insights from this framework to more critically examine the concept of structural violence itself. I seek to synthesize the myriad meanings of structural violence; to disentangle the complex ways individuals respond to changing conditions of structural violence; and to examine the multilayered relationship between structural violence and agency.

## **PART ONE**

### **Uyghur History, Identity & Structural Violence**

Xinjiang, alternatively known as the “Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region” is home to the majority of China’s Uyghur population. It is located in northwest China, and borders Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. It is China’s

largest provincial region, containing nearly one-sixth of China's total landmass, and is rich in resources including minerals, oil, fruits, produce and livestock.

For centuries, the region that is now present-day Xinjiang has been at the crossroads of civilizations in Asia, Europe and the Middle East. The term "Xinjiang" means "new territory," and was first coined during the late eighteenth century. During the Qing dynasty, control of the Xinjiang region was secured under Chinese rule. While territorial borders and definitions of its residents have fluctuated over time, its current territorial dimensions were established as a result of the Qing dynasty conquest in the mid-eighteenth century. (Millward and Perdue 2004, p. 27-29)

After the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, control of the region entered a period of flux. During the 1930s and 1940s, for example, two separate independent republics of East Turkistan were established. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) gained control of Xinjiang in the 1940s, ending the region's brief period of political independence. (Millward and Tursun 2004)

Since the CCP gained control over the region, there has been a major demographic shift in Xinjiang's ethnic composition. In the 1950s, the Chinese government began a forced migration of Han "settlers" into the West. This importation of Han residents has been a major source of resentment on the part of the original Uyghur inhabitants. While in 1950, Xinjiang's population was over 90% Uyghur, in 2010 that percentage had dwindled down to approximately 45%. In 2010, Xinjiang's population was over 40% ethnic Han Chinese. This decline in the percent of Xinjiang's population that is Uyghur is the direct result of the internal migration within China's borders, and not other demographic processes. (Toops 2004)

Yet internal migration in China is not a one-way street. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, the Chinese government began to relax restrictions on internal migration. For some Uyghur, migration to urban centers along China's more prosperous coast offered the promise of greater economic opportunities. A combination of push and pull factors brought many Uyghur migrants to urban areas along China's coast. The entrepreneurs I interviewed had moved to the large city to secure jobs and support their families back home. They were able to move in large part because of pre-existing networks of friends and neighbors who had successfully found employment before them. Based on interviews conducted during my fieldwork, the two main sources of employment for recent Uyghur migrants from Xinjiang were working at kebab stands and selling walnut halvah on the street.

The overwhelming majority of entrepreneurs were considered "undocumented." In the Chinese case, this meant the Uyghur entrepreneurs were without a local residency permit, or urban "*hukou*." While some of the entrepreneurs migrated to the large city with their families, most came on their own. Without a residency permit, these men were unable to secure social rights, including education and medical care, for themselves or their families. This lack of access to "social rights" attributed to their undocumented status is one concrete example of the structural violence experienced by the entrepreneurs.

Many had come to the city to provide for families back home in Western China, where jobs were much harder to come by. Most of the men lived in small apartments in the outskirts of the city, where rent was cheaper. Each morning they would commute on their carts or by bus to the city center to peddle their wares. They lived under constant pressure and surveillance from the police, who could arrest them at any moment, extort processing fees for their release, and threaten to send them home.

Over the past 60 years, the Chinese government has held different policies towards ethnic minorities in general, and the Uyghur in particular. First, many ethnic groups, including the

Uyghur, have been ranked in policy documentation along Marxist scales of development. In state documents, many ethnic groups have been viewed as “backward” or in need of state assistance. In 2000, the Chinese government initiated a “Great Western Development Strategy” that sought to direct resources to the structurally poorer Western region of China. While Xinjiang province is one recipient of this development program, it remains part of one of China’s poorest macro-regions.

Following the events of 9/11, the Chinese government seized on the opportunity to link Uyghur activism to a broader network of Islamic terrorism. (Wang 2003) Views of Uyghurs as “terrorists” or “separatists” increased in state media, and further provided fuel for hostility directed at the Uyghur. Some have speculated that the Chinese government’s attempts to link the Uyghur to a broader network of Islamic terrorism have resulted in radicalizing a previously unradicalized segment of the Uyghur population. At the selling space, the vendors were acutely aware of this image of the Uyghur man as Islamic terrorist.

In sum, profound demographic shifts in Xinjiang over the past 50 years; economic disparities between Western and coastal China; complex patterns of internal migration; the unequal distribution of urban residency permits; as well as more recent efforts to link Uyghur activism to global Islamic terrorism provide a backdrop from which to view the events in the field.

### **The Selling Space**

On the streets, the main snack sold each day was a large confection called “*qie gao*” in Chinese (“切糕”). I refer to it as “walnut halvah,” after the Uyghur translation, “*yang’aq halwasi*.” These heaping confections were made up of ground walnuts, peanuts, almonds, and sesame seeds, mixed together with sugar and honey, and finally capped off with apricots, raisins and other dried fruits. It was a popular treat with travelers as it didn’t need to be refrigerated and could hold up for several days on its own. The walnut halvah tasted like a mixture of granola, peanut butter, energy bars, and trail mix. One small bite could leave you feeling full for hours.

It was rare to catch customers actually buying chunks of the walnut halvah. Yet day in and day out, the entrepreneurs hauled in their wares from the outskirts of the city. They sold the halvah on the back of three-wheeled carts outfitted with a flat bed. The walnut halvah was wrapped carefully in plastic wrap, with only one side left uncovered. It was typically sold for about 30 RMB<sup>5</sup> (~ 4.5 USD) per ½ kilogram. In theory, the price was the same for foreigners and Han customers alike. In practice, the selling price was left up to negotiation. When asked if Uyghur received a special discount, one seller responded in jest: “No. For them it’s free.”

My main field site consisted of two locations. The first was in the area immediately surrounding a large transportation hub. The surrounding streets, sidewalks and pedestrian zones constituted the primary selling space, where throngs of local pedestrians and tourists passed through every day. The Uyghur entrepreneurs did the majority of their selling here. The men would line up their carts on either side of the sidewalk, several on each side, evenly spaced, funneling potential customers among them.

The selling space was hotly contested property. The entrepreneurs frequently encountered local police officers and guards who attempted to chase them away. The men kept one eye out for customers – and the other out for approaching police vans. In addition to the challenges of the police presence, the Uyghur entrepreneurs competed with Han vendors for customers. While the Uyghur sold walnut halvah and nan bread, the Han vendors sold a larger

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<sup>5</sup> During the period February 2009 – August 2010, 1 USD equaled approximately 6.8 RMB. (Source: [www.federalreserve.gov/releases/h10/hist/dat00\\_ch.htm](http://www.federalreserve.gov/releases/h10/hist/dat00_ch.htm))



assortment of beverages, ice cream, fried dough, and scallion pancakes, among other treats. There was little contact between the Uyghur and Han vendors, and the landscape of the selling space seemed to reflect this pattern. The Han vendors typically sold their goods in clusters closer to the entrance of the bus station, while the Uyghur sold their goods in the pedestrian zones, sidewalks, and side streets further away.

Just down the street from the transportation hub was a satellite kebab station—the second main field site. Tucked down a small alley, it was a regular hangout for the entrepreneurs. The kebab station served as a respite from the rigors of selling, and attracted local Han residents and travelers alike. Metal tables and chairs rested under a covered porch. During warmer months these tables were almost always full. The kebab station also doubled as a butcher's shop. Inside the kebab station there were two rooms: a larger room where meat was sliced and prepared, and a smaller room where the meat was cooked. In the larger room, there was a large meat slicer atop a metal table. Freezers lined the walls, and refrigerators outside allowed customers to choose from an assortment of kebabs: mutton, chicken wings, cartilage, hearts, liver and various other animal parts. A separate fridge also contained beer and soft drinks. Nan bread was also available, with optional spicy sauce.

### **The Entrepreneurs**

The atmosphere among the Uyghur sellers was jocular, but competitive. Several men would often single out a lone customer, calling out to him, “Come, come, come, have a look. Come have a taste.” However, once a potential customer was lured in, the unsuccessful sellers would either leave the customer alone, or more frequently assist their fellow vendor in roping in the sale. The recruitment of customers could be brutally competitive, with men stepping in front of other sellers to lure customers to their cart. But once a customer had entered negotiations with an individual vendor, there was incredible teamwork and coordination to help secure the sale.

While an average day might see a rotating crew of more than 20 Uyghur men selling walnut halvah, nan and beverages outside the transportation hub, I developed the closest relationships with 6 men: 4 who primarily worked as walnut halvah sellers; and 2 who worked at the kebab station. Omar, Semet, Zordun and Elihan worked out in the field selling walnut halvah. Kahar and Erkin manned the kebab station. In addition to these 6 men, I informally interviewed and chatted with more than a dozen Uyghur entrepreneurs on the streets & at the kebab station. While the Uyghur entrepreneurs were exclusively male, a single woman regularly interacted with the vendors. Xiao Wang was a Han Chinese entrepreneur who had also migrated to the city from Sichuan province. She sold “spicy hotpot” and operated a small stand outside the kebab station. While relations between Xiao Wang, Kahar and Erkin were friendly, the Uyghur vendors only frequented the kebab station for meals.

The four men who worked on the streets selling walnut halvah -- Omar, Semet, Zordun and Elihan—were all from the same village in Western China. Elihan was one of the oldest, and one of the most seasoned entrepreneurs in the field. He had lived in the city for more than 10 years. Like Kahar and Erkin, he worked at a kebab station when he initially arrived in the city. After a few years, he decided to exclusively sell walnut halvah. Despite living in the city for more than a decade, his Mandarin was still difficult to understand. Zordun was in his mid 20s, and in addition to selling walnut halvah, had other side businesses that occupied his attention. He would often join the others for lunch, or help with shopping, but he was not often at the main field site. He had two daughters, both under 2 years old. The older child lived in Xinjiang with Zordun's parents; the younger child lived with Zordun and his wife in the city.

Omar and Semet were roughly the same age, both in their early 20s. The similarities stopped there. Omar was outspoken, outgoing, and outrageously funny. Semet was very reserved, stoic, the strong silent type. Omar was thin and often complained about his troubles finding a potential girlfriend. Semet had a strong physicality and enjoyed flirting with foreign female customers. Of the 6 men, Omar had the strongest command of Mandarin, and would often serve as a de facto translator. Semet had been in the city for less than a year when I first met him, and his Mandarin was limited.

The kebab station was run by two men: Kahar, the manager, and Elkin. Kahar was in his early 20s and had been in the city for nearly 4 years. He had negotiated with a Han businessman to lease the station. Kahar earned an average of 1200-1300 RMB/month. During the warmer months, Kahar received a few hundred extra RMB. The kebab station could easily taken in 1500-2000 RMB/day during peak season. After the cost of the meats, vegetables, and nan were factored in, the remaining profits went to the landlord. Elkin was no older than 18 and had just arrived in the city. His salary was slightly lower, between 1000-1100 RMB/month. He and Kahar came from the same village in Western China, and had known each other back home. The average monthly income for walnut halvah sellers was between 1000-1200 RMB/month (~ 150-175 USD/month).

Kahar arrived 4 years ago, and initially sold walnut halvah for about 2-3 months. Then, he worked selling kebabs in a different part of the city for about 6 months before finding his current job at the kebab station. He first arrived in the city after a family member living in the city invited him to come and work. Without that direct invitation, Kahar said, he would not have come to the city.

There was a division of labor within the kebab station. Kahar was clearly in charge, having worked at the station for several years. Typically, when the two men worked together, Kahar would slice and prepare meat inside the butcher shop. Elkin would string the kebabs, sweep the floors, and grill meat in the smaller room. In addition to age and experience in the field, being married was a key status marker among the entrepreneurs. Elihan, Zordun and Kahar were all married when I first arrived. Semet became engaged, and later married, during my fieldwork, while Omar and Erkin remained single.

## **PART TWO**

The 18 months I spent in the field could be divided into three periods: 1) February 2009-May 2009; 2) May 2009- July 2009; 3) July 2009-August 2010. During my time in the field, I focused on understanding how four sets of issues changed: first, how the physical landscape and contours of the selling space changed over time; second, how Uyghur vendors' interactions with the police changed; third, how the entrepreneurs' attitudes towards the Han and perceptions of ethnic inequality shifted; and fourth, how Uyghur identity changed over the 18 months of fieldwork. Together, I use these four measures to gauge the climate of structural violence and the entrepreneurs' strategies of resistance to it. Between February 2009 and August 2010, I observed a complex series of negotiations between the Uyghur entrepreneurs and the police, Han customers and vendors. Next, I will outline each of the four dimensions above within each period.

### **Period 1: February 2009 to May 2009**

#### *Selling Space*

The first period, from February 2009 to May 2009, witnessed a shift in the boundaries of the selling space. When I first met the entrepreneurs in 2009, construction on a new, modern, transportation hub had just begun and was in an early phase. The hub was being upgraded to

accommodate a larger fleet of public buses. Previously, the vendors had worked down the road on a dusty side street in front of a shabby bus terminal. The vendors had recently relocated down the street as the old bus station was demolished.

Construction on the new terminal presented many challenges to the entrepreneurs, as the boundaries of the selling space were constantly changing to work around the construction. The demolition of the old bus station forced the Uyghur vendors to move closer to the new transportation hub, and away from the protection offered by the smaller side streets and narrow alleys. There were two main consequences of this move: first, it brought the Uyghur entrepreneurs into closer contact with Han vendors. Second, it shrank the area of selling space considerably, forcing the Uyghur entrepreneurs into closer contact with each other. Whereas before the carts could be spaced several hundred feet apart, the vendors now were forced to work in much closer quarters. In the initial period, relations among the Uyghur sellers were at times competitive, but could overall be characterized as easy-going.

#### *Police Relations*

In the selling space, the police not only directly enforced patterns of ethnic domination through the use of arrests and intimidation, but also indirectly contributed to the maintenance of structural violence. In particular, the police shaped and enforced appropriate spatial and temporal boundaries of where and when the Uyghur vendors could carry out their economic activities. Their presence alone, when targeted directly at the Uyghur vendors, further contributed to the perception that the Uyghur were “dangerous” or in need of police surveillance.

Between February 2009 and early May 2009, police crackdowns were infrequent, and the vendors were largely unrestricted in both when and where they could sell their goods. While crackdowns were sporadic, the sight of a police van was enough to drive the Uyghur vendors away from the selling space. The vendors’ strategy centered on evading capture by riding away on their carts, and avoiding confrontation with the police. The police were reluctant to pursue the vendors and did not make a serious effort to chase them down.

One afternoon, all of the vendors in front of the transportation hub suddenly bolted away from the entrance. I looked around for a familiar face, and saw Semet riding away. Semet quickly motioned for me to turn and walk in the other direction. As I separated from him I noticed an abandoned stray cart off to the side. Its owner must have left it behind in the commotion. Zordun caught my eye and motioned for me to grab the cart. I pushed the cart about 100 meters away from the entrance, until the group came to a halt. “Does this happen often?” I asked Zordun. “It happens every now and then.” he replied. The police left the area soon after, without making any arrests or detaining any of the entrepreneurs. As soon as it was clear the police were gone from the selling space, the vendors immediately moved back to their spots near the entrance.

Relations with the police were fragile, and yet the police did not make serious attempts to arrest or capture the vendors during this first period. The police would occasionally arrive and drive away the sellers, but their crackdowns were seemingly random and uncoordinated. During this period, the Uyghur vendors met only sporadic restrictions on both when and where they could sell the walnut halvah.

On a separate occasion, I was chatting again with Zordun. As we were talking, he caught sight of an approaching police officer and immediately pedaled off, leaving me behind. He drove away from the entrance to the transportation hub, looking over his shoulder as he moved forward. He wheeled his cart behind some construction scaffolding several hundred feet away from where I stood. With his cart hidden from view, he peered his head out from behind the

scaffolding to see if the police had followed him. His cart faced away from the station. His feet were pressed on the pedals, ready to bolt if the police inched any closer.

Towards the end of this first period, in early May of 2009, the vendors began to express concern about their ability to remain in the selling space in the future. One afternoon, Semet approached me on the street with a concerned look on his face. “The police told a group of us that we wouldn’t be able to sell the walnut halvah here in the future. I believe that they are directly targeting us Uyghurs.” He believed that non-Uyghur vendors would be able to continue to sell their goods in front of the station. When asked if it might have anything to do with the progress of the construction, he emphatically shook his head no.

Yet not all of the entrepreneurs seemed so concerned. I later mentioned to Elihan that Semet had said the police were trying to close down their operations in the area. He rolled his eyes, “That’s true, but they have tried this before. It isn’t anything new. The police have told us this before.” He agreed with Semet that the police were threatening to restrict only the Uyghur vendors’ access to the selling space. When asked if the police would arrest any vendors who remained in the area, he became agitated and raised his voice. “I will tell the police that I am Chinese too!” Pausing to reflect for a moment, he qualified his statement. “But I’m also part of Turkistan.”

#### *Ethnic Relations & Perceptions of Inequality*

The state of ethnic relations in China was a frequent topic of conversation in the selling space. A common thread to our conversations was the lack of equal opportunity felt by the Uyghur entrepreneurs. During the first period, Omar and his friends often talked about issues relating to inequality—and about the state of Han-Uyghur relations in particular. One afternoon, Omar began talking about the importance of education: “The Uyghur do not receive the same educational opportunities as the Han. How can we compete with the Han if we don’t receive the same quality of education as they do?” In his view, lack of access to education was a huge source of inequality between the Han and Uyghur. “How can the Uyghur land jobs or compete with the Han if we are judged along criteria imposed on us by the Han?” Omar continued.

There was also a strong perception that the Uyghur were physically prevented from moving freely both within China and abroad. “How much does it cost to obtain a U.S. passport?” Semet asked me one day. This was a recurring question in the field. Someone else in the group added: “The Uyghur could never go to the United States. We cannot obtain a Chinese passport.” Several heads nodded in agreement. Elihan shared a story about a prominent Uyghur businessman in Western China: “A wealthy businessman had been promised a Chinese passport by a local government agency. But when it came time to pick up his passport, the man was asked to pay an additional service fee. After much debate,” Elihan said, “the man paid the initial fine and was told to come back a few days later. Upon his return a second time, the businessman was then asked to pay an additional fee, this time nearly 20,000 RMB. At this point, he had no choice but to withdraw his passport application.”

While the “facts” of the story are certainly not verifiable, a version of the story was told in several different forms. Sometimes the prominent businessman had to pay just a few thousand RMB, other times much more. But in the end, he was always denied a passport. Each version of the story shared key elements in common. Each one featured a wealthy businessman from Xinjiang as the protagonist. This man was much better off than the entrepreneurs in socio-economic terms, and to some extent, represented an ideal of success. But the tale always ended in what the storytellers perceived to be flat-out ethnic discrimination. The story represented a deep sense of unfairness, a sense of restriction on the movements of the Uyghur, a lack of equal

opportunity, and to some extent, a degree of hopelessness. The protagonist was someone many times richer than these men – yet even he was subjected to discrimination on the basis of his ethnic origin. Even money couldn't buy him out of being a Uyghur.

Along these lines, Elihan made several references to opportunities and possibilities available to the Han, but not available to Uyghur. “Do you see that sign?” He asked me, referring to a sign behind him. “It says the business is open. But for us Uyghur, it is closed.” In his view, this was a typical example of ethnic discrimination. He felt many doors were open for the Han (开门, or “*kai men*”), but that the Uyghur were not allowed to enter them. While in this case he was being more literal—pointing out that certain institutions would refuse service or access to individuals they perceived to be Uyghur—he was also hinting at a broader class of opportunities that were sealed shut for the Uyghur.

During this first period, perceived ethnic inequalities were a hot topic of conversation and the basis of many complaints in the selling space. The men felt there were fewer opportunities available to them relative to the Han. From access to education, to free movement, to institutions where they could shop for goods-- there was a general sense of unfairness in Chinese society. But this lack of a sense of “belonging” with the dominant Han majority also extended to other non-Han ethnic groups in China.

One afternoon, Omar, Kahar, Semet and Zordun stopped at a Hui<sup>6</sup> Chinese Muslim shop filled with religious goods and general supplies. The store specialized in selling soap, incense, toothpaste, books, clothes, paintings and other Islamic religious items. Kahar and Semet hovered over the cologne counter. They spent at least 15 minutes opening small vials of cologne and smelling them, tilting the bottles back and forth and checking their consistency.

The storeowner, an elderly Hui man, watched them like a hawk. After much careful deliberation, Kahar and Semet selected the cologne they wanted. A young veiled salesclerk had quoted them a price of 18 RMB for one bottle, but the cashier mistakenly charged them 15 RMB per bottle. After they paid and were leaving the store, the owner came running after them, angrily shouting: “Come back, come back! You didn't pay enough!” There was a heated exchange back and forth, with the men saying it was the fault of the cashier for misquoting them, and that they didn't owe anything. After a brief exchange, Zordun took the shop owner by the arm and tried to smooth things over. The owner slapped away his arm, and continued to scold the men in Mandarin. But Zordun persisted. The shop owner backed down, but told them they needed to leave immediately. The men, triumphant, walked out of the store with big grins on their faces.

This sense of alienation carried over to their choice of where to shop and eat. The men ate exclusively at Uyghur restaurants in town, despite the fact that these restaurants were often located far from the selling space. Immediately following the run-in at the Hui market, the four men walked to a local Xinjiang style restaurant. It was a small hole in the wall with four tables and an open face to the small street outside. There was a large man sitting at the first table. As they entered, each of the four men shook his hand and offered a greeting in Uyghur. They ordered several bowls of pulled noodles. The noodles came and were promptly wolfed down.

At this tiny restaurant, the men seemed much more at ease, as if they could let down their guard. Over lunch, they began to discuss Rebiya Kadeer, a prominent businesswoman and Uyghur human rights activist. They asked me if I was familiar with her. “Do you consider her to be an activist?” (积极分子, or *jijifenzi* in Chinese) I asked them. Omar responded “*Jijifenzi* –

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<sup>6</sup> The Hui are a separate Muslim ethnic group. Unlike the Uyghur, the Hui do not have a separate language, and physically more closely resemble the Han.

that is the Chinese government's label for her." He remained quiet after that and the conversation quickly shifted gears. Omar later asked, "Are many Americans familiar with the Uyghur people?" I said Americans were learning more and more about them. I contrasted knowledge of the Uyghur people with knowledge of the Tibetan people. I said that several celebrities in the US took up the cause for Tibetan freedom and independence. Omar translated this into Uyghur for the others to hear.

### *Uyghur Identity*

Despite feeling a lack of belonging in the selling space, and even at other non-Uyghur Muslim establishments, the men took considerable care of each other. After lunch we walked to another Muslim store. Here they spent another 10 minutes agonizing over which brand of honey to buy. They asked the sales clerks over and over how much each jar cost. Each time, they were given the same price: 15 RMB. They finally selected their honey, and walked outside. As they were walking down the street, Kahar cracked his honey jar, causing the contents to start leaking inside his plastic shopping bag. The four men stopped in the middle of the sidewalk, and squatted down to examine the problem. After some deliberation, Semet offered Kahar his plastic bag, and carried his honey jar. The four men continued walking towards the bus stop.

Their generosity occasionally extended to non-Uyghur individuals deemed less fortunate. On two separate occasions that afternoon, Han street beggars approached the men and asked for spare change. On both occasions, the men gave one RMB bills to the beggars. Soon, the men reached the bus stop. All four managed to get a seat, though a physical sense of separation returned. The other passengers gave them a wide berth, despite the bus being packed with people. No other parts of the car seemed to have this distance.

Most of the Uyghur entrepreneurs were young men from rural Xinjiang in their early-to-mid twenties. As such, the selling space was a high testosterone environment. The men would frequently break into play fighting throughout the day. Someone would crack a joke, or tease their neighbor, and the next thing you know someone would have to pull two men apart. But bodily contact extended to other forms as well. The men often put their arms around each other, pinched, slapped and hit each other—usually in a playful and friendly manner.

Semet asked me if I missed my friends and family in the US. I asked him if he missed his family back in Xinjiang. He pointed to his fellow vendors and said, "They are my family. We are all one big family here in the city." When asked what he thought about the term "society," Omar waved his arms around and said: "This is my society."

While the environment was relaxed and playful, Islam played a central role in the lives of the entrepreneurs, and the men were devout practitioners. All of the vendors would take time to pray five times each day. One afternoon, after standing in front of the bus station, the group started to move, and Zordun motioned for me to go with them. "We're going to make an offering." Omar and Zordun were riding on their carts, and I was walking behind them. "Hurry it up," they teased me from their carts. At one point I caught them and started to push them from behind, trying to speed them up. We drove to a mosque hidden down a side street, located behind a wall. Architecturally, it looked like any other Chinese building nearby. From the main street the mosque was unrecognizable. A small sign outside indicated what was inside. There was a fenced-in area where the vendors left their carts while they went in to pray.

Inside, there was an elderly woman in a small room to the left. The men walked past her, and towards the washing room. Several of the other vendors were inside already standing around. Two or three of the men were washing their hands and feet in the troughs against the wall. Zordun told me in Uyghur to have a seat. He told me to watch one of the men further down the

wall as he washed himself. “It’s very easy. See? Watch me and see how it’s done,” Zordun explained. “First, you wash your hands and arms,” he said while scrubbing himself. “Then, you wash your face and inside your nose.” He splashed water on his face, and snorted water into each nostril. “Finally, you wash your feet.” He motioned again for me to watch the men further down the wall for proper instruction.

While Zordun finished washing himself, a group of vendors stood in a crowded circle behind me, whispering in Uyghur. The conversation seemed intense. Zordun was sitting next to me on the bench, but seemed to be engrossed in the conversation going on behind me. I sat with my back to the group, half watching the men clean themselves, and half feeling intensely self-conscious. I asked Zordun about the prayer cycle, and he said: “We pray five times a day.” He stood up and walked over to a board on the wall that indicated what time they prayed each day. “Some of the times are set in advance, others are determined by the sunrise and sunset.”

The group then left the washing room and went across the courtyard to the prayer room. Zordun motioned for me to follow. The men removed their shoes and entered the prayer hall. Omar turned around and told me to wait for a few minutes as they went in to pray. There was a bulletin on the wall about the impact of the Olympics on the local community. There was also a sign opposite the Olympics bulletin outlining the rules and regulations of “religion” and religious practice in China. Several staff members walked by, and seemed to not be bothered by my presence. Interestingly, the staff members were not Uyghur.

After about 10 minutes, the men came out again. The men each went back to their carts and drove off. Zordun remained behind to rest in a small room attached to the mosque. Kahar was sweeping a small sitting area outside the mosque. I waved to him, and he greeted me with a big “How are you?” Semet rode up alongside me and offered me a ride back to the selling space on the back of his cart. “When will you be coming back? Tomorrow?” he wondered. I hopped on, and we were off.

## **Period 2: May 2009 - July 2009**

### *Selling Space*

The lives of the entrepreneurs were punctuated by two events that dramatically changed the atmosphere and contours of the selling space, as well as the climate of structural violence. The first was an increase in police presence associated with the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Protests. During the second period (mid-May – July 2009), police presence intensified in preparation for the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Incident. At the same time, construction of the bus station intensified and physically limited where the vendors could sell their goods. During this period, the police and guard presence increased. Starting near the end of May 2009, police vans would park in front of the transportation hub between 9am and 5pm daily. In contrast to the first period, the police began to limit when and where the vendors could sell walnut halvah.

The Uyghur entrepreneurs were forbidden from selling directly near the hub between the hours of 9am and 5pm. Elihan noted, “When the police go off work at 5pm, we start our work.” Any entrepreneur caught working in front of the transportation hub and surrounding area was likely to be asked to leave immediately, or face arrest. The Uyghur entrepreneurs did not react well to this change, but implemented creative strategies to work around the restrictions.

While the Uyghur vendors remained intimidated by the police presence, they initiated new strategies to deal with it. First, a small segment of Uyghur entrepreneurs moved across the street, outside the zone of police interference. While they were removed from the greatest flow of pedestrian traffic, they were still able to attract customers. At the same time, they were far

enough away from the direct zone of police influence. At 5pm this group would all move back across the street, as the police officers went off duty. Second, many vendors moved to other tourist destinations in the city to sell walnut halvah. Whereas the transportation hub was the primary selling space for the men, several vendors shifted to secondary spaces with less police presence.

In response to this initial change in the boundaries of the selling space, the Uyghurs adopted non-confrontational strategies to work around this challenge. During the months of May and June, this pattern continued. The police presence continued after June 4<sup>th</sup>, the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Incident. But towards the end of period two, the men again adopted new strategies of dealing with the police.

#### *Police Relations*

As the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre approached, the police descended upon the entrance to the transportation hub, and established a more permanent presence. For a few days before the anniversary, all vendors (Uyghur and non-Uyghur alike) were forbidden from selling in front of the station. However, after June 4<sup>th</sup>, the vendors slowly started to trickle back in. The Han vendors were the first to return to the station – with the vendors who sold beverages leading the way, followed by Han food vendors. Finally, the Uyghur vendors returned. Echoing Elihan, another vendor told me: “When they [the police] go to work, we leave work. When they leave work, we go to work.”

After the anniversary, the police presence remained stronger than in the first period, but had backed off somewhat from the days immediately preceding the anniversary. Relations with the police had improved such that while the police were still visible at the entrance to the transportation station, they no longer prevented the vendors from selling at the outskirts of the selling space. When asked why the police didn’t arrest the vendors, one vendor replied, “They are just too tired to chase us away any more.” While the police presence intensified in period two, and the Uyghur vendors implemented creative strategies to work around this imposition, there was also a subtle shift in their stance towards the police. Whereas in period one, the mere sight of police officers would send the vendors running, during this second period the men were more willing to engage in subtle confrontations with the police.

One afternoon, I was chatting with a group of 4 entrepreneurs, including Elihan, at the outer edge of the transportation hub. A single police officer walked over to the group, and asked everyone to disperse. The two younger entrepreneurs immediately hopped on their carts and peddled away. However, the two older men, including Elihan, refused to move. The police officer stepped closer and again told the two men to get on their way. Without looking at the police officer, the men silently refused to move, shaking their heads indicating they weren’t going anywhere. Seemingly surprised by this, the police officer turned around and walked away. The conversation continued for a short while, before the men hopped back on their carts and returned to selling. What was surprising about this interaction was the direct challenge made to the police officer. Here, the two men stood their ground, and refused to follow the direction of the police officer. In contrast to the first period, the entrepreneurs stood their ground and refused to flee.

#### *Ethnic Relations & Perceptions of Inequality*

In part because their work hours had changed, Omar, Kahar, Semet and Zordun offered to take me to lunch one afternoon. As we entered the transportation hub to catch a bus to a Uyghur restaurant in a different part of the city, a young guard approached us. The events that followed were told in the beginning of the article. Yet the incident itself merits further discussion. The



young guard was not a member of the police, but a security guard for the transportation hub. He did not have the authority to arrest or detain the men, but his challenge was met with a quick show of physical violence on the part of the men.

This incident happened shortly after several Uyghur factory workers were killed in Guangzhou by their fellow Han workers. This incident in Guangzhou ultimately fueled the Uyghur riots in Urumqi in early July. But for two weeks, Han-Uyghur relations began to rapidly deteriorate.

#### *Uyghur Identity*

The vendors were faced with new restrictions on their work environment, and the overall atmosphere of the selling space changed. The vendors became much more serious, and less playful. The police presence physically divided the Uyghur vendors: many traveled to new locations to sell walnut halvah, while a smaller group remained behind.

Despite the strained relationship between police and Uyghur entrepreneurs in the primary selling space near the bus station, the relationship between the police and sellers was different at the kebab station during the first two periods. The same officers who would periodically intimidate the vendors in front of the transportation hub also frequented the kebab station, both in and out of uniform. On several occasions, I noticed the police joking around and conversing with Kahar and Erkin while ordering kebabs. While friendly on the surface, as soon as the officers left, Kahar and Erkin would angrily curse them behind their backs. A relaxed, playful attitude was replaced by skepticism, and later, growing hostility towards the police and Han in general.

#### **Period 3: July 2009 – August 2010**

##### *Selling Space*

As the construction of the transportation hub continued into period three, a new barrier to the selling space was added. About two weeks after the Urumqi riots in July, metal poles were set up that allowed people to easily squeeze through, but prevented anything larger than a bicycle from entering the transportation hub. The Uyghur entrepreneurs could not maneuver their carts through these metal poles. These barriers prevented the Uyghur men from selling near the entrance to the bus station, and the entrepreneurs were forced to set up camp at intervals farther away from the entrance. These physical barriers did not, however, impede the non-Uyghur vendors from selling near the entrance to the bus station.

These barriers, intentionally or not, singled out the Uyghur entrepreneurs. The majority of Han vendors had taller, but thinner carts, which were able to fit between the barriers without difficulty. The Han vendors were effectively given free rein over the hottest part of the selling space – the area directly in front of the bus station. The barriers created a large perimeter around the entrance, and cut off a large stream of potential customers for the Uyghur men.

##### *Police Relations*

Both police and Han-Uyghur relations suffered a major setback in July of 2009. In response to the murder of two Uyghur factory workers in Guangzhou province, riots erupted in the Xinjiang provincial capital, Urumqi. Following the riots in Urumqi, relations with the police changed dramatically. In the days immediately following the protests, the Uyghur vendors were nowhere to be seen at the main field site. I returned to the transportation hub several times each week, and observed the Han vendors to be working in front of the station. The Uyghur vendors slowly began to trickle back several weeks after the riots. Kahar and Erkin informed me that in the days immediately following the riots, the police had set up a car directly next to the kebab station. For several weeks after, the police car remained and monitored the activity at the kebab station all day.

The riots in Urumqi in early July 2009 ushered in a third period of police relations. During this post-Urumqi riots period (July 2009-August 2010), the police presence intensified even further. Police vans were parked directly in front of the bus station at all times, keeping the vendors away from the largest flow of pedestrian traffic. Physical barriers were also erected during this time that established a perimeter around the bus station. While the police van prevented all of the vendors from selling directly in front of the entrance to the station, the Han vendors were able to sell inside the perimeter created by the metal poles. At the same time, the Uyghur response to the police changed during this period. Whereas before they employed a strategy of evading police capture, and later of passive resistance, the men now began to engage in direct confrontations with the police, even as arrests and threats increased.

After the riots in Urumqi in 2009, two weeks went by without any contact. I finally ran into Semet one afternoon. "Have you had lunch?" he asked me. He gave me a few lamb kebabs, which he paid for on my behalf. He pointed to a police car with flashing lights parked about 100 meters down the road. "The police have been parked there now for over two weeks, ever since the events in Xinjiang." It clearly made him uneasy, and he stared menacingly at the car.

We chatted for a few minutes, and he was eager to talk about the situation in Urumqi, Guangzhou, and Kashgar after the riots. I inquired about the whereabouts of the other vendors. Semet said, "Come with me, I'll take you to them." He launched forward on his cart, and drove in front of me. He looked over his shoulder and motioned for me to hurry up. We began to approach the entrance to the bus station.

For the past two months, a police van was parked in front of the entrance to the bus station from 9am to 5pm everyday. In the past, this had been a strong deterrent to their entrepreneurial activities. But today, as the police van was backing up, Semet drove his cart directly in front of the van. He smashed his fist down on the hood, and shouted at the officers inside. It was the most confrontational challenge to the police I had witnessed, and was an action that seemed unthinkable just two months before. The sight of the police used to send all the vendors running off, but now the vendors were much bolder in their interactions with the police. Semet's actions (as well as Elihan's refusal to move in period two) characterized a new response on the part of the Uyghur vendors. Shortly after this incident, the metal poles appeared in front of the selling space.

One afternoon a few weeks later, Omar and his friends were noticeably absent from the selling space. I visited Kahar, the manager of the kebab station, and Xiao Wang, the hotpot vendor, to ask after Omar and the others. Soon, a slow trickle of men started to arrive on their carts. They seemed agitated, and immediately pulled Kahar aside to chat. After talking quietly for several minutes, Kahar came over to me and said, "The men were arrested by the police this afternoon."

"The police suddenly swarmed us," one man said. "They appeared in large numbers, out of nowhere." Omar was also one of the ones taken into custody. The men explained that the police had detained them for several hours. They first captured, and then held the entrepreneurs until they paid 50 RMB (~ 7.5 USD) to be released. The police also confiscated their carts and goods. They were forced to pay an additional 50 RMB if they wanted these items returned. Each man was forced to pay 100 RMB to be released and get his cart back. This amounted to about 10% of their monthly salary.

It became clear that this was not a one-time event. Beginning in the third period, the police increasingly targeted the Uyghur vendors for arrest, detained them, and then released them after collecting 100 RMB. While it was unclear whether this was an official processing fee, or a

bribe, it seemed unlikely that the men would actually be sent back to their hometowns. The amount of paperwork, cost, time and effort involved in deporting the undocumented men back to Western China was too great. Instead, the police officers periodically took advantage of this situation. While the entrepreneurs expressed some concern of being sent back to Xinjiang, they were more concerned with having to “pay” 10% of their monthly salary if caught. The police presence and threat of arrest impacted their economic livelihood.

Yet even despite these conditions, the vendors continued to persevere in selling the walnut halvah. One afternoon, in March 2010, I met Erkin and Omar at the kebab station. I asked why the vendors had not been selling in front of the bus station lately. Erkin responded: “The police have been cracking down much more severely over the past few months, they won’t let us sell here anymore.” Omar added, “I don’t know the reason why... but I think it’s because the police want to get rid of us.” Erkin said: “Many of the vendors have moved to other parts of the city.” Even so, many vendors continued to set up shop across the street, despite fear of arrest. While the Uyghur vendors were denied access to the most lucrative parts of the selling space, the Han vendors continued to have unfettered access to the hottest real estate.

#### *Ethnic Relations & Perceptions of Inequality*

A few weeks after the events in Urumqi, I visited Kahar at the kebab station. Kahar was happy to see me, though he was a bit reserved. He was busy cleaning the floor with a mop and setting up the tables. He was reluctant to talk, though he was always on the shy side. Semet also seemed a bit tight-lipped, and kept getting up out of his seat and walking around. At one point, he went in to the nearby mosque and made an offering. While Semet was inside, Kahar pulled me aside. He spoke in a hushed voice, and whenever someone walked by, he suddenly became quiet.

He began talking about the events in Xinjiang. He, along with several other vendors, contended that 50 Uyghurs (not 2, as reported by the Chinese government) were killed in Guangzhou at the end of June 2009. And 2,000 (not 200) Uyghurs were killed in Xinjiang during the riots in July 2009. Yet even among the entrepreneurs, there was a lack of agreement on the exact numbers involved. One vendor said there were 2,000 Uyghur killed, while another seemed to indicate that 2,000 people (Han & Uyghur) were killed in the events. These numbers were, to my knowledge, obtained through friends back in Xinjiang.

Over lunch one day, Omar said that the Chinese government doesn’t do enough for human rights, and in particular, for the Uyghur. “The Uyghur are under-represented in the military and in foreign affairs. And anyway, I don’t trust the Uyghur who hold these positions.” He talked more about how corrupt, or “*hei*” the Communist party was in Xinjiang. He brought up the July Uyghur uprising in Urumqi, and the massive campaign the government launched to obscure what had happened. While the government reported approximately two hundred people had been killed and several thousand arrested, Omar, like Kahar, had different statistics. Some of the Uyghur vendors would quote figures close to 2,000 people killed, and 20,000 people arrested in the aftermath of the Urumqi riots. Numbers became a huge source of disagreement and politicization.

Kahar asked me if I had heard about the two Uyghur men who killed 17 army guards in Xinjiang back in 2008. He seemed to be somewhat proud of this. “The Party in Xinjiang is so corrupt.” Echoing Omar’s sentiments, both men illustrated how fed up the Uyghurs were with corruption in Xinjiang.

Kahar had plans to enroll in English language courses. He had a letter/certificate of support from a university in Xinjiang to strengthen his applications. When asked about his plans

to study English at a local university, he said: “The class has already started. I just don’t have the money to attend.” He had hopes that he would be able to save enough money in the future. “There aren’t many opportunities for us to study in Xinjiang.” When asked if Elihan had plans to study in the city, he added: “Study?” he asked. “Even if he studies hard, he won’t be able to attend university. If one studies poorly, there’s no chance. If one studies well, there’s still no chance.”

Not only were educational opportunities perceived to be limited, but employment opportunities as well: “People in Xinjiang have very low paying jobs – security or warehouse manager, that sort of thing.” Kahar expressed the sentiment that the Han were much more successful at securing employment, both in Xinjiang and outside of it. “Unemployment is a huge problem for the Uyghur in Xinjiang,” though he conceded “there are more opportunities for us here in the large city.”

One afternoon, Elihan further shared his thoughts about Han-Uyghur relations. He pointed to some of the Han walking past him, and said: “They don’t like us. When they look at us, they see something bad.” He went on to elaborate: “I know there are some bad Uyghur out there, but not all Uyghur are bad.” When asked about his attitudes towards Han Chinese, Elihan said: “There are some good Han, and there are some bad Han, just like the Uyghur.” But on a personal level, he had mostly negative experiences with the Han.

Omar strongly echoed this sentiment: “The Han people would not mourn the loss of the entire Uyghur people. They would be happy if the Uyghur people were extinguished.” While Omar often said things of a very strong nature, Elihan and Omar were not the only two men to hold this sentiment. There was a general suspicion that the Han looked down upon the Uyghur, both at the individual level (as directly experienced by the entrepreneurs), but also at the group level (through a sense of group prejudice against all Uyghur). Omar’s comment on how the Uyghur would not only not be missed – but that the Han would be happy to see them go—illustrated a strongly negative view on the state of Han-Uyghur relations shared by many of the entrepreneurs. While similar discussions occurred in period one, what was striking was the change in the overall tone of these conversations – the men were much stronger in their disdain for the Han.

### *Uyghur Identity*

The subject of women’s rights came up one afternoon with Kahar. Kahar’s wife also lived in Beijing. When asked if she worked too, he said no. “Women are allowed to work, but only in certain Islamic centers, and only in the company of other women.” Kahar mentioned that in Saudi Arabia, women were not allowed to drive cars. “But in Xinjiang, women are allowed to drive.” He explained in China, the Chinese government banned the wearing of the veil, or *hajib*. “Some women wear one at home,” but were not allowed to wear one in public. Kahar became quiet after this, and said nothing further on the topic. This was a sore point for him-- another instance of the Chinese government interfering in the religious practices of the Uyghur.

A few weeks later, back at the kebab station, Kahar rolled into work around 1pm. He had been up late the night before, “playing video games,” he said. Erkin had already started work, and had been busy getting the station ready for the afternoon rush. Kahar brought lunch for Erkin – fried dough stuffed with meat (*rou bing*)—provided by their landlord. Kahar explained that their landlord lived around the corner from the kebab station, and regularly provided them with lunch in addition to their wages.

After lunch, Erkin was busy skewering kebabs. He carefully placed chicken wings, hearts, livers, tendons, and pieces of mutton onto thin wooden sticks. He then placed the kebabs

into large plastic bins, sorted by meat and part. While Erkin was making kebabs, Kahar was busy slicing lamb on an electric machine. He gathered the lamb pieces and excess fat and placed them on the metal table. He began to shape the meat and fat into a single large roll. He then secured the meat in several layers of cellophane before sticking it in the freezer. The room was mostly silent as the two men went about their work.

All of a sudden, a man burst through the plastic coverings over the door. He held his arm in the air, and began to talk quickly in Uyghur. Blood was dripping everywhere. He had cut a deep gash in his wrist while selling food outside from his cart. He held his wrist firmly and applied pressure to the area. He had covered his wrist with a spare cloth, but the cloth was soaked through with blood. "Where is Timur? Is he around?" Timur would apparently take him to the hospital. Erkin responded, "He's praying in the nearby mosque." The man had no choice but to sit and wait for his friend to finish. No one thought it urgent enough to collect his friend from his daily prayer.

The man sat patiently, blood continuing to drip from his wrist. He was offered some clean towelettes. He took several, and sat back down, wiping his wrist. Responding to my concern, Kahar looked at me, "Don't worry, it's OK. He'll just wait here for his friend to arrive." The injured man got up several times to look out the door. As he sat in the corner of the room, Kahar and Erkin continued their work. Blood began to collect on the floor next to his chair. At one point, Erkin noticed the pool of blood on the floor gathering around the injured man's feet and grabbed his mop. As he wiped over the area, it mixed in with the lamb's blood that had already congealed on the floor.

The injured man was soon taken to the local hospital, received stitches and was sent on his way. What was so strange was the air of calmness that pervaded the situation. At no point did the injured man utter a word of complaint. While waiting for his friend, he sat quietly, his face expressionless. He was very quick and matter-of-fact in explaining to Kahar and Erkin what had happened. Both Kahar and Erkin did not seem pressed by a sense of urgency. While not to imply a lack of concern for their friend, the two continued on with their work just as before.

Usually, the joking-around was in good humor. But in period three, it would occasionally cross the line into cruelty. One afternoon, Semet focused his attention on an elderly Han disabled man collecting empty bottles in the selling space. From his dirty, torn clothes, the elderly man looked like he spent most of his time begging on the streets. Semet called the man over to give him an empty plastic bottle. When he saw the empty bottle in Semet's hand, he began to walk towards him. As the man was about to grab the bottle, Semet pulled it back, just out of his reach. He did this a few times, over and over, before the bottle accidentally fell to the concrete. The man lunged at it, throwing his body on the concrete. Semet turned to his friends and laughed.

### **PART THREE**

#### **Discussion**

My interviews with the Uyghur vendors over the course of 18 months revealed the men encountered structural violence as a combination of several overlapping forms of discrimination and inequality: first, along ethnic lines, as the men ran up against Han perceptions of the Uyghur male as "dangerous," or "suspicious," or even connected to Islamic terrorism or separatism. The men revealed they had been denied access to a host of opportunities and services based on their "non-Han" physical appearance and lack of fluency in Mandarin. Second, government restrictions on the religious practices of their Muslim faith highlighted the role of religious discrimination in their lives. The men also faced daily challenges associated with living in a non-Muslim society that seldom made accommodations to their religious preferences.

Third, as “undocumented” workers in the underground economy, the men lacked urban registration (“*hukou*”) papers, and were denied services such as access to free healthcare, educational opportunities and other social services for themselves and their families. Finally, the men experienced discrimination along class lines. Originally from rural Xinjiang province, their class background and geographic origins influenced both the quality and quantity of the schooling they received, their knowledge and command of Mandarin, and ultimately the number and type of occupational opportunities available to them. Together, these various forms of violence *indirectly* restricted the life choices and opportunities available to the men, and provided a backdrop for the overarching climate of structural violence experienced in the selling space.

In this article, I examined how two events – the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Tiananmen Square and the Uyghur uprising in Urumqi – and the construction of a new transportation hub associated with larger processes of economic development and modernization shifted this particular amalgamation of structural violence in the selling space. While Paul Farmer argues that the concept of structural violence is not static over time, the mechanisms for how conditions of structural violence change over time are not clearly specified.

The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Tiananmen Square and the Urumqi uprising strengthened the climate of structural violence in the field. This strengthened climate of structural violence expressed itself not only through an increase in police presence and anti-Uyghur sentiment, but also through new spatial and temporal arrangements that restricted Uyghur economic activity. Particularly after the Uyghur uprising in Urumqi, the vendors were specifically targeted by the police and restricted in their economic activity. By virtue of being Uyghur, they were also symbolically tied to the events in Urumqi, and experienced noticeably harsher treatment from both the police and some Han customers they encountered.

At the same time, larger global processes of modernization and development occurring in China altered the contours of the selling space at the local level. The development of a new, modern transportation hub eliminated the previous bus station and selling space, and forced the entrepreneurs into tighter quarters. The previous bus station offered greater protection from police raids and a larger physical area in which to sell goods. The destruction of the previous bus station and development of a new transportation hub were inextricably linked with China’s larger project of national economic development.

Clearly, the development of a new bus station was not specifically intended to disrupt Uyghur economic activity. However, this local development project contributed to an intensified climate of indirect, or structural violence, by first bringing the entrepreneurs into greater contact with the police; by shrinking the available area of economic activity; and by bringing the Uyghur vendors into direct competition with Han vendors, which diminished their economic potential.

At the same time, the placement of the metal barriers outside the transportation hub occurred only two weeks after the Urumqi riots, a significant ethnic uprising in Western China. These barriers prevented the wider Uyghur carts from entering the area directly in front of the transportation hub, while permitting unfettered access for Han vendors. These barriers cut the Uyghur vendors off from the transportation hub’s busiest source of pedestrian traffic, and limited their access to potential customers.

Two national events, as well as the development of a new transportation hub, initiated shifts in the climate of structural violence in the selling space. These events set several changes in motion: greater police presence; greater risk of arrest (whether perceived or actual) due to more frequent contact with the police; greater control over when the entrepreneurs could sell

their goods; and a shrinking physical space that disproportionately restricted vendors' economic activities along ethnic lines. Non-Uyghur vendors were to some extent inconvenienced, but ultimately benefited from the more severe restrictions forced on the Uyghur vendors.

In Farmer's presentation of structural violence, it remains unclear how (or why) structural violence changes over time. The results from my fieldwork illustrate two mechanisms that can lead to changes in the climate of structural violence. First, both of the national events discussed above might be termed "societal shocks." One was anticipated and planned (the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Tiananmen), while the other was unanticipated (the Uyghur uprising in Urumqi). Both of these shocks at the national level set in motion a series of changes that dramatically impacted the conditions of the selling space at the local level. Second, a local urban infrastructure project connected to larger processes of economic development and modernization occurring in China set in motion changes in spatial arrangements that directly and indirectly shifted the climate of structural violence in the field. Together, these results from my fieldwork point to two ways in which structural violence can change over time.

In addition, I sought to understand how and why Uyghur strategies, identity and relations with the police changed during my 18 months of fieldwork. Borrowing from Armstrong and Bernstein (2008), I asked: why do the Uyghur challenges (or lack of challenges) to the police take the forms that they do in each period? How do they originate and change? And finally, what does the interaction between the Uyghur and police tell us about the nature of ethnic domination in Chinese society? The authors argue:

[This] approach offers the theoretical tools with which to investigate the nature of domination (both material and culture) in both governmental and nongovernmental institutions and collective efforts that arise in response to different types of domination. (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008, p. 82)

Based on a framework developed from "the multi-institutional politics approach," the results from my fieldwork can be summarized in the following table:

	Period I (2/2009-5/2009)	Period II (5/2009-7/2009)	Period III (7/2009-8/2010)
Selling Space	Selling largely unrestricted; Construction underway	Selling restricted from 9-5pm; Targeted all vendors	Severe restrictions; Targeted Uyghur vendors
Police Relations	Fearful; Avoid confrontation	Innovative; Passive resistance	Strength; Direct confrontation
Han-Uyghur Relations	Neutral; Periods of generosity	Cooling	Animosity
Uyghur Identity	Optimistic; Playful	More Serious; Skeptical/cynical	Pessimistic; Hyper Masculine

In Period I, the climate of structural violence and ethnic domination relied more on perceived threats and intimidation than actual acts of physical violence. The Uyghur vendors were largely unrestricted in both when and where they could sell their goods, and the police would only sporadically chase the vendors away. However, the Uyghur vendors remained fearful of the police, and utilized strategies to avoid confrontation and possible arrest. The police relied

on intimidation rather than actual force to exert control over the economic activities of the Uyghur vendors.

In Period II, the climate of structural violence and ethnic domination began to intensify as restrictions on when and where the Uyghur vendors could sell their goods were put in place in preparation for the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Tiananmen Square protests. In response to these restrictions, the vendors adopted passive strategies of resistance that defied police requests. They innovated around police constraints; however, relations with both Han customers and the police began to cool.

In Period III, the climate of structural violence and ethnic domination intensified even further as the police placed severe restrictions on both when and where the vendors could sell their goods. Metal barriers were set up that prevented the Uyghur from entering the prime real estate of the selling space, while allowing Han vendors full access. The Uyghur entrepreneurs responded by openly challenging the police, and continuing to test the limits of the police restrictions. At the same time, the vendors exhibited greater animosity towards both the police and their Han customers.

In each of the three periods, Uyghur strategies, identity, and relations with the police and Han customers reflected the overall climate of structural violence in the selling space at that time. As the climate of structural violence intensified, strategies and relationships changed along with it. These changing responses to the climate of structural violence likewise fed back into shaping the climate of structural violence itself.

Third, I utilized insights from the “multi-institutional politics approach” to empirically test a second tenet of “structural violence” as proposed by Paul Farmer. Farmer argues for an inverse relationship between structural violence and the ability of agents to resist marginalization and other forms of oppression— in other words, that actors have less of an ability to resist marginalization and oppression under greater conditions of structural violence. He states:

One way of putting it is that the degree to which agency is constrained is correlated inversely, if not always neatly, with the ability to resist marginalization and other forms of oppression. (Farmer 2004, p. 307)

While it is clear Farmer doesn't view this relationship as a simple linear one, the overall direction implied in his statement is clear. Actors become less likely to resist oppression the greater the constraints put upon them. He argues:

Bourdieu used the term “habitus” as a “structured and structuring” principle. Structural violence is structured and structuring. It constricts the agency of its victims. It tightens a physical noose around their necks, and this garroting determines the way in which resources—food, medicine, even affection—are allocated and experienced. Socialization for scarcity is informed by a complex web of events and processes stretching far back in time and across continents. (Farmer 2004, p. 315)

While Farmer's logic might make sense at first glance, one social theorist who sees this relationship differently is Frantz Fanon. In *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon argues the opposite is true – namely, under greater constraints, actors have a greater capacity to act and resist marginalization. In fact, these “greater constraints” are a necessary step for his progression towards the overthrow of colonial regimes. He argues:

The violence of the colonial regime and the counter-violence of the native balance each other and respond to each other in an extraordinary reciprocal homogeneity...The development of violence among the colonized people will be



proportionate to the violence exercised by the threatened colonial regime. (Fanon 1963, p. 88)

How does the concept of “structural violence” relate to Fanon’s understanding of violence? While Fanon does not directly use the term in his work, there are parallels between his understanding of violence (a Fanonian sociology of violence) and the concept of structural violence. In *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon describes his conception of violence in the following passage:

The colonial world is a Manichean world. It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better never existed in, the colonial world. (Fanon 1963, p. 41)

Fanon’s articulation of colonial violence offers a competing hypothesis on the relationship between agency and larger conditions of indirect violence. For Fanon, violence has not just a spatial or physical element, but also a symbolic and psychological one. The “settler” paints the “native” as “a sort of quintessence of evil,” and lacking in the dominant culture’s values. These spatial, symbolic and psychological aspects of violence are not carried out directly at the hands of individuals, but similar to structural violence, in an indirect fashion.

The results from my fieldwork suggest that in contrast to Farmer’s hypothesized relationship, the Uyghur entrepreneurs developed new strategies to work around police constraints and adopted a more confrontational stance towards the police presence as conditions of structural violence became harsher. As the forms of indirect violence exercised on the Uyghur vendors changed, so too did their strategies of dealing with violence.

Farmer is critical of the tendency to “romanticize” the ability of the oppressed to deal with violence. He might respond that the Uyghur vendors are not exercising greater capacity to resist constraints, but that I am merely romanticizing their ability to deal with increased police efforts and greater stigmatization. After all, the vendors were not allowed to return to their original selling space, and ultimately were forced to find new locations to sell their goods. Does this not reduce their agency? Farmer argues:

In some of these places, there really are social spaces of spirited resistance. Often, however, the impact of such resistance is less than we make it out to be, especially when we contemplate the most desperate struggles and attempt in any serious way to keep a body count. (Farmer 2004, p. 307)

I would argue the opposite. The vendors could have returned home to Xinjiang province, or worse, been sent home by the police. Instead, they exercised creative strategies for working around the increased police presence and changes in the physical configuration of the selling space. In the face of increased pressures on their livelihood, the men actively created new selling spaces around the old. In both periods II and III, the men challenged police restrictions by moving across the street, by starting work when the police finished, by directly and indirectly challenging police presence, and by creating new selling spaces in other parts of town. Together, these actions demonstrated a greater capacity to act in the face of greater restrictions on their livelihood.

Yet why did Uyghur agency increase under increasing conditions of structural violence? In large part, institutional features of their Muslim faith brought the men into frequent contact with each other on a daily basis, and provided them with opportunities to meet and share information outside of Han Chinese control. The local mosque, and in particular the men's washroom, served as a respite from Han Chinese control and the place to share news. At the same time, the lack of accommodations to their religious preferences in "Han society" also served to bring the men together. Limited in their selection of halal restaurants, for example, or shops that catered to Muslim consumers, the men often had to travel some distances together to eat, shop and run errands.

On a similar note, many of the men had strong preexisting connections from their hometowns. These close connections enabled the men to effectively coordinate responses and strategies to an increased climate of structural violence in the field. As Omar mentioned, the men were like "one large family," and had strong ties to each other's families back in Xinjiang. These familial-like connections, I believe, added extra incentive to stand-up against perceived injustices: not only did conditions in the selling space worsen for their fellow Uyghur, but also for their fellow family members.

My 18 months of fieldwork offer empirical challenges to several tenets of structural violence as conceived by Paul Farmer and others. In this article, I outlined two mechanisms for explaining how and why structural violence changes over time. I borrowed the "multi-institutional politics" approach to document changing conditions of structural violence, strategies of resistance to police pressures, and Uyghur identity over time, and offer a new analytical approach to studying structural violence. Finally, I challenged conventional wisdom on the relationship between structural violence and agency by showing how the Uyghur entrepreneurs became more innovative under increasingly harsh climates of structural violence.

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**Educational Stratification in China:  
Social Origins, Political Background, and Ethnicity (1925-1986)**

**INTRODUCTION**

Previous studies of educational stratification in China have highlighted regional differences in educational attainment between residents in urban and rural areas, the historical gender gap in educational attainment, and the increasing importance of education in shaping occupational outcomes in an era of marketization. This study seeks to contribute to empirical studies of educational stratification in China in three ways: first, this paper examines the relative importance of social origins and political background in shaping educational attainment in different historical periods of educational expansion and decline; second, it reexamines the applicability of the Maximally Maintained Inequality (MMI) hypothesis to the case of China; and third, it examines differences in educational outcomes between the Han majority and non-Han ethnic minorities.

I examine the importance of three key independent variables – the ethnicity of the respondent, social origins (measured by parental education, and to a limited extent, father’s occupational status), and parental membership in the Chinese Communist party – on the respondents’ likelihood of continuing their education at three critical educational junctures: the entry into Junior High School, the transition to High School from Junior High, and the decision to attend College given High School attendance. More specifically, I examine how the affect of these three predictors varies not only across three educational transitions, but also across five different “educational cohorts.” In addition to these three independent variables, I also examine the influence of permanent residence, or *hukou* status, the respondent’s gender, parental ethnicity, the number of siblings, and measures of cultural capital on each these educational transitions.

This study examines the relative influence of family social origins and political capital on the respondent’s educational attainment during several periods of educational expansion and decline. I use national data from two waves of the Chinese General Social Survey (2005 and 2006) to examine these relationships. In addition to examining the relative influence of these two variables on educational attainment, I am particularly interested in examining in how these trends vary for Han and non-Han respondents.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the educational system in China has experienced periods of dramatic expansion and decline. Zhou et al. (1998) offered several broad characterizations of the state of educational opportunities in China. In the years immediately following the founding of the PRC, the authors argue the educational system underwent rapid expansion as both economic opportunities and demands for an educated workforce increased. However, in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution (early-mid 1960s), educational opportunities began to contract as the country experienced a slowdown in economic growth. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) further ushered in a dramatic reduction in the number of educational opportunities available to Chinese residents as many high schools and colleges closed their doors. Finally, the post-Cultural Revolution economic reform period witnessed a new expansion in educational opportunities, along with an increasing commitment to universal primary and secondary school education. (Zhou et al. 1998, Wu 2010)

Zhou et al. (1998) argue political processes have greatly influenced the relationship between social origins and educational attainment in China:

[...] because of the state's strong grip on entrance into and departure from the educational system in urban China, parents' economic resources have been far less important than parents' political status for educational attainment. (Zhou et al. 1998: 201)

They offer a dual hypothesis on the relative importance of family social origins on educational attainment: in times of economic development and educational expansion, when state policies rely on active bureaucratic participation, they argue family social and economic resources see greater returns in the educational system. During these periods of growth and expansion, social origin is a relatively more important predictor of educational attainment.

In contrast, during periods of political turmoil and educational decline, such as in the years immediately preceding and then during the Cultural Revolution, the authors argue that these same family social and economic resources may clash with state policies, and the effects of parental socio-economic status will weaken (or even reverse). (Zhou et al. 1998: 201-202) Using data from respondents born between the years 1925-1986, I reexamine the relevance of social origin and political capital in predicting educational attainment in China during five periods of educational expansion and decline.

To examine changes in the influence of political capital and socio-economic indicators over time, and informed by Zhou et al.'s (1998) grouping of historical periods, I divided the respondents into five "educational cohorts" based on when they would likely have received the majority of their education (approximately up to Junior High School). I argue two major events dramatically altered the larger institutional system of education in China: first the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, and second, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). These two events divide my respondents into five separate cohorts: first, the "Republican Era," for those individuals born between 1925-1942; second, the "Early Years of the People's Republic of China (PRC)" for those respondents born between 1943-1952; third, the "Early Cultural Revolution," for those born between 1953-1960; fourth, the "Later Cultural Revolution," for those born between 1961-1970; and finally, the "Reform Era," for those respondents born between 1971-1986.

I argue macro-level institutional changes in the educational system in China uniquely affected each of these cohorts. For example, those born under the "Republican Era" (1925-1942) would have received a majority of their education before the founding of the PRC in 1949, during a period of fluctuation in educational opportunities. Those born in the "Early Years of the PRC" (1943-1952) would have received the majority of their education in the years immediately following the founding of the PRC, but before the start of the Cultural Revolution, during a period of educational expansion and economic growth.

Those born in the "Early Cultural Revolution" cohort (1953-1960) would have started their education before the Cultural Revolution, during an initial slowdown in educational expansion, but then had their schooling interrupted by the dramatic changes in education brought about by the start of the Cultural Revolution. Those born in the "Later Cultural Revolution" cohort (1961-1970) would have had the beginning of their schooling affected by the Cultural Revolution, and witnessed a dramatic decline in the availability of educational opportunities. Finally, those born in the "Reform Era" cohort (1971-1986) would have started their formal education after the end of the Cultural Revolution, during a new period of educational expansion.

Several works have discussed the rising importance of education in shaping social stratification within China (Xie and Hannum 1996; Zhou et al 1998). If more highly educated Chinese residents earn more income and have more economic opportunities in the workplace,

what are factors that have historically promoted higher educational attainment? One prominent approach to examining educational stratification has centered on the Maximally Maintained Inequality (MMI) hypothesis. According to the MMI hypothesis, the expansion of educational institutions does not necessarily increase equality of educational opportunity (Hout and Raftery 1993). In contrast to theories of modernization which predict educational inequality will decline alongside educational expansion, the MMI hypothesis argues that individuals from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds are better placed to take up the new educational opportunities created by the growth in educational institutions. In particular, individuals from less privileged backgrounds will only reap the benefits of educational expansion if education levels for the more privileged become “saturated.” The less privileged gain greater access to educational opportunities only after demand for education among the more privileged classes reaches this saturation point. Thus educational inequality is “Maximally Maintained” as transition-specific class barriers persist over time.

Support for the Maximally Maintained Inequality (MMI) hypothesis has been found in countries across the world: in the United States (Hout, Raftery, and Bell 1993); in Russia (Gerber and Hout 1995; Gerber 2000); Ireland (Raftery and Hout 1993); Taiwan (Tsai and Chiu 1993); and Japan (Treiman and Yamaguchi 1993), among others. Yet previous research has challenged the applicability of the MMI hypothesis to the case of China.

According to the MMI hypothesis, one would expect to find a persistence of educational inequalities between respondents of different socio-economic backgrounds. More specifically, during periods of educational decline, MMI would predict that social origins would assume greater importance as members of the privileged classes would be in a better position to secure access to scarce educational resources. However, previous research on China (Zhou et al. 1998) has found parents’ political capital (as measured by party membership or other party employment) to be more important in predicting children’s educational attainment than parental socio-economic status over time, particularly in periods of educational decline.

Conversely, MMI would predict that in periods of educational expansion, educational inequalities would persist between respondents of different socio-economic backgrounds until the educational demands of the more privileged classes reached a saturation point. Once this point has been reached, the effects of social origin would weaken in predicting educational attainment. However, Zhou et al. (1998) argue that in China the situation is reversed – that the importance of parental socio-economic status in shaping educational outcomes increases during periods of educational expansion.

In addition to social origins and political background, one dimension of educational inequality that has received much less scholarly attention has been the role of Han ethnicity in predicting levels of educational attainment. The few existing studies on ethnic inequality in education have been limited to certain geographic regions and relatively few ethnic groups, and have not reached a consensus on the extent or existence of ethnic inequality in education. Several recent works have examined the relationship between educational attainment and ethnicity within China (Hannum 2002; Hasmath 2007; Hasmath 2008; Hasmath 2011). These studies have found evidence of ethnic differences in educational attainment, with some pointing towards a Han advantage (Hannum 2002), and others pointing towards an ethnic minority advantage in certain urban centers (Hasmath 2007).

China’s ethnic minorities disproportionately live in structurally poorer regions of the country, where both the quality and quantity of education are below the levels of the more prosperous coastal and urban regions. One would expect a Han advantage in Junior and Senior

High School attendance simply based on a greater proportion of Han in these more prosperous regions that offer greater access to educational opportunities. On the other hand, during the reform era, the Chinese government established affirmative action style policies that granted preferential treatment to ethnic minorities in college admission. Post-Cultural Revolution, one would expect to find either greater parity between the Han and non-Han, or a non-Han advantage at the highest levels of education, as ethnic minorities receive preferential access to college and university.

This study seeks to contribute to the existing gap in empirical studies of educational stratification in China by examining the relative influences of parental socio-economic status and political background across five periods of educational expansion and decline; by reexamining the applicability of the MMI hypothesis to the case of China; and by examining differences in educational outcomes between the Han and non-Han.

## **DATA & METHODS**

### **Data**

The data for this paper were obtained from the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS), co-sponsored by Renmin University of China and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. The Chinese General Social Survey is a national sample of all Chinese residents, excluding the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and is the first continuous national social survey project in Mainland China. The analysis here focuses on two waves of the CGSS: 2005 and 2006. The total number of respondents across the two waves of data is 20,532: 10,372 from 2005, and 10,151 from 2006.

The dependent variable is the respondent's highest level of school attended. While there is complete information on the highest level of school attended, there is incomplete information on whether this highest level of school was completed. Owing to the incomplete information and complexities of assigning the remaining respondent's highest level of completed education (for example, a respondent who attended "college" may have completed a junior college degree; a post high-school trade/technical school degree; or have a high-school diploma), this analysis focuses on the highest level of education attended.

Following Mare (1980), I examine the influence of the set of independent variables on three sets of educational transitions: first, the transition to Junior High School; second, the transition to High School/Technical School given the completion of Junior High School; and finally, the transition to College or Secondary Technical School given the completion of High School. I do this in two different ways: first, in part one, I group all of the respondents together in one sample, and examine how the main independent variables affect the likelihood of making each of the three educational transitions. Here, I treat the five cohorts as independent variables within each model (in addition to including several cohort interaction terms). Second, in part two, I disaggregate the sample and examine the influence of the independent variables on each educational transition for each cohort separately. While I lose statistical power in treating each cohort as an individual sample, I am better able to track how the effects of the independent variables change over time for each of these cohorts.

Including individuals who are still in school may bias the results since the ultimate level of education attended for these individuals may be improperly estimated. To address this issue, I restricted the sample to individuals age 22 and above according to the year the survey was conducted. My assumption is that the majority of individuals in China have completed their education (or at least the highest level they would attend) by the time they are 22. After

removing these individuals, the total sample size is reduced to 19,418 respondents: 9,904 from 2005, and 9,514 from 2006.

The independent variables are: the respondent's ethnicity, coded as either Han or non-Han. The collective non-Han category is made up of several ethnic groups: Mongols, Manchu, Hui, Tibetan, Zhuang, Uyghur and a sub-category of "other;" the respondent's gender (male/female); the respondent's year of birth, recoded into one of five cohorts: 1925-1942; 1943-1952; 1953-1960; 1961-1970; and 1971-1986. These cohort categories were designed to group individuals according to shared educational experiences divided by two events: (1) the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949; and (2) the influence of the Cultural Revolution.

Ideally, I would include a measure of where the respondent lived during the majority of his or her schooling years. However, this information is not available in either the 2005 or 2006 wave of the CGSS data. Instead, I use information about the respondent's *current* household registration, or *hukou* (户口) status, coded as either "Agricultural" (农业户口) or "Non-Agricultural" (非农业户口), as a proxy for whether they are from an urban or rural region. While it is problematic to equate their current hukou status with where respondents received the majority of their education, it is preferable to using the respondent's current province of residence. While an individual's hukou status may have changed since his or her schooling years -- a respondent's current (non-permanent) residence is likely to change more often (and more easily) than his or her official permanent residence.

Additional independent variables contain information on the respondent's parents: first, the father's highest level of school attended (but not necessarily completed), broken down into whether the respondent's father had: (1) not attended junior high school (including the categories "other" and "private school" (私塾)), (2) attended junior high school, or (3) attended school beyond the junior high level. Similarly, for the mother's highest level of school attended, values were coded as whether the respondent's mother had: (1) not attended junior high school (including the categories "other" and "private school" (*sishu*, "私塾")), (2) attended junior high school, or (3) attended school beyond the junior high school level.

The CGSS dataset also contained information about whether the respondent's parents were members of the Communist Party. The father's political affiliation was coded as a dichotomous variable to indicate if the father was a member of the Chinese Communist Party or not; the mother's political party affiliation was also coded as a dichotomous variable indicating if the mother was a party member or not. There was a slight difference in the categories between 2005 and 2006: the 2006 wave includes a category *tuanyuan* ("团员") indicating if the parent was a member of the Communist Youth League. I collapsed this category in with members of the Communist Party *dangyuan* ("党员").

Information was obtained about the father's occupational category when the respondent was 14 years old. This category is problematic, as only 3,223 respondents in 2005 (out of 9904), and 3,341 respondents in 2006 (out of 9514) provided an answer. I imputed values for the remaining respondents, however owing to the large percentage of imputed values, the effect of this variable in the models needs to be treated with caution. The Father's occupational category when the respondent was 14 was coded into four categories: the first was "Party-Government Body"; the second, "State-owned Enterprise/State-owned Organization"; the third, "Collective Enterprises"; and the fourth, a combined category of "Self-employed/Private/Foreign/Other."



Four additional variables that were only analyzed in a subset of the data were: the father's ethnicity (only in 2005); the mother's ethnicity (2005); the respondent's number of siblings (only in 2006); and the number of books in the home when the respondent was 14 (2006).

Finally, the analysis takes into consideration the stratified nature of the sample, as well as potential clustering effects associated with region. The provinces included in the analysis are: Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Shanxi, Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (*Neimengu*), Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Jiangxi, Shandong, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Shaanxi, Gansu and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

### **Methods/Analytic Strategy**

Owing to differences in the sampling frames used by the CGSS in 2005 and 2006, I treat the two waves of data as separate datasets. To examine the relationship between the respondent's highest level of education attended and (1) ethnicity, (2) social origin, and (3) political background (among other variables), borrowing from Mare (1980) I make use of logistic regression techniques to examine whether the respondent successfully made a transition (yes/no) to the next educational level, given attendance at the previous lower educational level. I examine three transitions: first, the transition from less than Junior High School to Junior High School for all respondents; second, the transition to High School for respondents who attended Junior High School attendance; and finally, the transition to College for respondents who previously attended High School.

Allison (1999) and Mood (2010) have offered important criticisms on the limitations of logistic regression models, particularly in reference to comparing logit (log odds) coefficients across models. They emphasize how unobserved heterogeneity (omitted variables) influences the magnitude of coefficients generated through logistic regression, making it problematic to compare coefficients across models. However, this criticism assumes an underlying "latent" dependent variable -- in this case, a *propensity* to make a given educational transition. I argue that my dependent variable is better understood not as an underlying continuous latent construct, but rather as a discrete decision between continuing one's education or not. I am not viewing my dependent variable as containing an underlying imaginary threshold that, after crossing, dictates whether one will or will not continue one's education. While Karlson, Holm and Breen (2012) have developed a statistical package to work around this problem, the program does not currently run with the *mim* and *svy* sets of commands in Stata. While I provide some discussion of the magnitude and significance level of the coefficients, I also provide the predicted probabilities of making the transition for the Han and non-Han controlling for various combinations of variables. These predicted probabilities are not sensitive to the criticisms mentioned above, and allow for a more direct comparison across cohorts.

This approach allows us to examine how ethnicity and other variables, including characteristics of the parents, influence whether an individual continues on with her education at each of these three stages. However, one limitation to my approach is that the education variable looks only at whether the respondent attended a certain level of education, and not whether he/she completed it. Thus the "pool" for each transition includes: (1) individuals who attend the lower level, and do not complete it (2) individuals who attend the lower level, complete it, but do not make the transition to the higher level, and (3) individuals who complete the lower level and proceed to attend the higher level of education. With better information on completed education at each level, we could disaggregate these individuals and examine the pairs (1) and (2), and (2)

and (3) separately. Nonetheless, these transitions still give us important information on variables that promote successful transitions at these various stages.

The sample “pool” shrinks at each successive transition. The first transition includes all individuals in the sample (9,904 in 2005; 9,514 in 2006), and examines how ethnicity and additional variables affect whether the respondent successfully makes the transition to Junior High School, given less than a Junior High School attendance. The second transition includes only those individuals who had previously attended Junior High School (6,307 in 2005; 6,278 in 2006), and examines the effect of the independent variables on whether the respondent made the transition to High School (given Junior High School attendance). The third transition includes only those individuals who had previously attended High School (3,252 in 2005; 3,095 in 2006), and examines how each of the independent variables affects whether an individual successfully transitioned to the College level.

Logistic regression analysis is an appropriate technique for examining these relationships, and allows me to control for the effects of additional characteristics of the respondent and his/her parents on the dependent variable. The regression coefficients produced give the effects of successfully making the transition for that individual variable in log odds units. When possible, I translate these log odds into predicted probabilities for Han and non-Han respondents, setting the remaining variables to specified levels of the remaining variables. While I am careful not to assume that a correlation between these variables means that one variable causes another, the findings can shed light on how variations in the independent variable can predict successful transitions to the next level. Binary logistic regression allows me to control for the effects of several independent variables at once, and tease out whether ethnicity, or other variables account for the discrepancies in successful educational transitions.

## **RESULTS**

### **Descriptive Statistics**

Tables I (2005) and II (2006) provide descriptive statistics for the entire sample. I include results for: (1) the unimputed, unweighted data; (2) the imputed, unweighted data; and (3) the imputed, weighted data. My discussion of the descriptive statistics focuses on (3) the imputed, weighted data.

For the dependent variable, the respondent’s highest level of attended education, I created three dummy variables to indicate if a transition was made at the Junior High School, High School, and College levels. For the first transition (Entry to Junior High School), the weighted results show just approximately 60% of the total sample made the transition into Junior High School in both 2005 and 2006. The number was slightly higher for Han respondents, approximately 61% in both 2005 and 2006. 45% (2005) and 46% (2006) of the non-Han successfully made the transition to Junior High School.

For the second transition (Entry to High School), the results indicate that 47% (2005) and 43% (2006) of respondents successfully made the transition to High School, given previous entry into Junior High School. For the Han, these values were 47%(2005) and 44% (2006), while for the non-Han they were 42% (2005) and 27% (2006).

Finally, for the third transition (Entry to College), the weighted results show that 30% (2005) and 28% (2006) of respondents successfully made the transition to college, given previous entry into High School. For Han respondents, these values were 30% (2005) and 28% (2006), while for the non-Han they were 39% (2005) and 32% (2006). Overall, the summary statistics show larger percentages of Han respondents made the transition to Junior High School, and High School (given Junior High School attendance), while the non-Han were more likely to

enter College (given High School attendance). These results are consistent with our earlier predictions.

Approximately 93% (2005) and 92% (2006) of the sample were Han Chinese. 47% (2005) and 48% (2006) of the sample were men. For the Han, 47% (2005) and 48% (2006) of the samples were men, while for the non-Han these values were 50% (2005) and 53% (2006).

I grouped age into five separate cohorts based on when the respondents would have received the majority of their pre-Junior High School education. Based on the weighted summary statistics, 13% (2005) and 6% (2006) of respondents were in the first cohort (1925-1942); 17% (2005) and 19% (2006) were in the second cohort (1943-1952); 17% (2005) and 18% (2006) of respondents were in the third cohort (1953-1960); 29% (2005) and 27% (2006) were in the fourth cohort (1961-1970); and 25% (2005) and 30% (2006) were in the fifth cohort (1971-1986).

For the Han respondents, 13% (2005) and 7% (2006) of respondents were in the first cohort (1925-1942); 17% (2005) and 19% (2006) were in the second cohort (1943-1952); 17% (2005) and 18% (2006) of respondents were in the third cohort (1953-1960); 29% (2005) and 27% (2006) were in the fourth cohort (1961-1970); and 24% (2005) and 29% (2006) were in the fifth cohort (1971-1986).

For the Non-Han respondents, 10% (2005) and 3% (2006) of respondents were in the first cohort (1925-1942); 15% (2005) and 16% (2006) were in the second cohort (1943-1952); 16% (2005) and 14% (2006) of respondents were in the third cohort (1953-1960); 30% (2005) and 31% (2006) were in the fourth cohort (1961-1970); and 30% (2005) and 37% (2006) were in the fifth cohort (1971-1986).

While the respondent's current region of residence was not directly included in the models, I included summary statistics for each of the provinces in the survey in Tables I and II. Tables I and II also include a measure of the respondent's current household registration (*hukou*) status. The results show 52% (2005) and 62% (2006) of the respondents held an agricultural hukou. For the Han, 51% (2005) and 61% (2006) of respondents held an agricultural hukou; while for the non-Han these values were 67% (2005) and 80% (2006). A greater percentage of respondents held an agricultural hukou in the 2006 wave compared to 2005, while the non-Han were more likely to hold an agricultural hukou in both waves of data.

The father's education level (when the respondent was 14) was coded into three categories: whether the father had attended less than Junior High School, had attended Junior High School, or had attended more than Junior High School. 78% (2005) and 79% (2006) of the respondents' fathers had less than a Junior High School education; 13% (2005) and 14% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 9% (2005) and 7% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. The overwhelming majority of respondents' fathers in both years had less than a Junior High School level of education.

For Han respondents, 78% (2005) and 78% (2006) of the respondents' fathers had less than a Junior High School education; 13% (2005) and 15% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 9% (2005) and 8% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. For Non-Han respondents, 83% (2005) and 84% (2006) of the respondents' fathers had less than a Junior High School education; 10% (2005) and 10% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 7% (2005) and 7% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. Across both years, the Han respondents' fathers reported higher levels of both Junior High School and more than Junior High School attendance.

The mother's education level (when the respondent was 14) was also coded into three categories: whether the mother had attended less than Junior High School, attended Junior High School, or had attended more than Junior High School. 89% (2005) and 89% (2006) of the respondents' mothers had less than a Junior High School education; 7% (2005) and 8% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 4% (2005) and 3% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. Across both years, the majority of respondents' mothers had attended less than Junior High School.

For Han respondents, 89% (2005) and 89% (2006) of the respondents' mothers had less than a Junior High School education; 8% (2005) and 8% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 4% (2005) and 3% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. For Non-Han respondents, 92% (2005) and 93% (2006) of the respondents' mothers had less than a Junior High School education; 6% (2005) and 5% (2006) had attended Junior High School; and 2% (2005) and 2% (2006) had attended more than Junior High School. Across both years, the Han respondents' mothers reported higher levels of both Junior High School and more than Junior High School attendance.

The Father's occupational category (when the respondent was 14) was grouped into four categories: Government/Party; State-owned Enterprises; Collective Enterprises; and Private/Foreign/Other. However, this variable contained over 60% missing values – thus the imputed results may not be reliable indicators of the respondents' fathers' occupations. Nonetheless, I report the imputed & weighted results. For the total sample, 7% (2005) and 8% (2006) of the respondents' fathers worked for the government/Party; 48% (2005) and 37% (2006) worked in a State-owned Enterprise; 17% (2005) and 19% (2006) worked in a Collective Enterprise; and 28% (2005) and 36% (2006) worked for a private/foreign firm or "other" occupational category.

In the 2005 CGSS wave, two additional variables asked for the ethnicity of the respondent's parents. For the total sample, 93% of respondents reported having a father who is Han, while 93% reported having a mother who is Han. Close to 100% of Han respondents reported having a Han father, and a Han mother, respectively. However, 5% of the non-Han respondents reported having a Han father, and 6% reported having a Han mother.

In the 2006 CGSS wave, two additional variables asked for the respondent's number of siblings, and the number of books in the home when the respondent was 14. The average number of reported siblings in 2006 was 3.2 for the entire sample; 3.2 for the Han sample; and 3.4 for the non-Han sample.

The number of books in the home was divided into six categories: none; less than 10; 10-20; 21-50; 51-100; and more than 100. 51% of the sample reported having no books in the home; 28% reported less than 10; 12% reported 10-20 books; 6% reported 21-50 books; 3% reported 51-100 books; and 2% reported more than 100 books. For the Han sample, 49% of the sample reported having no books in the home; 28% reported less than 10; 12% reported 10-20 books; 6% reported 21-50 books; 3% reported 51-100 books; and 2% reported more than 100 books. For the non-Han sample, 63% of the sample reported having no books in the home; 26% reported less than 10; 7% reported 10-20 books; 3% reported 21-50 books; 1% reported 51-100 books; and <1% reported more than 100 books. The Han were more likely to own books across each non-zero category.

Turning next to the results of the logistic regression models, I focus my interpretation on the effects of each independent variable in both the 2005 and 2006 waves of data. I examine the influence of ethnicity and additional variables on each educational transition – Junior High

School, High School, and College. In part I of the inferential statistics, I pool together all five cohorts and treat them as one sample. In part II, I treat each cohort as a separate sample.

### **Inferential Statistics: Part I - Total Sample**

There are eleven models in 2005, and thirteen models in 2006 that examine the relationship between educational transition and ethnicity, among other independent variables. Models (1) through (7) contain the same sets of variables in both 2005 and 2006 (what I refer to as the “base” models); while models (9), (10), and (11) in 2005 contain the same variables as models (8), (9), and (10) in 2006 (adding interaction effects to the “full base” model). The remaining single model in 2005, and three models in 2006 include independent variables only present either 2005 or 2006, but not both waves. (See Tables III and IV)

Model (8) in the 2005 wave includes variables for both the mother and father’s ethnicity, coded as either Han or non-Han (these variables were not present in the 2006 wave of the CGSS). Models (11), (12), and (13) in the 2006 wave contain additional variables for a) the total number of siblings and b) the number of books in the home when the respondent was 14 years old. I first discuss the seven base models shared between the two waves, then the three models containing interaction effects (and shared between both waves of data), before discussing the remaining four models that are unique to one particular wave of the CGSS.

Interpretation of the seven base models focuses on model (6) in both 2005 and 2006. While model (7) represents an improvement in model fit over model (6) (it includes the father’s occupational category), approximately 60% of the values for this particular variable were imputed, making it difficult to draw solid conclusions from model (7).

#### **Han Ethnicity**

For the first transition, in both 2005 and 2006, Han ethnicity is a significant positive predictor of whether an individual successfully makes the transition to Junior High School. The coefficients for Han ethnicity are similar in magnitude across both waves of data: in 2005, in model (6), the full model including all of the main independent variables (minus the father’s occupational category and interaction effects), the coefficient for Han ethnicity is .701 (in log odds units), while in 2006, this coefficient is .624 (log odds units). Adding interactions between Han ethnicity and cohort removes the overall significance of Han ethnicity, while the interaction between Han and the Reform Era Cohort is statistically significant (though only at the .10 level in 2006). This suggests the Han advantage in terms of the first transition may be limited to the most recent cohort of respondents.

For the second transition, the 2005 and 2006 waves come to different conclusions: in the 2005 wave, Han ethnicity is not a significant predictor of making the transition to High School, given previous Junior High School attendance in any of the models (including the models with Han interaction effects). However, in the 2006 wave, Han ethnicity is a significant predictor of the transition to High School at the .05 level in models (1) – (3), and at the .10 level in models (4) – (7) (Table IV). Adding in the control for hukou status and characteristics of the parents reduces the significance level of Han ethnicity to .10.

Finally, for the third transition, the 2005 and 2006 waves again come to different conclusions: in the 2005 wave, Han ethnicity is a significant negative predictor of entry into College, given previous High School attendance, in models (1) through (8), and in model (10). The results show the non-Han appear to have an advantage in making the transition to College. However, the results from 2006 do not find Han ethnicity to be a significant predictor of the transition to College in any of the models. The results for both the second and third transition find limited support for the significance of Han ethnicity in shaping educational outcomes.

## Gender

The results show that male respondents were more likely to attend Junior High School in each of the six base models (2-7), as well as in each of the models including interaction effects in both waves of data. Male respondents were also more likely to attend High School, given previous Junior High School attendance. The results in both the 2005 and 2006 waves of data find support for the male advantage across all models, including a majority of models containing interaction effects. Finally, both waves of data show males were also significantly more likely to attend College, given previous High School attendance across all the base models, and models containing interaction effects.

These results are consistent with current research on gender inequality in China. Across each of the three transitions, males were more likely to make the transition to the next education level, controlling for parental characteristics, hukou status, and the respondent's ethnicity.

## Cohorts

Turning next to the cohorts, there is a general trend towards increasing attendance in Junior High School over time. In both 2005 and 2006, each sequential cohort witnessed an increased likelihood of attending junior high school, relative to the reference cohort, those individuals born in the Republican Era (1925-1942). Given China's increasing commitment to providing primary education for its citizens, this illustrates the significant gains China has made in primary education.

For the second transition to High School, the 2005 wave shows respondents in the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952) were significantly less likely to attend High School compared to members of the reference category, the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942). There was also limited support for a decreased likelihood of attending High School for members of the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), and an increased likelihood of attending High School for members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), both relative to the Republican Era Cohort. The 2006 wave also shows that members of the PRC Early Years Cohort were significantly less likely to attend High School, while members of the Reform Era Cohort were more likely to attend High School, both relative to the Republican Era Cohort.

Finally, for the third transition, the 2005 wave finds that members of the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), and the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970) were all significantly less likely to attend College, relative to members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942). There was limited support that members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986) were more likely to attend College, but this significance level dropped out once controlling for characteristics of the respondent's parents. The 2006 wave also found the members of the Early Cultural Revolution and Later Cultural Revolutions Cohorts were significantly less likely to attend College compared to members of the Republican Era Cohort. Again, limited evidence was found that showed members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986) were more likely to attend College, relative to the reference group. However, as in 2005, this significance level dropped out once controlling for characteristics of the parents.

## Agricultural Hukou

Next, we examined the influence of having an agricultural hukou, relative to an urban/other hukou. While this variable asks for the respondent's current hukou status, this variable serves as a proxy for whether the respondent lived in an urban or rural area during his/her schooling years. The results clearly show a statistically significant negative effect of having an agricultural hukou, relative to an urban/other hukou, across all models in both the

2005 and 2006 waves of data. This finding held up across all three transitions. At all of the transitions, having an agricultural hukou significantly decreased the likelihood of advancing to the next education level. Again, this finding is consistent with the large body of research that examines regional inequality in China.

#### Father's Education

Across both the 2005 and 2006 waves of data, the father's education level was a significant positive predictor of Junior High School attendance. Having a father with either a Junior High School or more than Junior High School education level resulted in an increased likelihood of the respondent attending Junior High School, relative to having a father with less than a Junior High School education. The finding was significant across all models in both waves of data.

Father's education has a similar effect on High School attendance. Across all models in both the 2005 and 2006 wave of data, father's education was a significant positive predictor of High School attendance. As in the first transition, individuals whose fathers attended more than Junior High School witnessed the greatest increase in likelihood of attending High School, relative to individuals whose fathers attended less than Junior High School. Having a father with a Junior High School education also witnessed a significant increase in the likelihood of attending High School, although the magnitude of the coefficient was smaller than for the More than Junior High School category.

Finally, for the third transition, in both waves of data, the results find that only respondents whose fathers had more than Junior High School education saw an increased likelihood of attending College, relative to those whose fathers had less than a Junior High School education. No significant difference was found for those whose fathers had a Junior High School education level.

#### Mother's Education

The respondent's mother's education was a significant positive predictor of Junior High School attendance. Respondents whose mothers had either a Junior High School or More than Junior High School education level were significantly more likely to attend Junior High School, relative to respondents whose mothers had less than a Junior High School education. The magnitude for both educational categories were comparable, suggesting at the level of this first transition, there was no strong difference between the Junior High School and More than Junior High School categories.

For the second transition, mother's education was again a significant positive predictor of High School attendance. Respondents whose mothers had either a Junior High School or More than Junior High School education level were more likely themselves to attend High School. The results show a greater benefit for individuals whose mothers had more than Junior High School education level. Individuals whose mothers had a Junior High School education also were more likely to attend High School compared to the less than Junior High School group, but the results were not as strong as for the More than Junior High School group.

Finally, for the third transition, in the 2005 wave, only those individuals whose mothers had More than a Junior High School education were more likely to attend College, relative to the reference category. However, the 2006 wave found significant positive returns to both the More than Junior High School category (at the .05 significance level), as well as the Junior High School category (at the .10 significance level), suggesting mother's education was a significant predictor of college attendance for the respondent in this wave of data.

#### Father's Party Membership

For Father's Party Membership, the results for the first transition found that individuals who had a father in the Communist Party were significantly more likely to attend Junior High School. The effect was significant in all models in both the 2005 and 2006 waves of data at the .05 level. However, for the second transition, the 2006 wave found that Father's Party Membership had a significant positive effect on the likelihood of attending High School. The 2005 wave found only limited support (.10 level) for Father's Party Membership on the likelihood of attending High School.

For the third transition, Father's Party Membership was not a significant predictor of College attendance in the 2005 wave of data. However, there was limited evidence to show that the Father's Party Membership was a significant positive predictor of College attendance in the 2006 wave (at the .10 level). Overall, the Father's Party Membership had the strongest effect on the transition to Junior High School.

#### Mother's Party Membership

For the first transition, the results found that the respondent's Mother's Party Membership status was not a significant predictor of Junior High School attendance in any of the models in either the 2005 or 2006 wave. However, for the second transition, Mother's Party Membership status was a significant positive predictor of High School attendance in the 2005 wave, although this variable was not significant in any of the models in 2006. Finally, for the third transition, the results for Mother's Party Membership status were not significant in any of the models in the 2005 wave, however it was a significant positive predictor of College attendance in the 2006 wave (at the .05 level).

#### Father's Occupational Category

One model in each wave examined the influence of the father's occupational category (when the respondent was 14) on educational transitions. Since over 60% of these values were imputed, the results should be treated with caution. The results show for the first transition, having a father in the State-Owned Enterprises occupational category saw an increased likelihood of entering Junior High School, relative to the reference category, having a father in a Government/Party related occupation. While this was found in both the 2005 and 2006 waves, it was only significant at the .10 level. In 2005, there was an additional negative effect of having a father in the Private/Foreign/Other occupational category on an individual's likelihood of attending Junior High School (also significant at the .10 level).

Father's Occupational Category was not a significant predictor of either High School or College attendance in any of the models in both waves of data.

#### Parental Ethnicity

The 2005 wave of data asked respondents for the ethnicity of their parents. The results show that for the first transition, the father's ethnicity was not a significant predictor of entering Junior High School. However, having a Han mother saw an increased likelihood of entering Junior High School, controlling for other factors. In addition, the respondent's ethnicity was not significant in this model, suggesting the mother's ethnic background, rather than the individual's, was a significant predictor of Junior High School attendance.

For the second transition, having a Han father saw an increased likelihood of entering High School, controlling for other factors. The ethnicity of the respondent's mother was not a significant predictor in this transition. However, for the third transition, the mother's ethnicity again was significant, but only at the .10 level. Here, the results show having a Han mother resulted in a greater likelihood of attending College. This coefficient was also offset by a



statistically significant increase in the coefficient for the respondent's ethnicity. The father's ethnicity was not a significant predictor of College attendance.

#### Number of Siblings

The 2006 wave of data also contained information on the respondent's number of siblings. This variable was significant at the .05 level across all three transitions, suggesting that each additional sibling decreased the likelihood that the respondent would advance to the next educational level. The magnitude of the logit coefficients was similar across the first two transitions, but decreased slightly in the third transition.

#### Number of Books in the Home (at age 14)

Finally, the 2006 wave of data also asked respondents to provide the number of books in their home when they were 14. There are 6 categories: none, less than 10, 10-20, 21-50, 51-100, and more than 100. This variable was also significant in all models across the three transition at the .05 significant level. The results here show a largely positive linear trend in the relationship between number of books and the likelihood of completing an educational transition. Having more books in the home at age 14 increased the chances of successfully completing a given educational transition.

### **Inferential Statistics: Part II – Cohort Results**

In part II, I again examine the influence of a set of independent variables on each educational transition, but I treat each cohort as a separate sample. There are two waves of data, 5 cohorts within each wave of data, and a series of 7 models in 2005 (Table V), and 9 models in 2006 (Table VI) that examine factors that predict successful educational transitions. While there is a tremendous amount of information presented in these tables, the analysis focuses on several key variables: 1) Han ethnicity; 2) measures of parental socio-economic status; 3) measures of parental political capital; 4) and highlighting any additional significant variables (number of books, siblings, etc.). (Please refer to Tables V and VI)

#### Han Ethnicity

For the first transition to Junior High School, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor for the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) in any of the models. For both the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952) and the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of Junior High School attendance in earlier models with limited controls – however, once adding in controls for region (agricultural hukou) and characteristics of the parents, this effect dropped out for both cohorts.

For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), Han ethnicity was a significant predictor of junior high school attendance in one wave of data (2005) even when controlling for region and characteristics of the parents; however, in the 2006 wave of data, the significance of Han ethnicity dropped out once controlling for agricultural hukou status. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), Han ethnicity was a significant predictor of junior high school attendance in both waves of data, and controlling for the full set of predictor variables.

For the second transition to High School, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor for the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), or the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960) in any of the models. For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), Han ethnicity was significant in some of the limited models (excluding region and characteristics of the parents), but became insignificant once adding in these controls. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), Han ethnicity was a significant predictor of high school attendance in one wave of data (2006), controlling for the full set of predictors. In

the 2005 wave, the significance of Han ethnicity was eliminated once adding in regional controls.

For the third transition to College, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor for the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) in any of the models. For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), Han ethnicity had significance at the .10 level in some of the limited models in 2005 and in a negative direction (suggesting the non-Han were more likely to make the transition to College, given High School attendance), although this significance again was eliminated once controlling for hukou status. Han ethnicity was not significant in any of the models in 2006.

For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), Han ethnicity was a significant negative predictor of College attendance. Across both waves of data, the results show non-Han were significantly more likely to attend college, given previous high school attendance. For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), the two waves of data show contrasting findings: the 2005 wave shows a significant negative effect of Han ethnicity on college attendance, while the 2006 wave finds no significant effect of Han ethnicity on this third transition. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), the results show no significant effect of Han ethnicity in any of the models.

To summarize the findings, Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor of any educational transition for members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942). For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), Han ethnicity had limited significance in the first transition (in a positive direction), no significance in the second transition, and limited significance (in a negative direction) for the third. For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), Han ethnicity had limited significance in the first transition (in a positive direction), no significance in the second transition, but was a significant negative predictor of college attendance controlling for the full set of variables. For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), Han ethnicity had partial significance (in a positive direction) for transitions one and two, and partial significance (in a negative direction) for the third transition. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), Han ethnicity was a significant positive predictor of Junior High School attendance (first transition), had partial significance for high school attendance (positive predictor), but was not a significant predictor of college attendance.

This suggests that Han ethnicity has had an increasing effect on junior high school attendance (in favor of the Han) and to some extent on high school attendance across the five cohorts, but a declining effect on college attendance. Particularly during the PRC Early Years, Early Cultural Revolution, and Later Cultural Revolution periods, there was a significant non-Han advantage in college attendance. However, by the Reform Era, this effect had dropped out.

#### Gender

For the first transition, males were more likely to attend junior high school across all models and cohorts. The magnitude of the log odds coefficients declined over time, suggesting while a male advantage remains up through the Reform Era Cohort, it has been shrinking over time. However, things get more complicated beginning with the transition to high school (second transition). For the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), males were more likely to attend high school in only one wave of data (2006) – no significant differences were found in the 2005 wave. For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), males were more likely to attend high school in only one wave of data (2005), while no significant differences were found in the 2006 wave.

For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort, there were no significant differences found in high school attendance in one wave (2005), and significant differences at only the .10 level in the 2006 wave. This suggests that during this period, gender differences in high school attendance

were smaller than before. However, for the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), the male advantage returned across both waves of data. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), one wave of data (2005) shows significant differences between men and women in high school attendance, while the other wave (2006) shows significant differences at only the .10 level.

For the third transition, male members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) were more likely to attend College in only one wave of data (2006). In the 2005 wave, no significant differences were found between men and women in College attendance. For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), both waves of data found no significant differences in College attendance for men and women. For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), males were significantly more likely to attend College across both waves of data. For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), males were significantly more likely to attend College in only one wave of the data (2005). No significant differences were found in the 2006 wave. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), no significant differences were found between men and women in the likelihood of attending College, given previous High School attendance in the 2005 wave. Significant differences were found in the 2006 wave in favor of men, however these results were significant at only the .10 level.

#### Agricultural Hukou

Across all three transitions, and across all five cohorts, agricultural hukou holders were significantly less likely to make each educational transition. Two exceptions appear: first, no significant differences were found for the college transition during the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), but only in one wave of data (2006); and second, for the transition to college during the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952) – but again limited to only one wave of the CGSS (2006). Aside from these two cohorts, non-agricultural hukou holders were significantly more likely to make each educational transition across all cohorts.

#### Father's Education

The Father's Education level was coded into three categories: attended less than Junior High School (reference category); attended Junior High School; and attended more than Junior High School. For the first transition, father's education was a significant predictor of entering Junior High School for members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942). While this coefficient was statistically significant at the .05 level, in the 2006 wave, including measures of cultural capital (number of books) changes the significance level from .05 to .10. Across all models, the logit coefficient for having a father with "More than Junior High School" education is larger than for having a father with "Junior High School" education, both relative to the reference category, having a father with "Less than Junior High School" education.

For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), having a father with "Junior High School" or "More than Junior High School" education, relative to the reference category, witnessed a greater likelihood the respondent would attend Junior High School. The 2005 wave suggests a respondent with a father who has a "Junior High School" education is the most likely to attend Junior High School, while the 2006 wave suggests a respondent with a father who has "More than Junior High School" would be the most likely to complete this first transition.

For the three remaining cohorts, each witnessed a positive relationship between father's education and the respondent's likelihood of attending Junior High School. For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), and the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), the higher the father's education level, the more likely the respondent would attend Junior High School. However, for the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), having a father with a "Junior

High School” (rather than “More than Junior High School”) attendance was most advantageous to the respondent’s chances of attending Junior High School themselves.

For the second transition to High School, for the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), only the 2005 wave found a significant positive relationship between father’s education and the respondent’s High School attendance. The category “More than Junior High School” in 2005 saw a significant positive effect on the respondent’s High School attendance. No significant effects were found in the 2006 wave. For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1942-1952), the 2005 wave found father’s education not to be a significant predictor of High School attendance; however, the 2006 wave found having a father with “More than Junior High School” education to be a significant positive predictor of the respondent’s High School attendance.

For both the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960) and Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), the results show respondents were more likely to attend high school the higher the father’s education level. In both cohorts, the 2005 wave found both levels of father’s education to be significant, relative to having a father with less than a Junior High School education. However, the 2006 wave found only the “More than Junior High School” category to be significant at the .05 level, while the “Junior High School” level was either insignificant or significant at the .10 level. Lastly, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), both categories of father’s education were significant at the .05 level across both waves of data. The results show the higher the level of the father’s education, the more likely the respondent would attend High School.

Finally, for the third transition to College, for both the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) and the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), father’s education was not significant at the .05 level across any of the models. However, for the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960) and the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), the category “More than Junior High School” was significant across both waves of data. Having a father in this highest educational category saw significant positive returns to the respondent’s own likelihood of entering College. Similarly, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), the “More than Junior High School” category had a significant positive effect on the respondent’s College attendance in both waves of data. However, having a father who attended “Junior High School” was not significant at the .05 level.

#### Mother’s Education

The Mother’s Education level was also coded into three categories: attended less than Junior High School (reference category); attended Junior High School; and attended more than Junior High School. For the first transition to Junior High School, the respondent’s mother’s educational level was not significant for two cohorts: the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), and the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960). For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), in the 2005 CGSS wave, having a mother with a “Junior High School” education was a significant positive predictor of the respondent’s Junior High School attendance, while having a mother with “More than Junior High School” did not have a significant effect on the likelihood of the transition. A similar story occurred in the 2006 wave, although mother’s education was significant at only the .10 level.

For the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), both categories of mother’s education were significant predictors of the respondent’s Junior High School attendance – however, in both waves, the “More than Junior High School” category was significant at only the .10 level. Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), both categories of mother’s education level were significant predictors of the respondent’s Junior High School attendance. However, in

the 2006 wave, the “More than Junior High School” category was again significant at only the .10 level.

For the second transition (High School given Junior High School attendance), mother’s education is not a significant predictor of the respondent’s High School attendance at the .05 level in either wave of data. For the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), while no significant relationship was found in the 2005 wave of data, in 2006 the results show a significant positive effect of having a mother with a “Junior High School” education level on the likelihood of High School attendance. For the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), the 2006 results show no significant relationship between mother’s education and High School attendance, while the 2005 results show a significant positive relationship between having a mother with a “More than Junior High School” education level and the respondent’s High School attendance.

For both the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970) and the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), the mother’s education level was a significant positive predictor of the respondent’s entry into High School. The results show the higher the mother’s education level, the more likely the respondent would attend High School. The results are somewhat qualified in the 2006 wave in the models including measures of cultural capital (number of books), but the overall picture is that mother’s education is a significant predictor in these two cohorts.

For the third transition, mother’s education was not a significant predictor of the respondent’s entry into College (at the .05 level) in either the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) or the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952). In both the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960) and Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), the category “More than Junior High School” was significant in the 2005 wave. The results show respondents with a mother who had “More than Junior High School” education were more likely to enter College, compared to those whose mother had a “Less than Junior High School” education. No significant relationship was found in the 2006 wave between mother’s education and the likelihood of entering College.

Finally, for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), mother’s education was significant in both waves of data. In 2005, only the category “More than Junior High School” was a significant positive predictor of College entry, while in 2006, both education levels were significant positive predictors of the respondent’s College attendance.

#### Father’s Party Membership

Respondents were asked if their father was a member of the Communist Party. For the first transition, Party Membership was a significant positive predictor of entrance to Junior High School for the following cohorts: Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), but only in the 2005 wave; PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952); Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), but only in the 2005 wave; Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970); and for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), but only in the 2005 wave. For each of these cohorts, having a father who was a Communist Party Member increased the likelihood the respondent entered Junior High School.

For the second transition, Party membership was a significant positive predictor of entrance to High School for the following cohorts: PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), but only in the 2006 wave; Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), but only at the .10 significance level for both waves; and for the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), but only in the 2006 wave. Father’s party membership status was not a significant predictor for individuals in either the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) or the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986).

For the third transition, Party membership was a significant positive predictor of entrance to College for the following cohorts: PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), but only in the 2006 wave; and for the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), but only in the 2006 wave and only at the .10 significance level. Father's Party membership was not a significant predictor of the likelihood of making the transition to College for members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), or the Reform Era (1971-1986).

In general, it appears that Father's Party Membership is most influential at the first transition to Junior High School. While it is somewhat influential in influencing whether the respondent makes the second and third transitions, this is true for only certain cohorts.

#### Mother's Party Membership

Respondents were also asked if their mother was a member of the Communist Party. For the first transition, mother's party membership was a significant positive predictor of entrance to Junior High School for only one cohort: the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), but only in the 2006 wave and only at the .10 significance level. It was not a significant predictor of Junior High attendance in any of the models for the remaining cohorts.

For the second transition, mother's Party membership was a significant predictor of the transition to High School for only one cohort: the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), and for only the 2006 wave of data. It was not a significant predictor of High School attendance in any of the models for the remaining cohorts. Finally, for the third transition, mother's Party membership was a significant predictor of the transition to College for two cohorts: the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952), but only in the 2006 wave of data; and for the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), but again only in the 2006 wave of data.

Overall, the respondent's mother's membership in the Communist Party had only a sporadic influence on each of the three transitions across cohorts. No strong pattern emerged from the data.

#### Father's Occupational Category

As previously mentioned, the inclusion of the respondent's father's occupational category when the respondent was 14 is problematic owing to nearly 60% missing values. While these missing values were imputed, the results must be interpreted with a great degree of caution. On the whole, the father's occupational category, relative to the reference category (works for the government/Party), was significant at the .05 level for only one cohort: the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), and only in the 2006 wave. The results found having a father in the "Private/Foreign/Other" sector saw a decreased likelihood of the respondent making the transition to Junior High, compared to having a father who worked for the government/Party. No strong associations were found across the remaining cohorts.

Similarly, for the second transition, father's occupation was significant at the .05 level for only one cohort: the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), but only in the 2005 wave. The results indicate having a father who worked in the "Collective Enterprises" sector saw a decreased likelihood of the respondent entering high school, compared to having a father who worked for the government/Party. There were no strong associations found across the remaining cohorts. Finally, for the third transition to College, the respondent's father's occupational category was not significant at the .05 level for any of the models across all five cohorts.

While I am cautious about drawing any substantive conclusions from the inclusion of this variable in the models, one may tentatively say the Father's occupational category had a very minor, if any, effect on the likelihood of successfully making an educational transition at each level.

## Parental Ethnicity

The 2005 wave of data included information on the ethnicity of the respondent's parents. Parental ethnicity was coded as either Han or non-Han for both the mother and father. For the first transition, having a Han mother was a significant positive predictor of entering Junior High School, controlling for other factors, for members of the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970). In this model, the ethnicity of the respondent and the respondent's father were not significant. The mother's ethnicity did not have a significant effect on the likelihood of attending Junior High School across any of the remaining models or cohorts.

Having a Han father was also significant negative predictor of entering Junior High School for members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986). In this model, Han ethnicity of the respondent saw an increased likelihood of entering Junior High – suggesting this was partially offset by the negative effect of having a Han father. This may suggest Han individuals with a non-Han father were significantly more likely to attend Junior High School, controlling for other factors during this period.

For the second transition, the respondent's mother or father's ethnicity was significant for only the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), but only at the .10 significance level. The results show that having a Han father increased the likelihood of entering College, given High School attendance. However, this increase was offset by a negative effect of being Han for the respondent. In other words, all Han respondents were less likely to attend College, but those Han respondents (or non-Han respondents) that had a Han father were more likely to attend College, controlling for other factors. The .10 significance level of this coefficient casts some doubt on this interpretation. For the third transition, neither the respondent's mother or father's ethnicity was a significant predictor of college attendance, given High School attendance.

## Number of Siblings

In the 2006 wave of data, respondents were asked for the number of siblings they had. For the first transition, three cohorts reported a significant negative relationship between the number of siblings and whether the respondent attended Junior High School: Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), and the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986). For these three cohorts, each additional sibling in the home decreased the respondent's likelihood of attending Junior High School. Number of siblings was not a significant predictor of Junior High School attendance for the two remaining cohorts.

For the second transition, the number of siblings was a significant negative predictor of the respondent's likelihood of entering High School in three cohorts: first, for members of the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), but only at the .10 significance level; second, for members of the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), but again only at the .10 significance level; and finally, for members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986).

For the third transition, the number of siblings was a significant negative predictor of college attendance for only two cohorts: first, for members of the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970), but only at the .10 significance level; and second, for members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986). The number of siblings was not a significant predictor of college attendance for the remaining three cohorts. In sum, the evidence suggests a growing importance of the number of siblings on an individual's likelihood of successfully making an educational transition over time. In part, this negative effect of the number of siblings on the likelihood of making each educational transition, particularly in the Reform Era, may also reflect the penalties associated with having additional children beyond the "One-Child Policy."

## Number of Books in the Home

In the 2006 wave, respondents were asked how many books they had in their home when they were 14 years old. This variable is a proxy for the “cultural capital” of the respondent’s family when they were growing up. The results were grouped into six categories: None, less than 10 books, 10-20 books, 21-50 books, 51-100 books, and more than 100 books. For the first transition, the number of books in the home was a significant positive predictor of Junior High School attendance across all five cohorts. In general, the relationship appears to be the more books in the home, the greater the likelihood of attending Junior High School, compared to having no books in the home.

For the second transition, the number of books in the home is not a significant predictor of High School attendance for members of the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942), yet is significant for the remaining four cohorts. In general, the results show an increase in the likelihood of attending High School the greater the number of books in the home. The effect also appears to increase over time, with greater returns to the number of books in the Reform Era Cohort.

Turning to the third transition, we see the number of books in the home is not a significant predictor of College attendance for the Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942) or the PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952). However, beginning with the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960), and continuing through the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970) and the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), the number of books in the home again is a positive predictor of College attendance.

In sum, the number of books in the home was a positive predictor of Junior High School attendance across all five cohorts, but was a positive predictor of High School attendance in only four cohorts, and a positive predictor of College attendance in only three cohorts.

### **ANALYSIS**

Based on my analysis of the CGSS data, I argue there is a complicated set of relationships between educational attainment and (1) social origins, (2) party membership, and (3) ethnicity over time.

First, the results from the logistic regression models point to a growing significance of both father and mother’s education over time in predicting the transitions to High School and College, but a declining (though still very significant) influence on the transition to Junior High School over time. Overall, the effects of parental education were strongest in shaping Junior High School attendance, but these effects were strongest during the earlier cohorts, and weakened slightly over time. Parental education remained robust during the Later Cultural Revolution and Reform Era Cohorts in predicting High School and College attendance. At the same time, the significance of parental education at these higher educational transitions appeared to be increasing across the cohorts.

Father’s education level was a significant predictor of the transition to Junior High School. This result held up across all five cohorts, with most models showing an increasing likelihood of attending Junior High as the level of Father’s education increased. For the second transition to High School, the effect of Father’s education was still significant, but only for the three most recent cohorts. Both having a father with a “Junior High School” or “More than Junior High School” education significantly increased the likelihood a respondent would attend High School.

For the third transition to College, Father’s education still remained significant in the most recent three cohorts, but only if the Father had “More than Junior High School” education. The “Junior High School” category failed to produce a significant result, suggesting only



respondents with a father in the highest educational category experienced an advantage in the likelihood of attending college.

The education level of the respondent's mother also had a significant effect on educational attainment. For the first transition to Junior High School, the mother's education level positively affected three of the cohorts (PRC Early Years, Later Cultural Revolution, and Reform Era). The evidence found mixed support for educational advantages connected to respondents with a mother who had either a "Junior High School" or "More than Junior High School" education. The effect was strongest for members of the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986).

Mother's education level remained a significant positive predictor of High School attendance, particularly for the most recent two cohorts (Later Cultural Revolution, Reform Era). For these last two cohorts, there was a positive (and somewhat) linear relationship between the mother's education level and the likelihood of attending High School. Finally, the mother's education level remained a significant predictor of College attendance as well, though most strongly for members of the Reform Era cohort (1971-1986).

Together, these results suggest that parental education matters most for Junior High School attendance. The effects on High School and College attendance remained only for the most recent cohorts, and in particular, for members of the Reform Era cohort (1971-1986). The findings here show conditional support to Zhou et al. (1998), in that parental socio-economic status appears to have the greatest influence on all three transitions during the Reform Era – a period of educational expansion and growth. However, this result did not hold up during the other period of educational expansion – for members of the PRC Early Years Cohort.

Second, father's party membership is a significant predictor of educational attainment across the three transitions, but is most important in shaping earlier levels of education. Father's party membership had its largest effect on Junior High School attendance across all five cohorts. While it remained significant for the second and third transitions, its effects were limited to certain cohorts. Tellingly, father's party membership did not influence the likelihood of entering High School or College for members of the most recent Reform Era cohort.

The effects of mother's party membership were sporadic, and no clear pattern emerged from the data. Mother's party membership had only a limited effect on the transition to Junior High School for one cohort; a limited effect on the transition to High School for one cohort; and a limited effect on the transition to College for two cohorts.

While the effects of parental education weakened over time for the transition to Junior High, but grew stronger over time for the higher level transitions (and in particular, during the most recent period of educational expansion in the Reform Era), the effects of father's party membership were strongest in the cohorts immediately following the establishment of the PRC. While Party Membership remains a significant predictor of Junior High School across all five cohorts, its significance as a predictor of High School and College attendance has faded over time across all three transitions.

A comparison of the logit coefficients within each model reveals a larger magnitude coefficient (on the log odds scale) for measures of parental education than for party membership. In contrast to Zhou et al. (1998), the findings here suggest a greater importance of social origin (as measured by parental education) than for political connections in predicting educational attainment. While both parental education and party membership are significant predictors of educational attainment in China, the effects of parental education appear to be larger, and for some transitions have even strengthened over time.

Third, Han ethnicity appears to be most significant in predicting Junior High School attendance. The logistic regression models for the total sample show a significant effect of Han ethnicity on whether the respondent attends Junior High School (first transition), but the cohort models suggest this effect is limited to the most recent Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986), and in one wave of data, to the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970). The findings from the earlier cohorts suggest Han ethnicity was not a significant predictor of Junior High School attendance before the 1970s.

While the Han have an advantage in attending Junior High School, this advantage largely disappears in the second transition to High School. There is only limited evidence of a Han advantage in High School attendance – and this appears to be concentrated in one wave of data for the Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986). The remaining models find limited evidence of a Han advantage in High School attendance.

Finally, in the third transition, the results show a non-Han advantage in successfully making the transition to College given previous High School attendance (and controlling for additional variables) in one wave of data. When looking at the cohort data, the non-Han advantage is concentrated in two cohorts: the Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960) and the Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970). This effect drops out for the Reform Era Cohort, and is not significant in the two earliest cohorts. This finding shows that non-Han ethnicity was advantageous for college entry during a period of rapid educational decline.

#### **LIMITATIONS & CONCLUSIONS**

One limitation to this study is the lack of diversity of ethnic minority groups in the sample. Unfortunately, the sample size of ethnic minorities in the CGSS was not large enough to separate out individual non-Han ethnic groups. While I use a category “non-Han” to collectively refer to several different ethnic minority groups, this category masks potential differences between non-Han ethnic groups. The results for individual ethnic groups may differ from those of the collective “non-Han” category. Future research should investigate potential variation within this non-Han category.

In conclusion, the findings paint a complicated picture of the relationship between educational attainment and the three key independent variables. First, social origins (as measured by parental education) appear to outweigh political connections (as measured by parental party membership) in predicting educational attainment. While the effects of party membership appeared to decline over time for all three transitions, the influence of parental education has increased over time for the later two transitions. In contrast to Zhou et al.’s (1998) finding, the results point to an enduring significance of both social origin and political connections in shaping patterns of educational stratification within China – but that parental education is a more important predictor of educational attainment than parental party membership over time.

Some support was found for the Maximally Maintained Inequality (MMI) hypothesis. Parental education was indeed an important predictor of educational attainment in periods of educational decline, but also remained significant in periods of educational expansion. While these findings do not necessarily contradict the predictions of MMI, the findings point to the robustness of parental education in both times of expansion and decline, particularly in influencing the transitions to High School and College.

MMI would predict during periods of educational expansion, the importance of family background would fade as more privileged members of society reach saturation in their demand for education. The results here suggest that at the Junior High School level, the magnitude of the coefficients for parental education did decline across the five cohorts over time. While the affect

of father's education remained significant in all five cohorts, the magnitude of these coefficients was diminished. However, the coefficients for parental education at the High School and College levels reveal a growing importance of parental education in predicting these transitions across the five cohorts – with an increase in the influence of both mother's and father's education in the Reform Era.

Finally, while ethnicity was a significant predictor of Junior High School attendance, this effect was concentrated in the most recent cohorts. There was only weak support for a Han advantage in High School attendance in the Reform Era cohort, and some evidence to suggest a non-Han advantage in college attendance during the Cultural Revolution. While the significance of Han ethnicity may be increasing in shaping Junior High School attendance, it appears to be decreasing in its importance in predicting High School attendance. At the same time, the non-Han advantage in College attendance also declined in the Reform Era, suggesting a leveling of Han and non-Han inequality at higher levels of education.

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**TABLE I-A**

**2005 Unimputed Data -- Unweighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9904	0.637	9305	0.646	599	0.497
Transition 2: High School	6307	0.516	6009	0.518	298	0.470
Transition 3: College	3252	0.328	3112	0.323	140	0.443
Han Ethnicity	9904	0.940	9305	1.000	599	0.000
Male	9904	0.473	9305	0.472	599	0.479
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9904	0.141	9305	0.144	599	0.102
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9904	0.166	9305	0.166	599	0.152
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9904	0.175	9305	0.176	599	0.165
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9904	0.279	9305	0.279	599	0.279
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9904	0.239	9305	0.235	599	0.302
Beijing	9904	0.040	9305	0.041	599	0.028
Tianjin	9904	0.038	9305	0.039	599	0.015
Hebei	9904	0.041	9305	0.042	599	0.013
Shanxi	9904	0.016	9305	0.017	599	0.000
Neimenggu	9904	0.017	9305	0.017	599	0.018
Liaoning	9904	0.041	9305	0.042	599	0.035
Jilin	9904	0.017	9305	0.018	599	0.005
Heilongjiang	9904	0.032	9305	0.034	599	0.005
Shanghai	9904	0.038	9305	0.040	599	0.002
Jiangsu	9904	0.058	9305	0.061	599	0.007
Zhejiang	9904	0.031	9305	0.033	599	0.013
Anhui	9904	0.050	9305	0.053	599	0.000
Fujian	9904	0.029	9305	0.030	599	0.010
Jiangxi	9904	0.024	9305	0.026	599	0.000
Shandong	9904	0.065	9305	0.067	599	0.042
Henan	9904	0.065	9305	0.069	599	0.010
Hubei	9904	0.048	9305	0.043	599	0.127
Hunan	9904	0.048	9305	0.048	599	0.053
Guangdong	9904	0.055	9305	0.059	599	0.002
Guangxi	9904	0.040	9305	0.025	599	0.267
Hainan	9904	0.008	9305	0.008	599	0.003
Chongqing	9904	0.009	9305	0.009	599	0.000
Sichuan	9904	0.065	9305	0.061	599	0.124
Guizhou	9904	0.031	9305	0.028	599	0.078
Yunnan	9904	0.031	9305	0.032	599	0.017
Shaanxi	9904	0.033	9305	0.034	599	0.012
Gansu	9904	0.025	9305	0.025	599	0.017
Xinjiang	9904	0.007	9305	0.001	599	0.097
Agricultural Hukou	9904	0.443	9305	0.435	599	0.568
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9428	0.746	8855	0.743	573	0.787
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9428	0.144	8855	0.146	573	0.112
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9428	0.110	8855	0.111	573	0.101
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9577	0.862	8992	0.859	585	0.904
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9577	0.091	8992	0.093	585	0.063
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9577	0.047	8992	0.048	585	0.032
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	3223	0.079	3078	0.076	145	0.159
Father's Occup: State-Owned	3223	0.681	3078	0.687	145	0.545
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	3223	0.113	3078	0.115	145	0.083
Father's Occup: Private/Other	3223	0.127	3078	0.122	145	0.214
Father Party Member	9488	0.149	8912	0.151	576	0.127
Mother Party Member	9497	0.029	8919	0.028	578	0.036
Father Han	9904	0.942	9305	0.998	599	0.062
Mother Han	9904	0.941	9305	0.996	599	0.088

**TABLE I-B**

**2005 Imputed Data -- Unweighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9904	0.637	9305	0.646	599	0.497
Transition 2: High School	6307	0.516	6009	0.518	298	0.470
Transition 3: College	3252	0.328	3112	0.323	140	0.443
Han Ethnicity	9904	0.940	9305	1.000	599	0.000
Male	9904	0.473	9305	0.472	599	0.479
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9904	0.141	9305	0.144	599	0.102
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9904	0.166	9305	0.166	599	0.152
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9904	0.175	9305	0.176	599	0.165
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9904	0.279	9305	0.279	599	0.279
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9904	0.239	9305	0.235	599	0.302
Beijing	9904	0.040	9305	0.041	599	0.028
Tianjin	9904	0.038	9305	0.039	599	0.015
Hebei	9904	0.041	9305	0.042	599	0.013
Shanxi	9904	0.016	9305	0.017	599	0.000
Neimenggu	9904	0.017	9305	0.017	599	0.018
Liaoning	9904	0.041	9305	0.042	599	0.035
Jilin	9904	0.017	9305	0.018	599	0.005
Heilongjiang	9904	0.032	9305	0.034	599	0.005
Shanghai	9904	0.038	9305	0.040	599	0.002
Jiangsu	9904	0.058	9305	0.061	599	0.007
Zhejiang	9904	0.031	9305	0.033	599	0.013
Anhui	9904	0.050	9305	0.053	599	0.000
Fujian	9904	0.029	9305	0.030	599	0.010
Jiangxi	9904	0.024	9305	0.026	599	0.000
Shandong	9904	0.065	9305	0.067	599	0.042
Henan	9904	0.065	9305	0.069	599	0.010
Hubei	9904	0.048	9305	0.043	599	0.127
Hunan	9904	0.048	9305	0.048	599	0.053
Guangdong	9904	0.055	9305	0.059	599	0.002
Guangxi	9904	0.040	9305	0.025	599	0.267
Hainan	9904	0.008	9305	0.008	599	0.003
Chongqing	9904	0.009	9305	0.009	599	0.000
Sichuan	9904	0.065	9305	0.061	599	0.124
Guizhou	9904	0.031	9305	0.028	599	0.078
Yunnan	9904	0.031	9305	0.032	599	0.017
Shaanxi	9904	0.033	9305	0.034	599	0.012
Gansu	9904	0.025	9305	0.025	599	0.017
Xinjiang	9904	0.007	9305	0.001	599	0.097
Agricultural Hukou	9904	0.443	9305	0.435	599	0.568
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9904	0.749	9305	0.747	599	0.786
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9904	0.143	9305	0.145	599	0.114
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9904	0.108	9305	0.108	599	0.101
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9904	0.864	9305	0.861	599	0.904
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9904	0.090	9305	0.092	599	0.063
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9904	0.046	9305	0.047	599	0.032
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	9904	0.064	9305	0.062	599	0.094
Father's Occup: State-Owned	9904	0.518	9305	0.526	599	0.390
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	9904	0.159	9305	0.156	599	0.198
Father's Occup: Private/Other	9904	0.260	9305	0.256	599	0.318
Father Party Member	9904	0.149	9305	0.150	599	0.127
Mother Party Member	9904	0.029	9305	0.029	599	0.037
Father Han	9904	0.942	9305	0.998	599	0.062
Mother Han	9904	0.941	9305	0.996	599	0.088

**TABLE I-C**

**2005 Imputed Data -- Weighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9904	0.596	9305	0.607	599	0.452
Transition 2: High School	6307	0.472	6009	0.474	298	0.424
Transition 3: College	3252	0.301	3112	0.296	140	0.391
Han Ethnicity	9904	0.930	9305	1.000	599	0.000
Male	9904	0.473	9305	0.471	599	0.502
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9904	0.131	9305	0.134	599	0.096
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9904	0.166	9305	0.168	599	0.149
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9904	0.170	9305	0.171	599	0.161
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9904	0.287	9305	0.287	599	0.297
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9904	0.245	9305	0.241	599	0.296
Beijing	9904	0.009	9305	0.009	599	0.005
Tianjin	9904	0.006	9305	0.006	599	0.002
Hebei	9904	0.049	9305	0.051	599	0.012
Shanxi	9904	0.017	9305	0.018	599	0.000
Neimenggu	9904	0.020	9305	0.020	599	0.025
Liaoning	9904	0.039	9305	0.040	599	0.034
Jilin	9904	0.016	9305	0.017	599	0.005
Heilongjiang	9904	0.028	9305	0.030	599	0.002
Shanghai	9904	0.011	9305	0.012	599	0.000
Jiangsu	9904	0.067	9305	0.072	599	0.003
Zhejiang	9904	0.039	9305	0.041	599	0.013
Anhui	9904	0.050	9305	0.053	599	0.000
Fujian	9904	0.027	9305	0.028	599	0.007
Jiangxi	9904	0.028	9305	0.030	599	0.000
Shandong	9904	0.063	9305	0.064	599	0.048
Henan	9904	0.084	9305	0.090	599	0.014
Hubei	9904	0.056	9305	0.049	599	0.153
Hunan	9904	0.052	9305	0.047	599	0.114
Guangdong	9904	0.066	9305	0.071	599	0.003
Guangxi	9904	0.040	9305	0.024	599	0.259
Hainan	9904	0.008	9305	0.008	599	0.003
Chongqing	9904	0.011	9305	0.012	599	0.000
Sichuan	9904	0.072	9305	0.069	599	0.111
Guizhou	9904	0.038	9305	0.033	599	0.108
Yunnan	9904	0.037	9305	0.038	599	0.020
Shaanxi	9904	0.039	9305	0.041	599	0.014
Gansu	9904	0.026	9305	0.027	599	0.011
Xinjiang	9904	0.003	9305	0.001	599	0.036
Agricultural Hukou	9904	0.523	9305	0.512	599	0.669
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9904	0.781	9305	0.778	599	0.826
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9904	0.128	9305	0.130	599	0.101
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9904	0.091	9305	0.093	599	0.073
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9904	0.890	9305	0.887	599	0.922
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9904	0.074	9305	0.076	599	0.055
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9904	0.036	9305	0.037	599	0.023
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	9904	0.068	9305	0.066	599	0.085
Father's Occup: State-Owned	9904	0.477	9305	0.485	599	0.373
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	9904	0.173	9305	0.169	599	0.228
Father's Occup: Private/Other	9904	0.282	9305	0.280	599	0.315
Father Party Member	9904	0.142	9305	0.145	599	0.106
Mother Party Member	9904	0.025	9305	0.025	599	0.030
Father Han	9904	0.932	9305	0.998	599	0.050
Mother Han	9904	0.930	9305	0.996	599	0.060

**TABLE II-A**

**2006 Unimputed Data -- Unweighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9514	0.660	8894	0.668	620	0.539
Transition 2: High School	6278	0.493	5944	0.499	334	0.389
Transition 3: College	3095	0.335	2965	0.334	130	0.354
Han Ethnicity	9514	0.935	8894	1.000	620	0.000
Male	9514	0.460	8894	0.459	620	0.469
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9514	0.074	8894	0.076	620	0.047
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9514	0.180	8894	0.182	620	0.140
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9514	0.179	8894	0.181	620	0.147
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9514	0.283	8894	0.281	620	0.308
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9514	0.285	8894	0.280	620	0.358
Beijing	9514	0.040	8894	0.041	620	0.015
Tianjin	9514	0.037	8894	0.039	620	0.010
Hebei	9514	0.040	8894	0.043	620	0.000
Shanxi	9514	0.015	8894	0.016	620	0.000
Neimenggu	9514	0.017	8894	0.017	620	0.021
Liaoning	9514	0.038	8894	0.038	620	0.045
Jilin	9514	0.018	8894	0.018	620	0.010
Heilongjiang	9514	0.036	8894	0.037	620	0.021
Shanghai	9514	0.039	8894	0.041	620	0.010
Jiangsu	9514	0.052	8894	0.055	620	0.000
Zhejiang	9514	0.032	8894	0.034	620	0.002
Anhui	9514	0.047	8894	0.050	620	0.006
Fujian	9514	0.030	8894	0.031	620	0.015
Jiangxi	9514	0.024	8894	0.026	620	0.003
Shandong	9514	0.063	8894	0.065	620	0.029
Henan	9514	0.068	8894	0.071	620	0.021
Hubei	9514	0.049	8894	0.045	620	0.115
Hunan	9514	0.048	8894	0.044	620	0.103
Guangdong	9514	0.055	8894	0.059	620	0.002
Guangxi	9514	0.040	8894	0.026	620	0.235
Hainan	9514	0.008	8894	0.008	620	0.003
Chongqing	9514	0.008	8894	0.009	620	0.000
Sichuan	9514	0.065	8894	0.062	620	0.111
Guizhou	9514	0.032	8894	0.028	620	0.077
Yunnan	9514	0.032	8894	0.033	620	0.023
Shaanxi	9514	0.033	8894	0.034	620	0.010
Gansu	9514	0.025	8894	0.026	620	0.016
Xinjiang	9514	0.008	8894	0.001	620	0.098
Agricultural Hukou	9514	0.491	8894	0.481	620	0.642
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9389	0.736	8795	0.733	594	0.776
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9389	0.167	8795	0.169	594	0.136
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9389	0.097	8795	0.098	594	0.088
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9407	0.852	8810	0.849	597	0.893
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9407	0.101	8810	0.103	597	0.080
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9407	0.047	8810	0.048	597	0.027
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	3341	0.061	3165	0.060	176	0.085
Father's Occup: State-Owned	3341	0.624	3165	0.627	176	0.574
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	3341	0.154	3165	0.157	176	0.108
Father's Occup: Private/Other	3341	0.160	3165	0.156	176	0.233
Father Party Member	9427	0.092	8831	0.092	596	0.081
Mother Party Member	9436	0.046	8838	0.046	598	0.042
Siblings (std. error)	9514	3.063 (1.92)	8894	3.036 (1.92)	620	3.447 (1.96)
Books: None	9514	0.459	8894	0.451	620	0.579
Books: Less than 10	9514	0.282	8894	0.283	620	0.261
Books: 10-20	9514	0.132	8894	0.135	620	0.089
Books: 21-50	9514	0.071	8894	0.073	620	0.044
Books: 51-100	9514	0.034	8894	0.035	620	0.019
Books: More than 100	9514	0.023	8894	0.024	620	0.008



**TABLE II-B**

**2006 Imputed Data -- Unweighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9514	0.660	8894	0.668	620	0.539
Transition 2: High School	6278	0.493	5944	0.499	334	0.389
Transition 3: College	3095	0.335	2965	0.334	130	0.354
Han Ethnicity	9514	0.935	8894	1.000	620	0.000
Male	9514	0.460	8894	0.459	620	0.469
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9514	0.074	8894	0.076	620	0.047
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9514	0.180	8894	0.182	620	0.140
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9514	0.179	8894	0.181	620	0.147
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9514	0.283	8894	0.281	620	0.308
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9514	0.285	8894	0.280	620	0.358
Beijing	9514	0.040	8894	0.041	620	0.015
Tianjin	9514	0.037	8894	0.039	620	0.010
Hebei	9514	0.040	8894	0.043	620	0.000
Shanxi	9514	0.015	8894	0.016	620	0.000
Neimenggu	9514	0.017	8894	0.017	620	0.021
Liaoning	9514	0.038	8894	0.038	620	0.045
Jilin	9514	0.018	8894	0.018	620	0.010
Heilongjiang	9514	0.036	8894	0.037	620	0.021
Shanghai	9514	0.039	8894	0.041	620	0.010
Jiangsu	9514	0.052	8894	0.055	620	0.000
Zhejiang	9514	0.032	8894	0.034	620	0.002
Anhui	9514	0.047	8894	0.050	620	0.006
Fujian	9514	0.030	8894	0.031	620	0.015
Jiangxi	9514	0.024	8894	0.026	620	0.003
Shandong	9514	0.063	8894	0.065	620	0.029
Henan	9514	0.068	8894	0.071	620	0.021
Hubei	9514	0.049	8894	0.045	620	0.115
Hunan	9514	0.048	8894	0.044	620	0.103
Guangdong	9514	0.055	8894	0.059	620	0.002
Guangxi	9514	0.040	8894	0.026	620	0.235
Hainan	9514	0.008	8894	0.008	620	0.003
Chongqing	9514	0.008	8894	0.009	620	0.000
Sichuan	9514	0.065	8894	0.062	620	0.111
Guizhou	9514	0.032	8894	0.028	620	0.077
Yunnan	9514	0.032	8894	0.033	620	0.023
Shaanxi	9514	0.033	8894	0.034	620	0.010
Gansu	9514	0.025	8894	0.026	620	0.016
Xinjiang	9514	0.008	8894	0.001	620	0.098
Agricultural Hukou	9514	0.491	8894	0.481	620	0.642
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9514	0.736	8894	0.734	620	0.775
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9514	0.167	8894	0.169	620	0.138
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9514	0.097	8894	0.097	620	0.087
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9514	0.852	8894	0.850	620	0.892
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9514	0.101	8894	0.103	620	0.080
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9514	0.047	8894	0.048	620	0.029
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	9514	0.066	8894	0.064	620	0.087
Father's Occup: State-Owned	9514	0.442	8894	0.440	620	0.472
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	9514	0.184	8894	0.185	620	0.178
Father's Occup: Private/Other	9514	0.308	8894	0.311	620	0.263
Father Party Member	9514	0.092	8894	0.092	620	0.082
Mother Party Member	9514	0.046	8894	0.046	620	0.045
Siblings (std. error)	9514	3.063 (.04)	8894	3.036 (.041)	620	3.447 (.147)
Books: None	9514	0.459	8894	0.451	620	0.579
Books: Less than 10	9514	0.282	8894	0.283	620	0.261
Books: 10-20	9514	0.132	8894	0.135	620	0.089
Books: 21-50	9514	0.071	8894	0.073	620	0.044
Books: 51-100	9514	0.034	8894	0.035	620	0.019
Books: More than 100	9514	0.023	8894	0.024	620	0.008

**TABLE II-C**

**2006 Imputed Data -- Weighted Summary Statistics**

Variable	Total Sample		Han Sample		Non-Han Sample	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Transition 1: Junior H.S.	9514	0.601	8894	0.614	620	0.460
Transition 2: High School	6278	0.428	5944	0.438	334	0.268
Transition 3: College	3095	0.284	2965	0.283	130	0.318
Han Ethnicity	9514	0.920	8894	1.000	620	0.000
Male	9514	0.483	8894	0.479	620	0.527
Cohort 0: (1925-1942)	9514	0.063	8894	0.066	620	0.034
Cohort 1: (1943-1952)	9514	0.188	8894	0.191	620	0.155
Cohort 2: (1953-1960)	9514	0.180	8894	0.183	620	0.139
Cohort 3: (1961-1970)	9514	0.270	8894	0.267	620	0.307
Cohort 4: (1971-1986)	9514	0.299	8894	0.293	620	0.366
Beijing	9514	0.010	8894	0.011	620	0.003
Tianjin	9514	0.006	8894	0.006	620	0.001
Hebei	9514	0.057	8894	0.062	620	0.000
Shanxi	9514	0.018	8894	0.020	620	0.000
Neimenggu	9514	0.018	8894	0.018	620	0.017
Liaoning	9514	0.034	8894	0.034	620	0.031
Jilin	9514	0.017	8894	0.018	620	0.005
Heilongjiang	9514	0.032	8894	0.033	620	0.015
Shanghai	9514	0.013	8894	0.014	620	0.002
Jiangsu	9514	0.066	8894	0.072	620	0.000
Zhejiang	9514	0.037	8894	0.040	620	0.002
Anhui	9514	0.048	8894	0.052	620	0.003
Fujian	9514	0.029	8894	0.031	620	0.009
Jiangxi	9514	0.028	8894	0.030	620	0.002
Shandong	9514	0.059	8894	0.062	620	0.025
Henan	9514	0.073	8894	0.078	620	0.014
Hubei	9514	0.049	8894	0.043	620	0.118
Hunan	9514	0.053	8894	0.048	620	0.113
Guangdong	9514	0.068	8894	0.074	620	0.002
Guangxi	9514	0.044	8894	0.026	620	0.254
Hainan	9514	0.010	8894	0.011	620	0.003
Chongqing	9514	0.011	8894	0.012	620	0.000
Sichuan	9514	0.069	8894	0.063	620	0.143
Guizhou	9514	0.041	8894	0.031	620	0.153
Yunnan	9514	0.041	8894	0.042	620	0.024
Shaanxi	9514	0.037	8894	0.040	620	0.002
Gansu	9514	0.026	8894	0.028	620	0.012
Xinjiang	9514	0.004	8894	0.001	620	0.047
Agricultural Hukou	9514	0.624	8894	0.610	620	0.796
Father's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9514	0.785	8894	0.781	620	0.838
Father's Educ: Junior H.S.	9514	0.141	8894	0.145	620	0.097
Father's Educ: > Junior H.S.	9514	0.074	8894	0.075	620	0.065
Mother's Educ: < Junior H.S.	9514	0.892	8894	0.889	620	0.931
Mother's Educ: Junior H.S.	9514	0.079	8894	0.081	620	0.053
Mother's Educ: >Junior H.S.	9514	0.029	8894	0.030	620	0.016
Father's Occup: Gov't/Party	9514	0.075	8894	0.073	620	0.089
Father's Occup: State-Owned	9514	0.373	8894	0.367	620	0.441
Father's Occup: Collective Ent.	9514	0.190	8894	0.190	620	0.199
Father's Occup: Private/Other	9514	0.362	8894	0.370	620	0.271
Father Party Member	9514	0.079	8894	0.079	620	0.081
Mother Party Member	9514	0.041	8894	0.041	620	0.046
Siblings (std. error)	9514	3.182 (.045)	8894	3.163 (.044)	620	3.402 (.233)
Books: None	9514	0.505	8894	0.494	620	0.629
Books: Less than 10	9514	0.275	8894	0.276	620	0.259
Books: 10-20	9514	0.119	8894	0.123	620	0.071
Books: 21-50	9514	0.057	8894	0.060	620	0.028
Books: 51-100	9514	0.025	8894	0.026	620	0.010
Books: More than 100	9514	0.019	8894	0.020	620	0.003

**TABLE III - 1A Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School 2005**

<b>First Transition Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Han	0.611** (0.212)	0.627** (0.219)	0.848*** (0.233)	0.740** (0.250)	0.714** (0.239)	0.701** (0.241)	0.658* (0.231)	0.295 (0.370)
Male		0.571*** (0.049)	0.758*** (0.056)	0.961*** (0.062)	1.007*** (0.062)	1.014*** (0.062)	1.029*** (0.063)	1.015*** (0.062)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>								
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)			0.413*** (0.088)	0.836*** (0.097)	0.727*** (0.097)	0.697*** (0.097)	0.536*** (0.117)	0.699*** (0.097)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			1.287*** (0.104)	1.894*** (0.113)	1.738*** (0.115)	1.668*** (0.115)	1.463*** (0.140)	1.667*** (0.115)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			1.581*** (0.110)	2.386*** (0.107)	2.146*** (0.105)	2.072*** (0.106)	1.878*** (0.131)	2.070*** (0.106)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			2.202*** (0.123)	3.045*** (0.129)	2.606*** (0.132)	2.551*** (0.132)	2.434*** (0.142)	2.552*** (0.132)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>								
Agricultural Hukou				-2.247*** (0.096)	-2.015*** (0.094)	-1.994*** (0.094)	-1.861*** (0.101)	-1.994*** (0.094)
<b>Parental Variables</b>								
Father Junior H.S.					1.105*** (0.122)	1.040*** (0.119)	1.027*** (0.123)	1.043*** (0.118)
Father > Junior H.S.					1.218*** (0.162)	1.097*** (0.165)	1.065*** (0.170)	1.100*** (0.165)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.980*** (0.153)	0.984*** (0.153)	0.975*** (0.155)	0.978*** (0.154)
Mother > Junior H.S.					1.080*** (0.297)	1.044*** (0.294)	1.009** (0.299)	1.038*** (0.295)
Father Party Member						0.664*** (0.094)	0.656*** (0.113)	0.663*** (0.094)
Mother Party Member						0.080 (0.232)	0.109 (0.235)	0.074 (0.232)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>								
State-Owned Enterprises							0.566+ (0.274)	
Collective Enterprises							0.202 (0.329)	
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.019 (0.297)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>								
Father Han								-0.123 (0.372)
Mother Han								0.569* (0.273)
Constant	-0.010 (0.210)	-0.284 (0.216)	-1.773*** (0.236)	-1.206*** (0.265)	-1.367*** (0.254)	-1.378*** (0.256)	-1.562*** (0.356)	-1.414*** (0.261)
N	9904	9904	9904	9904	9904	9904	9904	9904

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE III - 1B  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering Junior High School**

<b>First Transition Respondent</b>	(9)	(10)	(11)
Han	0.133 (0.354)	0.695** (0.238)	0.110 (0.343)
Male	1.016*** (0.062)	1.392*** (0.130)	1.396*** (0.131)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	0.455 (0.311)	0.962*** (0.136)	0.711* (0.339)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	1.337** (0.452)	1.869*** (0.150)	1.517** (0.475)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	1.452*** (0.340)	2.329*** (0.141)	1.701*** (0.357)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	1.611*** (0.349)	2.830*** (0.153)	1.876*** (0.355)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-2.002*** (0.094)	-1.997*** (0.093)	-2.004*** (0.093)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	1.034*** (0.119)	1.039*** (0.120)	1.033*** (0.119)
Father > Junior H.S.	1.087*** (0.164)	1.102*** (0.166)	1.092*** (0.165)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.981*** (0.153)	0.982*** (0.153)	0.979*** (0.153)
Mother > Junior H.S.	1.043*** (0.295)	1.045*** (0.296)	1.044*** (0.296)
Father Party Member	0.668*** (0.094)	0.663*** (0.094)	0.666*** (0.094)
Mother Party Member	0.065 (0.229)	0.088 (0.233)	0.073 (0.230)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	0.249 (0.329)		0.264 (0.340)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	0.340 (0.460)		0.366 (0.472)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	0.651+ (0.345)		0.660+ (0.351)
Han x Reform Era	1.011** (0.360)		1.027** (0.355)
Male x PRC Early Years		-0.466** (0.155)	-0.475** (0.156)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		-0.335+ (0.187)	-0.344+ (0.188)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		-0.476** (0.176)	-0.477** (0.176)
Male x Reform Era		-0.545** (0.185)	-0.545** (0.186)
Constant	-0.828* (0.359)	-1.590*** (0.261)	-1.027** (0.355)
N	9904	9904	9904

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:  
For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For Father's education, less than Junior High School  
For Mother's education, less than Junior High School

**TABLE III - 2A**                      **Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School**  
**2005**

<b>Second Trans. Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Han	0.193 (0.180)	0.192 (0.182)	0.215 (0.181)	0.116 (0.152)	0.106 (0.154)	0.115 (0.157)	0.120 (0.157)	-0.436 (0.386)
Male		0.105+ (0.058)	0.116+ (0.059)	0.288*** (0.061)	0.328*** (0.063)	0.331*** (0.063)	0.327*** (0.063)	0.331*** (0.063)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>								
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)			-0.550*** (0.109)	-0.451*** (0.110)	-0.555*** (0.109)	-0.567*** (0.123)	-0.518*** (0.123)	-0.564*** (0.109)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			-0.185 (0.119)	0.053 (0.134)	-0.063 (0.134)	-0.096 (0.133)	-0.038 (0.144)	-0.093 (0.132)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			-0.282* (0.109)	0.078 (0.112)	-0.142 (0.112)	-0.178 (0.110)	-0.115 (0.122)	-0.177 (0.110)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			0.036 (0.119)	0.487*** (0.115)	0.014 (0.119)	-0.008 (0.118)	0.036 (0.125)	-0.005 (0.118)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>								
Agricultural Hukou				-1.825*** (0.087)	-1.584*** (0.087)	-1.571*** (0.087)	-1.595*** (0.090)	-1.568*** (0.087)
<b>Parental Variables</b>								
Father Junior H.S.					0.502*** (0.090)	0.484*** (0.090)	0.488*** (0.090)	0.482*** (0.090)
Father > Junior H.S.					0.811*** (0.103)	0.774*** (0.107)	0.769*** (0.108)	0.775*** (0.107)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.429*** (0.111)	0.428*** (0.111)	0.419*** (0.111)	0.427*** (0.111)
Mother > Junior H.S.					1.135*** (0.164)	1.075*** (0.167)	1.064*** (0.167)	1.071*** (0.167)
Father Party Member						0.143+ (0.083)	0.122 (0.089)	0.142+ (0.083)
Mother Party Member						0.398* (0.166)	0.383* (0.168)	0.395* (0.166)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>								
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.157 (0.182)	
Collective Enterprises							-0.325 (0.197)	
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.037 (0.230)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>								
Father Han								0.487+ (0.277)
Mother Han								0.122 (0.253)
Constant	-0.121 (0.179)	-0.175 (0.178)	-0.027 (0.204)	0.193 (0.177)	0.026 (0.179)	0.008 (0.181)	0.120 (0.266)	-0.050 (0.178)
N	6307	6307	6307	6307	6307	6307	6307	6307

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE III - 2B  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering High School**

<b>Second Transition Respondent</b>	(9)	(10)	(11)
Han	-0.446 (0.479)	0.111 (0.158)	-0.416 (0.470)
Male	0.334*** (0.063)	0.059 (0.176)	0.068 (0.176)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	-0.929 (0.610)	-0.937*** (0.175)	-1.259* (0.618)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	-0.578 (0.616)	-0.264 (0.193)	-0.707 (0.616)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	-0.991+ (0.592)	-0.320+ (0.183)	-1.092+ (0.591)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	-0.509 (0.495)	-0.232 (0.185)	-0.691 (0.493)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.572*** (0.088)	-1.571*** (0.087)	-1.572*** (0.088)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.483*** (0.090)	0.489*** (0.090)	0.488*** (0.090)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.772*** (0.108)	0.776*** (0.108)	0.774*** (0.108)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.428*** (0.111)	0.428*** (0.112)	0.427*** (0.112)
Mother > Junior H.S.	1.078*** (0.167)	1.079*** (0.167)	1.082*** (0.168)
Father Party Member	0.144+ (0.083)	0.142+ (0.083)	0.143+ (0.083)
Mother Party Member	0.396* (0.165)	0.402* (0.165)	0.401* (0.165)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	0.374 (0.624)		0.338 (0.624)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	0.500 (0.625)		0.466 (0.619)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	0.844 (0.596)		0.806 (0.586)
Han x Reform Era	0.518 (0.501)		0.480 (0.491)
Male x PRC Early Years		0.586** (0.221)	0.577** (0.219)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		0.232 (0.231)	0.222 (0.231)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		0.178 (0.212)	0.172 (0.212)
Male x Reform Era		0.345+ (0.205)	0.337 (0.205)
Constant	0.549 (0.482)	0.200 (0.222)	0.704 (0.480)
N	6307	6307	6307

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:  
For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For Father's education, less than Junior High School  
For Mother's education, less than Junior High School

**TABLE III - 3A Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College 2005**

<b>Third Trans. Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Han	-0.511** (0.182)	-0.531** (0.182)	-0.442* (0.193)	-0.487* (0.188)	-0.463* (0.194)	-0.458* (0.192)	-0.436* (0.196)	-1.109* (0.546)
Male		0.162+ (0.085)	0.186* (0.087)	0.292*** (0.086)	0.355*** (0.093)	0.357*** (0.093)	0.353*** (0.092)	0.361*** (0.092)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>								
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)			-0.509* (0.196)	-0.448* (0.199)	-0.535* (0.206)	-0.546** (0.206)	-0.493* (0.217)	-0.537* (0.206)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			-1.257*** (0.193)	-1.087*** (0.196)	-1.215*** (0.201)	-1.251*** (0.203)	-1.186*** (0.208)	-1.246*** (0.204)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			-0.432* (0.183)	-0.306+ (0.184)	-0.479* (0.188)	-0.519** (0.189)	-0.454* (0.196)	-0.518** (0.188)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			0.303+ (0.172)	0.480** (0.172)	0.090 (0.181)	0.065 (0.181)	0.121 (0.188)	0.074 (0.180)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>								
Agricultural Hukou				-2.472*** (0.211)	-2.244*** (0.214)	-2.226*** (0.213)	-2.269*** (0.212)	-2.222*** (0.213)
<b>Parental Variables</b>								
Father Junior H.S.					0.107 (0.123)	0.096 (0.123)	0.097 (0.124)	0.091 (0.122)
Father > Junior H.S.					0.758*** (0.124)	0.725*** (0.129)	0.718*** (0.132)	0.726*** (0.130)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.137 (0.109)	0.144 (0.109)	0.135 (0.110)	0.141 (0.110)
Mother > Junior H.S.					0.679*** (0.134)	0.643*** (0.135)	0.641*** (0.135)	0.634*** (0.135)
Father Party Member						0.130 (0.108)	0.094 (0.113)	0.128 (0.109)
Mother Party Member						0.198 (0.196)	0.181 (0.194)	0.200 (0.196)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>								
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.292 (0.186)	
Collective Enterprises							-0.406 (0.262)	
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.146 (0.230)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>								
Father Han								0.079 (0.554)
Mother Han								0.732+ (0.374)
Constant	-0.230 (0.192)	-0.298 (0.195)	-0.150 (0.264)	-0.093 (0.261)	-0.289 (0.263)	-0.301 (0.262)	-0.096 (0.323)	-0.462+ (0.275)
N	3252	3252	3252	3252	3252	3252	3252	3252

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE III - 3B  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering College**

<b>Third Transition Respondent</b>	(9)	(10)	(11)
Han	0.067 (0.739)	-0.449* (0.192)	0.046 (0.738)
Male	0.350*** (0.093)	0.455+ (0.251)	0.426+ (0.246)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	0.540 (0.883)	-0.457 (0.363)	0.573 (0.916)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	0.016 (1.011)	-1.313*** (0.361)	-0.068 (1.065)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	0.663 (0.806)	-0.498+ (0.272)	0.646 (0.826)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	0.050 (0.738)	0.209 (0.276)	0.142 (0.758)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-2.251*** (0.216)	-2.230*** (0.214)	-2.256*** (0.217)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.091 (0.124)	0.100 (0.123)	0.094 (0.124)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.714*** (0.133)	0.729*** (0.129)	0.718*** (0.132)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.153 (0.110)	0.145 (0.109)	0.153 (0.110)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.646*** (0.135)	0.638*** (0.136)	0.641*** (0.136)
Father Party Member	0.134 (0.110)	0.130 (0.109)	0.135 (0.110)
Mother Party Member	0.207 (0.192)	0.198 (0.195)	0.206 (0.191)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	-1.136 (0.860)		-1.114 (0.862)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	-1.325 (1.032)		-1.331 (1.042)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	-1.232 (0.828)		-1.214 (0.828)
Han x Reform Era	0.024 (0.748)		0.069 (0.743)
Male x PRC Early Years		-0.131 (0.372)	-0.079 (0.369)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		0.143 (0.431)	0.186 (0.430)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		-0.011 (0.283)	0.020 (0.279)
Male x Reform Era		-0.254 (0.312)	-0.244 (0.310)
Constant	-0.797 (0.761)	-0.378 (0.325)	-0.831 (0.780)
N	3252	3252	3252

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:  
For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For Father's education, less than Junior High School  
For Mother's education, less than Junior High School



**TABLE** **Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School**  
**2006 IV - 1A**

<b>First Transition Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han	0.545** (0.181)	0.559** (0.187)	0.794*** (0.207)	0.636** (0.222)	0.621** (0.214)	0.624** (0.215)	0.794** (0.208)
Male		0.499*** (0.051)	0.643*** (0.055)	0.833*** (0.065)	0.845*** (0.067)	0.846*** (0.067)	0.889*** (0.070)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>							
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)			0.191* (0.093)	0.493*** (0.102)	0.449*** (0.103)	0.434*** (0.103)	0.468*** (0.115)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			1.075*** (0.119)	1.634*** (0.122)	1.511*** (0.122)	1.488*** (0.122)	1.481*** (0.131)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			1.457*** (0.129)	2.262*** (0.136)	2.068*** (0.136)	2.043*** (0.136)	2.012*** (0.145)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			2.074*** (0.156)	2.971*** (0.158)	2.610*** (0.157)	2.594*** (0.157)	2.806*** (0.171)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou				-2.244*** (0.110)	-2.006*** (0.107)	-1.992*** (0.107)	-1.675*** (0.119)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.					0.787*** (0.105)	0.736*** (0.103)	0.684*** (0.106)
Father > Junior H.S.					1.259*** (0.171)	1.151*** (0.170)	1.025*** (0.175)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.977*** (0.184)	0.988*** (0.184)	0.994*** (0.189)
Mother > Junior H.S.					0.932** (0.313)	0.909** (0.314)	0.996** (0.315)
Father Party Member						0.440** (0.135)	0.352* (0.144)
Mother Party Member						0.192 (0.200)	0.138 (0.199)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises							0.475+ (0.265)
Collective Enterprises							-0.278 (0.280)
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.589* (0.246)
Constant	0.155 (0.176)	-0.076 (0.186)	-1.518*** (0.221)	-0.790** (0.255)	-0.963*** (0.249)	-0.978*** (0.250)	-1.288** (0.350)
N	9514	9514	9514	9514	9514	9514	9514

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE  
2006 IV - 1B  
First Transition  
Respondent**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering Junior High School**

	(8)	(9)	(10)
Han	0.179 (0.509)	0.619** (0.215)	0.165 (0.510)
Male	0.849*** (0.067)	0.991*** (0.175)	0.997*** (0.175)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	0.226 (0.465)	0.556*** (0.140)	0.355 (0.466)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	1.436** (0.483)	1.477*** (0.161)	1.413** (0.481)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	1.861*** (0.453)	2.090*** (0.158)	1.895*** (0.450)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	1.639** (0.532)	2.771*** (0.179)	1.822*** (0.521)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.994*** (0.107)	-2.000*** (0.108)	-2.001*** (0.108)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.732*** (0.103)	0.736*** (0.103)	0.732*** (0.103)
Father > Junior H.S.	1.147*** (0.172)	1.148*** (0.171)	1.145*** (0.173)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.993*** (0.186)	0.985*** (0.185)	0.989*** (0.187)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.893** (0.319)	0.896** (0.313)	0.880** (0.318)
Father Party Member	0.441** (0.136)	0.445** (0.135)	0.447** (0.137)
Mother Party Member	0.192 (0.201)	0.197 (0.198)	0.197 (0.199)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	0.214 (0.482)		0.214 (0.486)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	0.047 (0.492)		0.063 (0.492)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	0.177 (0.459)		0.196 (0.459)
Han x Reform Era	1.048+ (0.545)		1.036+ (0.543)
Male x PRC Early Years		-0.234 (0.196)	-0.246 (0.196)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		0.065 (0.219)	0.058 (0.217)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		-0.062 (0.205)	-0.075 (0.204)
Male x Reform Era		-0.422* (0.210)	-0.408+ (0.212)
Constant	-0.550 (0.508)	-1.047*** (0.259)	-0.612 (0.502)
N	9514	9514	9514

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For Father's education, less than Junior High School  
For Mother's education, less than Junior High School

TABLE 2006 IV - 1C First Transition Respondent	Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School		
	(11)	(12)	(13)
Han	0.593** (0.215)	0.510* (0.249)	0.486+ (0.252)
Male	0.824*** (0.067)	0.826*** (0.069)	0.806*** (0.069)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	0.459*** (0.104)	0.405*** (0.104)	0.429*** (0.104)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	1.518*** (0.123)	1.446*** (0.128)	1.476*** (0.129)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	2.064*** (0.136)	1.983*** (0.141)	2.007*** (0.141)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	2.510*** (0.155)	2.471*** (0.160)	2.404*** (0.157)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.963*** (0.108)	-1.766*** (0.116)	-1.745*** (0.116)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.712*** (0.104)	0.641*** (0.100)	0.621*** (0.101)
Father > Junior H.S.	1.123*** (0.171)	1.017*** (0.169)	0.995*** (0.171)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.945*** (0.185)	0.856*** (0.181)	0.820*** (0.181)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.825* (0.315)	0.834* (0.335)	0.772* (0.337)
Father Party Member	0.457*** (0.134)	0.387* (0.148)	0.401** (0.147)
Mother Party Member	0.206 (0.200)	0.057 (0.209)	0.070 (0.211)
<b>Family Characteristics</b>			
Siblings	-0.097*** (0.014)		-0.084*** (0.015)
<b>Number of Books</b>			
Less than 10 Books		0.789*** (0.092)	0.779*** (0.092)
10-20 Books		1.237*** (0.122)	1.215*** (0.122)
21-50 Books		1.431*** (0.186)	1.415*** (0.186)
51-100 Books		1.914*** (0.336)	1.890*** (0.331)
More than 100 Books		2.415*** (0.427)	2.428*** (0.425)
Constant	-0.626* (0.249)	-1.375*** (0.290)	-1.065*** (0.291)
N	9514	9514	9514

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:  
For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For Father's education, less than Junior High School  
For Mother's education, less than Junior High School  
For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE IV - 2A**  
**2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School**

<b>Second Transition Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han	0.446* (0.220)	0.451* (0.222)	0.482* (0.219)	0.287+ (0.160)	0.301+ (0.153)	0.299+ (0.154)	0.299+ (0.154)
Male		0.099* (0.049)	0.136** (0.051)	0.304*** (0.056)	0.315*** (0.059)	0.318*** (0.059)	0.318*** (0.059)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>							
PRC Early Years (1949-1953)			-0.537*** (0.147)	-0.432** (0.153)	-0.481** (0.152)	-0.493** (0.153)	-0.494** (0.154)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			-0.063 (0.140)	0.195 (0.147)	0.083 (0.150)	0.061 (0.151)	0.060 (0.153)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			-0.224 (0.150)	0.204 (0.151)	-0.000 (0.154)	-0.025 (0.154)	-0.026 (0.154)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			0.315* (0.151)	0.925*** (0.157)	0.505** (0.164)	0.491** (0.165)	0.492** (0.170)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou				-1.811*** (0.103)	-1.532*** (0.104)	-1.519*** (0.104)	-1.518*** (0.109)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.					0.288*** (0.084)	0.258** (0.085)	0.258** (0.086)
Father > Junior H.S.					1.015*** (0.121)	0.928*** (0.121)	0.928*** (0.122)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.507*** (0.105)	0.511*** (0.106)	0.511*** (0.106)
Mother > Junior H.S.					1.007*** (0.176)	0.995*** (0.177)	0.995*** (0.178)
Father Party Member						0.279* (0.114)	0.279* (0.122)
Mother Party Member						0.150 (0.172)	0.149 (0.172)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises							0.004 (0.212)
Collective Enterprises							-0.011 (0.249)
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.001 (0.243)
Constant	-0.451* (0.208)	-0.505* (0.211)	-0.522* (0.255)	-0.204 (0.207)	-0.389+ (0.202)	-0.397+ (0.203)	-0.397 (0.296)
N	6278	6278	6278	6278	6278	6278	6278

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE IV - 2B  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering High School**

<b>Second Transition Respondent</b>	(8)	(9)	(10)
Han	0.351 (0.667)	0.296+ (0.154)	0.331 (0.685)
Male	0.317*** (0.059)	0.694* (0.272)	0.695* (0.273)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	-0.159 (0.808)	-0.262 (0.221)	0.062 (0.856)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	0.514 (0.675)	0.247 (0.226)	0.680 (0.675)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	-0.017 (0.687)	0.184 (0.242)	0.172 (0.686)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	0.360 (0.645)	0.779** (0.237)	0.634 (0.642)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.521*** (0.105)	-1.524*** (0.104)	-1.526*** (0.104)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.258** (0.085)	0.259** (0.085)	0.259** (0.085)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.930*** (0.121)	0.930*** (0.121)	0.933*** (0.121)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.513*** (0.105)	0.507*** (0.106)	0.509*** (0.106)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.987*** (0.177)	0.989*** (0.177)	0.982*** (0.177)
Father Party Member	0.283* (0.115)	0.282* (0.115)	0.286* (0.115)
Mother Party Member	0.146 (0.172)	0.149 (0.173)	0.146 (0.172)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	-0.346 (0.838)		-0.331 (0.863)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	-0.473 (0.695)		-0.450 (0.709)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	-0.008 (0.702)		0.013 (0.721)
Han x Reform Era	0.141 (0.661)		0.154 (0.677)
Male x PRC Early Years		-0.385 (0.301)	-0.393 (0.303)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		-0.296 (0.305)	-0.300 (0.305)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		-0.340 (0.301)	-0.340 (0.302)
Male x Reform Era		-0.509+ (0.290)	-0.506+ (0.291)
Constant	-0.446 (0.647)	-0.621* (0.260)	-0.654 (0.651)
N	6278	6278	6278

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

**TABLE IV - 2C  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering High School**

<b>Second Transition Respondent</b>	(11)	(12)	(13)
Han	0.262+ (0.151)	0.214 (0.171)	0.187 (0.168)
Male	0.304*** (0.060)	0.313*** (0.060)	0.300*** (0.061)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	-0.460** (0.154)	-0.523** (0.160)	-0.493** (0.160)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	0.088 (0.151)	0.053 (0.162)	0.078 (0.161)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	-0.024 (0.154)	-0.040 (0.168)	-0.035 (0.167)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	0.388* (0.169)	0.402* (0.172)	0.323+ (0.173)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.487*** (0.105)	-1.371*** (0.101)	-1.346*** (0.102)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.236** (0.085)	0.175+ (0.089)	0.159+ (0.089)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.895*** (0.121)	0.808*** (0.124)	0.782*** (0.125)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.457*** (0.106)	0.446*** (0.108)	0.403*** (0.108)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.916*** (0.177)	0.909*** (0.186)	0.849*** (0.186)
Father Party Member	0.296* (0.114)	0.192 (0.121)	0.208+ (0.120)
Mother Party Member	0.141 (0.173)	0.090 (0.190)	0.083 (0.190)
<b>Family Characteristics</b>			
Siblings	-0.096*** (0.021)		-0.078*** (0.022)
<b>Number of Books</b>			
Less than 10 Books		0.499*** (0.095)	0.480*** (0.095)
10-20 Books		0.987*** (0.119)	0.958*** (0.118)
21-50 Books		1.286*** (0.128)	1.263*** (0.127)
51-100 Books		1.464*** (0.154)	1.443*** (0.154)
More than 100 Books		1.546*** (0.195)	1.534*** (0.194)
Constant	-0.052 (0.221)	-0.832*** (0.228)	-0.545* (0.240)
N	6278	6278	6278

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

**TABLE IV - 3A**  
**2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College**

<b>Third Transition Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han	-0.087 (0.206)	-0.090 (0.209)	-0.083 (0.196)	-0.182 (0.188)	-0.172 (0.193)	-0.182 (0.198)	-0.167 (0.196)
Male		0.118+ (0.062)	0.179** (0.061)	0.262*** (0.064)	0.275*** (0.069)	0.284*** (0.069)	0.286*** (0.069)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>							
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)			-0.279 (0.231)	-0.224 (0.231)	-0.312 (0.235)	-0.339 (0.238)	-0.333 (0.239)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)			-1.125*** (0.230)	-0.960*** (0.234)	-1.101*** (0.234)	-1.149*** (0.235)	-1.150*** (0.234)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)			-0.403+ (0.235)	-0.276 (0.237)	-0.458+ (0.245)	-0.510* (0.245)	-0.509* (0.244)
Reform Era (1971-1986)			0.469* (0.230)	0.714** (0.234)	0.355 (0.234)	0.324 (0.233)	0.333 (0.235)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou				-1.555*** (0.199)	-1.297*** (0.218)	-1.273*** (0.221)	-1.268*** (0.221)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.					0.102 (0.119)	0.067 (0.122)	0.066 (0.122)
Father > Junior H.S.					0.603*** (0.139)	0.496*** (0.142)	0.490** (0.142)
Mother Junior H.S.					0.202+ (0.110)	0.204+ (0.112)	0.205+ (0.112)
Mother > Junior H.S.					0.720*** (0.179)	0.698*** (0.182)	0.704*** (0.183)
Father Party Member						0.268+ (0.156)	0.237 (0.157)
Mother Party Member						0.323* (0.158)	0.318+ (0.161)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.153 (0.246)
Collective Enterprises							-0.274 (0.258)
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.188 (0.278)
Constant	-0.602** (0.196)	-0.660*** (0.195)	-0.622* (0.279)	-0.518+ (0.270)	-0.653* (0.276)	-0.655* (0.282)	-0.502 (0.346)
N	3095	3095	3095	3095	3095	3095	3095

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE IV - 3B  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering College**

<b>Third Transition Respondent</b>	(8)	(9)	(10)
Han	0.488 (0.802)	-0.190 (0.195)	0.185 (0.734)
Male	0.280*** (0.069)	0.991* (0.475)	0.969* (0.479)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	1.002 (0.927)	0.270 (0.479)	1.346 (0.882)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	0.046 (0.759)	-1.070* (0.428)	-0.184 (0.729)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	-0.370 (0.793)	0.066 (0.485)	-0.108 (0.753)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	1.027 (0.798)	0.883* (0.430)	1.270+ (0.747)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.276*** (0.221)	-1.271*** (0.220)	-1.274*** (0.220)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.069 (0.122)	0.066 (0.122)	0.068 (0.123)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.502*** (0.142)	0.496*** (0.142)	0.502*** (0.142)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.202+ (0.112)	0.211+ (0.113)	0.210+ (0.113)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.690*** (0.181)	0.689*** (0.183)	0.682*** (0.182)
Father Party Member	0.270+ (0.156)	0.284+ (0.155)	0.285+ (0.154)
Mother Party Member	0.320* (0.156)	0.316* (0.157)	0.314* (0.156)
<b>Interaction Terms</b>			
Han x PRC Early Years	-1.385 (1.003)		-1.119 (0.990)
Han x Early Cultural Revolution	-1.242 (0.850)		-0.939 (0.792)
Han x Later Cultural Revolution	-0.138 (0.898)		0.171 (0.846)
Han x Reform Era	-0.724 (0.897)		-0.415 (0.831)
Male x PRC Early Years		-0.898 (0.588)	-0.892 (0.589)
Male x Early Cultural Revolution		0.006 (0.481)	0.027 (0.487)
Male x Later Cultural Revolution		-0.838 (0.540)	-0.821 (0.546)
Male x Reform Era		-0.816+ (0.490)	-0.794 (0.494)
Constant	-1.305+ (0.716)	-1.157* (0.447)	-1.506* (0.652)
N	3095	3095	3095

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School



**TABLE IV - 3C  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability  
of Entering College**

<b>Third Transition Respondent</b>	(11)	(12)	(13)
Han	-0.203 (0.194)	-0.236 (0.239)	-0.254 (0.235)
Male	0.278*** (0.069)	0.291*** (0.072)	0.286*** (0.071)
<b>Cohort (Schooling Years)</b>			
PRC Early Years (1943-1952)	-0.333 (0.234)	-0.420 (0.258)	-0.416 (0.253)
Early Cultural Revolution (1953-1960)	-1.157*** (0.240)	-1.214*** (0.248)	-1.222*** (0.251)
Later Cultural Revolution (1961-1970)	-0.533* (0.245)	-0.573* (0.248)	-0.595* (0.246)
Reform Era (1971-1986)	0.219 (0.239)	0.191 (0.242)	0.099 (0.244)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>			
Agricultural Hukou	-1.245*** (0.221)	-1.198*** (0.227)	-1.175*** (0.226)
<b>Parental Variables</b>			
Father Junior H.S.	0.056 (0.122)	-0.007 (0.122)	-0.013 (0.122)
Father > Junior H.S.	0.471** (0.142)	0.377** (0.138)	0.358* (0.138)
Mother Junior H.S.	0.165 (0.112)	0.183+ (0.110)	0.149 (0.110)
Mother > Junior H.S.	0.641*** (0.184)	0.688*** (0.179)	0.639*** (0.180)
Father Party Member	0.291+ (0.154)	0.169 (0.161)	0.188 (0.160)
Mother Party Member	0.303+ (0.156)	0.299+ (0.169)	0.285+ (0.168)
<b>Family Characteristics</b>			
Siblings	-0.072** (0.027)		-0.063* (0.029)
<b>Number of Books</b>			
Less than 10 Books		0.306* (0.137)	0.280* (0.138)
10-20 Books		0.736*** (0.166)	0.708*** (0.167)
21-50 Books		1.036*** (0.175)	1.015*** (0.178)
51-100 Books		1.494*** (0.192)	1.475*** (0.193)
More than 100 Books		1.263*** (0.231)	1.245*** (0.234)
Constant	-0.396 (0.294)	-1.076** (0.348)	-0.832* (0.367)
N	3095	3095	3095

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories: For Cohort variable, reference category is Republican Era (1925-1942)  
For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

**TABLE V-1A  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.272 (0.284)	0.259 (0.316)	-0.021 (0.301)	0.234 (0.332)	0.232 (0.343)	0.208 (0.342)	-17.996 (1.968)
Male		1.073*** (0.116)	1.268*** (0.121)	1.369*** (0.131)	1.373*** (0.132)	1.384*** (0.134)	1.379 (0.133)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-1.774*** (0.166)	-1.657*** (0.166)	-1.651*** (0.166)	-1.564*** (0.176)	-1.653 (0.165)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				1.587*** (0.349)	1.582*** (0.353)	1.553*** (0.364)	1.533 (0.353)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.991*** (0.478)	1.898*** (0.499)	1.868*** (0.495)	1.941 (0.500)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.888 (0.673)	0.905 (0.680)	0.924 (0.686)	0.801 (0.699)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.180 (0.856)	0.252 (0.852)	0.183 (0.902)	0.217 (0.854)
Father Party Member					0.984* (0.392)	0.981* (0.406)	0.960 (0.395)
Mother Party Member					-0.929 (0.789)	-0.956 (0.795)	-1.273 (0.900)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.501 (0.544)	
Collective Enterprises						0.356 (0.621)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.125 (0.542)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							15.876 (0.133)
Mother Han							2.572 (1.961)
Constant	-0.793** (0.277)	-1.394*** (0.319)	-0.740* (0.318)	-1.224*** (0.344)	-1.249*** (0.356)	-1.509* (0.621)	-1.458 (0.364)
N	1398	1398	1398	1398	1398	1398	1398

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-1B  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.571+ (0.298)	0.597+ (0.312)	0.419 (0.363)	0.388 (0.364)	0.349 (0.367)	0.250 (0.343)	-0.426 (1.209)
Male		0.577*** (0.103)	0.858*** (0.112)	0.933*** (0.116)	0.936*** (0.114)	0.948*** (0.119)	0.938*** (0.116)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.156*** (0.134)	-1.994*** (0.134)	-1.995*** (0.136)	-1.808*** (0.147)	-1.999*** (0.136)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				1.489*** (0.314)	1.410*** (0.314)	1.410*** (0.320)	1.404*** (0.310)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.293** (0.386)	1.263** (0.388)	1.263** (0.411)	1.247** (0.383)
Mother Junior H.S.				1.451* (0.632)	1.443* (0.627)	1.436* (0.624)	1.452* (0.627)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.977 (0.664)	0.946 (0.668)	0.875 (0.673)	0.957 (0.675)
Father Party Member					0.719** (0.267)	0.726* (0.289)	0.722** (0.268)
Mother Party Member					-0.538 (0.461)	-0.469 (0.489)	-0.533 (0.464)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.662+ (0.386)	
Collective Enterprises						0.252 (0.458)	
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.157 (0.413)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							1.410 (1.136)
Mother Han							-0.589 (0.758)
Constant	-0.710* (0.285)	-1.028** (0.306)	-0.049 (0.369)	-0.328 (0.373)	-0.329 (0.376)	-0.676 (0.499)	-0.375 (0.389)
N	1640	1640	1640	1640	1640	1640	1640

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-1C  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.799** (0.276)	0.842** (0.286)	0.529 (0.418)	0.505 (0.419)	0.485 (0.421)	0.414 (0.407)	0.817 (0.862)
Male		0.680*** (0.118)	1.061*** (0.132)	1.095*** (0.139)	1.104*** (0.139)	1.127*** (0.143)	1.106*** (0.139)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.414*** (0.175)	-2.251*** (0.176)	-2.232*** (0.175)	-2.068*** (0.178)	-2.233*** (0.174)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				1.085*** (0.313)	0.992** (0.316)	0.975** (0.321)	0.999** (0.315)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.286*** (0.326)	1.173*** (0.319)	1.161** (0.332)	1.187*** (0.321)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.655 (0.436)	0.658 (0.430)	0.671 (0.446)	0.650 (0.430)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.511 (0.610)	0.405 (0.631)	0.355 (0.657)	0.407 (0.630)
Father Party Member					0.427* (0.184)	0.469* (0.208)	0.423* (0.185)
Mother Party Member					0.586 (0.507)	0.646 (0.497)	0.599 (0.505)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.799+ (0.407)	
Collective Enterprises						0.297 (0.426)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.010 (0.479)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							0.321 (0.605)
Mother Han							-0.697 (0.715)
Constant	-0.101 (0.270)	-0.447 (0.288)	0.940* (0.431)	0.678 (0.435)	0.622 (0.436)	0.078 (0.550)	0.664 (0.444)
N	1733	1733	1733	1733	1733	1733	1733

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-1D  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.831*** (0.220)	0.911*** (0.220)	0.804** (0.256)	0.775** (0.255)	0.770** (0.253)	0.737** (0.248)	-0.316 (0.663)
Male		0.807*** (0.103)	0.885*** (0.107)	0.912*** (0.109)	0.915*** (0.108)	0.929*** (0.111)	0.916*** (0.108)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.301*** (0.146)	-2.067*** (0.148)	-2.019*** (0.147)	-1.905*** (0.156)	-2.013*** (0.147)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.983*** (0.195)	0.904*** (0.189)	0.894*** (0.193)	0.909*** (0.190)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.819** (0.298)	0.652* (0.305)	0.629+ (0.317)	0.640* (0.304)
Mother Junior H.S.				1.037*** (0.299)	1.054*** (0.302)	1.029** (0.307)	1.046*** (0.301)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.311+ (0.670)	1.221+ (0.691)	1.182 (0.700)	1.219+ (0.691)
Father Party Member					0.693*** (0.156)	0.640** (0.174)	0.688*** (0.157)
Mother Party Member					0.447 (0.397)	0.447 (0.399)	0.454 (0.396)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.331 (0.435)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.006 (0.477)	
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.266 (0.468)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							0.056 (0.577)
Mother Han							1.135* (0.440)
Constant	0.132 (0.206)	-0.268 (0.208)	1.189*** (0.276)	0.819** (0.279)	0.702* (0.275)	0.554 (0.479)	0.595* (0.295)
N	2762	2762	2762	2762	2762	2762	2762

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-1E  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	1.088*** (0.310)	1.086** (0.325)	1.252*** (0.261)	1.140*** (0.233)	1.138*** (0.237)	1.118*** (0.235)	1.555** (0.481)
Male		0.700*** (0.131)	0.776*** (0.137)	0.833*** (0.140)	0.848*** (0.138)	0.861*** (0.140)	0.849*** (0.140)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.531*** (0.193)	-2.028*** (0.192)	-2.016*** (0.191)	-1.912*** (0.198)	-2.037*** (0.192)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.853*** (0.205)	0.826*** (0.205)	0.817*** (0.208)	0.862*** (0.210)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.186*** (0.295)	1.018*** (0.294)	0.976** (0.298)	1.038*** (0.293)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.981*** (0.248)	0.981*** (0.247)	0.973*** (0.251)	0.977*** (0.250)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.444** (0.516)	1.444** (0.527)	1.442** (0.528)	1.430** (0.524)
Father Party Member					0.820*** (0.198)	0.799** (0.223)	0.824*** (0.198)
Mother Party Member					-0.309 (0.501)	-0.305 (0.501)	-0.233 (0.489)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.499 (0.443)	
Collective Enterprises						0.206 (0.503)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.034 (0.442)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							-1.295* (0.643)
Mother Han							0.858+ (0.482)
Constant	0.508+ (0.305)	0.237 (0.318)	1.668*** (0.299)	0.960*** (0.284)	0.877** (0.282)	0.583 (0.499)	0.907** (0.287)
N	2371	2371	2371	2371	2371	2371	2371

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-2A** **Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	-0.289 (0.565)	-0.270 (0.560)	-0.558 (0.484)	-0.459 (0.484)			
Male		-0.157 (0.172)	-0.003 (0.180)	0.068 (0.184)			
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-1.706*** (0.381)	-1.633*** (0.387)			
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.340 (0.373)			
Father > Junior H.S.				1.033* (0.463)			
Mother Junior H.S.				0.584 (0.904)			
Mother > Junior H.S.				-0.070 (0.916)			
Father Party Member							
Mother Party Member							
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises							
Collective Enterprises							
Private/Foreign/Other							
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							
Mother Han							
Constant	0.539 (0.573)	0.630 (0.567)	1.031* (0.497)	0.768 (0.502)			
N	517	517	517	517			

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

<b>TABLE V-2B</b>		<b>Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)</b>						
<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Han Ethnicity	0.106 (0.422)	0.103 (0.429)	-0.053 (0.362)	-0.062 (0.363)	-0.056 (0.364)	-0.036 (0.368)	0.386 (1.097)	
Male		0.311* (0.148)	0.496** (0.150)	0.546*** (0.148)	0.553*** (0.147)	0.552*** (0.149)	0.554*** (0.148)	
<b>Permanent Residency</b>								
Agricultural Hukou			-1.390*** (0.229)	-1.289*** (0.231)	-1.289*** (0.232)	-1.325*** (0.249)	-1.289*** (0.230)	
<b>Parental Variables</b>								
Father Junior H.S.				0.145 (0.242)	0.122 (0.244)	0.121 (0.246)	0.120 (0.245)	
Father > Junior H.S.				0.399 (0.326)	0.392 (0.323)	0.378 (0.329)	0.388 (0.321)	
Mother Junior H.S.				0.331 (0.339)	0.302 (0.340)	0.304 (0.342)	0.304 (0.342)	
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.943 (0.578)	0.908 (0.583)	0.912 (0.584)	0.912 (0.583)	
Father Party Member					0.051 (0.270)	0.021 (0.283)	0.052 (0.269)	
Mother Party Member					0.526 (0.604)	0.486 (0.622)	0.525 (0.604)	
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>								
State-Owned Enterprises						-0.172 (0.421)		
Collective Enterprises						-0.315 (0.500)		
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.023 (0.514)		
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>								
Father Han							-0.366 (1.056)	
Mother Han							-0.103 (0.964)	
Constant	-0.405 (0.412)	-0.584 (0.428)	-0.276 (0.362)	-0.434 (0.359)	-0.454 (0.364)	-0.301 (0.549)	-0.429 (0.377)	
N	751	751	751	751	751	751	751	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"



**TABLE  
TABLE V-2C  
Transition 2  
Respondent**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.463 (0.282)	0.456 (0.282)	0.261 (0.266)	0.246 (0.281)	0.249 (0.289)	0.251 (0.290)	1.126 (1.164)
Male		-0.063 (0.133)	0.076 (0.139)	0.118 (0.142)	0.130 (0.142)	0.126 (0.142)	0.132 (0.142)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-0.805*** (0.170)	-0.655*** (0.172)	-0.636*** (0.171)	-0.643*** (0.175)	-0.636*** (0.171)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.702*** (0.199)	0.671** (0.199)	0.681** (0.200)	0.681** (0.202)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.717** (0.237)	0.634** (0.240)	0.640* (0.243)	0.640** (0.242)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.354 (0.271)	0.344 (0.264)	0.336 (0.265)	0.334 (0.265)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.404** (0.487)	1.330** (0.493)	1.316* (0.494)	1.339** (0.498)
Father Party Member					0.348+ (0.182)	0.367+ (0.187)	0.346+ (0.180)
Mother Party Member					0.551 (0.343)	0.568 (0.349)	0.570+ (0.340)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.120 (0.334)	
Collective Enterprises						0.054 (0.385)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.231 (0.427)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							-0.518 (0.884)
Mother Han							-0.442 (0.781)
Constant	-0.388 (0.273)	-0.347 (0.276)	-0.022 (0.264)	-0.304 (0.292)	-0.395 (0.297)	-0.512 (0.438)	-0.317 (0.313)
N	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138	1138

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE  
TABLE V-2D  
Transition 2  
Respondent**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.455+ (0.264)	0.465+ (0.264)	0.376 (0.295)	0.376 (0.302)	0.384 (0.303)	0.415 (0.309)	0.215 (0.853)
Male		0.122 (0.100)	0.237* (0.116)	0.244* (0.114)	0.251* (0.114)	0.234* (0.114)	0.254* (0.114)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-1.941*** (0.136)	-1.767*** (0.138)	-1.750*** (0.138)	-1.774*** (0.145)	-1.750*** (0.138)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.482** (0.147)	0.457** (0.147)	0.453** (0.148)	0.457** (0.147)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.693*** (0.179)	0.646*** (0.179)	0.610** (0.181)	0.643*** (0.178)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.335* (0.167)	0.340* (0.168)	0.333+ (0.170)	0.342* (0.168)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.968** (0.346)	0.920** (0.348)	0.910* (0.348)	0.916** (0.348)
Father Party Member					0.160 (0.129)	0.080 (0.135)	0.159 (0.131)
Mother Party Member					0.202 (0.276)	0.171 (0.275)	0.208 (0.275)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						-0.548+ (0.298)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.782* (0.317)	
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.505 (0.380)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							-0.233 (0.796)
Mother Han							0.479 (0.611)
Constant	-0.481+ (0.261)	-0.551* (0.261)	0.079 (0.295)	-0.248 (0.309)	-0.299 (0.311)	0.265 (0.407)	-0.377 (0.396)
N	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967	1967

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE  
TABLE V-2E  
Transition 2  
Respondent**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.037 (0.249)	0.018 (0.255)	0.165 (0.208)	0.079 (0.213)	0.084 (0.215)	0.083 (0.218)	-1.676* (0.819)
Male		0.218* (0.098)	0.411*** (0.105)	0.470*** (0.113)	0.470*** (0.113)	0.461*** (0.114)	0.475*** (0.114)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.392*** (0.169)	-1.998*** (0.174)	-1.996*** (0.176)	-2.031*** (0.178)	-1.989*** (0.177)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.601*** (0.144)	0.600*** (0.142)	0.612*** (0.144)	0.595*** (0.142)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.052*** (0.186)	1.068*** (0.190)	1.083*** (0.189)	1.070*** (0.190)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.503** (0.155)	0.496** (0.155)	0.486** (0.154)	0.485** (0.155)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.212*** (0.236)	1.157*** (0.239)	1.123*** (0.239)	1.144*** (0.240)
Father Party Member					-0.056 (0.161)	-0.029 (0.170)	-0.055 (0.161)
Mother Party Member					0.429 (0.353)	0.431 (0.356)	0.411 (0.358)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.089 (0.311)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.170 (0.345)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.231 (0.373)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							1.463+ (0.843)
Mother Han							0.446 (0.443)
Constant	0.231 (0.244)	0.147 (0.250)	0.775*** (0.209)	0.049 (0.224)	0.043 (0.229)	-0.027 (0.387)	-0.099 (0.227)
N	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-3A  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of College  
for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	-0.114 (0.717)	-0.197 (0.712)	-0.117 (0.712)	0.003 (0.652)	-0.033 (0.672)	-0.035 (0.677)	-2.213 (1.830)
Male		0.300 (0.236)	0.337 (0.242)	0.396 (0.259)	0.398 (0.259)	0.394 (0.261)	0.414 (0.266)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.443* (1.079)	-2.344* (1.079)	-2.349* (1.080)	-2.381* (1.106)	-2.366* (1.080)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.446 (0.467)	0.468 (0.470)	0.515 (0.480)	0.359 (0.458)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.718 (0.525)	0.749 (0.525)	0.827 (0.549)	0.886 (0.547)
Mother Junior H.S.				-0.212 (0.689)	-0.249 (0.685)	-0.299 (0.703)	-0.502 (0.706)
Mother > Junior H.S.				-0.387 (1.088)	-0.428 (1.090)	-0.440 (1.050)	-0.462 (1.107)
Father Party Member					0.038 (0.636)	0.164 (0.712)	0.066 (0.628)
Mother Party Member					-0.671 (1.552)	-0.735 (1.598)	-1.501 (1.363)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.205 (0.853)	
Collective Enterprises						0.221 (0.964)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.395 (0.856)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							0.553 (1.702)
Mother Han							2.219 (1.764)
Constant	-0.336 (0.732)	-0.463 (0.759)	-0.479 (0.760)	-0.750 (0.693)	-0.715 (0.709)	-1.021 (1.041)	-1.304 (0.893)
N	292	292	292	292	292	292	292

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-3B  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of College  
for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	-1.009+ (0.547)	-1.035+ (0.556)	-1.056+ (0.565)	-0.970 (0.627)	-0.997 (0.612)	-0.994 (0.621)	
Male		0.115 (0.251)	0.183 (0.256)	0.320 (0.288)	0.308 (0.292)	0.305 (0.294)	
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.698* (1.038)	-2.532* (1.035)	-2.549* (1.036)	-2.551* (1.040)	
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				-0.087 (0.424)	-0.099 (0.428)	-0.107 (0.428)	
Father > Junior H.S.				0.763+ (0.424)	0.733+ (0.426)	0.782+ (0.445)	
Mother Junior H.S.				0.707 (0.509)	0.685 (0.496)	0.683 (0.504)	
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.069 (0.658)	0.035 (0.672)	-0.052 (0.680)	
Father Party Member					-0.263 (0.542)	-0.220 (0.556)	
Mother Party Member					0.975 (0.652)	1.067 (0.703)	
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						0.342 (0.679)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.127 (0.901)	
Private/Foreign/Other						0.406 (0.903)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							
Mother Han							
Constant	0.000 (0.535)	-0.048 (0.538)	0.075 (0.557)	-0.304 (0.627)	-0.261 (0.608)	-0.552 (0.932)	
N	319	319	319	319	319	319	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-3C  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of College  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	-1.002+ (0.550)	-1.005+ (0.567)	-1.398* (0.538)	-1.343* (0.611)	-1.429* (0.634)	-1.513* (0.632)	-1.155 (1.056)
Male		0.262 (0.291)	0.554+ (0.294)	0.742* (0.334)	0.740* (0.335)	0.778* (0.343)	0.747* (0.335)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-3.481** (1.031)	-3.261** (1.048)	-3.240** (1.055)	-3.279** (1.080)	-3.219** (1.051)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				-0.199 (0.428)	-0.215 (0.422)	-0.273 (0.428)	-0.200 (0.422)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.164** (0.344)	1.115** (0.329)	1.094** (0.338)	1.096** (0.329)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.421 (0.453)	0.409 (0.459)	0.453 (0.468)	0.396 (0.455)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.034* (0.439)	0.919* (0.441)	0.978* (0.434)	0.910* (0.450)
Father Party Member					0.392 (0.299)	0.300 (0.309)	0.418 (0.300)
Mother Party Member					0.423 (0.403)	0.338 (0.402)	0.414 (0.403)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						-0.595 (0.525)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.646 (0.745)	
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.854 (0.828)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							-1.373 (1.113)
Mother Han							1.273 (1.376)
Constant	-0.773 (0.532)	-0.914 (0.558)	-0.429 (0.517)	-0.982 (0.660)	-1.027 (0.673)	-0.365 (0.861)	-1.203+ (0.709)
N	585	585	585	585	585	585	585

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-3D  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of College  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	-0.947** (0.326)	-0.957** (0.328)	-1.301*** (0.340)	-1.222*** (0.310)	-1.207*** (0.312)	-1.207*** (0.315)	-1.700 (1.368)
Male		0.314+ (0.163)	0.429* (0.166)	0.447** (0.168)	0.461** (0.167)	0.459** (0.167)	0.465** (0.168)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-3.221*** (0.592)	-3.043*** (0.590)	-3.013*** (0.593)	-3.006*** (0.598)	-3.009*** (0.594)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.045 (0.218)	0.016 (0.221)	0.008 (0.223)	0.008 (0.222)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.514* (0.240)	0.451+ (0.249)	0.442+ (0.251)	0.443+ (0.249)
Mother Junior H.S.				-0.035 (0.217)	-0.023 (0.220)	-0.023 (0.222)	-0.017 (0.220)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.044** (0.316)	0.997** (0.321)	1.006** (0.323)	0.999** (0.321)
Father Party Member					0.249 (0.173)	0.230 (0.178)	0.245 (0.173)
Mother Party Member					0.090 (0.329)	0.079 (0.331)	0.103 (0.329)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterprises						-0.090 (0.368)	
Collective Enterprises						-0.129 (0.504)	
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.205 (0.530)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							-0.079 (1.400)
Mother Han							0.777 (0.694)
Constant	0.000 (0.318)	-0.157 (0.323)	0.328 (0.335)	0.005 (0.312)	-0.081 (0.316)	0.022 (0.438)	-0.285 (0.384)
N	961	961	961	961	961	961	961

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

**TABLE V-3E  
2005**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of College  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Han Ethnicity	0.056 (0.251)	0.048 (0.251)	0.121 (0.253)	0.097 (0.267)	0.100 (0.267)	0.140 (0.270)	-0.585 (0.607)
Male		0.052 (0.150)	0.121 (0.155)	0.172 (0.163)	0.172 (0.162)	0.165 (0.162)	0.180 (0.162)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>							
Agricultural Hukou			-2.139*** (0.254)	-1.844*** (0.270)	-1.837*** (0.269)	-1.920*** (0.279)	-1.834*** (0.269)
<b>Parental Variables</b>							
Father Junior H.S.				0.172 (0.193)	0.169 (0.192)	0.197 (0.194)	0.154 (0.195)
Father > Junior H.S				0.841*** (0.204)	0.832*** (0.210)	0.836*** (0.215)	0.840*** (0.210)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.200 (0.159)	0.202 (0.161)	0.175 (0.163)	0.201 (0.163)
Mother > Junior H.S				0.569** (0.188)	0.553** (0.185)	0.543** (0.191)	0.540** (0.184)
Father Party Membe					0.024 (0.163)	-0.034 (0.171)	0.019 (0.164)
Mother Party Memb					0.109 (0.241)	0.113 (0.243)	0.120 (0.245)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>							
State-Owned Enterp						-0.580+ (0.314)	
Collective Enterpris						-0.750+ (0.391)	
Private/Foreign/Oth						-0.376 (0.380)	
<b>Parental Ethnicity</b>							
Father Han							0.663 (0.662)
Mother Han							0.182 (0.386)
Constant	-0.223 (0.255)	-0.241 (0.265)	-0.119 (0.262)	-0.708* (0.289)	-0.719* (0.294)	-0.211 (0.407)	-0.876** (0.312)
N	1095	1095	1095	1095	1095	1095	1095

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"



**TABLE VI-1A  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.239 (0.377)	0.169 (0.383)	0.080 (0.498)	0.131 (0.469)	0.096 (0.475)	0.051 (0.460)	0.052 (0.475)	0.055 (0.545)	0.011 (0.538)
Male		0.735*** (0.155)	0.977*** (0.171)	0.992*** (0.173)	0.994*** (0.172)	0.962 (0.201)	0.980*** (0.176)	1.013*** (0.183)	1.000*** (0.187)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.969*** (0.216)	-1.888*** (0.221)	-1.872*** (0.222)	-1.513 (0.260)	-1.886*** (0.219)	-1.728*** (0.236)	-1.740*** (0.233)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				1.163** (0.430)	1.150* (0.444)	1.080 (0.462)	1.154** (0.435)	0.760 (0.509)	0.763 (0.506)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.547** (0.534)	1.489** (0.548)	1.495 (0.607)	1.517** (0.552)	1.251+ (0.652)	1.266+ (0.658)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.656 (0.821)	0.691 (0.801)	0.706 (0.790)	0.639 (0.790)	0.627 (0.875)	0.565 (0.850)
Mother > Junior H.S.				-0.471 (0.992)	-0.321 (1.037)	-0.242 (1.125)	-0.407 (1.055)	-0.406 (1.274)	-0.474 (1.287)
Father Party Member					1.137 (0.711)	1.136 (0.767)	1.077 (0.706)	1.225 (0.824)	1.142 (0.825)
Mother Party Member					-1.277 (1.008)	-1.279 (0.954)	-1.205 (1.007)	-1.260 (1.097)	-1.196 (1.118)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						4.456 (7.638)			
Collective Enterprises						3.580 (7.724)			
Private/Foreign/Other						3.478 (7.652)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.096* (0.045)		-0.094+ (0.050)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								1.107*** (0.198)	1.077*** (0.200)
10-20 Books								1.399*** (0.291)	1.386*** (0.292)
21-50 Books								0.681+ (0.388)	0.696+ (0.387)
51-100 Books								3.045** (1.060)	3.080** (0.983)
More than 100 Books								2.886* (1.109)	2.988* (1.146)
Constant	-0.642+ (0.365)	-0.966* (0.370)	-0.394 (0.485)	-0.604 (0.468)	-0.585 (0.472)	-4.645 (7.636)	-0.216 (0.523)	-1.123* (0.542)	-0.756 (0.578)
N	703	703	703	703	703	703	703	703	703

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-1B  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.471* (0.219)	0.526* (0.219)	0.398 (0.299)	0.407 (0.304)	0.388 (0.309)	0.557+ (0.301)	0.387 (0.316)	0.295 (0.361)	0.294 (0.366)
Male		0.389*** (0.097)	0.674*** (0.115)	0.714*** (0.120)	0.725*** (0.121)	0.844*** (0.135)	0.718*** (0.121)	0.702*** (0.125)	0.698*** (0.125)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.965*** (0.131)	-1.855*** (0.130)	-1.854*** (0.131)	-1.489*** (0.149)	-1.849*** (0.132)	-1.629*** (0.139)	-1.626*** (0.139)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.720** (0.260)	0.614* (0.268)	0.549+ (0.275)	0.613* (0.269)	0.471+ (0.270)	0.471+ (0.270)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.776*** (0.328)	1.596*** (0.328)	1.417*** (0.348)	1.593*** (0.331)	1.433*** (0.350)	1.433*** (0.352)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.731+ (0.406)	0.758+ (0.409)	0.783+ (0.444)	0.749+ (0.412)	0.659 (0.444)	0.653 (0.448)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.048 (0.710)	1.089 (0.697)	1.312+ (0.709)	1.056 (0.702)	1.073 (0.758)	1.054 (0.761)
Father Party Member					0.579* (0.281)	0.544+ (0.297)	0.584* (0.280)	0.535+ (0.304)	0.538+ (0.302)
Mother Party Member					0.379 (0.390)	0.333 (0.414)	0.389 (0.392)	0.343 (0.401)	0.348 (0.403)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.853+ (0.430)			
Collective Enterprises						-0.061 (0.450)			
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.372 (0.436)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.026 (0.030)		-0.014 (0.029)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.749*** (0.146)	0.746*** (0.146)
10-20 Books								0.931*** (0.208)	0.928*** (0.207)
21-50 Books								1.417*** (0.267)	1.414*** (0.267)
51-100 Books								1.597** (0.537)	1.590** (0.541)
More than 100 Books								3.176*** (0.903)	3.170*** (0.907)
Constant	-0.693** (0.205)	-0.940*** (0.213)	-0.101 (0.305)	-0.307 (0.308)	-0.320 (0.313)	-0.930+ (0.494)	-0.223 (0.353)	-0.718+ (0.371)	-0.666 (0.415)
N	1708	1708	1708	1708	1708	1708	1708	1708	1708

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-1C  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.453 (0.294)	0.457 (0.289)	0.145 (0.341)	0.202 (0.358)	0.219 (0.349)	0.455 (0.359)	0.219 (0.349)	0.068 (0.351)	0.069 (0.350)
Male		0.738*** (0.108)	1.078*** (0.144)	1.078*** (0.145)	1.087*** (0.145)	1.111*** (0.158)	1.088*** (0.147)	1.088*** (0.148)	1.089*** (0.150)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.402*** (0.169)	-2.183*** (0.170)	-2.159*** (0.171)	-1.853*** (0.190)	-2.161*** (0.174)	-1.958*** (0.183)	-1.960*** (0.185)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.796*** (0.230)	0.741** (0.226)	0.687** (0.232)	0.742** (0.227)	0.604** (0.219)	0.605** (0.220)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.183** (0.449)	1.087* (0.463)	1.044* (0.472)	1.087* (0.462)	0.995* (0.471)	0.995* (0.470)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.604 (0.438)	0.598 (0.430)	0.538 (0.444)	0.600 (0.429)	0.392 (0.420)	0.394 (0.418)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.349 (1.111)	1.280 (1.124)	1.220 (1.136)	1.283 (1.129)	1.175 (1.128)	1.179 (1.132)
Father Party Member					0.233 (0.254)	0.169 (0.271)	0.233 (0.254)	0.189 (0.264)	0.189 (0.263)
Mother Party Member					0.832+ (0.497)	0.776 (0.482)	0.831+ (0.497)	0.657 (0.502)	0.656 (0.503)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.354 (0.382)			
Collective Enterprises						-0.316 (0.404)			
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.696* (0.337)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							0.002 (0.034)		0.004 (0.035)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.806*** (0.160)	0.805*** (0.158)
10-20 Books								1.119*** (0.230)	1.120*** (0.233)
21-50 Books								1.326** (0.396)	1.326** (0.396)
51-100 Books								1.844** (0.644)	1.845** (0.644)
More than 100 Books								1.930** (0.718)	1.926** (0.713)
Constant	0.154 (0.281)	-0.164 (0.282)	1.300*** (0.342)	0.960* (0.369)	0.901* (0.363)	0.621 (0.527)	0.893* (0.378)	0.516 (0.375)	0.500 (0.392)
N	1701	1701	1701	1701	1701	1701	1701	1701	1701

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-1D  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.520* (0.247)	0.554* (0.269)	0.388 (0.279)	0.362 (0.265)	0.367 (0.269)	0.511+ (0.282)	0.348 (0.267)	0.264 (0.291)	0.255 (0.293)
Male		0.805*** (0.101)	0.893*** (0.112)	0.909*** (0.113)	0.906*** (0.113)	0.944*** (0.119)	0.893*** (0.113)	0.867*** (0.117)	0.856*** (0.118)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.262*** (0.162)	-2.032*** (0.167)	-2.013*** (0.168)	-1.738*** (0.181)	-1.954*** (0.168)	-1.800*** (0.173)	-1.761*** (0.173)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.472** (0.157)	0.423** (0.157)	0.366* (0.161)	0.374* (0.158)	0.415** (0.158)	0.372* (0.159)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.937** (0.313)	0.836** (0.317)	0.669* (0.320)	0.784* (0.310)	0.758* (0.317)	0.715* (0.311)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.874** (0.293)	0.874** (0.293)	0.868** (0.301)	0.835** (0.294)	0.782** (0.289)	0.752* (0.290)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.931+ (0.555)	0.894 (0.561)	0.958+ (0.556)	0.822 (0.565)	0.883 (0.587)	0.834 (0.593)
Father Party Member					0.551** (0.200)	0.476* (0.220)	0.573** (0.204)	0.492* (0.221)	0.515* (0.224)
Mother Party Member					0.024 (0.298)	-0.034 (0.304)	0.035 (0.294)	-0.179 (0.325)	-0.174 (0.327)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.394 (0.314)			
Collective Enterprises						-0.275 (0.338)			
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.615+ (0.342)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.123*** (0.031)		-0.105*** (0.030)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.615*** (0.138)	0.592*** (0.138)
10-20 Books								1.264*** (0.213)	1.229*** (0.213)
21-50 Books								1.323*** (0.299)	1.294*** (0.304)
51-100 Books								1.721** (0.584)	1.678** (0.578)
More than 100 Books								2.395* (1.146)	2.373* (1.138)
Constant	0.458+ (0.243)	0.098 (0.275)	1.689*** (0.331)	1.379*** (0.317)	1.332*** (0.323)	1.088* (0.446)	1.768*** (0.338)	0.926* (0.360)	1.311*** (0.374)
N	2691	2691	2691	2691	2691	2691	2691	2691	2691

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-1E  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering Junior High School  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

<b>Transition 1 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	1.341*** (0.271)	1.358*** (0.277)	1.210*** (0.270)	1.203*** (0.267)	1.207*** (0.268)	1.432*** (0.279)	1.075*** (0.251)	1.068*** (0.289)	0.961*** (0.283)
Male		0.570*** (0.103)	0.591*** (0.117)	0.605*** (0.129)	0.601*** (0.129)	0.624*** (0.134)	0.532*** (0.134)	0.596*** (0.133)	0.525*** (0.138)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.709*** (0.280)	-2.149*** (0.271)	-2.138*** (0.274)	-1.855*** (0.259)	-2.075*** (0.250)	-1.812*** (0.289)	-1.771*** (0.273)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				1.061*** (0.165)	1.035*** (0.159)	1.004*** (0.165)	0.999*** (0.166)	0.989*** (0.154)	0.945*** (0.161)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.292*** (0.333)	1.221*** (0.336)	1.080** (0.336)	1.085** (0.332)	1.100*** (0.312)	0.985** (0.313)
Mother Junior H.S.				1.320*** (0.324)	1.332*** (0.325)	1.333*** (0.328)	1.190*** (0.326)	1.179*** (0.330)	1.067** (0.329)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.082+ (0.614)	1.060+ (0.612)	1.163+ (0.615)	0.867 (0.594)	0.919 (0.629)	0.828 (0.612)
Father Party Member					0.284 (0.326)	0.088 (0.355)	0.367 (0.330)	0.128 (0.318)	0.170 (0.314)
Mother Party Member					0.144 (0.431)	0.115 (0.443)	0.163 (0.425)	0.052 (0.445)	0.078 (0.448)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.408 (0.505)			
Collective Enterprises						-0.365 (0.485)			
Private/Foreign/Other						-0.702 (0.445)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.263*** (0.032)		-0.245*** (0.035)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.951*** (0.163)	0.946*** (0.166)
10-20 Books								1.600*** (0.266)	1.543*** (0.260)
21-50 Books								2.651*** (0.518)	2.565*** (0.515)
51-100 Books								2.128*** (0.605)	2.106*** (0.608)
More than 100 Books								1.892* (0.772)	1.663* (0.762)
Constant	0.327 (0.273)	0.090 (0.277)	2.164*** (0.398)	1.291** (0.398)	1.266** (0.398)	1.261* (0.552)	2.070*** (0.369)	0.575 (0.463)	1.341** (0.439)
N	2711	2711	2711	2711	2711	2711	2711	2711	2711

Standard errors in parentheses  
+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-2A  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.450 (0.731)	0.445 (0.786)	0.172 (0.688)	0.332 (0.719)	0.299 (0.736)		0.323 (0.724)	0.299 (0.718)	0.325 (0.704)
Male		0.535* (0.260)	0.764** (0.277)	0.797** (0.287)	0.807** (0.288)		0.820** (0.293)	0.802* (0.310)	0.816* (0.317)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.851*** (0.418)	-1.802*** (0.439)	-1.791*** (0.440)		-1.775*** (0.437)	-1.751*** (0.434)	-1.732*** (0.431)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.245 (0.432)	0.228 (0.439)		0.222 (0.443)	0.109 (0.420)	0.110 (0.419)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.855 (0.643)	0.789 (0.611)		0.768 (0.605)	0.731 (0.583)	0.712 (0.574)
Mother Junior H.S.				1.480+ (0.807)	1.509+ (0.825)		1.524+ (0.824)	1.514+ (0.820)	1.523+ (0.818)
Mother > Junior H.S.				-1.321 (1.015)	-1.244 (1.019)		-1.234 (0.997)	-1.241 (1.077)	-1.253 (1.054)
Father Party Member					0.633 (0.844)		0.632 (0.845)	0.670 (0.769)	0.686 (0.773)
Mother Party Member					-0.659 (1.231)		-0.672 (1.265)	-0.652 (1.126)	-0.673 (1.147)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises									
Collective Enterprises									
Private/Foreign/Other									
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							0.048 (0.063)		0.052 (0.067)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.194 (0.288)	0.223 (0.300)
10-20 Books								0.640+ (0.368)	0.655+ (0.363)
21-50 Books								0.168 (0.632)	0.159 (0.633)
51-100 Books								0.322 (0.580)	0.336 (0.603)
More than 100 Books								0.444 (0.621)	0.377 (0.620)
Constant	-0.405 (0.712)	-0.734 (0.770)	-0.366 (0.667)	-0.651 (0.710)	-0.639 (0.737)		-0.819 (0.736)	-0.837 (0.698)	-1.042 (0.709)
N	280	280	280	280	280		280	280	280

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-2B  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.291 (0.386)	0.284 (0.388)	0.041 (0.394)	0.044 (0.428)	-0.023 (0.426)	-0.001 (0.448)	-0.044 (0.427)	-0.163 (0.426)	-0.181 (0.428)
Male		-0.043 (0.147)	0.221 (0.153)	0.238 (0.158)	0.270+ (0.160)	0.281+ (0.164)	0.282+ (0.161)	0.236 (0.165)	0.244 (0.166)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.514*** (0.252)	-1.350*** (0.258)	-1.371*** (0.268)	-1.424*** (0.294)	-1.373*** (0.269)	-1.215*** (0.271)	-1.217*** (0.272)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				-0.267 (0.321)	-0.448 (0.328)	-0.460 (0.332)	-0.449 (0.335)	-0.516 (0.347)	-0.516 (0.352)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.710*** (0.451)	1.449** (0.441)	1.445** (0.444)	1.464** (0.448)	1.334** (0.447)	1.352** (0.455)
Mother Junior H.S.				1.096* (0.441)	1.119* (0.444)	1.129* (0.446)	1.076* (0.456)	1.116* (0.435)	1.074* (0.445)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.329 (0.567)	0.508 (0.573)	0.510 (0.577)	0.417 (0.597)	0.288 (0.588)	0.204 (0.616)
Father Party Member					0.995** (0.316)	0.961** (0.325)	1.029** (0.314)	0.948** (0.329)	0.979** (0.326)
Mother Party Member					0.024 (0.539)	0.033 (0.543)	0.002 (0.543)	-0.056 (0.579)	-0.076 (0.581)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.356 (0.588)		
Collective Enterprises							-0.415 (0.632)		
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.260 (0.626)		
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.080 (0.053)		-0.075 (0.054)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.187 (0.202)	0.170 (0.199)
10-20 Books								0.653** (0.241)	0.626* (0.240)
21-50 Books								0.644* (0.317)	0.637* (0.319)
51-100 Books								1.185** (0.380)	1.169** (0.381)
More than 100 Books								1.629** (0.586)	1.631** (0.573)
Constant	-0.799* (0.367)	-0.767+ (0.389)	-0.392 (0.401)	-0.599 (0.437)	-0.602 (0.443)	-0.278 (0.700)	-0.311 (0.509)	-0.768+ (0.456)	-0.483 (0.514)
N	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-2C  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.159 (0.295)	0.162 (0.297)	0.037 (0.279)	0.066 (0.288)	0.056 (0.292)	0.058 (0.302)	0.029 (0.290)	0.014 (0.307)	-0.003 (0.304)
Male		0.046 (0.106)	0.174 (0.111)	0.192+ (0.114)	0.205+ (0.114)	0.206+ (0.115)	0.193+ (0.114)	0.203+ (0.115)	0.193+ (0.115)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-0.727*** (0.162)	-0.523** (0.162)	-0.505** (0.160)	-0.462* (0.175)	-0.474** (0.161)	-0.381* (0.162)	-0.360* (0.163)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.346+ (0.189)	0.279 (0.193)	0.269 (0.194)	0.256 (0.195)	0.187 (0.200)	0.172 (0.201)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.157*** (0.227)	0.993*** (0.234)	1.010*** (0.232)	0.970*** (0.236)	0.930*** (0.232)	0.915*** (0.234)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.330 (0.252)	0.357 (0.255)	0.364 (0.258)	0.329 (0.255)	0.253 (0.257)	0.233 (0.258)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.344 (0.344)	0.348 (0.342)	0.339 (0.346)	0.277 (0.347)	0.256 (0.362)	0.202 (0.366)
Father Party Member					0.430+ (0.243)	0.481+ (0.253)	0.437+ (0.245)	0.427+ (0.243)	0.433+ (0.245)
Mother Party Member					0.162 (0.310)	0.176 (0.311)	0.176 (0.310)	0.109 (0.323)	0.121 (0.324)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.286 (0.354)			
Collective Enterprises						0.369 (0.398)			
Private/Foreign/Other						0.199 (0.429)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.065+ (0.036)		-0.049 (0.037)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.311+ (0.170)	0.296+ (0.170)
10-20 Books								0.637** (0.207)	0.615** (0.209)
21-50 Books								0.696** (0.248)	0.675** (0.249)
51-100 Books								1.105** (0.409)	1.069* (0.411)
More than 100 Books								1.128* (0.461)	1.125* (0.460)
Constant	-0.205 (0.287)	-0.232 (0.297)	0.027 (0.288)	-0.268 (0.290)	-0.305 (0.296)	-0.591 (0.459)	-0.053 (0.319)	-0.598+ (0.314)	-0.399 (0.334)
N	1091	1091	1091	1091	1091	1091	1091	1091	1091

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None



**TABLE VI-2D  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.541* (0.267)	0.549* (0.271)	0.375 (0.277)	0.338 (0.263)	0.343 (0.263)	0.344 (0.262)	0.313 (0.260)	0.248 (0.288)	0.232 (0.284)
Male		0.171+ (0.088)	0.339*** (0.095)	0.364*** (0.097)	0.366*** (0.098)	0.368*** (0.098)	0.356*** (0.097)	0.359*** (0.101)	0.353*** (0.100)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.962*** (0.142)	-1.798*** (0.144)	-1.785*** (0.144)	-1.767*** (0.158)	-1.750*** (0.147)	-1.634*** (0.141)	-1.615*** (0.143)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.047 (0.153)	0.016 (0.157)	0.012 (0.159)	-0.009 (0.157)	-0.050 (0.155)	-0.064 (0.156)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.684*** (0.176)	0.602** (0.184)	0.593** (0.185)	0.568** (0.182)	0.514** (0.186)	0.493** (0.187)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.485** (0.169)	0.480** (0.168)	0.477** (0.168)	0.452** (0.172)	0.450** (0.170)	0.434* (0.174)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.100** (0.336)	1.081** (0.339)	1.091** (0.339)	1.053** (0.340)	1.013** (0.365)	0.999** (0.366)
Father Party Member					0.359* (0.168)	0.332+ (0.180)	0.356* (0.169)	0.204 (0.176)	0.202 (0.176)
Mother Party Member					-0.026 (0.249)	-0.031 (0.247)	-0.028 (0.248)	-0.065 (0.269)	-0.066 (0.267)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.068 (0.291)		
Collective Enterprises							-0.210 (0.341)		
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.162 (0.350)		
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.070+ (0.036)		-0.040 (0.036)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.605*** (0.160)	0.592*** (0.162)
10-20 Books								1.103*** (0.182)	1.085*** (0.182)
21-50 Books								1.417*** (0.238)	1.399*** (0.237)
51-100 Books								1.430*** (0.343)	1.416*** (0.342)
More than 100 Books								1.180** (0.415)	1.174** (0.417)
Constant	-0.732** (0.253)	-0.826** (0.257)	-0.055 (0.272)	-0.281 (0.260)	-0.320 (0.263)	-0.223 (0.388)	-0.065 (0.277)	-0.824** (0.301)	-0.667* (0.323)
N	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934	1934

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-2E  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering High School  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

<b>Transition 2 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.577* (0.279)	0.583* (0.282)	0.421+ (0.232)	0.471* (0.209)	0.461* (0.208)	0.455* (0.210)	0.368+ (0.205)	0.345 (0.258)	0.278 (0.245)
Male		0.159+ (0.095)	0.217* (0.103)	0.211+ (0.110)	0.213+ (0.111)	0.211+ (0.111)	0.164 (0.115)	0.190 (0.116)	0.148 (0.121)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.212*** (0.161)	-1.804*** (0.166)	-1.793*** (0.165)	-1.817*** (0.169)	-1.757*** (0.163)	-1.684*** (0.157)	-1.649*** (0.155)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.605*** (0.135)	0.606*** (0.134)	0.613*** (0.135)	0.568*** (0.135)	0.554*** (0.148)	0.526*** (0.148)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.196*** (0.195)	1.175*** (0.188)	1.192*** (0.193)	1.090*** (0.186)	1.038*** (0.208)	0.966*** (0.207)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.403** (0.152)	0.401** (0.151)	0.399* (0.151)	0.252 (0.152)	0.270 (0.172)	0.140 (0.173)
Mother > Junior H.S.				1.348*** (0.286)	1.341*** (0.283)	1.332*** (0.283)	1.143*** (0.290)	1.254*** (0.318)	1.080** (0.336)
Father Party Member					-0.243 (0.210)	-0.218 (0.228)	-0.135 (0.211)	-0.419+ (0.222)	-0.307 (0.220)
Mother Party Member					0.550* (0.270)	0.548+ (0.273)	0.475+ (0.281)	0.469 (0.284)	0.397 (0.289)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						0.074 (0.340)			
Collective Enterprises						0.096 (0.390)			
Private/Foreign/Other						0.142 (0.358)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.226*** (0.044)		-0.199*** (0.047)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.796*** (0.156)	0.782*** (0.156)
10-20 Books								1.424*** (0.194)	1.375*** (0.195)
21-50 Books								2.212*** (0.248)	2.169*** (0.250)
51-100 Books								2.156*** (0.321)	2.152*** (0.330)
More than 100 Books								2.362*** (0.402)	2.275*** (0.394)
Constant	-0.234 (0.266)	-0.312 (0.272)	0.825*** (0.226)	0.013 (0.227)	0.009 (0.228)	-0.079 (0.391)	0.608* (0.250)	-0.764** (0.287)	-0.233 (0.291)
N	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223	2223

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-3A  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College  
for Republican Era Cohort (1925-1942)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.533 (0.911)	0.126 (0.779)	0.173 (0.772)	0.634 (0.765)	0.556 (0.758)		0.556 (0.760)	0.424 (0.686)	0.438 (0.666)
Male		0.934* (0.465)	1.001* (0.468)	0.975+ (0.513)	0.950+ (0.490)		0.950+ (0.497)	0.955+ (0.485)	0.950+ (0.489)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.638 (1.125)	-1.658 (1.127)	-1.625 (1.125)		-1.625 (1.125)	-1.676 (1.107)	-1.674 (1.112)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				-0.953 (0.724)	-1.057 (0.814)		-1.057 (0.817)	-1.194 (0.879)	-1.208 (0.887)
Father > Junior H.S.				1.467+ (0.761)	1.287 (0.806)		1.286 (0.815)	1.265 (0.769)	1.301+ (0.773)
Mother Junior H.S.				-0.147 (0.770)	-0.005 (0.824)		-0.005 (0.828)	-0.122 (0.914)	-0.119 (0.920)
Mother > Junior H.S.				-1.986 (1.420)	-1.088 (1.629)		-1.089 (1.638)	-0.497 (1.620)	-0.440 (1.647)
Father Party Member					1.169 (1.099)		1.168 (1.081)	1.490 (1.110)	1.513 (1.105)
Mother Party Member									
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises									
Collective Enterprises									
Private/Foreign/Other									
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							0.001 (0.099)		-0.036 (0.109)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								-0.825 (0.507)	-0.858 (0.532)
10-20 Books								-0.478 (0.586)	-0.473 (0.587)
21-50 Books								0.752 (0.771)	0.766 (0.769)
51-100 Books								0.357 (0.669)	0.326 (0.664)
More than 100 Books								-0.499 (0.858)	-0.478 (0.870)
Constant	-1.099 (0.816)	-1.371+ (0.724)	-1.393+ (0.718)	-1.809* (0.677)	-1.740* (0.689)		-1.743* (0.835)	-1.359+ (0.724)	-1.252 (0.832)
N	142	142	142	142	139		139	139	139

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-3B  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College  
for PRC Early Years Cohort (1943-1952)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	-0.683 (0.693)	-0.698 (0.692)	-0.859 (0.760)	-0.869 (0.753)	-1.059 (0.763)	-1.120 (0.788)	-1.082 (0.778)	-1.174 (0.751)	-1.193 (0.761)
Male		-0.118 (0.241)	-0.004 (0.249)	0.071 (0.263)	0.176 (0.277)	0.142 (0.291)	0.183 (0.281)	0.110 (0.292)	0.125 (0.295)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.348* (0.652)	-1.196+ (0.660)	-1.147+ (0.672)	-1.126 (0.680)	-1.208+ (0.681)	-1.082 (0.693)	-1.144 (0.703)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.037 (0.464)	-0.363 (0.470)	-0.410 (0.486)	-0.411 (0.473)	-0.431 (0.503)	-0.492 (0.509)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.624 (0.401)	0.079 (0.490)	0.097 (0.499)	0.064 (0.488)	0.013 (0.511)	-0.008 (0.507)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.225 (0.402)	0.426 (0.440)	0.500 (0.453)	0.491 (0.434)	0.481 (0.459)	0.549 (0.455)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.923 (0.699)	1.399 (0.872)	1.456+ (0.844)	1.421+ (0.842)	1.442 (0.907)	1.471 (0.885)
Father Party Member					1.091** (0.390)	1.220** (0.402)	1.054* (0.399)	1.034** (0.384)	0.998* (0.390)
Mother Party Member					1.858* (0.860)	1.840* (0.830)	1.853* (0.879)	1.798* (0.863)	1.793* (0.885)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises						1.041 (1.079)			
Collective Enterprises						1.107 (1.146)			
Private/Foreign/Other						0.951 (1.154)			
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							0.084 (0.074)		0.090 (0.071)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.099 (0.425)	0.145 (0.423)
10-20 Books								0.337 (0.435)	0.370 (0.434)
21-50 Books								-0.111 (0.504)	-0.074 (0.500)
51-100 Books								0.218 (0.546)	0.236 (0.554)
More than 100 Books								0.894 (0.761)	0.946 (0.756)
Constant	-0.223 (0.670)	-0.145 (0.661)	0.045 (0.728)	-0.198 (0.730)	-0.247 (0.744)	-1.205 (1.287)	-0.501 (0.746)	-0.236 (0.781)	-0.546 (0.774)
N	280	280	280	280	280	280	280	280	280

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-3C  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College  
for Early Cultural Revolution Cohort (1953-1960)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	-0.532 (0.473)	-0.524 (0.495)	-0.792 (0.503)	-0.863+ (0.514)	-0.931+ (0.538)	-0.962+ (0.562)	-0.947+ (0.533)	-1.130* (0.504)	-1.142* (0.505)
Male		0.819** (0.288)	0.960** (0.294)	1.050*** (0.286)	1.146*** (0.306)	1.137*** (0.307)	1.144*** (0.307)	1.183*** (0.313)	1.186*** (0.312)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.016*** (0.556)	-1.639** (0.575)	-1.621** (0.586)	-1.563* (0.616)	-1.607** (0.586)	-1.341* (0.619)	-1.336* (0.620)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.542 (0.366)	0.410 (0.383)	0.414 (0.386)	0.380 (0.387)	0.278 (0.393)	0.262 (0.396)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.944* (0.378)	0.690+ (0.413)	0.685 (0.413)	0.656 (0.424)	0.591 (0.436)	0.571 (0.443)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.428 (0.391)	0.490 (0.385)	0.489 (0.392)	0.488 (0.384)	0.481 (0.363)	0.480 (0.362)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.680 (0.463)	0.668 (0.462)	0.687 (0.463)	0.629 (0.453)	0.580 (0.467)	0.557 (0.459)
Father Party Member					0.708+ (0.389)	0.648 (0.399)	0.720+ (0.394)	0.633 (0.395)	0.636 (0.396)
Mother Party Member					0.214 (0.434)	0.221 (0.440)	0.223 (0.438)	0.167 (0.496)	0.175 (0.492)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.231 (0.525)		
Collective Enterprises							-0.283 (0.644)		
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.714 (0.837)		
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.046 (0.077)		-0.031 (0.083)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.418 (0.448)	0.396 (0.463)
10-20 Books								1.401*** (0.411)	1.386** (0.420)
21-50 Books								1.302* (0.558)	1.287* (0.563)
51-100 Books								1.880*** (0.471)	1.857*** (0.480)
More than 100 Books								1.908** (0.615)	1.896** (0.614)
Constant	-1.224** (0.448)	-1.716** (0.518)	-1.285* (0.520)	-1.763** (0.529)	-1.863** (0.562)	-1.570+ (0.815)	-1.696** (0.638)	-2.570*** (0.597)	-2.446** (0.754)
N	531	531	531	531	531	531	531	531	531

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-3D  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College  
for Later Cultural Revolution Cohort (1961-1970)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	0.500 (0.402)	0.501 (0.403)	0.372 (0.399)	0.368 (0.410)	0.356 (0.421)	0.419 (0.424)	0.338 (0.409)	0.305 (0.493)	0.291 (0.487)
Male		-0.021 (0.148)	0.108 (0.144)	0.138 (0.151)	0.146 (0.150)	0.157 (0.150)	0.146 (0.152)	0.142 (0.148)	0.144 (0.148)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-2.171*** (0.409)	-2.061*** (0.420)	-2.020*** (0.420)	-1.955*** (0.432)	-1.973*** (0.416)	-1.945*** (0.414)	-1.919*** (0.411)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.206 (0.223)	0.188 (0.226)	0.175 (0.228)	0.166 (0.229)	0.088 (0.235)	0.076 (0.236)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.511* (0.249)	0.472+ (0.261)	0.452+ (0.262)	0.426 (0.263)	0.301 (0.276)	0.274 (0.276)
Mother Junior H.S.				-0.167 (0.233)	-0.210 (0.238)	-0.211 (0.236)	-0.251 (0.245)	-0.169 (0.250)	-0.192 (0.257)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.415 (0.355)	0.260 (0.360)	0.310 (0.360)	0.214 (0.369)	0.284 (0.370)	0.257 (0.376)
Father Party Member					0.059 (0.228)	-0.031 (0.240)	0.058 (0.230)	-0.093 (0.248)	-0.088 (0.249)
Mother Party Member					0.651* (0.259)	0.629* (0.265)	0.632* (0.261)	0.754** (0.261)	0.743** (0.263)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.370 (0.400)		
Collective Enterprises							-0.881+ (0.463)		
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.758 (0.576)		
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.097+ (0.055)		-0.061 (0.057)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.823** (0.300)	0.785* (0.302)
10-20 Books								1.040** (0.345)	0.993** (0.356)
21-50 Books								1.481*** (0.320)	1.440*** (0.331)
51-100 Books								1.904*** (0.437)	1.874*** (0.433)
More than 100 Books								1.855*** (0.450)	1.818*** (0.460)
Constant	-1.488*** (0.376)	-1.478*** (0.375)	-1.210** (0.369)	-1.410*** (0.401)	-1.448*** (0.412)	-1.063+ (0.547)	-1.143* (0.444)	-2.309*** (0.599)	-2.085** (0.647)
N	860	860	860	860	860	860	860	860	860

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None

**TABLE VI-3E  
2006**

**Logistic Regression of Probability of Entering College  
for Reform Era Cohort (1971-1986)**

<b>Transition 3 Respondent</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Han Ethnicity	-0.191 (0.260)	-0.193 (0.261)	-0.255 (0.266)	-0.230 (0.268)	-0.228 (0.268)	-0.224 (0.271)	-0.283 (0.272)	-0.248 (0.324)	-0.299 (0.317)
Male		0.142+ (0.082)	0.186* (0.087)	0.169+ (0.092)	0.169+ (0.092)	0.169+ (0.092)	0.150+ (0.090)	0.177+ (0.100)	0.159 (0.097)
<b>Permanent Residency</b>									
Agricultural Hukou			-1.385*** (0.225)	-1.050*** (0.258)	-1.037*** (0.260)	-1.061*** (0.260)	-1.002*** (0.263)	-0.991*** (0.263)	-0.954*** (0.265)
<b>Parental Variables</b>									
Father Junior H.S.				0.001 (0.159)	-0.011 (0.163)	-0.010 (0.163)	-0.039 (0.166)	-0.063 (0.166)	-0.086 (0.166)
Father > Junior H.S.				0.521** (0.199)	0.456* (0.203)	0.458* (0.205)	0.389+ (0.205)	0.359+ (0.206)	0.295 (0.206)
Mother Junior H.S.				0.395* (0.167)	0.395* (0.166)	0.401* (0.169)	0.296+ (0.165)	0.377* (0.162)	0.277+ (0.162)
Mother > Junior H.S.				0.949*** (0.228)	0.945*** (0.227)	0.945*** (0.227)	0.807*** (0.235)	0.959*** (0.216)	0.819*** (0.226)
Father Party Member					0.115 (0.229)	0.100 (0.237)	0.204 (0.234)	0.011 (0.233)	0.098 (0.239)
Mother Party Member					0.230 (0.240)	0.235 (0.243)	0.161 (0.243)	0.103 (0.254)	0.041 (0.254)
<b>Father's Occupation:</b>									
State-Owned Enterprises							-0.151 (0.335)		
Collective Enterprises							-0.136 (0.373)		
Private/Foreign/Other							-0.096 (0.357)		
<b>Family Characteristics</b>									
Siblings							-0.148* (0.065)		-0.148* (0.066)
<b>Number of Books</b>									
Less than 10 Books								0.287 (0.218)	0.262 (0.219)
10-20 Books								0.823*** (0.218)	0.783*** (0.220)
21-50 Books								1.198*** (0.230)	1.180*** (0.233)
51-100 Books								1.806*** (0.242)	1.799*** (0.245)
More than 100 Books								1.150*** (0.267)	1.130*** (0.273)
Constant	0.035 (0.242)	-0.030 (0.247)	0.275 (0.261)	-0.271 (0.307)	-0.297 (0.310)	-0.175 (0.434)	0.046 (0.339)	-0.953* (0.395)	-0.593 (0.407)
N	1282	1282	1282	1282	1282	1282	1282	1282	1282

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

Reference Categories:

For both Father's and Mother's education, less than Junior High School

For Father's Occupation, Reference is "Government/Party Related Occupation"

For Number of Books, is None