

The Chinese Housing Registration System (Hukou): Bridge or Wall?

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Abstract

In 1958 the Chinese government created the hukou housing registration system to control the migration of Chinese citizens from rural to urban areas. A person's hukou has major implications on their lives; it controls food rations, medical benefits, quality of education, as well as movement within the country. I look to answer the question of whether the hukou can be seen as a bridge with which individuals achieve socially, or is it better seen as a wall that prevents social advancement. This has been a question that researchers have been looking into for many years but there has been no concise answer. I analyze data from the Chinese Household Income Project in efforts to answer this question. My results show that social mobilization varies across different regimes of Chinese economic and political leadership. During the Cultural Revolution for example, there was a drastic decrease in the number of citizens obtaining an urban hukou by going to college. In summary, the answer to the bridge or wall question depends upon the regime, and the socio-political system that is in place.

History of the Hukou System

When looking at the Chinese housing registration system (the hukou system), one must look at its creation in order to understand its history. After the Communist Party of China took control over the country in 1949, it was realized that China needed to develop and catch up with the rest of the world. One of the main problems that developing countries have when dealing with modernization is that too many people attempt to move from rural areas of the country into the newly developing cities. In order to prevent this, the Chinese government decided to introduce the hukou system in cities in 1951 (Rumin, 2012). There were three main reasons for the creation and implementation of the hukou system. **1.** To assist and manage urban development. **2.** Was used when it came to resource allocation and how they should be distributed. **3.** To facilitate administrative management in regards to the control of internal migration.

Shortly after the victory of the Communist Party of China (CPC), it was realized that the country needed to develop in order to compete against the rest of the world (Rumin, 2012). Leaders in China looked at other countries that had been developing and observed the difficulties that they faced. India was one of the countries that they looked at in particular; it was clear that India was able to develop at a rapid rate, but not without its problems. Due to India's rapid development, there were many people who lived in rural parts of the country who began to move into the developing urban areas to try and find work. This led to the creation of slums which led to high crime rates in the cities that were developing. One of the primary concerns for the creation of the hukou system was to help assist urban development. China

observed and learned from the mistakes from countries such as India and realized that they could not allow their cities to grow slums, so in order to control the migration of citizens to urban areas, the government decided that they would control who could move (Quheng & Bjorn, 2014). China also predicted that there would be some periods of economic hardship during development; therefore the hukou system also functions as a way to distribute resources. Due to the hukou system, there would always be a set amount of food and other resources that would go to urban areas. The hukou system would ultimately dictate the internal migration within China, and allow the government to be in charge of where citizens could/would migrate to.

During times of food shortages, the people who were living in the country (rural hukou) were given less food than those who lived in the cities (urban hukou) (Zang & Treiman, 2011). During China's pre-reform era the hukou system was a strict, yet effective method of controlling rural to urban migration. Over time, people who were living in the rural areas of China saw the potential for a better life in the cities, and decided to move. Since the early 1990's, the Chinese government has been lenient and has not enforced people to stay where their hukou is registered at. The fear that many Chinese migrants have however, is that the Chinese government will once again begin to enforce a person's hukou registration location and force these migrants back to where they were originally registered.

Mechanics of the Hukou System

When a child is born in China, they are given the hukou status of their mother, it doesn't matter where the child is born, their hukou will be registered at the same place as where their

mother is registered. A person's hukou status has a huge significance in their lives. It controls where they can go to school, and what kind of health care they will receive. It qualifies them for public housing, as well as other benefits a person can receive throughout their life. When a person in China is registered into a hukou, there are two categories that the person may have; these categories are urban or rural. They are then subcategorized from rural and urban into six different levels to determine the size of the location where they are registered. These six levels (going from largest to smallest) are Autonomous City, Capital City, Prefecture, County, Township, and Village (Rumin, 2012). This means that if someone was born in Beijing and their mother was registered in Beijing, that child would obtain an Autonomous City Beijing residential urban hukou; although all that is typically shortened to an urban Beijing hukou.

A person, who has an urban hukou status, will receive substantially different benefits when compared to someone with a rural hukou. For example, if a person is born and has an urban Beijing hukou status, they are much more likely to get into one of the top schools in the country than someone would if they weren't from one of the four Autonomous Cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing and Tianjin). People with a rural hukou status who migrate to the cities (whether it is adults or children born in the cities) will face a number of problems. They will have a lower chance of trying to find a quality job; they will also not have access to a quality education in this area. These Chinese migrants that have a rural hukou but are living in residential cities are often called the "floating population" (Zai, 2011).

It is the process of attempting to obtain a new hukou where it begins to get complicated for Chinese migrants. Due to China's rapid economic expansion, there are areas of the country

that have benefited more so than others. Chinese citizens who hold a rural status are now seeking to move into the ever-expanding cities in an attempt to profit from this economic development (Xu, Martin, Jan, & Nongian, 2014). There are currently three separate subsections of urban hukou statuses; these are Permanent Urban Hukou, Blue Seal Hukou, and Self Grain Hukou. The only differences between the three subsections is how a person obtains one and the benefits that they receive shift slightly (Permanent and Blue Seal share relatively equal benefits while Self Grain does not have all of the benefits the first two have). The way that a person obtains a Permanent Urban Hukou is by being registered there at birth (although there are other methods of doing this that will be brought up later). A Blue Seal hukou is something that a person obtains by purchasing a set amount of property, this can be simply buying an apartment, but in some regions of China, they require a person to purchase more than a single apartment to obtain one.

Hukou System's effect on Social Mobility

Migration

Today, people in China are more capable of moving into new cities where they are not registered at. This is a much different phenomena when compared to 50 years ago where the penalties for such actions were harsh. The fear that many migrants have however, is that the government will begin to once again enforce a person's hukou registration, and that because of this, will be forced out of the cities in which they are currently living in. Currently in China, there are roughly 221 million people who are living in a place that is not where their hukou is registered (Pei-chia, 2014). There are several explanations to describe the movement and why

these people decided to leave their registered area. The first explanation to this mass movement is due to economic and social development in growing cities (Whyte, 2010). With cities expanding, there has been an increase in the number of new jobs opening up. These new jobs offer significantly better pay compared to what they would make if they stayed in rural areas. Another popular explanation is parents want their children to receive a better education. People within with an urban hukou status are more likely to receive higher levels of education than people with a rural hukou status.

One of the forces that have driven people to move from a rural to urban area is to do better economically (Zang & Treiman, 2011). When looking at people who have been able to successfully transfer from a rural to urban hukou, you can see that overall they do better economically than people who still hold a rural hukou status. There are a vast number of advantages that someone with an urban hukou has over someone with a rural hukou, one of which is employment opportunities (Huang, 2012). People who have an urban hukou status are more likely to obtain higher paid carriers than those with rural hukou status. Those with urban hukou status also get higher priority when applying to jobs than people who do not have an urban hukou.

Membership of the Communist Party of China (CPC)

Whether or not being a member of the Communist Party of China in relation to an individual's hukou status is heavily debated among researchers. There are some researchers (Rumin, 2012) that believe that people who are members of the CPC generally have a higher income and better education than those who don't. Due to this, she believes that income and

education play a larger role in being a member of the CPC than they do with people obtaining an urban hukou. There are then other researchers (Zai, 2011) who believe that being a member of the CPC helps move up in the social hierarchy within China. The problem with looking at CPC membership is that there is not a lot of data on when a person became a member of the party and what influenced it.

Income and its Effect on Hukou

One of the most popular ways of obtaining a residential urban hukou is by obtaining a Blue Print hukou. As mentioned previously, a person with a Blue Print hukou has roughly the same benefits as a person with a residential urban hukou, therefore making it highly sought after for migrants within China. A Blue Print hukou can be obtained by purchasing a certain amount of property, although it typically only takes one apartment in most provinces. When new apartments are being built one of the things that they advertise is that by buying an apartment in that particular complex, a person and their family will be able to obtain a Blue Print hukou. This method is viable for people who have an income large enough to pay for an apartment, unfortunately that is not the case for many migrants within China. The problem with this method for rural to urban migration is that the average apartment costs about 20 times more than the average annual income (Xu, Martin, Jan, & Nongian, 2014). Recently, there have been a few provinces such as Jiangsu who have been attempting to fix this problem. What they have done is created legislation that enables rural migrants to participate in housing funds (Governemnt, 2007). This type of program gives rural migrants a chance to obtain a Blue Print

by purchasing an apartment, although the application process to get into this program is very selective and not a lot of information is available about why certain people get in over others.

The method of purchasing an apartment and receiving a Blue Print hukou is not one that many people can afford to do. The method of purchasing an apartment is typically reserved for people who are switching their hukou from one city to another (urban to urban transfer). Even though this is a popular method of obtaining a residential status in many cities, it is not possible in some. Shanghai is an excellent example for this, after 2002, it is impossible to simply purchase an apartment and get a Blue Print hukou for Shanghai; instead they have to apply for a green card in which they are scored on a number of variables such as income, education, job quality, etc. (Rumin, 2012).

With the development of China, cities are constantly expanding as well as new cities being created. One possible method for people to obtain an urban hukou is simply by selling their property to the developers who are in charge of expansion (Vendryes, 2010). This is not a very popular method of obtaining a hukou due to it being very situational and not just anyone is able to this. According to some researchers (Rumin, 2012), people who are lucky enough to live in an area where expansion is sought can be expected to make millions for their property and be automatically given an urban hukou for that region.

Education

Education for a migrant's children is one of the primary reasons for a person to seek an urban hukou (whether it is residential or Blue Seal). One of the many problems facing migrants in cities is that even if their child is born into the city, they will not be able to receive the same

quality of education due to them being registered elsewhere. Currently in cities where there is a large number of young migrants who are registered with a rural hukou such as Shanghai; children are only allowed to go to schools for grades 1-9 (Minhua, 2015). Even if these students do well in school, there is a very slim chance that these students would be accepted into public schools or even universities. If a child is born with a Shanghai urban hukou, not only is there a better chance of them going on to a good high school, but they also don't need to receive as high of test scores on entrance exams into some of the larger Universities in China such as Tsinghua University and Shanghai Jiao Tong University.

When looking at larger cities in China like Shanghai, you can begin to see the problems with non-urban migrants with children who seeking education. When asked about why migrant's moved to Shanghai, many of the responses were that they wanted to get their children a better education than what they would receive in the rural areas of the country (Peichia, 2014). It wasn't until recently (2008) that migrant children were able to even receive any education in Shanghai. This is one of the reasons why many people are pushing to try and get their residential urban hukou. Shanghai has a system where people can apply for a green card, much like how immigrants can do so in the United States. Currently this is the only way to obtain an urban hukou in Shanghai, and it requires people to continuously apply for residency permits (Rumin, 2012).

There are researches such as Rumin Luo who believe that a person's education is a key element in determining whether or not they can obtain an urban residential hukou. In her research, she looked at different methods of how migrants were able to achieve a residential

urban hukou. She believed that the best way to obtain an urban hukou was through education, and that people who were well educated had better jobs and that would help them find higher quality jobs in cities.

Changes through Different Era's

Like all countries, China went through a number of different changes, and the hukou system has changed along with the country. How these changes affected the hukou system greatly varied across the different political regimes that were in place (Han, 2009). What this means is that throughout these different regimes; how someone obtained their urban hukou varied. When looking at different political era's in Chinese history, there are two main eras' that are focused by researchers, those being The Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution (Han, 2009) (Wemheuer, 2010).

When focusing on The Great Leap Forward, it is important to understand what was happening during this and the historical implications that came to exist due to it. The Great Leap Forward was the second of Mao's Five Year Plans which had an overarching goal of transforming the country from an agrarian economy, into a socialist society through industrialization and collectivization (Han, 2009). The Great Leap Forward is often heavily criticized due to being the leading cause in The Great Famine, which killed millions of Chinese citizens' (Wemheuer, 2010). During this era, the hukou system was heavily enforced, as Mao and others within the CPC pushed for collectivization from the farmers (leaving very little for the farmers to eat). This made it increasingly difficult for someone to convert their rural hukou to an urban one. However, it was not impossible for someone to convert their hukou at the

time, there were a few options (although not many) available for the rural hukou holders to obtain an urban hukou (Han, 2009). Some of the available methods were to join the military, go to college, or buy a blue seal hukou (Wemheuer, 2010). While buying a blue seal hukou typically wasn't available for the average rural hukou holders, joining the army was, and according to researchers was a popular method for people to obtain their hukou this way (Han, 2009) (Wemheuer, 2010).

The Cultural Revolution may be the most famous event in recent Chinese history. The goal of this was set by Mao with the idea of purging the capitalist and traditional elements out of Chinese society, and to re-impose Maoist thought (Han, 2009). One of the elements of the Cultural Revolution was the displacement of youths from urban areas to rural where they were forced to work in labor camps. The Cultural Revolution had another famous element to it that hurt the country for many years, which were shutdown of schools and universities (Han, 2009). Schools were eventually reopened but it took the universities longer to reopen. Along with this, entrance exams were discontinued and instead; students had to be recommended by factories, schools and military units (Minhua, 2015). Most famously, the Cultural Revolution targeted the "Intellectuals" within the country, and because of this many were persecuted. (Minhua, 2015). During this political era, there was a drastic decrease in the number of people going to universities due to the shutdown, which made obtaining an urban hukou by going to a university virtually impossible. With that being said, due to the demand of the government, military numbers within China skyrocketed (Zai, 2011).

Theory and Hypothesis's

The question that I am looking to answer is whether or not China's hukou system is a bridge for crossing the socioeconomic gap that exists within Chinese society, or a wall to prevent such movement. If the hukou system is indeed a bridge for an individual's socioeconomic growth, then it could be possible to provide a guideline that could help migrants increase their chances of success in receiving an urban hukou. Men are more likely than women to obtain their urban hukou through means other than buying one. The reasoning for this is that sexism is still very much alive in China, and because of this men are given more opportunities than women. People who are members of the Communist Party of China (CPC) are more likely to receive an urban hukou through means other than buying one. The CPC has a large impact on Chinese citizen's day to day lives, and most influential people in the country are a member of the party, therefore they would be more likely to receive the benefits that urban hukou holders have. Chinese citizens who receive a Jr. College or University level of education are more likely to have obtained their hukou by going to a Jr. College or University. The reason for this is that one of the ways that someone can obtain an urban hukou is by going to college, and for those who were able to go to do this will have no need to receive an urban hukou any other way.

Methods

In order to test these hypotheses, I look at data that would be able to provide information that had Chinese citizens who had obtained an urban hukou, as well as showing how they obtained it. The data that I used for this was the *Chinese Household Income Project* that was done in 2002. The dependent variable that I used was what year the respondent

obtained their urban hukou. The independent variable that I choose to conduct this research was how someone obtained their urban hukou. I then used three control variables to act as independent variables in order to test out my hypotheses. These variables were the respondents' gender, whether or not they are members of the CPC, and what level of education they received.

Variables

In order to test the hypotheses, I broke down my independent variable and categorize it into five categories. The way I did this was by categorizing these years into five different political regimes in Chinese history. The first category is from 1950 to 1957, which represents the rise of Mao Zedong. The second category is from 1958-1965 which shows the political regime during the infamous Five Year Plan (which lasted three years). The third category is from 1966-1975, and represents the Cultural Revolution that took place within the country. The fourth category is from 1976-1985, which represents the Gang of Four (death of Mao) and the fight to take control of the country. The fifth and final category is from 1986-2002 which represents the modernization and westernization process that China went through.

The independent variable was how someone obtained their urban hukou. This variable is categorized into six different categories stating how an individual obtained their hukou. The first is by going to college, meaning that they scored a high enough score on an entrance exam and was able to get their hukou that way. The second is by becoming an official, this is someone who was most likely in a small village, and they obtained their hukou by becoming a leader and reporting to the government. The third is joining the army (pretty self-explanatory). The fourth

is land occupied by the government this happens when the government finds an area that they would like to develop (create a city there) and they pay the locals a huge sum of money and gave them an urban hukou to that city. The fifth is buying a house in the city, this is very similar to buying a hukou, but the main difference is that these people have even more money, the concept of owning a house is not a popular mindset in China. The sixth is buying a hukou what makes this different than buying a house, is that these people are most likely renting out an apartment and the apartment owners (most likely the government) sell a hukou with it to promote it.

Analysis

Before analyzing all the variables in order to test my hypotheses, I needed to create a baseline that I could compare too. To do this, I simply did not add any of the control variables. The purpose of this is to show the overall differences that the control variables when compared to a baseline. There are distinctive trends that can be observed. For instance, there is a drastic decrease in the total percentage of people obtaining an urban hukou by going to college during the Cultural Revolution, as well as a huge increase in obtaining an urban hukou through the military. There is also a drastic drop in people obtaining their hukou after the Cultural Revolution going into the Gang of Four period. Overall by looking at the data, buying a hukou was the most popular form of obtaining an urban hukou by most migrants. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

Hypothesis I

In order to understand and answer my first hypothesis, I added the variable of gender. There is still a high level of sexism that exists within China, and because of this there are social disparities such as income, and availability of jobs. I hypothesized that men would be more likely to obtain an urban hukou through other means than buying one.

(Table 1 about here)

After analyzing the data, I found that there is significant difference between the two genders. Women were much more likely to obtain their urban hukou by buying it, throughout all five eras. Women also followed the baseline trend of having a large decline in obtaining their urban hukou by going to college in the Cultural Revolution with a drop of slightly over 20%. Women also follow the baseline trends with land occupied by government increasing at a high rate during the modernization era. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

When comparing women to men, there is a drastic difference between the two, although men follow similar baseline trends with a drastic decrease of obtaining a urban hukou by going to college during the Cultural Revolution, as well as a drastic decrease in joining the army afterwards; the rate in which men obtained their urban hukou through different means then buying one is much higher than it was for women. There are still a high percentage of men who obtained their urban hukou buy buying it, but there is a significant increase in other ways of obtaining an urban hukou primarily by going to college and for a period of time, joining the

military. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

After analyzing and testing the data, it has proven my hypothesis to be correct, in stating that men are more likely than women to obtain an urban hukou through means other than buying one. One of theory to why this is, maybe due to marriage; when a woman is married in China it is expected that the Woman will move in with the husband. Due the process however, this typically ends up taking a few years.

Hypothesis II

To evaluate the hypothesis, about what impact being a member of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has on obtaining an urban hukou I tested party membership as an independent variable. The CPC is heavily involved in the day to day lives of all Chinese citizens, because of this, I hypothesized that citizens who are members of the CPC would be more likely to live a better life, and therefore obtain an urban hukou few different ways than just buying a hukou.

(Table 2 about here)

When analyzing the data for citizens that are not a part of any political party, the way many of the people obtained their urban hukou was through buying one. This once again follows the baseline trends, with a similar pattern throughout the different political eras. During the Cultural Revolution there was a decrease of about 18% when looking at those who obtained their hukou by going to college. There is a low amount of people who were not party of any party in the military, but it still followed the trend of decreasing after the Cultural Revolution.

Overall not being a member of the CPC followed the baseline trends with a majority of the people obtaining their urban hukou by buying it. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

When analyzing the data for those who are members of the CPC, there is a dramatic difference compared to those who are not. While the data still follows the baseline trends of a drastic decrease in people obtaining their hukou by going to college during the Cultural Revolution, it also faced the largest increase in people obtaining their urban hukou afterwards with a jump of about 30%. It also follows the baseline trend with the decrease in the amount of people receiving their urban hukou by joining the military. It is important to note however, that while there was a drop, over 20% of the respondents still obtained their urban hukou by joining the army during the Cultural Revolution. Unlike the trends of the baseline, the most popular way of obtaining an urban hukou is not always simply buying throughout the eras (with the exception of the rise of Mao). The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

After testing the data, my hypothesis was indeed correct, with members of the CPC having more availability to other methods of obtaining an urban hukou than those who are not CPC members. Although both follow the same trends of the baseline, there is a drastic difference in the percentage of people buying a hukou who are CPC members (29.8% during the Cultural Revolution) compared to people who are not a party (65.4% during the Cultural Revolution). Throughout all political eras, those who are members of the CPC are more likely to

have obtained their urban hukou through more means than just buying a hukou than those who were not.

Hypothesis III

In order to better understand the impact that education has on a Chinese citizen obtaining an urban hukou, I needed to look at different levels of education and how it affected the methods a person used to obtain their urban hukou. I hypothesized that people who had a Jr. College or University level of education were more likely to obtain their hukou through going to school than those who were not. The reasoning behind this is that these are people who have already qualified for an urban hukou by attending college so there would be no need to obtain it any other way.

(Table 3 about here)

Analyzing the data for those who have a low level of education (which could be expected from someone with a rural hukou) there is an overwhelming majority who obtained their hukou by buying it. In fact, the only era where less than 50% obtained their hukou by buying it was during the Five Year Plan where it reached its lowest point at 47.7%. It does follow the similar trend of the baseline, with a drastic drop in receiving an urban hukou by going to college during the Cultural Revolution; the main difference in this regards is that it does not go back up; in fact it decreases slightly after. It also follows the trend of the baseline in regards to joining the army, with a drastic drop after the Cultural Revolution of 19.6%. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

When analyzing the data from those who have high school or technical school level of education, it is dramatically different than the previous test. While it follows a similar pattern, there is a massive increase in those who obtained their urban hukou by going to college. This does drop quite drastically during the Cultural Revolution, and much like the previous data, it does continue to stay down. During this period there was an increase of over 15% in buying a hukou. Like the baseline trend, there is a rapid decrease in people obtaining their hukou by joining the military during the Gang of Four. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

The most promising data comes from those who have a Jr. College or University level of education. This data is dramatically different than all the previous tests that were run in order to test my hypotheses. In most eras (besides the Cultural Revolution) a majority of the people obtained their hukou by going to college rather than buying one. With that being said, it did suffer the largest decrease during the Cultural Revolution with a decrease of 31%. When comparing this to the other levels of education tested, this is the first time that there was an increase after this political era. What was interesting however was that during the Cultural Revolution, the most popular way of obtaining an urban hukou was by joining the military. The data is statistically significant with as well as showing that there is indeed a relationship between the variables.

After analyzing all three different levels of education, my hypothesis was indeed correct in stating that those who had received a Jr. College or University level of education were more likely to have obtained their hukou by going to college than by other means. For the other

levels of education, buying a hukou remains to be the most popular way of obtaining one. This could be due to those who live in rural areas are not receiving quality education and are therefore having to buy an urban hukou rather than obtaining it through other means. Up until after the Cultural Revolution, joining the army was also a viable approach to obtaining an urban hukou, but like the baseline, drops drastically afterwards.

Conclusion

I found that throughout different political regimes throughout Chinese history, there have been some methods that prove to be more successful than others in obtaining an urban hukou. There are certain qualities that can increase someone's likelihood of being able to obtain an urban hukou. Throughout my research, I found that being a man offers a better chance of obtaining an urban hukou through means rather than buying one, than it is for women. I also found that by being a member of the CPC; a citizen is also more likely to obtain an urban hukou through different means than buying one. Finally, I found that those who are college educated are more likely to have obtained their urban hukou by attending Jr. College or University than other means.

In order to answer my research question of whether or not the hukou system is a bridge to encourage socioeconomic growth, or a wall to prevent such growth, the answer is that it is both. The accessibility of obtaining an urban hukou through buying one has become gradually more popular throughout the different political regimes throughout Chinese history. The problem with this however, is that many of the migrants don't have enough money to even hope to afford purchasing one. Due to different reforms on the hukou system, it has been transitioning

towards a bridge to help those with a rural hukou convert to an urban, through different provinces offering more options to obtain one, but unfortunately, it is still not accessible to a large majority of the migrants within the country and as such acts as a wall for many individuals.

Figure 1

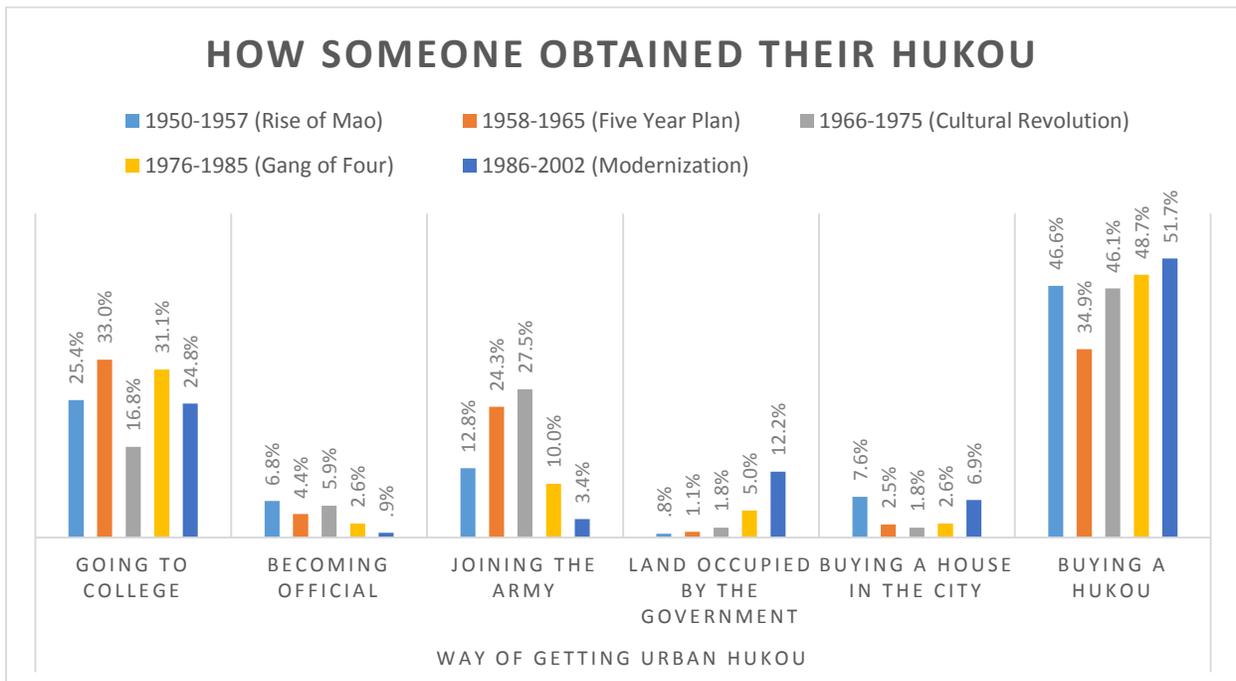


Figure 2

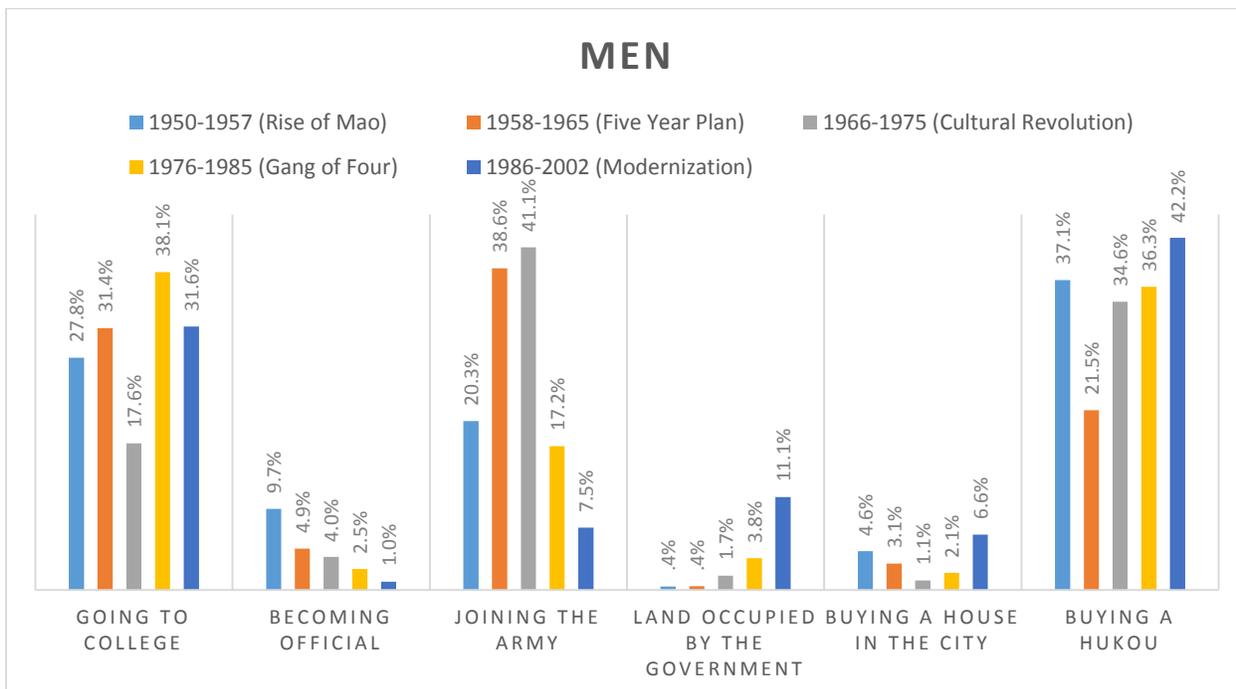


Figure 3

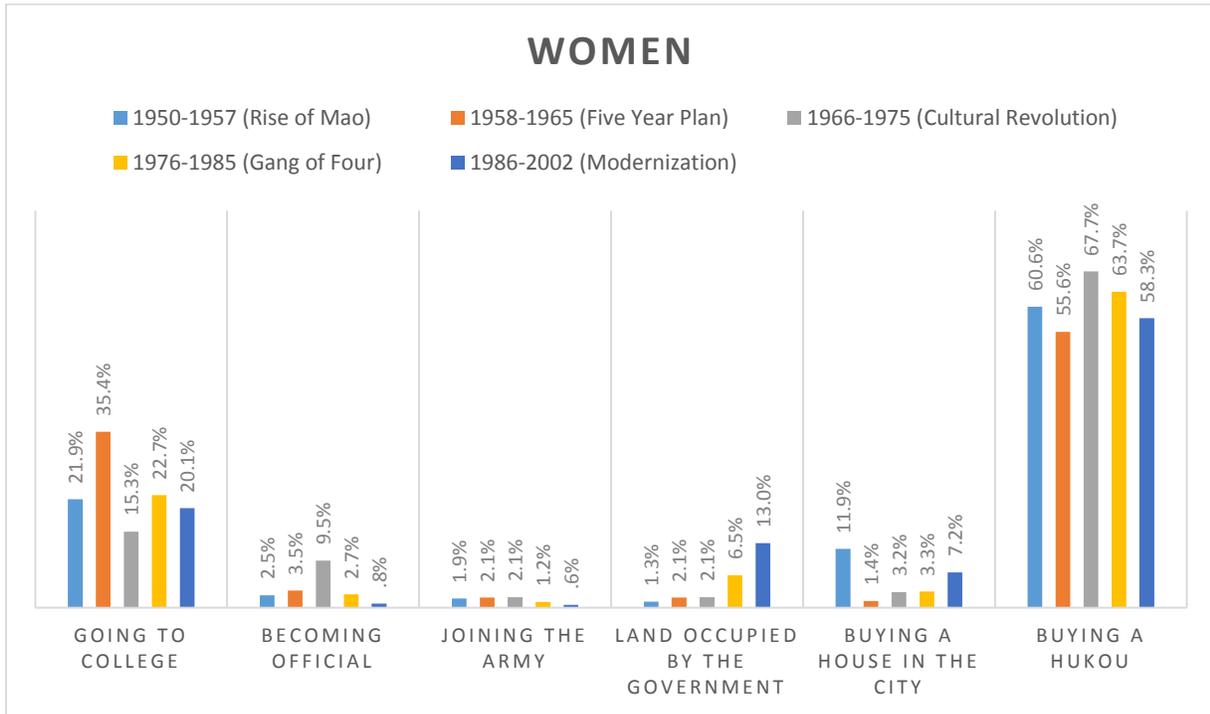


Figure 4

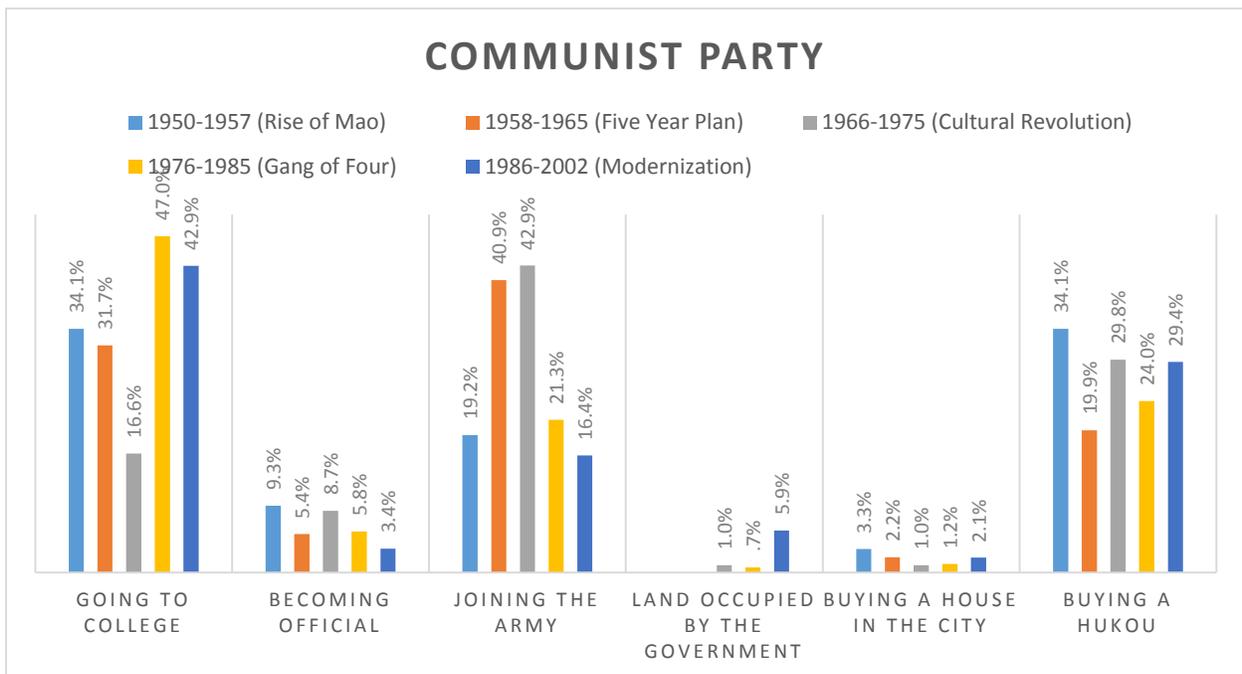


Figure 5

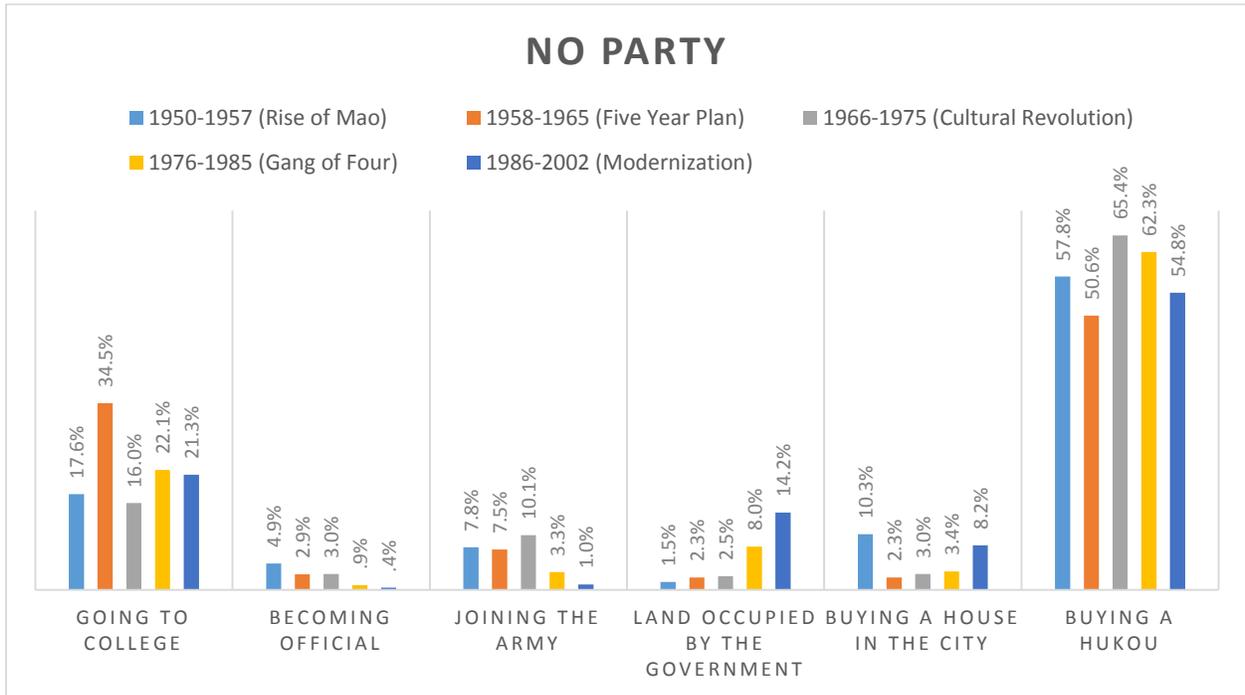


Figure 6

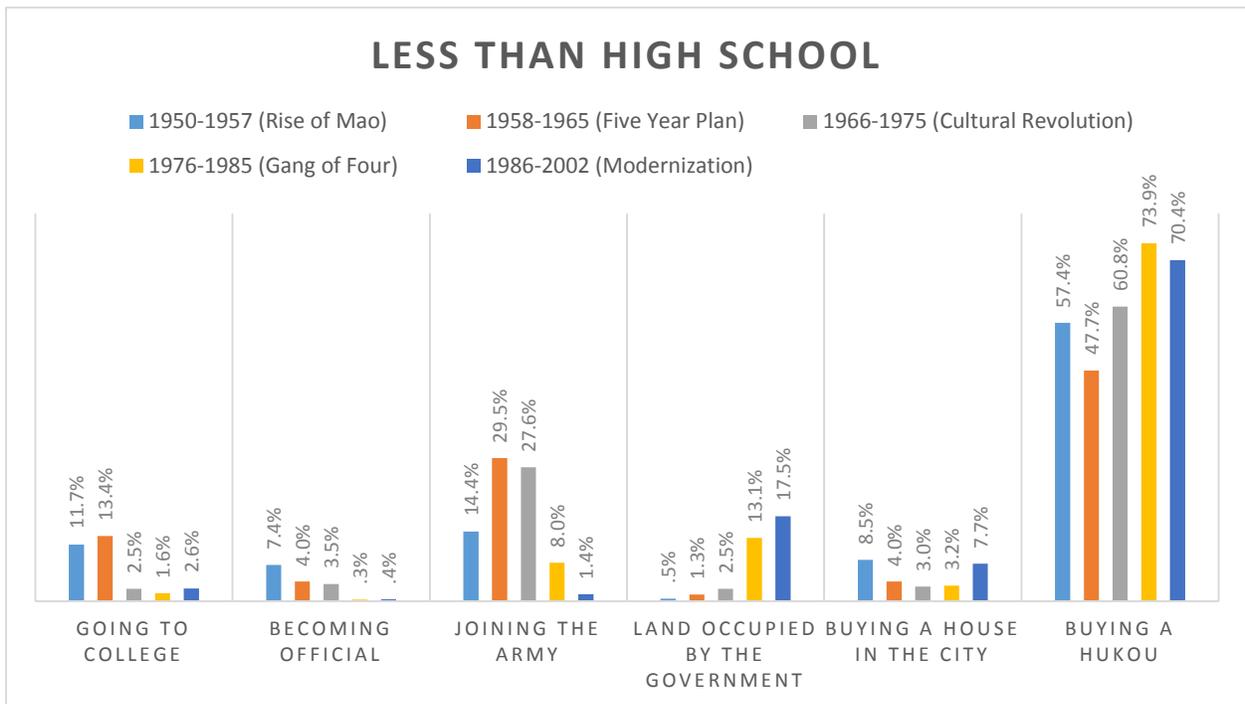


Figure 7

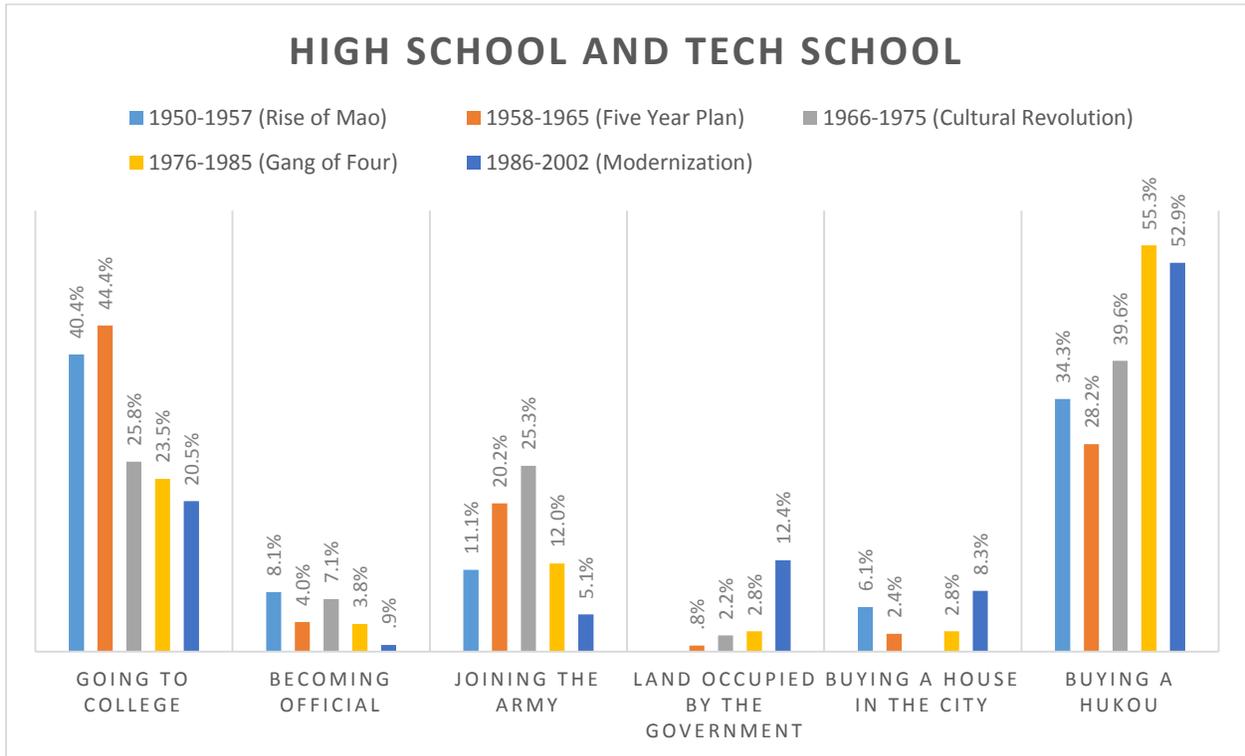
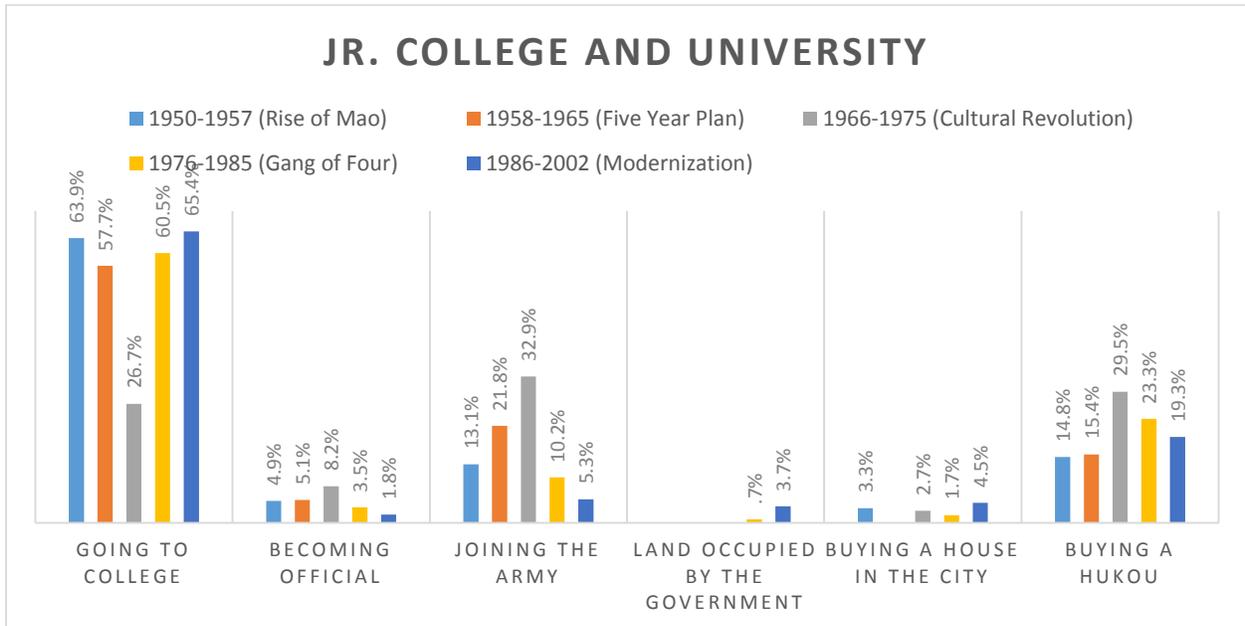


Figure 8



Statistical Significance and Relationship Strength

Men	
Chi-Square	351.055
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.207
Women	
Chi-Square	149.48
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.142
Communist Party	
Chi-Square	213.905
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.153
No Party	
Chi-Square	166.729
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.178
Less than High School	
Chi-Square	345.599
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.247
High School and Tech School	
Chi-Square	205.7
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.204
Jr. College and University	
Chi-Square	142.423
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.185
Baseline	
Chi-Square	149.48
P-Score	0
Cramer's V	0.142

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