

Background

- Household Registration System dichotomizes ascriptive status of the citizens into rural Hukou and urban Hukou. In addition to these two Hukous, the conversion of Hukou status from rural to urban has been neglected (Wu & Treiman 2004).
- Rural and urban Hukou holders are often treated as socially segregated groups that are distinct in social status and political power. Social interaction between different Hukous gains little attention, especially intermarriage between urban Hukou holders and rural-origin people (rural Hukou holders and Hukou converters).
- Two notions which are often used to explain intermarriage in U.S. and European contexts (Kalmijn 1998) will be discussed here:
 - Individual preferences: socioeconomic resources affect people's taste and attractiveness. Moreover, the growing up environments influence their acceptance and perception about potential spouse.
 - Third party influences: as key cultural influences, third party not only influences individual's taste and acceptance for spouse, it also shows who he is via family background. Parents still have some power in children's mate selection in Chinese society.

Research Question

- How does Hukou intermarriage vary by age, education, and parents' Hukou?
- How are intermarriages between urban-rural Hukou holders different from intermarriages between urban Hukou holders and rural origin Hukou holders who have converted to urban status?

Data and Measures

Data:

- Pooled data from Chinese General Social Survey: 2003, 2006 and 2008.

- Restricted Sample: urban Hukou respondents in urban sample are used for analysis (3466 male and 3340 female).

Measures:

- First marriages from 1958 to 2008.

Dependent Variable:

- 3 marriage types:

- Hukou origin homogamy (U-U),
- Hukou origin heterogamy (U-R),
- Hukou origin heterogamy, current Hukou homogamy via conversion of spouses' rural to urban Hukou (U-UC).

Independent Variables

- Individual preference: age at first marriage, age difference, **education**, CCP membership, growing up environment.
- Third party: Parental education, parental CCP membership, **parental marriage type**.
- Control variables: region, **time period at the first marriage** (before or after 1984 when rural-urban migration is relaxed).

Method

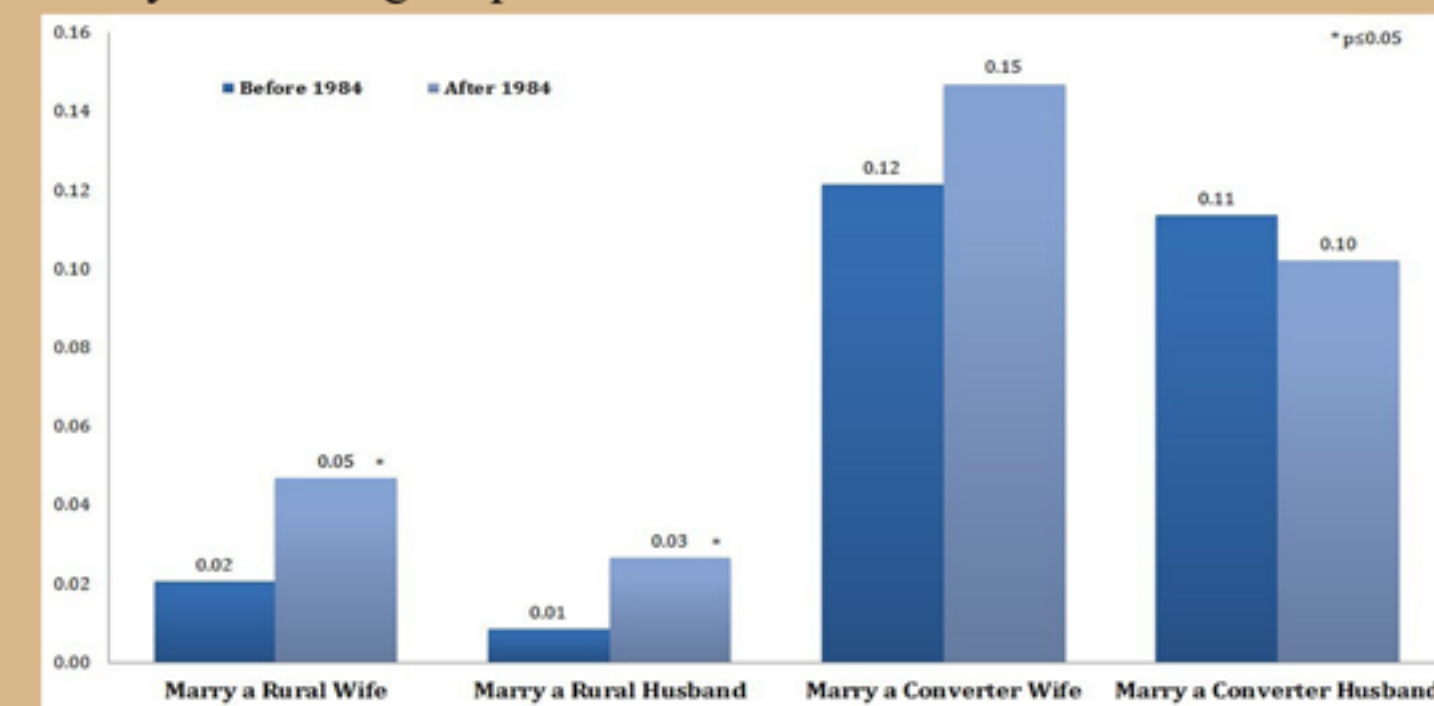
- Weighted multinomial logistic regression predicting probability of marrying rural-origin spouses by gender.

- Model: marriage type=individual preference + third party+ control variables

Results

• Hukou Intermarriage Before and After 1984

Figure 1: Predicted Probability that Urban Respondents Marry Rural-Origin Spouses: Before vs. After 1984.

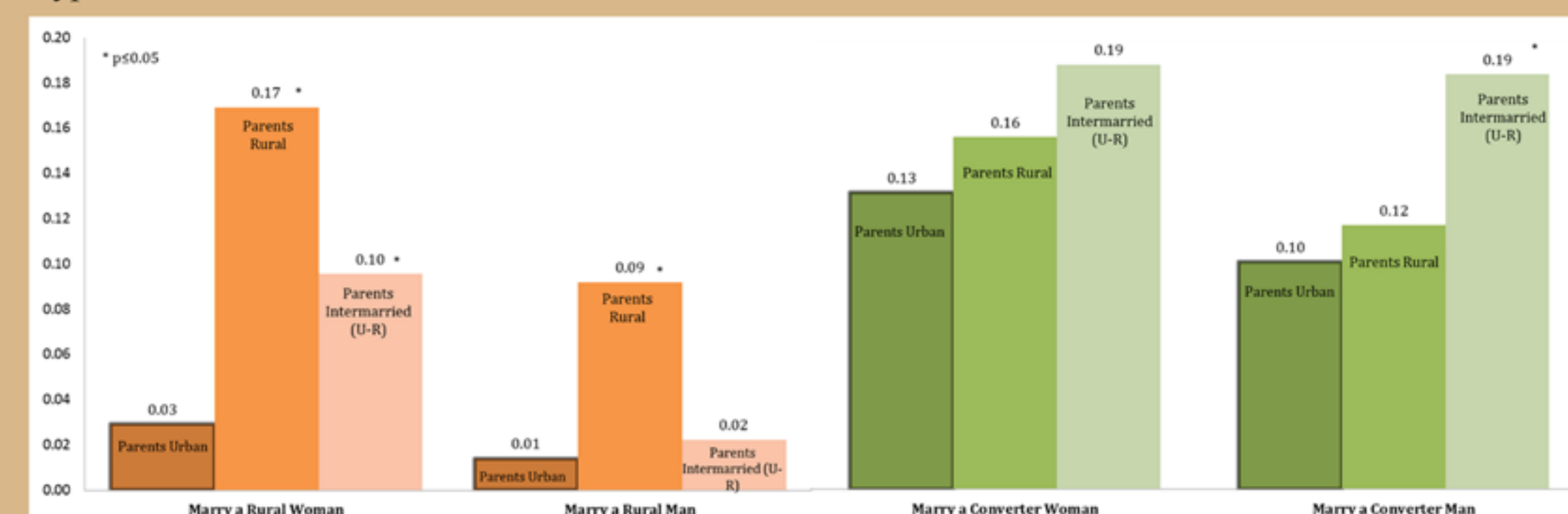


- Those with urban Hukous are much more likely to marry rural origin Hukous who have converted to urban Hukous than rural origin Hukous who have not converted.

- For 3 of the 4 groups, urban Hukou holders became more likely to marry rural origin Hukou holders after the great inflows of rural migrants to urban areas.

• The Effect of Third Party

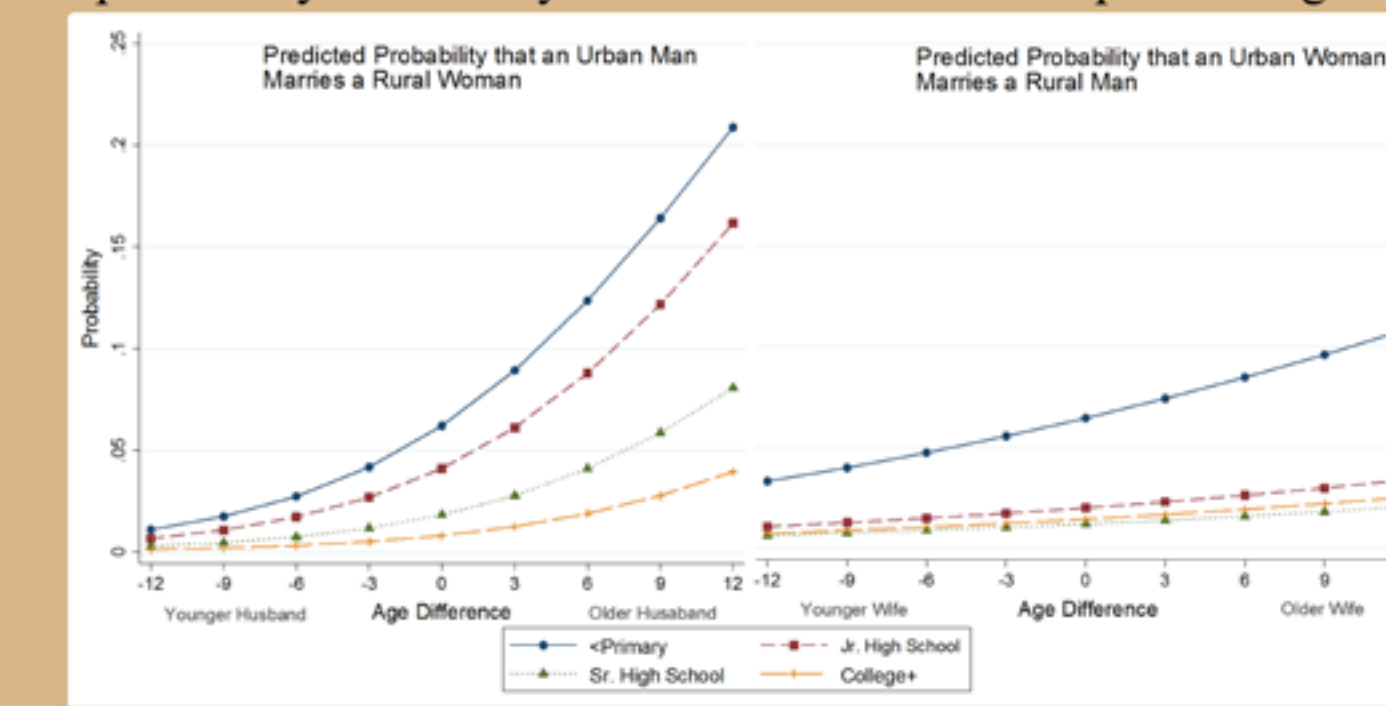
Figure 4. Predicted Probability that Urban Respondents Marry Rural-Origin Spouses: By Parental Marriage Type.



- Urban Hukou holders whose parents were in a Hukou intermarriage are much more likely to form Hukou intermarriages themselves. But this is only true for male urban Hukou holders. Female urban Hukou holders whose parents are intermarried are not significantly more likely to form intermarriages themselves.

• How does Hukou intermarriage vary by age and education?

Figure 2. Predicted Probability that Urban Respondents Marry Rural-Origin Spouses: By Sex and by the Difference between Spouses' Ages.



- Educational gradients in intermarriage are larger for men than women in U-R marriages. By contrast, there is little variation in intermarriage by education for urban women except women with less than primary school.

- Older urban Hukou holders are more likely to marry younger rural spouses. This is particularly true for men.

Suggests urban Hukou holders who marry rural Hukou holders are "casting a wider net" in the face of marriage market constraints, whereas those who marry converters form relationships that are more consistent with dominant societal patterns.

Conclusion

- Social distance between urban and rural Hukou holders are much larger than the distance between urban and converters.
- The probability of Hukou intermarriage is highest for urban Hukou men with low levels of education who marry substantially younger women.
- Urban Hukou women with low levels of education also marry younger men when they intermarry.
- This pattern does not hold for converters – urban Hukou men and women who marry converters form relationships in which men are older than women.
- These findings suggest that those who marry converters are not "casting a wider net" but those who marry rural Hukou holders may face a constrained marriage market.

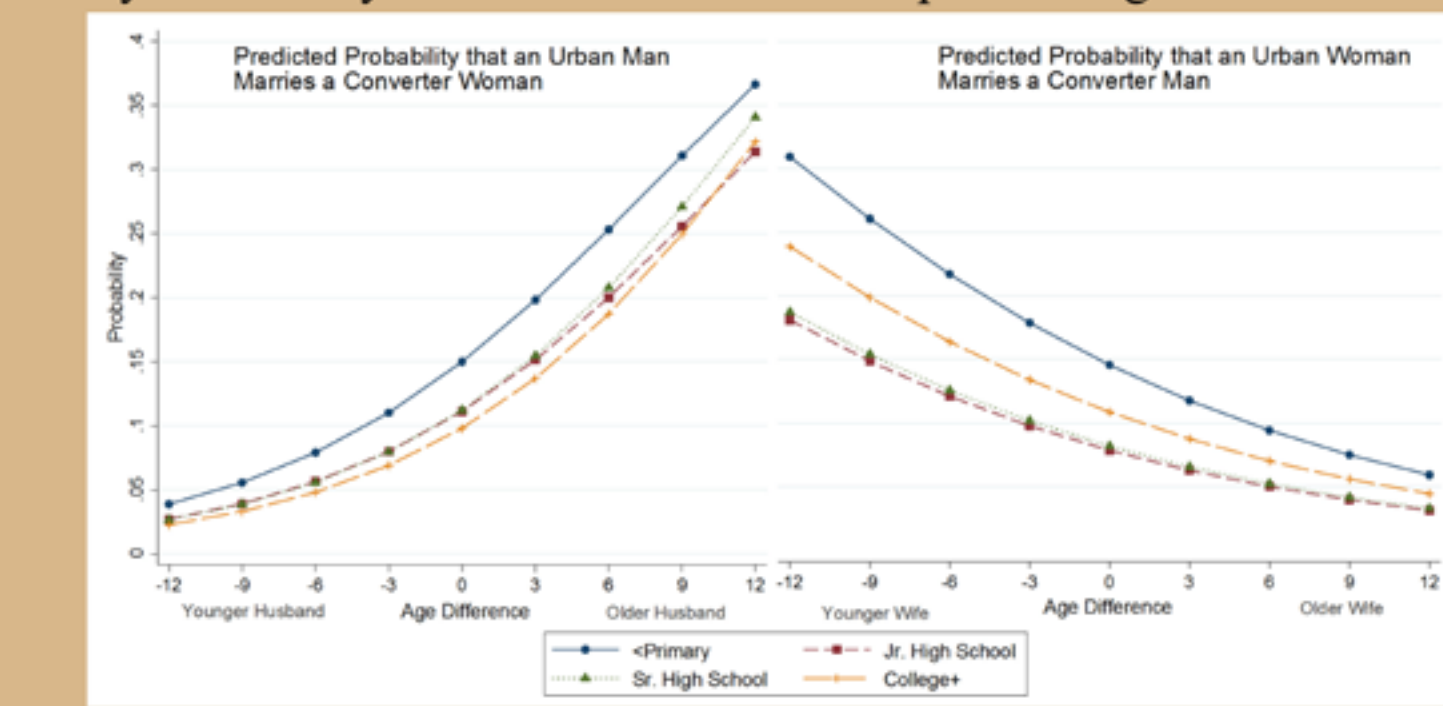
Limitation

- Time and reason of Hukou conversion is not available for all spouses. Converters may convert upon marriage. Based on the information I have, the U-C intermarriage might be overestimated.
- This study provides limited information about whom the urban respondents are more to marry with respect to socioeconomic status.

Acknowledgements

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Figure 3. Predicted Probability that Urban Respondents Marry Converter Spouses: By Sex and by the Difference between Spouses' Ages.



- Men and women who marry rural Hukou holders both tend to marry younger partners, this is not the case for urban Hukou holders who marry converters.

- Instead, a pattern of age hypergamy emerges for both men and women. Urban hukou holders who marry converters tend to form relationships where men are older than women.