Prairie Metropolis Centre

Working Paper Series

WP10-11

Unfinished Promise: Socioeconomic Status and Attitudes towards Equality for Migrant Workers in Urban China

Yaping Zhou, University of Saskatchewan
Yixuan Wang, University of Saskatchewan
Wenjiang Chen, Lanzhou University

The PMC Working Paper Series is published by the

Prairie Metropolis Centre.

For additional information contact:

PMC Working Paper Series
Attention: Mrs. Lenise Anderson, Editorial Assistant
Suite 2-060 RTF Building, 8308 – 114 Street, University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E1 Canada
Tel: (780) 492-0635 Fax: (780) 492-2594
Email: lenise@ualberta.ca
Web Site: http://pmc.metropolis.net

Funders
We are pleased to acknowledge the following organizations that provide funding in support of the Prairie Metropolis Centre: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada; Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Border Ser-vices Agency, Canada Economic Development for the Region of Quebec, Canadian Heritage; Statistics Canada; Human Resources and Social Development Canada; Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Department of Justice Canada, Public Health Agency of Canada, Federal Economic Development of Initiative of Northern Ontario, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation; Public Works and Government Services Canada; the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; and Public Safety Canada. The University of Alberta provides PMC with a generous grant and the other participating universities offer supplementary support.

Unfinished Promise: Socioeconomic Status and Attitudes towards Equality for Migrant Workers in Urban China

Yaping Zhou, University of Saskatchewan
Yixuan Wang, University of Saskatchewan
Wenjiang Chen, Lanzhou University

Abstract

China has justified increased social inequality in the course of economic reform based on the rationale that wealth has to be created in stages to encourage some to get rich first in order to help others to catch up later. This study is to determine whether those who are relatively well-off have an inclination to support equality for the rest of the population. The attitudes of those with higher socioeconomic characteristics, mostly in coastal provinces, toward equal treatment of migrant workers are examined using the 2003 China General Social Survey. The results indicate that those with higher socioeconomic status are less likely to favour supporting equitable treatment of migrant workers. The results also suggest that social inequality based on material conditions can also contribute to an ideology of inevitable inequality which those who are economically more advantaged use to justify their privileged positions.

Key Words: equality, migrant workers, attitudes, China

Since 1978, China has experienced a three-decade-long process of economic reform that has attempted to transform China into a 'socialist market economy,' with a fundamental shift away from central planning. Having realized that China had fallen behind newly industrialized countries, such as South Korea and Taiwan, and that egalitarianism would not change this situation, Deng Xiaoping initiated China's development strategy and political attainment goals. At the core of the Chinese Communist Party's plan for economic reforms has been the slogan, 'Let certain people become rich first in order to achieve common prosperity' (Zhao, 1994). In other words, 'it is hoped that the affluence of the coastal regions will trickle down to the remote hinterlands, as the whole country starts to emulate the success of the coastal regions' (Xie and Hannum, 1996). In the year of 1987, Deng also predicted that this project would be achieved by the end of the twentieth century, and until that time, the coastal region would be regarded as China's engine of growth (Golley, 2007). This policy implicitly aimed to promote the allocation of resources in line with regional comparative advantage (Golley, 2007), and departed far away from the egalitarian ideology throughout the Mao era and showed some variation from as well as affinities with the totalitarian control of Communist regimes (Zhou, 2001).

Some thirty years later, the coastal provinces and certain people within them have indeed produced an increasing number of well-to-do citizens, which to some extent achieved Deng's promise. During the process of economic restructuring, in which certain people have benefited proportionately more than others, several social interest groups have emerged, which have unequal access to and influence on distribution of resources and social opportunities. Are those advantaged group members now willing to share their interests with those disadvantaged, as Deng predicted? In other words, what types of coalition do advantaged group members form: encompassing coalitions, which have some incentive to make the society more prosperous and

incentive to redistribute interest to out-groups (Olsen, 1998: p53), or distributional coalitions, which are exclusive and seek to limit the access to their membership for maintaining interest (Olsen, 1998: p. 69)? This paper, through the examination of urbanites' attitudes toward equality for migrant workers in China, attempts to estimate whether Deng's goal to 'Let certain people become rich first in order to achieve common prosperity' is achievable.

Background

During the process of economic restructuring to transform the existing planned economy into a socialist market economy, the Chinese economy has developed very fast, relative to the emergence of western capitalist economies. No doubt, China's comparative advantage in its labour force is one of the main factors contributing to the country's rapid economic development. This advantage, to a great extent, depends on the migration of an exploited 'floating population'—rural Chinese who migrate to China's cities to work. For instance, it is estimated that migrant workers create a GDP growth of RMB1000– 2000 for urban development each year (Han 2006). Other statistics calculated by the Beijing Statistical Bureau show that in 2003, the increased value produced by migrant workers in Beijing accounted for 83 percent of the construction industry, 49 percent of the retail sector, and 29 percent of the manufacturing sector (Investigative Group of Beijing Municipal Government, 2006).

During this historical transformation, migrant worker populations have emerged as a special social group, and by providing low-cost labor to coastal provinces, have made great contributions to China's economic development, whether or not they, themselves, have enjoyed substantive benefits. According to the *Gazette of the State Council of the People's Republic of China* (State Council, 2004), the number of migrant workers exceeded 98 million in 2003. Due

to its huge magnitude and potential economic and social impact on Chinese society (Chang, 2007), many studies, based mostly on descriptive demographic information, have given insight into the issue of China's migrant workers against the backdrop of China's economic transformation. Most are primarily concerned with either positive or negative impacts of migration from rural to urban centers (Chai and Chai, 1997; Fan, 2003; Goodkind and West, 2002).

Among the relevant studies, marginalization is a term frequently used to describe the experience of rural migrant workers being discriminated against by urban residents. Migrant workers encounter prejudices, and even outright discrimination in the city (Nielsen et al., 2006). For example, migrant workers face substantive challenges in relation to attitudes of indigenous urban dwellers. Urban residents are suspicious of migrant workers and think they should be held accountable for their own receding privileged status (Roberts, 2002b). In addition, there is even blatant hostility towards them and this perception translates into the development of broadly negative attitudes towards rural to urban migrants (Chai and Chai, 1997). Millions of migrant workers who work in urban factories are socially marginalized, and due to this institutional social exclusion, they inevitably have less access to social opportunities and rights when compared with urban residents. For instance, Zhang argues that the dilemma faced by these migrant workers in urban cities in China involves critical issues of access:

> Migrant workers are a special group in urban cities in China. While they are needed for economic growth, particularly in the major cities, they do not enjoy the rights of urban residents and are not sufficiently protected either in or outside of work (Li, 2002). They take up jobs that the urban residents are unwilling to do and live in very poor housing

conditions, and their children do not have access to public school systems in the cities. (Chang, 2007: p33).

Zhang's argument points to the nature and characteristics of marginalization experienced by migrant workers in urban China, which can be summarized into four categories of limited protections and opportunities. These include: employment and working conditions; social security and medical benefits; education of migrant children; housing and direct discrimination by urban residents.

Some researchers (e.g., Chang, 2007) regard the hukou (household registration system) as one of the most significant mechanisms contributing to the marginalization of these migrant workers. For more than two decades between the late 1950s and the early 1980s, the household registration system, backed up by employment assignments and the food rationing system, established an invisible wall between China's urban and rural sectors (Chan, 1994; Lavely, Lee and Wang, 1990). In other words, a person was either designated with 'agricultural' or 'non-agricultural' status and a change of status from rural to urban was virtually impossible to negotiate (Cheng and Selden, 1994; Wang, 1997; Wang, 2005). This urban-rural division was created and maintained by a series of institutional arrangements during the socialist planned economic era (Wang, 2008), and is still playing a significant role in urban China.

When it comes to articulating the differences or disparities between these two national group identities of 'agricultural' or 'non-agricultural' (Wang, 2008), many existing studies have paid much attention to apparently objective indicators, such as income, to demonstrate the unequal treatment of these two groups. Others, with emphasis on more subjective measures, have examined the psychosocial impacts of migration on the lives of rural migrant workers in urban China (e.g., Chang, 2007). However, most of the studies dealing with psychological issues faced

by migrant workers are more likely to research those who have been discriminated against, rather than those who have carried out discrimination, in their research selection criteria.

The significance of egalitarian ideology in eradiating social inequalities can be demonstrated by two historical studies, including Eric's explanation of the American Civil War (1975), on the one hand, which shows how the ideology of equality provided the moral consensus to abolish the system of slavocracy, and on the other hand, Louw's (2004) demonstration of Apartheid theory, which indicates that ideologies of inevitable inequities have sustained the disadvantages of South Africa's migrant workers.

Therefore, given the fact that discrimination is a type of ideology of inequalities, it is helpful to examine it to find solutions for abolishing unequal treatment produced by the state-sponsored rural-urban divide in China. This study attempts to focus on the advantaged group, which is mainly composed of urban residents, to interrogate the ideological perspectives they bring to any quest for the equality for disadvantaged groups. Specifically, this study attempts to determine whether those with higher socioeconomic status have any inclination to create equal opportunities and rights for the migrant workers.

Literature Review

Any discussion of the attitude of urban residents toward migrant workers in China implicitly deals with the attitude of an in-group toward the outsiders. Two types of factors influence the attitudes of an in-group. The first involves individual characteristics; the second relates to the relative population size and economic conditions of the city or region in which the insiders/outsiders interact.

The literature has provided two divergent perspectives to explain how members of an in-group view outsiders at the individual level. The first suggests that people with higher education, are more tolerant of those seen as out-group members because education increases people's values of tolerance and acceptance; in addition, they are more likely to express friendly attitudes towards those seen as out-group members, because they do not have motivation for direct competition over scarce resources (Pettigrew, 1998; Coenders, 2001; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002; Kunovich, 2004; Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky, 2006). The opposing view indicates that in order to maintain their self-interest, people with advantaged socioeconomic status attempt to maintain the boundary between in-group and out-group members (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Vedlitz and Zahran, 2007).

A correlative argument underlying the first explanation of how members of an in-group view outsiders is that persons characterized by low socioeconomic status (who tend to be socially and economically vulnerable and thus threatened by the presence of out-group members) are more likely to support exclusion of outsiders, and vice versa (e.g. Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996; Dustmann and Preston, 2000; Semyonov, Raijman and Yom-Tov, 2002; Raijman and Semyonov, 2004; Semyonov et al., 2004).

Two conventional indicators of socioeconomic status have often been used to substantiate these arguments: education and income. In other words, this perspective specifically indicates that individuals with low education and low income, in particular those who are unemployed, are more likely to express hostile attitudes towards the subordinated and to support exclusionary practices. The reason is that these people fear direct competition with out-group members (e.g. Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996; Dustmann and Preston, 2000; Esses et al., 2001; Semyonov, Raijmanand Yom-Tov, 2002; Coenders and Scheepers, 2003). This line of argument has been

substantiated by several scholars, who find that men, older persons and those with conservative views are more likely to express negative and hostile attitudes towards members of out-group populations (Raijman, Semyonov and Schmidt, 2003; Raijman and Semyonov, 2004; Semyonov et al., 2004; Bobo and Hutching, 1996; Inglehart and Baker, 2000).

As for education, a primary indicator of socioeconomic status, some researchers have demonstrated that there is a positive relationship between educational attainment and favorable attitudes toward democratic values (Hello et al., 2004), since educational curricula include many helpful functions, such as promoting the values of tolerance and acceptance, as well as opportunities for social contact and exchange between people with different social identities. Hello et al. (2004) used the term of 'liberalizing effect' to summarize these functions, and pointed out that education not only shapes people's more open values in school, but also influences other agencies of socialization in related directions. Similarly, when it comes to income, another significant indicator of socioeconomic status, many researchers (Almond, 1950; Prothro and Grigg, 1960; Converse, 1964; Verba and Nie, 1972; Inglehart, 1981; Inglehart and Baker, 2000) have emphasized the importance of factors that mitigate individual and group propensities for inter-group competition and mistrust, and have argued that economic security can increase in-group favoritism and reduce out-group social distance. Thus,

H1: People with higher socioeconomic status, which is measured by income, education and occupation, are more inclined to support equality for migrant workers.

An alternative perspective starts from the rational choice theory, which argues that when individuals make choices from sets of alternatives for action, they act rationally, and optimize their potentials by maximizing benefits or minimizing costs. Simply put, actors choose the actions with the best known outcomes according to their own preferences. In particular, those

individuals who wish to control resources in which they have an interest (e.g., wealth and other sources of material well-being, security, leisure) tend to be considered themselves (Abercrombie et al., 2006), such as those with higher socioeconomic status. These people have been found to be more likely to maintain their self-interest and express hostile attitudes toward outsiders. By pointing out the positive association between proportional immigrant population and discriminatory attitudes, some studies (Blumer, 1958; Esses et al., 2001; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Scheepers et al., 2002; Semyonov et al., 2002; Bobo and Hutching, 1996) help to explain the lack of intergroup cohesion. The more threat of competition the advantaged group feels, the more hostility, antagonism, and need and motivation for discrimination they will carry out towards the disadvantaged group (e.g., Blalock, 1967; Bonacich, 1972, 1976; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Olzak, 1992, 1995; Wilcox and Roof, 1978). That is to say, the need and motivation for discrimination should be understood as a response to a rise in competitive threat. To this point, to maintain self- interest is the ultimate need and motivation behind the competition. Robinson and Bell (1978) have demonstrated this point by arguing that those in higher socioeconomic classes have group interests in maintaining social stratification, and the higher the share of rewards received, the greater the interest in maintaining the status quo.

Honig (1997), in her empirical descriptions of the experiences of Subei people in Shanghai, including an analysis of their daily lives, occupations, and history, explores the roots of identity, prejudice, and social conflict that have been central to China's urban bias against people from the rural Chinese context. Her study, by pointing out the distinction between Subei people and Shanghai people enforced by the latter group, in essence, demonstrates the logic of self-interest from the advantaged group perspective, in particular, their behaviors of distinguishing ‘us’ from ‘them’ to maintain identity boundaries and keep benefits.

The concept of self-interest has been operationalized by measures of superior in-group solidarity (Dietz-Uhler and Murrell, 1993), perceived threat, and immigrant encroachment (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Jacobson, 1985; Kluegel and Smith, 1983). In addition, Bobo and Kluegel (1993) also suggest that group identities are often related to objective individual characteristics, such as income, education, and occupation.

Although there have been some difficulties in measuring self-interest, Jackman (1996) argues that whites have developed belief systems that allow them to be self-serving without appearing blatantly self-interested. Other researchers (e.g., Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Kluegel and Smith, 1983) support this point by finding that self-interest measures like subjective social class and income are inversely related to support for affirmative action (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Kluegel and Smith, 1983) and that group interest measures, such as the perception that one may be "laid off from work because of downsizing" reduces whites' affirmative action policy supports (Kluegel and Smith, 1983). Of course, "downsizing" is one way that a relatively small advantaged group maintains resources at the expense of fairness to workers in the West.

So far, though most studies discussed above have been primarily based on the issue of race and contextualized in western countries, they figure significantly in relation to this study and open up new spaces for researching the ideology of inevitable inequalities in China. Han (2010), by finding the similarities between racism in western countries and discrimination against migrant workers by urban residents in China, argues that "the process in which migrant workers are not merely 'parallel to' victims of racism but can be seen as subject to processes of 'racialization' unique to the Chinese context" (Han, 2006, 594). Accordingly, the term 'race' here is seen more broadly and defined as a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests (Omi and Winant, 1994). Moreover, the author uses 'racialization' to point to the

oppression and exploitation of rural migrant workers, which implicitly contributes to the explanation of unequal relationships between migrant workers and urban residents. In step with Han (2010), this study affirms the potential of applying analytical tools derived through assessing racialization processes to migrant labor in China. For example, Solinger (1999) draws a parallel between migrant workers in China, black people in South Africa under Apartheid and blacks and Asians in the USA in early twentieth century, in ways that are comparable to urbanized discrimination against Chinese rural migrant workers. A similar line of argument is proposed in web forum postings and blogs in China, which point out that the discrimination experienced by migrant workers there bears significant similarities to that of Apartheid in South Africa (e.g., Chinaworker.info, 2008). Some bloggers make further efforts to attribute the racialized treatment to hukou, and treat it as a fundamental mechanism underlying this discrimination. As one blogger argues, 'the segregation of hukou has resulted in the formation of two distinct ethnic groups, the urban and the rural (cheng hanzu and xiang hanzu), and that the gap between the two is deep-rooted and difficult to cross (Guan, 2008).' Therefore,

H2: People with higher socioeconomic status, which is measured by income, education and occupation, are less inclined to support equality for migrant workers.

Studies of in-group and out-group relations have long suggested that discriminatory and exclusionary attitudes towards out-group populations are not only influenced at the individual level, but also by structural-level contextual variables. Two contextual variables, the relative size of the out-group population and local economic conditions have long been viewed by social scientists as the main structural indicators of competitive threat (e.g. Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Coenders, 2002; Coenders, Gijsberts and Scheepers, 2004; Kunovich, 2004; Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky, 2006).

Some empirical studies investigating the relationship between the size of the foreign population and anti-foreigner sentiments have observed a positive association between the relative size of the foreign population and anti-immigrant attitudes (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002). That is, according to these studies, exclusionary views and anti-minority sentiments tend to be more pronounced in countries in which perceived foreigners are heavily concentrated. By contrast, Evans and Need (2002) found no effect of relative size of the foreign population on attitudes toward minority rights in East-European countries.

Economic conditions are also viewed as one of the major structural indicators of competitive threat because declining economic conditions are often associated with greater and more intensive labour market competition (e.g. Blalock, 1967; Quillian, 1995; Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky, 2006). Residents of places with suppressed and declining economic conditions often blame the out-group members as either the source of the economic decline (i.e. as scapegoats) or the source of unfair economic competition (i.e., as scabs) (e.g. Tienhaara, 1974; Schissel, Wanner and Frideres, 1989; Quillian, 1995; Kunovich, 2004). By contrast, empirical studies on the effect of economic conditions (measured by either GDP per capita or by unemployment rate) on discriminatory attitudes towards foreigners in European countries have produced inconsistent findings and conclusions (Quillian, 1995). However, Kunovich (2004), as well as Coenders, Gijsberts and Scheepers (2004) and Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky (2006), found that negative attitudes towards foreigners and exclusionary views tend to be less pronounced in more prosperous European countries, overall.

H3: The attitude toward equality for migrant workers among urbanites in a province is positively associated with the prosperity of this province (GDP).

H4: The attitude toward equality for migrant workers among urbanites in a province is negatively associated with the ratio of migrant workers in this province.

Data and Method

Dataset and Samples

This analysis is based on the 2003 China General Social Survey (2003 CGSS), a nationally representative survey conducted by China Renmin University and administered by Bian and Li. The target group of this dataset is all urbanites aged 18 and above in China except those of Tibet. In total, the working sample is 6098.

Variables

(1) Dependent variable

The 2003 CGSS contains a question of 'Do you agree that the migrant workers should enjoy the same treatment as urbanites?' Those who have answered 'yes' are seen as tolerant and acceptable of migrant workers, whereas those who answered 'no' are considered hostile and resistant towards migrant workers. For purposes of clarification, the variable was recoded into a dummy variable, which includes yes=1 and no=0.

(2) Independent variables

Based on the literature review, independent variables include individual-level and situational-level factors. The first set of independent variables is, in part, concerned with socioeconomic status, which can be measured by three primary indicators, including income, education and occupation.

Income: Income is originally measured by the total gross earnings for 2003 in this dataset. But for purposes of convenience, in the regression analysis, we created a logarithm of annual income for 2003.

Education: The highest educational attainment provides a more consistent measure for those who accelerate or fail a grade than years of school. For purposes of clarification, this category has been modified into a continuous variable. In other words, education level is measured by actual years of schooling completed by 2003. Specifically, illiteracy or self-training is recoded as 0 years of education; those who have completed primary school are regarded as having 6 years of schooling and have been recoded as 6; following this logic, those who have reported finishing junior high school are recoded as 9, those with senior high school are recoded as 12; those with a post-secondary certificate or diploma are recoded as 15; bachelor degree holders are recoded as 16, and those with a master degree or above are recoded as 19.

Occupation: this variable includes four categories, namely, manager/leader, white collar worker, blue collar worker, and others, including "unskilled" and informal workers.

Self-interest: In the Chinese context, the distribution of latent economic benefits, which takes the form of fringe benefits and welfare programs, such as housing, health care, and retirement benefits, is more important than manifest economic benefits (e.g., personal income) (Zhou, 2001). Thus, in addition to these three conventional indicators of socioeconomic status, self-interest is included as the fourth individual-level factor that affects urbanite attitudes towards migrant workers. This indicator can be measured by housing and medical security, which

respectively measure whether a work unit provides housing or housing subsidy (yes=1 and no=0), and whether a work unit provides medical security (yes=1 and no=0).

The second set of independent variables examined includes two specific measures, namely, the ratio of migrant worker population to urbanites, and the GDP per capita of a province. The first measure calculates the ratio between the migrant worker population in a province and the whole population there, while the second measure is seen as a proxy of the general economic situation.

(3) Control variables

There are five control variables, including: age, gender (male=1 and female=0), employment status (employment=1 and unemployment/retired =0.), marital status (married=1 and unmarried=0), and experience of identity change from rural to urban residents (*nongzhuanfei*) (yes=1 and no=0).

For purposes of clarification, the descriptive statistics for each variable are demonstrated in Table 1.

Method

A multilevel model that simultaneously estimates individual and situational level effects is applied. The data are firstly hierarchically organized with individuals nested within provinces, and at the same time with selected information at both individual and situational levels. Then the data are used to estimate urbanite attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. The dependent variable (i.e., attitude toward equality for migrant workers) is dichotomous with two outcome variables, namely, 0 or 1. Then hierarchical generalized linear modeling (HGLM) is used.

$$\text{Log}\,[j_{ij}/\,(1 - j_{ij})] = b_{0j} + b_{1j}\,\text{Education} + b_{2j}\,\text{Income} + b_{3j}\,\text{Occupation} + \ldots + b_{nj}\,\text{control variable}$$

Where j_{ij} is the probability that respondent i in province j supports equality for migrant workers, and b_{1j}, b_{2j}, b_{3j}, b_{nj} etc. are the coefficients respectively for indicators of education, income and occupation and control variables.

The specification at the situational level (province-based) is:

$$b_{0j} = g_{00} + g_{01}\,\text{GDPLev2} + g_{02}\,\text{ratio of migrant workers population Lev2} + u_{0j},\ u_{0j} \sim N\,(0, t_{00})$$

Where g_{00} is the average logarithmic odds of supporting equality for migrant workers across provinces and t_{00} is the variance between provinces in the average logarithmic odds of supporting equality for migrant workers. All non-dummy individual-level independent variables are grand-mean centered, creating a variable with a mean of zero across all cases.

Results

Figure 1 (Percentage objecting to allocation of equality to migrant workers in urban China across provinces) provides a general understanding of urbanite attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. Objection against allocation of equal rights to migrant workers, however, ranges considerably across provinces, between 3.6 percent (in Heilongjiang) and 27.8 per cent (in Guandong). We can see that the first four provinces are Guangdong (27.8%), Shanghai (27%), Beijing (24.3%) and Tianjin (18.4%). Those provinces include metropolitan cities, wherein residents are considerably wealthier than those in other provinces. Proportions of the population that deny 'equal rights' for migrant workers are relatively high in coastal provinces, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong, and are relatively low in more hinterland locales, such as Shanxi, Xinjiang.

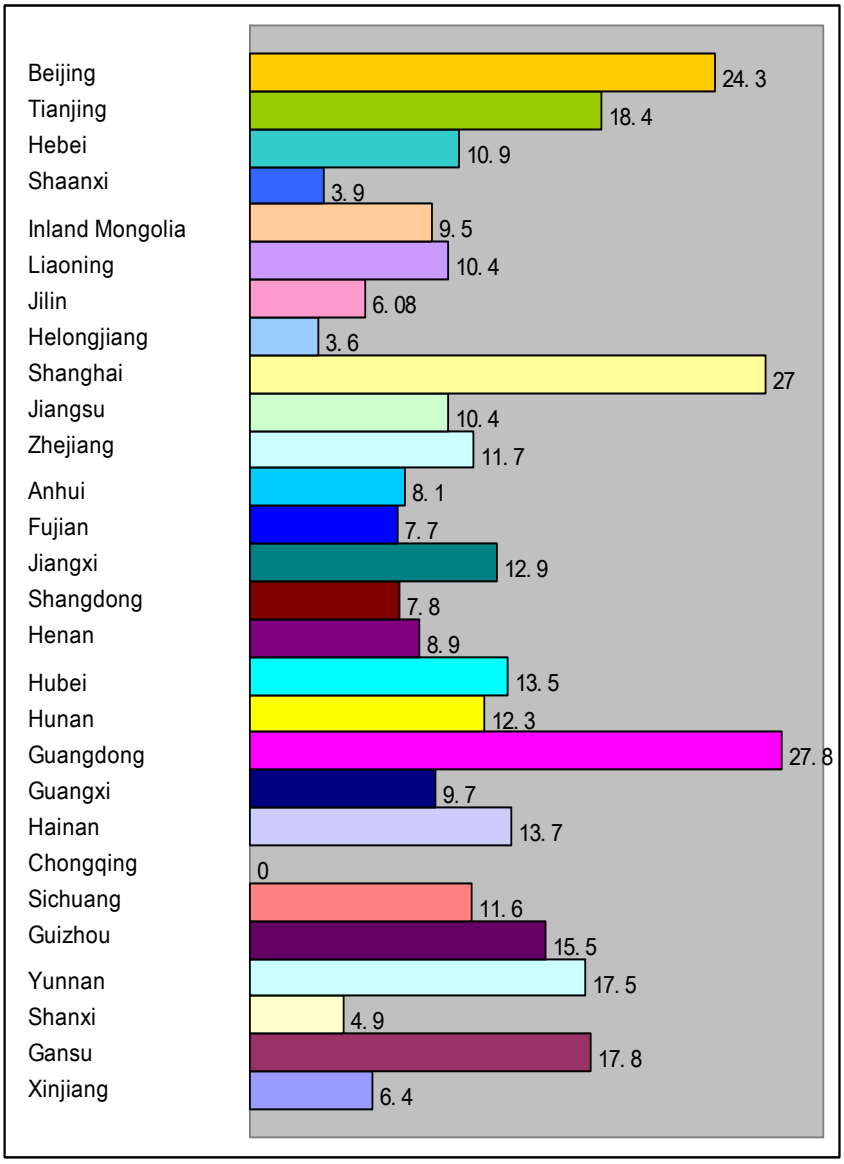

Figure 1: Percentage of urbanites objecting to the allocation of equality to migrant workers, across Chinese provinces

Table 1 Description of Selected Variables

	Mean/percentage	S.D.
Equality attitude (agree=1)	.86	.34
Individual-level variables		
Education	10	3.7
Income (logged)	8.96	.90
White collar	30%	
Blue collar	51%	
Manager/leader	12%	
Others	7%	
Control variables		
Gender (Male=1)	.48	.50
Age	45	13
Marriage status (yes=1)	73%	
Identity change from rural to urban (yes=1)	7%	
Employment status (yes=1)	89%	
Housing or housing subsidy (yes=1)	21%	
Medical security (yes=1)	32%	
Situational-level variables		
Ratio of migrant workers population	2.8 million	1.9
GDP per capita	3786	1986

Table 2. Hierarchical Logistic Regressions Coefficient Predicting Odds of Supporting Equality to Migrant Workers on Individual-level and Province-level Variables

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	Odds	B	Odds
intercept	2.471***(.506)	12.163	1.585***(.516)	3.269
Individual-level				
Education	-.032*(.015)	968	-.015(.019)	.985
Income (logged)	-.165**(.058)	.848	-.128*(.059)	.880
Occupation (reference group=other)				
White collar	.126(.003)	1.215	.125(.004)	1.198
Blue worker	-.129**(.087)	.869	-.132*(.078)	.857
Manager/leader	-.207*(.001)	.621	-.197*(.002)	.673
Control variables				
Gender (Male=1)			.235*(.092)	1.265
Age			.004(.004)	1.004
Marriage status (yes=1)			-.112(.008)	.896

Experience of identity			.026*(.071)	1.012
change from rural to urban				
(yes=1)				
Employment status (yes=1)			-.089(.027)	.912
Self-interest				
Housing or housing subsidy			-	.765
(yes=1)			.172***(.01	
			2)	
Medical security (yes=1)			-.136(.029)	.798
Situational-level				
Ratio of migrant workers	-	.856	-	.856
population	.187***(.04		.138**(.038	
	5)		)	
GDP per capita	-.029*(.012)	.972	-.017(.008)	.983
Province level effects u_0	.32		.21	
Chi-square	1148		987	
N	5832		4967	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Table 2 presents the results of the hierarchical generalized linear modeling (HGLM) that predicts urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. The first model shows the association between urbanite attitude toward equality for migrant workers, on one hand, with individual-level variables (i.e., education, income, and occupation), and on the other hand, with situational-

level ones (i.e., ratio of migrant workers population, GDP per capita). From the table, we can see that education tends to be negatively related to the likelihood of supporting equality for migrant workers. Those with one year more schooling have 96.8% less probability of supporting equality for migrant workers, controlling for all other independent variables. Income is also significantly associated with urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. The higher the income is, the fewer tolerant and accepting attitudes urbanites will hold. Those with one unit logarithm salary higher have 84.8% less probability of supporting equality for migrant workers, controlling for all other independent variables. Two occupations, manager/leader and white collar workers, with 86.9% and 62.1% probability of supporting equality for migrant workers respectively, are more likely to support equality for migrant workers than those in other occupations. In particular, white-collar occupations are reported to be unrelated with urbanite attitudes toward equality for migrant workers.

There is one unexpected result, however, that contradicts the first perspective discussed in the literature review; a negative relationship is found between education and attitude toward equality for migrant workers. Though some existing studies have shown that contemporary education curricula include many purposeful designs, such as emphasis on the values of tolerance and acceptance, which may provide a chance for social contact and exchange between persons of different social identities (Hello *et al*., 2004), Chinese education may be insufficient in relation to this point. Similarly, Chinese urbanite tolerance and acceptance of migrant workers does not increase with income.

In addition to individual-level variables, Model 1 includes situational-level factors influencing urbanite attitudes toward equality for migrant workers as well. GDP is negatively associated with the attitude of supporting equal rights to migrant workers. In other words, the

higher GDP per capita a province has, the less inclination toward supporting equality for migrant workers the urbanites in that province will hold. The higher the ratio of migrant worker population in a province, the less urbanite support for equality for migrant workers exists in that province. Moreover, the results of Model 1 show that the average predicted probability across provinces of a respondent's supporting equality for migrant workers is .32.

In Model 2, together with variables in Model 1, control variables (i.e., age, gender, marital status, experience of identity change from rural to urban) and the last individual-level factor (i.e., self-interest) have been included. Here, education is found to be insignificant. Income is still significantly related to a negative attitude toward equality for migrant workers. In other words, those with higher incomes are less inclined to support equality for migrant workers. Those with one unit logarithm salary higher have 88% less probability of supporting equality for migrant workers, controlling for all other independent variables. Two occupations, manager/leader and white-collar workers, with 85.7% and 67.3% probability of supporting equality for migrant workers respectively, are more likely to support equality for migrant workers than those in other occupations. In particular, white-collar occupations are reported to be unrelated with attitude toward equality for migrant workers.

Among the control variables, age, marital and employment status are apparently unrelated to urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. However, gender and experience of identity change from rural to urban, are significantly associated with urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. Specifically, men have better odds than women to support the equality for migrant workers; the probability for the latter is some 126.5% of that of the former when the influences of other variables are considered. Those who have experienced identity change from

rural to urban have 1.2% better odds than those who have not to support the equality for migrant workers.

When it comes to self-interest, on one hand, those who can benefit from housing or housing subsidy provided by their work unit have 76.5% less tendency to support equality for migrant workers than those who cannot. Having access to medical security is found to be unrelated to urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers. Thus, H2 is partly accepted, and to some extent, self-interest plays a role in accounting for variations in supporting equality for migrant workers.

As far as the situational-level variables in Model 2 are concerned, the GDP per capita of a province is negatively associated with the attitude of supporting equal rights to migrant workers. Moreover, the results of Model 1 show that the average predicted probability across provinces of a respondent's supporting equality for migrant workers is .21.

It is clear from Model 2 that after considering the effects of both self-interest and control variables (i.e., age, gender, marital status, experience of identity change from rural to urban), three conventional indicators of socioeconomic status, namely, education, income and occupation, are respectively associated with urban attitudes toward equality for migrant workers.

Findings, Discussions, and Implications

There are several points that we can summarize from these results. First, when it comes to the effects of situational-level factors on the attitudes of an in-group toward outsiders, on one hand, there is a negative association between the percentage of migration and tolerance of migrants. In other words, Hypothesis 4 that the higher population ratio of migrant workers in a province limits urbanite inclination to support equality for migrant workers is supported. On the

other hand, there is an unexpected result, which is different from Hypothesis 3, that the higher prosperity of a province (GDP) is associated with lower urbanite support of equality for migrant workers. Clearly, income disparity between Chinese urbanites and migrant workers to some extent enforces this discrimination. Thus, Deng's promise that 'Let certain people become rich first in order to achieve common prosperity' (Zhao, 1994: p115) is unlikely to be achieved. On one hand, allocation of resources to coastal regions such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, has created a fast rate of development and has provided China's engine of growth, as predicted. However, the affluence of these regions has not trickled down to the other provinces. Rather, regional heterogeneity and the strategy of sequential development bring out exploitable disparities between different social members, and enforce an ideology of inevitable inequalities.

As far as the effects of individual-level factors on the attitudes of an in-group toward outsiders are concerned, Chinese urbanites are not found to be more tolerant of migrant workers. That is to say, indicators of socioeconomic status (i.e., education, income, occupation) do not increase people's sense of tolerance and acceptance of those seen as out-group members, and do not lead to efforts to offer equal opportunities to migrants. On the contrary, people with higher socioeconomic status are found to be more hostile towards the disadvantaged group. In other words, urbanites are less willing to offer equal chances to the migrant workers. Thus, Hypothesis 1 that people in higher social positions are more inclined to support equality for migrant workers was not supported; whereas Hypothesis 2 that people with higher socioeconomic status are less inclined to support equality for migrant workers is confirmed.

A reasonable explanation of Chinese urbanites' hostile and intolerant attitudes cannot be made without making reference to certain state policies and political processes, which implicitly make use of social categories to discriminate among social groups (Zhou, 2001), which leads to

the discriminatory experiences of disadvantaged groups (Chan, Liu and Yang, 1999). For instance, the Hukou (household registration system), the most far-reaching social control mechanism in contemporary China, is used to create identities of either 'agricultural' or 'non-agricultural' workers. The resulting reorganization of urban and rural identities demonstrates the transformation of urban China into a hierarchical society, with well-defined and socially differentiated 'us' versus 'them' groups (Nielsen et al., 2006).

As Lamont and Molnar argue, 'social categories are social groups with 'unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities' (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). Individuals who have a similar claim to common resources make collective efforts to maintain or enhance the advantages they possess. Especially for advantaged group members, in order to keep their self-interest, they attempt to establish distinctive and stable boundaries between in-group members and out-group members, which distinguish them from sharing resources with migrant workers, and support efforts to protect their own interests through social closure.

Nevertheless, it should be make clear that the term 'self-interest' enjoyed by the advantaged group members not only refers to their material benefits (e.g., income, access to education), but also points to the psychological dimension, in particular, their sense of privilege. Thus, the emergence of Chinese urbanite intolerance to migrant workers comes from the motivation for direct competition over scarce resources, but more importantly, from their subjective resistance. Some researchers offer two alternatives explaining the emergence of the propensity of group members to favor their own over other group members. One explanation is based on in-group favoritism (Schaller, 1992), which was originally elucidated in the Western context and then applied to Chinese culture (Malloy et al., 2004). Proponents of this argument suggest that the Chinese have a strong inclination to categorize people (Parsons, 1949), that reorganization of

others is highly selective and is the most typical character of relationships with in-group members in China (Tsui and Farh, 1997). Another explanation is referred as 'native place identity' (*tongxiang*), which holds that 'the concept of ethnicity in China has been defined by birthplace—a differentiating tendency reinforced by the fact that Chinese Marxism encouraged urbanites to see themselves as the 'leading class', that is, as a veritable 'aristocracy of labor' from 1949' (Roberts, 1997: p. 268).

Advantaged group members who focus exclusively on their own interests rather than the conditions faced by other social groups carry out common exclusive practices which Olson defines as 'distributional coalitions' (Olsen, 1998). Although the increasing economic disparities are part of a deliberate scheme from the outset (Xie and Hannum, 1996), Deng's plan for economic reforms, in essence, regards economic development as foundation and aims to achieve social justice later. Thus, the emergence of distributional coalitions (i.e., urbanites) indicates a potential danger to Chinese society. The political logic of redistribution has increasingly departed from the goal of social justice and will ultimately overturn the original goal of Deng's development schema.

Conclusion

The literature on supporting the equality for migrant workers, mostly based on studies in other countries, suggests that individual-level and situational-level factors are important influences on individual attitude toward equality for migrant workers. This study adopts this basic model to study a sample of China GSS in 2003. In contrast to the view that socioeconomic status is importantly and positively related to supporting equality for disadvantaged groups, our

results show that socioeconomic characteristics are negatively associated with supporting equality for migrant workers.

The most intriguing findings in this paper are regarding the formation of an ideology of inequality in contemporary China. Those with higher socioeconomic status categorize their groups as dominant over others, and have less inclination to support equality for migrant workers. Thus, it seems that Deng's goal to 'Let certain people become rich first in order to achieve common prosperity' is difficult to achieve. These findings have further implications: as China moves from egalitarianism to justify social inequality based on material conditions, a new contradiction emerges. China is moving from a social inequality based on material goods to inequality based on ideology. In addition, the findings here suggest that social inequality based on material conditions can also contribute to an ideology of inequality, which the rich use to justify their privileged position.

Acknowledgements

We would like to extend sincere gratitude to Profess Peter S. Li and Professor Li Zong for their comments and suggestions on this paper as well as Professor Marie Lovrod for editing.

References

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., and Turner, B.S. 2006. *The Penguin dictionary of sociology*. England: Penguin Books.

Almond, G. A., 1950. *The American people and foreign policy*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Anita, C., 2001. *China's workers under assault: The exploitation of labor in a globalizing economy*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Blalock, H., 1967. *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. New York: Wiley.

Bobo, L. & Camille, L. Z., 1996. Attitudes on residential integration: Perceived characteristic differences, mere in-group preference, or racial prejudice? *Social Forces*, 74, 883-909.

Bobo, L. & Kluegel, J. R., 1993. Opposition to race targeting: Self interest, stratification ideology or racial attitudes? *American Sociological Review*, 56, 443-464.

Bobo, L. D. & Hutchings, G. L., 1996. Perceptions of racial group competition: extending Blumer's theory of group position to a multiracial social context. *American Sociological Review,* 61, 951–972.

Bonacich, E.,1972. A theory of ethnic antagonism: the split labor market. *American Sociological Review* 37, 347–559.

Bonacich, E., 1976. Advanced capitalism and Black/White race relations in the United States: a split labor market interpretation. *American Sociological Review* 41, 34–51.

Blumer, H., 1958. Race prejudice as a sense of group relation. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1: 3–7.

Chan, K.W., Liu, T., Yang, & Y.Y., 1999. Hukou and Non-Hukou Migrations in China: Comparisons and Contrasts. *International Journal of Population Geography* 5: 425–448.

Chang, Wong DFK, Y.L., & He, X.S., 2007. Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalized life. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16:32-40.

Chai, J. & Chai, B., 1997. China's floating population and its implications. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 24, 1038–1052.

Chan, K. W. 1994. *Cities with invisible walls: Reinterpreting urbanization in post-1949 China*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Chen, S. & Zheng, Y., 2005. *Suggestion for protecting rights of rural migrants* [online] (in Chinese). Available from:

http://www.jus.cn/ include/shownewsasp?key=&newsid=701

Cheng, Tiejun and Mark, Selden. 1994. The origins and social consequences of China's hukou system. *The China Quarterly*, 139(1994): 644-668.

Chi, F., 2001. *China's Farmers Need Equal Treatment* [online]. Available from:

http://www.worldbank.org/html/prddr/trans/janfebmar03/boxpg11.htm

China Children Information Center, 2005. *The problem in implementing program of development of women and children* [online] (in Chinese). Available from:

http://www.cinfo.org.cn/lgxg/zynr/014.htm

Chinanews, 2006. Shanghai per capita GDP exceeds US$7,000. *Chinanews*. 9 Feb (in Chinese). Available from:

http://en.beijing2008.cn/77/89/article214018977.shtml

Citrin, J. & Green, D. P., 1990. The self-interest motive in American public opinion. *Research in Micropolitics*, 3, 1-28.

Coenders, M., 2001. *Nationalistic attitudes and ethnic exclusionism in a comparative perspective: An empirical study of attitudes toward the country and ethnic immigrants in 22 countries*, Thesis (PhD). Nijmnegen University.

Coenders, M., & Scheepers, P., 2003. The effect of education on nationalism and ethnic exclusionism: an international comparison. *Political Psychology*, 24 (2), 313-43.

Converse, P. E., 1964. The nature of belief systems in mass publics. *In:* D. E. Apter, ed. *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Dietz-Uhler, B. L. & Murrell, A. J., 1993. Resistance to affirmative action: A test of four explanatory models. *Journal of College Student Development*, 34, 352-357.

Dong, X. & Bowles, P., 2002. Segmentation and discrimination in China's emerging industrial labour market. *China Economic Review*, 13(2–3), 170–96.

Dustman, C., & Preston, I., 2000. Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. *IZA Discussion Paper* No 190.

Esses, V.M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L., 2001. The immigrants dilemma: the role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and nationality identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 57, no. 3, pp. 389-412.

Espenshade. T.J., & Hempstead, K., 1996. Contemporary American attitudes toward US migration. *International Migration Review*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 535-70.

Fan, C., 2003. "Rural–urban migration and gender division of labor in transitional China." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27, 24–47.

Foner, E., 1970. *Free soil, free labor, free men: The ideology of the republican party before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fogel, R. W. & Engerman, S.L., 1974. *Time on the cross: The economics of American Negro slavery*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Goodkind, D. & West, L., 2002. China's floating population: Definitions, data and recent findings. *Urban Studies*, 39, 2237–2250.

Golley, G., 2007. *The dynamics of Chinese regional development: Market nature, state nurture*. Glensanda House. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, Australia.

Han, C., 2006. *Viewpoints on migrant workers after investigation: Investigative report on migrant workers in China*. Beijing: China Yanshi Press (In Chinese).

Hello, E., Scheepers, P., Vermulst, A., & Gerris, J. R. M., 2004. Association between educational attainment and ethnic distance in young adults. *Acta Sociologica*, 47, 253–275.

Honig, E. 1992. *Creating Chinese Ethnicity: Subei People in Shanghai 1850-1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Inglehart, R., 1981. Post-materialism in an environment of insecurity. *The American Political Science Review,* 75, 880–900.

Inglehart, R. & Baker, W. E., 2000. Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 19–51.

Investigative Group of Beijing Municipal Government, 2006. A case study on management and service of migrant workers in Beijing, *ln*: Study group of the research institution under the state council eds. *Investigative report on migrant workers in China*, Beijing: China Yanshi Press. (In Chinese)

Jackman, M., 1996. Individualism, self-interest, and white racism. *Social Science Quarterly*, 77, 760-767.

Jacobson, C., 1985. Resistance to affirmative action: Self-interest or racism? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29, 306-329.

Kinder, D.R. & Sanders, L.M., 1996. *Divided by color: Racial democratic ideals*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Kluegel, J. R. and Smith, E. R., 1983. Affirmative action attitudes: Effects of self-interest, racial affect, and stratification beliefs on whites' views. *Social Forces*, 61, 797-824.

Knight, J. & Song, L., 1999. *The rural-urban divide: Economic disparities and interactions in China*. London: Oxford University Press.

Kunovich, R. M., 2004. Social structural position and prejudice: an exploration of cross-national differenced in regression slopes. *Social Science Research*, 33(1), 20-44.

Lavely, William., James, Lee & Wang, Feng., 1990. Chinese demography: The state of the field. *Journal of Asia Studies,* 49(4): 807-34.

Lamont, M. and Virag, M., 2002. The study of boundaries in the social science. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 167-195.

Li, P. & Li, W., 2007. *Economic Characteristic and Social Attitudes of Migrant Workers in China*. *China & World Economy*, 15(4), 1-16.

Malloy, T. E., Albright, L., Diaz-Loving, R., Dong, Q., & Lee, Y. T., 2004. Agreement in personality judgments within and between non-overlapping social groups in collectivist cultures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, pp. 106–117.

Nielsen, I., Nyland, C., Smyth, R., Zhang, Mingqiong., Zhu, Cherrie Jiuhua., 2006. Effects of intergroup contact on attitudes of Chinese cities residents to migrant workers. *Urban Studies*, 43(3), 475–490.

Olson, M., 1982. *The rise and decline of nations: Economic growth, stagflation, and social rigidities*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Olzak, S., 1992. *The dynamics of ethnic competition and conflict*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Olzak, S., 1995. The dynamics of ethnic competition and conflict. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, 373–374.

Outcry in SA over 'racist' video, 2008. *Outcry in SA over 'racist' video 2008* [online]. Available from:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7267027.stm.

Parsons, T., 1949. *The structure of social action.* New York: Free Press.

Pettigrew, T. F., 1998. Reaction toward the new minorities of Western Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 77-103

Prothro, J. W. & Grigg, C. M., 1960. Fundamental principles of democracy: bases of agreement and disagreement. *The Journal of Politics,* 22, 276–294.

Qin, H., 2009. China's low human rights advantage. *HRIC* [online]. Available from:

http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/article?revision_id=160349&item_id=160348

Quillian, L. 1995. Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review*, vol. 60(4), 586-611.

Roberts, K., 2001. The determinants of job choice by rural labor migrants in Shanghai."*China Economic Review*, 12, 15–39.

Roberts, K., 2002a. Female labor migrants to Shanghai: temporary 'floaters' or potential settlers? *International Migration Review*, 36, 492–519.

Roberts, K., 2002b. Rural migrants in urban China: willing workers, invisible residents. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 8, 141–158.

Robinson, R. V., & Bell, W., 1978. Equal citizenship rights, success and social justice in England and the United States. *American Sociological Review* 43,125-43.

Scheepers, P., Gijsberts, M., & Coenders, M., 2002. Ethnic exclusionism in European countries: public oppositions to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived threat. *European Sociological Review*, 18(1), 17-34.

Schaller, M., 1992. In-group favoritism and statistical reasoning in social inference: implications for formation and maintenance of group stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, pp. 61–74.

Sears, D. & Funk, C. L., 1991. The role of self-interest in social and political attitudes. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 24, 1-91.

Semyonov, M. et al., 2006. The rise of anti-foreigner sentiment in European societies, 1988-2000. *American Sociological Review*, 71(3), 426-49

Semyonov, R. and Yom-Tov., 2002. Labor market competition, perceived threat, and endorsement of economic discrimination against foreign workers in Israel. *Social Problems*, vol. 49, (3), 416-31.

Semyonov, M., Raijman, R., Yom Tov, A. & Schmidt, P, 2004. "Population size, perceived threat, and exclusion: a multiple-indicators analysis of attitudes toward foreigners in Germany." *Social Science Research*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 681-701.

Scheepers, P., Gijsberts, M., & Coenders, M., 2002. Ethnic exclusionism in European countries: public opposition to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review* 18, 17–34.

Sharpeville, M., 2009. *Sharpeville massacre* [online]. Available from: http://africanhistory.about.com/library/weekly/aa-SharpevilleMassacre-a.htm

Tsui, A. & Farh, J., 1997. Where guanxi matters: regional demography and guanxi in the Chinese context. *Work and Occupations*, 24, pp. 56–80.

Tilly, C., 1998. *Durable inequal citizenship rights*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher,S. D., & Wetherel, M. S., 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory*. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Vedlitz, A. & Zahran, S., 2007. Theories of ethnic social distance: comparative empirical tests for three distinct ethnic groups. *Sociological Spectrum,* 27, 585-603.

Verba, S. & Nie, N. H., 1972. *Participation in America: political democracy and social equal citizenship rights*. New York: Harper and Row.

Wang, Fei Ling. 2005. *Organizing through division exclusion: China's hukou system.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wang, F., 1997. The breakdown of a great wall: Recent changes in household registration system in China. In Thomas Scharping (ed.), *Floating population and migration in China: The impact of economic reforms.* Hamburg: Institute of Asian Studies. 149-165.

Wang, F., 2007. *Boundaries and categories: Rising inequal citizenship rights in post-socialist urban China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and society.* London: Routledge Press.

Webster, M. & Stuart, J. H., 1998. Creating characteristic characteristics. *American Sociological Review,* 63, 351-79.

Webster, M. & Martha, F., 1988. *Characteristic generalization: new theory and research*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wilcox, J. & Roof, W.C., 1978. Percent Black and Black-White status inequality: southern versus no southern patterns. *Social Science Quarterly* 59, 421–434.

Xin Hua Net, 2006. Rural migrant workers exceed 90% death cause by labor injuries. Xin Hua Net, 26 October (in Chinese). Available from:

http://news.xinhuanet.com/photo/2005-10/26/c

Xie, Y. & Hannum, E., 1996. Regional Variation in Earnings Inequality in Reform- Era Urban China. American Journal of Sociology, 101 (4): 950-992.

Zhao, Zhenyu., 1994. On several of inequality in social distribution (in Chinese, translation)." *Shehui Kexue Zhanxian* (Changchun) 1:112-21.

Prairie Metropolis Centre Working Paper Series

General Information

• What are PMC Working Papers?

PMC's working paper series is related to the broad mandate of the Metropolis Project. This initiative is designed to: (1) speed up the dissemination of research results relevant to the interests and concerns of Metropolis researchers, policy- makers, NGOs; (2) fulfill a commitment made in the application to SSHRC/CIC for a renewal grant for the Prairie Metropolis Centre; and (3) populate the Virtual Library on the PMC web site.

• Will these be considered "official" publications?

The inclusion of a manuscript in the working paper series does not preclude, nor is it a substitute for its subsequent publication in a peer reviewed journal. In fact, we would encourage authors to submit such manuscripts for publication in professional journals (or edited books) as well. It is a requirement of researchers who have received funding from the PMC to submit a working paper.

• What subject content is acceptable?

The Working Paper Series welcomes research reports and theoretical discussions relevant to the mandate of the Metropolis Project, providing insight into the policy concerns not only of immigration and integration, but also ethnocultural diversity. Examples of these areas include: socioeconomic, political, cultural, and educational integration of migrants and refugees; impacts on the host society; language; transnationalism; spatial distribution; gender roles and family; ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity; multiculturalism; media and communication; social cohesion- inclusion; racism and discrimination-exclusion; employment equity-anti- discrimination; youth; identity; citizenship; temporary migration; immigration and demographic planning; justice and security; settlement programs and policy; and population health.

• Who may submit papers?

Paper submissions are open to Metropolis researchers, policy-makers and service providers. Submissions from non-affiliates will be examined on a case-by-case basis.

• How do I submit a paper?

All submissions must be sent electronically to lenise@ualberta.ca with a subject heading of Working Papers Submission.

• What happens when I submit a paper?

The PMC will acknowledge receipt of the paper via email within 10 working days.
The series editors will review your submission to ensure that it falls within the mandate of the Metropolis Project and that it is properly referenced and documented. If these standards are met, the paper will then be referred to the appropriate Domain Leader for review and advice. Once the review is completed the author will be contacted.

Style and format requirements

• What style must papers use?

Manuscripts submitted for inclusion in the working paper series should be properly referenced and documented. However, the style followed may be that of the APA Publication Manual, Chicago Manual of Style, the Modern Language Association of America style, or the style of the refereed journal to which the manuscript is eventually submitted.

• What format must my paper use when I submit it?

Papers must be submitted in Microsoft Word.
Manuscripts should not exceed 7,500 words (or 25 typewritten double-spaced pages), including abstract, references, tables, and figures.
The title page must include the following information: (a) title of paper; (b) name(s) of author(s); (c) date (month and year); (d) address(es) for correspondence (postal and email); (e) 75-100 word abstract; and (f) 4 to 6 keywords by which the paper may be indexed. Since manuscripts accepted for inclusion in the Working Paper Series will be uploaded to the Prairie Metropolis Centre's web site all accepted papers will be converted into PDF files. Please note that a limited number of hard copies will be printed by the Prairie Centre. These will be available at a cost of $5.00 per paper.

• Copyright

Copyright for papers accepted as PMC Working Papers remain with the author(s) who are free to publish their papers at any time. It is the responsibility of the authors to inform PMC's Working Paper series Editors of any change in publication status.

Please direct any questions you may have about the PMC Working Paper Series to:
Lenise Anderson at lenise@ualberta.ca