# Gender Differences in Divorce and Remarriage in a Changing Society:

# Effects of Education, Migration, Urbanization and Development and Structural Changes in China

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## Abstract

We have little knowledge on patterns of divorce and remarriage in China during a time of rapid social change. We investigate gender differences in the association between education, migration, urbanization and development on patterns of divorce and remarriage in China. Using national data from the 2005 mini census (N = 1,299,716) and compiled data from various source to characterize prefectures, we found marked gender differences as well as similarities in these effects. Although overall men are more likely to divorce, women in urban areas and women who are more educated are the most likely to divorce. Level of urbanization is consistently associated with higher level of divorce and remarriage for both sexes, while economic development is associated with lower level of remarriage. Men and women with higher education are the least likely to be remarried, and this gap is further enlarged by urbanization.

## Introduction

Chinese society has experienced dramatic changes in the last three decades. On one hand, there has been a rapid increase in marketization, affluence, exposure to the global market, and geographic mobility; on the other hand, state control over personal lives has subsided, and social barriers of divorce have been largely reduced. In conjuncture with these societal changes, divorce rate has been soaring (Davis and Freidman, 2014; Yan, 2009). Crude divorce rate in China has increased six-fold, from 0.44% in 1985 to 2.70% in 2014. Notably, crude divorce rates in large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai are on par with most European countries (Xu & Ye, 2002) Meanwhile, remarriage rates increased from 3.05% in 1985 to 10.24% in 2007 (Wang & Qin, 2010).

Analyzing patterns of divorce is important as China serves as an excellent case to analyze the effects of structural change and individual status on marital dissolution. First, because the Chinese economic reforms have been implemented across the country at various times, thus impacts of these social changes unfolded uneven (Xu & Ye, 2002; Ren, 2013; Yan, 2009). Second, marital dissolution not only has a significant impact on individual's life, but also reflects patterns of social stratification, or directly serves as a selection mechanism that actively shapes social and economic inequalities (Amato, 2010; Ono, 2009; Shwarts & Mare 2002).

Two mechanisms can be identified from previous studies that shape individual choices in marriage. At macro level, legal, economic, and social costs of divorce deter individuals from divorce (Davis and Freidman, 2014; Whyte, 2005; Goode, 2003). At individual level, socioeconomic status provides resources to help individuals find better partners and deal with marital strains, or simply to escape a bad relationship (Oppenheimer, 1997; Becker, 1981; Park & Raymo 2013; Bernardi et al.2011; Harkonen & Dronkers, 2006; Raymo 2005; Maclanahan 2004; Amato 1996; Boertian & Harkonen 2014). The effects of structural changes are believed to be uneven across status groups; for instance, the lower strata of the society are more likely to be affected by structural changes as they are more cost-sensitive (Goode, 1963, 1993; Kreager, 2013; Schwartz & Han, 2014).

Our research aims to bridge two gaps in the literature. First, the existing research have not systematically tested mechanisms of divorce. Most studies on structural determinants of divorce omitted the effects of individual and household level characteristics on divorce (Zeng and Wu, 2000; Trent and South, 1989; Nimkoff, 1965; Cole and Powers, 1973; Zhang et al. 2012); while more recent studies conducted in different social contexts using individual observations focused on the change of the association between education and divorce, leaving unexamined the direct effects of structural determinants on divorce as well as other indicators of individual status (Kalmijn 2011; Harkonen and Dronkers, 2006; Whyte 2005). Second, previous studies on divorce and remarriage in China are scarce, and the few studies have failed to analyze many important explanations. No studies have investigated individual divorce and remarriage taking into account regional characteristics, which could be problematic given the unequal regional divorce rates in China (Zeng & Wu, 2000; Wang & Qin, 2010). Researchers did not find significant relationship between education and divorce in three regions of China in 1985 (Zeng, 2000), yet later found the association to be positive using province-level data (Mi, 2007). We neither know the effects of gender, migration and ethnicity on divorce and marriage, nor whether or how the rapid industrialization and increasing urbanization in China shape individual's marital choices.

It is thus imperative to conduct a representative study that investigates simultaneously the effects of individual and social characteristics on divorce and remarriage. Using multiple data sources from the 2005 1 percent census, 2000 China Census by County, and 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy in China, our study provides a rigorous and systematic test of the association of structural change and individual marital decisions. Unlike cross-country studies, many structural determinants are better controlled in this study with prefecture as the unit of analysis. The legal environment is similar across all prefectures, as the marriage law is passed and implemented all over the country; gender ideology is also more homogeneous between prefectures compared to that between countries. Although the study shares the same assumption that social contexts matters for individuals, it operates at a much lower regional level, so the error of selection effect or ecological fallacy would be less likely to occur. Finally, as the census data is representative of the whole country, this study provides a more accurate description of family patterns than previous studies.

## Hypotheses

We examine the relationship between education, gender, migration and the likelihood of divorce and remarriage in different regions of China in the post-reform era. The uneven implementation of market reform and pace of economic development provides us with a rare opportunity to test the spatial pattern of economic development and urbanization and their relevance to marital dissolution and remarriage. Based on the theoretical discussion and previous research, we formulate three hypotheses

***Hypothesis 1A Education on Divorce:***

The effect of education on divorce is positive for both men and women (resource and independence theory). Both men and women with higher education are more likely to be divorced.

***Hypothesis 1B Education on Remarriage:***

The effect of education on remarriage is overall positive for men and negative for women (hypergamy theory). Men with higher education are more likely to be remarried while women with higher education are less likely to be remarried.

***Hypothesis 2A Migration on Divorce and Remarriage:***

Migration is positively associated with individual's likelihood of getting divorced and remarried.

***Hypothesis 2B Household Registration on Divorce and Remarriage:***

Individuals holding urban hukou are more likely to be divorced and remarried.

***Hypothesis 3A Structural changes on Divorce and Remarriage:***

Economic development and urbanization are positively associated with divorce and remarriage**.**

***Hypothesis 3B Structural changes on Divorce and Remarriage:***

Economic development and urbanization have different effects on divorce and remarriage for individuals with different educational attainment.

## Data and Measures

We use data from three different sources on three levels. The individual and household level data are from the 2005 (1%) Census data. Also known as mini-census or 1 percent population sample survey, the 2005 Census data is an inter-census population survey conducted in years that ending in five. A mini-census, like the full census, is conducted every ten years, however, it uses a Probability Proportionate to Estimated Size (PPES) sampling method to ensure representation at the provincial level. The primary sampling units for a mini-census in China are resident groups in rural areas and neighborhood committees in urban areas. The 2005 1% Census has thirty-five items at the individual level and twenty items at the household level (David and Freidman 2014), thus it provides a detailed description of individual marital status and indicators of socioeconomic status. The mini census also connects individual information with households and prefectures, making it possible to analyze various levels of predictors of divorce. Finally, the representativeness of the census data helps to paint an overall picture of Chinese population.

The prefecture level data are from the 2000 China Census by County (2000 census data) and the 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy (the Yearbook). Macro-level variables were mainly drawn from the Yearbook, which contains characteristics of socioeconomic development of different administrative regions of China. Previous studies on structural determinants either focused on several areas of China (Zeng et al, 2002; Zhang et al. 2012), or described regional differences in broad strokes in which masks variations within provinces (Zeng and Wu, 2000). In order to account for these variations at macro-level, the unit of analysis for this study is prefecture. Prefecture is the second-level administrative subdivision in China, which consists of cities and counties, and covers both urban and rural areas. There are 333 prefectures or prefecture-level regions in total in 2005. Prefectures are wide enough to have an overall impact on individuals, yet more nuanced in depicting structural change and larger in explaining power (much bigger sample size) compared to

provinces. Variables such as previous marriage rate, previous divorce rate, previous second-marriage rate and in-migration rate are aggregated from 2000 census data.

Unmarried men and women are not included in the sample. Since men and women who choose to marry might share certain characteristics, such as higher education and a strong belief in marriage, they are distinguished from people who choose not to marry. Including unmarried people may overestimate those characteristics' impact on divorce and induce selection bias (Bernardi & Martinez-Pastor, 2011). Overall, the sample collected for this study contains 1,299,716 ever married men aged 22 to 64 and women aged 20 to 64. Appendix Table 1 list means and standard deviation of all variables in individual-, household- and prefecture-levels

*Dependent Variables*

Divorce is measured by individual's marital status. Individuals are either divorced (currently divorced), or not divorced (people in their first marriage). Remarriage is also measured by a binary variable—individuals are either remarried (currently remarried) or not (in their first marriage, or divorced).

Since the 2005 mini census does not provide any information concerning whether an individual in their second marriage has been divorced or has lost their spouse, we use remarried as as a separate dependent variable to avoid measurement bias. In addition, individuals who chose to remarry are different from people who are married and divorced, thus including this variable would provide a more nuanced story of social change and gender dynamics.

In order to address the concern caused by the absence of the the divorce and remarriage, we use stable individual characteristics such as gender and ethnicity, and by collapsing some college, college and graduate education to one category, we coded education so that it can rarely be changed after divorce or remarriage.

*Explanatory Variables*

*Education.* This study employs five indicator of SES: education, income, job, occupation, and homeownership. Education is believed by many scholars to be correlated with income and occupation, thus was incorporated in indexes to indicate SES such as SEI and ISEI (Duncan, 1961; Ganzeboom et all., 1996; Bergman and Joye, 2001). However, it is necessary to evaluate the effect of education separately from other indicators of the SES in China for the following reasons. First, unlike many other western countries, the returns of education in post-reform China are ambiguous (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Hannum and Xie,

1998; Zhou & Moen, 2001). For instance, Xie and Hannum (1996) found that economic growth depressed the returns to education at city and individual level. Meanwhile, increasing returns to education was also reported by Zhou and Moen (2001) and Hauser and Xie (2005) in studies conducted in urban China. Second, there are enlarging gender gap in terms of the economic returns brought by education. Hauser and Xie (2005) found that the gender gap is the greatest at the lower levels of education, and the gap disappears after some college education (15 years). Consequently, education not only has unique impact on resources and decision in divorce for individual in post-reform China, such impact also vary for men and women (Shu 2004). Thus it is important to consider education separately from other indicators of SES, and the gender interaction with education. In this study, education is coded into five categories: (1) elementary school and lower, (2) junior high, senior high school, and professional/technical institute, (3) some college education and higher.

*Hukou and Migration.* Hukou and migration status are coded as (0) non-migrant holding rural hukou (1) migrant holding rural hukou (2) non-migrant holding urban hukou and (3) migrant holding urban hukou. The related information was collected from two survey questions in the 2005 Census— the place where individual's hukou (registered residence) was registered, and the place of current residence. Including these groups based on hukou and migration is theoretically significant in this study, since having an urban hukou means the entitlement of many valuable resources and rights that are difficult or costly to acquire for people who are born in the rural area (Wu and Treiman, 2002; Lowry and Xie, 2009); and both migration and urban hukou indicates loosened family ties and more liberal view of divorce, so that there are less social costs of divorce.

*Structural Changes.* The 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy provides several features of the prefectures that are used as indicators of structural change here. GDP per capita measured by GDP per capita per 10,000RMB is used to capture the overall economic development (Kalmijn, 2013). In order to have normal distributions of both of these variables, we use log forms of GDP per capita to avoid bias. Urbanization is measured by proportion of urban residents in the prefecture.

## Preliminary Results

We used HLM 7.0 to carry out three-level logit modeling. Individuals are seen as nested within households (only consider clustering effect), while households are located in different prefectures across the country.

*Effects of Individual Characteristics and Structural Change on Divorce*

Table 1 presents the odds ratio on the likelihood of divorce from hierarchical logit models. Net of all other characteristics, women with elementary and lower education are least likely to be divorced; women with

junior and senior high school education are 44% more likely to be divorced, the most likely to be divorced compared to other groups of women (odd ratio = 1.44). Among men, the most likely to be divorced are men with elementary and lower education, and the least likely are men with junior and senior high school education (the odds are 0.321 times those of men who have elementary and lower education). We did not find evidence to support a linear relationship between education and divorce as argued by Hypothesis 1A, neither did we find any evidence to support that the effect of education on divorce is the same for men and women.

Urban hukou is related to a higher chance of divorce, yet migration increases women's, but not men's, likelihood of divorce (H2B). Compared to rural non-migrant women, rural migrant women are 66% more likely to be divorced, and the odds of divorce are 3.783 times more for urban non-migrant women, and 3.649 times more for urban migrant women. Compared to rural non-migrant men, the odds of divorce for rural migrant men are 40.1% lower. Urban non-migrant men are the most likely to be divorced with the odds being .838 times of those of rural migrant men.

Compared to Han, minorities such as Uygur, Tibetan and Korean are more likely to be divorced, except for Tibetan men, who are not significantly different from men who are Han. This is true even after controlling for regional differences and unobserved cultural differences among different regions.

With respect to Marriage cohort, with younger cohort, there is an increasing risk of divorce for both men and women, expect for the youngest cohort, which might be a result of having not being married long enough for such a young cohort in 2005.

It seems that the economic development of a region is negatively related to men's risk of divorce, while for women, it has no effect. Urbanization is positively related to divorce for both men and women, net of all other variables (H3A). People living in regions high with ethnic minorities such as Xinjiang province, South West region, North East regions have higher probability of divorcing, even after controlling individual ethnicity.

*Effects of Individual Characteristics and Structural Change on Remarriage*

Table 2 displays the odds ratio of the likelihood of remarriage on both individual and prefecture level. There is a negative relationship between education and remarriage for women, confirming our hypothesis. The odds of remarriage for women with junior and senior school education are 75% of women with elementary education; the odds of women with college education are only 48% of those with elementary education. There is no difference between men with minimum education and those with junior and senior high school education, whereas the odds of men with higher education are 86% of men with minimum education. This again confirms our hypothesis

Compared to rural non-migrant women, both migrant women of both rural and urban origin are more likely to be remarried, while the odds of urban non-migrant women to remarry are not different from rural non-migrants. However, men with urban hukou, migrant or not, are more likely to be remarried compared to rural non-migrants, whereas rural migrant men are not different from rural non-migrant men. Therefore, migration seems to be positively related with women's remarriage, but not men's; whereas urban hukou seems to be positively associated with men's remarriage, but not women's, confirming our hypothesis.

Structural change is strongly associated with remarriage. Our hypothesis is partially supported as percentage of urban residents is positively correlated with remarriage, yet GDP per capita (log) is negatively associated with remarriage.

*Effects of Structural Change on the Educational Gradient of Divorce and Remarriage*

Table 3 and 4 provides some evidence Hypothesis 3B. Among women, junior and senior high school graduates in highly developed areas are even more likely to be divorced ($t_{main}$ = 0.350, $p<0.01$; $t_{interaction}$ = 0.118, $p<0.05$), whereas the likelihood of divorce of college-educated women does not change with economic development. However, economic development is not associated with differential likelihoods of remarriage of women with different education. Although it appears that the association between education and women's *divorce* does not vary by degree of urbanization, urbanization seems to enlarge the difference between college-educated women and those lesser educated by further reducing the likelihood of *remarriage* for college women ($t_{main}$ = -0.518, $p<0.01$; $t_{interaction}$ = -0.005, $p<0.01$). For men, both economic development and urbanization narrow the gap in divorce between men with the least education and better educated men, although there is still a negative correlation between education and divorce. With regard to remarriage, urbanization reduces college-educated men's likelihood to get remarried ($t_{main}$ = -0.005, $p<0.05$; $t_{interaction}$ = -0.012, $p<0.1$). These results indicate that the effects of structural changes on educational gradient of divorce and remarriage vary by gender, and while economic development enlarges the difference in the likelihood of divorce between middle and high school female graduates and women with minimum education, it (alongside with urbanization) reduces the overall gap in the likelihood of divorced between men of different educational levels.

## Conclusion

In this study we investigated gender differences in the association between education, migration and structural changes on patterns of divorce and remarriage in China using national data from the 2005 mini census. We found marked gender differences as well as similarities in these effects. Although men have

higher likelihood of divorce than women in all birth cohorts, women in urban areas and women who are more educated (senior high and more) are the most likely to divorce among all groups. Level of urbanization is consistently associated with higher level of divorce and remarriage for men and women, while economic development is associated with lower level or remarriage for both men and women. Men and women with higher education are the least likely to be remarried, and even less likely compared to other groups in areas with higher level of urbanization. The effects of structural changes on educational gradient of divorce and remarriage vary by gender. Economic development and urbanization level reduces some effects of education on divorce and remarriage for men, yet economic development enlarges the risk of divorce of women who have middle and high school education.

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**Figure 1** Percentage Divorce by Education

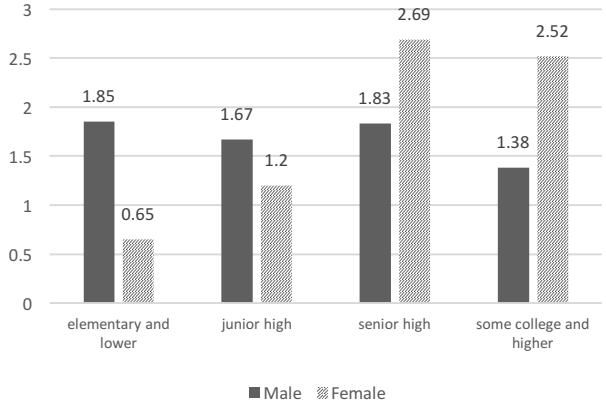



**Figure 2** Percentage Divorce by Hukou and Migration

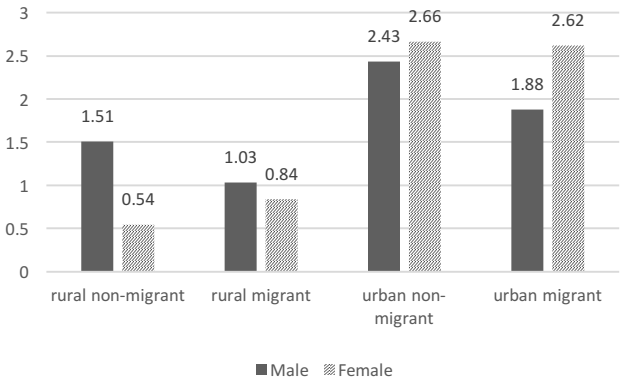



**Figure 3** Percentage Divorce by Ethnicity

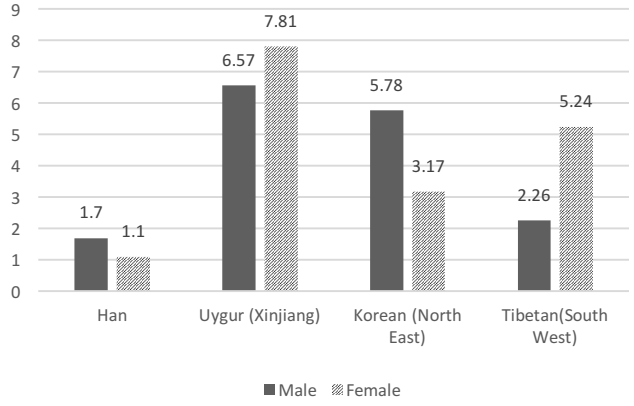



**Figure 4** Percentage Divorce by Marriage Cohort

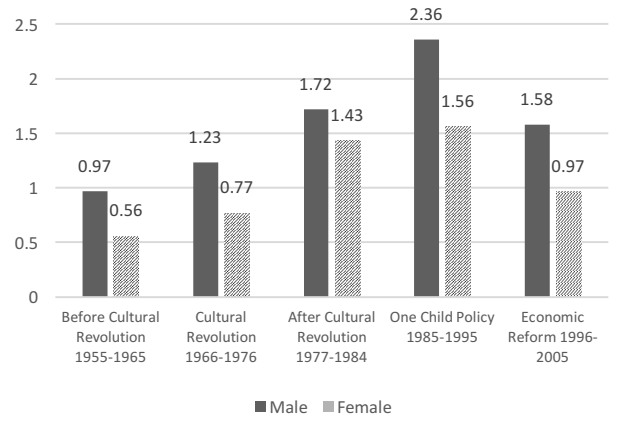


**Figure 5** Percentage Divorce by Age at First Marriage

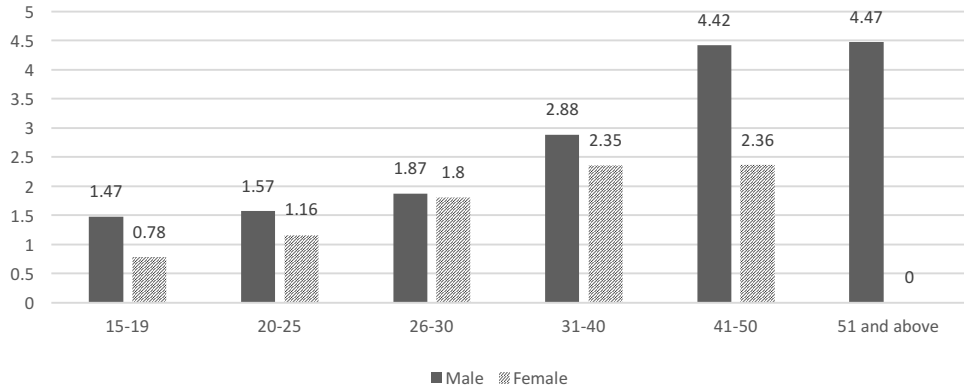



**Figure 6** Percentage Remarriage by Education

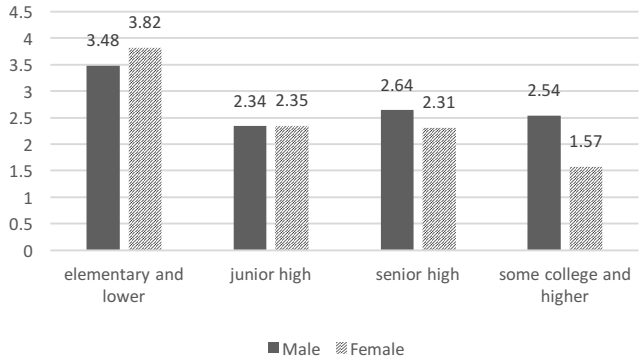



**Figure 7** Percentage Remarriage by Hukou and Migration

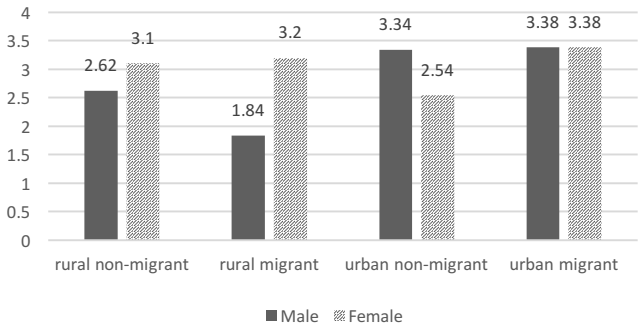



**Figure 8** Percentage Remarriage by Ethnicity

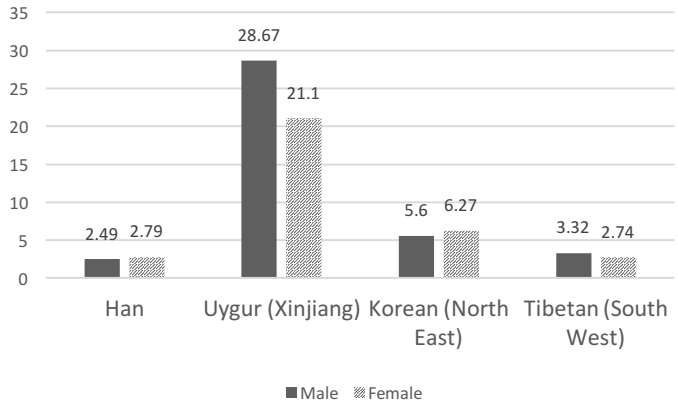



**Figure 9** Percentage Remarriage by Marriage Cohort

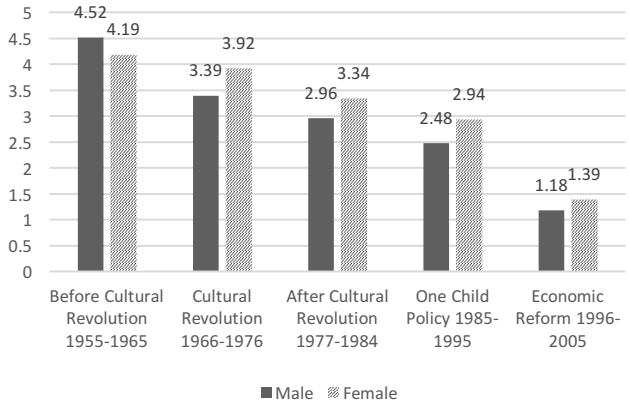
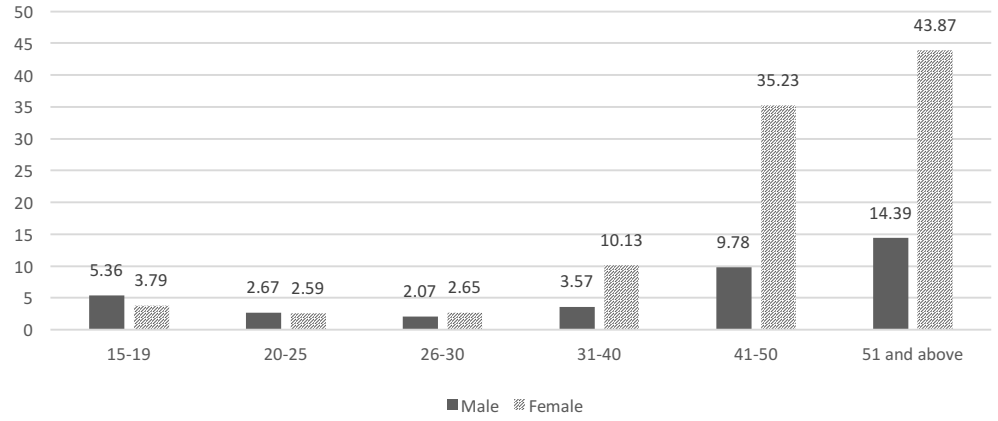
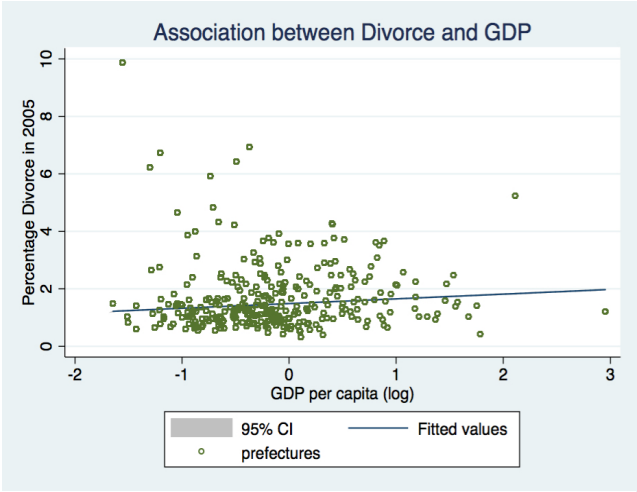
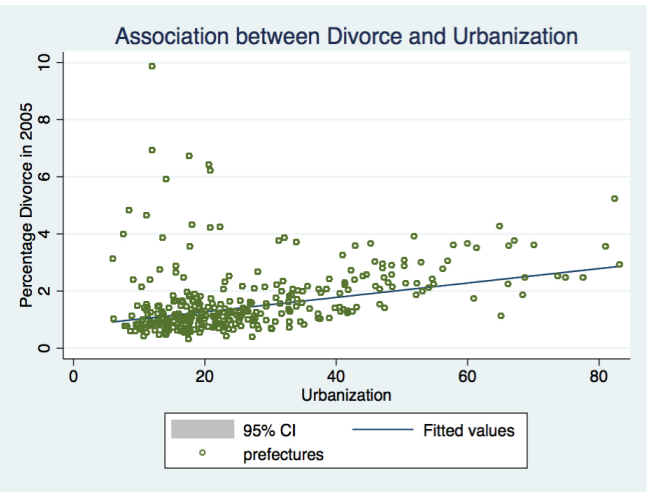
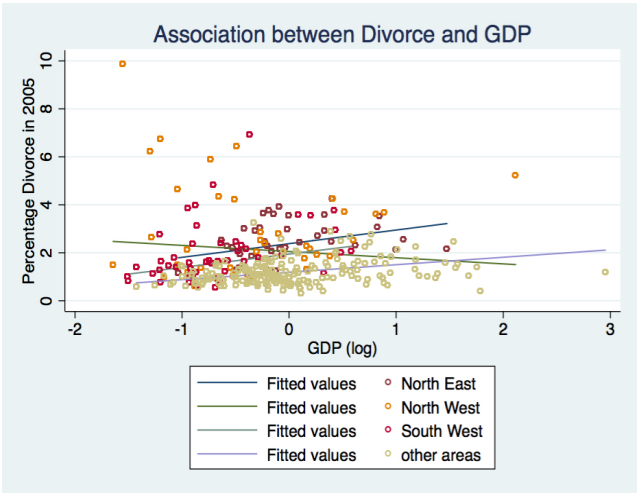


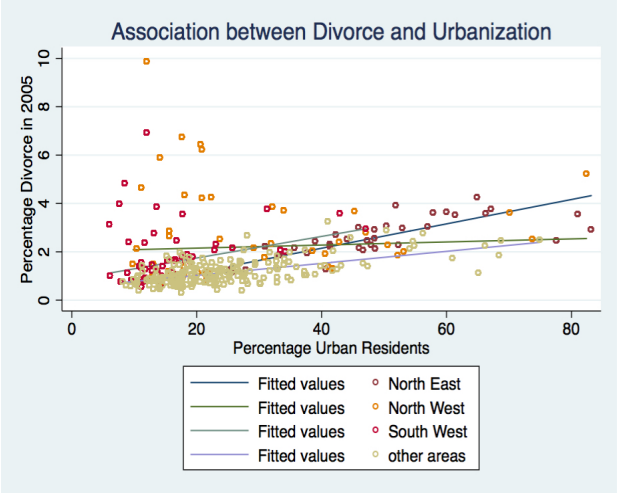
**Figure 10** Percentage Remarriage by Age at First Marriage

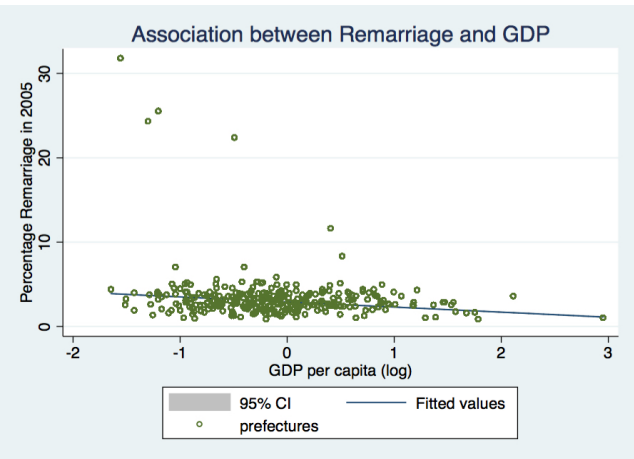


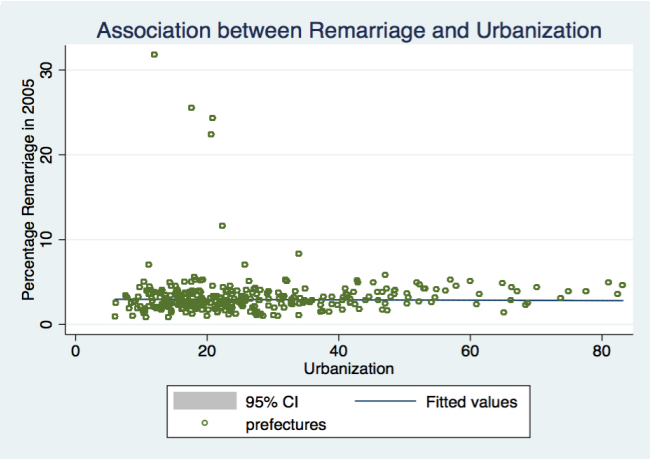



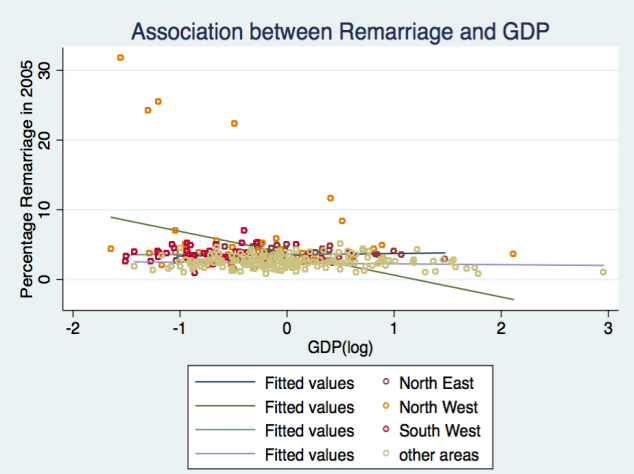




Association between Remarriage and GDP
Percentage Remarriage in 2005
0
10
20
30
-2
-1
0
1
2
3
GDP per capita (log)
95% CI
Fitted values
prefectures


Association between Remarriage and Urbanization
Percentage Remarriage in 2005
0
10
20
30
0
20
40
60
80
Urbanization
95% CI
Fitted values
prefectures


Association between Remarriage and GDP
Percentage Remarriage in 2005
0
10
20
30
-2
-1
0
1
2
3
GDP(log)
Fitted values
Fitted values
Fitted values
Fitted values
North East
North West
South West
other areas

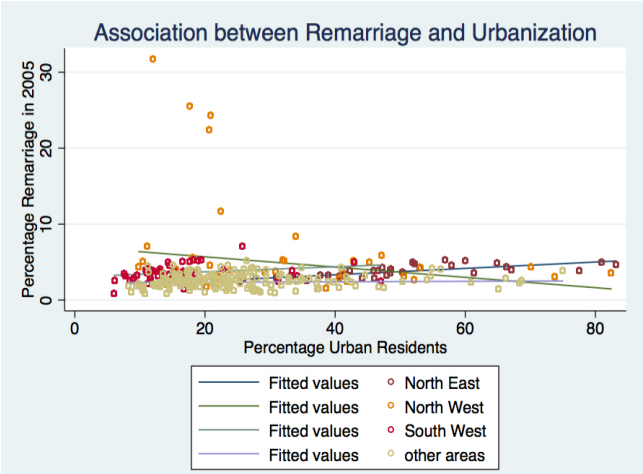

Association between Remarriage and Urbanization
Percentage Remarriage in 2005
0
10
20
30
0
20
40
60
80
Percentage Urban Residents
Fitted values
Fitted values
Fitted values
Fitted values
North East
North West
South West
other areas

***Table1*** **Odds Ratio on the likelihood of Divorce**

| | | Women | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | OR | SE | OR | SE |
| Intercept | | 0.001*** | 1.243 | 0.001*** | 0.849 |
| *INDIVIDUAL* | | | | | |
| Education | elementary and lower | | | | |
| | Junior and senior high | 1.440*** | 0.043 | 0.321*** | 0.033 |
| | Some college and higher | 1.255*** | 0.058 | 0.605*** | 0.052 |
| Hukou and | Rural non-migrant | | | | |
| Migration | rural migrant | 1.657*** | 0.097 | 0.599*** | 0.096 |
| | urban non-migrant | 4.783*** | 0.048 | 1.838*** | 0.040 |
| | urban migrant | 4.649*** | 0.073 | 1.474*** | 0.050 |
| Ethnicity | Han | | | | |
| | Uygur | 4.159*** | 0.229 | 2.268*** | 0.154 |
| | Tibetan | 4.986*** | 0.304 | 1.143 | 0.280 |
| | Korean | 1.662*** | 0.144 | 2.047*** | 0.111 |
| | other minorities | 1.072*** | 0.069 | 0.819*** | 0.058 |
| Marriage | before cultural revolution | | | | |
| Cohort | cultural revolution | 1.126** | 0.060 | 1.485*** | 0.052 |
| | after cultural revolution | 1.893*** | 0.067 | 2.301*** | 0.060 |
| | one child policy | 2.095*** | 0.065 | 3.651*** | 0.057 |
| | economic reform | 1.059 | 0.068 | 2.402*** | 0.058 |
| Age at First Marriage | | 0.957** | 0.019 | 1.033*** | 0.003 |
| Age at First Marriage (squared) | | 1.001** | 0.000 | N/A | N/A |
| *PREFECTURE* | | | | | |
| Development | GDP per capita (log) | 1.065 | 0.045 | 0.904*** | 0.031 |
| | % urban residents | 1.008*** | 0.002 | 1.012*** | 0.002 |
| Control | Xinjiang Province | 2.549*** | 0.231 | 1.445* | 0.193 |
| | South West Region | 2.063*** | 0.068 | 1.232*** | 0.055 |
| | North East Region | 1.433*** | 0.065 | 1.382*** | 0.057 |
| | marriage rate | 1.004638 | 0.011 | 1.010 | 0.006 |
| | sex ratio | 1.009141 | 0.007 | 1.008 | 0.005 |
| | in-migration rate | 1.472856 | 0.464 | 1.359 | 0.293 |

Source: 2005 1% China Census, 2000 China Census Data, 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy.
Total number of observation is 1299716.
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
All models control for gender, age, ethnicity, marriage cohort, age at first marriage, age squared, gender interactions with education, job and employment, occupation type and income.

***Table 2*** **Odds Ratio on the likelihood of Remarriage**

| | | Women | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | OR | SE | OR | SE |
| Intercept | | 0.113 | 1.368 | 0.262 | 1.430 |
| *INDIVIDUAL* | | | | | |
| Education | elementary and lower | | | | |
| | Junior and senior high | 0.751*** | 0.021 | 0.989 | 0.021 |
| | Some college and higher | 0.482*** | 0.046 | 0.866*** | 0.040 |
| Hukou and Migration | Rural non-migrant | | | | |
| | rural migrant | 1.625*** | 0.053 | 1.097 | 0.057 |
| | urban non-migrant | 0.983 | 0.029 | 1.538*** | 0.027 |
| | urban migrant | 1.660*** | 0.039 | 1.848*** | 0.042 |
| Ethnicity | Han | | | | |
| | Uygur | 2.622*** | 0.201 | 3.868*** | 0.299 |
| | Tibetan | 0.996 | 0.152 | 0.881 | 0.185 |
| | Korean | 1.519*** | 0.113 | 1.561*** | 0.102 |
| | other minorities | 1.155*** | 0.040 | 1.205*** | 0.056 |
| Marriage Cohort | before cultural revolution | | | | |
| | cultural revolution | 0.865*** | 0.025 | 0.660*** | 0.031 |
| | after cultural revolution | 0.776*** | 0.029 | 0.605*** | 0.035 |
| | one child policy | 0.705*** | 0.028 | 0.495*** | 0.032 |
| | economic reform | 0.289*** | 0.038 | 0.210*** | 0.047 |
| Age at First Marriage | | 0.821*** | 0.017 | 0.792*** | 0.012 |
| Age at First Marriage (squared) | | 1.005*** | 0.000 | 1.004*** | 0.000 |
| *PREFECTURE* | | | | | |
| Development | GDP per capita (log) | 0.871*** | 0.050 | 0.899*** | 0.040 |
| | % urban residents | 1.006*** | 0.002 | 1.006*** | 0.002 |
| Control | Xinjiang Province | 2.866*** | 0.247 | 2.766*** | 0.348 |
| | South West Region | 1.321*** | 0.052 | 1.478*** | 0.060 |
| | North East Region | 1.228*** | 0.055 | 1.231*** | 0.052 |
| | marriage rate | 1.020* | 0.010 | 1.004 | 0.012 |
| | sex ratio | 0.994 | 0.008 | 1.006 | 0.007 |
| | in-migration rate | 0.698 | 0.428 | 1.057 | 0.461 |

Source: 2005 1% China Census, 2000 China Census Data, 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy.
Total number of observation is 1299716.
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
All models control for gender, age, ethnicity, marriage cohort, age at first marriage, age squared, gender interactions with education, job and employment, occupation type and income.

***Table 3*** **Results of Cross-Level Interaction of Structural Determinants on Educational Gradient of Divorce**

| | GDP (log) | | | | Percentage of Urban Residents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Women | | Men | | Women | | Men | |
| | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction |
| ≤ elementary junior & senior high school | 0.350*** | 0.118** | -0.500*** | 0.163*** | 0.255*** | 0.003 | -0.882*** | 0.013*** |
| | (0.041) | (0.055) | (0.029) | (0.050) | (0.087) | (0.003) | (0.062) | (0.002) |
| ≥ some college | 0.213*** | 0.110 | -1.171*** | 0.227*** | 0.248* | 0.000 | -1.528*** | 0.013*** |
| | (0.070) | (0.085) | (0.056) | (0.068) | (0.135) | (0.003) | (0.125) | (0.003) |

Source: 2005 1% China Census, 2000 China Census Data, 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy.
Total number of observation is 1299716.
Results are based on the same multilevel model as Table1, with additional cross-level interaction terms. Coefficients and standard errors are reported.
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

***Table 4*** **Results of Cross-Level Interaction of Structural Determinants on Educational Gradient of Remarriage**

| | GDP (log) | | | | Percentage of Urban Residents | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Women | | Men | | Women | | Men | |
| | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction | Main | Interaction |
| ≤ elementary junior & senior high school | -0.287*** | 0.021 | -0.010 | 0.007 | -0.324*** | 0.001 | 0.011 | 0.001 |
| | (0.021) | (0.028) | (0.021) | (0.029) | (0.039) | (0.001) | (0.041) | (0.001) |
| ≥ some college | -0.745*** | 0.052 | -0.166*** | 0.074 | -0.518*** | -0.005** | -0.012 | -0.004* |
| | (0.063) | (0.101) | (0.042) | (0.077) | (0.119) | (0.002) | (0.089) | (0.002) |

Source: 2005 1% China Census, 2000 China Census Data, 2004 China Statistical Yearbook for Regional Economy.
Total number of observation is 1299716.
Results are based on the same multilevel model as Table1, with additional cross-level interaction terms. Coefficients and standard errors are reported.
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

| ***Appendix* Descriptive Statistics** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | divorced vs. married | remarried vs. others |
| Variables | Categories | Mean | SD | **T-test/Chi2** | **T-test/Chi2** |
| ***DEPENDET VARIABLES*** | | | | | |
| **Divorced (only)** | | 0.015 | 0.12 | | |
| **Remarried** | | 0.029 | 0.168 | | |
| ***INDIVIDUAL*** | | | | | |
| **Education** | elementary and lower | 0.472 | 0.499 | 0.001*** | 0.002*** |
| | junior and senior high school | 0.473 | 0.499 | | |
| | some college and above | 0.055 | 0.227 | | |
| **Gender** | female | 0.502 | 0.500 | -27.708*** | 7.834*** |
| | male | 0.498 | 0.500 | | |
| **Hukou&Migration** | rural not migrated | 0.635 | 0.481 | 0.002*** | 144.987*** |
| | rural migrated | 0.079 | 0.269 | | |
| | urban not migrated | 0.227 | 0.419 | | |
| | urban migrated | 0.053 | 0.225 | | |
| **Ethnicity** | Han | 0.892 | 0.310 | 0.003*** | 0.000*** |
| | Uyg | 0.008 | 0.090 | | |
| | Korean | 0.001 | 0.039 | | |
| | Tibetan | 0.012 | 0.109 | | |
| | other minorities | 0.086 | 0.280 | | |
| **Marriage cohort** | before cultural revolution | 0.064 | 0.244 | 0.002*** | 0.007*** |
| | cultural revolution | 0.113 | 0.316 | | |
| | after cultural revolution | 0.143 | 0.35 | | |
| | one child policy | 0.239 | 0.426 | | |
| | economic reform | 0.160 | 0.367 | | |
| **Age at first marriage** | | 23.144 | 3.708 | 40.908*** | -1.151*** |
| ***PREFECTURE*** | | | | | |
| **Structural Change** | | | | | |
| | GDP per capita (log) | -0.181 | 0.716 | | |
| | FDI (log) | 7.808 | 3.853 | | |
| | % urban residents | 26.186 | 15.524 | | |
| **Control** | remarriage rate | 0.024 | 0.021 | | |
| | marriage rate | 0.707 | 0.056 | | |
| | in-migration rate | 0.062 | 0.296 | | |
| | North East Region | 0.097 | 0.296 | | |
| | South West Region | 0.156 | 0.364 | | |
| | Xinjiang Province | 0.043 | 0.203 | | |