NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
SINGAPORE

THE EFFECT OF DIVORCE ON INCOME, HOUSEWORK TIME, SOCIAL STATUS AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN CHINA

GAO YINGTAO
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
2020

THE EFFECT OF DIVORCE ON INCOME, HOUSEWORK TIME, SOCIAL STATUS AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN CHINA

GAO YINGTAO

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

2020

Statement of Originality

I certify that all work submitted for this thesis is my original work. I declare that no other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement. Except where it is clearly stated that I have used some of this material elsewhere, this work has not been presented by me for assessment in any other institution or University. I certify that the data collected for this project are authentic and the investigations were conducted in accordance with the ethics policies and integrity standards of Nanyang Technological University and that the research data are presented honestly and without prejudice.

24 July 2020 ..... Date

Gao Yingtao ..... Gao Yingtao

Supervisor Declaration Statement

I have reviewed the content of this thesis and to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain plagiarised materials. The presentation style is also consistent with what is expected of the degree awarded. To the best of my knowledge, the research and writing are those of the candidate except as acknowledged in the Author Attribution Statement. I confirm that the investigations were conducted in accordance with the ethics policies and integrity standards of Nanyang Technological University and that the research data are presented honestly and without prejudice.

23/7/2020

.....

Date

.....

Assoc Prof Premchand Dommaraju

Authorship Attribution Statement

This thesis **does not** contain any materials from papers published in peer-reviewed journals or from papers accepted at conferences in which I am listed as an author.

24 July 2020 ..... Gao Yingtao .....

Date Gao Yingtao

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof Premchand Dommaraju for his guidance, motivation, and knowledge to support me to complete this thesis. It is truly my luck to have you as my supervisor, I appreciate all the time and effort you have put in to guide me in the past 2 years.

Next, I would like to thank my family, whom I have not met in the past 7 months due to the ongoing COVID-19 crisis, thank you all for the unconditional love and support. A special thanks to Youjun, long distance relationship in the past few years has not been easy, but we survived from it, and thank you for your love, support and accompany all along.

Then, my sincere thanks to all the professors whom I have met in the past two years, every lecture, seminar, research opportunity, advice from you is invaluable to me and they will always be my lifelong inspiration.

In addition, I would like to thank NTU School of Social Sciences and the graduate office for the most efficient backup support on earth and all the academic resources that you have provided.

Last but not least, thanks to my fellow graduate students: Haoyu, Jingwen, Xingyan, Victoria and Polo, it is lucky to meet you and work together with you in NTU, wishing you guys all the best in the coming days.

This thesis would not have been possible without the support from any of you.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Divorce has become a growing social issue in China over the past few decades. Existing sociological studies have examined the patterns of divorce and have focused on the reasons for the increasing rates of divorce. However, the consequence of divorce for men and women in China has not received wide attention. Using longitudinal data from the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS) conducted between 2010 and 2018, I investigate the effect of divorce on four outcomes—income, housework time, perceived social status and life satisfaction. The thesis tests whether and how divorce affects these outcomes using both cross sectional and longitudinal analyses. In addition, the thesis focuses on gendered aspects of divorce and examines if divorce affects men and women differently. The key findings from the study are that divorce has a significant effect on all the four outcomes. Divorce has a positive relationship with income and a negative relationship with housework time, social status, and life satisfaction. The effect of divorce is gendered for some but not all the four outcomes. The findings add to the existing literature on the effect of divorce and are discussed by placing them in the context of China. The study's findings reveal the multidimensional effect of divorce on different domains for men and women. The findings contribute to not only understanding marriage and family changes in China, but also enrich the current theoretical and empirical literature which have mostly been based on the western experience.

Introduction

In many countries that traditionally had low rates of divorce, the last two decades have seen a rapid increase in divorce rates. The consequence of divorce on men, women, children, and families impacts many aspects of their lives. From financial to social, income to social position, wellbeing to satisfaction, the changes can be devastating, and their effect could stretch for the long run (Fowles 2019; Leopold 2018). The consequences are interrelated to each other—for instance, economic impact could in turn affect wellbeing. The consequences of divorce do not necessarily need to be negative; for some it could mark a break and signify a new beginning. For many, however, divorce often turns out to be painful and could potentially lead to loneliness, depression, and a lack of satisfaction towards life (Bourassa and Sbarra 2015; Wortman and Lucas 2016). Like marriage, the experience of divorce varies across individuals, groups, and societies.

In this thesis, I investigate the effect of divorce on men and women in the People's Republic of China (henceforth China). China is an interesting case where divorce rates were relatively low. Until the late 1970s, under the planned-oriented economy and work unit system ("*danwei*"), getting a divorce was difficult and involved complicated procedures including seeking permission from their work unit; the outcomes were often unsuccessful, and the couples ended up persuaded to reconcile by those organizations; divorce was also a politically sensitive topic (Bailey 1993; Goode 1993; Diamant 2000; Wang 2001). Rather than being considered as a private matter, divorce was embedded with political

structure (Bullough and Ruan 1994; Diamant 2000). The difficulty of getting a divorce meant that even those in unhappy marriages did not go for a divorce. During those times, the consequence of divorce was much more significant for political and career advancement (Gu 1999).

The increase in divorce started in the early 1980s with divorce rates rocketing from low levels in the 1970s to reach similar levels seen in OECD countries by the 2000s. There are many reasons for the increase, including the lifting of organizational restrictions, changes to divorce laws in 1981, marketization (shifts from pragmatic socialist ideology), and increase in wage labour, changing educational and labour force dynamics, ideational shifts and life options, shifting values, consumerism, changing beliefs and core aspirations among young people (Diamant 2000; Rosen 2004; Yang and Stening 2011). In addition, the stability of marriage was also influenced by structural factors such as housing, especially in urban areas, where housing cost have gone up with divorce having a consequence on house ownership (Davis 2010).

Staying in a marriage or getting divorced is a complex decision to make. Marital stability is not the same across social groups given the differing set of vulnerabilities and risks faced by different group of people. While studies have focused on determinants of divorce, there has not been much research in Asia on the consequence of divorce on men and women. The limited literature on Asia has focused on the consequence of divorce on children and not on adults.

The primary objective of the thesis is to investigate the impact divorce has on men and women on different dimensions both objective and subjective. The focus

is on the consequence of divorce on economic aspects such as income, social aspects such as social status, household aspects such as housework time and wellbeing aspects such as life satisfaction. Taken together these four aspects cover different dimensions and allows to investigate the extent to which divorce impacts lives of divorced men and women. In addition, the thesis investigates how the impact varies for men and women.

Literature Review

Divorce in China

I begin by reviewing the patterns, trends and changes in divorce in China. This provides the context of the study. Divorce rates increased from less than 0.33% in 1979 to 1.59% in 2007 to 3.2% in 2018; more than two million couples are reported having registered for divorce in the first half year in 2019 nationwide (National Bureau of statistics of China 2018; Yang 2019). During the early reform era, the increase in crude divorce rate was relatively small, from 0.42 to 0.71 nationwide (Zeng and Wu, 2000). China has become one of the countries with the highest rate of increase in crude divorce rate in the world (Palmer 2007; Li 2018; Wang and Zhou 2010).

There are regional disparities in divorce trends which have been attributed to variation in economic development, ethnicity, and socio-cultural context in different regions (Zeng and Wu 2000). In terms of the regional effect, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) had the highest divorce rate at 4.16 in 1982 and 3.79 in 1990, while northeastern China had undergone the highest upward

growth in crude divorce rate during the early reform period. In eastern coastal area where economy was more developed, the divorce rate in 1980s remained the lowest (Zeng and Wu 2000). In Wang and Zhou's study (2010) that was conducted in a wider time range (1979 to 2007), it is indicated that divorce rate has experienced a rapid growth during 2002 to 2007, but the study failed to give an explanation on the reasons behind the growth. Across regions, their analysis has shown the similar pattern as in Zeng and Wu's research, northeastern China and XUAR still had the highest rate of divorce among other regions, following by the four municipalities—Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing for their remarkable increase in divorce rate in the past two decades (Wang and Zhou 2010).

Over the past several decades, China has undergone a set of societal changes centring around the new market-oriented economy leading to the transformation of Chinese society and shifts in trends and patterns in domestic spheres. Some studies have investigated the divorce patterns based on the socio-demographic characteristics in China taking gender, hukou, and education level into consideration. Guo and Ding (2014) studied the changing pattern of divorce rates by gender over time. Divorce rates used in the study are based on ratio of currently divorced in a particular year and population. Such rates do not take into account changes in marriage timing or differences in these timing between men and women. Also, the rates do not consider remarriage rates which are different for men and women. Hence, the divorce rates are often different for men and women, even though from an individual perspective divorce involves

both men and women. With these caveats, using Guo and Ding's (2014) estimates we can see that between 1982 to 2010, men first experienced a subtle decline in divorce rates from 9.18 percent to 8.29 percent in 1990 nationwide, later on this figure went up steadily to 15.38 percent in 2010. The divorce rates for women remained relatively low at below 3.5 percent during 1982 to 1990, however, the rate escalated twofold in every decade since 1990, reaching to 12.2 percent in 2010 (Guo and Ding 2014).

Divorce rates vary by Hukou residence. It is well established that the general divorce rate in rural China is significantly lower than urban China (Gao 2011; Li 2011; Mo and Shi 2015). In studies that focus on divorce in rural area, the research interest for most scholars is to probe the connection between population outflow in rural area and marriage stability (Gao 2011). For example, in Gao's study where divorce rate on village level is analyzed, it is proven that the rate of population outflow in each village has direct impact on the prevalence of divorce within the village (Gao 2011). Similarly, the finding in Mo and Shi's study has also confirmed the causal link between domestic migration among rural workers and marriage instability.

Divorce was usually considered to be "bad" in Chinese traditional value system, under the patriarchal family values, a husband had the absolute right in getting a divorce without having any mutual consent with his spouse, women could not initiate a divorce (Platte 1988). For a long period of time after PRC was established, a couple still did not have the autonomy to get a divorce, as marital status was related with politics, divorce could only be approved under work units

or party's permission (Qian and Hodson 2011). The history of divorce in China also reflects the traditional value of family, the old ideas of family stress the importance of family lineage or the political power of the government; this has meant that individual desires played a small role (Xie 2013).

In the post-reform era, the shifting value system on macro level has broken down the traditional family values, the rise of individualism has led to changes in the role and functions of the family (Wu and Li 2012). During the last several decades of rapid economic growth have seen modernization, liberalization, and individualization have been seen as fundamentally reshaping ideologies of marriage and divorce in China (Parish et al. 2007; Hu 2016). Individualism is gradually replacing family lineage and intimate relationship are now considered private matters as individual's focus on personal freedom. Beside divorce, other indicators of the changes in marriage system include rising levels of cohabitation and pre-marital relationships, delays in entry into first marriage, higher rates of remarriage, changing values regarding marriage in the past few decades (Yue and Yuan 2008; Xie 2013; Yu and Xie 2015).

Social, Legal, Structural, and Ideational Influence on Divorce

Increasing level of education attainment has had a profound influence on the institution of marriage and stability of marriages across societies. The influence of education has changed over time and across societies. In contemporary western societies, research has shown that education level and the likelihood of divorce to be a negative relationship (Chiappori et al. 2017; Chun and Sohn 2009; Jalovaara 2001). The reasons for this could be better quality of matches

preceded by a longer search for suitable partner, compatibility of spouses, and the vested interest in staying married among the higher educated given the investments they have put in marriage (Holley et al. 2006).

In China education level turns out to be an important factor that explains the variations in the refined divorce rate at the provincial level (Wang and Zhou 2010). In China women now outnumber men in educational achievement. Education for women has been shown to be strong predictor for divorce in traditional societies. But in societies with high level of divorce, education has an inverse relationship with divorce (Heaton, 2002). In the case of China education for women might lead to good jobs and occupation and free women from dependence on husband for economic support.

Macroeconomic transformations have had a profound effect on the institution of marriage across several societies. Changes in economic situation and access to resources has had a significant effect on divorce in many countries. In China too, statistics have shown the relationship at the macro level: as the median income rose the crude divorce rate and the refined divorce rate in China both rose during the time period of 1979 to 2007 (Wang and Zhou 2010).

At the individual level, an important predictor for couples to move to divorce is income. Generally, having a higher income is proven to be a buffer for moving to the final step of divorce. But studies have also shown that if wives earn more and their income takes up a bigger proportion of the family income in total, the risk of divorce would go up (Braver and Lamb 2013; Rogers 2004). In some research, income also shows moderate correlations with the divorce determinants like the

insufficiency in family support, economic bankruptcy (Chun and Sohn 2009). Based on prior research, we can note that marital stability is usually considered to be enhanced by the female's economic dependence on their husbands, under the condition that the husbands' economic status is not at stake. Findings have also shown that when wife's income is similar with the husband, divorce would be initiated more easily, as the homogamy between couples allows more freedom because of their financial independence with each other (Rogers 2004).

When examined from the perspective of socioeconomic status that includes income, education and other measures, the evidence is mixed. Those in lower socioeconomic status is subject to the higher risks of divorce (Fu 2006; Trail and Karney 2012). As higher SES individuals have more resources and options, it has been argued that the odds of divorce for them is higher (Fu 2006). As higher social status has given individual more choice in terms of choosing their spouse, it also gives them more freedom in dissolving a marriage; but the empirical research that supports this point is still insufficient at the moment. It is also interesting that some qualitative literature has found that women with lower SES status might not want to divorce (Cherlin et al. 2008; Edin and Kefalas 2005).

Among structural factors, urbanization has had a significant influence on marriage patterns. According to World Bank, the percentage of China's urban population has increased by almost 20 percent from 2002 to 2015. Divorce rates tend to increase in tandem with increase in urbanization (Hsu 2016) mainly because urbanization greatly weakens the traditional ties and values in the

previous stage of the society (Goode 1993). Though the association between urbanization and marital dissolution has been challenged by some studies in recent years conducted in other countries, in China's case, this linkage is still significant.

The changing legal environment has also had a notable influence on China's divorce rate. The development of family law and divorce law allows divorcing couple, especially divorcing women to better cope with the unfavourable situation after a divorce both financially and emotionally, making divorce much more likely than the past (Huang 2005). Moreover, the practice of the new family law and divorce law institutionally has also changed the public attitude towards divorce because such legal practice usually signifies the state's tolerance of marital dissolution which signifies changing marriage values (Palmer 2007).

Other changes such as in housing laws, however, put married women at a disadvantage if they wish to get a divorce. According to the New Interpretation of Chinese Marriage laid out by the supreme court in 2011, if one spouse signs the contract for buying an immovable property before marriage with down payment, then the house is solely his or hers but not the couple's, unless the registrant would want to add the partner's name in the property ownership document. This interpretation has raised many worries among the married who do not have their name on the ownership document, because once they get divorced, they would basically get nothing from marriage. Given the social practice that husband is usually the one to buy the property, this amendment has left many married women in a difficult situation. As Hong (2011) has

observed “the husband becomes landlord, wife comes and goes but the house always stays”, says a comment in Chinese social media.

The changes in social, structural, and legal context have made divorce acceptable and also easier. Changes in divorce rates are affected by multi- dimensional factors and not just these macro level changes. The market transformation and the growing demand for material needs, income, employment has put a strain on marriage (Jiang 2011). The dual pressure from marital dissolution and potential economic hardship, in turn leads individual’s wellbeing to suffer (Zimmermann and Easterlin 2006; Luhmann and Eid 2009).

Gender and Divorce

A key idea of the thesis is that that determinants and consequence of divorce does not impact men and women the same way. One key question gender scholars have posed in this regard of divorce is how to explain such variability in gendered pattern. To answer this question, gender theory provides a useful framework. Gender theory is an important analytical tool in sociology to examine changes in family relationships (Murry et al. 2013). Gender theories have been useful in understanding how gender impacts many aspects of lives of both men and women, including relational aspects such as those related to marital relationship, conflict and stability (Lye and Biblarz ; Lucier-Greer and Adler-Baeder 2011). Traditionally, stable employment and high earnings are strongly correlated with men’s marital status, this is primarily because a stable income gives them chance to fulfil a traditional role as the breadwinner of the family (Lundberg and Pollak 2015). With the breaking down of the traditional family

roles, the challenges in balancing work and family especially for women has increased. The general mechanism of this pattern is as women's income increases and their contribution to family income grows, women might perceive that the traditional household division of labour is unfair, which may further challenge the traditional family roles and finally leads to greater marital dissatisfaction (Rogers 2004).

To conclude as women enter paid workforce the traditional notion that men and women are supposed to do different kinds of work is immediately undermined and traditional gendered marital relationships is challenged (Bernard 1982). From a rather pejorative perspective, as some 1980s social analysts suggested, divorce takes place when women no longer keep up with "their end of the gender bargain" (Walzer 2008). Women's work outside of home and pursuit of non-domestic endeavors changes the gender dynamics within the household. For women in Asia where domestic work is still gendered, paid work outside of home might strain marital relationships. Gender not just influences marital dynamics but also post-marital roles and dynamics. For women post-divorce the traditional gender role is reconstructed as they also take on men's role as breadwinner (Walzer 2008). For men, too, post-divorce family relationships might lead to reconstruction of their roles. In a way, divorce could prompt both men and women to reconstruct certain family image for others as they take on different roles.

Marital relationships are not purely social or economic but are imbued with sentiments, pleasure, satisfaction that an individual enjoys within a marriage,

and intangible rewards (Nakonezny and Denton 2008, Thibaut and Kelley 1959). Marital relationship is seen as being in a balance with contribution from both spouses, and when this balance is disrupted and there is relationship asymmetry and marriage might be dissolved (Blau 1964). Individuals might evaluate the risk and benefits of staying married if they are in an unhappy marriage. According to Becker and Levinger, spouses are more likely to go for divorce if the costs of divorce are lower or when becoming single seems more attractive and less costly (Levinger 1976; Becker 1981).

Consequence of Divorce

Divorce is a significant event and could potentially impact many aspects of individual lives. Divorce not only affects spouses but their children and wider family. The importance of divorce has spawned a large literature in multiple fields in all areas of social sciences and beyond. From economic impacts, wellbeing, effect of divorce on different aspects of children's life from emotional development to schooling outcomes, to intergenerational transmission of values, the literature on consequences of divorce is vast. While each of the outcomes noted in the literature are important, not all can be studied in a single study.

The four outcomes chosen for this study—income, housework, subjective social status and life satisfaction —are guided by the literature. Each of these outcomes are important aspects and touch on different areas of individual life. Income is mainly related to work outside of home, housework is about domestic changes, social status reflects parts social aspects such as social acceptance of divorce, and life satisfaction captures the overall wellbeing of divorced men and

women. By looking at different domains allows us to provide a much more comprehensive picture including any interrelationships of the effect of divorce on lives of men and women.

Importantly, the literature on the effect of divorce on these four outcomes in the Chinese context is limited. As described earlier the Chinese context is unique in several respects including the fact that marriage and family remain important social institutions and the gender structure continues to be inegalitarian. The examination of these four outcomes will make an important contribution to the literature in China. And the unique context of China allows us to examine how gender structures shape post-divorce experience and add to the comparative literature. The choice of the indicators is also determined by the availability of the information in CFPS. Thus the outcomes chosen are based on the multiple factors including their relevance to the Chinese context, contribution to the literature, and availability in the data.

Some studies have shed light on the economic effect of marital dissolution, yet most of them only stress the changes and the how the economic changes differ by gender after divorce. In the term of the economic change that follows the marital dissolution, studies indicate that both men and women suffer drops in income after divorce (Leopold 2018). In a U.S. based study conducted in 1990s, findings have shown that women suffer from a 71 percent decline in their living standards after divorce, while men had a 42 percent increase (Weitzman 1996; Peterson 1996). Though this finding may seem a bit exaggerated in many ways, the post-divorce economic gender distinction is proven to be significant by other

scholars. To conclude, women from different social contexts share the similar experience of suffering from a greater poverty risk and a more significant decline in living standard than men (Leopold 2018; Smock et al. 1999; Vaus et al. 2014).

There are also different voices regarding the SES after divorce, in Russia, for example, divorced women tend to have higher income than married women, indicating that the economic effect of marital dissolution on women might not be as pessimistic as prior studies have reported (Chiappori et al. 2017). However, each coin has two sides, in critique to this finding, the reason why divorced women are likely to have higher income could also be attributed to their economic independency in marriage that initiates divorce in the first place. In terms of running a second household, some research found women are less likely to get remarried than men after getting a divorce in many cultures and societies, children are also a crucial factor to be taken into account when considering the economic consequences of divorce (Nguyen and Tran 2017). On the one hand, taking care of the children increases the economic burden for female divorcees with children, on the other hand, having children with them is also affecting the chance for women to remarry in conservative cultures.

If we view getting married as a process of pooling resources, then based on this concern, women are assumed to have less optimistic economic consequence than men after divorce (Nguyen and Tran 2017). In the respect of gender, women's labour force participation is also a key consideration in studies regarding the economic consequence of divorce. Studies in the 1980s have shown an increase in female labor force participation a few months prior to their marital dissolution to

increase their earnings, more lately research indicates that both marriage and divorce contribute to the income instability for women, which results in economic losses associated with marital and cohabitation dissolution (Tach and Eads 2015). Based on the existing studies conducted in the worldwide context, one would expect Chinese women to suffer a greater reduction in income than men after divorce, since there will be an increase in non-work burden allocated to child care to women and other factors (Liu et al. 2018; Leopold 2018).

Housework time is unevenly distributed for men and women. It is also negatively associated with income. From a human capital theory perspective, for the spouse with lower level of income would have a larger share of time spent on housework, as the allocation of housework time within household is usually determined by the time available to husbands and wives (Baxter and Hewitt 2013; Coverman 1985; England 2017; Parkman 2004). Thus, if the paid labor outside household is not evenly distributed between couples, consequently, the ones who have relative lower income are presumably the ones to take up the responsibilities to spend more time on housework (Baxter and Hewitt 2013).

Time spend on housework could depend on the distribution of resources within couples, this angle proposes that the housework distribution is based on the resources that one brings into marriage, these individual resources usually include work hours, income and education (Blair and Lichter 1991; Ruppanner 2012). Some studies have noted that if female's income and education level have reached certain point, then they would be less likely to engage in heavy housework burden as they are better able to buy out of housework or request

their partners for more equal domestic labour time (Bianchi et al. 2000; Ruppanner 2012).

Another perspective to explore housework time and gender is using "doing gender" perspective. A key assumption of this perspective is that women doing housework are largely identified as a routine in family (Parkman 2004). Housework time is also not evenly allocated between men and women, as women are always expected to do more based on their feminine roles, sometimes regardless of their relative income level (Baxter and Hewitt 2013; West and Zimmerman 1985).

The above have provided a conceptual overview on the allocation of housework time in married households. But what happens to housework time after a marriage is dissolved has not been extensively studied. Only a limited amount of research has paid attention to housework hours as the consequence of divorce, as the majority studies mostly place their interest upon the causal effect of housework conflict on marital dissolution, rather than the other way around. Previous studies have reported a similar pattern of the time spent on housework across marital status, that is, divorced women do significant lesser housework than married women; conversely, divorced men spend much more time on housework than married men (South and Spitze 1994; Gupta 1999; Hewitt et al. 2013). In divorced women's experience, the decrease in housework becomes smaller after having controlled the factors such as the number of teenage children, and home ownership (South and Spitze 1994). Education level, income and employment play the positive roles in relieving housework burden for

women after divorce, however, the effects of these control variables in men's experience are much less significant (South and Spitze 1994; Baxter et al. 2008). To conclude, the existing findings suggest that it is plausible for individuals to adjust their housework hours in response to the changes in marital status. The changing pattern could be contrasting due to gender difference, which is primarily resulted from the uneven distribution of domestic labour within the marital union.

The next outcome I investigate is life satisfaction. Several studies have drawn attention to the association between divorce and individual's subjective wellbeing, in which, a major focus is placed upon the differences in individual's life satisfaction before and after marital dissolution. One conclusion that could be drawn from the existing studies is that divorce could have a negative effect on individual's happiness and life satisfaction (Argyle 1993; Forste and Heaton 2004; Luhmann and Eid 2009; Zimmermann and Easterlin 2006). The reasoning for this significant difference in life satisfaction across marital statuses could be that relative to married individuals, divorced individuals are more likely to go through the break downs of social support network, socioeconomic wellbeing and to be exposed under greater risks in physical and psychological health (Kim and McKenry 2002; Krishnan 1998). Besides the purpose to correspond with preceding literature, another reason this study adopts life satisfaction, not other indicator such as happiness is that in CFPS, life satisfaction is measured in a rather standard way: with 5 categories from "not at all satisfied" to "very satisfied". Yet the measurements for other subjective wellbeing indicators are

quite different, for happiness, CFPS uses a 10-point scale, this is not very consistent with the variable used in prior research. As a consequence, this study finds the life satisfaction variable more suitable for the purpose of this research.

But research using longitudinal data indicates that divorce does not necessarily have to be that distressing (Clark et al. 2008; Gustavson et al. 2012; Hawkins and Booth 2005). Using the 15-year follow up data in Norway, Gustavson et al.'s research has found that what matters more in life satisfaction for divorced group is their current relationship status and the years of having divorced. In the long term, a new partner or enough healing time both would help in improving the level of life satisfaction for divorcees (Gustavson et al. 2012). In Clark et al.'s study that examines the effects of life events in the long run, even evidence has shown that the level of life satisfaction continues to go up after the intervention of divorce, individuals who have divorced for more than five years are significantly much more satisfied with their lives than they were before and during divorce (Clark et al. 2008).

In previous research, it has been observed that individual characteristics such as gender, age, pre-existing wellbeing all account for the differences within the changes in life satisfaction in divorce process, and life satisfaction could either increase or decrease depending on the different individual conditions (Chipperfield and Havens 2001; Luhmann and Eid 2009; Næss et al. 2014). Chipperfield and Havens' study on later life satisfaction has demonstrated a gendered pattern, men rather than women are more likely to suffer from a decline in life satisfaction following divorce, separation or widowhood; a similar

result is also reported in Forste and Heaton's study (Chipperfield and Havens 2001; Forste and Heaton 2004). Age wise, it is indicated in some experience that divorce is much more harmful for young men, but less harmful in other age and gender interaction groups (Næss et al. 2014). It has been noted in Clark et al.'s study that women better cope with the distress brought by divorce in terms of their relatively shorter adaption period to recover from the strain (Clark et al. 2008).

The final outcome I investigate is self-reported social status. Very few studies have addressed the effects of divorce on social status exclusively, as social status is too often considered as one of the manifestations of income, therefore, income and social status are mostly taken together while discussing the socioeconomic outcomes of divorce (Bogolub 1991). Instead of seeing social status as an objective extension of the income proxy, this study seeks to examine the subjective role of social position by using the self-rated social status indicator. The evaluation on the changes in self-rated social status not only reflect on how tangible social status changes over time, and in different life events, but also provides an insight of how individuals perceive themselves after having experienced divorce.

Research Questions and Approach

To better understand the impact of divorce, we need to further explore the pattern of changes in the outcomes discussed earlier, as well as the individual characteristics that account for the differences in these outcomes. In this section

I state the research question and the approach used to investigate the research questions.

The study is significant for three reasons. First, while previous studies have addressed some of the research questions, these questions have not been investigated in context of China. Much of the literature has been focused on the west and there has been little empirical work on Asian countries with their unique social, cultural and structural contexts. Understanding changes in the most populous country would make a useful contribution to the literature. The first set of research question are related to investigating the variation in the four outcomes—income, housework, social status, life satisfaction—between married and divorced individuals, and the effect of divorce on these four outcomes.

Second, beyond China, the research questions contribute to the wider literature by examining multiple outcomes across multiple domains, and provides a broader and deeper perspective. An important aspect is how the effect of divorce is different for men and women. A key focus is to examine whether and how gender influences the outcomes of divorce. This study extends the gender perspectives by contributing to the understanding of the gender nature of divorce.

Third by looking at changes using longitudinal data by focusing on within person changes across multiple domains over time allows to investigate the impact of divorce in a rigorous way than is possible using cross sectional data. I discuss the methodological strengths in the next section.

Based on the literature review, I test the following four questions. How does divorce affect income, time spend on housework, social status and life satisfaction? And does divorce affect men and women differently on these four outcomes. I hypothesize, based on the literature review, that there would be decline in income after divorce and such declines would be steeper for women than men. This is because women have the responsibilities of taking care of family, especially children who are likely to stay with their mother after divorce, and the increasing concentration on household issues would further result in the limited time that spend on paid work. For housework, I hypothesize that the time spend on housework would increase after divorce. This would be higher for women than men for similar reasons as described for income. For social status, I hypothesize that divorce would lead to lowering of perceived social status. This is tied to the lowering of income, but also because they might think that being divorced would lower their standing in the society. That is the subjective social status could also be affected and shaped by social values, given the sociocultural background in Chinese society. I assume that there will be gender difference and expect a bigger drop in self-perceived social status for women compared to men.

For subjective wellbeing, I hypothesize that there will be a general drop in life satisfaction after divorce. This is because the study is looking at a short time period and as suggested in the literature over the short-term life satisfaction is usually negatively affected by major events such as divorce. The decline is

expected to be smaller for women compared to men as women are assumed to have stronger networks that could support coping mechanisms.

Empirical Approach

Data

This study draws on the data from China Family Panel Studies (CFPS) launched by Peking University in 2010. As a nationwide representative longitudinal survey, the key purpose of the CFPS project is to look into the changes taken place in China during the new era of social transform through three main levels: individual level, household level and community level (Xie et al. 2014). Five waves have been already been conducted and the data was collected from gathered information across 25 designated provinces on various social topics including family relations, social mobility, household finance and life history events including individual's employment, education, marriage (Xie 2012; Xie et al. 2014).

As this study predominately highlights the dissolution of marital relationships that binds together with individual characteristics, the datasets I am using in this study are the adult datasets drawn from the full survey. Using the longitudinal data from CFPS, the following empirical section assesses the outcome effects of divorce and the inter-individual patterns with a special focus on the changes in time.

For my research purpose, CFPS adult datasets yield several benefits. Compared with other general social surveys in China such as Chinese Household Income

Project survey (CHIPs) and Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS), CFPS is among the few panel surveys that focuses on the many aspects of individuals and households in the long run, this offers an inclusive consideration to the dynamics and complexity of Chinese society. In the scope of marriage and divorce, longitudinal statistics help this study better track and document the characteristics of each sample, which enables us to better account for the time changing effect on outcome measurements.

CFPS survey has a large sample size among the existing social surveys in China. This is important when analyzing divorce which is not a common event. A large sample is needed to provide enough divorced cases for analyses. For better representativeness, CFPS adopts stratified multi-stage sampling strategy to ensure the sample could represent 95 percent of the total population in China (Xie and Lu 2015; Xu and Xie 2017). The survey also covers a broader set of demographic indicators and other variables necessary for the analyses of divorce.

CFPS is rather recent survey starting from 2010 with the most recent round in 2018 and allows to look at contemporary China. By comparison to other popular longitudinal surveys such as China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS) and China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS), the research agenda that CFPS addresses is more comprehensive and integrated, nicely reflects the various life courses and multilevel experiences among Chinese people of all demographic groups (Xu and Tie 2017).

The empirical analyses of this study are based on the five waves that are available so far, from wave 1 in 2010 to wave 5 in 2018, with a total number of

51,001 adult participants, both cross sectional and longitudinal results will be presented and the modelling strategy in the following section.

Variables

The four key dependent variables are income, housework time, life satisfaction and self-rated social position. The income indicator I use in this study is drawn directly from the ready-to-use variable in each wave. For its measurement, CFPS noted that they use the self-reported personal income in the first place, they replace it with the mean of income interval if there is any missing value (CFPS 2010). To lessen the effect of skewness, I transform the income into natural logarithm version in the analysis.

The daily housework hours variable is generated from two original continuous variables: time spent on housework on weekdays and time spent on housework on weekends. I create a single variable which is the average of these two variables.

For the subjective wellbeing indicators, life satisfaction is measured using the question: "how satisfied are you with your life", the scale ranges from 1 to 5, from very unsatisfied to very satisfied.

Self-rated social position is measured via the question: "what is your social status in your local area?", with answers ranging from 1 to 5, from very low to very high.

The key independent variable in this study is marital status. Marital status variable is dichotomized based on whether they have been ever divorced. For the purpose of this research, I have removed the observations that are irrelevant by marital status, namely the respondents who are never married, cohabiting and widowed during the time they are interviewed. Cases that are 'not applicable' have also been removed, as NA cases indicate the respondents have never entered this part of the interview.

A related variable on marital status that I use in certain models is remarriage. If the respondent was currently married but not in their first marriage, they are defined as remarried.

In this study, the primary intention of choosing the following control variables is that I try to minimize the impact of other socioeconomic factors on the results. In the social context where this study is conducted, one's demographic characteristics are likely to go together with his/her socioeconomic status, due to complex institutional and historical reasons. Other than the unique social significance among these control variables, an important reason these covariates are adopted in this study is that these factors are consistent with most preceding empirical literature on the impact of divorce. This allows the findings of this study to be situated in the broader literature.

Hukou Status (residential registration status): Many studies have demonstrated the difference in divorce rates between rural and urban China that marriages among rural population are often proven to be more stable under the constraint of conservative value system and local kinship structure (Parish and Whyte

1985; Liao and Heaton 1992). Moreover, as the two ends of Chinese society that are unevenly developed to a large extent, hukou status is also an important indicator of socioeconomic status in China. In this study, after having removed a small number of cases who do not have Chinese hukou, this variable is measured with a dummy variable that contains only rural and urban observations.

Education Level: It is well acknowledged that education level is an important determinant of income level, social status especially in China. Educational attainment also reflects the opportunity and resources available to individuals. Education is tied closely to many of the other covariates included in the model. Education level here is grouped into 4 categories: primary school and below, secondary school, senior high school and college and above.

Region: In this study region is classified as 6 regions, municipalities (central administered cities including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing), North Eastern China, mid-West, Central, South Eastern coast and Southern China. These regions have presented different socio-economic background. For instance, central administered cities and South Eastern coast are believed to have a higher economic development level and higher income per capita. On the other hand, regions such as mid-West, North Eastern China are recognized to have poorer economic state and lower individual income levels.

Father's political status: Another indicator of social status used in the literature on China is father's political status. This has been considered as one indicator of family's socioeconomic background as people whose fathers are China Communist Party member are presumably believed to have better access to

resources than others (Ma et al. 2018). Used as dummy variable in this study, including 2 categories, Chinese communist party member and general public. Father's political status, as CFPS have only included this question in their baseline survey. Therefore, respondents who entered from the second wave or later have a missing value for father's political status indicator.

Ethnicity: In the Chinese context, ethnicity is an important factor that has an influence on various areas of one's life. The variable is coded as Han and non-Han. Han are more privileged over ethnic minorities in certain situations, yet this does not always hold true.

Year of marriage: To capture the time effect, I have grouped the year of first marriage into 5 cohorts, before 1970, 1970—1979, 1980–1989, 1990—1999 and 2000—2018.

Methods

Cross Sectional Analysis

I analyze the effect of divorce on the four outcomes at first wave (2010), third wave (2014) and the last wave (2018). In this analysis I compare those who are divorced with those who are currently married. Different techniques are used depending on the distribution of the outcome variables. For continuous variables of income and housework time, I use adopt Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression for continuous dependent variables to model logarithm personal income and housework time. For life satisfaction and self reported social status

both of which are scale questions, I used ordered logistic regression and generalized logistic regression to analyze the data.

For each outcome, I ran three models separately for each of the three waves. The first model is only conducted with the two key marital status variables: ever divorced and whether remarried. In the second model, the rest independent variables are all taken into account. In the last model, I have added an interaction that combines marital status with gender together.

The main purpose of the cross sectional analyze is to provide a snapshot of the possible relationships between divorce and the outcomes at different time periods. The cross-sectional analyses allow us to see the difference between divorced and those who are married at different time periods. As this is cross sectional analyses the relationships should not be considered as causal. The cross-sectional analyses set the stage for subsequent longitudinal analyses.

The original data was cleaned before conducting the cross-sectional analyses. Before entering analysis, I transformed the negative values that represent “don’t know”, “not applicable” etc. in the survey into missing values in each wave. The sample sizes in each wave therefore may change depending on the variables used in the analyses. In the analyses, I used listwise deletion to handle the missing values. There are other ways of handling missing values including imputation procedures which could be incorporated in future studies. The analyses were conducted in STATA. All independent variables in this part of the analysis are recoded into dummy variables automatically by using the “xi” command in Stata. The parameters are marked in the label columns of each table.

Longitudinal Analysis

A highlight of this study is the use of longitudinal data and analyses in addition to cross sectional analyses. Use of longitudinal data allows us to track changes in the same individual over time and allows to make stronger claims on the effect of divorce.

I analyze the effect divorce has on the same four outcomes as in cross sectional models using longitudinal analysis. Longitudinal data allows for proper ordering of events and makes it possible to examine whether divorce causes the changes in the four outcomes. A key advantage of longitudinal analysis is that allow for stronger inferences to be drawn from the data.

For the longitudinal analyses, the data was constructed as follows. The primary data cleaning process in longitudinal analyses is similar to what has been done in cross sectional analyses. First, I replaced the negative values with missing value among the key variables. Then, I continued with keeping all ever-married respondents in 2010 and following them up in the subsequent waves. The data was arranged in a long format meaning that information from each wave was stored in a separate row.

In the longitudinal analyses, respondents might enter the analyses in any of the first three waves and are followed on to subsequent waves. All indicators were measured at the first wave the respondent entered the analyses. Time in the analyses is time from the first wave that respondent entered the analyses to the last wave the respondent was observed. CFPS goes to great length to ensure that

sample attrition is low and to retain the respondents (Xie and Hu 2014). There has not been any investigation of attrition and its effect on analyses using CFPS data. This perhaps reflects the low levels of attrition compared to other longitudinal surveys. Recent articles on marriage and family using CFPS have not reported or considered attrition issues. This again is a methodological issue that could be addressed in a future study.

The data was then sorted by person ID and survey wave. As the focus is on looking at changes over time, those respondents who only participated in a single round were removed from the dataset. I removed the observations who did not enter their 1st interview being married, to ensure there would not be any changes taking place. In total 42698 respondents and 137,182 observations (each respondent can contribute multiple observations depending on the number of waves they participated. 13,130 respondents participated in all the waves from 2010 to 2018, making up 30.75 percent of the total sample.

The literature has suggested several approaches to analyze longitudinal data. The two common approaches are fixed effect models and random effect models. Each model has its own advantages and shortcomings. Allison (2012) notes that the best method depends both on the data and the goals of the analyses. For the CFPS data both fixed and random effect models are possible. However, random effect models are suitable the goals of the thesis. This is because one of the objectives of the study is to investigate the effect of gender and other time invariant covariates. In a fixed effects models, it is not possible to include variables that do not change over time and thus their effect cannot be estimated

(Allison, 2005). The random effect model is one of technique among many to examine longitudinal data. This includes hybrid methods that combine fixed and random effects in a single model. Such methods could be used in a future study.

Results

Descriptive Findings

Table 1 presents the descriptive data of the key variables used in this study. The table presents descriptive data for ever divorced and never divorced respondents (excluding those who have never been married). As gender is the focal interest of this study, I am also highlighting gender distribution along with the two sample groups in the table. The table summarizes the descriptive statistics of the independent variables in CFPS 2010 adult dataset, after having cleaned the original data by removing the irrelevant values from marital status and the key variables like hukou status, ethnicity and education level, 26,978 respondents out of total sample 33,600 are left available for the descriptive comparison, including 25,741 never divorced observations and 1,237 ever divorced observations.

From the socioeconomic perspective, the descriptive statistics from the first wave presented in Table 1 indicate that compared to those have never divorced, those who have divorced before have better socioeconomic resources overall. This conclusion is drawn from the divorced respondents' greater distribution in higher socioeconomic status indicators, for example, in college degree, urban Hukou status and father's identity of being a communist party member.

The table also indicates a significant difference in gender distribution among the two groups, within the ever divorced samples, 22.8 percent of women have obtained the education level of senior high school and above, which is 1 percent higher than never divorce sample. The rate for ever divorced female to go to college is the second highest among all groups, only slightly behind the percentage of never divorced men's by less than 0.5 percent.

As shown in the table, divorce also seemingly has a tight link with income, father's education and hukou status, all pointing to the role of socioeconomic resources. In terms of income, the divorced are earning an average annual income almost 15 percent higher than their counterparts. Yet, for women, the income gap between the ever divorced and never divorced is slightly larger, divorced women are earning 15.5 percent more as much as those who stay married, while this distinction between the two groups of men is much less significant, only by 9.2 percent.

Finally, hukou also shows its connection with divorce. Despite the fact that the whole sample is taken up by more than 70 percent of rural respondents, 41.5 percent of the ever divorced are those with urban hukou status. Corresponding to the gendered findings above, 42.3 percent of the women who divorced are coming from urban background. In addition, the rate for urban women who ever divorced in this table is 6.4 percent, yet the rate for rural women is a contrasting 3.3 percent.

There are also regional variations in marital status as seen in Table 1. Among regions, the prevalence of divorce is not evenly distributed, the 4 central

administered cities in China—Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Chongqing and north eastern China tend to have more unstable marriages. Middle west China, also known to be less developed in economy and more conservative in culture, has the highest rate for women who have never divorced and the lowest rate for women who ever divorced.

Marital status is also significantly bound with year of first marriage. For wave 1 in CFPS, most divorce cases happened to those who got married in the time period 1980—1989 and 1990—1999, which somewhat corresponds to the initial stage of China's economic development and modernization route.

I conducted a Chi-square test to test the association of the independent variables and marital status. The test shows a statistically significant association between education and marital status. Similarly, for hukou, ethnicity, region and marriage year cohort.

———Table 1———

To detect the potential changes among the target observations across time, Table 2 presents the cross-sectional comparison drawn from the latest released data that was conducted in 2018. In terms of the p-value of chi-square test that indicates the level of statistical significance, the general patterns that both tables presented are similar. By comparing the two tables, a very interesting finding across time would be the average age for ever divorced samples has become significantly younger eight years later, this indicates that those who are getting divorce are from younger generation, compared with the situation in

2010. In Table 1, the birth year cohort category has shown that respondents who were born before 1964 have taken up more than half of the total ever divorced samples, in 2018, the distribution in birth year cohort for ever divorced samples has become much more even, yet the general birth year cohort distribution among never divorced group is still similar to the one in 2010—leaning towards the earlier birth year cohorts.

———Table 2———

Cross Sectional Findings

Effect of Divorce on Income and Housework Time

The results from Table 3 have confirmed the relationship between ever divorced relative to those who have never divorced. The personal income for those who are ever divorced (currently divorced or have divorced before) is significantly higher. In terms of the changing pattern, as could see in Table 3, the income gap from 2010 to 2018 has also become larger between the ever divorced and never divorced. In 2010 and 2014, after having controlled the other socioeconomic variables as shown in Model 2 and Model 3, the coefficients of ever divorced have dropped and have become less significant, however, in 2018, the positive associations between marital status and income in Model 2 and Model 3 have got strengthened. What could be drawn from this result is that over time, the positive role of other socioeconomic factors on income have weakened. By comparing the coefficients between ever divorced and ever remarried, the change

in income is probably a response to marital dissolution, rather than an indicator of marital dissolution.

In Model 3, the interaction of marital status and gender is included, for this row, the referencing group is married female. In 2010 and 2014 the interaction of gender and marital status was not statistically significant. But for 2018, the interaction term was significant and negative. For comparing whether there is difference in income between men and women who are divorced, I use the estimates from the interaction terms and the estimates of ever divorced and gender. The predicted mean income for divorced men is higher than divorced women and this difference is significant in 2018. Post estimation results suggests that in comparison with the income of never divorce women, divorced women earn more, and never divorced men have the highest income compared to women.

———Table 3———

Table 4 displays the results of housework outcome, from which we could see that in most models, the daily housework time for the ever divorced is lesser in comparison to those never divorced. Looking across the models the time spend on housework is negatively associated with education. In addition, those with urban hukou spend significantly lesser time in housework. The patterns observed are fairly similar across all three waves.

As expected, men spend less time on housework. Next, we look at whether there is difference between divorced men and divorced women on housework time. The

interaction estimates are not significant in any of the three waves. This suggests that the effect of divorce is not different for men and women for time spend ton household work.

———Table 4———

Effect of Divorce on Life Satisfaction and Social Status

Table 5 presents the estimates for the subjective indicator of life satisfaction. Ever divorced have lower levels of life satisfaction compared to those who have never divorced. This holds true regardless of the models and across three waves.

As seen in Table 5, divorce appears to be the most negative factor that determines individual's lower life satisfaction as compared with the other independent variables in this analysis. Even after adjusting for remarriage and other covariates, ever divorced have lower life satisfaction and social status. Aside from the effect of divorce on life satisfaction, other independent variables addressed in the table also matter in determining the level life satisfaction. For hukou status, it is shown that urban respondents are very much likely to have a lower life satisfaction compared to rural respondents. The estimates for education suggest that compared to those with primary school and below those with college and above degree are significantly more satisfied with life. The interaction estimates for gender and divorce was not significant for life satisfaction.

———Table 5———

Table 6 presents the generalized ordinal regression results for self-rated social status. One common approach of analyzing ordinal outcomes is using proportional odds model which estimates the odds of being at or below a particular level or beyond a particular level of the dependent variable. As the name implies, one assumption of such models is that the odds are proportional. That is the effect of the independent variables are assumed to be same across the different levels of the dependent variable. To test this assumption, I used the Brant test in Stata. The results from the test were significant indicating the violation of the proportionality assumption. This means that explanatory variables may have different impact on different degrees of perceived social status. To address this issue, I use a generalized ordered regression as recommend in the literature. It must, however, be noted that in the present analyses results are not substantively different in the generalized model compared to proportional odds model.

Ever divorced have lower self reported social status in the three waves, in particular, it has significant impact on the negative perception towards one's social status. It is interesting if we combine this finding with the results in Table 3 on income and these results on social status. While divorce has a positive relationship with income it has a negative relationship with social status. This reflects marital dissolution's embeddedness in the given sociocultural context. It is obvious that even under the context of changes that the traditional values have been greatly replaced by the open attitudes towards marriage breakdowns, divorce still negatively affects one's subjective confidence towards life. From the

results presented in different waves, we could see that ever-divorced perception on their social status has not eased with the change in time, on the contrary, the coefficients of marital status in 2010 turned out to be the smallest of all waves. In 2010 and 2014, with the control of socioeconomic factors, the effect of divorce on social status have worsened, but in 2018, by taking socioeconomic factors into account, the negative effect of divorce has lightened subtly.

Among all the indicators, education level is important in people's perception of social status. In particular, obtaining degree in college and above leaves significantly positive effect on individual's perception of their social status. As with life satisfaction the interaction term was not significant.

———Table 6———

Panel Analyses

Descriptive findings

For the panel analyses, as described earlier, I follow those who were married in 2010 and track them through the subsequent waves and include only those who participated in at least two waves. In total there were 494 respondents who divorced between 2010 and 2018 and the reminder 26678 respondents who continued to stay married. The before and after variables for them are defined in the first and the last wave that they are being interviewed.

The descriptive statistics for the panel data are presented in Table 7. The social demographic background variables for this part of the analysis include gender,

hukou status, ethnicity, birth year cohorts, education, and divorce period. As we could see from the table, the distribution of respondents by gender, rural hukou status is not similar between divorced and continuously married respondents. Within the continuously married group, the gender distribution is even. Among the continuously married, those born before 1964 constituted 44 percent of the group while it was 18.6 percent for divorced group.

In this panel analysis, the consequences of divorce are measured by the same four key variables as in the cross-sectional models. I begin by examining the economic outcome of income, followed by examining time spend on housework, self-rated social status, and life satisfaction. "Before" and "After" values for the four outcomes for whom there was change in marital status between 2010 and 2018 are presented in the next four figures. The before here refers to the time before the respondent was divorced and after refers to the time after the respondent was divorced. I present the figures by demographic characteristics.

——Table 7——

Divorce Outcomes by Gender

Figure 1 presents the gendered outcomes of divorce for the four key outcome measurements. For the measure of personal annual income, women and men are both reported increase in earnings after divorce. The increase in women's post-divorce income is 34.7 percent for women compared to 6.3 percent than men. Gender differences are also evident for other outcomes.

Compared with male respondents who have generally experienced a drop in life satisfaction after divorce, women see a small increase in life satisfaction after divorce, indicating that breaking from unhappy marriage is positive for women. The changes in average time spent on housework on weekdays may offer us a clue on why women become happier. Even both men and women are spending less time on housework, the decrease in women's average is greater than men's, the association between gender and housework has also turned less significant comparing to the time when the marital union has not broken down.

Finally, a drop in self-rated social status has also been observed, women reported higher social status when they were married compared to after divorce. This is also seen for men, but the drop is not as high as women.

-——Figure 1——

Divorce Outcomes by Hukou Status and Gender

In Figure 2, I am looking into the divorce outcomes by hukou status and gender at the same time. For income the 4 subgroups being observed have all experienced a significant growth in earnings after divorce. As shown, the greatest change was for women with urban hukou status, followed by men who also come from urban background. The difference between them in rural areas is not pronounced. The housework panel in the figure shows that the changes for urban female respondents as being steeper, as their average time spent on housework is cut by almost 25 percent after divorce and this narrows the gendered housework gap with men. For the rural hukou respondents, though

divorce reduces housework burden, the general gender pattern remains the same.

In contrast to the objective outcome measurements above, the hukou difference for subjective evaluations is not so distinctive as seen Figure 2. There is almost no change in life satisfaction by hukou status. The result for the self-rated social position panel is quite interesting. The decline that is shown for rural respondents after divorce is also more notable than their urban counterparts. Among the 4 groups, women with rural hukou have undergone the biggest fall in social status after divorce, followed by men with rural hukou status. On the contrary, regardless of gender, divorce has left the urban samples the slightest impact in terms of the drop in social status.

———Figure 2———

Divorce Outcomes by Birth Year Cohorts and Gender

The next figure in this series, Figure 3 presents changes by birth cohorts and gender. There is large difference in before and after income for those in the youngest cohort, that is those born after 1985. For life satisfaction before and after differences show no clear pattern by cohort.

The housework time panel presents a pattern that the oldest cohort, men and women who born before 1964, notably spend more time on housework after divorce, by comparison to the younger generations. In the last panel, we could see that the effect of divorce on self perception in social status is seemingly more

harmful to younger cohorts, this negative effect especially discernible in younger women who were born in the time period 1975-1984 and after 1985.

———Figure 3———

Divorce Outcomes by Education Level and Gender

The final figure of the descriptive findings, Figure 4, presents the before and after changes in the four outcomes by education level and gender. In the income panel, we can see that for both men and women, the biggest post-divorce income growth happens to those who obtain college degree and above, the increase becomes smaller as education level goes down. For life satisfaction, there is no significant pattern found by education level.

An interesting pattern is found in the self-rated social position panel. Female respondents who have not gone to college all report a decline in self-perceived social status, yet women who have higher education level are seemingly more confident in themselves after divorce. In men's experience, the results are the opposite, only men with the lowest educational degree report an increase in social status. In the housework time panel, the before and after changes between different education level groups are less significant as almost all men are reported spending more time on housework after divorce. There is a difference in women's experience, for women who have the education level of senior high school and above, daily housework hours has significantly declined following marital dissolution, the gender gap of housework time has greatly narrowed among men and women who went to college.

———Figure 4————

Multivariate Analysis of Panel Data

Effect of Divorce on Income

Results from the random effect model for income as the outcome is presented in Table 8. There are three models in the table. The first model includes only a dummy for whether the respondent was divorced or not during the observation period. Model 2 includes additional covariates to adjust for gender, hukou status, ethnicity, education, age, and region. Model 3 add an interaction term for gender and marital status.

In all three models divorce has a significant influence on income. However, contrary to my hypothesis, divorce leads to increase in income. Even after having controlled the demographic and socioeconomic indicators in Model 2, the coefficient in marital status has become slightly smaller, yet it is still on a significant level at 0.01. Besides marital status, among the newly added variables in this model, male, urban hukou status and college degree are the three most important factors resulting in a higher level of income.

To further address the gender focus, in Model 3, in addition to the variables used in previous model, the interaction effect between gender and marital status is taken into account. This interaction term allows us to examine whether the effect of marital dissolution works out differently for men and women. It turns out the effect of this interaction term is quite significant, as its statistical significance is at the 5 percent level.

The coefficient for the interaction term is -0.970. Post estimation of the interaction estimates show that increase in income for men after divorce is higher than the increase in income for women after divorce. Men who have experienced divorce have the highest earnings among other interaction groups. However, the increase in income for women after divorce is very significant. In summary, there is a remarkable gender pattern in the income outcome of divorce, the gender gap in post-divorce income has significantly narrowed down. Both men and women who have experienced divorce are reported to receive a pronounced increase in earnings, in which, the growth rate in female's income is the largest of all.

———Table 8——

Table 9 presents estimates for the housework hours as an outcome. In Model 1 that only includes the dummy variable for divorce, the effect of divorce on housework is negative and statistically significant. Housework time decline after divorce by 0.287 hours (17.22 minutes) daily. The results for Model 2 show that with the addition of a set of control variables divorce has no significant effect on housework time. Housework time for male, urban residents and college degree holders is significantly lower than the housework time that their counterparts spent on.

The addition of interaction terms in the final model, however, makes a divorce a significant predictor. This suggests the important role of gender and the significance of the gendered aspect of housework. The estimates suggest that for divorced men the reduction in housework hours was larger than the reduction

seen for divorced women. Women spend 0.626 hours less on housework daily after divorce compared to divorce men who spend 1.16 hours less.

To summarize the first two random-effects linear models in income and housework, we can come to the conclusion that divorce generally has a greater effect on women than on men in terms of the larger increase in income and the bigger drop in housework time that women have undergone.

———Table 9——-

Effect of Divorce on Life Satisfaction

The effect of divorce on life satisfaction outcome is presented in Table 10. The coefficients for all the three models displayed in Table 4.3 are all significant at the 1 percent statistical significance level. Without taking any other variable as control, the level life satisfaction after divorce drops by 0.572. In Model 2 after having added the control variables, the decline of life satisfaction in marital status became smaller, yet still significant. From the set of coefficients in the following demographic and socioeconomic variables, we could see the significant influence of hukou status, and some educational group and regions.

The results for Model 3 show that the addition of the gender and marital status interaction term does not alter the direction of the divorce estimate. The interaction term is, however, not significant suggesting that effect of divorce on life satisfaction does not vary for men and women, though men have lower life satisfaction than women. Men and women who are divorced are significantly less

satisfied towards their life compared with the old version of themselves when they were married.

———Table 10 ——-

Effect of Divorce on Self-Rated Social Status

For the outcome in self-rated social status, the results are presented in Table 11. The results in the three models all indicate that a significant drop in self-reported social status after marital dissolution. The decline shown in Model 2 turns out to be the smallest among all three models. The positive effects that other variables cast in Model 2 shares some similarity with the results in the model of life satisfaction. Higher education level and specific regions play an important positive effect on social status.

As with life satisfaction, perceived social status is lower for men compared to women. However, the effect of divorce is not different for men and women. The interaction term is not significant in Model 3. Looking at effect of gender we can observe that subjective wellbeing outcomes are lower for men than women, and the effect of divorce is the same for both the groups.

——-Table 11——

Discussion and Conclusion

Divorce rates continue to increase in China. In this context of rising divorce rates, I set out to investigate the consequence of divorce on men and women. The consequences that I investigated include income, household work, perceived

social status and life satisfaction. The thesis started out by laying out the background of the study by presenting the literature on divorce in China. This was followed by the literature on the consequence of divorce in China and other countries. Based on this literature, I set out four broad research questions. These questions were tested using both cross sectional and longitudinal analyses. The use of longitudinal data allowed to establish the results in a stronger fashion.

The findings presented clearly show the influence of divorce on various outcomes in both cross section and longitudinal analyses. But the strength and direction of the effect of divorce in China is not always the same as what was hypothesized. The key findings are that income goes up after divorce; however, housework, life satisfaction, perceived social status goes down after divorce. In addition, the results established the effect of gender and whether the effect of divorce is different for men and women. For some outcomes such as income, the effect of divorce was not the same for men and women, but for other outcomes such as life satisfaction, the effects did not differ by gender.

Placing the findings in the existing literature, some of the findings are different from what was reported in studies from other countries. First, the drop in income after divorce found in some studies does not hold true in China. Similarly, for the housework outcome also differs from what was expected, especially in women's experience.

For further explanation on the results that are divergent from the previous literature, we would need to view them in the context of the Chinese society. The increase in income might suggest the growing income over the time under

consideration. Given the social context, divorce might open people to economic hardship which might require them to earn more. The dissolution of marriage might also dissolve the pooling of resources and economies of scale which would necessitate higher income post-divorce. The decreasing of housework could possibly be due to increase in working hours outside of home given the need for higher incomes.

From gender perspective, the results also imply that in China the gender division of labour in marriage might be much stronger compared with other westernized societies. The notion that doing housework is women's work and the breadwinner role belongs to men continue to influence marital relationships. Besides the need of higher incomes, the significant increase in women's income and their bigger decline in housework time after divorce may also suggest that women in China are likely to be more family-oriented and more associated with the traditional gender role in marriage. Due to family commitment, their working opportunity is greatly limited by domestic work during their marriage. And married women might be more dependent upon their husbands financially. Divorce could have shifted this burden of domestic work after marriage to non-family work.

Both the subjective measure show that divorce has a negative influence on life satisfaction and social status. While divorce serves as a way out of unhappy marriage, divorce in the context of China does not lead to greater satisfaction. The challenges faced by those who are divorced still seem to persist and the emotional and subjective wellbeing is affected after divorce. Similarly, the

lowering of perceived social status suggest that in China staying in a stable marriage is still valued and breakdown of this value leads to one thinking that their social status might fall.

The results related to income and perceived social status also lead us to rethink how people see divorce in this particular social context. While perceived social status is commonly believed to have positive association with income level, the conflicting relationship between income and perceived social status shown in this study indirectly indicates that stable and happy marriage is still of great importance while measuring social status in China. Divorce is seen as marker of lower social status. Compared to the empirical findings that are based on Western experience, this divergence may suggest that people's acceptance towards divorce is still lower than Western countries, perhaps reflection more conservative sociocultural context and family values in China.

The analyses using longitudinal data provides strong evidence for the relationship between divorce and the various outcomes. However, more work is needed to further develop the models to test the relationships including the mediating and moderating role of other variables in the relationship between divorce and outcomes. Also, the analyses could be extended to analyze couples or families in addition to individuals which would provide a much more finer picture of the dynamics and insights on the effects of divorce. Also, a closer look into marital relationships including marital quality, power relation between spouses before divorce and their influence on the outcome studies would be useful.

A limitation of the present study is that it did not include the presence or absence of children in the models. The present study could be extended to examine the effect of divorce depends on whether having children, the number of children, children who live together.

The present study looked at changes in an eight-year period. CFPS is a relatively recent social survey just starting from 2010, the time spell of eight years is yet relatively short, comparing to some other panel social surveys in western countries, such as the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) starting from 1984. So the results reported here are short time effects of divorce on the outcome. The long-term outcomes might be different. It would be interesting to look at both short- and long-term effect of divorce when such data become available for China.

References

Allison, P. D. (2005). Fixed Effects Regression Methods for Longitudinal Data Using SAS. SAS Institute Inc.

Allison, P. D. (2012). Logistic Regression Using SAS: Theory and Application. SAS Institute Inc.

Amato, P. (2010). Research on Divorce: Continuing Trends and New Developments. Journal of Marriage and Family, 72(3), 650–666. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00723.x

Andreß, H. J., & Bröckel, M. (2007). Income and life satisfaction after marital disruption in Germany. Journal of Marriage and Family, 69(2), 500-512.

Argyle, M. (2003). 18 causes and correlates of happiness. Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology, 353.

Bailey, M. J. (1993). Mediation of divorce in China. Can. JL & Soc., 8, 45.

Baxter, J., & Hewitt, B. (2013). Negotiating domestic labor: Women's earnings and housework time in Australia. Feminist Economics, 19(1), 29-53.

Baxter, J., Hewitt, B., & Haynes, M. (2008). Life course transitions and housework: Marriage, parenthood, and time on housework. Journal of Marriage and Family, 70(2), 259-272.

Becker, G. S. (1981). Altruism in the Family and Selfishness in the Market Place. Economica, 48(189), 1-15.

Bellou, A. (2017). Male Wage Inequality and Marital Dissolution: Is There a Link? Canadian Journal of Economics, 50(1), 40-71.

Bernard, J. (1982). *The future of marriage*. Yale University Press.

Bianchi, S. M., Milkie, M. A., Sayer, L. C., & Robinson, J. P. (2000). Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor. Social forces, 79(1), 191-228.

Birditt, K.S., Wan, W.H., Orbuch, T.L., & Antonucci, T.C. (2017). The Development of Marital Tension: Implications for Divorce Among Married Couples. Development Psychology, 53(10),1995-2006.

Blair, S. L., & Lichter, D. T. (1991). Measuring the division of household labor: Gender segregation of housework among American couples. Journal of family issues, 12(1), 91-113.

Blau, P. M. (1964). Exchange and power in social life. New York: John Wiley.

Bodde, D., & Morris, C. (1971). Law in Imperial China, Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Cases: With Historical, Social and Juridical Commentaries. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Boertien, D., & Härkönen, J. (2018). Why does women's education stabilize marriages? The role of marital attraction and barriers to divorce. Demographic Research, 38, 1241-1276.

Bogolub, E. B. (1991). Women and mid-life divorce: Some practice issues. Social Work, 36(5), 428-433.

Bourassa, K. J., Sbarra, D. A., & Whisman, M. A. (2015). Women in very low quality marriages gain life satisfaction following divorce. Journal of Family Psychology, 29(3), 490.

Braver, S. L., & Lamb, M. E. (2013). Marital dissolution. In Handbook of marriage and the family (pp. 487-516). Springer, Boston, MA.

Bullough, V. L., & Ruan, F. F. (1994). Marriage, divorce, and sexual relations in contemporary China. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 25(3), 383-393.

Cai, X., Gong, J., Lu, Y., & Zhong, S. (2018). Recover overnight? work interruption and worker productivity. Management Science, 64(8), 3489-3500.

Carr, D., & Springer, K. (2010). Advances in Families and Health Research in the 21st Century. Journal of Marriage and Family, 72(3), 743–761. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00728.x

Chan, K. (2013). International Handbook of Chinese Families. Springer Science & Business Media.

Cherlin, A., Cross-Barnet, C., Burton, L. M., & Garrett-Peters, R. (2008). Promises they can keep: Low-income women's attitudes toward motherhood, marriage, and divorce. Journal of Marriage and Family, 70(4), 919-933.

Chiappori, P. A., Radchenko, N., & Salanié, B. (2018). Divorce and the duality of marital payoff. Review of Economics of the Household, 1-26.

China Statistical Yearbook. (2018). National Bureau of statistics of China. China Statistical Yearbook.

Chipperfield, J. G., & Havens, B. (2001). Gender differences in the relationship between marital status transitions and life satisfaction in later life. The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 56(3), P176-P186.

Chun, Y. J., & Sohn, T. H. (2009). Determinants of Consensual Divorce in Korea: Gender, Socio-economic Status, and Life Course. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 40(5), 775.

Clark, A. E., Diener, E., Georgellis, Y., & Lucas, R. E. (2008). Lags and leads in life satisfaction: A test of the baseline hypothesis. The Economic Journal, 118(529), F222-F243.

Coverman, S. (1985). Explaining husbands' participation in domestic labor. Sociological quarterly, 26(1), 81-97.

Davis, D. (2010). Who gets the house? Renegotiating property rights in post-socialist urban China. Modern China, 36(5), 463-492.

Day, R. D., & Bahr, S. J. (1986). Income changes following divorce and remarriage. Journal of Divorce, 9(3), 75-88.

DeGarmo, D. S., Forgatch, M. S., & Martinez, Jr, C. R. (1999). Parenting of divorced mothers as a link between social status and boys' academic outcomes: Unpacking the effects of socioeconomic status. Child development, 70(5), 1231-1245.

Diamant, N. J. (2000). Revolutionizing the family: Politics, love, and divorce in urban and rural China, 1949–1968. Univ of California Press.

Dnes, A.W., & Rowthorn, R. (2009). The Law and Economics of Marriage and Divorce. Cambridge University Press.

Edin, K., & Kefalas, M. J. (2005). Promises I can keep: Why poor women put motherhood before marriage. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Emery, R. E. (Ed.). (2013). Cultural sociology of divorce: An encyclopedia. Sage Publications.

England, P. (2017). Households, employment, and gender: A social, economic, and demographic view. Routledge.

Feng, X. T., Poston, D. L. Jr., & Wang, X. T. (2014). China's one-child policy and the changing family. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 45 (1), 17–29.

Forste, R., & Heaton, T. B. (2004). The divorce generation: Well-being, family attitudes, and socioeconomic consequences of marital disruption. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 41(1-2), 95-114.

Fowles, D. (2019). How to deal with the financial impacts of divorce. Retrieved from https://www.thebalance.com/how-to-deal-with-the-financial-impacts-of-divorce-1289261

Frecklington, C. (2014). Rising divorce rate adds to China's demographic problems. China Outlook: Focusing on China's Future. Retrieved 12, 2017 from http://chinaoutlook.com/rising-divorce- rate-adds-to-chinas-demographic- problems/

Fu, X. (2006). Impact of socioeconomic status on inter-racial mate selection and divorce. The Social Science Journal, 43(2), 239-258.

Gadalla, T. M. (2008). Impact of marital dissolution on men's and women's incomes: A longitudinal study. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 50(1), 55-65.

Gao, M.T. (2011). Rural divorce rate and employment in urban area: a study based on RCRE panel data from 2003 to 2009. The Journal of World Economy (10), 55-69. (Original Version in Chinese)

Goode, W. J. (1993). World Changes in Divorce Patterns, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gu, E. X. (1999). From permanent employment to massive lay-offs: the political economy of 'transitional unemployment'in urban China (1993–8). Economy and Society, 28(2), 281-299.

Guo, Y.C., & Ding, J.H. (2014). Spatial and Temporal Variations of Divorce, Sex Ratio in China. South China Population (4), 1-9. (Original Version in Chinese)

Gupta, S. (1999). The effects of transitions in marital status on men's performance of housework. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 700-711.

Gustavson, K., Røysamb, E., von Soest, T., Helland, M. J., & Mathiesen, K. S. (2012). Longitudinal associations between relationship problems, divorce, and life satisfaction: Findings from a 15-year population-based study. The Journal of Positive Psychology, 7(3), 188-197.

Harkonen, J. (2018). Parental Education and Family Dissolution: A Cross-National and Cohort Comparison. Journal of Marriage and Family, 80, 426-443.

Hawkins, D.N., & Booth, A. (2005). Unhappily ever after: Effects of long-term, low-quality marriages on well-being. Social Forces, 84, 451–471.

Heaton, T. B. (2002). Factors contributing to increasing marital stability in the United States. Journal of Family Issues, 23 (3), 392–409.

Heckert, M., & Mennis, J. (2012). The Economic Impact of Greening Urban Vacant Land: A Spatial Difference-In-Differences Analysis. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 44(12), 3010–3027.

Hewitt, B., Haynes, M., & Baxter, J. (2013). Relationship dissolution and time on housework. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 44(3), 327-340.

Holley, P., Yabiku, S., & Benin, M. (2006). The Relationship Between Intelligence and Divorce. Journal of Family Issues, 27(12), 1723-1728.

Hong, Q. (2011). New Interpretation of Chinese Marriage Law Sparks Loud Debate. Confucius Institute Magazine, 17(6), 38-45. Retrieved from:https://confuciusmag.com/new-chinese-marriage-law-sparks-loud-debate

Hsu, S. (2016). China's Urbanization Plans Needs To Move Faster In 2017. Forbes. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/sarahsu/2016/12/28/chinas-urbanization-plans-need-to-move- faster-in-2017/#5051954474db

Hu, Y. (2016). Sex ideologies in China: Examining interprovince differences. The Journal of Sex Research, 53: 9, 1118–1130.

Huang, P. C. C. (2005). Divorce law practices and the origins, myths, and realities of judicial "mediation" in China. Modern China, 31(2), 151–203.

Jalovaara, M. (2001). Socio-economic status and divorce in first marriages in Finland 1991-93. Population Studies, 55(2), 119-133.

Jiang, J. (2011). For Love or Real Estate: The Cost of Getting Divorced in China. Retrieved from http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2094016,00.html

Hu.J.W., Xie, Y., & Zhang, C.N. (2014). The China Family Panel Studies: Design and Practice. Society: Chinese Journal of Sociology/Shehui, 34(2).

Kalmijn, M., De Graaf, P. M., & Poortman, A. R. (2004). Interactions between cultural and economic determinants of divorce in the Netherlands. Journal of Marriage and Family, 66(1), 75-89.

Kalmijn, M., Loeve, A., & Manting, D. (2007). Income dynamics in couples and the dissolution of marriage and cohabitation. Demography, 44(1), 159-179.

Kim, H. K., & McKenry, P. C. (2002). The relationship between marriage and psychological well-being. Journal of Family Issues, 23(8), 885-911.

Krishnan, V. (1998). Premarital Cohabitation and marital disruption. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 28(3/4), 157-170.

Kung, W. W., Hung, S. L., & Chan, C. L. (2004). How the socio-cultural context shapes women's divorce experience in Hong Kong. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 33-50.

Kwok, K. (2005). Divorce rate surges 20pc in one year; Experts blame a combination of law revision, one-child policy and less social stigma attached to couples splitting up. South China Post (Hong Kong), 2005 (4), 1–3.

Leopold, T. (2018). Gender Differences in the Consequences of Divorce: A Study of Multiple Outcomes. Demography, 55(3), 769-97.

Levinger, G. (1976). A social psychological perspective on marital dissolution. Journal of Social Issues, 32(1), 21-47.

Li, M. (2018). Trends and Patterns in Divorce and Remarriage in Contemporary China (Doctoral Thesis). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/2123/18488

Li, P. (2011). A Sociological Analysis of the Increasing Divorce Rate in Rural China. China Youth Study, 000(005), 17-20. (Original Version in Chinese)

Li, Y.Z, & Yang, Z. (2011). Characteristic Analysis and Reasons of the High Divorce Rate in Northeast China. Population Journal (3), 47-52. (Original Version in Chinese)

Liao, C., & Heaton, T. B. (1992). Divorce trends and differentials in China. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 23(3), 413-429.

Lim, L. (2010). 'Lightning Divorces' Strike China's 'Me Generation'. NPR. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/2010/11/09/131200166/china-s-me-generation-sends-divorce-rate- soaring

Liu, H., Zhang, Z., Choi, S. W., & Langa, K. M. (2019). Marital status and dementia: Evidence from the Health and Retirement Study. The Journals of Gerontology: Series B.

Lu, Y.L. (2009). Does Similar Social Background Stabilise Marriage? An Empirical Research on Homogamy and Divorce Risks. Population Research, 33(2), 81-91. [This essay is retrieved from Chinese journal]

Lucier-Greer, M., & Adler-Baeder, F. (2011). An examination of gender role attitude change patterns among continuously married, divorced, and remarried individuals. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, *52*(4), 225-243.

Luhmann, M., & Eid, M. (2009). Does it really feel the same? Changes in life satisfaction following repeated life events. Journal of personality and social psychology, 97(2), 363.

Lye, D. N., & Biblarz, T. J. (1993). The effects of attitudes toward family life and gender roles on marital satisfaction. *Journal of family issues*, *14*(2), 157-188.

Lundberg, S., & Pollak, R. A. (2015). The evolving role of marriage: 1950-2010. The Future of Children, 29-50.

Ma, L., Turunen, J., & Rizzi, E. (2018). Divorce Chinese style. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(5), 1287-1297.

Martin, S. P. (2006). Trends in marital dissolution by women's education in the United States. Demographic research, 15, 537-560.

McDonald, G. W. (1981). Structural exchange and marital interaction. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 825-839.

Mo, W.Q, & Shi, J.C. (2015). Influence of rural population migration on divorce rate. Chinese Journal of Population Science, 000(005), 104-112. (Original Version in Chinese)

Murry, V. M., Mayberry, L. S., & Berkel, C. (2013). Gender and family relations. In Handbook of marriage and the family (pp. 401-422). Springer, Boston, MA.

Næss, S., Blekesaune, M., & Jakobsson, N. (2015). Marital transitions and life satisfaction: Evidence from longitudinal data from Norway. Acta Sociologica, 58(1), 63-78.

Nakonezny, P. A., & Denton, W. H. (2008). Marital relationships: A social exchange theory perspective. The American Journal of Family Therapy, 36(5), 402-412.

Nguyen, C., & Tran, A. (2017). The Effect of Having Children on Women's Marital Status: Evidence From Vietnam. The Journal of Development Studies, 53(12). 2102-2117.

Palmer, M. (2007). Transforming family law in post-Deng China: Marriage, divorce and reproduction. The China Quarterly, 191, 675–695.

Parish, W.L., Laumann, E.O., & Mojola, S.A. (2007). Sexual behaviour in China: trends and comparisons. Population and Development Review, 33 (4), 729–756.

Parkman, A. M. (2004). Bargaining over housework: The frustrating situation of secondary wage earners. American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 63(4), 765-794.

Peking University. 2010. China Family Panel Studies, 2010 Full Questionnaires. Retrieved from http://www.isss.pku.edu.cn/cfps/en/index.htm

Peterson, R. R. (1996). A re-evaluation of the economic consequences of divorce. American Sociological Review, 61, 528–536.

Platte, E. (1988). Divorce trends and patterns in China: past and present. Pacific Affairs, 61(3), 428–445.

Qian, Z., & Hodson, R. (2011). Sent down's in China: Stratification challenged but not denied. Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, 29 (2): 205─219.

Quah, S. E. L. (2015). Perspectives on Marital Dissolution: Divorce Biographies in Singapore. Springer Science and Business Media.

Rogers, S. J. (2004). Dollars, dependency, and divorce: Four perspectives on the role of wives' income. Journal of Marriage and Family, 66(1), 59-74.

Rosen, S. (2004). The victory of materialism: aspirations to join China's urban moneyed classes and the commercialization of education. The China Journal, (51), 27-51.

Rotz, D. (2016). Why Have Divorce Rates Fallen?: The Role of Women's Age at Marriage. Journal of Human Resources, 51(4), 961-1002.

Ruppanner, L. (2012). Housework conflict and divorce: A multi-level analysis. Work, employment and society, 26(4), 638-656.

Savage, G. (2011). They Would if They Could: Class, Gender, and Popular Representation of English Divorce Litigation, 1858-1908. Journal of family history, 36(2), 173-190.

Sbarra, D. A., Emery, R. E., Beam, C. R., & Ocker, B. L. (2014). Marital Dissolution and Major Depression in Midlife: A Propensity Score Analysis. Clinical Psychological Science, 2(3), 249–257.

Smock, P. J., Manning, W. D., & Gupta. S. (1999). The effect of marriage and divorce on women's economic well-being. American Sociological Review, 64, 794–812.

South, S. J., & Spitze, G. (1994). Housework in marital and nonmarital households. American Sociological Review, 327-347.

Stevenson, B., & Wolfers, J. (2007). Marriage and divorce: Changes and their driving forces. Journal of Economic perspectives, 21(2), 27-52.

Sussman, M. B., Steinmetz, S. K., & Peterson, G. W. (Eds.). (2013). Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Springer Science & Business Media.

Tach, L. M., & Eads, A. (2015). Trends in the economic consequences of marital and cohabitation dissolution in the United States. Demography, 52(2), 401-432.

Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). The social psychology of groups. John Wiley.

Trail, T. E., & Karney, B. R. (2012). What's (not) wrong with low-income marriages. Journal of Marriage and Family, 74(3), 413-427.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (2008). Income, poverty and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2007. Current population reports. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vaus, D., Gray, M., Qu, L., & Stanton, D. (2014). The Economic Consequences of Divorce in Australia. International Journal of Law, Policy and The Family, 28, 26-47.

Walzer, S. (2008). Redoing gender through divorce. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *25*(1), 5-21.

Wang, Q. (2001). China's Divorce Trends in the Transition Toward a Market Economy1. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 35(1-2), 173-189.

Wang, Q., & Zhou, Q. (2010). China's divorce and remarriage rates: Trends and regional disparities. Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 51(4), 257-267.

Weitzman, L. J. (1996). The economic consequences of divorce are still unequal: Comment on Peterson. American Sociological Review, 61(3), 537.

West, C., & Zimmerman, B.H. (1987). Doing Gender. Gender and Society 1: 125–151.

Whyte, M. K., & Parish, W. L. (1985). Urban life in contemporary China. University of Chicago Press.

Wortman, J., & Lucas, R. E. (2016). Spousal similarity in life satisfaction before and after divorce. Journal of personality and social psychology, 110(4), 625.

Wu, F., & Li, J. (2012). Policy approaches to development capacity of family. Population Research, 4, 37—43.

Xie Y. (2012). The User's Manual of the China Family Panel Studies (2010) Beijing: Institute of Social Science Survey, Peking University.

Xie, Y. (2013). Gender and family in contemporary China. Populations Studies Centre Research Report. Institute for Social Research. University of Michigan. 1—11.

Xie, Y., & Hu, J. (2014). An Introduction to the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS). Chinese Sociological Review, 47(1), 3–29. https://doi.org/10.2753/CSA2162-0555470101

Xie, Y., & Lu, P. (2015). The sampling design of the China family panel studies (CFPS). Chinese Journal of Sociology, 1(4), 471-484.

Xu, H., & Xie, Y. (2017). Socioeconomic inequalities in health in China: A reassessment with data from the 2010–2012 China Family Panel Studies. Social indicators research, 132(1), 219-239.

Yang, F.J. (2019). Why are young people not getting married anymore? Retrieved from:https://data.cnki.net/StatisticFocus/Article?id=50 (Original Version in Chinese)

Yang, S., & Stening, B. W. (2012). Cultural and ideological roots of materialism in China. Social Indicators Research, 108(3), 441-452.

Yu, J., & Xie, Y. (2015). Changes in the determinants of marriage entry in post-reform urban China. Demography, 52(6), 1869-1892.

Yue, T., & Yuan, M. (2008). Socialisation of rural children left behind and countermeasures: through the viewing angle of weakened family function (in Chinese). Northwest Population, 2, 78─85.

Zeng, Y., & Wu, D. (2000). Regional analysis of divorce in China since 1980. Demography, 37(2), 215–219.

Zimmermann, A. C., & Easterlin, R. A. (2006). Happily ever after? Cohabitation, marriage, divorce, and happiness in Germany. Population and development review, 511-528.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics for CFPS 2010

	Control Sample					**Divorced Sample**					**total sample**
	Male		**Female**			**Male**		**Female**			
Education 1-4	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
primary and below	5617	45.35%	7792	58.35%	13409	306	47.00%	284	48.46%	590	13999
secondary	4024	32.49%	3417	25.59%	7441	203	31.18%	168	28.67%	371	7812
senior high school	1848	14.92%	1451	10.87%	3299	103	15.82%	94	16.04%	197	3496
college and above	898	7.25%	694	5.20%	1592	39	5.99%	40	6.83%	79	1671
n	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.003(*marital status)					p=0.000 (*gender)						
Hukou Status	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
rural	8606	69.48%	9753	73.03%	18359	388	59.60%	338	57.68%	726	19085
urban	3781	30.52%	3601	26.97%	7382	263	40.40%	248	42.32%	511	7893
n	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.000 (*marital status)					p=0.000 (*gender)						
Ethnicity	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		

Han	11415	92.15%	12244	91.69%	23659	581	89.25%	527	89.93%	1108	24767
minority	972	7.85%	1110	8.31%	2082	70	10.75%	59	10.07%	129	2211
	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.003 (*marital status)						p=0.239 (*gender)					
Region	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
central-administered cities	1457	11.76%	1532	11.47%	2989	88	13.52%	88	15.02%	176	3165
north eastern	1807	14.59%	2004	15.01%	3811	153	23.50%	150	25.60%	303	4114
middle west	2805	22.64%	3067	22.97%	5872	125	19.20%	114	19.45%	239	6111
southeastern coast	2236	18.05%	2349	17.59%	4585	69	10.60%	68	11.60%	137	4722
central	1817	14.67%	2019	15.12%	3836	84	12.90%	54	9.22%	138	3974
southern	2265	18.29%	2383	17.84%	4648	132	20.28%	112	19.11%	244	4892
n	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.000 (*marital status)						p=0.678 (*gender)					
Employment	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
not applicable	293	2.37%	466	3.49%	759	15	2.30%	11	1.88%	26	785
employed	7443	60.09%	6165	46.17%	13608	382	58.68%	273	46.59%	655	14263

unemployed	4651	37.55%	6723	50.34%	11374	254	39.02%	302	51.54%	556	11930
n	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.216 (*marital status)						p=0.000 (*gender)					
Father's Political Status	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
CCP member	1396	14.16%	1529	14.71%	2925	64	13.11%	78	17.81%	142	3067
General public	8464	85.84%	8862	85.29%	17326	424	86.89%	360	82.19%	784	18110
n	9860		10391		20251	488		438		926	21177
p=0.400 (*marital status)						p=0.129 (*gender)					
Father's Education	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
Primary and below	8159	80.15%	8507	77.71%	16666	402	77.76%	337	73.58%	739	17405
secondary	1224	12.02%	1542	14.09%	2766	64	12.38%	80	17.47%	144	2910
senior high	605	5.94%	698	6.38%	1303	35	6.77%	28	6.11%	63	1366
college and above	192	1.89%	200	1.83%	392	16	3.09%	13	2.84%	29	421
n	10180		10947		21127	517		458		975	22102
p=0.451 (*father's education)						p=0.131 (*gender)					
1st Marriage Year Cohort	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
before 1970	1686	14.19%	1674	13.10%	3360	98	17.98%	48	10.15%	146	3506

1970—1979	1993	16.77%	1992	15.59%	3985	77	14.13%	64	13.53%	141	4126
1980—1989	3399	28.60%	3650	28.57%	7049	158	28.99%	189	39.96%	347	7396
1990—1999	2653	22.32%	2938	23.00%	5591	148	27.16%	118	24.95%	266	5857
2000—2010	2154	18.12%	2522	19.74%	4676	64	11.74%	54	11.42%	118	4794
n	11885		12776		24661	545		473		1018	25679
p=0.000 (*marriage year cohort)					p=0.000 (*gender)						
Birth Year Cohort	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
before 1964	7004	56.54%	6554	49.08%	13558	381	58.53%	328	55.97%	709	14267
1965—1974	3178	25.66%	3700	27.71%	6878	185	28.42%	180	30.72%	365	7243
1975—1984	1830	14.77%	2297	17.20%	4127	79	12.14%	71	12.12%	150	4277
after 1985	375	3.03%	803	6.01%		6	0.92%	7	1.19%	13	1191
	12387		13354		25741	651		586		1237	26978
p=0.000 (*marital status)					p=0.000 (*gender)						
Age Average	mean		mean			mean		mean			
	48.84		45.95			50.59		47.95			
	47.34					49.34					
p=0.000 (*gender)					p=0.000 (*marital status)						
Income	mean		mean			mean		mean			

	14317.50		6784.6			15636		7835			
	10409.58					11940.24					
p=0.0107 (*marital status)						p=0.000 (*gender)					
Life Satisfaction	mean		mean			mean		mean			
	3.46		3.51			3.24		3.21			
	3.49					3.22					
n	12387		13354			651		586			26978
p=0.000 (marital status)						p=0.000 (*gender)					
total sample, % (33,600)	36.87%		39.74%			1.94%		1.74%			

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for CFPS 2018

	Control Sample					**Divorced Sample**					
	Male		**Female**			**Male**		**Female**			
Education Level	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
primary and below	4449	38.93%	5931	49.98%	10380	191	35.63%	110	32.07%	301	10681
secondary	3876	33.91%	3253	27.41%	7129	185	34.51%	109	31.78%	294	7423
senior high	1841	16.11%	1460	12.30%	3301	108	20.15%	72	20.99%	180	3481
bachelor and above	1263	11.05%	1223	10.31%	2486	52	9.70%	52	15.16%	104	2590
n	11429		11867		23296	536		343		879	24175
Hukou Status	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
rural	8311	72.72%	8933	75.28%	17244	364	67.91%	189	55.10%	553	17797
urban	3117	27.28%	2934	24.72%	6051	172	32.09%	154	44.90%	326	6377
	11428		11867		23295	536		343		879	24174
Ethnicity	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
Han	8189	92.15%	8893	92.16%	17082	371	90.49%	249	88.30%	620	17702
minority	698	7.85%	756	7.84%	1454	39	9.51%	33	11.70%	72	1526

n	8887		9649		18536	410		282		692	19228
Region	freq	row %	freq	row %		freq	row %	freq	row %		
central administered cities	986	8.63%	974	8.21%	1960	50	9.33%	35	10.20%	85	2045
north eastern	1446	12.65%	1571	13.24%	3017	109	20.34%	91	26.53%	200	3217
middle west	2953	25.84%	3054	25.74%	6007	120	22.39%	40	11.66%	160	6167
east coast	2266	19.83%	2298	19.37%	4564	82	15.30%	52	15.16%	134	4698
middle	1679	14.69%	1829	15.41%	3508	55	10.26%	40	11.66%	95	3603
southern	2097	18.35%	2140	18.03%	4237	120	22.39%	85	24.78%	205	4442
n	11427		11866		23293	536		343		879	24172
Employment	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
out of labour market	1756	15.37%	3502	29.51%	5258	77	14.37%	119	34.69%	196	5454
employed	9586	83.89%	8267	69.67%	17853	452	84.33%	214	62.39%	666	18519
unemployed	85	0.74%	97	0.82%	182	7	1.31%	10	2.92%	17	199
n	11427		11866		23293	536		343		879	24172
Father's Political Status	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
CCP member	1056	14.73%	1152	14.94%	2208	37	12.94%	35	20.23%	72	2280

General public	6112	85.27%	6558	85.06%	12670	249	87.06%	138	79.77%	387	13057
n	7168		7710		14878	286		173		459	15337
Father's Education	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
Primary and below	5515	78.67%	5781	77.43%	11296	200	71.68%	100	57.47%	300	11596
secondary	947	13.51%	1107	14.83%	2054	48	17.20%	44	25.29%	92	2146
senior high	421	6.01%	451	6.04%	872	25	8.96%	22	12.64%	47	919
college and above	127	1.81%	127	1.70%	254	6	2.15%	8	4.60%	14	268
n	7010		7466		14476	279		174		453	14929
Marriage Year Cohort	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
before 1970	743	8.13%	726	7.40%	1469	12	2.89%	6	2.06%	18	1487
1970—1979	1409	15.41%	1341	13.67%	2750	20	4.82%	14	4.81%	34	2784
1980—1989	2506	27.41%	2671	27.23%	5177	69	16.63%	63	21.65%	132	5309
1990—1999	2037	22.28%	2182	22.24%	4219	103	24.82%	76	26.12%	179	4398
2000—2010	1523	16.66%	1699	17.32%	3222	133	32.05%	73	25.09%	206	3428
after 2010	925	10.12%	1190	12.13%	2115	78	18.80%	59	20.27%	137	2252
n	9143		9809		18952	415		291		706	19658

Birth Year Cohort	freq	%	freq	%		freq	%	freq	%		
before 1964	4860	42.54%	4321	36.43%	9181	136	25.37%	87	25.44%	223	9404
1965-1974	2821	24.69%	3037	25.60%	5858	134	25.00%	89	26.02%	223	6081
1975-1984	1947	17.04%	1969	16.60%	3916	162	30.22%	97	28.36%	259	4175
after 1985	1797	15.73%	2535	21.37%	4332	104	19.40%	69	20.18%	173	4505
n	11425		11862		23287	536		342		878	24165
Age Average	mean		mean			mean		mean			
	50.53		47.93			45.42		44.89			
	49.21					45.21					
Income	mean		mean			mean		mean			
	20777		9882			25839		16467			
	15227.26					22181.73					
Life Satisfaction	mean		mean			mean		mean			
	4.05		4.06			3.61		3.7			
	4.06					3.65					

n	11429		11867		23296	536		343		879	24175
total sample	34.98%		36.32%			1.64%		1.05%			

Table 3: OLS Regression for Income

Variables		2010			2014			2018		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Ever Divorced	0.240*	0.402*	0.429	0.705***	0.601*	0.468	1.023***	1.098***	1.544***
		-0.111	-0.19	-0.234	-0.189	-0.305	-0.391	-0.159	-0.259	-0.342
	Ever Remarried		-0.424	-0.428		-0.387	-0.371		-0.871**	-0.941**
			-0.235	-0.236		-0.38	-0.381		-0.331	-0.333
Gender	Male		2.286***	2.288***		1.229***	1.220***		1.512***	1.547***
			-0.0481	-0.0492		-0.0793	-0.0812		-0.0759	-0.078
Hukou	Urban		0.323***	0.323***		2.660***	2.660***		1.477***	1.476***
			-0.0642	-0.0642		-0.113	-0.113		-0.105	-0.105
Age	Age		-0.0513***	-0.0513***		-0.0831***	-0.0831***		-0.116***	-0.116***

			-0.00192	-0.00192		-0.00349	-0.00349		-0.00338	-0.00339
Ethnicity	**Ethnic Minorities**		-0.542***	-0.542***		-1.038***	-1.039***		-1.026***	-1.023***
			-0.0943	-0.0943		-0.146	-0.146		-0.147	-0.147
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	**Northeastern**		-1.120***	-1.120***		-2.077***	-2.077***		-1.373***	-1.376***
			-0.0967	-0.0967		-0.181	-0.181		-0.173	-0.173
	Mid West		-0.972***	-0.972***		-2.884***	-2.885***		-2.053***	-2.054***
			-0.093	-0.093		-0.176	-0.176		-0.162	-0.162
	Southeastern Coastal Area		0.0172	0.0171		-1.413***	-1.414***		-0.682***	-0.686***
			-0.0958	-0.0958		-0.181	-0.181		-0.167	-0.167
	Central		-0.475***	-0.475***		-2.517***	-2.518***		-1.520***	-1.522***
			-0.098	-0.098		-0.181	-0.181		-0.172	-0.172
	Southern		0.0727	0.0728		-2.693***	-2.693***		-1.348***	-1.348***

			-0.0999	-0.0999		-0.184	-0.184		-0.173	-0.173
Education (ref. Primary School and below)	**Secondary**		0.453***	0.452***		0.827***	0.827***		0.829***	0.825***
			-0.0585	-0.0586		-0.0963	-0.0964		-0.0928	-0.0929
	Senior High		0.976***	0.976***		1.522***	1.523***		1.397***	1.391***
			-0.0812	-0.0812		-0.135	-0.135		-0.128	-0.128
	College and above		2.199***	2.198***		3.047***	3.051***		3.220***	3.207***
			-0.118	-0.118		-0.181	-0.181		-0.163	-0.163
Father's political status	**CCP Member**		0.277***	0.277***		0.0938	0.0938		0.17	0.168
			-0.0683	-0.0683		-0.111	-0.111		-0.106	-0.106
Interaction	**Divorced *Male**			-0.0452			0.208			-0.680*
				-0.231			-0.382			-0.343
_cons		6.795***	8.101***	8.101***	4.503***	8.365***	8.368***	4.550***	9.435***	9.434***

	-0.0239	-0.132	-0.132	-0.0395	-0.244	-0.244	-0.0363	-0.245	-0.245
N	27099	21215	21215	16704	11455	11455	21019	13580	13580
R^2	0	0.182	0.182	0.001	0.281	0.281	0.002	0.256	0.256

Table 4 OLS Regression for Housework Hours

Variables		2010			2014			2018		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Ever Divorced	-0.0175	0.0974	0.0127	-0.109	-0.0589	-0.109	-0.117	0.0418	-0.036
		-0.0481	-0.0825	-0.101	-0.0586	-0.106	-0.13	-0.0613	-0.111	-0.15
	Ever Remarried		-0.118	-0.104		0.0272	0.0318		-0.0487	-0.0338
			-0.102	-0.102		-0.132	-0.132		-0.142	-0.143
Gender	Male		-1.379***	-1.386***		-1.388***	-1.393***		-1.231***	-1.237***
			-0.0208	-0.0213		-0.0281	-0.0288		-0.0321	-0.033
Hukou	Urban		-0.0742***	-0.0741***		-0.296***	-0.296***		-0.280***	-0.279***

			-0.0278	-0.0278		-0.0368	-0.0368		-0.0456	-0.0456
Age	**Age**									
			0.0221***	0.0221***		0.0200***	0.0200***		0.0237***	0.0237***
Ethnicity	**Ethnic Minorities**		-0.000831	-0.000831		-0.00113	-0.00113		-0.00147	-0.00147
			0.149***	0.149***		0.0996	0.0995		0.281***	0.280***
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	**Northeastern**		-0.0408	-0.0408		-0.0566	-0.0566		-0.0619	-0.0619
			-0.0406	-0.0403		0.0693	0.0696		0.203**	0.203**
	Mid West		-0.0419	-0.0419		-0.0577	-0.0577		-0.0759	-0.076
			0.156***	0.156***		0.428***	0.428***		0.381***	0.381***
	Southeastern Coastal Area		-0.0403	-0.0403		-0.0558	-0.0558		-0.0707	-0.0707
			-0.120**	-0.120**		-0.146*	-0.146*		-0.131	-0.131

	Central		-0.0415	-0.0415		-0.0577	-0.0577		-0.0726	-0.0726
			0.0681	0.0679		-0.0688	-0.0688		-0.000284	0.000151
	Southern		-0.0425	-0.0425		-0.0582	-0.0582		-0.0746	-0.0746
			0.0778	0.0778		0.028	0.028		0.102	0.102
Education (ref. Primary School and below)	**Secondary**		-0.0433	-0.0433		-0.06	-0.06		-0.0749	-0.0749
			-0.0652*	-0.0646*		-0.131***	-0.131***		-0.150***	-0.149***
	Senior High		-0.0254	-0.0254		-0.0343	-0.0343		-0.0391	-0.0391
			-0.129***	-0.128***		-0.338***	-0.337***		-0.285***	-0.284***
			-0.0352	-0.0352		-0.047	-0.047		-0.0547	-0.0547

	College and above		-0.383***	-0.381***		-0.586***	-0.585***		-0.440***	-0.439***
Father's political status	**CCP Member**		-0.051	-0.051		-0.0653	-0.0654		-0.0685	-0.0686
			-0.0182	-0.018		0.116**	0.116**		0.00142	0.00161
Interaction	**Divorced*Male**		-0.0296	-0.0296		-0.0397	-0.0397		-0.0448	-0.0448
				0.144			0.0883			0.113
_cons		1.897***	1.572***	1.574***	2.143***	2.046***	2.046***	2.179***	1.784***	1.784***
		-0.0103	-0.0574	-0.0574	-0.0124	-0.081	-0.081	-0.0139	-0.105	-0.105
N		27069	21192	21192	26771	17926	17926	18548	12004	12004
R^2		0	0.206	0.206	0	0.166	0.166	0	0.169	0.169

Table 5 Ordered Logistic Regression for Life Satisfaction

Variables		2010			2014			2018		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Ever Divorced	-0.463***	-0.927***	-0.997***	-0.512***	-1.063***	-1.038***	-0.505***	-0.847***	-0.873***
		-0.0536	-0.101	-0.125	-0.0569	-0.108	-0.133	-0.0534	-0.103	-0.132
	Ever Remarried		0.758***	0.771***		0.921***	0.918***		0.749***	0.753***
			-0.125	-0.126		-0.135	-0.135		-0.132	-0.132
Gender	Male		-0.124***	-0.129***		-0.00703	-0.0051		-0.0235	-0.0257
			-0.0254	-0.026		-0.0277	-0.0283		-0.03	-0.0308
Hukou	Urban		-0.141***	-0.141***		-0.038	-0.038		-0.0489	-0.0489

			-0.0341	-0.0341		-0.0362	-0.0362		-0.0389	-0.0389
Age	**Age**		0.0122***	0.0122***		0.00957***	0.00956***		0.0149***	0.0149***
			-0.00102	-0.00102		-0.00111	-0.00111		-0.00127	-0.00127
Ethnicity	**Ethnic Minorities**		0.00669	0.00665		-0.0427	-0.0425		0.0441	0.0439
			-0.0495	-0.0495		-0.0566	-0.0566		-0.0603	-0.0603
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	**Northeastern**		-0.0553	-0.0551		0.0268	0.0267		0.208***	0.209***
			-0.0515	-0.0515		-0.0568	-0.0568		-0.0626	-0.0626
	Mid West		0.127**	0.127**		0.0965	0.0965		0.0763	0.0764
			-0.049	-0.049		-0.0542	-0.0542		-0.059	-0.059
			-0.107*	-0.107*		-0.110*	-0.110*		-0.0398	-0.0395

	Southeastern Coastal Area		-0.0502	-0.0502		-0.0559	-0.0559		-0.0609	-0.0609
	Central		0.238***	0.238***		0.140*	0.140*		0.133*	0.133*
			-0.0512	-0.0512		-0.0564	-0.0564		-0.0627	-0.0627
	Southern		-0.199***	-0.199***		-0.114	-0.114		-0.101	-0.101
			-0.0521	-0.0521		-0.058	-0.058		-0.0634	-0.0634
Education (ref. Primary School and below)	**Secondary**		0.103***	0.103***		-0.015	-0.0151		-0.304***	-0.304***
			-0.0311	-0.0311		-0.0339	-0.0339		-0.0371	-0.0371
	Senior High		-0.0185	-0.0178		-0.0469	-0.0472		-0.431***	-0.430***
			-0.0426	-0.0426		-0.046	-0.046		-0.0489	-0.0489

	College and above		0.406***	0.407***		0.123*	0.122*		-0.220***	-0.219***
			-0.061	-0.0611		-0.0621	-0.0621		-0.0621	-0.0621
Father's political status	**CCP Member**		0.0799*	0.0802*		0.0691	0.069		0.00754	0.00772
			-0.0359	-0.0359		-0.0388	-0.0388		-0.0416	-0.0416
Interaction	**Divorced* Male**			0.118			-0.043			0.0426
				-0.124			-0.133			-0.135
N		27051	21185	21185	25501	17798	17798	24238	15729	15729

Table 6: Generalized Ordered Regression for Perceived Social Status

Variables		2010				2014				2018			
		Very Low	Low	Neutral	High	Very Low	Low	Neutral	High	Very Low	Low	Neutral	High
Marital Status	Ever Divorced	-0.394*	-0.435**	-0.663**	-0.560	-0.931***	-0.672***	-0.379*	-0.124	-0.886***	-0.595***	-0.175	0.00148
		(0.168)	(0.141)	(0.233)	(0.469)	(0.181)	(0.146)	(0.191)	(0.338)	(0.199)	(0.152)	(0.165)	(0.236)
	Ever Remarried	0.0134	0.121	0.369	0.531	0.473*	0.350*	0.486*	0.555	0.357	0.248	0.0490	0.0893
		(0.175)	(0.143)	(0.221)	(0.459)	(0.189)	(0.151)	(0.195)	(0.351)	(0.209)	(0.155)	(0.165)	(0.231)
Gender	Male	0.0765	0.00284	0.0956*	-0.207**	0.0684	-0.0357	-0.0463	-0.242***	0.0147	-0.0119	-0.0699	-0.0819
		(0.0440)	(0.0318)	(0.0383)	(0.0748)	(0.0559)	(0.0369)	(0.0366)	(0.0608)	(0.0639)	(0.0414)	(0.0361)	(0.0483)
Hukou	Urban	-0.617***	-0.505***	-0.434***	-0.449***	-0.318***	-0.402***	-0.435***	-0.600***	-0.242**	-0.350***	-0.429***	-0.491***
		(0.0533)	(0.0405)	(0.0526)	(0.107)	(0.0673)	(0.0458)	(0.0492)	(0.0876)	(0.0780)	(0.0516)	(0.0480)	(0.0685)
Age	Age	0.00968***	0.0112***	0.0231***	0.0283***	0.0116***	0.0151***	0.0229***	0.0305***	0.0186***	0.0187***	0.0312***	0.0317***

		(0.00169)	(0.00124)	(0.00150)	(0.00293)	(0.00217)	(0.00145)	(0.00145)	(0.00241)	(0.00263)	(0.00173)	(0.00152)	(0.00202)
Ethnicity	**Ethnic Minorities**	-0.000749	="0.0334"	0.238***	0.378***	0.169	-0.0211	0.219**	0.306**	-0.0191	0.0713	-0.0202	0.176*
		(0.0865)	(0.0611)	(0.0709)	(0.130)	(0.113)	(0.0717)	(0.0695)	(0.110)	(0.124)	(0.0797)	(0.0700)	(0.0896)
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	**Northeastern**	-0.567***	-0.173**	-0.0761	0.134	-0.663***	-0.337***	-0.438***	-0.0503	-0.585***	-0.321***	-0.176*	0.296**
		(0.0762)	(0.0589)	(0.0827)	(0.164)	(0.103)	(0.0697)	(0.0792)	(0.138)	(0.127)	(0.0819)	(0.0767)	(0.111)
	Mid West	0.0474	0.316***	0.508***	0.652***	-0.00783	0.0993	0.222**	0.400**	-0.0643	0.00388	0.266***	0.559***
		(0.0802)	(0.0583)	(0.0747)	(0.150)	(0.108)	(0.0700)	(0.0718)	(0.126)	(0.130)	(0.0807)	(0.0715)	(0.104)
	Southeastern Coastal Area	0.114	0.199***	0.0112	0.0777	0.0176	0.0824	-0.0524	0.0552	-0.162	-0.00658	-0.00674	0.261*

		(0.0832)	(0.0598)	(0.0802)	(0.162)	(0.113)	(0.0723)	(0.0752)	(0.134)	(0.132)	(0.0832)	(0.0744)	(0.109)
	Central	0.477***	0.668***	0.373***	0.0991	0.307**	0.383***	0.102	0.129	0.163	0.244**	0.0620	0.222*
		(0.0912)	(0.0642)	(0.0789)	(0.166)	(0.119)	(0.0754)	(0.0753)	(0.134)	(0.142)	(0.0881)	(0.0763)	(0.112)
	South-ern	0.426***	0.357***	0.129	-0.154	0.244*	0.228**	0.149	0.0684	0.0826	-0.0414	0.0734	0.0892
		(0.0916)	(0.0632)	(0.0819)	(0.172)	(0.121)	(0.0763)	(0.0768)	(0.137)	(0.142)	(0.0865)	(0.0769)	(0.113)
Education (ref. Primary School and below)	**Second-ary**	0.151**	0.173***	0.144**	0.00754	0.144*	0.0735	-0.0755	-0.473***	0.0663	0.0338	-0.214***	-0.594***
		(0.0517)	(0.0379)	(0.0459)	(0.0894)	(0.0647)	(0.0434)	(0.0440)	(0.0785)	(0.0741)	(0.0491)	(0.0429)	(0.0595)
	Senior High	0.335***	0.304***	0.261***	-0.155	0.402***	0.219***	-0.0440	-0.477***	0.239*	0.0832	-0.334***	-0.986***

		(0.0717)	(0.0527)	(0.0631)	(0.134)	(0.0934)	(0.0601)	(0.0614)	(0.115)	(0.104)	(0.0663)	(0.0606)	(0.0984)
	College and above	1.320***	1.021***	0.564***	-0.0220	1.354***	0.875***	0.145	-0.918***	1.157***	0.597***	0.0475	-1.118***
		(0.127)	(0.0822)	(0.0929)	(0.215)	(0.167)	(0.0903)	(0.0889)	(0.229)	(0.161)	(0.0893)	(0.0798)	(0.158)
Father's political status	**CCP Member**	0.174**	0.153***	0.130*	0.107	0.0810	0.0411	0.0754	-0.0666	0.136	0.0691	0.0385	0.00535
		(0.0618)	(0.0448)	(0.0524)	(0.103)	(0.0770)	(0.0508)	(0.0508)	(0.0896)	(0.0905)	(0.0567)	(0.0495)	(0.0682)
Interaction	**Divorced* Male**	-0.0110	0.0846	0.206	0.0141	-0.00744	0.00519	-0.173	-0.680*	0.295	0.120	-0.0652	-0.170
		(0.176)	(0.141)	(0.201)	(0.368)	(0.196)	(0.153)	(0.176)	(0.294)	(0.219)	(0.160)	(0.164)	(0.218)
_cons		1.442***	0.0880	-0.663**	-4.642***	1.732***	0.373***	-2.163***	-3.856***	1.620***	0.433***	-2.143***	-3.362***
		(0.115)	(0.0844)	(0.233)	(0.214)	(0.155)	(0.102)	(0.106)	(0.185)	(0.196)	(0.125)	(0.112)	(0.158)

Table 7 Distribution of Demographic Characteristics

Variables		Divorced (2010—2018)		Continuously Married (2010–2018)		p-Value
		freq	%	freq	%	
Gender	women	181	36.02%	13393	50.20%	p=0.000
	men	313	63.98%	13285	49.80%	
Hukou Status	rural	294	59.51%	19292	72.36%	p=0.000
	urban	200	49.49%	7370	27.64%	
n		494		26662		
Ethnicity	Han	384	91.43%	19816	98.10%	p=0.523
	ethnic minorities	36	8.57%	1660	1.90%	
n		420		21476		
Birth Year	before 1964	92	18.62%	11755	44.06%	p=0.000
	1965—1974	120	24.29%	6627	24.84%	
	1975—1984	149	30.16%	4665	17.49%	
	after 1985	133	26.92%	3630	13.61%	
n		494		26677		
Education	primary and below	146	29.55%	12900	48.36%	p=0.000
	secondary	185	37.45%	7905	29.63%	
	senior high	104	21.05%	3582	13.43%	

	college and above	59	11.94%	2280	8.55%	
n		494		26677		
Region	central administered cities	50	10.12%	2460	9.22%	p=0.000
	north eastern	107	21.66%	3547	13.30%	
	middle west	91	18.42%	6694	25.09%	
	eastern coastal	71	14.37%	5074	19.02%	
	Central	71	14.37%	4192	15.71%	
	southern	104	21.05%	4711	17.66%	
n		494		26678		
Divorce Time	1 (2nd wave, 2012)	80	16.95%			
	2 (3rd wave, 2014)	103	21.82%			
	3 (4th wave, 2016)	140	29.66%			
	4 (5th wave, 2018)	149	31.57%			
Life Satisfaction	before	3.24		3.57		p=0.000
	after	3.22		3.94		p=0.000
Income	before	6.63		6.57		p=0.75
	after	7.35		4.47		p=0.000
sample size		494		26678		

Table 8 Random-Effects Linear Model for Income

Variables		Income		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Divorced	1.230***	1.032***	1.646***
		-0.168	-0.189	-0.312
Gender	Male		1.557***	1.567***
			-0.0465	-0.0467
Hukou Status	Urban		2.372***	2.371***
			-0.0591	-0.0591
Ethnicity	Ethnic Minorities		-0.891***	-0.891***
			-0.0891	-0.0891
Education Level (ref. Primary School and below)	Secondary School		0.935***	0.934***
			-0.0552	-0.0552
	Senior High School		1.466***	1.464***
			-0.0769	-0.0769
	College and above		2.968***	2.964***
			-0.103	-0.103
Age	age		-0.0722***	-0.0722***
			-0.00185	-0.00184
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	Northeastern		-1.549***	-1.550***
			-0.0979	-0.0979
	Mid West		-2.223***	-2.223***
			-0.0925	-0.0925
	Southeastern Coast		-1.091***	-1.091***
			-0.0953	-0.0953
	Central		-1.812***	-1.812***

			-0.0977	-0.0977
	Southern		-1.969***	-1.970***
			-0.0987	-0.0987
Interaction	Male*Divorced			-0.970*
				-0.392
Constant		5.258***	7.509***	7.506***
		-0.0204	-0.132	-0.132
N		93073	52992	52992

Table 9 Random-Effects Linear Model for Housework Hours

Variables		Housework Hours		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Divorced	-0.287***	-0.132	-0.626***
		-0.0729	-0.0934	-0.159
Gender	Male		-1.279***	-1.289***
			-0.0226	-0.0227
Hukou Status	Urban		-0.244***	-0.242***
			-0.032	-0.032
Ethnicity	Ethnic Minorities		0.272***	0.273***
			-0.0424	-0.0424
Education Level (ref. Primary School and below)	Secondary School		-0.124***	-0.123***
			-0.0268	-0.0268
	Senior High School		-0.208***	-0.206***
			-0.0382	-0.0382
	College and above		-0.354***	-0.351***
			-0.0502	-0.0501
Age	age		0.0211***	0.0212***
			-0.00101	-0.00101
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	Northeastern		0.257***	0.256***
			-0.0529	-0.0529
	Mid West		0.434***	0.434***
			-0.0492	-0.0492
	Southeastern Coast		-0.0912	-0.0907
			-0.0506	-0.0506
	Central		0.0426	0.0439

			-0.0519	-0.0519
	Southern		0.123*	0.123*
			-0.052	-0.052
Interaction	Male*Divorced			0.750***
				-0.196
Constant		2.051***	1.817***	1.818***
		-0.00826	-0.0718	-0.0718
N		60531	27212	27212

Table 10 Random-Effects Ordered Logistic Model for Life Satisfaction

Variables		Life Satisfaction		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Divorced	-0.572***	-0.396***	-0.412**
		-0.0705	-0.0868	-0.144
Gender	Male		-0.125***	-0.125***
			-0.0207	-0.0208
Hukou Status	Urban		-0.0847***	-0.0847***
			-0.0256	-0.0256
Ethnicity	Ethnic Minorities		-0.000436	-0.00042
			-0.0406	-0.0406
Education Level (ref. Primary School and below)	Secondary School		0.135***	0.135***
			-0.0249	-0.0249
	Senior High School		0.0439	0.044
			-0.0339	-0.0339
	College and above		0.439***	0.439***
			-0.0456	-0.0456
Age	age		0.0277***	0.0277***
			-0.000834	-0.000834
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	Northeastern		-0.04	-0.04
			-0.0423	-0.0423
	Mid West		0.140***	0.140***
			-0.0401	-0.0401
	Southeastern Coast		-0.0607	-0.0607
			-0.0413	-0.0413
	Central		0.196***	0.196***

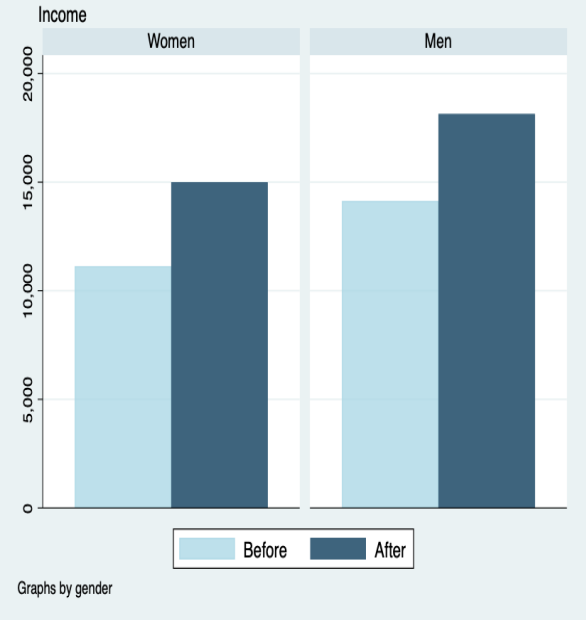
			-0.0424	-0.0424
	Southern		-0.054	-0.054
			-0.0429	-0.0429
Interaction	Male*Divorced			0.026
				-0.18
Constant		1.183***	1.291***	1.290***
		-0.0212	-0.0297	-0.0297
N		121123	76341	76341

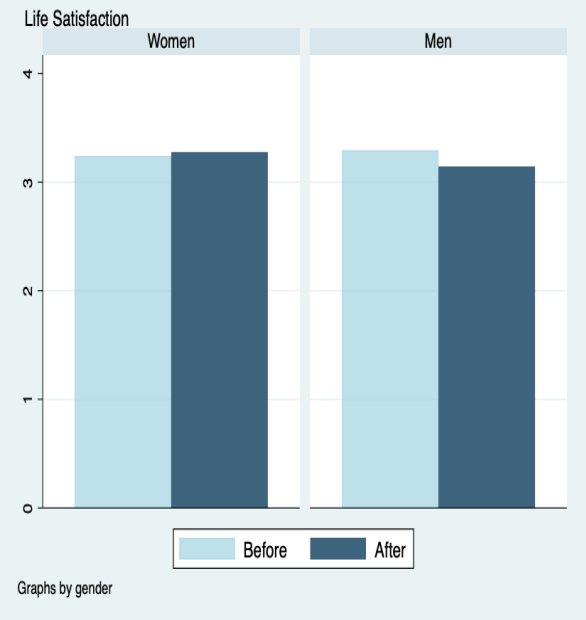
Table 11 Random-Effects Ordered Logistic Model for Social Status

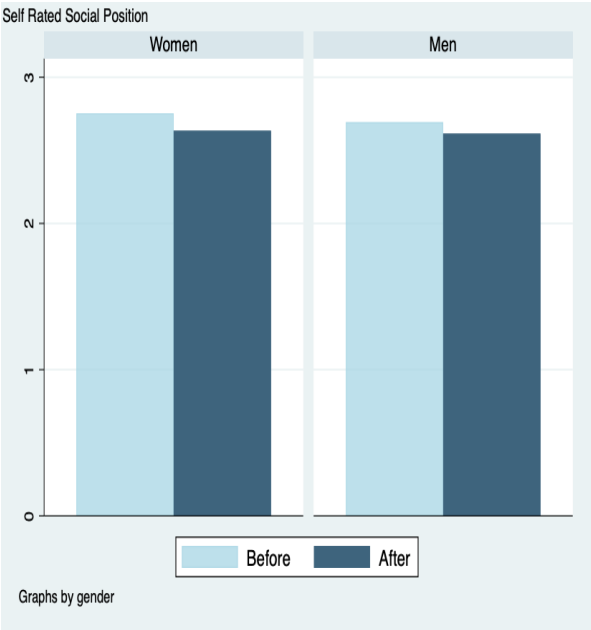
Variables		Social Status		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Marital Status	Divorced	-0.385***	-0.273**	-0.381**
		-0.0715	-0.0872	-0.143
Gender	Male		-0.0935***	-0.0952***
			-0.021	-0.0211
Hukou Status	Urban		-0.381***	-0.381***
			-0.026	-0.026
Ethnicity	Ethnic Minorities		0.142***	0.142***
			-0.0413	-0.0413
Education Level (ref. Primary School and below)	Secondary School		0.0565*	0.0566*
			-0.0251	-0.0251
	Senior High School		0.117***	0.118***
			-0.0343	-0.0343
	College and above		0.630***	0.631***
			-0.0461	-0.0461
Age	age		0.0301***	0.0301***
			-0.000836	-0.000836
Region (ref. Central Administered Cities)	Northeastern		-0.370***	-0.371***
			-0.0429	-0.0429
	Mid West		0.226***	0.226***
			-0.0407	-0.0407
	Southeastern Coast		-0.0129	-0.0129
			-0.042	-0.042
	Central		0.234***	0.234***

			-0.043	-0.043
	Southern		0.183***	0.183***
			-0.0437	-0.0437
Interaction	Male*Divorced			0.172
				-0.18
Constant		1.327***	1.345***	1.345***
		-0.0227	-0.0297	-0.0297
N		120650	76047	76047

Figure 1: Before and After Divorce Outcomes by Gender







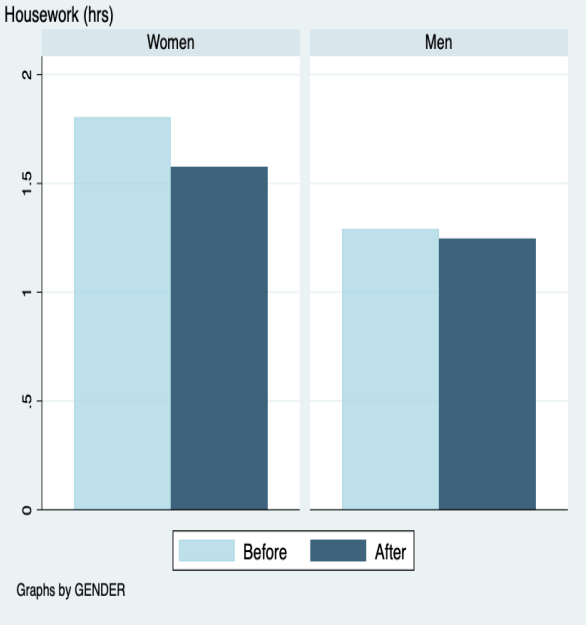


Figure 2: Before and After Divorce Outcomes by Hukou and Gender

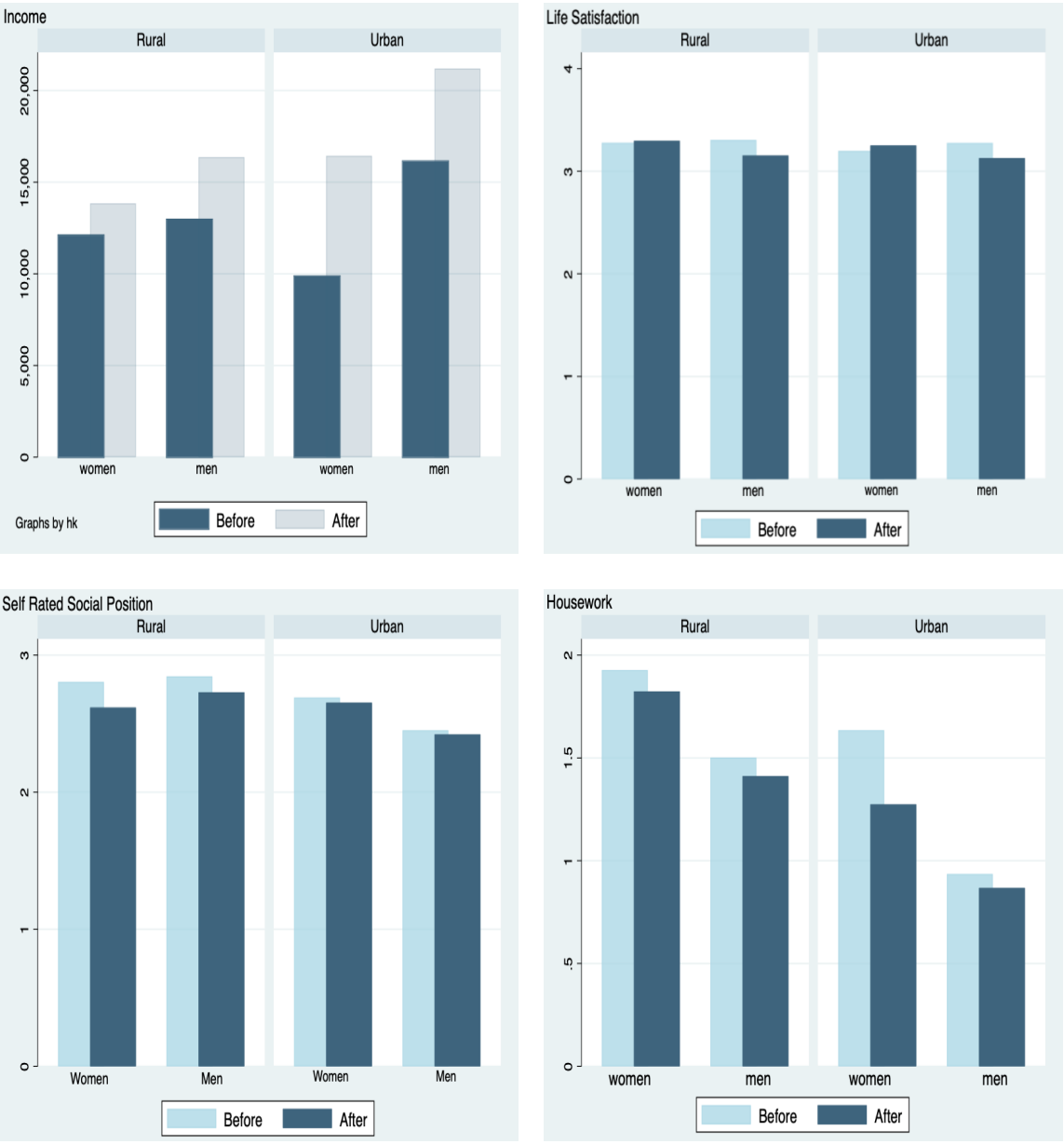
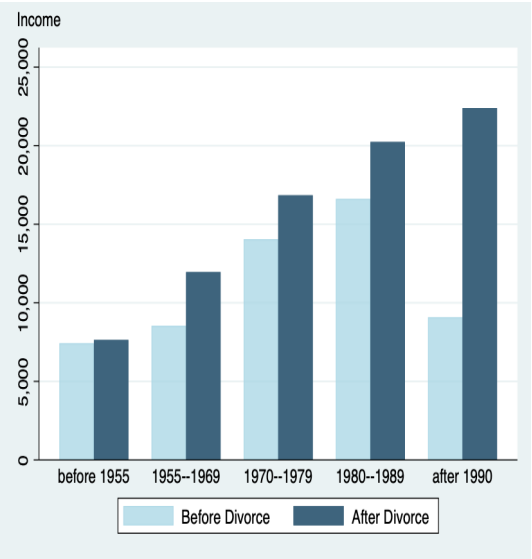
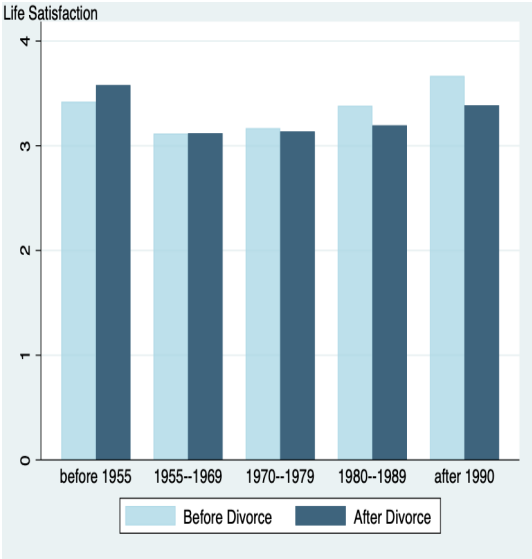
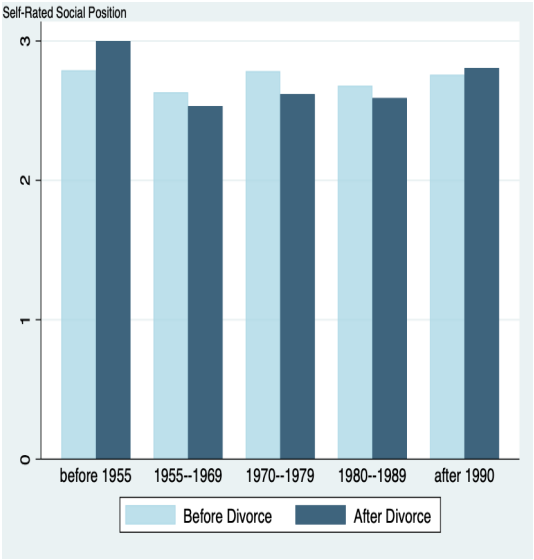


Figure 3: Before and After Divorce Outcomes by Birth Year Cohorts







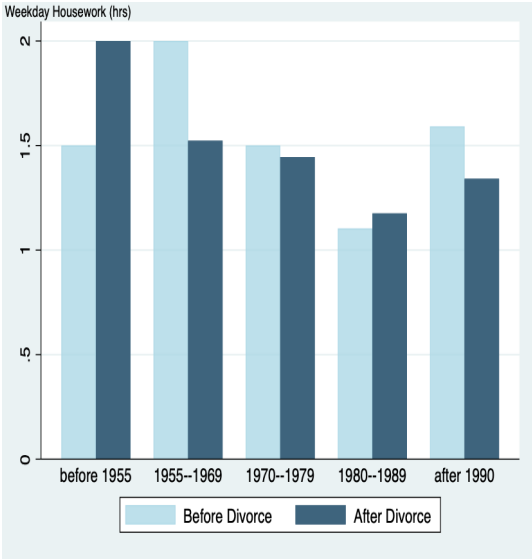
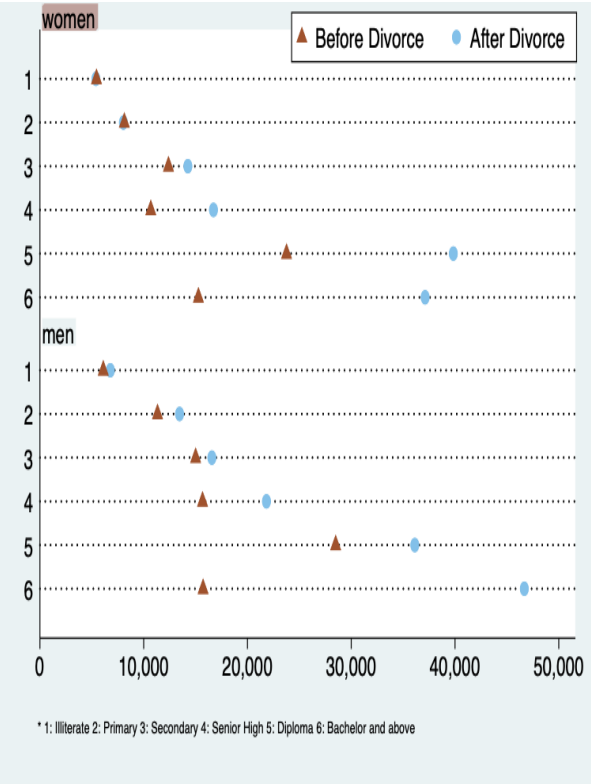
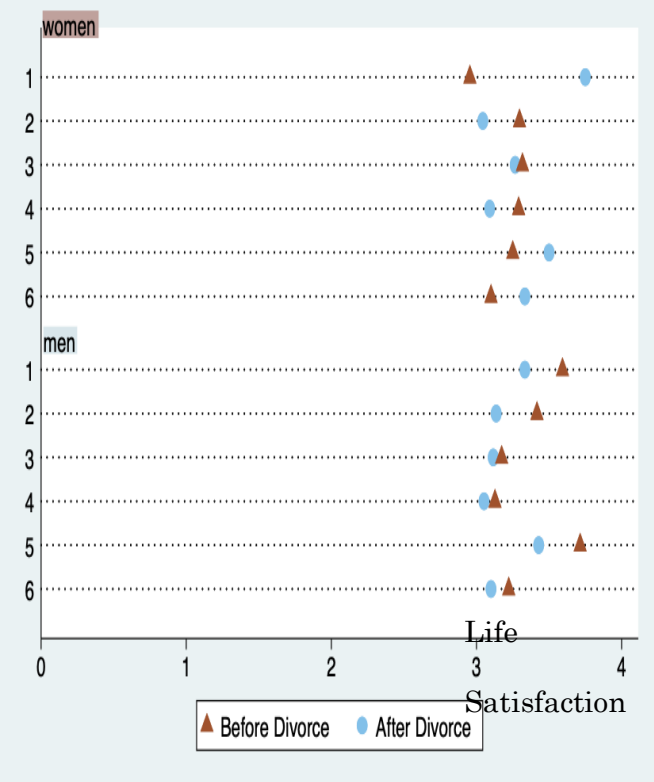


Figure 4: Before and After Divorce Outcomes by Education and Gender

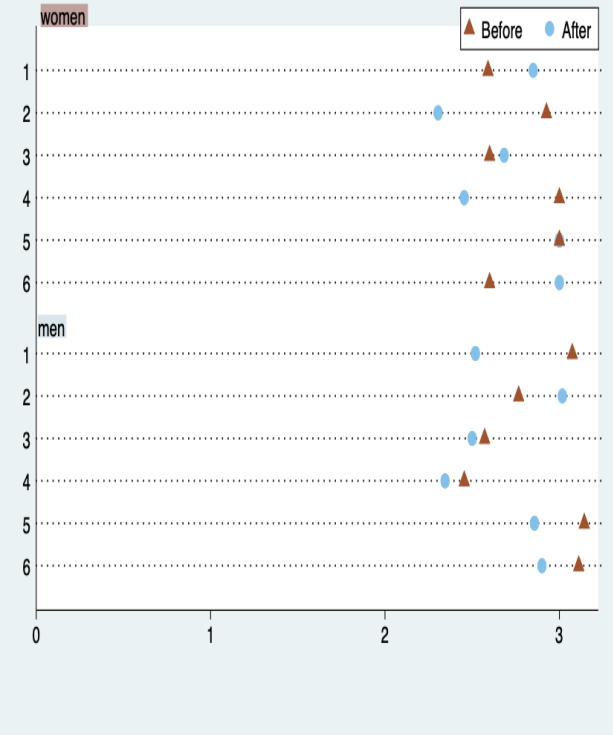
Income



Life Satisfaction



Social Position



Housework Time