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국제학석사학위논문

Educational Assortative Marriage in China

중국의 교육적 동질혼

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Abstract

Educational assortative marriage in China

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Since the “Reform and Opening up” policy enacted in 1978, not only China’s economy rapidly developed and changed, but also its society has gone through radical changes. Surely, family, which is known as the cell of society, has changed a lot. The pattern of marriage that leads to a birth of new family can show one of the aspects of the social change.

Traditionally, under the strong influence of Confucianism, most cases of marriage in China were arranged by parents. As a result, marriage had been the bond between two families with similar social-economic conditions, rather than the bond between individuals’ conditions. However, in modern society, the critical influence of family background decreased, and the importance of the individuals’ condition increased due to the mass education, urbanization and the development of technology.

There have been studies about the educational assortative marriage in China from 1970 to 2000. There is not any study about the educational assortative marriage after 2000 yet. This paper examines the trend of assortative marriage in China in recent years by using CGSS data of 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010, and look for the reasons why such trend occurs.

Results show that educational assortative marriage has been the mainstream of

marriage pattern since 1930s. For the marriage cohort from 1929 to 1979, assortative marriage is significant in the lower level of education, such as elementary school and middle school. However, for the marriage cohort since 1980, it is more significant in the higher level of education, especially in the education level of college and above. Overall, younger people are more likely to marry person with same education level. People with higher education are more likely to marry person with same education level. The development of education in China, the higher degree of gender equality in education, and the change of traditional perception are discussed to explain the trend of educational assortative marriage.

Keywords: China, educational assortative marriage, assortive marriage, marriage

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Chapter I. Introduction

The question of the marriage pattern, who marries whom, has been one of the central interests that social scientists focused on. Marriage creates close ties between individuals and families. Assortative marriage which means individuals marry partners with resemble traits, has been studied as it may be a key component of inequality among families(Mare, 2000). The proportion of couples who share the same level of schooling has been growing over the past few decades(Pencavel, 1998; Smits, Ultee, and Lammers, 2000; Schwartz and Mare, 2005).

Under the Confucian philosophy, “marriage was seen as a family business and was arranged by the parents in accordance with the social hierarchy”(Higgins, et al., 2002). However, in 1978, the “Open and Reform” policy not only changed China’s economy, but also its society. Modernization dramatically changed the life of Chinese people. Social norms and values related to marriage have changed considerably (Higgins, et al., 2002). Mating patterns changed as cultural values changed, education level and gender equality increased.

Among many types of assortative marriage, such as ethnic assortative marriage, religious assortative marriage and so on, this paper focuses on educational assortative marriage, as education directly and indirectly implies occupation, income, family background and culture (Seong, 2014). Educational assortative marriage is particularly important for social stratification because of the role that education plays in economic inequality and its persistence from generation to generation (Mare 1991; Qian 1998; Smits, Ultee, and Lammers 1998, 2000). Hence, to look at how Chinese society has

changed in the aspect of family, this study examines the trend of the educational assortative marriage in China and examines how some related factors influence education assortative marriage, using CGSS data from the year 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010.

1. Research question

Does educational assortative marriage exist in China? How is the recent trend of the educational assortative marriage in China? Has it been strengthened or weakened in recent years? What factors leads to such trend?

2. Research methodology

CGSS (Chinese General Social Survey) data of the year 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010 is used to examine the educational assortative marriage in China. CGSS is the first continuous national social survey project in mainland China. It is jointly initiated by Renmin University of China and Hong Kong Science and Technology University. To maximize the population size, I merged the data of the year 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Among many survey questions, the questions about type (rural or urban) of the survey, gender of the respondent, marital status, education level, and partner's education level are collected. The program STATA is used for summaries, tabulation and logit regression of the data.

This paper studies the case of urban China. China has a feature of striking division of urban and rural regions. State education and economic policies are applied according to household registration status. (Han, 2010) With economic reform, urban

area has developed more rapidly than rural area. Higher education is more commonly provided in urban area, so there are more people with various level of education in urban area rather than rural area.

This paper includes only the cases of first marriage. Using data from first marriages can lessen the biases created by divorce rates, increases in education after marriage (Kalmijin 1991, 1998; Mare 1991; Qian 1998; Raymo and Xie 2000; Schwartz and Mare, 2003). Therefore, I used data drawn from a sample of individuals in their first marriage.

The cases of respondents with above elementary school education are selected. They are grouped as people with elementary school education, middle school education, high school education, college education and above.

Chapter II. Marriage, Assortative marriage, and Marriage in China

1. Marriage and assortative marriage

Marriage is not random. Every society has a system of marriage. Accordingly, mate selection is not random, but rather regulated (Lee, 2000).

First of all, for the clarification, the definition of “educational assortative marriage” in this paper refers to the non-random marriage between people with same or similar education levels.

There are several hypotheses on the effect of the modernization on educational homogamy. According to Smits, Eltee, and Lammers(2000), the first one is the status-attainment hypothesis. Educational homogamy will increase in modernizing societies. Because the economic importance of education is higher in modern societies, it

becomes more important in mate selection. The second hypothesis is the general openness hypothesis. This is opposite to the first hypothesis, as it says that educational homogamy will decrease in modern society, because the process associated to modernization-such as mass communication and higher level of education-make the boundaries between different social groups more permeable. The third hypothesis is the inverted U-curve hypothesis. It combines the previous two hypotheses. It says that with increasing modernization, the education homogamy first increase and then decrease.

2. Marriage in China

Traditionally, marriage meant the bonding of two families. Parental arrangement of marriages had been the mainstream in China. Parents played a crucial role while selecting mates for their children. This led to status homogamy, so called “match door” marriages (Xu, Ji, and Tung, 2000). In traditional Chinese society, the strict social class was unbridgeable by marriage.

However, China provides a unique context because educational expansion, marriage reform, and the rising economic value of education have reshaped marital preferences during the process of modernization (Han, 2010). As arranged marriages declined, young people were more likely to meet potential partners at school, in the workplace and through dating agencies (Xu and Whyte, 1990). Compared to individuals in earlier eras, Chinese men and women were more likely to choose their spouse based upon age, appearance, income, and educational level rather than by parental socioeconomic status (Xia and Zhou, 2003).

Using 2000 census data, Li Yu (2008) analyses the trends and patterns in

educational assortative marriage in China from 1949 to 2000. According to the author, the level of assortative marriage in China had been stayed in a rather low level after the birth of People's Republic of China in the year 1949. However, it rapidly increased after 1980s, and was stable at a rather high level in 1990s. The reason for this is that the cases of inter-education level marriage are becoming fewer, and the trend of assortative marriage is becoming stronger.

Han Hongyun(2010)'s research examines trends in educational assortative marriage in China among first marriages from 1970 to 2000, using data from the 2000 China Population Census and the 2001 Chinese Demographic Reproductive Health Survey. The results show that educational homogamy rates decreased from 1970 to 1980. However, educational homogamy increased between 1980 and 1995 and then grew at a slower pace in the late 1990s. Overall, the results show that senior high school graduates and college graduates in the late 1990s are less likely to marry people with less education than those in the 1970s in modern China. In other words, education homogamy is stronger in 1990s than in 1970s.

Qi and Niu(2012) examine the phenomenon and evolution of assortative mating patterns in China during the past several decades, using the data of CGSS2006. During the past half century, the assortative mating patterns in China evolve over time. The authors argue that it partially supports the industrialization theory. As China goes through the process of industrialization and modernization, the achieved characteristics have become more important in the mating selection process. On the other hand, the ascribed features had become less important until the 1990s, and then started to become more important again since 1990s, because of the rising uncertainty in the process of

deeper marketization and modernization.

Significance of the study

Based on previous studies, this paper aims to describe Chinese marriage patterns related with educational levels in recent years. There have been studies about the long trends of assortative marriage in China, for example, since 1940s and 1950s to 2000. (Yu Li, 2008; Han, 2010) As China is a country with the characteristic of rapid change, this paper uses more recent data of the year 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 to examine the newest trend. Furthermore, this paper discuss China's educational development and change of traditional marriage perception to explain the marriage pattern trend.

Chapter III. Data Analysis

1. Descriptive analysis of educational assortative marriage in China

Part one is descriptive, frequency analysis. This part contains cross tabulations that show percentage of various marriage patterns (assortative marriage, hypergamy, and hypogamy) in total number of marriage of different marriage cohorts. By looking at the change of marriage patterns in marriage cohorts, the marriage pattern trend in China can be examined.

Female Male	Elementary	Middle	High	College and above	Total
Elementary	25.69 % (546)	6.26 % (133)	0.94 % (20)	0.05 % (1)	32.94 % (700)
Middle	17.27 % (367)	19.11 % (406)	1.65 % (35)	0.89 % (19)	38.92 % (827)
High	5.22 % (111)	3.81 % (81)	2.16 % (46)	1.04 % (22)	12.24 % (260)
College and above	3.72 % (79)	5.51 % (117)	1.84 % (39)	4.85 % (103)	15.91 % (338)
Total	51.91 % (1103)	34.68 % (737)	6.59 % (140)	6.82 % (145)	100% (2125)

(Frequency in parentheses)

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS
Table arranged by the author

Among people who got married from the year 1929 to 1969, the number of assortative marriage takes up 51.81% of total number of marriage, more than half of the total. It is most obvious in the group of assortative marriage with the education level of elementary school. The number of case in which man married woman with lower level of education takes up 37.37%. The number of case in which man married woman with higher level of education takes up 10.83%. Except the cases of assortative marriages, more Chinese marriage belongs to woman's hypergamy to man with higher educational level (marry-up), rather than woman "marrying down" man (hypogamy).

Female Male	Elementary	Middle	High	College and above	Total
Elementary	14.97 % (404)	7.49 % (202)	1.04 % (28)	0.11 % (3)	23.61 % (637)
Middle	14.38 % (388)	26.76 % (722)	4.82 % (130)	1.04 % (28)	46.00 % (1268)
High	3.52 % (95)	6.12 % (165)	4.45 % (120)	0.82 % (22)	14.90 % (402)
College and above	1.33 % (36)	5.56 % (150)	2.89 % (78)	4.71 % (127)	14.49 % (391)
Total	34.21 % (923)	45.92 % (1239)	13.19 % (356)	6.67 % (180)	100% (2698)

(Frequency in parentheses)

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS
Table arranged by the author

Among people who got married from the year 1970 to 1979, the number of assortative marriage takes up 50.89% of total number of marriage, more than half of the total. It is most obvious in the group of assortative marriage with the education level of middle school. The number of case in which man married woman with lower level of education takes up 33.8%. The number of case in which man married woman with higher level of education takes up 15.32%. Marrying-up by woman is still more significant. However, the percentage of marrying-down increased.

Female Male	Elementary	Middle	High	College and above	Total
Elementary	4.66 % (289)	3.89 % (241)	0.92 % (57)	0.05 % (3)	9.52 % (590)
Middle	8.08 % (501)	25.86 % (1603)	9.49 % (588)	0.84 % (52)	44.27 % (2744)
High	2.78 % (172)	10.96 % (679)	17.22 % (1067)	1.98 % (123)	32.93% (2041)
College and above	0.40 % (25)	2.71 % (168)	4.15 % (257)	6.02 % (373)	13.28 % (823)
Total	15.92 % (987)	43.42 % (2691)	31.77 % (1969)	8.89 % (551)	100 % (6198)

(Frequency in parentheses)

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS
Table arranged by the author

Among people who got married from the year 1980 to 1989, the number of assortative marriage takes up 53.76% of total number of marriage. It is most obvious in the group of assortative marriage with the education level of middle school. The number of case in which man married woman with lower level of education takes up 29.08%. The number of case in which man married woman with higher level of education takes up 17.17%. The percentage of marrying-up by woman decreased to less than 30%, while the percentage of marrying-down increased.

Female Male	Elementary	Middle	High	College and above	Total
Elementary	4.44 % (228)	3.58 % (184)	0.41 % (21)	0 % (0)	8.43 % (433)
Middle	7.87 % (404)	26.92 % (1382)	5.88 % (302)	1.09 % (56)	41.76 % (2144)
High	1.52 % (78)	9.86 % (506)	10.85 % (557)	3.19 % (164)	25.42 % (1305)
College and above	0.12 % (6)	3.33 % (171)	5.12 % (263)	15.82 % (812)	24.39 % (1252)
Total	13.95 % (716)	43.69 % (2243)	22.26 % (1143)	20.10 % (1032)	100 % (5134)

(Frequency in parentheses)

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS
Table arranged by the author

Among people who got married from the year 1990 to 1999, the number of assortative marriage takes up 58.03% of total number of marriage. It is most obvious in the group of the education level of middle school. It is also very significant in the group of the education level of college and above with the percentage of 15.82%. The number of case in which man married woman with lower level of education takes up 27.82%. The number of case in which man married woman with higher level of education takes up 14.15%. The both percentages of hypergamy and hypogamy by women decreased due to the increase of the assortative marriage percentage.

Female Male	Elementary	Middle	High	College and above	Total
Elementary	2.31 % (71)	2.67 % (82)	0.29 % (9)	0.07 % (2)	0.05 % (164)
Middle	3.88 % (119)	25.47 % (782)	4.10 % (126)	1.37 % (42)	34.82 % (1069)
High	0.55 % (17)	7.59 % (233)	7.92 % (243)	2.74 % (84)	18.79 % (577)
College and above	0.13 % (4)	2.67 % (82)	4.85 % (149)	33.39 % (1025)	41.04 % (1260)
Total	6.87 % (211)	38.40 % (1179)	17.17 % (527)	37.56 % (1153)	100% (3070)

(Frequency in parentheses)

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS
Table arranged by the author

Among people who got married from the year 2000 to 2010, the number of assortative marriage takes up 69.09% of total number of marriage. What's worth attention is that assortative marriage is most obvious in the group of the education level of college and above. The number of case in which man married woman with lower level of education takes up 19.67%. The number of case in which man married woman with higher level of education takes up 11.24%. The both percentages of hypergamy and hypogamy by women decreased due to the rapid increase of the assortative marriage percentage.

In sum, from the marriage cohort of the year 1929 to 2010, the percentage of educational assortative marriage increased.

2. Logit analysis of relating factors

Part two is logit analysis using factors related to assortative marriage, such as age and educational level. Educational assortative marriage is coded as dummy variable.

Table 6. Logit (age)

Logistic regression		Number of obs = 19243				
Log likelihood = -13048.536		LR chi2(4) = 232.16				
		Prob > chi2 = 0.0000				
		Pseudo R2 = 0.0088				
assortative	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
18~29	.416928	.0589576	7.07	0.000	.3013733	.5324827
40~49	-.22374	.0388846	-5.75	0.000	-.2999523	-.1475276
50~59	-.3283637	.0423944	-7.75	0.000	-.4114552	-.2452722
60~	-.3891909	.0486256	-8.00	0.000	-.4844953	-.2938865
_cons	.4220577	.028268	14.93	0.000	.3666534	.477462

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS, calculated with STATA

As shown in table 6, taking the group of people in their thirties as the reference group, people with age 18~29 are 51.73 percent ($e^{0.4169}$) more likely to marry person with same education level. People with age 40~49 are 20.05 percent ($e^{-0.2237}$) less likely to marry person with same education level. People with age 50~69 are 27.99 percent ($e^{-0.3284}$) less likely to marry person with same level of education. People who are older than 60 years old are 32.34 percent ($e^{-0.3892}$) less likely to marry person with same level of education. Since all p-values are below 0.01, the results are highly significant.

To sum up, younger the people are, more likely they are to marry person with same level of education. Grown and educated in the era of social change, younger people tend to marry for their own satisfaction, not for their family's or parents' sake. As Qi and Niu(2012) argued, the achieved characteristics have become more important in the mating selection process.

Table 7. Logit (educational level)

Logistic regression		Number of obs	=	19243
Log likelihood = -12886.833		LR chi2(3)	=	555.57
		Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
		Pseudo R2	=	0.0211

assortative	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
Elementary	-.0437161	.046165	-0.95	0.344	-.1341978 .0467656
Middle	.596494	.0382675	15.59	0.000	.5214911 .671497
College +	.8169392	.0465332	17.56	0.000	.7257358 .9081425
_cons	-.1159778	.0304943	-3.80	0.000	-.1757456 -.05621

Data source: 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 CGSS, calculated with STATA

As shown in table 7, taking the group of people with level of high school education as the reference group, the result of logit regression of level of elementary school education shows that the p-value is 0.344, which is above 0.05. It is statistically not significant. People with level of middle school education are 81.57 percent ($e^{0.5965}$) more likely to marry person with same education level (p-value <0.01). People with age 50~69 are 126.36 percent ($e^{0.8169}$) more likely to marry person with same level of education (p-value <0.01).

To sum up, higher level of education the people have, more likely they are to marry person with same level of education.

Chapter IV. Discussion

To account for the reasons why educational assortative marriage increased and became the mainstream of marriage pattern over time, various factors must be considered. First of all, the development of education in China could contribute to the high proportion of educational assortative marriage.

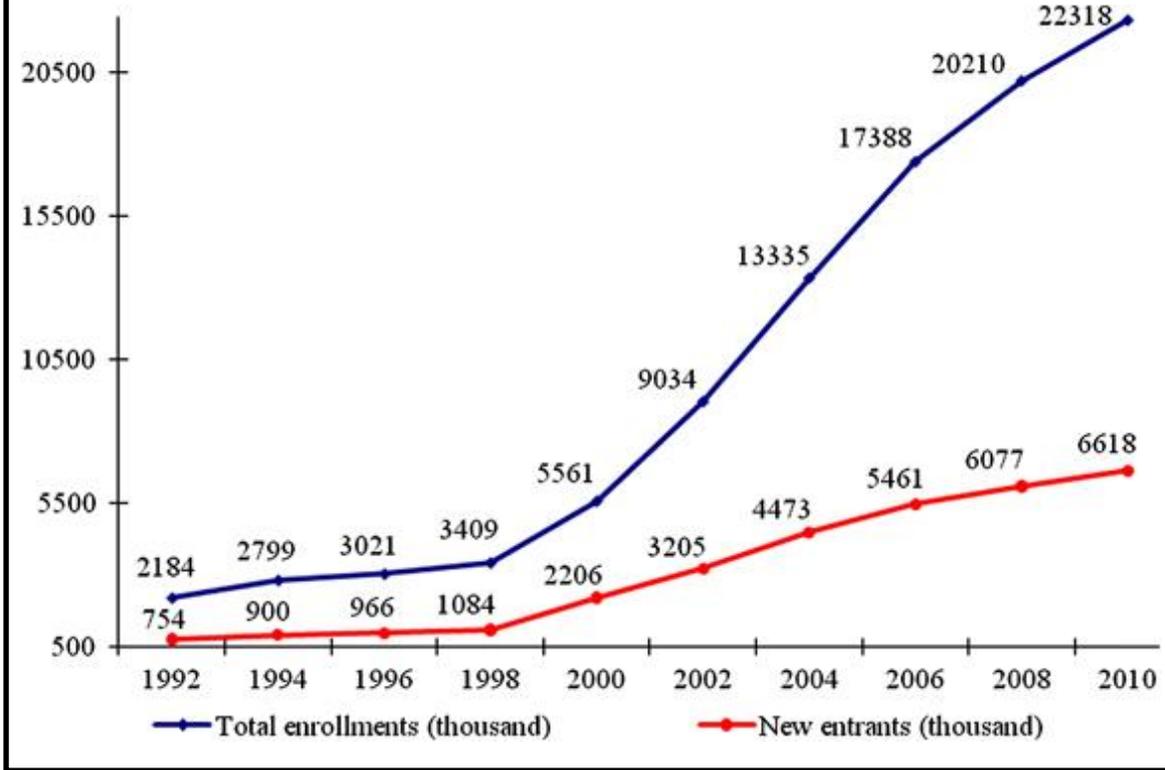
Chinese government has been trying hard to improve China's education system. The country's education system has become a high-priority area for the government (KPMG, 2010). After ten years of Cultural Revolution, rebuilding proper education system was important. There are three stages of the development of education in China after Cultural Revolution. The first stage is the recovery stage, from 1977 to 1984. During this period, the status of teachers is elevated. The social atmosphere that respects intellectuals and talented is formed. Since October of 1977, the salary of 60 percent of teachers across the country has risen. Ministry of education announced "Full-time Ten-year Primary and Secondary School Teaching Plan (Trial Draft)" in January, 1978, and confirmed elementary school's and middle school's basic education system and curriculum. "Regulations Concerning Academic Degrees in the People's Republic of China" was passed in 1980, so new academic degree system in China was set up. Also, textbooks of elementary schools and middle schools are reformed, and the use of computer in school was encouraged.

The second stage is the popularization stage, from 1985 to 1999. In 1986, China set up first nine-year compulsory education system as "Compulsory Education Law" was announced at National People's Congress fourth meeting. In 1993, "China's educational reform and development outline" was issued by Chinese Communist Party, deciding the basic goal and task of the educational development until the end of twenty-first century.

The third stage is the enhancement stage, from 2000 and so on. In 2001, Ministry of education enacted "Basic Education Curriculum Reform Outline" to reform the basic education's system, structure, and content. Not only basic education, but also

higher education started reform. In 1999, higher education institutions in China started to recruit more than 520000 students (Koo et al, 2007). As table 8 shows, the number of students enroll higher education institutions increased rapidly.

Figure 1. Enrolment trends of regular higher education institutions in China (1992–2010)

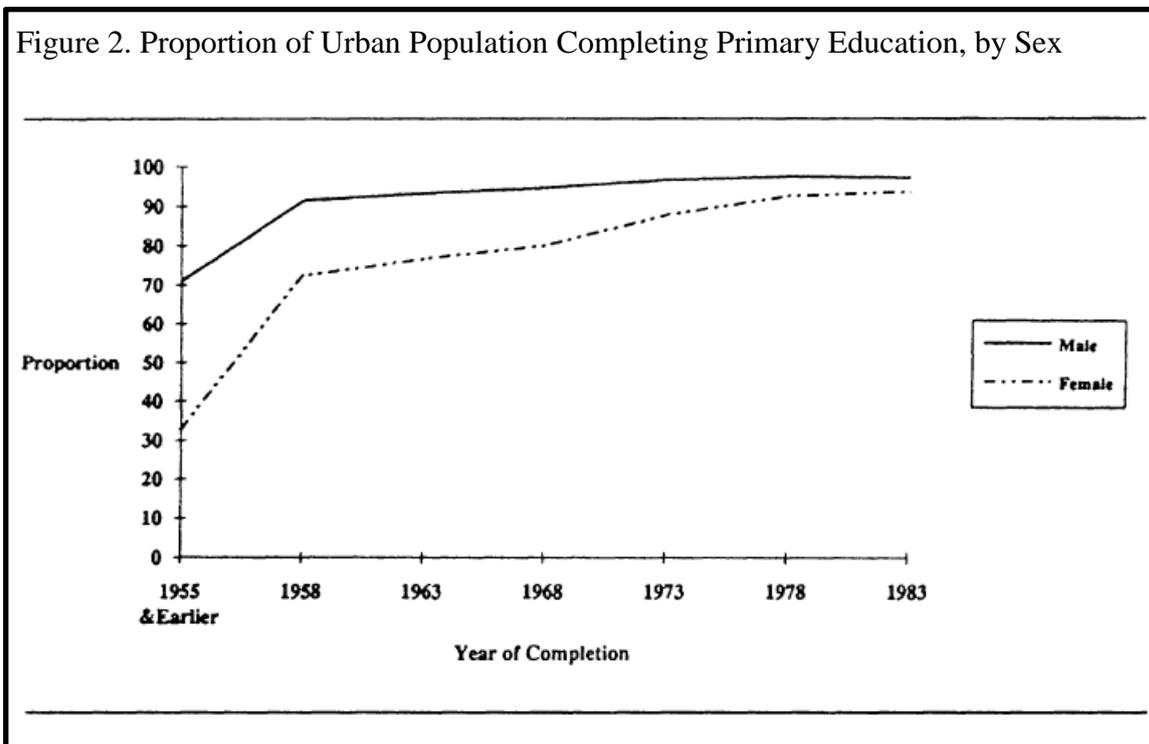


Data source: China Statistical Yearbook 2010 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011) and Annual Statistical Communiqué of Education 2010 (MOE, 2011).
Graph edited by Jun Li (2012)

Among four types of educational assortative marriage (elementary school level, middle school level, high school level, college and above education level), for the marriage cohort from 1929 to 1979, assortative marriage is significant in the lower level of education, such as elementary school and middle school. However, for the marriage cohort since 1980, it is more significant in the higher level of education, especially in

the education level of college and above. This could seek reason in the development of education in China. More people are educated and enroll in higher education institutions, so the total number of marriage by people with higher education increases.

Not only the overall development of education, but also the increased gender equality in education is a contributing factor to more educational assortative marriage. Women were subordinate to men in traditional China. Since 1949, Chinese government tried to beat such hierarchy. As a result, female student proportion in primary education increased since 1955, shown in figure 2.



Data Source: 1987 One Percent Population Survey.
Figure edited by Bauer et al, 1992

Table 8. Gender Gaps in University Enrollment Rate (%)

Year	Female	Male	Proportion of Female Students Among the Enrolled
1999	58.4	59.3	40.3
2000	75.3	71.7	42.1
2001	80.5	77.6	42.7
2002	87.4	80.7	44.3

Data sources: China Education Yearbook (1999-2002).

Table edited by World Bank, 2006

In addition, table 8 shows that in terms of university enrollment rate, from 1999 to 2002, the female rate was higher than the male rate and the gaps were getting wider over time. The enrolled students, males still make up the majority, but the proportionate numbers of girls in the enrolled students increases year by year.

As more female could enroll in education institutions, gender gap of education in China lessened. It led to higher probability of educational assortative marriage.

Furthermore, such marriage trend reflects the change of traditional marriage perception in China. As mentioned before, “match door” marriage which means the arranged marriage between son and daughter of similar social class had been common in traditional China. However, in the same social class, man wants his to-be wife does not exceed him in education and business aspects. Chinese saying “男尊女卑(nán zūn nǚ bēi)” means that man is superior to woman. This shows that gender inequality was very strong in traditional China. Also, it comes from traditional Chinese perception that fears women with talent. “牝鸡司晨(pìn jī sī chén)” is a saying regarding to the situation when a woman usurping man's power, which is regarded as a bad omen. When wife wins husband, husband would feel embarrassed, and the family life would lose

balance. On the other hand, Chinese women looked for men who are more competent than themselves. Marrying such man can maintain their dignity, and make them feel satisfied (Chen, 1990).

The “Reform and Opening up” policy changed Chinese people’s family perception. Instead of family, nationalism became the leading concept, and individual values started to be considered more importantly. Such change not only shows people’s negative attitude and criticism toward traditional family system, but also reflects people’s new attitude of organizing and arranging family life, such as standards in choosing life partner, marriage style, and child raising (Zhang, 2004). In modern days, while choosing husband and wife, Chinese started to pursue equality. Husband and wife tend to be close to each other in more aspects, such as age, education, hobbies, so that they have more common things to share (Chen, 1990).

Chapter V. Conclusion

According to CGSS 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010, educational assortative marriage not only has been existed in China since 1930s, but also it has been the main trend of marriage pattern. It is more significant among the groups of elementary school education for the marriage cohort from 1929 to 1979. While for the marriage cohort of 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, educational assortative marriage is more significant among the groups with college and above education.

Such change in marriage pattern reflects the change in Chinese society in recent decades. With the rapid economic development, China can invest more in education and

increase the supply of schooling, and more parents become able to send their children - not only sons, but also daughters- to the schools. The education system developed in China, so that more people could be educated. Gender inequality still persists in China, but the degree lessened much in the education aspect. In addition, Chinese people's perception of marriage changed. As China continues to develop, the further question can be asked is that whether gender gap in education will be eliminated or not, and the perceptions regarding marriage and family will evolve continually. Future studies are needed to answer these questions.

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국문초록

중국의 교육적 동질혼

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1978년 개혁개방 이래, 중국은 경제적으로 많이 발전하고 변화해왔을 뿐만 아니라, 사회적으로도 많은 변화를 겪어왔다. 사회의 세포라고 불리는 가정도 물론 변화가 있었다. 가정을 꾸리게 하는 결혼의 패턴의 변화는 중국사회의 격동적 변화의 일면을 보여줄 수 있다.

전통적으로, 유교문화가 강한 중국에서의 결혼은 부모님이 정해준 짝과 하는 경우가 많았다. 때문에 결혼은 결혼 당사자들의 조건들보다, 양가의 비슷한 사회경제적 조건의 만남이었던 경우가 대다수였다. 하지만 현대사회에서 대중교육, 도시화, 과학기술의 발전 등으로 가정의 경제사회적 배경이 자녀의 결혼에 미치는 결정적인 영향은 줄어들고, 결혼 당사자들의 자주성이 높아졌다. 이러한 상황에서 사람들은 교육적 배경이 비슷한 사람과 결혼할 것인가 아니면 다른 사람과 결혼할 것인가?

1970년대부터 2000년까지 중국의 교육적 동질혼에 관한 연구는 있었지만, 2000년 이후의 중국의 교육적 동질혼에 관한 연구는 아직 없다. 본 논문은 CGSS의 2005년, 2006년, 2008년, 2010년의 데이터를 이용하여 급변하고 있는 중국 사회에서 과연 근 몇 십 년간 동질혼의 추세는 어떤지 살펴보고자 하며, 그 추세는 어떠한 요인의 영향을 받았는지 알아보고자 한다.

분석 결과, 1930년대부터 동질혼은 중국의 주요 결혼 패턴이었다. 1929년부터 1979년 사이에 결혼한 집단들의 교육적 동질혼은 초등학교와 중학교 교육수준에서 강하게 나타났고, 1980년 이후에 결혼한 집단들의 교육적 동질혼은 대학교 혹은 그 이상의 교육수준에서 강하게 나타났다. 또한, 나이가 어리고 교육수준이 높을수록 동질혼 경향이 높다는 결과가 나왔다. 중국 교육의 발전, 중국의 전통적 결혼관의 변화가 이러한 결혼 패턴의 변화를 어느 정도 해석해 줄 수 있다.

주요어: 중국, 교육적 동질혼, 동질혼, 결혼

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