Migration Patterns in Rural China, 1900s-1960s[1]

Matthew Noellert
Hitotsubashi University

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Abstract

This paper explores geographic patterns of rural migration to shed new light on the distribution of labor in China over the first half of the twentieth century. This exploration is made possible by novel archival data from the China Rural Revolution Dataset – Siqing (CRRD-SQ), which contains life histories and kin relations for over 20,000 households in 600 complete rural communities mostly in North China. These data document how rural residents left their home communities for work and marriage, both temporarily and permanently, over the course of three generations. Preliminary findings suggest that around one fifth of the rural population and three fifths of their social relations had migration experiences, and by the 1960s most extended families spanned multiple villages, town and country, and in many cases counties and regions. Migration patterns varied by region, household status, and position within extended families. These significant levels of geographic mobility challenge existing understandings of modern Chinese economy and society.

Background

Imperialism, revolution, and war in the first half of the 20th c. transformed China from an old-world empire into a modern socialist nation-state. Until the 1950s, political disorder and economic change facilitated, for better or worse, widespread movements of people in search of opportunities and/or simply food and safety. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, political order was restored, but economic transformation continued apace. In terms of population movement, however, common understandings portray the collectivization of rural China from the 1950s as a "descent into serfdom" (Brown 2012: 230, quoting Whyte 2010: 5). Former agricultural production organized around private rural elite was abolished in Land Reform c.1946-1952; state regulation of the grain market began in 1953 together with the organization of rural production cooperatives; and from 1955, a household registration system established a clear institutional barrier between agricultural and non-agricultural households defined by the entitlement to state grain rations (Chan and Zhang 1999: 822; Wemheuer 2019). Finally, with the organization of People's Communes in the Great Leap Forward c.1958-62,

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Commune members were socially and economically bound to their home Commune and rural-urban migration was effectively terminated for all but an insignificant minority of Party and educational elite (Wu and Treiman 2007: 418-19).

The problem with this common understanding, however, is that it is based more on official narratives and categories than primary historical sources. Previous studies that mention migration in the early PRC focus on the more sensational reverse migrations of urban to rural after the Great Leap Forward and during the Cultural Revolution, but otherwise take it for granted that the household registration system and People's Communes bound peasants to the land (Bernstein 1977; Friedman et al. 2005: 19-20; Brown 2012; Honig and Zhao 2019). Few studies investigate the potentially more widespread practices of temporary contract and seasonal labor, for example (Blecher 1983), and even fewer have been able to track family dynamics over space and time.

We thus know much about state policies and practices in mid-twentieth China, but relatively little about family strategies and practices. What we do know about families is largely premised on how they reacted to top-down state policies. But in the twentieth century, China was the world's largest agrarian society, and for most people the social and economic rhythms of life were more consequential than state priorities. While the state does of course play an important role in shaping social development, in the context of such a large society it is more realistic to treat social developments as the shapers of state policy.[2] In this respect, the goal of this paper is to begin to describe some of the spatial demographic dynamics of this society and establish a baseline for better understanding the early history of the PRC.

Looking farther back in time, G. William Skinner (1964) provided such a baseline for the social development of Qing China (1644-1912) in his analysis of marketing and social structure. In his analysis, the traditional agrarian economy is organized into a nested hierarchy of central (urban) places that serve as the nodes integrating scattered villages into a vast market system. While villages were at the bottom of the hierarchy and central metropolises at the top, they all exist in a single, integrated socioeconomic continuum. This system, in principle based on natural economic functions, in turn serves as the foundation of social organization, in which marketing areas serving over a dozen villages comprise the basic units of everything from marriage markets to language and customs.

This market hierarchy also conditioned spatial-social mobility, since people/labor flowed through the system like other economic factors (Skinner 1971; Lavely 1991). Since each level in the hierarchy effectively only interacted with the immediate levels above and below it, the most natural path of mobility therefore progressed from a given village to the nearest market town, from the market town to the nearest intermediate market, and so on up the spatial hierarchy. Such an integrated and hierarchical system would have differed in important ways from other organizations like independent city-states that existed in binary opposition to their surrounding countryside, or more modern trade centers like London or Tokyo that grew to serve as singular foci of all economic activity for entire countries/regions. Skinner's (1977) conclusion that China was a collection of at least eight largely autonomous economic macroregions, rather than a single

[2] I.e. in classical Chinese political theory, "Society is the eyes and ears of the political order." (《周書・泰誓》 "天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽。" See also 《孟子・萬章上》 for more detail.)

national system centered on Beijing or Shanghai, also implies that Chinese social development cannot be understood independently of any given community's location in these regional spatial hierarchies.

Writing in the 1960s, Skinner made reasonable inferences about how China's spatial hierarchy changed over the first half of the twentieth century with the expansion of modern transportation systems. He estimated that by 1948, however, modernization would have only affected market systems nearby regional trading centers, comprising no more than 10 percent of China (1965a: 222-228). Relevant to this paper, Skinner observed that standard markets die out in modern trading areas and "much of their communal significance devolves on the component villages," which become more insular (1965a: 221). In other words, traditional rural communities were potentially more open compared to those in a modern society.

While most China scholars are familiar with and generally accept Skinner's analysis, few have actually applied it in their own research on modern China. One important exception is William Lavely's work on spatial hypergamy (1991), in which he describes how the equalization of intra-village status differentials made inter-village inequalities more important, and "residence thus emerged as a crucial index of economic status in rural China" (289). However, Lavely also assumes that economic migration was strictly regulated after 1955 and rural opportunities for mobility, even intra-rural, were "extremely rare", despite later showing one rural commune's gross annual migration rate of 21.3 per 1,000 (289, 293). Otherwise, most research may simply assume that the spatial hierarchy only applied to an agrarian economy with traditional means of transportation and was transformed beyond recognition by the mid-twentieth century. But as far as I know, little empirical work has been done to show if, and how, modern transportation transformed China's traditional spatial hierarchy. The preliminary findings on regional migration patterns described below suggest that as late as 1965, not much had changed in the ways spatial mobility was structured in China.

If spatial-social mobility in most of China continued to follow traditional regional market patterns until as late as 1965, this would have important implications for understanding the effects of PRC state policies. For example, at the basic level, it would be necessary to examine, for each and every locality, whether or not the collectivization of agriculture followed standard market areas, and whether the short-lived Great Leap period of over-sized People's Communes failed in part because they attempted to expand beyond standard market areas (as specifically discussed, but not empirically analyzed, in Skinner 1965b: 383-384).[3] In terms of rural-urban migration and the household registration system beginning in 1958, moreover, we know that in general peasants were barred from migrating to large metropolises, but we know much less about migration to small cities and towns. If most peasants continued to follow the traditional spatial hierarchy and migrate to the nearest central urban place, if only seasonally or temporarily, then barring them from large cities may be a moot point for most of the population beyond the immediate proximity of such cities.

From the perspective of households and families, the presence of kin in neighboring villages, towns, and cities, would also have important implications for expanding socioeconomic opportunities. For example, as shown in the sample household in the Data Appendix, a poor

[3] In Skinner 1985, moreover, he discusses early PRC market policies but eschews any attempt at spatial analysis.

peasant household could have relatives working in Beijing, and find refuge from local disasters with kin in other provinces. A father could send one son to apprentice in town and have another son farm the family land, or a humble old rural couple could have several sons working in urban factory jobs. Most would agree that all of these relationships could have a significant effect on these families' well-being and life chances, but from a state perspective of officially registered households, none of these relationships are visible and have been virtually impossible to study systematically. However, previous ethnographic research has demonstrated how analyzing Chinese society in terms of such networks reveals a social fabric that criss-crosses and operates largely independent of formal political and economic organizations (Walder 1986; Yang 1994; Yan 1996). Other scholars have also gone further to argue that such informal social networks could also play a role in maintaining the socialist economy itself (Honig and Zhao 2019). By describing the spatial dimensions of such extended kin networks, this paper also provides a foundation for further systematic research into how such networks developed and continued to influence people's life chances.

Data

The data for this paper come from the China Rural Revolution Dataset – Siqing (CRRD-SQ), which contains complete transcriptions of household social class registration forms recorded in the mid-1960s for over 20,000 households in over 600 production-team level administrative units mostly scattered across north China (Map 1).[4] The data appendix presents a sample household form and explanation of its contents. These registration forms are the product of the most systematic re-evaluation of class status since Land Reform c.1950. This re-evaluation began in Hebei and Shanxi provinces, where it was carried out most thoroughly, but for other parts of China extant records appear less complete. Registration was coordinated by official work teams through a process that typically involved compiling extant local village records and then supplementing them with door-to-door interviews and peer cross-checks. For the 600 production teams in the CRRD-SQ, the data is community-wide, including complete records for all registered households.

This paper is one of the first attempts to analyze a relatively complete sample of the CRRD-SQ. Previous studies have analyzed occupational mobility, class status, assortative mating, urban-rural migration, and inequality for particular counties in Shanxi province (Li 2017; Noellert 2018; Xing et al. 2020; Noellert and Li 2025). The analysis here focuses on the roughly 17,000 households held by the Tsung-Dao Lee Library (TDLL) at Shanghai Jiaotong University, which were registered in the 13 counties shaded dark green in Map 1. For purposes of analysis, the counties are grouped into four geographic "regions" based on natural and historical features rather than contemporary provincial boundaries, as boxed out in Map 1.[5] One region includes the urban population of a county seat in northern Shanxi province (separately boxed), and the rest of the CRRD-SQ data consist of rural communities ranging from 2 to over 100 production teams (hereafter, simply "community") per county. Community locations within each county range

[4] For more details on the archival sources and construction of the dataset, see the project webpage: https://leecampbellgroup.blog/projects/crrd-sq-project/. Between 1958 and 1982 rural China was organized into three administrative levels – People's Communes, Production Brigades, and Production Teams – roughly equivalent in size to today's townships, administrative villages, and natural villages or residential communities.

[5] One reason for these regional divisions is simply because some provinces in our data contain only one or two counties while Hebei province contains nine.

from suburbs of the county seat to relatively remote communities up to 40 kilometers away from the county seat. The mean distance of all communities from their respective county seats is 12 kilometers.

The analytic sample used in this paper contains a total of 79,714 household members (including children) and 48,305 social relations, recording 47,044 migration events. Of the migration events, 26,085 record specific years, and 36,346 record identifiable locations.

The information related to migrations is compiled from various fields of the household forms. As shown in Data Appendix 1, every household records the relationship, occupation, and address of primary social relations (主要社会关系), a family history often including migration and occupational histories of the household head and his/her father and grandfather, and brief personal histories of all adult household members (家庭成员) that often record dates of temporary migrations. The primary social relations records are subject to the selection bias of the interviewees, but this bias is useful for analysis because it selects on relations that people personally felt were close/important, instead of, for example, genealogical records of formal patrilineal kin who may not actually be in close contact. Relatively detailed form instructions from one county in Shanxi province state that the social relations field should record "primary kin relations like maternal uncle, father-in-law, son-in-law, etc., and whether or not they are CCP members or have a history of joining any counterrevolutionary organizations." For the family history field, the instructions simply state, "write down as much as you know. In general, two generations is enough." We have yet to find extant instructions from other localities, but a summary of the actual recorded relatives from all 13 counties suggests there was widespread, common understanding of who were primary social relations.

The analyses in this paper combine two kinds of records: coresident, registered household members and non-coresident social relations and ancestors of the household head. All of these individual records have been programmatically and manually linked so that, for example, if someone recorded as a father in the family history of one household is registered as the head of another household in a community in the dataset, the information can be linked to the same unique individual. To prevent double-counting migrant individuals who appear on multiple household forms, analysis is restricted to unique records, prioritizing the closest relation to a household head. For example, if an individual is recorded as a father, maternal uncle, and brother-in-law, only the father record is kept.

Migration events are defined for household members as any record of past or current relocations or migrant household members, and for social relations as an address outside of the household's place of registration. The household forms contain a field to record the number of current migrant household members, and sometimes members are recorded on the household form but noted as currently living/working outside the community. Otherwise, most events for household members are past experiences recorded in personal histories. Given the descriptive nature of the data, many such records are imprecise and difficult to categorize. For example, a family history may simply record that the father "went to the Northeast with his brother" sometime in the past. In this case, the record may be counted as a migration event in aggregate analysis, but without a specific address it is excluded from geographic analysis.

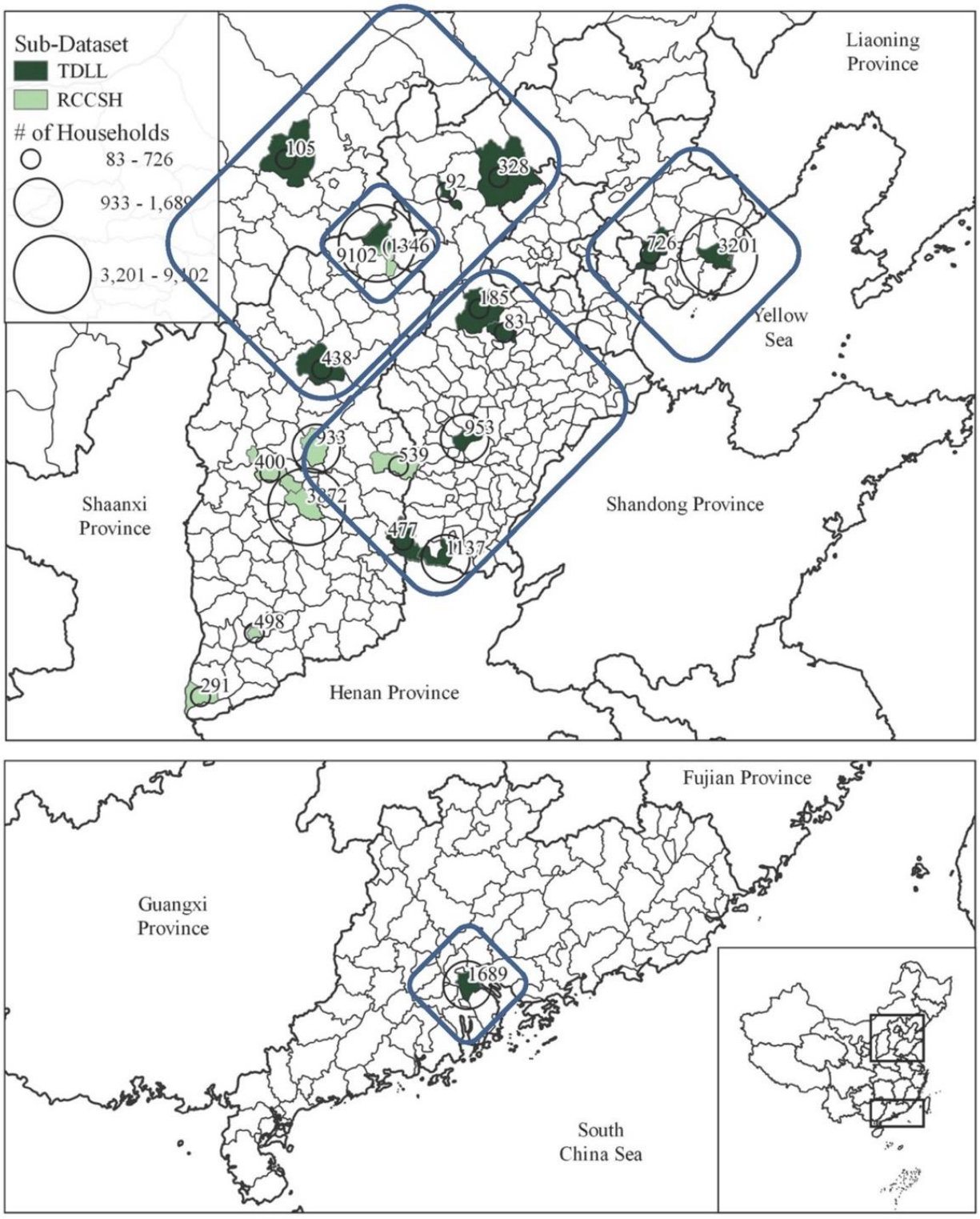
Slightly over half of events directly record information on the timing of migration. Analysis of detailed patterns over time is therefore restricted to these records, while for other analyses the time period is estimated based on the individual's age and relationship. For most resident household members who appear in the data, all migration events are by definition temporary, because anyone who permanently migrated before registration c.1965 would be registered elsewhere. Female marriage migrations are also not directly recorded, but are in many cases inferred by the address of a father-in-law or spouse. The current registered address of household members is self-evident from the household forms, but the registered address of un-linked social relations is unknown, and therefore when only the occupation is recorded, e.g. "worker in the Baotou shoe factory", it is not possible to determine whether they are temporary or permanent urban workers.

Exploring Migration Microdata

This paper is perhaps the first attempt to study such systematic records of individual-level internal migrations in mid-twentieth century China. The only previously comparable information was collected after the Cultural Revolution, in the form of selective interviews with emigrants from Guangdong in the 1970s (Parish and Whyte 1978, Chan et al. 1992), ethnographic fieldwork beginning in the late 1970s (Lavely 1991; Friedman et al. 1991; cf. Hinton 1983), and retrospective surveys beginning in the 1990s (Treiman et al. 1996). Few of these previous studies, and no official statistics, capture temporary and/or intra-county/prefecture migrations. To get an idea of the rich detail of information recorded in the CRRD-SQ, I recommend beginning with the sample form presented in Data Appendix 1. Below, I present data describing how many people migrated, who, when and why, and where.

Overall migration rates for over 79,000 household members and 48,000 primary social relations in 459 complete community populations are presented in Table 1. The urban population was more mobile, with 26 percent of household members presently migrant and another 7 percent with past migration experiences. For the remaining rural populations, about 10 percent of all household members were presently migrant, and another 8 to 15 percent had past migration experiences. Social relations represent a more selective population, and the high migration rates suggest that interviewees were more likely to record non-local relations.[6] Although the actual migration status of the at least half of social relations with non-local addresses is difficult to determine, these rates suggest that a majority of rural families spanned multiple communities, and, especially in the N. Shanxi and S. Guangdong regions, rural and urban.

[6] Although there were not specific instructions to this effect. See page 4 above.



Map 1 Source Counties of the CRRD-SQ
Sources: CRRD-SQ dataset. Basemap data from CITAS 2016.

Region	Destination	HH Members %		Primary Social Relations %	
		Past	Present	Past	Present
N. Shanxi (Urban)	Rural	0.3	0.6	0.1	12.0
	Urban	6.8	26.4	1.7	50.2
	Total	7.0	26.9	1.8	62.1
	N		11,815		7,579
N. Shanxi/ NW Hebei/ I. Mongolia	Rural	6.4	6.4	0.6	26.5
	Urban	8.9	2.7	1.4	23.7
	Total	15.2	9.1	2.0	50.2
	N		25,709		17,449
SW Hebei	Rural	7.4	5.4	1.0	44.5
	Urban	1.4	2.0	0.4	4.0
	Total	8.8	7.4	1.4	48.5
	N		12,430		8,627
E. Hebei	Rural	6.0	7.2	1.2	47.9
	Urban	7.4	4.0	2.9	11.8
	Total	13.4	11.2	4.0	59.7
	N		19,916		11,499
S. Guangdong	Rural	6.1	11.9	0.3	39.6
	Urban	1.5	2.8	0.0	49.4
	Total	7.6	14.7	0.3	89.0
	N		9,844		3,151

Table 1 Urban and Rural Migration Rates, by Region, c.1965
Source: Author's calculations based on the CRRD-SQ dataset.
Notes: All records with no identifiable urban occupation or address are categorized as "rural". Social relations' past experiences are rarely recorded. Past and present migrations are mutually exclusive: an individual with both records is only counted as a present migrant.

Preliminary findings suggest that former rural elites were more likely to migrate themselves and also have non-local social relations (Figure 1). Across all regions, households classified as landlord had significantly higher migration rates, largely driven by current, and to some extant urban, migrants.[7] There was little variation among household members from other family backgrounds, but among social relations there was a clear correlation between former socioeconomic status and non-local or migrant relations, largely driven by current urban migrants. These findings are in line with a previous paper focusing on the N. Shanxi urban population which demonstrated that former rural elites were more likely to urbanize, especially around the Land Reform c.1950 (Noellert and Li 2025). Since landlord households were

[7] Family background (家庭出身), or class status, is a reliable measure of pre-1949 household socioeconomic status.

discriminated against in the early PRC, higher migration rates can also be interpreted negatively as this group being subject to more social dislocation, but for those who migrated to cities, such dislocations were effectively a form of upward social mobility in the context of China's spatial hierarchy. The social relations also suggest that former elite households who themselves may have been subject to discrimination were more likely to have urban family connections.

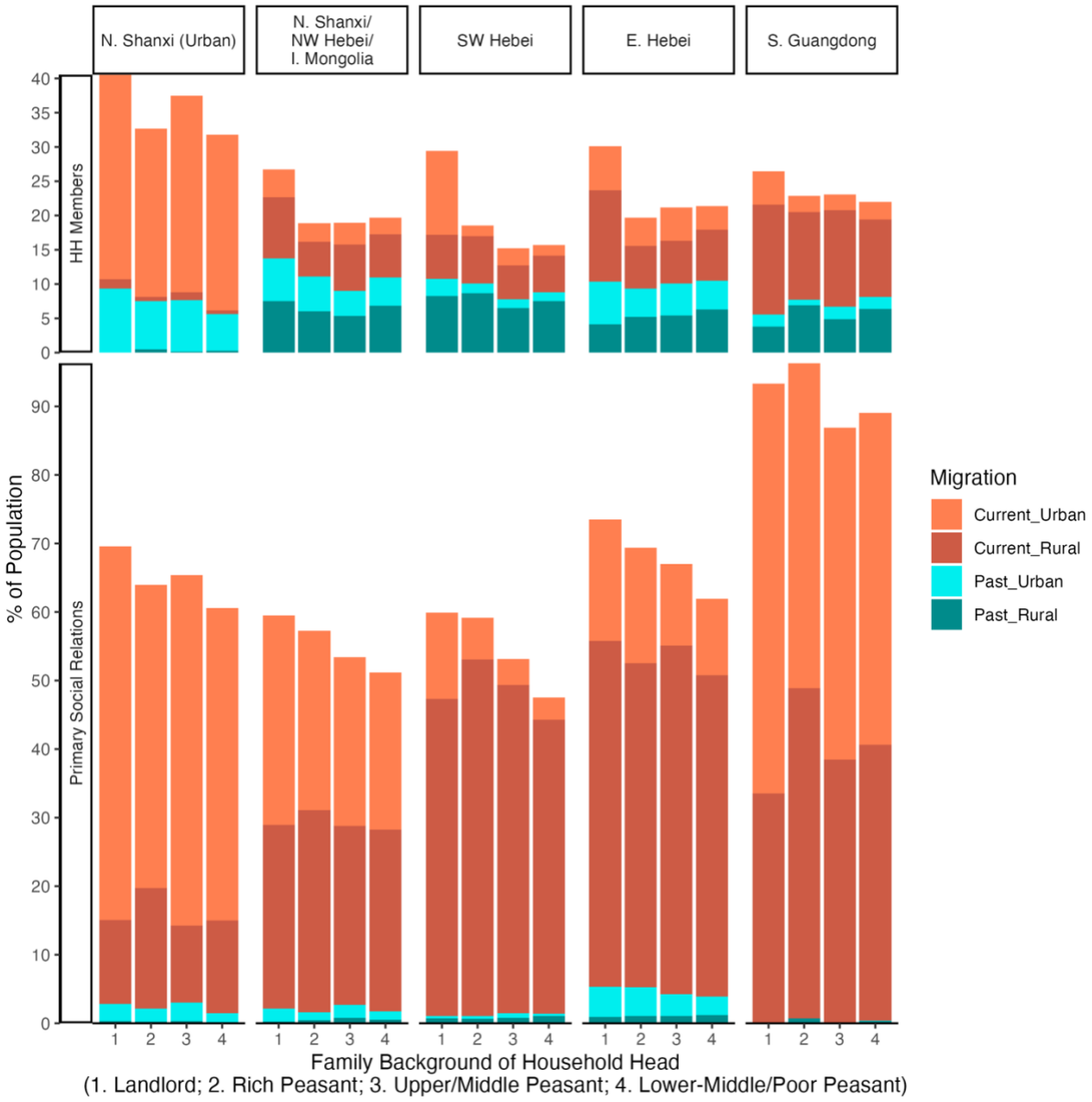


Figure 1 Migration Rates by Family Background, c.1965
Source: Author's calculations based on the CRRD-SQ dataset.
Note: Restricted to rural family backgrounds.

Migration trends over time for over 26,000 events recording specific years were similar across regions, generally increasing over time with a lull in the early 1950s. As shown in Figure 2, the first spike is in 1946-1950, during the Second Chinese Civil War, in between the end of

WWII and the PRC unification of the mainland. This spike also contained a large proportion of urban migration, which was in part a consequence of rural elite leaving the countryside during Land Reform (Noellert and Li 2025). The early 1950s were no doubt a period of settling down, as the majority of the rural population was allocated land and hopefully able to take a break after over a decade of warfare. Then beginning in the late 1950s, accelerating economic development led to a new kind of urban migration. The second spike after 1961 can be largely attributed to more accurate recording of present migrants, which may suggest that the retrospective records underestimate the actual extent of migration.

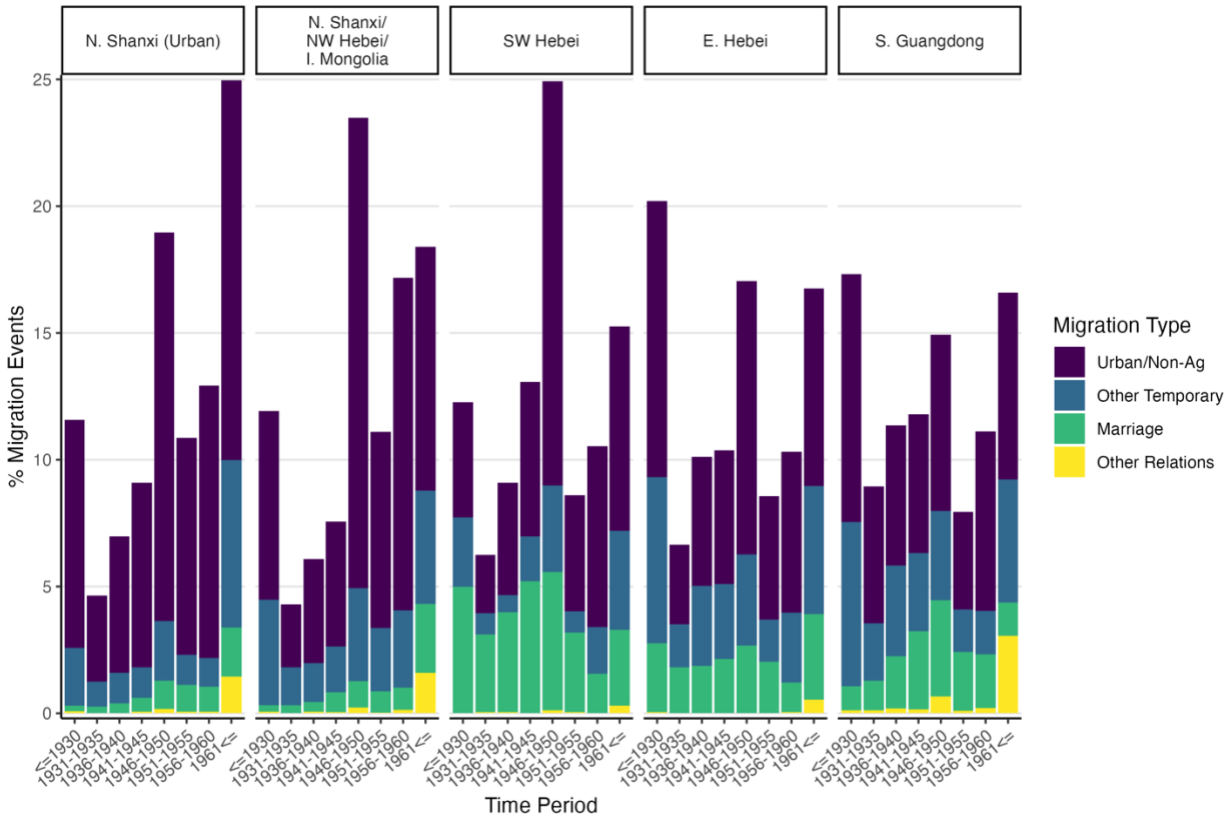


Figure 2 Migration Events over Time, by Region, c.1900-1965
Source: Author's calculations based on the CRRD-SQ dataset.
Note: Restricted to migration events with non-missing year information (representing about half of all migration events, mostly sourced from household member personal and family histories).

Most migrants stayed within the same macroregion, and most social relations were intra-county. Figure 3 shows the distance of migration, categorized into four groups, for over 8,000 household members and 27,000 social relations with identifiable locations. The distance groups outside the same county roughly correspond to nearby counties/cities (<=100 km), within the same macroregion (101-300 km), and inter-regional (>300 km). For household members, short-range inter-county migration increased over time in most regions. The distance of social relations reflects a mix of both work and marriage migrations, with the latter being almost exclusively intra-county, between neighboring communities. The regional differences here thus show the difference between more mobile regions like Guangdong and N. Shanxi, and less mobile regions like SW and E. Hebei. The finding that a majority of migrations were within the same province

and/or county, many including rural to urban (county seats and local cities), is an important but largely unknown fact (cf. Noellert and Li 2025). Virtually all previous studies of migration in China, even in later periods, focus on large metropolises like Tianjin and Shanghai (Hershatter 1986; Brown 2012; Deng 2012). Official statistics and retrospective survey data also only record inter-provincial or potentially inter-county migrations. Figure 3, together with Figure 2, therefore suggests that previous understandings greatly underestimate the extent of geographic mobility in the early PRC.

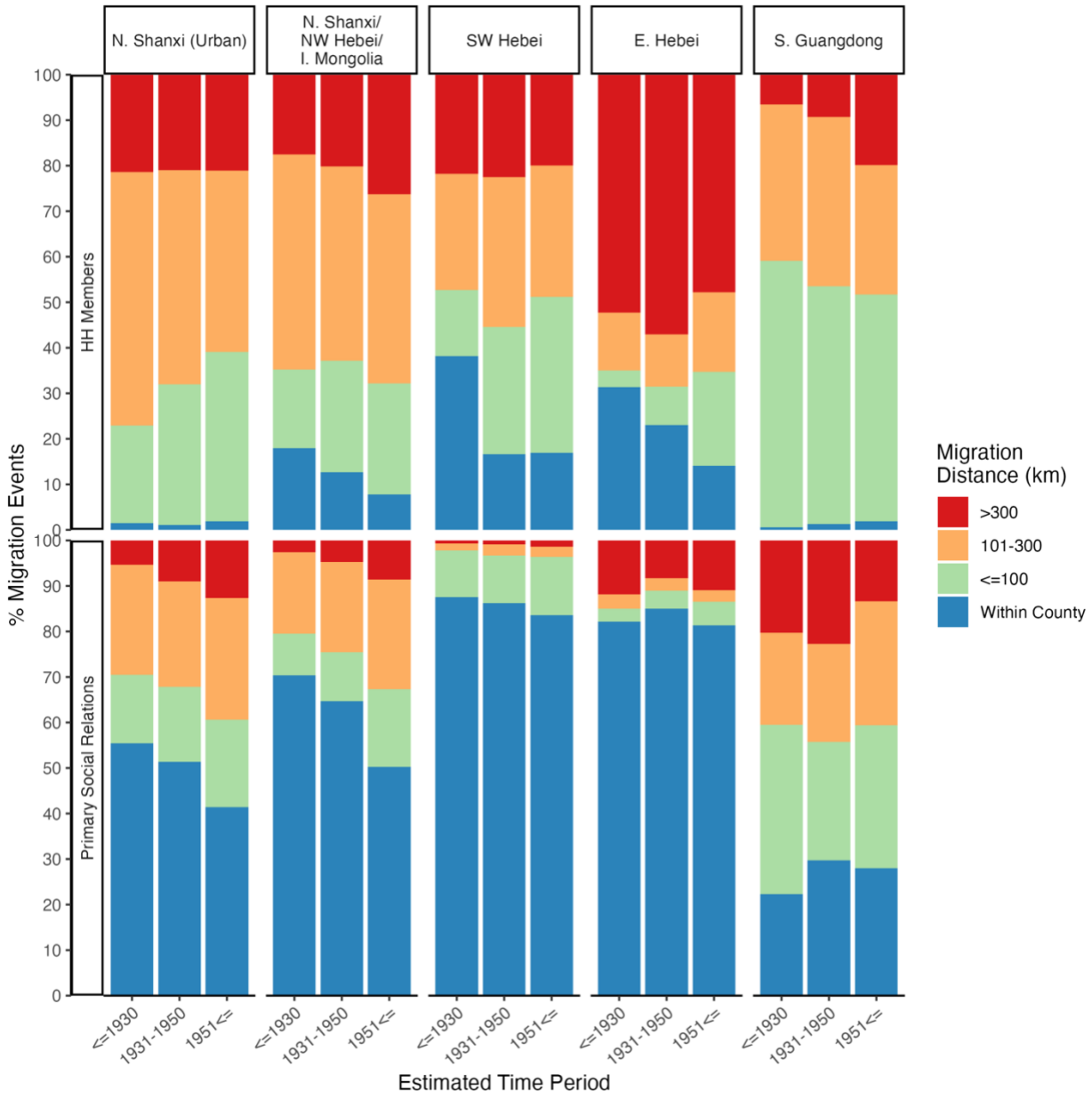


Figure 3 Migration Distance, c.1900-1965
Source: Author's calculations based on the CRRD-SQ dataset. Spatial distances are calculated as straight lines connecting the centroids of county polygons using CITAS 2016 polygons and the "sf" package in R.

The destinations of migrants were stable over time and followed distinct regional patterns. Data appendix 2 provides maps of top migrant destinations aggregated at the prefectural level (地级市). The map of Guangdong presents a very different rural society compared to north China communities. The data for Guangdong come from 41 communities in the Pearl River Delta southwest of Guangzhou, an area known for overseas emigration (Parish and Whyte 1978: 26-27). In these communities, the main destinations were Hong Kong and Singapore, and roughly half of all long-distance migrants from these brigades were women aged 40-60. Most records do not specify what kind of work these women were doing, but some do mention domestic labor. None of the north China communities record much female work migration.

In the N. Shanxi/NW Hebei region, migrants were more likely to travel to the Inner Mongolian frontier and nearby Zhangjiakou and other regional cities than to the national capital, Beijing. Migration in the SW Hebei region was the most geographically confined, with few migrants traveling farther than the neighboring prefecture. Here, too, Beijing and Tianjin only have migration rates of 0.4 to 0.6 percent, although these cities do draw migrants from 4/5 source counties in the data. Finally, migration in the E. Hebei region was dominated by the Northeast frontier, a region that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had some of the largest migration rates and became one of the most industrialized areas of the country. In the two source counties' data, similarly, the Northeast drew over 6 times more migrants than Beijing and Tianjin combined, despite the latter's closer geographic proximity.

The occupations of migrants also follow patterns associated with regional specializations. The N. Shanxi/NW Hebei region, home to mining and other heavy industries, had the highest proportion of industrial migrants in the data. The SW Hebei region had the highest proportion of agricultural migrants, further suggesting the limited nature of migration in this region. The E. Hebei region had the highest proportion of retail/service migrants, echoing the more commercialized urban destinations in Northeast China.

Skinner's social-spatial hierarchy of central places provides a useful framework for understanding these regional migration patterns (Skinner 1977). Rural migrants at the bottom of the spatial hierarchy were more likely to travel to low-level urban places, i.e. a county town or local city, even if they were farther away than a larger city higher up in the hierarchy. Likewise, migrants from the one urban county seat population in the data were more likely to travel to higher level cities like Zhangjiakou, Hohhot, and Beijing than their rural counterparts. In other words, migration in the early PRC continued to follow traditional regional dynamics, which may have played just as important a role as the household registration system in limiting the growth of central metropolises.

Discussion

Like Galileo's telescope, new archival microdata recording individual life histories for complete communities make it possible to see previously imperceptible features of Chinese society. Instead of inferring from state policies and modern preconceptions about "peasant society" that rural communities were bound to the land and became more so after 1949, the above preliminary findings present a picture of a peasant society with families spread out across the country and a highly mobile labor market.

Whether or not rural households had connections to relatives or were themselves engaging in non-farm labor away from home has important implications for understanding how families and the early PRC economy itself operated. Labor was arguably China's greatest resource at the time, and if it was more mobile and/or more efficiently allocated than we thought, that could help explain long-run developments (after 1978), too.

This paper is just the first step toward a more comprehensive spatial-social view of the early PRC. In the end, it raises more new questions than answers. Did certain kin groups and family relations migrate more than others? How was migrant labor organized and managed by the People's Communes? At a higher level, how was regional development and inter-regional coordination organized by the central government, or not? Where existing spatial hierarchies necessarily transformed by new transportation technologies, or equally influenced by other things like regional population growth, socioeconomic policies, etc.?

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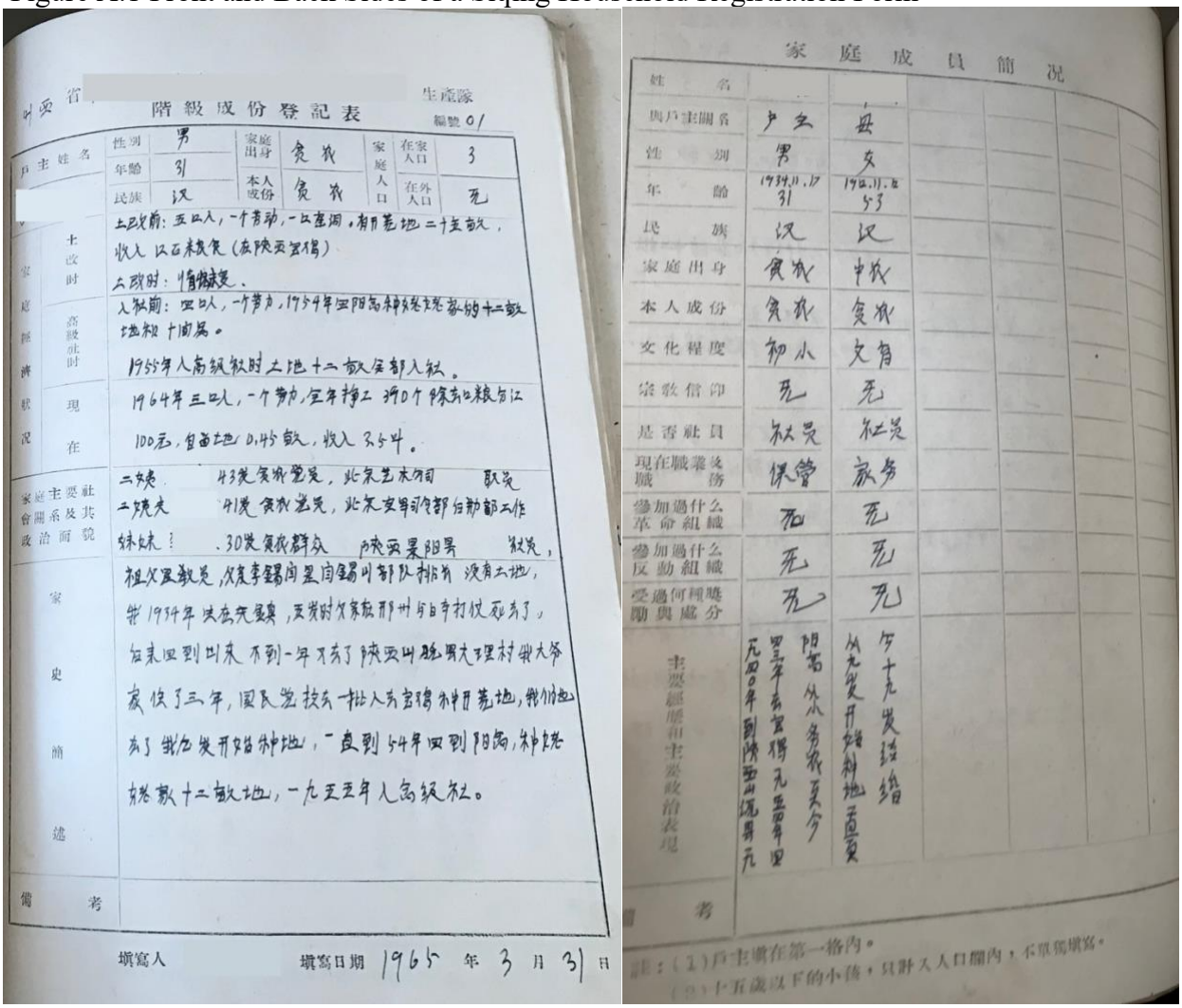
Data Appendices

1. Sample Household Form

Figure A.1 presents a sample household form recording numerous migration events. The analysis in this paper mainly focuses on the social relations, family history, and resident adult household member personal history fields. This household head, age 31 at the time of recording, was a poor peasant farmer his whole life, but moved around to live with relatives in three different provinces (largely war-related dislocations) and had other relatives working in privileged state-sector jobs in Beijing. Although such diverse experience is perhaps exceptional, it is representative of the kinds of extended relations and life experiences of many rural households in the CRRD-SQ. His form records the following select information:

Field	Content	Coding Scheme
Resident household members	3	Household population == 3; current migrant household members == 0
Household members away from home	0	
Primary social relations and their political characteristics	Second maternal aunt, age 43, poor peasant, Party member, employee at Beijing art company. Second maternal aunt's husband, age 41, poor peasant, Party member, works in the logistics department of the Beijing Air Force headquarters. Younger sister, age 30, poor peasant, regular citizen, member of a commune in Jingyang county, Shaanxi.	1965, urban migration, Beijing; 1965, urban migration, Beijing; 1965, other kin migration, Jingyang county
Family history	Grandfather was a teacher. Father was a platoon leader in Yan Xishan's army, landless. I was born in 1934 in Tianzhen county. When I was 5, my father died in Xingzhou fighting against the Japanese. Later returned to Shandong, then within a year went to Dali village in Shanyuan county, Shaanxi and lived with my father's elder brother for 3 years. The KMT conscripted a group of people to go open up land in Baoji county, and we went there, too. I started farming at the age of 9, until I returned to Yanggao in 1954 and farmed my maternal grandmother's 12 *mu* of land. Joined the advanced agricultural cooperative in 1955.	1934, other temporary migration, Tianzhen county; 1939, other temporary migration, county unknown; 1940, other temporary migration, Shanyuan county; 1954, other temporary migration, Yanggao county
(backside) Personal history of household head	(repetition of family history)	
Personal history of mother	Farmed from age 9 to the present. Married at age 19.	migrant == F

Figure A.1 Front and Back Sides of a Siqing Household Registration Form

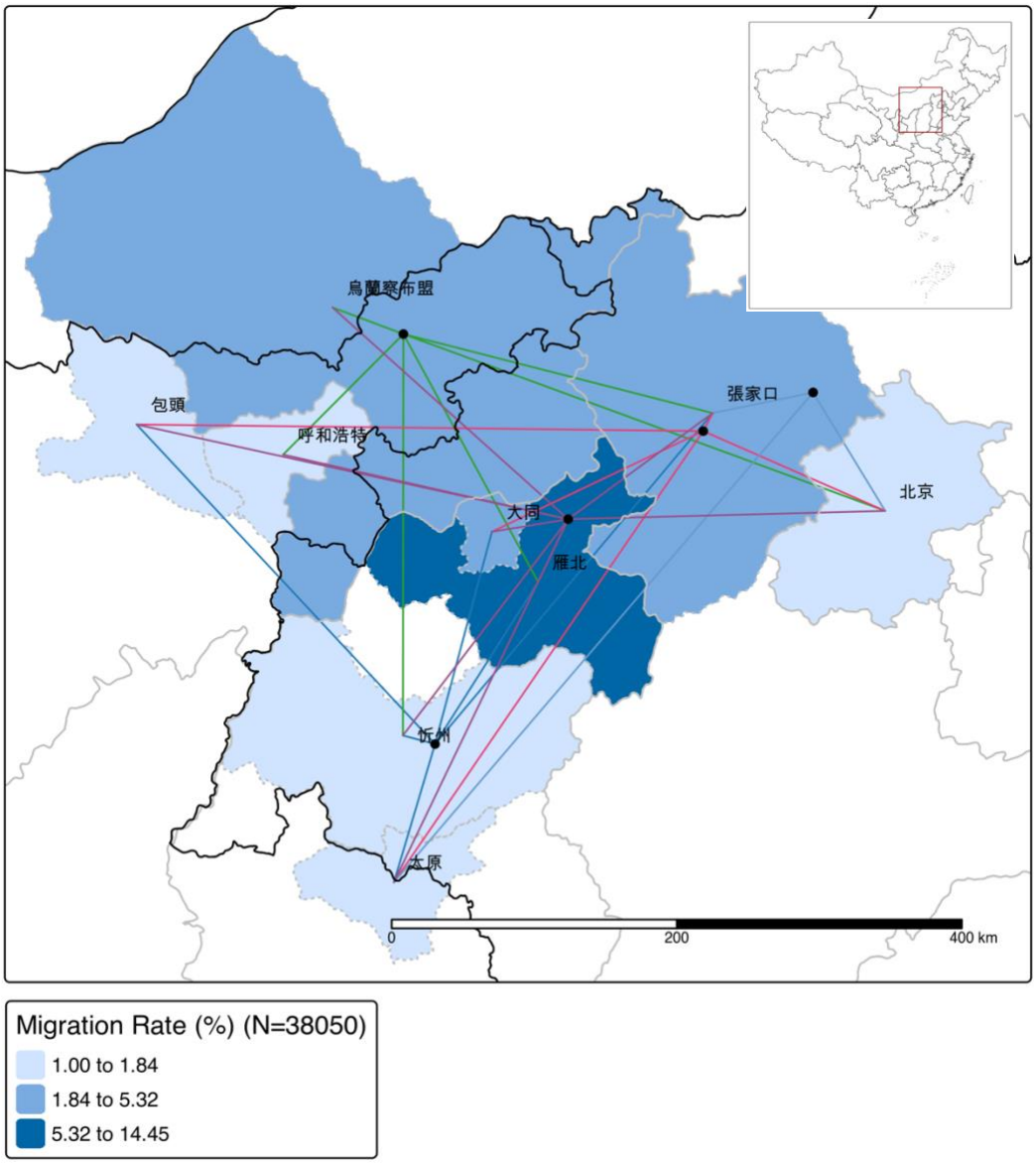


Source: CRRD-SQ UHHID#14661

2. Migration Vector Maps

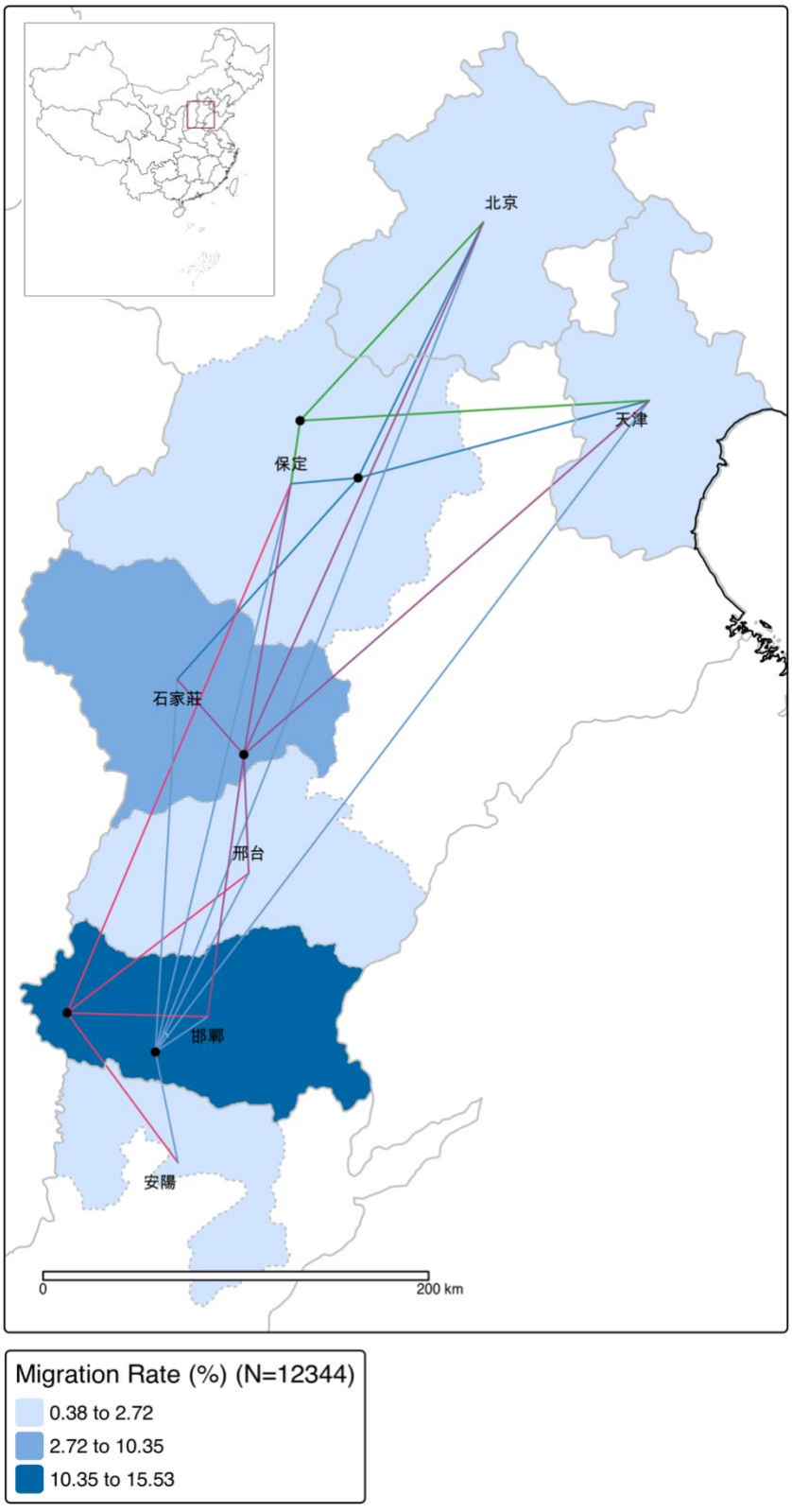
The following series of regional maps shows the top migrant destinations (with migration rates over 0.3 percent) aggregated at the prefectural level (地级市). Dots indicate the locations of source counties, and lines indicate the directions of migration. Migration observations include all household members and social relations, intra- and inter-county, and past and present. Top destinations do not significantly change over time.

Map panel 1 N. Shanxi/NW Hebei/I. Mongolia Region



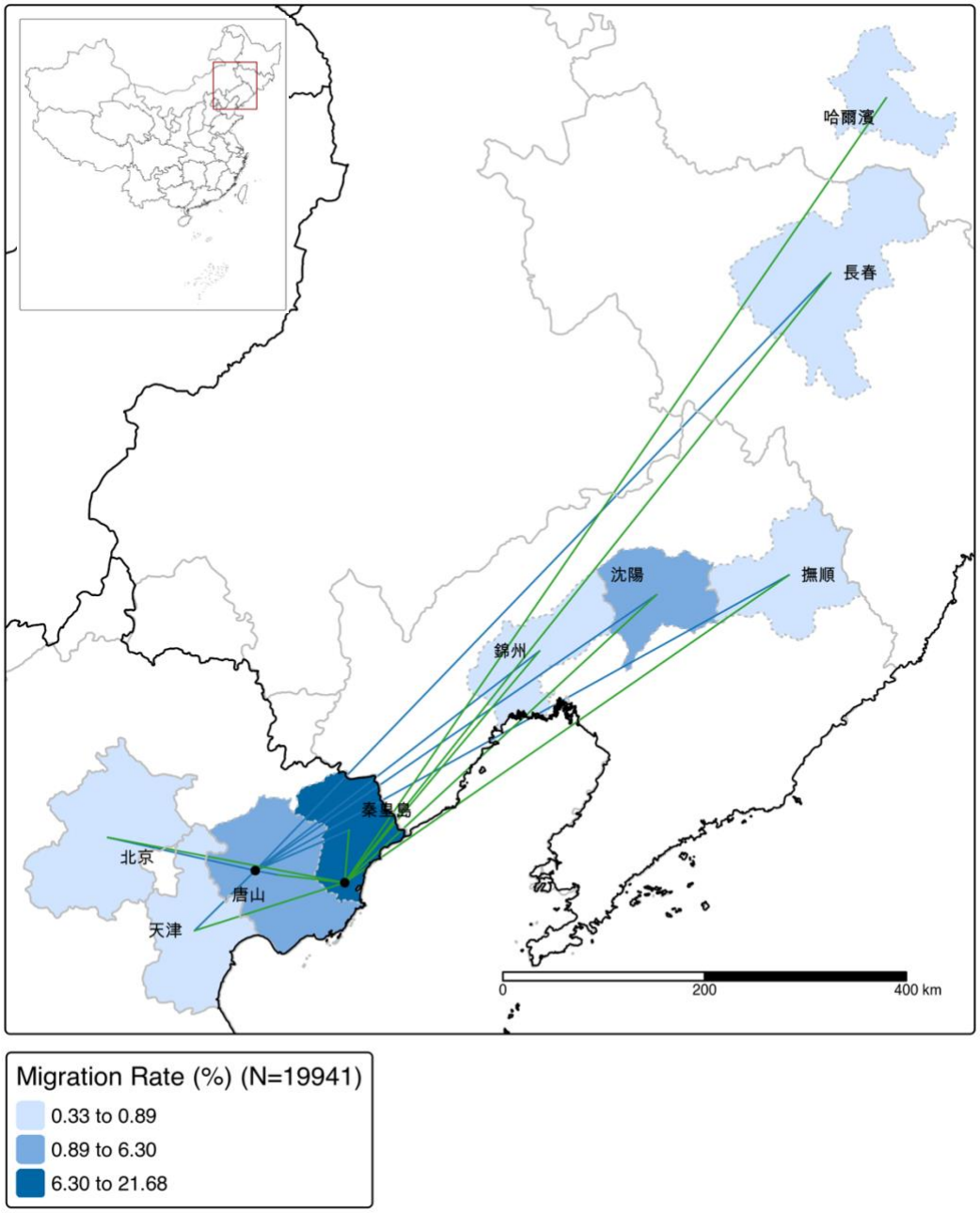
Sources: Author's calculations based on the CRRD-SQ dataset. Basemap data from CITAS 2016 (prefecture and province boundaries (gray)); Skinner and Henderson 2012 (macroregion boundaries (black)).

Map panel 2 SW Hebei Region



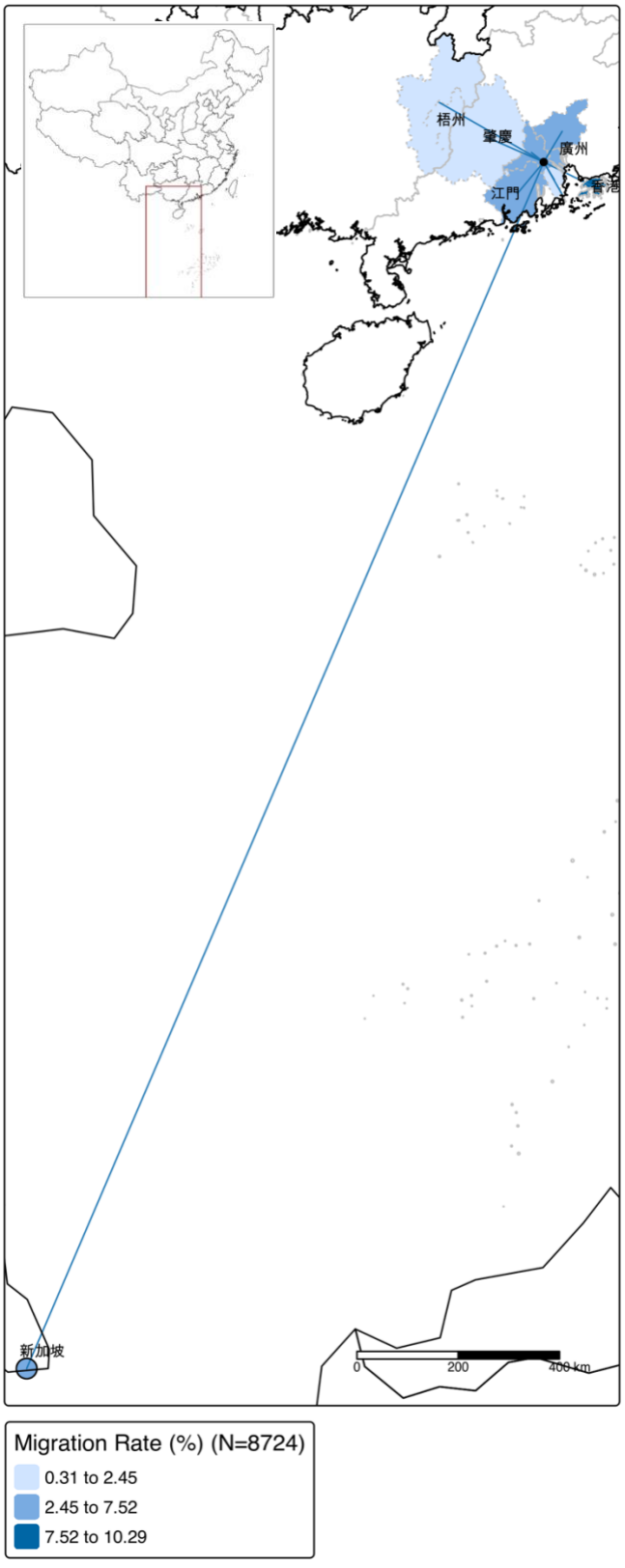
Sources: See map panel 1.

Map panel 3 East Hebei Region



Sources: See map panel 1.

Map panel 4 South Guangdong Region



Sources: See map panel 1.