

# Restrictions on Migration Create Gender Inequality: The Story of China's Left-Behind Children

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# Hukou: An Internal Passport in China

- Hukou determines a person's eligibility to
  - Pursue many activities
  - Access state-provided goods and services in a specific place
- Under *Hukou* system, each person is
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  - classified as either **rural** or **urban**
  - assigned a **locality** of hukou registration
- **No** gender discrimination in intent or design
- 145 million rural-urban migrants in China (2005 census)
- 124 million are unskilled migrants with a rural *hukou*
- Migrants' access to public services severely restricted

# Consequences of *Hukou*

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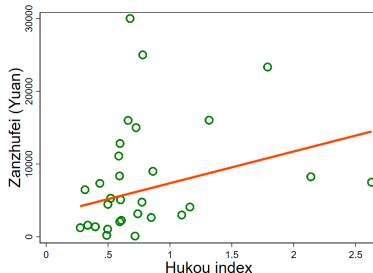
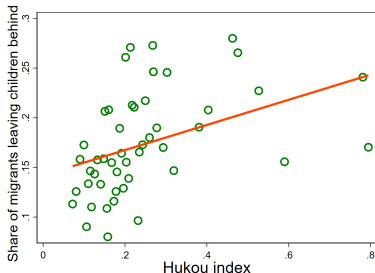
- 69 million rural children left in rural areas by migrants
- 30% of all children born in rural areas (UNICEF 2018)
- Most growing up without either parent present
- The issue is highly policy-relevant:
  - This is a direct result of hukou restrictions
  - The policy increases the cost of bringing children to cities
  - Exacerbated by 2014 “Migrant Population Control Policy”

# Restrictions Encourage Migrants to Leave Children Behind

- Migrant parents have three choices:
  - 1 Pay *zanzhufei* to enroll children in urban public school
  - 2 Enroll children in lower-quality *migrant schools*
  - 3 Leave their children behind in poor rural areas
- Per-child *Zanzhufei* fee is large:
  - 10% of the average migrant's earnings
  - 1432 RMB for primary school, 2198 RMB for middle school
  - Accounts for 50% of total education expenditure
- Migrant schools are shut down popular migration destinations like Beijing.



# Hukou Policy Restrictiveness correlates with both Zanzhufei and Share of Children Left-behind



Data come from *CMDS* and *CFPS*.

# Bad school quality in rural areas

**Table:** The share of teachers by education levels

|                               | Master<br>or above | College | Pre-college | High school | Below<br>high school |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Panel A: Junior middle school |                    |         |             |             |                      |
| Urban                         | 0.031              | 0.830   | 0.135       | 0.003       | 0.000                |
| Rural                         | 0.004              | 0.657   | 0.328       | 0.011       | 0.000                |
| Panel B: Primary school       |                    |         |             |             |                      |
| Urban                         | 0.010              | 0.570   | 0.374       | 0.045       | 0.000                |
| Rural                         | 0.001              | 0.249   | 0.552       | 0.195       | 0.003                |

Data come from *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China 2013*

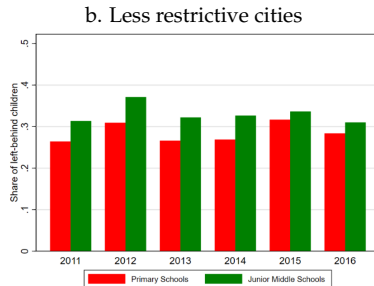
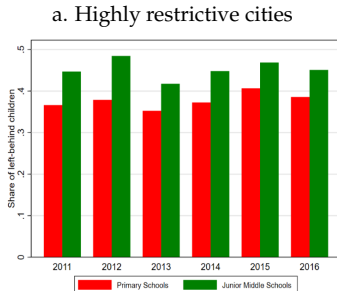
# Bad school quality in rural areas cont

**Table:** The share of teachers by professional titles

|                               | Special Grade<br>(Excellent) | Level-1 | Level-2 | Level-3 | No title |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| Panel A: Junior middle school |                              |         |         |         |          |
| Urban                         | 0.218                        | 0.436   | 0.270   | 0.009   | 0.068    |
| Rural                         | 0.114                        | 0.405   | 0.372   | 0.026   | 0.083    |
| Panel B: Primary school       |                              |         |         |         |          |
| Urban                         | 0.578                        | 0.302   | 0.022   | 0.003   | 0.095    |
| Rural                         | 0.508                        | 0.360   | 0.041   | 0.002   | 0.089    |

Data come from *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China 2013*

# Enrollment Restrictions Are Stronger for Junior Middle Schools



Data come from *China Migrants Dynamic Survey (CMDS)*.

Further evidence

# What do we do

## 1 Identify effect of *hukou* policy on leaving children behind

- Does the propensity vary for **sons** vs **daughters**?
- RD design based on school enrollment age thresholds
- Natural experiment on new population control policies.

## 2 Are daughters compensated with more remittances?

## 3 Long-term consequences of separating from parents

- IV strategy with import demand shocks in nearby cities
- 2nd IV with rainfall shocks and historical migration ties

## 4 Mechanisms: Why do *hukou* mobility restrictions harm girls more?

# Contribution to the literature

- Left-behind children in China:
  - We document the **long-run** outcomes in adulthood
  - **Gendered effects** in parental choices and child outcomes.
- Literature on **sources of gender inequity**:
  - New mechanism: **Migration restrictions** can produce or exacerbate gender inequality
  - Even if the policy has no explicit gender component
- Literature on **migration** and spatial productivity gaps:
  - Add **gender dimension** to the distributional consequences of frictions that prevent spatial mobility.

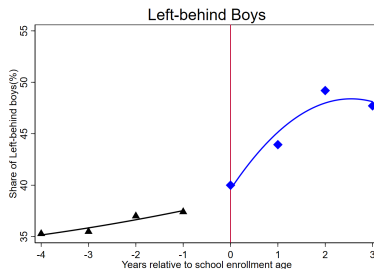
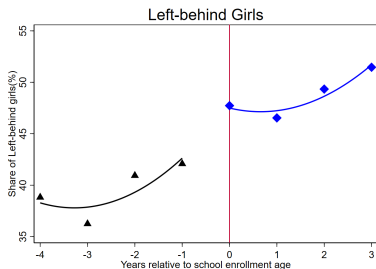
# School Enrollment Age Regression Discontinuity (RD) Design

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Left behind}_{ijt} = & \alpha_0 + \psi_1 \text{Above}_{it} \times \text{High Hukou}_{jt} + \psi_2 \text{Above}_{it} \\ & + \psi_3 T_j \times \text{Above}_{it} + \psi_4 T_j + \xi_{jt} + v_{ijt} \end{aligned}$$

- $\text{Left behind}_{ijt}$  - an indicator for whether child  $i$  (whose migrant parents work in city  $j$ ) are left in rural areas in year  $t$
- $\text{Above}_{it}$  - an indicator for whether child  $i$  is above the enrollment age for junior middle school.
- $\text{Highly Hukou}_{jt}$  - an indicator for whether the stringency level of *hukou* restrictions is above the average city level.
- $T_j$  - running variables
- $\xi_{jt}$  - city-by-year FE

# More Girls Are Left Behind at the Junior School Enrollment Age

## #1 Highly *Hukou*-Restricted Cities

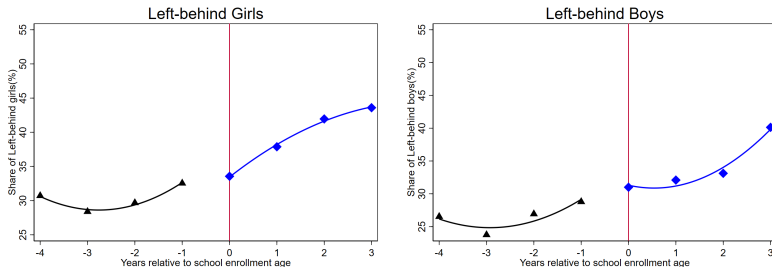


Data come from China *Migrants Dynamic Survey* (CMDS).



# More Girls Are Left Behind at the Junior School Enrollment Age

## #2 Less *Hukou*-Restricted Cities

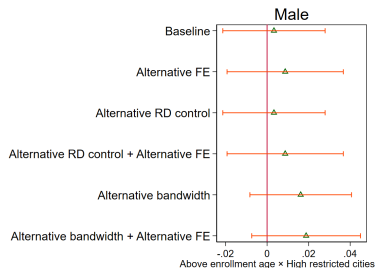
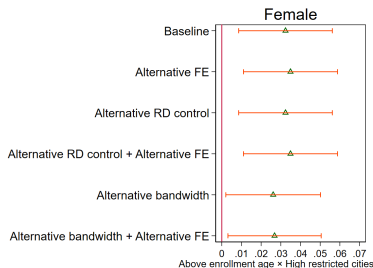


Data come from *China Migrants Dynamic Survey (CMDS)*.

# RD Results based on School Enrollment Age

|   | Dependent Variable: Indicator for leaving the child in rural hometown |                      |                      |                      |
|---|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|   | Female  |                      | Male                 |                      |
| Above enrollment age $\times$ Highly restricted cities (=1)( $\psi_1$ ) | 0.0349**<br>(0.0145)  | 0.0354**<br>(0.0144) | 0.00871<br>(0.0170)  | 0.00984<br>(0.0167)  |
| Above enrollment age ( $\psi_2$ )                                       | -0.00375<br>(0.0176)  | -0.00644<br>(0.0178) | 0.000643<br>(0.0153) | 0.000597<br>(0.0152) |
| <i>P-value of (<math>\psi_1 + \psi_2</math>)</i>                        | 0.0178  | 0.0157               | 0.609                | 0.558                |
| Mean of Dep. Var.   | 0.35  | 0.35                 | 0.34                 | 0.34                 |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE $\times$ Hukou Province FE                     | Yes   | Yes                  | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| Cohort FE   | No  | Yes                  | No                   | Yes                  |
| Age Bandwidth   | 2   | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    |
| Control function for the running variable                               | Linear  | Linear               | Linear               | Linear               |

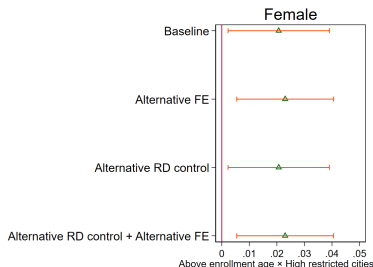
# Robustness



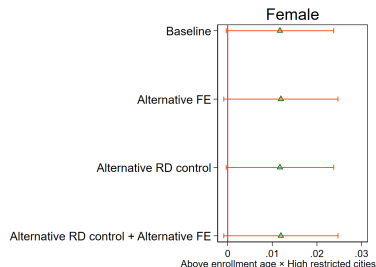
- Add household control: Household income and father's education attainment
- Alternative FE: City FE\*Year FE + *Hukou* Province FE\*Year FE
- Alternative RD control: Local quadratic regression
- Alternative Bandwidth: Extend bandwidth to 3 years

# One parent versus both parents are away

a. Without both parents



b. With one of the parents



- Baseline: City FE\*Year FE + *Hukou* Province FE
- Alternative FE: City FE\*Year FE + *Hukou* Province FE\*Year FE
- Add household control: Household income and father's education attainment

# DDD Regression: Combining Boys and Girls

|  | (1)  | (2)                 | (3)                 | (4)                 |
|--|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|  | Dependent variable: Indicator for<br>leaving the child in rural hometown |                     |                     |                     |
| Female $\times$ Above Enrollment Age $\times$ Highly<br>restricted cities (=1) | 0.0282*<br>(0.0152)  | 0.0279*<br>(0.0151) | 0.0282*<br>(0.0152) | 0.0279*<br>(0.0151) |
| Observations   | 71,925   | 71,925              | 71,925              | 71,925              |
| Adjusted R-squared   | 0.157  | 0.158               | 0.157               | 0.158               |
| Household Control  | Yes  | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE   | Yes  | Yes                 | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Cohort FE  | No   | Yes                 | No                  | Yes                 |
| Age Bandwidth  | 2  | 2                   | 2                   | 2                   |
| Control function for the running variable                                      | Linear   | Linear              | Quadratic           | Quadratic           |

# An Alternative RD Design

**The 2014 Policy Shock:** China urged mega cities—those with a population of over **five million** in the central district area—to strictly control migrant population.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Left behind}_{ijt} = & \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{Above}_{it} \times I(\text{Pop} > 5\text{million})_j \times I(t > 2014) \\ & + \alpha_2 \text{Above}_{it} \times I(\text{Pop} > 5\text{million})_j + \alpha_3 \text{Above}_{it} \times \\ & I(t > 2014) + \alpha_4 \text{Above}_{it} + \xi_{jt} + \eta_n + v_{ijt} \end{aligned}$$

# Alternative RD Results based on the 2014 Mega City Population Control Policy

| Dependent Variable: Indicator for leaving the child in rural hometown           |                       |                      |                     |                     |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|   | Female                |                      | Male                |                     |
| Above enrollment age $\times$ I(Population > 5 million) $\times$ I(Year > 2014) | 0.0700***<br>(0.0220) | 0.0772**<br>(0.0306) | -0.0429<br>(0.0363) | -0.0314<br>(0.0267) |
| Above enrollment age $\times$ I(Population > 5 million)                         | -0.00355<br>(0.0222)  | -0.00946<br>(0.0197) | 0.0186<br>(0.0139)  | 0.00909<br>(0.0153) |
| Above enrollment age ( $\psi_2$ ) $\times$ I(Year > 2014)                       | -0.0495**<br>(0.0214) | -0.0491<br>(0.0291)  | 0.0342<br>(0.0262)  | 0.0434<br>(0.0277)  |
| Above enrollment age ( $\psi_2$ )   | 0.0314*<br>(0.0173)   | 0.0453**<br>(0.0172) | -0.0240<br>(0.0166) | -0.0200<br>(0.0186) |
| Observations  | 10,296                | 10,296               | 13,812              | 13,812              |
| Adjusted R-squared  | 0.163                 | 0.192                | 0.137               | 0.169               |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE  | Yes                   | No                   | Yes                 | No                  |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE $\times$ Hukou Province FE                             | No                    | Yes                  | No                  | Yes                 |
| Cohort FE   | Yes                   | Yes                  | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Age Bandwidth   | 2                     | 2                    | 2                   | 2                   |
| City Size Bandwidth   | 3                     | 3                    | 3                   | 3                   |

# If financial resources more important than parental time, this may not be bad for daughters

- Migration improves parents' earning capacity
- Migrant parents can **compensate** daughters by sending remittances back to the rural area
- The **net effect** on children depends whether the parents' **time** or **money** is more important for the child's human capital accumulation



# Left-behind Girls Receive Significantly Less Remittance Than Boys

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Dependent variable: IHS of Remittance

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## Panel A: Primary School Age

|        |          |          |          |          |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Female | -0.0980* | -0.0971* | -0.0952* | -0.0925* |
|        | (0.0530) | (0.0530) | (0.0558) | (0.0559) |

## Panel B: Junior Middle School Age

|        |          |          |          |          |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Female | -0.134** | -0.135** | -0.165** | -0.164** |
|        | (0.0653) | (0.0642) | (0.0702) | (0.0689) |

|                                   |     |     |     |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| City FE×Year FE                   | Yes | Yes | No  | No  |
| City FE×Year FE×Hukou Province FE | No  | No  | Yes | Yes |
| Cohort FE                         | No  | Yes | No  | Yes |

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# Long-term Consequences of Separating from Parents at School Age

$$Y_{icn} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Left behind}_{icn} + \zeta_c + \eta_n + \varepsilon_{it}$$

- $\text{Left behind}_{icn}$  - an indicator for whether individual  $i$  was left in location  $c$  and year  $n$  was  $k$  during the age of junior middle school.
- $\zeta_c$  - birth location FE
- $\eta_{n,t} \times \text{Female}$  - birth cohorts FE

## IV: World Import Demand (WID) $\times$ *hukou* restrictions across destinations

$$\text{Left behind}_{icn,t} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 \text{WID}_{c,t} \times \text{Des\_High hukou}_c + \gamma_2 \text{WID}_{c,t} + \xi_c + \eta_n + \varepsilon_{it}$$

- $\text{WID}_{c,t}$  - the exposure to world import demand shocks across nearby cities
- $\text{Des\_High hukou}_c$  - an indicator for whether migrants from birthplace  $c$  face stringent *hukou* restrictions in nearby cities

$$\text{WID}_{ct} = \sum_d \left( \frac{1}{\text{dist}_{dc}} \right) \left( \sum_k \text{WorldIM}_{k,t-2,t} \times \frac{\text{EX}_{k,d}}{\sum_j \text{EX}_{k,j}} \right)$$

- $\text{WorldIM}_{k,t-2,t}$ : Changes in world-import demand by industry between  $t-2$  to  $t$
- $\frac{\text{EX}_{k,d}}{\sum_j \text{EX}_{k,j}}$ : Initial export shares in 1997

First-stage results

# Long-term Educational Outcomes

|   | Years of<br>Schooling |                      | IHS of Years<br>of Schooling |                      | Pass High School<br>Entrance Exams (=1) |                    |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|---|--------------------|
| Indicator for leaving the<br>child behind | -2.863***<br>(0.561)  | -3.005***<br>(0.697) | -0.277***<br>(0.0769)        | -0.290**<br>(0.0980) | -0.411*<br>(0.194)                      | -0.446*<br>(0.232) |
| F stat                                    | 50.97                 | 43.33                | 50.97                        | 43.33                | 37.28                                   | 36.29              |
| Observations                              | 1,335                 | 1,335                | 1,335                        | 1,335                | 946                                     | 946                |
| Mean of Dep. Var.                         | 11.37                 | 11.37                | 3.07                         | 3.07                 | 0.67                                    | 0.67               |
| SD of Dep. Var.                           | 3.510                 | 3.510                | 0.381                        | 0.381                | 0.469                                   | 0.469              |
| Household Controls                        | No                    | Yes                  | No                           | Yes                  | No                                      | Yes                |
| Township FE                               | Yes                   | Yes                  | Yes                          | Yes                  | Yes                                     | Yes                |

# Long-term Health and Labor Outcomes

|   | Low Income<br>Group (=1) |                    | Disadvantaged<br>Rural Status (=1) |                      | Obesity (BMI>30)    |                     |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Indicator for leaving the<br>child behind | 0.397**<br>(0.153)       | 0.397**<br>(0.152) | 0.347***<br>(0.0590)               | 0.352***<br>(0.0694) | 0.109**<br>(0.0345) | 0.108**<br>(0.0358) |
| F stat                                    | 47.51                    | 37.67              | 47.51                              | 37.67                | 47.51               | 37.67               |
| Observations                              | 1,379                    | 1,379              | 1,379                              | 1,379                | 1,379               | 1,379               |
| Mean of Dep. Var.                         | 0.71                     | 0.71               | 0.91                               | 0.91                 | 0.026               | 0.026               |
| SD of Dep. Var.                           | 0.452                    | 0.452              | 0.291                              | 0.291                | 0.160               | 0.160               |
| Household Controls                        | No                       | Yes                | No                                 | Yes                  | No                  | Yes                 |
| Township FE                               | Yes                      | Yes                | Yes                                | Yes                  | Yes                 | Yes                 |

# Underlying mechanisms

- *Hukou* restrictions **exacerbate** the effects of the **son preference**
- The returns to education may be lower for females than males
- Sons are potentially more productive than daughters

# Larger Effects for Girls with Male Siblings

|   | Dependent Variable: Indicator for leaving the child in rural hometown |                          |                      |                      |
|---|---|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|   | Have male siblings  | Don't have male siblings |                      |                      |
| Above enrollment age $\times$ Highly restricted cities (=1)( $\psi_1$ ) | 0.0346*<br>(0.0175)   | 0.0354**<br>(0.0176)     | 0.0239<br>(0.0194)   | 0.0249<br>(0.0193)   |
| Above enrollment age ( $\psi_2$ )                                       | 0.0113<br>(0.0252)  | 0.0115<br>(0.0253)       | 0.000691<br>(0.0206) | -0.00367<br>(0.0205) |
| <i>P-value of (<math>\psi_1 + \psi_2</math>)</i>                        | 0.0504  | 0.0462                   | 0.222                | 0.201                |
| Observations  | 13,591  | 13,591                   | 14,490               | 14,490               |
| Adjusted R-squared  | 0.225   | 0.226                    | 0.205                | 0.205                |
| Mean of Dep. Var.   | 0.41  | 0.41                     | 0.33                 | 0.33                 |
| Household Control   | Yes   | Yes                      | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE  | No  | No                       | No                   | No                   |
| City FE $\times$ Year FE $\times$ Hukou Province FE                     | Yes   | Yes                      | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| Cohort FE   | No  | Yes                      | No                   | Yes                  |
| Age Bandwidth   | 2   | 2                        | 2                    | 2                    |
| Control function for the running variable                               | Linear  | Linear                   | Linear               | Linear               |

# Larger Effects for Households from Provinces with Male-biased Sex Ratio

|   | Dependent variable: Indicator for leaving the child in rural hometown |                       |                       |                       |
|---|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Above enrollment age×Highly restricted cities(=1)<br>×High Baseline Sex Ratio(=1) | 0.0680***<br>(0.0222)   | 0.0664***<br>(0.0222) | 0.0820***<br>(0.0169) | 0.0812***<br>(0.0168) |
| Observations  | 31,066  | 31,066                | 31,066                | 31,066                |
| Adjusted R-squared  | 0.101   | 0.102                 | 0.206                 | 0.207                 |
| Household Control   | Yes   | Yes                   | Yes                   | Yes                   |
| City FE×Year FE   | Yes   | Yes                   | No                    | No                    |
| City FE×Year FE×Hukou Province FE   | No  | No                    | Yes                   | Yes                   |
| Cohort FE   | No  | Yes                   | No                    | Yes                   |
| Age Bandwidth   | 2   | 2                     | 2                     | 2                     |
| Control function for the running variable   | Linear  | Linear                | Linear                | Linear                |

Rural parents who have a strong **son preference** tend to make a **sex selection** for second births (Almond et al., 2019).



# Other Mechanisms

- Females have a higher (rather than a lower) rate of return to education than males
- Our empirical pattern is not systematically affected by gender wage gaps.
- The effects of leaving children behind do not differ systematically by gender.

# Conclusion

- Some “unintended” consequences of mobility restrictions:
  - Migrants more likely to separate from daughters than sons
  - Separating from parents and growing up in poor rural area translates into long-term socioeconomic disadvantages
  - Girls are hurt throughout their lives
  - Girls receive less money *and* less time from parents
- *Hukou* restrictions **magnify** the effects of pre-existing gender bias (which child is left behind is a parental choice)
- Global Implications
  - *Hokhau* policy in Vietnam (Cameron 2012)
  - Informal barriers to accessing urban education in India (Pandey 2021)
  - Most of the world’s 272 million international migrants discouraged or explicitly disallowed from bringing families (Mobarak et al 2021)

# Potential implications on economic inefficiency

- Improved access to economic opportunities for females and ethnic minorities has boosted economic growth in the U.S. (Duflo, 2012; Hsieh et al., 2019)
- Limited access to education resources faced by rural girls may undermine economic development in China.

# Enrollment Restrictions Are Much Stronger for Junior Middle Schools

**Table:** Migrant households' spending on education

|   | Primary school | Junior middle school |
|---|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>Zanzhufei</i> specific for migrant children            | 1432.005       | 2198.48              |
| Total education expenditure (excluding <i>Zanzhufei</i> ) | 1444.093       | 2339.375             |

Data come from *Chinese Household Income Project Survey (CHIPS) 2007 and 2008*.

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# Enrollment Restrictions Are Much Stronger for Junior Middle Schools

**Table:** Migrant children in Guangzhou disappear as they enter junior middle school

|                           |                           | 2008   | 2012   | 2015   |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Primary school            | Num of migrant children   | 376963 | 434473 | 458216 |
|                           | Share of migrant children | 43.69% | 52.82% | 48.86% |
| Junior middle school      | Num of migrant children   | 86089  | 121426 | 127815 |
|                           | Share of migrant children | 21.09% | 32.51% | 37.97% |
| High school Entrance Exam | Num of migrant children   | —      | 23762  | 31969  |
|                           | Share of migrant children | —      | 20.06% | 28.87% |

Data come from the *Annual Report on Education for China's Migrant Children* (2016)

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# First-stage results

|                               | (1)   | (2)                 | (3)                  | (4)                  |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                               | Indicator for leaving the child in rural hometown |                     |                      |                      |
| WID                           | -0.141<br>(0.319)                                 | -0.152<br>(0.321)   |                      |                      |
| WID × High hukou restrictions | 1.053***<br>(0.153)                               | 1.048***<br>(0.171) |                      |                      |
| Log rainfall                  |   |                     | 0.384***<br>(0.0698) | 0.376***<br>(0.0692) |
| Log rainfall × Migration ties |   |                     | -3.588***<br>(0.332) | -3.518***<br>(0.408) |
| Observations                  | 1,379   | 1,379               | 1,414                | 1,414                |
| Adjusted R-squared            | 0.126   | 0.125               | 0.126                | 0.125                |
| F stat                        | 47.55   | 37.70               | 116.8                | 74.26                |
| Household Controls            | No  | Yes                 | No                   | Yes                  |
| Township FE                   | Yes   | Yes                 | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| Year FE                       | Yes   | Yes                 | Yes                  | Yes                  |

# Rural Girls Are More Likely to Be Left Behind Compared to Rural Boys

|   | Male  | Female | P-value of diff | Adjusted P-value of diff |
|---|-------|--------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Panel A: Junior middle school age at highly restrictive cities: |       |        |                 |                          |
| Three people in the city  | 0.448 | 0.434  | 0.015           | 0.000                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown with one of the parents     | 0.135 | 0.133  | 0.558           | 0.525                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown without both parents        | 0.323 | 0.347  | 0.000           | 0.000                    |
| Panel B: Junior middle school age at less restrictive cities:   |       |        |                 |                          |
| Three people in the city  | 0.538 | 0.541  | 0.639           | 0.104                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown with one of the parents     | 0.110 | 0.103  | 0.045           | 0.490                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown without both parents        | 0.228 | 0.239  | 0.021           | 0.004                    |
| Panel C: Primary school age at highly restrictive cities:       |       |        |                 |                          |
| Three people in the city  | 0.527 | 0.526  | 0.839           | 0.080                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown with one of the parents     | 0.110 | 0.106  | 0.043           | 0.085                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown without both parents        | 0.250 | 0.258  | 0.012           | 0.000                    |
| Panel D: Primary school age at less restrictive cities          |       |        |                 |                          |
| Three people in the city  | 0.593 | 0.594  | 0.820           | 0.081                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown with one of the parents     | 0.093 | 0.092  | 0.819           | 0.181                    |
| Leaving the child in rural hometown without both parents        | 0.182 | 0.186  | 0.195           | 0.001                    |