Self-esteem among Migrant Children in China

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Abstract

In 2012, there were over 18 million migrant children in China. Studies showed that rural-to-urban migrant children had significantly lower self-esteem than the urban non-migrant children, but the determinant factors have not been analyzed thoroughly. In this paper, I used data from the 2002 China Nine-City Survey of Migrant Children to examine what factors may affect migrant children's self-esteem. The results of data analysis showed that poor living condition, anxiety of being discriminated against and exposure to neighborhood crime can lead to lower self-esteem migrant children. My findings suggested that if the government gradually allow more migrants to enjoy the benefits for locals, such as state-owned low-rent apartments, rural-to-urban migrant children would have less low self-esteem problem.

Key Words: *migrant children, self-esteem, living condition, neighborhood crime, expected discrimination*

In 2012, there were over 18 million migrant children in China (CCTF 2012). Many scholars are concerned about the well-being of these migrant children. Some scholars studied the education inequality between migrant children and urban children in China to reveal the determining factors (Yao 2007; Guo 2002), the negative consequences (Liang & Chen 2007; Zhao 1999) and the solutions (Kwong 2004). Other scholars discovered that migrant children in China are more likely to become child laborers (Liang, Guo & Duan 2008), are more vulnerable to diseases (Sun et. al. 2010), and can have all kinds of problems while adapting to city life (Wen & Wang 2009; Chen, Wang & Wang 2009).

Another important issue that needs to be studied is the low self-esteem problem of migrant children. Studies have shown that rural-to-urban migrant children had significantly lower self-esteem than non-migrant children (Mao & Zhao 2012; Li et. al. 2012; Liu and Fang 2011, etc.), yet the causes have not been analyzed thoroughly. Low self-esteem can lead to serious problems for migrant children. Low self-esteem not only may influence their future achievements (Liu, et.al. 1992; Lan & Lanthier 2003), but also may increase their chance of being involved in crimes (Donnellan 2005). Low self-esteem may weaken their connection to society, which in turn leads to a decrease in respect for social norms and an increase in delinquency (Rosenberg 1965; Hirschi 1969). Humanistic psychologists and Neo-Freudians also suggested that low self-esteem motivates aggression (Rogers et. al. 1961; Horney 1950; Tracy & Robins 2003).

There is a wide income gap between rural and urban residents in China. Since 2002, the average income of rural residents in China has been less than one third of the average income of urban residents (2012 China Year Book). Rural residents also have far less education and job opportunities. As a result, rural-to-urban migrants often have lower family social economic status and start their city life residing in shabby apartments in disadvantaged neighborhoods. In order to save money, some migrant families only rent one room, and shared the rest of the apartments with other migrants. Migrants usually considered their apartments as temporary shelter and do not put much effort into improving the living conditions. Migrant child may perceive the difference between her/himself and the local children when s/he compared their living condition.

When the rural-to-urban migrants come into the cities, most of them tend to live in the "urban villages" where rent is rather low (Yang 2003; Wei & Yan 2005). Urban villages were once suburb villages, but became surrounded by urban areas as the city expanded. The city government bought most of the farmland from the villagers to build roads and mansions, but

allowed the villagers to build apartments on their remaining lands (Wei & Yan 2005). These apartments are in poor condition and lack management, and mainly poor people lived in them. Some scholars argued that the urban villages are not urban slums since the residents of these urban villages are often migrants who experience high rate of spatial mobility and social mobility (Wei & Yan 2005), yet the urban villages shared many characteristics with urban slums: local governments are not taking care of them, residents have extremely low income, and crime rates are rather high. Living in urban villages greatly increase migrant children's chance of becoming witnesses, victims, or even perpetrators of a crime, which would have a set of negative effects on their mental well-being.

Migrant children also need to worry about discrimination from the local children. Many scholars suggest that rural-urban economic gap and the household registration system (Hukou) that legalized rural-urban difference are the sources of discrimination against rural-to-urban migrants (Yang 2005; Tang 2007). China's Hukou system started in 1958 as a way to constrain the internal migration of Chinese. A large proportion of the population was classified as the rural population by the Hukou system. The rural residents have to remain in the rural areas and stick to the farm work, and if they want to move to cities and stay for a while, they need to gain official permission. In the early stage when migration was strictly controlled, the Hukou system generated and maintained the uneven distribution of resources and opportunity between urban and rural areas. After 1978, Chinese people can migrate and stay in a place without local Hukou, but local Hukou still stands for a set of resources, rights and privileges. The rural-to-urban migrant children with rural Hukou have to pay extra fee to be enrolled in school (Li 2004). They are less likely to have access to public Medicare and they don't receive discounts in public transportation (cite). It is very likely that migrant children would feel they are inferior to urban

children because they have been treated differently due to rural Hukou, and become anxious of being looked down upon by locals.

Rural-to-urban migrant children in China face many serious problems: poor living condition, discrimination from peers and dangerous neighborhood. Are these problems the cause of the low self-esteem of rural-to-urban migrant children? If they are, what policies can solve these problems and help increase migrant children's self-esteem? I attempted to answer these questions in this paper. Firstly, I reviewed the literature on the influential factors on self-esteem of children, especially on China's migrant children. Then, I examined the effect of living condition, neighborhood crime and expected discrimination based on the 2002 Nine City Migrant Children Data. Finally, I provided some policy suggestions on solving the low self-esteem problem of migrant children based on my findings.

LITERATURE

There are four main sources of self-evaluation: social comparisons, reflected appraisals, self-attributions, and psychological centrality (Whitbeck et. al. 1991; Demo & Savin-Williams 1983). As social comparison theory suggested, humans are driven by instinct to evaluate themselves, and since in most instances, there are no objective, non-social means available, people usually evaluate their opinions and abilities by comparison with the opinions and abilities of others (Festinger 1954). As migrant children grow older, they are more likely to compare their dress, living condition or parents' employment status with peers in school and become more aware of the difference in family status (Whitbeck et. al. 1991). Even though upward comparison (comparing with people who can do better) provides useful information and can sometimes lead to self-enhancement (Collins 1996; Taylor & Lobel 1989), failing to reach uniformity with the

reference group can have direct negative effect on self-esteem and mood (Brewer & Weber 1994; Brown et. al. 1992; etc.). If migrant children noticed the differences between their home/neighborhood and the home/neighborhood of better off migrant children and local children, they are more likely to have low self-esteem.

Symbolic interaction theorists argued that people develop a self-concept partly based on reflected appraisals, which are the beliefs about how one is perceived by significant others (Alvarez & Helms 2001; Mead 1934; Cooley, 1902). The reflected appraisals of others are even more important to development of self-concept than actual appraisals (Felson 1985). The discrimination expected or perceived by immigrants can be viewed as a kind of reflected appraisal. It is based on one's perceptions of how his/her racial/ethnic group is treated and regarded (Alvarez & Helms 2001). Self-attributions (Kelly 1967) refer to the evaluations of one's own behaviors. One's self evaluation also reflects the individual's appraisal of his/her achievements. Finally, the degree of psychological centrality (Rosenberg and Pearlin 1978) refers to the different aspects of self-worth. These theories described the general categories of influential factors of children's self-evaluation. In the following paragraphs, I will review papers on the specific effects of living condition, discrimination and neighborhood on children's mental well-being and self-esteem.

Living Condition

It is quite clear that economic condition is influential on children's self-esteem (Langner et. al. 1970; Rosenberg and Pearlin 1978; Rosenberg et. al. 1978; Demo & Savin-Williams 1983; et. al.). However, focusing only on the direct effects of family poverty overlooks the mediating

factors. Past studies discovered that family relationships are an important mediating factor (Whitbeck et. al. 1991; Ho, et. al. 1995). Whitbeck's study proved that economic hardship not only affected young adolescents' self-esteem directly through youths' perception of family economic stress, but also affected them indirectly through parents' way of attending children (Whitbeck et. al. 1991). Ho's study showed that the indirect effect between economic and adolescents' self-esteem is mediated through parent-children relationship. However, family relationship along can't explain all the indirect effects of family hardship on children's self-esteem. After decomposing poverty into persistent poverty and current poverty, McLeod and Shanahan(1993) pointed out that even though the psychological consequences of current poverty can be mainly explained by parent's behavior, the effect of persistent poverty can not.

One important indicator of family economic situation, the living condition, is influential to rural-to-urban migrant children's mental health and self-esteem. Self-esteem represents the overall emotional evaluation of the worth of oneself (Hewitt 2009). Youths generate their self-esteem through comparing themselves to those around them, based on their social similarity/dissimilarity with their reference groups (Rumbaut 1994). Migrants' apartments have far more sanitation problems than the local's (Cheng 2008; Xu 2008). The apartment buildings in urban villages are much more concentrated than those in the community locals lived (Sun 1998). During a study on migrant families with children, Liu (2009) discovered that 60% of the migrant families lived in rooms smaller than 12 square meters (about 108 square feet). If they had local Hukou, these migrants could have applied for low rent apartments provided by the local government. Through comparing their own living condition with the living condition of the local children, migrant children would feel they are poor and inferior to urban children.

Beside direct effects, living condition also have indirect effect on children's self-esteem. It could be mediating either through living condition's impact on migrant children's perception of their dwellings in the city (Lin 2006), or through its influence on children's learning efficiency at home (Liu 2009). During an ethnographic study on people who migrated from a village in Jinjiang to Hong Kong between1950s and 1970s, Lin (2006) discovered that difficult living condition discouraged migrant children from identifying the urban apartment as their home. One of Lin's respondent, Mr. Wang, bought a small apartment in Hong Kong, but he and his family only considered that place as a temporary shelter. Mr. Wang's son said he's willing to show his friends their home in Jinjiang, but he never brought any friend to where he lived in Hong Kong. If the living condition of the apartment is bad, the migrant children would not perceive the apartment as their home, but would regard it as a sign of poor migrant family which should be hidden from their friends. A study on migrant children in Nanjing city showed that only 3% of the local children would share the apartment with another family, while 8.3% of the migrant children need to share the apartment with another family (Wang et. al. 2012). Sharing their apartment with other family would also hinder migrant children from considering the urban dwelling as their home.

Poor living conditions may also greatly affect migrant children's learning efficiency. Most of the apartments rural-to-urban migrant children lived in are too small to provide them with a place to study. 43% of the migrant children in Nanjing and 80% of the migrant children in Qingdao don't have an independent bedroom (Wang et. al. 2012; Liu 2009). 30% of the migrant children don't have a study desk at home and have to study in bed or on tea table (Chen 2009). Migrant children who have to study in the living room were often interrupted by people around (Liu

2009). Migrant children's study efficiency can also be a mediating factor between family poverty and self-esteem.

Discrimination

Wirth (1972) defined a minority as a group of people who are singled out by their physical or cultural characteristics from others in society where they lived, facing differential and unequal treatments, and therefore regarded themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Awareness of discrimination is the key component of group identity (Jaret 1995). After experiencing discrimination, the migrant children would realize that they belong to a minority group and they are dominated by the majority. These minority memberships, along with frequent marginalization, can affect the way they view and appraise themselves (Spencer 1999). The effect of discrimination on migrant children's self-esteem is complex. Paradies (2006) reviewed 26 studies on the relation of racial discrimination and self-esteem: 9 of them find negative association, 4 of them find positive association, and 13 of them find no significant association.

Studies done in the US showed that discrimination would lead to distress and low self-esteem among immigrant children or descendants of immigrants (Rosenberg 1979; Link & Cullen 1990; Utsey & Ponterotto 1996; Klonoff et. al. 1999; etc.). Immigrant children in Canada (Dion & Kawakami 1996) and England (Ghuman 1998) also suffered from discrimination. In order to reduce the negative effect of discrimination, many parents prepared their children by emphasizing race difference (Hughes & Chen 1997; Stevenson 1997) or race pride (Fisher et. al. 2000; Knight et. al., 1993; Bowman and Howard 1985; etc.). Teenagers socialized to be aware of and respond proactively to racism have been found to have higher self-esteem (Bowman and Howard, 1985; Phinney and Chavira, 1995).

However, some scholars argued that if a person is discriminated because of the ethnic group s/he belongs to, mechanisms of perceptual defense may be deployed to reaffirm ethnic identity and maintain self-esteem level (Rumbaut 1994). In some extreme situations, the effect of discrimination may even be led to an opposite direction to reaffirm ethnic solidarity and increase migrant children's self-esteem, as has occurred among Korean American youths in LA after the 1992 riots (Min 1995). Harris-Britt (et. al. 2007) believes that the relation between discrimination and self-esteem is intervened by group pride. Based on an African-American youth sample, Harris-Britt demonstrated that for youth with moderate ethnic pride, discrimination can lead to higher self-esteem, while among blacks with both high or low ethnic pride, discrimination has negative effect on self-esteem.

Rumbaut (1994) pointed out that the effect of perceived discrimination and the effect of expected discrimination needed to be analyzed separately. Perceived discrimination refers to the actual discrimination that one experienced due to negative stereotypes and reflected appraisals of the social group one belongs to. One often used measurement of perceived discrimination is Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI), which consists of 15 items and asks students to rate on a 5-point scale based on how often they have experienced each of the described events during the past 3 months (Fisher et. al., 2000). Items include "Because of your race or ethnicity, you were given a lower grade than you deserved,'' and ''Because of your race or ethnicity, you received poor service at a restaurant or store.'' Expected discrimination reflects one's anxiety of being discriminated (which may or may not involve actual discrimination). Rumbaut's key item about expected discrimination is "No matter how much education I get, people will still discriminate against me". After including both perceived discrimination and expected discrimination in a multiple regression analysis, Rumbaut discovered that the effect of perceived

discrimination on self-esteem became insignificant, while expected discrimination had significant negative effect on migrant children's self-esteem.

Since most of the internal migrant children in China are the ethnic majority, they do not face racial/ethnic discrimination. However, there are huge gaps between the income, education and opportunity of rural and urban residents, thus urban residents often feel that they are superior to rural residents. The Hukou system, which legalized the privileged status of urban residents and disadvantaged status of rural residents, is also a main source of discrimination (Zhao 2009). Rural migrants are often stereotyped as poor, dull and rustic people who brought crime into the cities. Rural-to-urban migrant are vulnerable to such discrimination. In one case, a school in Zhengzhou city required migrant children to provide IQ reports because the teachers suspected that the intelligence of rural children were not qualified for normal schools (Worker Daily 2012).

Even though the discrimination faced by migrant children in China is different from the one faced by international migrant children, it is no less influential. Discrimination and exclusion are affecting rural-to-urban migrants' mental well-being (Li et. al. 2006; Li et. al. 2007; Wang et. al. 2010). Migrant children are exposed to discrimination in school, the discrimination of teacher and local peers can be very influential on their mental health (Fang et. al. 2008; Liu 2008; Lin et. al. 2009; etc.). However, prior studies focused only on perceived discrimination, and it is also critical to study the effect of expected discrimination on migrant children.

Neighborhood Crime

Jencks and Mayer (1989; 1990) reviewed works on consequences of growing up in poor neighborhood, and discovered that neighborhood has significant influence on children's

education attainment, cognitive skill, likelihood of committing crime, likelihood to become single mother, and labor market success, etc. They summarized that there were three schools to explain how neighborhood social composition affect young people's behavior: (1) "good" neighbors lead to better performance of children because peers spread problematic behavior (epidemic model), neighborhood role model and monitoring help children to socialize (collective socialization model), or neighborhood institutions are influential (institutional model); (2) "good" neighbors lead to worse performance of children, either because children are discouraged while comparing themselves with their neighbors (relative deprivation model), or these neighbors gained most of the scarce neighborhood resources (competition model); (3) neighborhood has no direct effect on individual's behavior (Jencks & Mayer 1990). Identifying key elements of collective socialization and institutional theories, social disorganization theory argued that youth in disadvantaged neighborhood often participate in subculture that undermines value consensus and approves delinquency (Duncan& Raudenbush, 2001).

A lot of scholars strongly believed that living in a disadvantaged neighborhood leads to mental problems and low self-esteem for children (Ewart & Suchday 2002; Plybon & Kliewer 2001; Raviv et. al. 2001, etc). Raviv's research done in Israel showed that exposure to violence in neighborhood, either as a victim or as a witness, would significantly lead to higher Internalizing, Externalizing, and Total Behavior Problems scores (Raviv et. al. 2001, etc). Plybon and Kliewer (2001) discovered that compared to black children living in low crime rate districts, black children living in moderate crime rate districts clearly have more external behavior problems.

Other studies didn't find a reliable effect of neighborhood crime on children's mental health. A panel study done in black and Hispanic neighborhoods discovered that perceived crime has clear influence on the mental well-being of adults, but not on mental health of children (White

et. al. 1987). Farrell and Bruce (1998) didn't find any connection between exposure to neighborhood crime and emotional depression, even though they did find a correlation between exposure to neighborhood crime and the frequency of violent behavior. Unlike the other scholars who dealt with neighborhood crime as one unified thing, Ewart and Suchday (2002) decomposed neighborhood crimes into violence experienced by family members or friends (exposure to violence) and actual or potential crime in the neighborhood (neighborhood disorder). They discovered that both exposures to violence and neighborhood disorder lead to children's hostile distrust of others, but only exposure to violence has significant negative effect on children's self-esteem.

Studies showed that neighborhood risks influenced boy's and girl's mental health differently (Corneille & Belgrave 2007; Bámaca et. al. 2005; Lahey et. al. 1999; Farrell & Bruce 1998; etc.). On the one hand, boys are in the streets more often than girls, participating gang activities more frequently, thus are more likely to be involved in neighborhood crimes (Lahey et. al. 1999). On the other hand, being victims or offenders of neighborhood crime or knowing that crimes are happening around could be much influential for girls than boys (Anne 1987; Farrell & Bruce 1998; Corneille & Belgrave 2007). Mediating factors of neighborhood risk and children's self-esteem, such as parenting behavior, can also affect boys and girls in different ways (Bámaca et. al. 2005).

When rural-to-urban migrant children come into the cities, they usually start their urban life living in the “urban villages” with their family (Yang 2003; Wei & Yan 2005). Urban villages are neighborhoods that were once villages, but became surrounded by urban areas during the city expansion process. The city governments bought most of the farmland from the villagers, and allowed them to build apartments on their remaining lands (Wei & Yan 2005). Even though

scholars argued that the urban villages are not urban slums since the residents of these urban villages are mostly migrants with high rate of spatial mobility and social mobility (Wei & Yan 2005), these urban villages shared many characteristics with urban slums: the urban villages are segregated from the rest of the city (Wang 2006); there is a high concentration of poverty in these urban villages (Wei & Li 2006); the crime rate in urban villages is relatively high (Yang 2008). Liu (2010) argued that three factors lead to the high crime rate in urban villages: poverty and the pressure to make a living are the motivations of the perpetrators; the fellow villager network and urban village deviant network provide criminals with two sources of training and information; the fact that most residents are migrants who need to work outside the urban villages provide criminals more opportunities of conducting burglary.

Although the disadvantaged neighborhoods, especially the urban villages, can be rather influential to the mental health of migrant children, few scholars in China studied that issue. In fact, there isn't much literature about neighborhoods' effect on migrant children besides a few articles on the linkage between neighborhood public order and migrant children's outdoor activity (Wang & Han 2012; Xu & Henderson 2010). Given the fact that many rural-to-urban migrant children reside in neighborhoods with high crime rate, it is necessary to study how their mental health is affected by neighborhood crime.

HYPOTHESES

Research has been done on the influential factors of migrant children's self-esteem, but there are still a few points that haven't been studied much. Scholars have considered parental behavior as the major mediating variable between poverty and children's mental health (Ho et. al. 1995; Whitbeck et. al. 1991), ignoring the indirect effect of poverty through living condition. Research

showed that perceived discrimination had negative impact on children's self-esteem, while the effect of expected discrimination has not been studied thoroughly. The effect of neighborhood crime rate on children's self-esteem has been a hot topic for scholars (Ewart & Suchday 2002; Raviv et. al. 2001; Plybon & kliewer 2001; Farrell & Bruce 1998; etc.), but their findings conflicted with each other. In order to examine these important issues, I will test the following hypotheses using the data from the nine-city survey:

Hypothesis 1a. Migrant children who live in worse place with fewer facilities tend to have lower self-esteem.

Living condition is an important sign of poverty, and perception of family poverty can influence children's self-esteem. A place is considered worse, if it has fewer rooms and fewer facilities. I would expect renting house (instead of owning it), having no kitchen, having no children bedroom, and having no TV, washer or refrigerator lead to lower self-esteem of migrant children. Since scholars argued that family poverty affects children's mental health mainly through parental behavior (Whitbeck et. al. 1991; Ho, et. al. 1995), I will control for the time parents spent attending children. I would expect the effect of living condition to be significant after controlling for parental attendance.

Hypothesis 1b. Migrant children who need to share a place with other families tend to have lower self-esteem.

Kitchen is a necessary part of "traditional" home, and cooking at home can greatly reinforce family integrity. For children, sharing kitchen (as well as some other rooms) with other family

could be a worse experience than having no kitchen at all. I expect that migrant children who are in a family that needs to share kitchen with another family to have lower self-esteem.

Hypothesis 2. Migrant children who are concerned more about discrimination would have lower self-esteem.

I would expect migrant children who are more afraid of being discriminated by the local children to have lower self-esteem. Local peer is a common reference group for migrant children when they try to evaluate themselves. So if they worry a lot about being discriminated by local children, they are more likely to end up in low self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3a. Migrant children living in neighborhoods with higher crime rate are more likely to have low self-esteem.

To represent neighborhood crime rate, I will use a variable that measures migrant children being arrested in the neighborhood. This variable reflects not only the crime occurring in migrant children's neighborhood, but also the crime conducted by people from the same social group. I would expect it to have significant effect on migrant children's self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3b. Female migrant children would be affected more by neighborhood crimes than male migrant children.

Since studies showed boys and girls respond differently toward neighborhood crime (Farrell & Bruce 1998), there might be interaction between gender and neighborhood risk. I would expect

that female migrant children to have lower self-esteem than male migrant children, and the difference between two gender groups varies by the frequency of neighborhood crime.

DATA & METHODS

This study is based on the data from 2002 China Nine-City Survey of Migrant Children. The survey was sponsored by United Nations Children's Fund, and was done by China's National Working Committee on Children and Women and the China's Children Center (OWCASC and UNESCO, 2003). In order to study the living situation of migrant children in China, the survey selected nine cities (Beijing, Wuhan, Chengdu, Shenzhen, Jilin, Xianyang, Shaoxing, Zhuzhou, and Yining, see Appendix 1) from coastal, central and inland China. In each region, there are one large city, one medium city, and one small city (see Appendix 2). The coastal cities have larger population than inland cities.

The survey only selected migrants who owned rural Hukou, stayed in the city for over half a year and have children under 18 years old. A systematic random sampling of migrant households was conducted, controlling for the number of sample within each parental occupation group and age group (CCC, 2003). Samples have been distributed according to city population and migrant population in each sub-district of a city.

The nine city survey provided valid information on self-esteem, living condition, perceived neighborhood crime, discrimination, family SES, family structure, etc. It allows me to analyze the effects of living condition, neighborhood crime and discrimination on self-esteem of rural-to-urban migrant children while other influential factors are controlled. However, it has some limitations. It only asked 12 to 18 years old children the self-esteem and identity questions, thus I

can only study the teenage migrant children. It didn't provide a control group (a group of local children). It lacks some contextual information, such as the family income, the parents' occupation, family spending, which would limit the interpretation power of my model. But after all, it provides more valid and representative data than most other surveys on migrant children in China.

Surveys on the self-esteem of migrant children are often constrained to one city or one province, while the Data of Nine-city survey were collected from nine different cities located in different regions, thus it allows me to control for the regional difference. Comparing with other data sets that have several hundreds of respondents, the Nine-city data set with 7817 valid cases allows much more in-depth analyses. 1734 of the 7817 respondents aged 12 to 18 years old, and responded to the questions on self-esteem. These respondents are from 1453 households (see Appendix 3): 1186 households has only one migrant children aged 12 to 18, 253 households have two, and 14 households have three. To reduce the influence of multiple cases in one household, I will use robust regression instead of OLS regression.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable, self-esteem of migrant children, would be measured with Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). In order to measure the self-esteem of school age children, Rosenberg used ten statements, five of which showed positive attitude, and five of which showed negative attitude (Rosenberg 1965). There are choices showing how strong respondents agree or disagree with the statement: "strongly disagree", "disagree", "agree" and "strongly agree". For the positive items, the more the respondents agree with it, the higher scores they get. For the

negative items, the stronger one disagree with them, the higher score s/he will have. The ten-item Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale is calculated by summing up the scores of all ten items.

In 2005, the RSES was translated into 28 languages and applied in 53 nations (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). While comparing studies applying RSES, Schnitt and Allik discovered that the RSES factor structure was largely invariant cross nations, which provides support for cross-cultural equivalence of the RSES. However, they also discovered that when the ten statements were being translated into different language, the meaning could be altered. The cultural background affects how respondent interprets these statements. In the Chinese version RSES used in the nine-city survey, the statement "I wish I could have more respect" (item 9 in nine city survey) actually represents positive attitude of migrant children (Wang et. al. 1998; Shen et. al. 2003; Han et. al. 2005; etc). In this sense, treating it as a negative statement would be problematic. Scholars in China suggested three ways of dealing with this problem: 1) measure it as a positive statement; 2) delete it, and only sum up nine items; 3) modify the translation of it (Shen & Cai 2008). In this study, I will exclude this item from the analysis. After excluding this item, the inner identical coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) increased from .594 to .691 (see Appendix 4). By doing so I improved the inner identical coefficient from poor (0.5-0.6) to nearly acceptable (0.7-0.8).

The nine-city survey used ten-item Rosenberg Scale (5 point) to measure self-esteem of 12 to 18-year old migrant children. A continuous dependent variable can be created by summing up the scores of nine of the ten self-esteem items. The difference between 5-point Rosenberg Scale and the original 4-point scale (Rosenberg 1965) is that there is an additional choice for each question: "somewhat agree and somewhat disagree". For the five positive items (item 1, 3, 5, 7, 8), "strongly disagree", "disagree", "somewhat agree and somewhat disagree", "agree" and

"strongly agree" would each worth 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 points, and for the four negative items (item 2, 4, 6, 10), each worth 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 point. The RSES for my study ranges from 9 to 45. There is no solid criterion for dividing low self-esteem from medium self-esteem, yet for the purpose of analyzing, I will set self-esteem classes based on RSES: low self-esteem, RSES falls between 9 and 27; medium self-esteem, RSES falls between 28 and 39; high self-esteem, RSES falls between 40 and 45.

Independent Variables

The independent variables that need to be examined in this paper are living condition, expected discrimination, and neighborhood crime. The living condition of migrant children is measured by ownership of *house* (1="own the house now lived in"; 0="rented a house"), *kitchen* (based on the question "Does your family own a kitchen", I formed two dichotomous variables, kit_share: 1= "shared kitchen with others", 0= "other situations"; and kit_none: 1= "doesn't own a kitchen", 0= "other situations"), *children's room* (1="has bedroom for children; 0="does not have specific room for children"), *refrigerator* (1="owns refrigerator"; 0="no refrigerator"), *TV* (1="owns TV"; 0="no TV"), and *washing machine* (1="owns washing machine "; 0="no washing machine "). The nine-city data have information on the ownership of restroom, but since it is highly correlated with the ownership of kitchen, including both would lead to multicollinearity.

Expected discrimination is measured with one question in the survey: "do you worry about being looked down upon by local children" (1="not worried at all"; 2="worried a bit"; 3="not sure"; 4= "somewhat worried"; 5="worried a lot"). I formed two dichotomous variables based on that: dis_bit (1= "a bit" or "not sure"; 0= other situation) and dis_some (1= "somewhat" or "a

lot"; 0= other). Crime rate is measured by a question "how often do you see migrant children being arrested in the neighborhood" (1="none";2="very few";3="some";4= "a lot"). I formed two dichotomous variables according to that: ar_few (1= "very few"; 0= other situation) and ar_some (1= "some" or "a lot"; 0= other situation). Since I expected to see interaction between neighborhood crime rate and gender of migrant children, I generated male*ar_few (1= respondent is male and see "very few" migrant children being arrested; 0= other situation) and male*ar_some (1= respondent is male and see "some" or "a lot" migrant children being arrested; 0= other situation).

The control variables are: child's gender and age, family structure, parents' education, job type, and time spent attending children. The migrant children might be staying with both parents, one parent, or with relatives other than parents. I will use a set of dichotomous variables to represent family structure (fatherhh: 1= "living with father", 0= other situations; motherhh: 1= "living with mother", 0= other situations; no_par: fatherhh: 1= "living with other relatives", 0= other situations; reference group would be migrant children living with both parents). In the regression analysis, I will use the highest value of education, job type and time spent attending children of the parents living with migrant children. Education is measured with several dichotomous variables: edu_high (1="high school", 0= other situation); edu_seccol (1="secondary college", 0= other situation); edu_col (1="college and beyond", 0= other situation), and reference group is children whose parents' highest degree is below high school. Since there is no occupation information, I can only use the job type variable mental (1= "mainly mental work"; 0= "mainly labor work" or "mix of mental and labor"). Time spent attending children is based on the question "how much time you spent playing or talking with your children every day" (1= "less than 15 minutes"; 2= "15 to 60 minutes"; 3= "1 to 2 hours"; 4=

"more than 2 hours"). I formed three dichotomous variables: at_lt_hour (1=attend children for "15 to 60 minutes", 0= other situation); at_1to2hour (1= "1 to 2 hours", 0= other situation); at_mt_2hour (1= "more than 2 hours", 0= other situation), and children being attended "less than 15 minutes" a day are the reference group.

Methods

Deriving from the continuous self-esteem score, I generated a categorical self-esteem variable that has three values: low self-esteem (9 to 27); medium self-esteem (28 to 39), and high self-esteem (40 to 45). I used crosstabs that contains categorical self-esteem variable to find out its relation with living condition, expected discriminated and neighborhood crime.

Before I do the regression analysis, I applied a bivariate correlation analysis on all the variables and ran a multicollinearity test. I need to find out how strong the variables are correlated with each other before doing the regression. Then, I used a robust linear regression analysis on the self-esteem score. There are four models: the first one included only control variables and served as a reference; the second one included control variables and indicators of living condition; the third one included control variables and variables on neighborhood crime; the fourth model included control variables and expected discrimination. I planned to examine how each set of factors influences migrant children's self-esteem.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The average age of the 1734 teenage migrant children participated in the Nine-city Survey is 13.91, and their average self-esteem score is 34.92 (see Table 1). 196 out of the 1734 (11.3%)

migrant children are of low self-esteem, and 69.1% of them have medium self-esteem. There are much more boys than girls (966 to 768). 830 respondents don't have any sibling living with them, 780 respondents have one sibling in the household, and 124 respondents have two siblings in the household. 29.9% of the respondents lived in coastal cities, while 70.1% lived in inland cities.

The majority of migrant children (87.1%) are taken care of by both parents, 5.4% are living with only mother, 4.4% are living with only father, and 3.1% are taken care of by other relatives. The parents don't have much time to attend the migrant children. 29.8% of respondents' parents spent less than 15 minutes a day with them, 26.4% parents spent 15 minutes to an hour attending them, and only 14.5% parents would spend more than two hours a day taking care of migrant children. The education levels of these parents are pretty low. Only 25.9% of the migrant children have a least one parent with degree of high school or beyond. 43.4% of the respondents have parents doing mental labor, which is a high ratio for rural-to-urban migrant families.

The living condition of migrant children is not satisfactory. Only 9.8% of the respondents owned the house they are living in. Most of them (87.6%) are renting a place to live. 45.6% of the migrant children have private kitchen in their household, but 18.2% are sharing kitchen with other family, and 36.2% don't have a kitchen. 62.2% of the migrant children don't have a private bedroom. Although 56.7% of migrant children have refrigerator and 58.8% own washing machine, only 26.4% own TV. Perhaps the migrants viewed TV more as an entertainment tool than necessity.

Discrimination and neighborhood crime are not affecting the majority of migrant children. Over half of the migrant children (55.3%) do not fear of being looked down upon by local peers, 31.3% worried about discrimination for a bit, and only 7.4% worried a lot. 83.3% of migrant

children haven't seen migrant children being taken away by police, 11.2% saw a few migrant children being arrested in their neighborhood, and only 5.5% saw that a lot.

Based on the crosstab of homeownership and self-esteem (Appendix 6.1), owning the house or renting the house does not make much difference on migrant children's self-esteem. As long as the house condition remains the same, migrant children may not concern much about the ownership of the house. Migrant children with private bedroom are more likely to have high self-esteem and less likely to have low self-esteem (Appendix 6.2). Migrant children living in a house with private kitchen would have higher self-esteem than those living in a place with no kitchen (Appendix 6.3). The house condition is a stronger indicator of family poverty than home ownership. The migrant children who have to share kitchen with another family have lower self-esteem than those who have no kitchen at all (Appendix 6.3). This fact indicated that the wholeness of the home is more important than the condition of home. In families living in a housed borrowed from someone else, migrant children have relatively high self-esteem. I believe that if a migrant family is able to borrow a place to live, they must have relatives or close friends living in the same city, through whom they have find the place to live for free. The crosstabs of home appliances all have similar results (Appendix 6.4, 6.5, 6.6): in families with refrigerator, TV or washing machine, migrant children are more likely to have high self-esteem, and less likely to have low self-esteem.

Migrant children who are worried about being looked down upon by local peers have lower self-esteem than those who are not feared of discrimination (Appendix 8). If we ignore the respondents who are not sure about how to deal with discrimination, and focus on those who

don't worry about it, those who are worried "a bit", "somewhat" and "a lot", we can conclude that the more one worries about discrimination, the more likely s/he will have low self-esteem.

In neighborhoods where migrant children are being arrested, the respondents' self-esteem is lower. The relationship between neighborhood crime and self-esteem is non-linear: respondents who witnessed a few migrant children being arrested in the neighborhood are the most affected ones and have the lowest self-esteem; respondents who saw some migrant children being arrested would have lower self-esteem than migrant children who never saw any, but would have higher self-esteem than migrant children who have seen a few arrests. One possible explanation is, when there are a few migrant children committing crimes in the neighborhood, other migrant children would be afraid or be ashamed of their neighborhood, but if a lot of migrant children participated in the delinquent activities, migrant children in such neighborhood would no longer consider crime as a bad thing.

As the correlation table (Table 3) has shown, age, being male, living with only one parent, parents' highest degree beyond secondary college, sharing kitchen with other family, seeing migrant children being arrested in neighborhood and worried about discrimination are negatively correlated with migrant children's self-esteem. Number of siblings in the same household, taken care of by relatives other than parents, being attended for 15 minutes to 2 hour a day, parents' highest degree being high school graduate, living in coastal city, and owning house, rooms or appliances are positively correlated with self-esteem. Being attended for more than 2 hours a day and parents job type have no correlation with self-esteem. The correlation between independent variables are not very strong. The Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) test also showed that there isn't potential multicollinearity (see Appendix 5). Generally speaking, if the VIF of a variable is

higher than 5 or 10, there might be multicollinearity problem, and the highest VIF value of the independent variables used in this paper is 3.76.

The regression analysis on model 1 showed that living with one parent would significantly reduce migrant children's self-esteem (see Table 4). Comparing with migrant children being taken care of by both parents, those living with one parent would have 1.7 less self-esteem score. If parents attended children for 15 minutes to 1 hour a day, the children's self-esteem score would be 0.73 higher than those being attended for less than 15 minutes. However, if parents attend children longer time, children's self-esteem score wouldn't be significantly different from those being attended for less than 15 minutes. Perhaps the quality of attending is more important than the quantity. Unexpectedly, if parent has bachelor degree, children would have lower self-esteem. This might because parents with higher education level would have higher expectation on their children, and children's self-esteem score dropped when they failed such expectation. Migrant children in coastal cities have higher self-esteem score than those in inland cities.

The regression results provide no support to my first hypothesis. My hypothesis 1a is "*migrant children who live in worse place with fewer facilities tend to have lower self-esteem*". The effects of owning house, private kitchen, children's bedroom, refrigerator, TV and washing machine are not statistically significant on migrant children's self-esteem. This is consistent with the conclusion of Whitbeck (et. al. 1991) and Ho (1995), that the effect of family poverty on children's self-esteem is mostly mediated through parent-child relation. However, My hypothesis 1b "*migrant children who need to share a place with other families tend to have lower self-esteem*" is proved by the regression results. Migrant children sharing kitchen with other family would have 0.82 lower self-esteem score than those who have private kitchen, and this difference is significant at .05 level.

My hypothesis 2 *"migrant children who are concerned more about discrimination would have lower self-esteem*" is well supported by the data. The effects of expected discrimination on self-esteem are significant at .001 level. Migrant children who are a little afraid of being looked down upon by local peers would have 1.72 less self-esteem score than those who are not afraid of discrimination, and migrant children who worried a lot of discrimination would have 1.99 less self-esteem score. Thus the more one worried of discrimination, the lower self-esteem s/he will have.

The hypothesis 3a "*migrant children living in neighborhoods with higher crime rate are more likely to have low self*-esteem" is only partly supported by the regression results. Although the self-esteem of migrant children living in neighborhoods with a few migrant children being arrested have significantly lower self-esteem than those who haven't seen migrant children being arrested, the effect of living in neighborhood where some or a lot migrant children are arrested is not statistically significant. This means that neighborhood crime do have association with self-esteem, but the relation is not linear. When the neighborhood crime rate is beyond certain level, migrant children would become adjusted to it and would be less affected.

My last hypothesis "*female migrant children would be affected more by neighborhood crimes than male migrant children*" is also partly supported by data. In neighborhoods with a few migrant children being arrested, girls' self-esteem are significantly lower than boys', which is consistent with the findings of prior studies (Corneille & Belgrave 2007; Bámaca et. al. 2005; Farrell & Bruce 1998; etc.). However, in neighborhoods with some or a lot migrant children being arrested, the interaction of gender and crime rate is no longer statistically significant.

CONCLUSION

Few studies have been done on psychological well-being of Chinese rural-to-urban migrant children, and much of this issue remained unknown. My study provided a piece of information on this critical issue. Just like the immigrant children and ethnic youths in the US (Ewart & Suchday 2002; Duncan& Raudenbush, 2001; Raviv et. al. 2001, etc.), the rural-to-urban migrant children in China are very vulnerable to mental health problems. My study shows that expected discrimination have linear negative effect on migrant children's self-esteem, and neighborhood crime has non-linear negative effect on self-esteem. Gender would alternate the effect of neighborhood crime on children's self-esteem. Females would have much lower self-esteem than males when affected by neighborhood crime. Even though living condition does not have significant effect on migrant children, the wholeness of home significantly influence self-esteem. After other factors controlled, migrant children who shared their house with other families would have lower self-esteem than those who got more privacy.

Even though low self-esteem is a mental health issue, there are physical ways to solve it. The Hukou system is the source of urban-rural gap and urban-rural discrimination. For a long period of time, rural Hukou prohibited its owners from moving out of villages and constrained them to farm works. Even though nowadays migrants are leaving villages and moving into cities, urban residents as well as migrants themselves still considered rural Hukou holders to be inferior to urban Hukou holder. The Hukou system generated the economic and cultural gap between rural residents and urban residents. Thus, the most fundamental way of solving migrant children's self-esteem problem (as well as many other problems) is to terminate the Hukou system.

However, at this point there is no sign of cancelling the Hukou system, thus a more prompt way of increasing migrant children's self-esteem is to provide their families with affordable apartments in better neighborhoods. If the rent is low, migrant children won't have to share their

house with other families, and if the neighborhood crime rate is lower, migrant children won't be affected so much. Actually, the Chinese government have built state-owned low-rent apartments and provided many low-income residents with virtually free apartments (Feng 2003). However, only urban residents with local Hukou can apply for the state-owned low-rent apartments, thus the rural-to-urban migrants are not benefited from these apartments. Simply allowing rural-to-urban migrants with children to apply for low-rent apartments would be helpful to solve the problems of migrant children. Of course, the most straightforward way of eliminating discrimination and other factors affecting migrant children's self-esteem is to put an end to the Hukou system.

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Tables

Table 1. Descriptive Table of Key Variables and Some Control Variables

	Mean	SD	
Self-esteem (9-item)	34.92	5.03	
Age	13.91	2.091	
		n	**percentage**
Self-esteem	Low (Under 28.125)	196	11.3
	Normal (28.125 to 39.375)	1199	69.1
	High (Above 39.375)	339	19.6
Gender	Female	768	44.3
	Male	966	55.7
# of Children in Household	One	830	47.9
	Two	780	45
	Three	124	7.1
Family Structure	Both parents	1511	87.1
	Mother only	94	5.4
	Father only	76	4.4
	No parent	53	3.1
Attend	<15 min	516	29.8
	15 min to 1 hour	458	26.4
	1 to 2 hours	509	29.3
	>2 hours	251	14.5
Education	Illiteracy/semi-illiteracy	46	2.7
	Primary School	299	17.3
	Junior middle school	938	54.1
	High school	384	22.1
	Secondary college	37	2.1
	College and beyond	30	1.7
Job Type	Mainly mental labor	752	43.4
	Physical labor or mix	982	56.6
Region	Coastal	519	29.9
	Non-coastal	1215	70.1
Kitchen	Private	792	45.6
	Sharing	315	18.2
	None	627	36.2
House Ownership	Owned	170	9.8
	Rented	1,518	87.6
	Borrowed	44	2.6
Child's Room	No	1078	62.2
	Yes	656	37.8

Refrigerator	No	751	43.3
	Yes	983	56.7
TV	No	1277	73.6
	Yes	457	26.4
Washing Machine	No	714	41.2
	Yes	1020	58.8
Expected Discrimination	Not at all	959	55.3
	A bit	542	31.3
	Not sure	104	6.0
	Somewhat	89	5.1
	A lot	40	2.3
Migrant Children Arrested	None	1444	83.3
	Very few	194	11.2
	Some	92	5.3
	A lot	4	0.2

Total n = 1734

Table 2. Ten-item Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale

	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree
1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	71	166	374	612	511
	4.1%	9.6%	21.6%	35.3%	29.5%
*2. I certainly feel useless at times.	805	603	192	44	44
	46.4%	34.8%	11.1%	5.2%	2.5%
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	25	111	431	802	365
	1.4%	6.4%	24.9%	46.3%	21.0%
*4. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	888	510	165	103	68
	51.2%	29.4%	9.5%	5.9%	3.9%
5. I am able to do things as well as most other.	55	62	207	686	724
	3.2%	3.6%	11.9%	39.6%	41.8%
*6. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	245	501	471	391	126
	14.1%	28.9%	27.2%	22.5%	7.3%
7. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	32	154	452	605	491
	1.8%	8.9%	26.1%	34.9%	28.3%
8. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	38	154	315	679	548
	2.2%	8.9%	18.2%	39.2%	31.6%
9. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	81	80	150	501	922
	4.7%	4.6%	8.7%	28.9%	53.2%
*10.At times I think I am no good at all.	726	581	198	147	82
	41.9%	33.5%	11.4%	8.5%	4.7%

N=1734, Cronbach's Alpha=.594

*Note1: questions with * are the negative attitude questions;*

Note2: when translated into Chinese, item 9 became a positive notion, while item 2 and item 10 have similar meaning.

Table 3. Correlation Table of All Variables

	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)	9)	10)
1) self-esteem	1.00									
2) age	-0.01	1.00								
3) male	-0.03	-0.03	1.00							
4) sibling	0.02	-0.11	-0.13	1.00						
5) mother household	-0.06	0.00	0.04	-0.04	1.00					
6) father household	-0.06	0.07	0.03	-0.08	-0.05	1.00				
7) no parent	0.05	0.16	0.02	-0.11	-0.04	-0.04	1.00			
8) attend 15min to 1 hour	0.03	-0.07	0.00	-0.03	0.04	0.05	-0.05	1.00		
9) attend 1to 2 hours	0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.05	-0.06	-0.07	-0.07	-0.39	1.00	
10) attend more than 2 hour	0.00	0.00	-0.03	-0.04	0.03	0.02	0.04	-0.25	-0.27	1.00
11) education high school	0.07	-0.06	-0.04	0.03	-0.21	-0.19	-0.16	0.00	0.06	0.01
12) education secondary college	-0.04	-0.05	0.05	0.04	-0.15	-0.13	-0.11	-0.02	0.01	-0.03
13) education college	-0.06	0.05	-0.01	0.08	-0.07	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.01	-0.04
14) coastal	0.09	0.03	0.05	-0.04	-0.07	-0.02	0.13	-0.06	0.05	0.05
15) mental work	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.02	-0.21	-0.19	-0.16	0.00	0.05	-0.08
16) no kitchen	0.00	0.04	-0.01	0.06	0.10	-0.01	0.10	-0.03	-0.03	0.00
17) share kitchen	-0.08	0.03	0.01	-0.05	0.05	0.05	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.01
18) own house	0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.04	0.02	0.06	-0.05	0.00	0.07	-0.01
19) independent children room	0.05	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.02	0.05	-0.02
20) own refrigerator	0.11	-0.03	0.00	0.11	-0.11	-0.08	-0.05	-0.01	0.10	0.03
21) own TV	0.09	-0.09	0.04	0.09	-0.10	-0.01	-0.10	0.02	0.06	-0.02
22) own washer	0.10	-0.05	0.00	0.07	-0.09	-0.01	-0.06	0.04	0.12	-0.10
23) arrest few	-0.15	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01	0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	0.02
24) arrest some	-0.08	0.03	-0.02	-0.05	0.08	0.14	-0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.03
25) male*ar_few	-0.11	0.04	0.04	-0.02	0.05	0.09	-0.01	0.08	-0.07	-0.04
26) male*ar_some	-0.03	0.00	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.03	0.00	0.02
27) discriminate a little	-0.05	0.03	0.20	-0.01	-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	0.08	-0.06	-0.03
28) discriminate a lot	-0.04	-0.02	0.15	0.01	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	-0.04	-0.01	0.02

	11)	12)	13)	14)	15)	16)	17)	18)	19)	20)
11) education high school	1.00									
12) education secondary college	-0.55	1.00								
13) education college	-0.24	-0.17	1.00							
14) coastal	-0.05	-0.01	0.02	1.00						

15) mental work	0.00	0.20	0.17	-0.12	1.00					
16) no kitchen	-0.14	0.07	0.10	0.09	0.09	1.00				
17) share kitchen	0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.05	-0.04	-0.35	1.00			
18) own house	0.01	-0.07	-0.08	-0.02	-0.04	-0.19	-0.05	1.00		
19) independent children room	0.06	-0.07	-0.10	-0.02	-0.15	-0.29	-0.08	0.22	1.00	
20) own refrigerator	0.09	-0.01	-0.08	0.20	-0.12	-0.17	-0.07	0.17	0.24	1.00
21) own TV	0.14	-0.04	-0.14	0.06	-0.11	-0.21	-0.05	0.10	0.28	0.38
22) own washer	0.12	-0.08	-0.13	0.00	-0.13	-0.23	-0.10	0.24	0.33	0.40
23) arrest few	-0.04	0.06	0.03	-0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	-0.03	-0.07	-0.05
24) arrest some	-0.05	-0.05	0.02	-0.01	-0.04	0.00	0.08	-0.01	0.00	-0.03
25) male*ar_few	-0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.09	-0.02	-0.03	0.03	0.04	0.06	-0.05
26) male*ar_some	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	0.03	0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.04	0.01
27) discriminate a little	0.00	0.09	0.02	-0.06	0.04	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	0.03	-0.01
28) discriminate a lot	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.08	0.01	-0.03	-0.02	0.02	-0.03

	21)	22)	23)	24)	25)	26)	27)	28)
21) own tv	1.00							
22) own washer	0.42	1.00						
23) arrest few	-0.11	-0.13	1.00					
24) arrest some	-0.03	-0.02	-0.22	1.00				
25) male*ar_few	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.08	1.00			
26) male*ar_some	0.01	0.02	0.02	-0.01	-0.09	1.00		
27) discriminate a little	0.05	0.05	0.01	-0.04	0.65	-0.06	1.00	
28) discriminate a lot	0.03	0.00	0.03	-0.03	-0.06	0.69	-0.04	1.00

N=1734

Table 4. OLS Linear Regression of Self-esteem

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
age	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	0.00
male	-0.22	-0.26	-0.33	-0.37
sibling	0.23	0.11	0.17	0.23
mother household	-1.71*	-1.09	-1.30	-1.60*
father household	-1.74*	-1.27	-1.34	-1.48
no parent	0.89	1.37	0.93	0.86
attend less than 1 hour	0.73*	0.64	0.66	0.75*
attend 1to 2 hours	0.52	0.34	0.55	0.47
attend more than 2 hour	0.39	0.38	0.48	0.35
education high school	-0.18	0.01	-0.14	-0.21
education secondary college	-0.93	-0.66	-0.79	-0.97
education college	-1.69*	-1.23	-1.47	-1.72*
coastal	0.88**	0.75**	0.80**	0.79**
mental work	0.15	0.32	0.23	0.18
no kitchen		0.02		
share kitchen		-0.82*		
own house		-0.22		
independent children room		0.16		
own refrigerator		0.44		
own TV		0.41		
own washer		0.45		
discriminate a little			-1.72***	
discriminate a lot			-1.99***	
arrest few				-3.00***
arrest some				-0.62
male*ar_few				2.25**
male*ar_some				-0.37
_cons	34.88***	34.04***	35.76***	35.14***
R^2	.029	.042	.058	.045

N=1734

Note: sig. at .05 level; ** sig. at .01 level; *** sig. at .001 level (2-way)*

Appendix

Appendix 1. The Sampling Points of the 2002 China Nine-City Migrant Children Survey

Appendix 2. Population and Sample Size of Each Sampling Point

	large	**medium**	**small**
Coastal	Beijing	Shenzhen	Shaoxing
pop.	13.82 million	7.01 million	4.30 million
samp.	1200	843	300
Central	Wuhan	Jilin	Zhuzhou
pop.	8.31 million	4.49 million	3.58 million
samp.	1200	500	300
Inland	Chengdu	Xianyang	Yining
pop.	11.24 million	4.83 million	0.35 million
samp.	1200	500	300

Note: The sample size represents the number of household being selected in a city; if one household has more than one child in the city, it will contain more than one case. Total household number is 6343.

Appendix 3. The Distribution of 12-18 year-old Children among Households

12-18 year-old children in household	Number of household	Number of 12-18 year-old children
1	1186	1186
2	253	506
3	14	42
Total	1453	1734

Appendix 4. The Inner Identical Coefficient for Rosenberg Scale

	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Item 1	.539
Item 2	.529
Item 3	.547
Item 4	.528
Item 5	.544
Item 6	.582
Item 7	.548
Item 8	.555
Item 9	.690*
Item 10	.557
Cronbach's Alpha	**.592**

Note: After deleting item 9, the Cronback's Alpha can be increased to .690.

Appendix 5. Test of Multicollinearity (VIF)

Variable	VIF	1/VIF
educate high school	3.76	0.27
educate secondary college	3.55	0.28
male*ar_some	2.01	0.50
male*ar_few	1.96	0.51
educate college	1.96	0.51
arrest some	1.95	0.51
arrest few	1.89	0.53

mother household	1.75	0.57
father household	1.58	0.63
Washer	1.52	0.66
attend 1 to 2 hour	1.5	0.67
no kitchen	1.47	0.68
no parent	1.46	0.68
attend Less Than 1 hour	1.46	0.68
Refrigerator	1.42	0.70
Tv	1.38	0.72
attend more than 2hours	1.32	0.76
children room	1.29	0.77
Mental	1.28	0.78
share kitchen	1.27	0.79
Own	1.15	0.87
Male	1.14	0.88
Coastal	1.14	0.88
Sibling	1.11	0.90
discriminate lot	1.11	0.90
discriminate little	1.1	0.91
Age	1.07	0.93

Appendix 6.1 Crosstab of Home Ownership and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	Total
Own	17	121	32	170
	10.00%	71.18%	18.82%	100%
Rent	175	1,052	293	1,520
	11.53%	69.17%	19.3%	100%
Borrowed	4	27	13	44
	9.09%	61.36%	29.55%	100%
Total	196	1,200	338	1,734
	11.32%	69.17%	19.52%	100%

Appendix 6.2 Crosstab of Own Children's Bedroom and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	Total
Yes	65	442	149	656
	9.91%	67.38%	22.71%	100%
No	131	757	190	1,077
	12.16%	70.19%	17.64%	100%
Total	196	1,199	339	1,734
	11.31%	69.13%	19.56%	100%

Appendix 6.3 Crosstab of Own Kitchen and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	Total
private	84	526	181	791
	10.62%	66.50%	22.88%	100%
sharing	40	231	44	315
	12.70%	73.33%	13.97%	100%
no	72	441	114	627
	11.48%	70.33%	18.18%	100%
Total	196	1,198	339	1,733
	11.31%	69.13%	19.56%	100%

Appendix 6.4 Crosstab of Refrigerator and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	total
yes	132	681	170	983
	13.40%	69.30%	17.30%	100.00%
no	64	518	169	751
	8.50%	69.00%	22.50%	100.00%
total	196	1199	339	1734
	11.30%	69.10%	19.60%	100.00%

Appendix 6.5 Crosstab of Owning TV and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	total
yes	63	328	66	457
	13.80%	71.80%	14.40%	100.00%
no	133	871	273	1277
	10.40%	68.20%	21.40%	100.00%
total	196	1199	339	1734
	11.30%	69.10%	19.60%	100.00%

Appendix 6.6 Crosstab of Owning Washing Machine and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	total
yes	133	705	182	1020
	13.00%	69.10%	17.80%	100.00%
no	63	494	157	714
	8.80%	69.20%	22.00%	100.00%
total	196	1199	339	1734
	11.30%	69.10%	19.60%	100.00%

Appendix 7. Crosstab of Neighborhood Crime and Self-esteem

arrest	low SE	medium SE	high SE	Total
none	146	999	299	1,444
	10.11%	69.18%	20.71%	100%
Very few	35	134	25	194
	18.04%	69.07%	12.89%	100%
Some	15	62	15	92
	16.3%	67.39%	16.30%	100
A lot	0	4	0	4
	0%	100%	0%	100%
Total	196	1,199	339	1,734
	11.3%	69.15%	19.55%	100%

Appendix 8. Crosstab of Expected Discrimination and Self-esteem

	low SE	medium SE	high SE	Total
no	78	642	239	959
	8.13%	66.94%	24.92%	100%
a bit	75	393	74	542
	13.84%	72.51%	13.65%	100%
not sure	19	74	11	104
	18.27%	71.15%	10.58%	100%
somewhat	15	64	10	89
	16.85%	71.91%	11.24%	100%
a lot	9	26	5	40
	22.50%	65.00%	12.50%	100%
Total	196	1,199	339	1,734
	11.30%	69.15%	19.55%	100%