**Appendix: Measurements and Variables**

Dependent Variable: Protest

To create the protest variable, we used the following questions:

* D12a: In our daily lives we usually see some collective actions or activities happen, such as people protest against unreasonable fees, against land confiscation, against certain policies, collective petitions, strikes, assembly, and demonstrations. Did any of them ever happen around your life in the past three years?

*01. Yes*

*02. No*

* D12c: Did you play any of the following roles in those actions and activities that happened around your life?

*01. I was the organizer*

*02. I participated in the activities*

*03. I did not participate in any of them in person, but I offered material support*

*04. I did not participate in any of them in person, but I offered moral support*

*05. Other*

*06. I did not participate*

* D20: In this past year, did you participate in any of the actions or activities that happened in your community?

*01. Participated in the work of the villagers’ committee, neighborhood committee, or owners’ committee*

*02. Offered suggestions or opinions to the villagers’ committee, neighborhood committee, or owners’ committee*

*03. Participated in collective petitions*

*04. Participated in writing collective petition letters*

*05. Reported community problems to news media*

*06. Reported community problems to responsible governmental authorities*

*07. Participated in protests*

If respondents answer “Yes” to question D12a, then they are asked to answer question D12c. We created a variable ProtestD12. A value of “1” is assigned to those answered “*01. I was the organizer*” or “*02. I participated in the activities*” to question D12c. Others are assigned a value of “0” which refers to no experience of protest participation. As the result, 251 out of 11,783 respondents (2.13%) had the experience of participating in protest.

In addition to D12a and D12c, D20 was also used. We created a variable ProtestD20. A value of “1” is assigned to those answered “*07. Participated in protests*” to question D20. Others are assigned a value of “0” which refers to no experience of protest participation. As the result, 86 out of 11,688 respondents (0.74%) had the experience of participating in protest.

CGSS survey datasets do not specifically focus on Chinese people’s protest participation. Question D12 and question D20 both ask respondents’ experience of protest participation, but we cannot tell if D12 and D20 can be considered two independent events. More specifically, for those who answered “yes” to both question D12 and question D20, we did not know if the respondent participated in TWO protests or One protest only. Similarly, the working of the questions did not allow us to tell the difference between D12=1, D20=0 and D12=0, D20=1. Therefore, we created a dichotomous variable *Protest* which refers to individual respondent’s experience of protest participation (either Protest12=1 or Protest20=1). This was also the dependent variable we used for our regression models. As the result, 290 out of 11,693 respondents (2.48%) had the experience of participating in protest.

There are two advantages to do so. First, we tried to capture every case of participating in protest. When an individual received “1” for variable *Protest* (again, it is also the dependent variable of our models), we knew that this respondent “participated” in at least one protest activity. Second, this method slightly increased the number of the respondents had participated in protest (increased from 2.13% to 2.48%). Given the small percentage of respondents who protested, we estimated models using rare events logistic regression. The results are similar to the estimates from the binary logit models.

Main Independent Variable

To create the occupation variables, we used the following questions:

* A58: Which of the following best describes your working condition and experience?

*01. I have a non-agriculture job*

*02. I have an agriculture job, and I used to have non-agriculture jobs*

*03. I have an agriculture job, and I never had any non-agriculture jobs*

*04. I have no job now, and I only had agriculture jobs before*

*05. I have no job now, and I used to have non-agriculture jobs*

*06. I have never worked*

* A59a: Which of the following best describes your current work condition?

*01. I am the owner of an enterprises*

*02. I am self-employed*

*03. I am hired by someone (long-term)*

*04. I am a service worker*

*05. I have a temporary job*

*06. I work in my family business with no payment*

*07. I work in my family business and get payment*

*08. Freelance*

*09. Other*

* A18: What is your current hukou?

*01. Agricultural hukou*

*02. Non-Agricultural hukou*

*03. Blue-Pint hukou*

*04. Residential hukou*

*05. Military hukou*

*06. None*

*07. Others*

* A21: Where is your registered locale?

*01. This village/township*

*02. This county/city but not this village/township*

*03. Outside this district/county/city*

*04. Undetermined*

Those who answered “*02. I have an agriculture job, and I used to have non-agriculture jobs” or “03. I have an agriculture job, and I never have any non-agriculture jobs*” to question A58 were categorized as *Peasants*. Those who answered “*04. I have no job now, and I only had agriculture jobs before*” or “*05. I have no job now, and I used to have non-agriculture jobs*” were categorized as unemployed. Those who answered “*06. I have never worked*” to question A58, they were categorized as never worked. On the other hand, for those who answered “*01. I have a non-agriculture job*” to question A58 and further answered “*01. I am the owner of an enterprise*” or “*02. I am self-employed*” or “*06. I work in my family business with no payment*” or “*07. I work in my family business and get payment*” to question A59a were categorized as entrepreneur. Those who answered “*01. I have a non-agriculture job*” to question A58 and answered “*08. Freelance*” or “*09. Others*”, were categorized as freelance. In this paper we collapsed entrepreneur, freelance, unemployed, and never work into a residual category named *Others*.

Those who answered “*01. I have a non-agriculture job*” to question A58 and further answered “*03. I am hired by someone (long-term)*” or “*04. I am a service worker*” or “*05. I have a temporary job*” to question A59a were categorized as worker.

In order to categorize workers into different types, the information from question A21 was needed. Those who answered “*01. This village/township*” to question A21 were in his/her registered locale. Those who answered “*02. This county/city but not this village/township*” or “*03. Outside this district/county/city*” were out of their registered locale. Variable *Urban Worker* refers to those workers with non-agricultural hukou. Variable *Migrant Worker* refers to those who were not in their registered locale and had an agricultural hukou. Variable *Rural Worker* refers to those who were in their registered locale as a worker with agricultural hukou.

By these criteria, we created five main occupation variables: *Urban Worker*, *Migrant Worker*, *Rural Worker*, *Peasant*, and *Others*. The variable *Urban Worker* refers to regular urban registered workers with a non-agricultural *hukou*. The variable *Migrant Worker* refers to those workers who have an agricultural *hukou* but now work as wage laborers but not in their registered locale. The variable *Rural Worker* refers to those who have agricultural *hukou* and work as wage laborers in their registered locale.[[1]](#footnote-1) *Peasant* refers to those who have an agricultural hukou and work in agriculture. *Others* refer to entrepreneur, freelance, unemployed, or never worked. These five occupational categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive. The percentages of respondents from different occupational categories are presented in Table 4.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Grievance Variables

* D13a: In this past year, did you suffer any unfair treatment from governmental officials? *01. Yes*

*02. No*

* A35: Generally speaking, do you think today’s society is fair nor not*?*

*01. Unfair*

*02. Somewhat unfair*

*03. About ok*

*04. Somewhat fair*

*05. Fair*

Demographic Variables

* A2: What is your gender?
1. *Male*
2. *Female*
* A3: What is your date of birth?
* A4: What is your ethnicity?
1. *Han*
2. *Mongolia*
3. *Manchu*
4. *Hui Islamic*
5. *Tibetan*
6. *Zhuang*
7. *Uighur*
8. *Others*
* A7a: What it your highest level of education (including the one you are pursuing)?
1. *Do not have any education*
2. *Old-Chinese-Style private school*
3. *Elementary school*
4. *Junior high school*
5. *Vocational high school*
6. *Senior high school*
7. *Technical secondary school*
8. *Technical school*
9. *Academy (adult higher education)*
10. *Academy (normal education)*
11. *Undergraduates (adult higher education)*
12. *Undergraduates (normal education)*
13. *Graduate school or higher*
14. *Others*
* A8a: What was your personal annual income last year?
1. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, there are two types of peasant workers. The first type is a person with rural hukou who leaves his/her registered village to work as a wage laborer in another locale. This type of peasant worker is the migrant worker that is the focus of this analysis. The second type of peasant worker is a person with rural hukou who does not leave his/her registered locale but stays there to work in TVEs or other local enterprise when jobs are available there (Zhao, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. We acknowledge that the survey no doubt underrepresents migrant workers. We believe that is because they have no permanent residence in cities, so they are not equally likely to be reached by interviewers. They also may be reluctant to participate in surveys due to their tenuous legal status. As the user of survey data, we do not have anything control over the content of the questions. We can only make use of what data provided. We have no reason to believe that a larger share of migrant workers in the sample would produce different results. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)