

Xiang Zhou

Contact Information

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Employment

2016- Harvard University
 Professor, Department of Sociology (2023-)
 Associate Professor, Department of Sociology (2020-2023)
 Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology (2019-2020)
 Assistant Professor, Department of Government (2016-2019)
 Faculty Affiliate, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, Harvard Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard Data Science Initiative, Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies.

2015-2016 Princeton University
 Postdoctoral Associate, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies
 Postdoctoral Affiliate, Department of Sociology and Office of Population Research

Education

2015 PhD, Sociology and Statistics, University of Michigan

2011 M.A., Statistics, University of Michigan

2009 B.S., Mathematics and Physics (Minor in Economics), Tsinghua University

Research Interests

Inequality, Education, Causal Inference, Statistical and Computational Methods, China

Book

Wodtke, Geoffrey T., Xiang Zhou. *Causal Mediation Analysis*. 2026. Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

32. Opacic, Aleksei, Lai Wei, and Xiang Zhou. 2025. "Disparity Analysis: A Tale of Two Approaches." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A*.
31. Song, Xi and Xiang Zhou. 2025. "Is There a Mobility Effect? On Methodological Issues in the Mobility Contrast Model." *Sociological Methods & Research*. 54(4): 1576-1593.
30. Stoetzer, Lukas F., Xiang Zhou, and Marco Steenbergen. 2025. "Causal Inference with Latent Outcomes." *American Journal of Political Science*. 69(2): 624-640
29. Zhou, Xiang. 2024. "Attendance, Completion, and Heterogeneous Returns to College: A Causal Mediation Approach." *Sociological Methods & Research*. 53(3): 1136-66.
28. Brand, Jennie E., Xiang Zhou, and Yu Xie. 2023. "Recent Developments in Causal Inference and Machine Learning." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 49:81-110
27. Zhou, Xiang, and Guanghui Pan. 2023. "Higher Education and The Black-White Earnings Gap." *American Sociological Review*. 88(1): 154-188
26. Ahearn, Caitlin, Jennie E. Brand, and Xiang Zhou. 2023. "How, and for Whom, Does Higher Education Increase Voting?" *Research in Higher Education*. 64:574-597
25. Zhou, Xiang, and Teppei Yamamoto. 2023. "Tracing Causal Paths from Experimental and Observational Data." *Journal of Politics*. 85(1): 250-265
24. Baum, Derick, and Xiang Zhou. 2022. "rbw: An R package for Constructing Residual Balancing Weights." *The R Journal*. 14(3): 174-192
23. Zhou, Xiang. 2022. "Semiparametric Estimation for Causal Mediation Analysis with Multiple Causally Ordered Mediators." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series B (Statistical Methodology)*. 84 (3):794-821.
22. Xie, Yu, Hao Dong, Xiang Zhou, and Xi Song. 2022. "Trends in Social Mobility in Post-Revolution China." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 119(7): e2117471119
21. Cheng, Siwei, Jennie E. Brand, Xiang Zhou, Yu Xie, and Michael Hout. 2021. "Heterogeneous Returns to College over the Life Course." *Science Advances*. 51(7): eabg7641
20. Zhou, Xiang, and Geoffrey T. Wodtke. 2020. "Residual Balancing: A Method of Constructing Weights for Marginal Structural Models." *Political Analysis*. 28(4): 487-506
19. Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2020. "Heterogeneous Treatment Effects in the Presence of Self-Selection: A Propensity Score Perspective." *Sociological Methodology*. 50 (1):350-385
18. Wodtke, Geoffrey T. and Xiang Zhou. 2020. "Effect Decomposition in the Presence of Treatment-induced Confounding: A Regression-with-Residuals Approach." *Epidemiology*. 31 (3):369-375
17. Wodtke, Geoffrey T., Zahide Alaca, and Xiang Zhou. 2020. "Regression-With-Residuals Estimation of Marginal Effects: A Method of Adjusting for Treatment-Induced Confounders That May Also Be Effect Modifiers." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society)*. 183 (1):311-332.
16. Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2019. "Marginal Treatment Effects from a Propensity Score Perspective." *Journal of Political Economy*. 127 (6):3070-3084

15. Zhou, Xiang. 2019. "Hierarchical Item Response Models for Analyzing Public Opinion." *Political Analysis*. 27 (4):481-502
14. Zhou, Xiang, and Geoffrey T. Wodtke 2019. "A Regression-with-Residuals Method for Estimating Controlled Direct Effects." *Political Analysis*. 27 (3):360-369
13. Zhou, Xiang. 2019. "Equalization or Selection? Reassessing the 'Meritocratic Power' of a College Degree in Intergenerational Income Mobility." *American Sociological Review*. 84 (3):459-485
 - Outstanding Article Publication Award, ASA Section on Mathematical Sociology, 2020
 - Significant Scholarship Award, ISA Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification, 2021
12. Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2019. "Market Transition, Industrialization, and Social Mobility Trends in Post-Revolution China." *American Journal of Sociology*. 124 (6):1810-1847
 - Research Paper Award, ASA Section on Asia and Asian America, 2021
 - Sørensen Student Travel Award, International Sociological Association Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification, August 2015.
11. Zhou, Xiang, and Geoffrey T. Wodtke. 2019. "Income Stratification among Occupational Classes in the United States." *Social Forces*. 97 (3):945-972
10. Bloome, Deirdre, Shauna Dyer, and Xiang Zhou. 2018. "Educational Inequality, Educational Expansion, and Intergenerational Income Persistence in the United States." *American Sociological Review*. 83 (6):1215-1253
 - James Coleman Award for the Best Article, ASA Section on Sociology of Education, 2020
9. Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2016. "Propensity-Score-Based Methods versus MTE-Based Methods in Causal Inference: Identification, Estimation, and Application." *Sociological Methods & Research*. 45(1):3-40
8. Zhou, Xiang. 2015. "Shrinkage Estimation of Log Odds Ratios for Comparing Mobility Tables." *Sociological Methodology*. 45(1):320-356
7. Xie, Yu, Siwei Cheng, and Xiang Zhou. 2015. "Assortative Mating without Assortative Preference." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 112(19):5974-5978
6. Zhou, Xiang. 2014. "Increasing Returns to Education, Changing Labor Force Structure, and the Rise of Earnings Inequality in Urban China, 1996-2010." *Social Forces* 93(2):429-455
 - Outstanding Student Paper Award, North America Chinese Sociologists Association, 2013
5. Zhang, Chunni, Qi Xu, Xiang Zhou, Xiaobo Zhang, and Yu Xie. 2014. "Are Poverty Rates Underestimated in China? New Evidence from Four Recent Surveys." *China Economic Review* 31:410-425
4. Xie, Yu, and Xiang Zhou. 2014. "Income Inequality in Today's China." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(19): 6928-6933
 - Featured in Bloomberg News, NBC News, the Wall Street Journal, etc.
3. Zhou, Xiang. 2012. "A Nonparametric Index of Stratification." *Sociological Methodology* 42(1): 365-388.
 - Clifford C. Clogg Best Student Paper Award, ASA Methodology Section, 2013
2. Xie, Yu, and Xiang Zhou. 2012. "Modeling Individual-level Heterogeneity in Racial Residential Segregation." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109(29): 11646-11651.
1. Wang, Yan-hui, Liang Hao, Xiang Zhou, Guilu Long. 2008. "Behavior of Quantum Coherence of Ξ -type Four-level Atom under Bang-Bang Control." *Optics Communications* 281(18): 4793-4799.

Selected Working Papers

Zhou, Xiang and Aleksei Opacic. "Marginal Interventional Effects." Reject and Resubmit. *Statistical Science*

Baum, Derick, and Xiang Zhou. "Explaining Disparities at Quantiles: An Augmented Kitagawa-Oaxaca-Blinder Decomposition." Revise and Resubmit. *Sociological Methodology*

Wodtke, Geoffrey T., Kailey White, and Xiang Zhou. "[Poor Neighborhoods, Bad Schools? A High-dimensional Model of Place-based Disparities in Academic Achievement.](#)" Stone Center Working Paper Series No. 25-14.

Software

Zhou, Xiang. "strat: An Implementation of the Stratification Index."
<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/strat/>

Zhou, Xiang. "hIRT: Hierarchical Item Response Theory Models."
<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/hIRT/>

Zhou, Xiang. "localIV: Estimation of Marginal Treatment Effects using Local Instrumental Variables."
<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/localIV/>

Zhou, Xiang. "rbw: Residual Balancing Weights for Marginal Structural Models."
<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/rbw/index.html>

Zhou, Xiang. "rwrmed: Regression-with-residuals (RWR) Analysis of Causal Mediation."
<https://github.com/xiangzhou09/rwrmed>

Trinh, Minh, Teppei Yamamoto, and Xiang Zhou. "paths: An Imputation Approach to Estimating Path-Specific Causal Effects."
<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/paths/index.html>

Data Collection Projects

Xie, Yu, Siwei Cheng, Xiang Zhou. 2011-2016. "Three Waves of College Student Survey on Social Identity, Altruism, Career Choice at Renmin University of China"

Xie, Yu, Siwei Cheng, Xiang Zhou. 2014. "College Student Survey on Career Expectations, Friendship Choice, and Social Behaviors at the University of Michigan"

Teaching

Instructor, Harvard University

GOV 50, Introduction to Political Science Research Methods (Winter 2017)

GOV 2000, Quantitative Research Methodology (Fall 2017, 2018, 2019)

GOV 2002, Causal Inference (Fall 2017)

SOCIOL 90Z, Inequality (Spring 2020, 2021)

SOCIOL 2245, Causal Inference for the Social Sciences (Spring 2021)

SOCIOL 2202, Intermediate Quantitative Research Methods (Fall 2022, 2023, 2024)

SOCIOL 2203, Advanced Quantitative Research Methods (Spring 2024, 2025, 2026)

Advising

Current PhD Students (* denotes dissertation chair/co-chair)

- Jingyun Dai* (Sociology, Harvard University)
- Aleksei Opacic* (Sociology, Harvard University)
- Jen-Chen Chao* (Sociology, Harvard University)
- Brian Xiao (Sociology, Harvard University)
- Rui Chen (Sociology, Harvard University)
- Jessica Urzúa (Sociology, Harvard University)

Former PhD Students (* denotes dissertation chair/co-chair)

- Christopher Lucas (PhD in 2018, Government, Harvard University), Associate Professor, Washington University in St. Louis.
- Connor Jerzak (PhD in 2021, Government, Harvard University), Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin
- Ohjae Gowen (PhD in 2024, Sociology, Harvard University), Assistant Professor, Seoul National University.
- Derick da Silva Baum (PhD in 2024, Sociology, Harvard University), Assistant Professor, University of Georgia.
- Lai Wei (PhD in 2024, Sociology, Princeton University), Assistant Professor, University of Hong Kong.
- Ang Yu (PhD in 2025, Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison), Assistant Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.
- Nino Cricco (PhD in 2025, Sociology, Harvard University), Data Scientist, Civilian Complaint Review Board in NYC.

Current MA Students

- Mingxuan Liu (RSEA, Harvard University)

Former MA Students

- Di Xin (RSEA, Harvard University)

Selected Invited Talks

Research on East Asian Demography and Inequality, Princeton University, September 2025

Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, July 2025

International Forum on Statistics, Renmin University of China, July 2025

Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies, Florida International University, January 2025

International Chinese Sociological Association Annual Meeting, University of Macau, June 2024

Mini-conference on Research on Reducing Disparity in STEM education, University of Chicago, June 2024

Department of Sociology, Seoul National University, June 2024

Department of Sociology, UCLA, December 2023

Department of Sociology, Seoul National University, December 2023

Quantitative Methods Workshop, University of Chicago, December 2023

Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, July 2023

Department of Industrial Systems Engineering and Management, National University of Singapore, July 2023

Department of Sociology, New York University, February 2023

Office of Population Research, Princeton University, January 2023

School of International Studies, Renmin University of China, March 2022

CMStatistics Conference, December 2021

Department of Sociology, Central China Normal University, November 2021

Center for Social Data Analytics, Pennsylvania State University, October 2021

Department of Sociology, Chinese University of Hong Kong, October 2021 & March 2022

Center for the Study of Wealth and Inequality, Columbia University, September 2021

Interdisciplinary Training Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison, September 2021

School of Public Administration, Renmin University of China, May 2021

Department of Sociology, Zhejiang University, May 2021

Department of Sociology Colloquium, University of Chicago, March 2021

School of Sociology and Political Science, Shanghai University, August 2020

Department of Sociology Colloquium, Princeton University, December 2019

Jain Family Institute Discussion Series, April 2019

Director's Dinner, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University, April 2019

School of Public Administration Seminar Series, Tsinghua University, June 2018

Conference on China Studies, National Taiwan University, May 2018

East Asia Workshop, University of Chicago, May 2018

Political Methodology Speaker Series, MIT, April 2018

7th Annual JRCPPF Annual Conference, Princeton University, February 2017

Social Demography Seminar, Department of Sociology, Harvard University, October 2016

Fairbank Center 60th Anniversary Symposium, Harvard University, October 2016

Quantitative Social Science Colloquium, Princeton University, February 2016

Gaidar Forum 2016, Gaidar Institute for Economic Policy, Moscow, January 2016

Selected Conference Presentations

Opacic, Aleksei, Lai Wei, Xiang Zhou 2023-25. "Disparity Analysis: A Tale of Two Approaches." Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, New Orleans, LA. (April 2023); International Statistical Forum, Beijing, China (July 2025)

Zhou, Xiang and Aleksei Opacic. 2022. "Marginal Interventional Effects." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, CA (August 2022)

Zhou, Xiang and Guanghui Pan. 2021-22. "Higher Education and the Black-White Earnings Gap." The Spring Meeting of International Sociological Association Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification in Turku, Finland (June 2021); Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (August 2021); Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, GA (April 2022)

Zhou, Xiang and Teppei Yamamoto. 2019. "Tracing Causal Paths from Experimental and Observational Data." Annual meeting of the Society for Political Methodology, Cambridge, MA (July); Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC (August 2019).

Zhou, Xiang and Geoffrey T. Wodtke. 2018-19. "Residual Balancing: A Method of Constructing Weights for Marginal Structural Models." Annual meeting of the Society for Political Methodology, Provo, UT (July 2018); Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (April 2019); Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York City, NY (August 2019).

Zhou, Xiang. 2017-19. "Hierarchical Item Response Models for Analyzing Public Opinion." Annual meeting of the Society for Political Methodology, Madison, WI (July); Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA (August 2018); and Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA (August 2018); Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (April 2019).

Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2018. "Heterogeneous Treatment Effects in the Presence of Self-Selection: A Propensity Score Perspective." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA (August).

Zhou, Xiang. 2018. "Equalization or Selection? Reassessing the 'Meritocratic Power' of a College Degree in Inter-generational Income Mobility." Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Association, Baltimore, MD (February); Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston, MA (May); and the Spring Meeting of International Sociological Association Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification in Seoul, South Korea (May).

Zhou, Xiang, and Yu Xie. 2015. "Market Transition, Industrialization, and Social Mobility Trends in Post-Revolution China." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, IL (August).

Zhou, Xiang. 2014. "Shrinkage Estimation of Log Odds Ratios for Comparing Mobility Tables." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA (August).

Zhou, Xiang. 2014. "Increasing Returns to Education, Changing Labor Force Structure, and the Rise of Earnings Inequality in Urban China, 1996-2010." Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston, MA (May); and XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology in Yokohama, Japan (July).

Zhou, Xiang. 2013. "The Rise of Earnings Inequality in Urban China, 1996-2010: Increasing Returns to Education, State Sector Shrinkage, and Composition Effects." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York City, NY (August).

Zhang, Chunni, Qi Xu, Xiang Zhou, Xiaobo Zhang, and Yu Xie. 2013. "An Evaluation of Poverty Prevalence in China" SCERI-CCER 2013 Joint Conference, Beijing, China (July).

Zhou, Xiang. 2012. "A Nonparametric Index of Stratification." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, CO (August).

Xie, Yu, Siwei Cheng, and Xiang Zhou. 2012. "Assortative Mating without Assortative Preference." Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, San Francisco (May); and the Spring Meeting of International Sociological Association Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification in Hong Kong (May).

Xie, Yu, and Xiang Zhou. 2010. "Modeling Individual-Level Heterogeneity in Racial Residential Segregation." Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association Section on Methodology, Urbana, IL (April).

Honors and Awards

Yu Xie Early Career Award, International Chinese Sociological Association, 2024

Leo Goodman Award for contributions to sociological methodology, ASA Methodology Section, 2022

Research Paper Award, ASA Section on Asia and Asian America, 2021

Significant Scholarship Award, ISA Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification, 2021

James Coleman Award for the Best Article, ASA Section on Sociology of Education, 2020

Outstanding Article Publication Award, ASA Section on Mathematical Sociology, 2020

Sørensen Student Travel Award, ISA Research Committee 28 on Social Stratification, 2015

Clifford C. Clogg Award, ASA Methodology Section, 2013

Outstanding Student Paper Award, North America Chinese Sociologists Association, 2013

Outstanding First Year PhD Student, Department of Statistics, University of Michigan, 2010

Fellowships and Grants

Research Grant, "AccelNet Implementation Phase 1: International Networks Towards Future U.S. Urban Resilience" National Science Foundation, 2025-29. Role: Co-PI (with Xiao Liu as PI).

Research Grant, "Heterogeneous Treatment Effects in Demographic Research." National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2013-2018. Role: Consultant (with Yu Xie as PI).

Undergraduate Research Scholars Grant, "Inequality, Information, and Perceptions of Meritocracy: Evidence from China." Harvard Institute for Quantitative Social Science, 2017. Role: PI.

Quantitative Methodology Program Fellowship. University of Michigan, 2009-2013

Professional Service

Harvard University

- Tenure-Track Faculty Mentoring Committee, Department of Sociology, 2025-26
- Interdisciplinary Committee on Applied Mathematics, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2024-25, 2025-26
- Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Sociology, 2024-25

- Committee on Higher Degrees, Department of Sociology, 2024-25
- Senior Faculty Search Committee, Department of Sociology, 2023-24
- Committee on Inclusion and Professionalism, Department of Sociology, 2022-23
- Standing Committee of the Regional Studies East Asia (RSEA), 2021-22, 2022-23
- Hoopes Prize Committee, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2020-21, 2021-22, 2022-23
- General Exam Committee, Department of Sociology, 2020-21, 2022-23, 2024-25, 2025-26
- Director of Graduate Studies, PhD Program in Social Policy, 2019-20
- Standing Committee on Higher Degrees in Social Policy, 2019-20
- Graduate Poster Session Committee, Department of Government, 2018
- Chair, Harvard East Asian Society Conference 2018
- Junior Faculty Search Committee, Department of Government, 2018
- Reviewer, Harvard-Yenching Institute Fellowship Program, 2017, 2018
- Discussant, Harvard Experimental Political Science Graduate Student Conference 2017
- Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Government, 2017

American Sociological Association

- Chair, Nominations Committee, Section on Methodology, 2024-25
- Chair, Leo Goodman Award, Section on Methodology, 2023-24
- Chair, Clifford C. Clogg Award, Section on Methodology, 2022-23
- Nominations Committee Member, Section on Methodology, 2022-23
- Nominations Committee Member, Section on Inequality, Poverty, and Mobility, 2022-23
- Council Member, Section on Methodology, 2022-24
- Session Chair, "Social Mobility," Annual Meeting 2022
- Chair, Research Paper Award, Section on Asia/Transnational and/or Asian America, 2022
- Committee Member, Clifford Clogg Award, Section on Methodology, 2021
- Committee Member, Outstanding Article Publication Award, Section on Mathematical Sociology, 2021
- Session Organizer, "New Approaches to Understanding and Addressing Inequality," Annual Meeting 2021
- Session Organizer, "Quantitative Methodology," Annual Meeting 2021
- Discussant, "Advances in Quantitative Methodology," Annual Meeting 2020
- Discussant, "Quantitative Methodology," Annual Meeting 2015

Population Association of America

- Organizer, "Intergenerational Mobility: Income, Occupation, Education, and Class," Annual Meeting 2025
- Organizer, "Recent Developments in Intergenerational Mobility," Annual Meeting 2023
- Discussant, "Statistical Methods in Demographic Research," Annual Meeting 2017
- Chair and Discussant, "Inequality of Opportunity," Annual Meeting 2015

ISA Research Committee on Social Stratification (RC28)

- Subcommittee Member, Significant Scholarship Award, 2022
- Chair, "Higher Education," Summer Meeting 2019

American Political Science Association

- Chair, "Generalized Linear Models in Political Science," Annual Meeting 2019
- Discussant, "Causal Inference for Times Series Data," Annual Meeting 2019
- Discussant, "Administrative Data and Record Linkage," Annual Meeting 2018

Midwest Political Science Association

- Chair and Discussant, "Improving Experimental Design," Annual Meeting 2019

- Discussant, "Advances in Scaling Models," Annual Meeting 2019

The Society for Political Methodology

- Discussant, Annual Meeting 2018

Editorial Board: *American Sociological Review* (2020-23); *Chinese Sociological Review* (2021-); *Sociological Methodology* (2017-2019), *Sociological Methods & Research* (2021-)

Associate Editor: *Sociological Methods & Research* (2023-)

Consulting Editor: *American Journal of Sociology* (2020-22)

Guest Editor: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*

Reviewer: *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Sociology*, *Chapman & Hall/CRC*, *China Economic Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Demography*, *Demographic Research*, *European Sociological Review*, *Journal of American Statistical Association*, *Journal of Business & Economic Statistics*, *Journal of Causal Inference*, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society B*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *Research Policy*, *Social Forces*, *Sociological Methodology*, *Sociological Methods & Research*, *Social Science Research*, *Sociological Science*, *Sociology of Education*, *Social Problems*, *The China Quarterly*

Professional Affiliations

American Sociological Association

Population Association of America

ISA Research Committee on Social Stratification (RC28)

International Chinese Sociological Association