Chinese Sociological Review

ISSN: 2162-0555 (Print) 2162-0563 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/mcsa20

Mode of Migration, Age at Arrival, and Occupational Attainment of Immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong

Zhuoni Zhang & Hua Ye

To cite this article: Zhuoni Zhang & Hua Ye (2018) Mode of Migration, Age at Arrival, and Occupational Attainment of Immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong, Chinese Sociological Review, 50:1, 83-112, DOI: 10.1080/21620555.2017.1379008

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/21620555.2017.1379008

Published online: 19 Oct 2017.

Chinese Sociological Review, 50(1): 83–112, 2018

ISSN 2162-0555 print / 2162-0563 online
DOI: 10.1080/21620555.2017.1379008

Mode of Migration, Age at Arrival, and Occupational Attainment of Immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong

Zhuoni Zhang, *City University of Hong Kong*
Hua Ye, *Sun Yat-sen University*

Abstract: *This paper examines occupational attainment of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong by comparing immigrants from Guangdong province with people who stayed in Guangdong and Hong Kong natives. Taking advantage of comparable data from the Hong Kong Panel Study of Social Dynamics (HKPSSD) and the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS), we find that Chinese immigrants have significantly lower occupational attainment, measured by International Socioeconomic Index (ISEI), than their counterparts in both the origin and the destination. We further examine whether immigrants' occupational attainment differs by mode of migration and age at arrival. Results show that disadvantages exist for documented immigrants and those who arrived in Hong Kong at age 13 or older, whereas undocumented immigrants and those who arrived younger than 13 do not differ significantly from either Guangdong stayers or Hong Kong natives.*

Migration is an integral feature of global and national economies. The United Nations estimated that more than 220 million people lived outside their home countries in 2010, compared with 154 million in 1990, and 75 million in 1960 (United Nations 2006, 2013). The number of migrants is

Address correspondence to Hua Ye, School of Sociology and Anthropology, and Institute of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Development Studies, Sun Yat-sen University, 135 Xingangxi Road, Haizhu District, Guangzhou 510275, P. R. China. E-mail: yehua5@mail.sysu.edu.cn
Color versions of one or more of the figures in the article can be found online at www.tandfonline.com/mcsa.

far larger if internal migration is taken into account. The increasing scale of population migration has triggered extensive research on the well-being of immigrants.

Most studies have focused on post-migration assimilation in the receiving societies by comparing immigrants to natives and/or other migrant groups in destinations (Chiswick 1979; Borjas 1987; Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson 1991; Baker and Benjamin 1994; Portes and Zhou 1996; Hao 2004; Constant and Massey 2005; Pong et al. 2014; Post, Pong, and Ou 2015). Comparisons in the receiving societies, however, may not be most relevant for immigrants themselves, as people move to improve their life chances relative to those available to them in the origin society (Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli 2017). To understand migration effects on immigrants themselves, it is necessary to also compare immigrants with those left behind (Eichenlaub, Tolnay, and Alexander 2010; Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli 2017).

Although there is emerging literature, studies comparing immigrants with those who have remained in the place of origin are still limited, probably because appropriate data with comparable questions from sending and receiving societies are scarce for both internal and particularly international migration. Guveli et al. (2015) used data from the *2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe* project to compare Turkish immigrants and their descendants in European countries to their nonmigrant counterparts who stayed in Turkey with regard to education, marriage, fertility, friends, attitudes, and religiosity. Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli (2017) used the combined data of five European Social Surveys and one round of the European Values Study to compare the status attainment and social mobility of Turks in nine European countries with those of Turks in Turkey and those of Western European natives. Similar research that compares immigrants to their origin counterparts is rare for international immigrants other than Turks, with the exception of two recent studies on the selectivity of immigration in the United States (Feliciano 2005) and in Europe (Dronkers and de Heus 2010).

Authors of a few studies on internal migration have compared immigrants to those who remained in their places of origin. Eichenlaub, Tolnay, and Alexander (2010) used data from the U.S. Census to compare internal immigrants who left the Southern United States with their contemporaries who stayed behind and found that the immigrants did not benefit appreciably in terms of employment status, income, or occupational status. Two studies on migrant children's education in China reported similar negative consequences of migration using microdata from Chinese population censuses and mini censuses (Liang and Chen 2007; Wu and Zhang 2015).

The authors of the emerging literature mentioned above have contributed significantly to migration research by answering recent calls for a more

complete understanding of migration processes and the well-being of immigrants rather than merely answering the policy-driven questions of the destination societies (Amelina and Faist 2012; Guveli 2015; Guveli et al. 2015; Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli 2017).

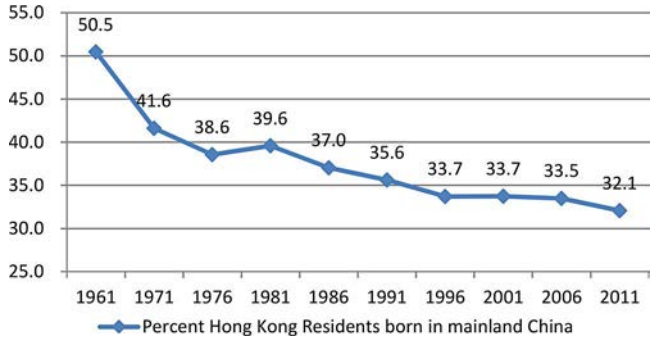
However, little attention has been paid to the internal heterogeneity of immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival. Differences in mode of migration and age at arrival portend possible differences in migration processes and the socioeconomic adaptations of immigrants. Mode of migration has been examined as an important predictor of various aspects of socioeconomic attainment for immigrants, including employment (Borjas and Tienda 1993; Flippen 2012), labor market experience and employer-specific capital (Massey 1987), skill level (Chiswick 1991), wage (Heer 1990; Hall, Greenman, and Farkas 2010), and returns to human capital (Hall, Greenman, and Farkas 2010). Age at arrival is also a key predictor of immigrants' socioeconomic outcomes, as it is closely related to place of education, host country language proficiency, and years of experience in the destination (Rumbaut 2004; Zeng and Xie 2004; Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009; Lee and Edmonston 2011). It has been used as a conventional measure of immigrant generations in previous studies on immigrant assimilation and integration (Ellis and Goodwin-White 2006; Kim and Sakamoto 2010).

In this paper, we fill the gaps in the literature by examining cross-border migration from mainland China to Hong Kong, taking advantage of comparable data from two recent representative surveys with similar research designs (i.e., the Hong Kong Panel Study of Social Dynamics [HKPSSD] and the China Family Panel Studies [CFPS]). Specifically, we will adopt an origin–destination approach that compares cross-border Chinese immigrants to both stayers in the mainland and natives in Hong Kong with regard to occupational attainment, and we will further differentiate between undocumented and documented, and between different age-at-arrival cohorts of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong.

Migration from Mainland China to Hong Kong

Migration from mainland China to Hong Kong, a former British colony and a current Special Administrative Region of China, provides an ideal laboratory for examining the socioeconomic outcomes of migration and the internal heterogeneity of immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival. It is analogous to international migration from a developing origin to a more developed destination under the principle of "one country two systems," although geographically Hong Kong is located just across a river, adjacent to the province of Guangdong, China. Over the last five decades, as

Figure 1. **Percentage of Hong Kong Residents Born in Mainland China, 1961–2011.**



Notes: Data are from the Hong Kong Population Census/By-census (Census and Statistics Department 1972, 1982, 1991, 2011; Census Commissioner 1962).

shown in Figure 1, Chinese immigrants have accounted for a significant portion of Hong Kong's total population, as large as one-half in 1961 and stably at around one-third since the 1990s. The large-scale cross-border migration, on the one hand, has not involved issues of ethnicity, race, or culture because both the immigrants and the Hong Kong natives are ethnic Chinese with the same cultural heritage (Zhang and Wu 2011; Ou and Pong 2013; Zhang 2014); on the other hand, migration has been regulated by varying immigration policies under which undocumented, documented, adult, and child immigrants each make up significant proportions of the migrant population (Siu 1996; Zhang and Wu 2011). These two features make it plausible to identify a migration effect without the confounding factors of ethnicity, race, or culture and to further examine internal variations among immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival.

Mode of Migration: The Great Exodus to Hong Kong and the "One-Way Permit" Scheme

Based on mode of migration, Chinese immigrants can generally be classified into two groups: undocumented immigrants who arrived in the "Great Exodus to Hong Kong" (Chen 2010) and documented immigrants who arrived under the "one-way permit" scheme (Law and Lee 2006).[1]

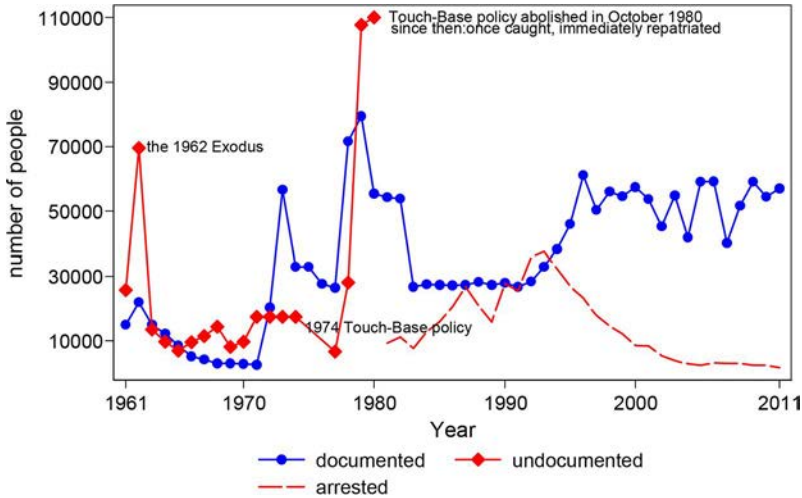
Hong Kong's immigration policy toward undocumented immigrants from mainland China changed several times. Before the mid-1960s, there

was a very strict policy to prevent the surge of refugees escaping from famine, poverty, and social turmoil in China, but this policy was abolished in 1967. Then, in 1974, the "touch-base" policy was implemented to allow Chinese immigrants who managed to reach the urban areas of Hong Kong to apply for identification cards in Hong Kong (Li 1997; Kong 1994; Ku 2004). Despite various regulations on undocumented migration, a huge number of mainlanders left their homeland and started the deadly journey to Hong Kong, with 1957, 1962, 1972, and 1979 marking the four periods of the Great Exodus to Hong Kong (Chen 2010; He 2013; Zhang, Song, and Wu 2017). As shown in Figure 2, the yearly entry of undocumented immigrants was enormous and in many years exceeded the number of documented immigrants. The 1962 exodus to Hong Kong, for example, witnessed an influx of 69,000 mainlanders escaping from the 1959–1961 Chinese famine. Under the touch-base policy, the number of undocumented immigrants soared and reached its peak at around 110,000 in 1980. On October 23, 1980, the government abolished the touch-base policy, and undocumented immigrants were "once caught, immediately repatriated" (Lam and Liu 1998:16). Figure 2 also shows the number of arrests per year from 1981 to 2011. Under the "once caught, immediately repatriated" policy, the number of undocumented immigrants was suppressed after 1981, whereafter documented immigrants arriving under the one-way permit scheme accounted for most of the new arrivals. In the data used here, 94 percent of undocumented immigrants arrived in Hong Kong before 1981.

Note that people with prior undocumented experience have been categorized as undocumented immigrants, but they had the right of abode in Hong Kong at the time of the survey. The touch-base policy allowed not only undocumented immigrants who reached the urban areas during 1974–1980, but also those who arrived in Hong Kong before 1974, to register for a Hong Kong identity card. When the government abolished the touch-base policy, there was a 3-day grace period (October 24–26, 1980) for Chinese immigrants to register for a Hong Kong identity card.

The one-way permit scheme has regulated the migration of documented immigrants from the mainland to Hong Kong since the 1950s, with the exception of two brief periods of suspension in 1955 and 1956 (Lam and Liu 1998: 9). Figure 2 shows the yearly entry of documented immigrants from 1961 to 2011. There was a sharp increase in 1972 when the mainland stepped into the second half of the Cultural Revolution, and the number reached about 80,000 in 1979. It remained stable at about 30,000 after the mid-1980s when the one-way permit quota was set to 75 a day, and increased to between 40,000 and 60,000 after the mid-1990s when the daily quota was revised to 150.[2]

Figure 2. **Number of Undocumented and Documented Immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong, 1961–2011.**



Notes: The number of documented immigrants refers to yearly entry. The 1961–1970 data are estimated numbers from "Hong Kong Population Projections, 1971–1991" (Census and Statistics Department 1973: 20–21). The 1971–1979 data are from Li (1997: 26). The 1980–2011 data mainly refer to one-way permit holders, from Li (1997: 26) for 1980–1982, Skeldon (1991: 246) for 1983–1990, Siu (1998: 203 and 209) for 1990–1997, and a series of reports entitled "Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department Statistics on New Arrivals from the Mainland" (1998–2011). The number of one-way permit holders from 2003 onward includes immigrants under other schemes that targeted talents and professionals. The number of undocumented immigrants also refers to estimated yearly entry. The 1961–1970 data are from "Hong Kong Population Projections 1971–1991" (Census and Statistics Department 1973: 23), and the 1971–1980 data are from Li (1997: 27). Please note that Li (1997) reported the sum of undocumented immigrants from 1970 to1974, but this figure reports the average number for individual years (i.e., the sum minus the number in 1970, and then the product divided by four). The number of "arrested" refers to annual arrests. The data are from Skeldon (1991: 245) for 1981–1990, Kong (1994: 59) for 1991–1993, Law and Lee (2006: 221) for 1995–2004, the "Hong Kong Yearbooks" (2005–2009), and the "Immigration Department Annual Reports" for 2010–2011.

A comparison between undocumented and documented immigrants is necessary when examining the socioeconomic attainments of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong, as the two groups went through different selectivity processes and might thus differ in socioeconomic integration in the destination. Undocumented immigrants had to overcome the risks of apprehension and difficulties of making a living in Hong Kong without official documentation. Those who were able to cross the border successfully were strong, determined, and competent (Chen 2010; He 2013), and those who could not make a living in Hong Kong were likely to return to mainland

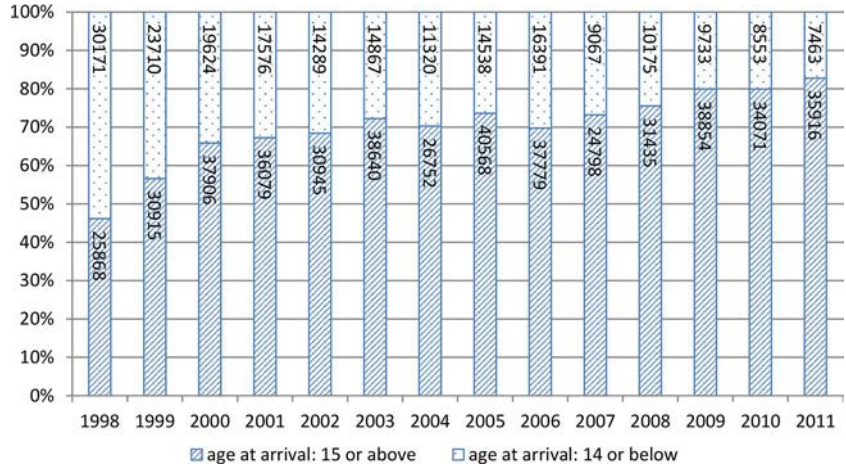
China. In contrast, documented immigrants who entered Hong Kong under the one-way permit scheme were mainly low-educated and low-skilled spouses and dependent children of Hong Kong natives (Li 1997; Lui 1997; Lam and Liu 1998; Zhang and Wu 2011), accompanying the growing number of cross-border marriages (Zhou 2016; Zhou, Wu, and He 2017). As mentioned above, the undocumented immigrants in this study were previously undocumented people who had become legal. Therefore, the comparison between them and documented immigrants does not capture the effect of current legal status, but rather captures the effect of migration selectivity. Previous studies on Chinese immigrants have documented their disadvantaged position relative to Hong Kong natives in terms of socioeconomic attainment (Lui 1997; Lam and Liu 1998, 2002; Chiu, Choi, and Ting 2005; Zhang and Wu 2011), but it remains to be answered how migration selectivity processes affect the socioeconomic integration of Chinese immigrants, as compared to both Hong Kong natives and stayers on the mainland.

Age at Arrival: Adult and Child Immigrants from Mainland China to Hong Kong

Adult and child immigrants, as classified by age at arrival, both formed substantial portions of the Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong. This can be clearly observed from the sample of documented immigrants who entered Hong Kong under the one-way permit scheme. After Hong Kong's handover to China, 138 out of the daily quota of 150 one-way permits was limited to Hong Kong residents' spouses who had been separated from their husbands/wives for more than ten years and children who were under age 14 (Zhang and Wu 2011). Figure 3 shows the number and percentage of Chinese immigrants who entered Hong Kong under the one-way permit scheme by age at arrival from 1998 to 2011. The arrivals of one-way permit holders, particularly child immigrants, raised public worries about their over-occupancy of public resources and burden on government welfare expenditure. As for the undocumented immigrants in Hong Kong, the data used in this paper show that about 15 percent arrived in Hong Kong at age 14 or younger. Empirical research based on population-based survey data is necessary to examine whether child and adult immigrants differ in socioeconomic integration in Hong Kong and may prove a valuable reference to policy makers and the public.

Migration studies have shown that the younger their age at arrival, the better the adaptation of immigrants to the receiving society (Chiswick and Miller 1988; Rumbaut 1991; Stevens 1999; Lee and Boyd 2008; Åslund, Böhlmark, and Skans 2009; Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009). Age at arrival bears significantly on language proficiency (Guven and Islam 2015), literacy performance (OECD 2016), educational attainment and school performance (Böhlmark 2008; Heath and Kilpi-Jakonen 2012), and labor market skills

Figure 3. **Chinese Immigrants by Age at Arrival Under the One-Way Permit Scheme in Hong Kong, 1998–2011.**



Source: Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department Statistics on New Arrivals from the Mainland.

(OECD 2016), which in turn predict socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants (Gonzalez 2003; Clark and Lindley 2009; Kim and Sakamoto 2010; Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014). In the context of Hong Kong, Chinese immigrants also face such barriers related to English proficiency, educational attainment (Post 2004), and labor market skills (Liu, Zhang, and Chong 2004) that are specific to Hong Kong, which consequently determine their socioeconomic attainment. For example, the incomes of Chinese immigrants who received the highest education in Hong Kong did not differ from those of Hong Kong natives, whereas those who received the highest education on the mainland earned significantly less than natives (Ye 2014). Given that child immigrants are likely to be educated in Hong Kong, it is therefore reasonable to expect child immigrants and adult immigrants to have different levels of socioeconomic integration in Hong Kong. As age at arrival is amenable to policy manipulation, we will discuss the policy implications of age of immigration in the conclusion section.

Data and Variables

We use data from two surveys with comparable research designs and questionnaire structures (Xie and Hu 2014): the 2010 CFPS and the 2011 HKPSSD. CFPS is a nationally representative and longitudinal survey in China, and its first wave of data was collected in 2010; HKPSSD is the first

citywide and panel survey in Hong Kong, and its initial wave of data was collected in 2011. HKPSSD includes a special module on immigrants with detailed information on places of birth, provinces of origin, modes of migration (crossing the border illegally, through one-way permit scheme, etc.), and age at arrival (Wu 2016).

Because the majority of mainland immigrants in Hong Kong came from the neighboring Guangdong province, over 90 percent of them before the 1980s and around two-thirds in the 2000s (Census Commissioner 1962; Census and Statistics Department 1972, 1982, 1991, 2011), we use the 2010 self-representative subsample of Guangdong in the CFPS and restrict the 2011 HKPSSD data to Hong Kong natives and Chinese immigrants who came from Guangdong. As Hong Kong is a city and Guangdong includes both urban and rural areas, we further restrict the Guangdong subsample to people who were born in Guangdong and lived in urban areas at the time of the survey. The purpose of this paper is to examine occupational attainment with an origin–destination approach, so we combine the restricted samples from CFPS and HKPSSD and include only people who were employed (and not enrolled at school) and provided information on their occupation at the time of the survey.[3] The final analytical sample includes 3,650 respondents.

The key independent variable is migrant status. There are four alternative classifications of this variable. The first one includes the aforementioned three groups of people: Guangdong stayers who were born in Guangdong and lived in Guangdong at the time of the survey (GD stayers), immigrants who came from Guangdong to Hong Kong (GD-HK immigrants), and Hong Kong natives who were born in Hong Kong (HK natives). The second classification, based on the first one, splits GD-HK immigrants by mode of migration into the undocumented (*toudu,* crossing the border illegally) and the documented (moving with authorized documents such as a one-way permit or work visa). Note again people with prior undocumented experience were classified as undocumented immigrants but had the right of abode in Hong Kong at the time of the survey.[4] The third classification, also based on the first one, splits GD-HK immigrants by age at arrival of 0–5 years old, 6–12 years old, and 13 years old or older. The age intervals are set following Lee and Edmonston's (2011) suggestion on categorical measure of age at arrival, except that we combined children from 6–9 and 10–12 into one group due to the sample size problem.[5] Immigrants who arrived in Hong Kong before age 13 are child immigrants, and those who arrived at age 13 or older can generally be considered adult immigrants. The last classification combines information on mode of migration and age at arrival, and splits GD-HK immigrants into four groups: documented immigrants who arrived at ages 0–5, 6–12, or 13 or older, and undocumented immigrants. The undocumented immigrants remain as one group because of the small sample size. The last alternative measure will be used

to examine whether there are internal variations by age at arrival among the documented immigrants.

As a measure of occupational attainment, the dependent variable is the standard International Socioeconomic Index (ISEI) of Occupational Status (Ganzeboom, de Graff, and Treiman 1992). The index was converted from detailed occupational codes and comparable across regions (Ganzeboom and Treiman 1996), and thus it is suitable for the origin–destination comparison in this paper. We also include age and its square term, gender, marital status, education level, and rural origin as control variables in the multivariate analysis. Age is a continuous variable, and gender is binary with male coded as reference. Marital status is a dummy variable with married coded as 1 and otherwise 0. There are five categories of education level—primary school or below, junior high school, senior high school, non-degree college, and college degree—with the first category coded as reference. Rural origin is a binary variable. It is coded as 1 if the respondent came from a rural place and 0 otherwise. For GD stayers, their origin is based on household registration status (agricultural/rural vs. nonagricultural/urban) at age 3; for GD-HK immigrants, their origin is based on the type of place they came from (rural vs. urban); for HK natives, their origin is classified as urban. In the following section, we first describe summary statistics for the analytical sample and then estimate multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions predicting occupational attainment that compare GD-HK immigrants to GD stayers and HK natives.

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the origin–destination combined sample of 2010 CFPS and 2011 HKPSSD. The sample sizes of GD–HK immigrants, GD stayers, and HK natives are 736, 676, and 2,238, respectively. Undocumented immigrants account for 23 percent of the immigrants in the sample (i.e., 167/736). Around one-fourth of the immigrants arrived in Hong Kong younger than 13, with 9 percent coming at or below age 5 (i.e., 60/[60 + 104 +521]) and 15 percent (i.e., 104/[60 + 104 +521]) coming between 6 and 12 years old. We also present in appendix Table A1 the descriptive statistics for GD stayers, HK natives, and GD-HK immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival. Because the influxes of undocumented immigrants occurred before the 1980s, their mean age is 55.5 in our sample. The fact that the undocumented immigrants are well into old age makes this study especially valuable because no previous empirical analysis has been conducted based on representative data. The descriptive statistics for the immigrant subgroups show internal variations of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong and confirm that it is necessary to examine their socioeconomic status in relation to their mode of migration and age at arrival.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for the Origin–Destination Combined Sample of 2010 CFPS and 2011 HKPSSD

Variables	Statistics
Migrant status (*n*)	
Guangdong–Hong Kong (GD–HK) immigrants	736
By mode of migration	
Undocumented	167
Documented	569
By age at arrival[a]	
0–5 years old	60
6–12 years old	104
At age 13 or above	521
By mode of migration and age at arrival[b]	
Undocumented	159
Documented, 0–5 years old	54
Documented, 6–12 years old	94
Documented, 13 years old or above	378
Guangdong (GD) stayers	676
Hong Kong (HK) natives	2,238
Dependent variable	
ISEI[c]	42.6 (14.25)
Control variables	
Age[c]	40.1 (12.00)
Female (%)	41.1
Married (%)	63.0
Education level (%)	
Primary school or below	18.0
Junior high school	20.3
Senior high school	36.6
Non-degree college	5.9
College degree	19.2
N	3,650

Notes: Sampling weights are used to calculate the percentages, means, and standard deviations.
[a]The sample size for GD–HK immigrants by age at arrival, as well as those for mode of migration and age at arrival, is smaller than that of immigrants by mode of migration because fifty-one immigrants did not report their age at arrival.
[b]Undocumented immigrants remain as one group due to small sample size.
[c]The means and standard deviations are reported for ISEI and age.
ISEI = International Socioeconomic Index; CFPS = China Family Panel Studies; HKPSSD = Hong Kong Panel Study of Social Dynamics.

Table 2 presents OLS regressions predicting ISEI that compare immigrants, as one group, to GD stayers and HK natives. Model 1 shows that immigrants from Guangdong to Hong Kong have significantly lower ISEI

Table 2

Ordinary Least Squares Regressions on Occupational Attainment (ISEI) of Immigrants from China to Hong Kong: The Origin–Destination Combined Sample

	1	2	3	4
Migrant status (ref: GD stayers)				
GD–HK immigrants	–4.981***	–1.745*	–2.922***	–3.416***
	(0.866)	(0.883)	(0.759)	(0.835)
HK natives	5.431***	6.502***	0.538	–0.838
	(0.739)	(0.757)	(0.687)	(1.060)
Age		0.393*	0.208	0.207
		(0.157)	(0.120)	(0.119)
Age^2		–0.008***	–0.002	–0.002
		(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		0.102	0.024	0.019
		(0.132)	(0.108)	(0.108)
Married		0.457	1.292*	1.332*
		(0.718)	(0.568)	(0.566)
Education level (reference: primary school or below)				
Junior high school			5.615***	5.513***
			(0.686)	(0.689)
Senior high school			13.276***	13.047***
			(0.698)	(0.703)
Non-degree college			18.778***	18.534***
			(1.018)	(1.036)
College degree			26.594***	26.313***
			(0.834)	(0.838)
Rural origin				–1.834*
				(0.905)
Constant	40.183***	36.699***	25.693***	27.272***
	(0.659)	(2.955)	(2.405)	(2.527)
N	3,650	3,650	3,650	3,650
R^2	0.083	0.136	0.418	0.419

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.
***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$..

than GD stayers without any controls. The difference remains significant, with the magnitude decreasing from about 5 to 1.7 points when we introduce age and its square term, gender, and marital status into Model 2. The pattern holds in Models 3 and 4 when education level and rural origin are further taken into account. Model 4 shows that the ISEI of the immigrants is around 3.4 points lower than that of the stayers, net of the effects of other variables. We also estimated an alternative of Model 4 with the HK natives, instead of GD stayers, treated as the reference group. Compared to HK natives, the ISEI of immigrants is 2.6 points lower ($p < .001$) than that of the natives, net of the effects of other variables. This result is consistent with previous research findings that Chinese immigrants are disadvantaged in socioeconomic attainment relative to HK natives (Zhang and Wu 2011). In general, Table 2 suggests that with regard to occupational attainment, immigrants from Guangdong to Hong Kong moved out but not up, in that they were disadvantaged relative to both the stayers in the place of origin and the natives in the destination.

Table 3 presents OLS regressions on ISEI with the immigrants further divided into undocumented or documented. The model specifications are the same as in Table 2. Model 1 shows that without any controls, undocumented and documented immigrants have 6.2 and 4.6 points lower ISEI, respectively, than GD stayers. The difference between the undocumented and the stayers becomes insignificant when the demographic variables, education level, and rural origin are controlled in Models 2–4. However, the difference between the documented immigrants and the stayers remains significant. Documented immigrants have 3.9 points lower ISEI than the stayers, net of the effects of other variables. As mentioned, undocumented immigrants might be positively selected from the stayers based on motivational or aspirational factors, yet the results here show no significant difference in ISEI between the two. We suspect this is because they experienced negative consequences of migration in the destination labor market, such as devaluation of education and downward occupational mobility (Zhang and Wu 2011). We also ran a test of the difference between undocumented and documented immigrants in Model 4. The results show that the difference is significant at a 0.1 level (Prob>$F = .0526$).

When we treated HK natives as the reference group for Model 4 of Table 3, we found that the documented immigrants had 2.9 points lower ($p < .001$) ISEI than HK natives, and that the undocumented immigrants had 0.6 points lower ISEI than HK natives (though statistically not significant at a .05 level). In other words, the gap between the undocumented immigrants and the natives is smaller than the gap between the documented immigrants and the natives. The findings in Table 3 confirm that differences in mode of migration portend differences in the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and that it is necessary to differentiate between undocumented and documented Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong.

Table 3

Ordinary Least Squares Regressions on Occupational Attainment (ISEI) of Immigrants from China to Hong Kong (with Immigrants by Mode of Migration)

	1	2	3	4
Migrant status (ref: GD stayers)				
Immigrants by mode of migration				
Undocumented (U)	–6.177***	0.512	–1.494	–1.637
	(1.243)	(1.337)	(1.230)	(1.246)
Documented (D)	–4.611***	–2.310*	–3.278***	–3.938***
	(0.933)	(0.922)	(0.786)	(0.871)
Test U = D				Prob >F = 0.0526
HK natives	5.431***	6.520***	0.556	–0.992
	(0.739)	(0.757)	(0.687)	(1.063)
Age		0.420**	0.226	0.229
		(0.154)	(0.120)	(0.119)
Age^2		–0.008***	–0.003*	–0.003*
		(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		0.134	0.045	0.044
		(0.132)	(0.109)	(0.109)
Married		0.423	1.270*	1.309*
		(0.717)	(0.568)	(0.566)
Education level (reference: primary school or below)				
Junior high school			5.616***	5.502***
			(0.684)	(0.687)
Senior high school			13.267***	13.006***
			(0.696)	(0.702)
Non-degree college			18.768***	18.489***
			(1.017)	(1.037)
College degree			26.569***	26.245***
			(0.833)	(0.838)
Rural origin				–2.070*
				(0.908)
Constant	40.183***	36.254***	25.419***	27.121***
	(0.659)	(2.907)	(2.394)	(2.505)
N	3,650	3,650	3,650	3,650
R^2	0.084	0.137	0.418	0.420

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.
***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Table 4

Ordinary Least Squares Regressions on Occupational Attainment (ISEI) of Immigrants from China to Hong Kong (with Immigrants by Age at Arrival)

	1	2	3	4
Migrant status (ref: GD stayers)				
Immigrants by age at arrival				
0–5 (A)	3.243	4.987**	1.237	0.577
	(1.786)	(1.803)	(1.511)	(1.564)
6–12 (B)	1.705	2.853	0.658	0.266
	(1.714)	(1.690)	(1.446)	(1.515)
13 + (C)	–7.230***	–3.747***	–4.378***	–4.784***
	(0.909)	(0.949)	(0.820)	(0.878)
Test A = B = C				Prob >F = 0.0000
HK natives	5.431***	6.402***	0.524	–0.750
	(0.739)	(0.757)	(0.688)	(1.080)
Age		0.429**	0.225	0.222
		(0.162)	(0.124)	(0.122)
Age^2		–0.008***	–0.002	–0.002
		(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		0.156	0.067	0.062
		(0.133)	(0.109)	(0.109)
Married		0.443	1.302*	1.343*
		(0.723)	(0.572)	(0.571)
Education level (reference: primary school or below)				
Junior high school			5.606***	5.525***
			(0.697)	(0.700)
Senior high school			13.098***	12.900***
			(0.706)	(0.711)
Non-degree college			18.588***	18.368***
			(1.023)	(1.042)
College degree			26.481***	26.236***
			(0.842)	(0.846)
Rural Origin				–1.699
				(0.933)
Constant	40.183***	35.476***	25.088***	26.566***
	(0.659)	(3.051)	(2.461)	(2.601)
N	3,599	3,599	3,599	3,599

(*Continued*)

Table 4 **Continued**

	1	2	3	4
R^2	0.094	0.139	0.420	0.421

Notes: The sample size in this table is smaller than in Tables 2 & 3 because fifty-one immigrants did not report their age at arrival. Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Table 4 presents the regression results with the immigrants classified by age at arrival. The model specifications are also the same as in Table 2. The overall pattern shows that child immigrants who arrived in Hong Kong either before 6 years old or between 6 and 12 are better off than those who arrived at older ages. Model 4 shows that people who migrated to Hong Kong at age 13 or older have 4.8 points lower ISEI, whereas child immigrants tend to have slightly higher ISEI scores (though statistically not significant at a .05 level) compared to GD stayers, holding constant all other factors. Model 4 also shows that there are significant differences among the three groups of immigrants (Prob>$F = .0000$).

When we treated HK natives as the reference group for Model 4 of Table 4, we found that the ISEI is 4.0 points lower ($p < .001$) for immigrants who arrived at age 13 or older, whereas for those who arrived at younger ages, the differences are positive and insignificant. These findings support our expectation that child immigrants and adult immigrants differ in socioeconomic attainment compared to both HK natives and GD stayers.

The results in Table 4 confirm Lee and Edmonston's (2011) and Myers, Gao, and Emeka's (2009) findings on the critical role of age at arrival for immigrants' socioeconomic achievements. Immigrant achievements are superior for people who arrived at younger ages than those who arrived at older ages. The coefficients of migrant status in the table display a gradient effect of age at arrival, though statistically not significant at a .05 level for ages younger than 6 and between 6 and 12. The results suggest a similar pattern of age-at-arrival effect for Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong as for Mexican immigrants in the United States (Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009) and Asian immigrants in Canada and the United States (Lee and Edmonston 2011).

Table 5 presents the regression results, in which Chinese immigrants are divided into four groups based on mode of migration and age at arrival. The undocumented immigrants remain as one group, as mentioned, because of their small sample size. Model 1 shows that documented immigrants who arrived in Hong Kong before 6 years old have 3.6 points higher ISEI than those who stayed in Guangdong. The difference becomes statistically insignificant when education effects are controlled for in Model 3,

Table 5

Ordinary Least Squares Regressions on Occupational Attainment (ISEI) of Immigrants from China to Hong Kong (with Immigrants by Mode of Migration and Age at Arrival)

	1	2	3	4
Migrant status (ref: GD stayers)				
Immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival				
Undocumented (U)	–5.887***	0.523	–1.555	–1.669
	(1.274)	(1.366)	(1.267)	(1.281)
Documented, 0–5 (DA)	3.600*	4.987**	1.410	0.602
	(1.779)	(1.825)	(1.600)	(1.654)
Documented, 6–12 (DB)	1.370	2.371	–0.033	–0.574
	(1.818)	(1.768)	(1.377)	(1.443)
Documented, 13 + (DC)	–7.241***	–4.803***	–4.973***	–5.552***
	(1.017)	(1.022)	(0.882)	(0.949)
Test U = DA = DB = DC				Prob >F = 0.0000
HK natives	5.431***	6.436***	0.560	–0.913
	(0.739)	(0.757)	(0.688)	(1.083)
Age		0.486**	0.262*	0.263*
		(0.156)	(0.122)	(0.121)
Age^2		–0.009***	–0.003*	–0.003*
		(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		0.203	0.094	0.094
		(0.134)	(0.111)	(0.111)
Married		0.417	1.280*	1.323*
		(0.722)	(0.572)	(0.571)
Education level (reference: primary school or below)				
Junior high school			5.584***	5.490***
			(0.697)	(0.701)
Senior high school			13.064***	12.829***
			(0.705)	(0.711)
Non-degree college			18.560***	18.300***
			(1.023)	(1.043)
College degree			26.427***	26.133***
			(0.841)	(0.846)
Rural Origin				–1.970*
				(0.936)

(*Continued*)

Table 5 **Continued**

	1	2	3	4
Constant	40.183***	34.502***	24.513***	26.153***
	(0.659)	(2.959)	(2.438)	(2.568)
N	3,599	3,599	3,599	3,599
R^2	0.092	0.140	0.420	0.421

Note: The undocumented immigrants remain as one group due to small sample size. Robust standard errors in parentheses.
***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

suggesting that the achievement of this group of child immigrants is mainly because of education level. For the documented immigrants who arrived at age 13 or older, their ISEI is 5.6 points lower ($p < .001$) than the GD stayers when all other factors are controlled for in Model 4. The difference between the documented immigrants who arrived between 6 and 12 years old and the GD stayers is insignificant. Model 4 also shows that there are significant differences among the four groups of immigrants (Prob>$F = .0000$). When we treated HK natives as the reference group, we found that people who arrived before age 13 do not differ significantly from HK natives in terms of ISEI, but those who arrived at age 13 or older have significantly lower ISEI. While Table 3 shows that documented immigrants in general have lower ISEI than both GD stayers and HK natives, Table 5 further displays internal variations among the documented immigrants by age at arrival.

Table 6 summarizes Chinese immigrants' ISEI compared with that of GD stayers and HK natives in Tables 2–5. Zeros indicate a nonsignificant difference, while minuses indicate a statistically significant disadvantage (at the .05 level), respectively, for Chinese immigrants. The zero and minus cells in the table suggest a general picture of moving out but not up for Chinese immigrants. As a group, Chinese immigrants are disadvantaged in ISEI not only relative to HK natives, but also relative to their counterparts who have stayed in Guangdong province. The relative ISEI of the immigrants compared to the stayers and the natives, however, varies by mode of migration and age at arrival. Specifically, a disadvantage exists for documented immigrants and those who arrived in Hong Kong at age 13 or older, whereas undocumented immigrants and those who arrived younger than 13 years old do not differ significantly from either the stayers or the natives.

Recall that the majority of the undocumented immigrants arrived in Hong Kong before 1981, and that the immigrant subgroups differ in demographics and education level (as shown in Appendix Table A1). Our results may suffer from comparability problems. In order to test this, we present

Table 6

ISEI of Chinese Immigrants: A Summary of Comparisons to Guangdong Stayers and Hong Kong Natives

	Relative to GD Stayers	Relative to HK Natives
GD-HK immigrants	–	–
By mode of migration		
Undocumented	0	0
Documented	–	–
By age at arrival		
0–5 years old	0	0
6–12 years old	0	0
13 years old or above	–	–
By mode of migration and age at arrival		
Undocumented	0	0
Documented, 0–5 years old	0	0
Documented, 6–12 years old	0	0
Documented, 13 years old or above	–	–

robustness checks in Appendix Tables A2 and A3. First, we restrict immigrants to those who arrived in Hong Kong before 1981 and run OLS regressions on ISEI (as shown in Table A2). Second, we conduct a propensity score matching analysis to compare immigrant subgroups to stayers (as shown in Appendix Table A3). The results are consistent with our findings.

Conclusion and Discussion

The large-scale and decades-long migration from mainland China to Hong Kong is a suitable subject for research to identify the outcomes of migration without confounding effects of ethnicity, race, and culture, as both the immigrants and HK natives are ethnic Chinese with the same cultural heritage. In this paper, we used data from the 2011 HKPSSD and the 2010 CFPS, to examine the ISEI of immigrants who came from Guangdong (GD) province relative to that of GD stayers and HK natives. We further differentiate the immigrants into undocumented and documented immigrants and distinguish those who arrived at ages 0–5, 6–12, or 13 or older to examine the effects of mode of migration and age at arrival.

OLS regression results show that Chinese immigrants have significantly lower ISEI than their counterparts in both the origin and the destination, suggesting that they moved out but not up. Specifically, documented immigrants have significantly lower ISEI than both GD stayers and HK natives, but no significant difference is found for undocumented immigrants. ISEI is lower for the immigrants who arrived at age 13 or older compared to either GD stayers or HK natives, whereas for those who arrived at younger ages the differences are positive and insignificant. Further analyses with combined information on mode of migration and age at arrival show that among documented immigrants there is a disadvantage for those who arrived at age 13 or older, but not for those who arrived younger than 13. We also conduct robustness checks using a propensity score matching method and OLS regressions with restrictions on immigrants to those who arrived before 1981, and the results are consistent with our main analyses.

Overall, the origin–destination comparisons in this paper provide a more comprehensive understanding of the socioeconomic outcomes of cross-border migration from mainland China to Hong Kong and suggest that mode of migration and age at arrival should be simultaneously considered to examine the internal variations of Chinese immigrants. In response to public worries about child immigrants' over-occupancy of public resources and burden on Hong Kong government welfare expenditure, our results suggest an optimistic prediction of child immigrants' socioeconomic achievement: the younger the age at arrival, the better the integration of Chinese immigrants in the local labor market, even under the family-reunion one-way permit scheme. This finding bears important policy implications in that the inflow of child immigrants may be one of the solutions to Hong Kong's low fertility rate and shortage of labor supply.

There are several possible explanations for why Chinese immigrants to Hong Kong do not perform as well as GD stayers. One possibility is that they are negatively selected. Documented migrants, especially adults who came to Hong Kong under the one-way permit scheme, were less educated and possessed fewer skills that were applicable to Hong Kong's labor markets (Zhang and Wu 2011). Second, Chinese immigrants are disadvantaged once they arrive in Hong Kong. This is especially true for documented immigrants, most of whom arrived in Hong Kong after the 1980s when the city's economy was upgraded from a labor-demanding and manufactory-dominated one to a knowledge-based service industry (Li 2008: 33–36). Many new arrivals were discriminated against by Hong Kong employers, and very often they were hired for lower pay compared with locals (Law and Lee 2006). Third, education is devalued for Chinese immigrants. Education attained on the mainland was not recognized in Hong Kong's labor market (Law and Lee 2006; Ye 2014), which can explain the significant disadvantage of Chinese immigrants who arrived in Hong

Kong at age 13 or older. Finally, it may be due to differential improvement in economic conditions between Hong Kong and Guangdong (Li 1997). Hong Kong started its economic take-off in the mid-1950s, whereas Guangdong was a poor place with little opportunity for high-status jobs until the beginning of the Economic Reform in 1978. But since then Guangdong, along with the rest of China, has experienced boom times, whereas opportunities in Hong Kong became relatively tight after its economic restructuring in the 1980s. The documented immigrants who arrived in Hong Kong after the 1980s may have experienced discrimination in the ways we suggested above. We tried to explore this possibility by adding an interaction between age and migration status in multiple analyses, but no significant interaction effects were found, probably because age is not a good measure of changes over time in the employment opportunity structure. Prospective data and analysis are needed to test this conjecture, but no suitable data are currently available.

This paper contributes to the literature by adopting an origin–destination approach to study an Asian immigrant context. Previous studies on immigrant socioeconomic outcomes have mainly compared immigrants to natives in the destination. Although such a destination-society perspective addresses important issues relevant to the postmigration integration of immigrants and helps answer policy-driven questions about the destination societies, it fails to provide a complete understanding of whether and to what extent immigrants benefit from moving out. The origin-destination approach will inspire other scholars to address causal effects of migration in a more comprehensive way. Furthermore, this paper also speaks to Western research on the socioeconomic attainment of international immigrants (Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009; Donato and Armenta 2011; Lee and Edmonston 2011). The finding of immigrants moving out but not up coincides with the economic outcomes in the great migration of the United States (Eichenlaub, Tolnay, and Alexander 2010). The effects of mode of migration and age at arrival in this paper confirm previous authors' findings on the critical role of age at arrival for immigrants' socioeconomic achievements and the different paths of social integration of documented and undocumented immigrants.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Donald J. Treiman (UCLA), Hao Dong (Princeton University), and Duoduo Xu (the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology), as well as the editor, for comments and suggestions, and Tianzhu Nie (City University of Hong Kong) for assistance with the maps. The authors would also like to thank the Center for Applied Social and Economic Research (CASER) at the Hong Kong University of

Science and Technology and the Institute of Social Science Survey at Peking University for providing access to HKPSSD data and CFPS data.

Funding

The work described in this paper was supported by the Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (Collaborative Research Fund C6011-16G, General Research Fund CityU11601016, and 16604516), the Humanities and Social Science Research Foundation of the Ministry of Education of China (15YJC840043), and the Philosophy and Social Sciences Grant of Guangdong Province: The Twelfth Five-Year Plan in 2014 (GD14YSH02). The collection of HKPSSD data was funded by the RGC Central Policy Unit Strategic Public Policy Research Scheme (HKUST6001-SPPR-08).

Notes

1. In the 2000s the Hong Kong government implemented several schemes that target Chinese talents and professionals. However, the number of immigrants under these schemes was much smaller than that observed under the one-way permit scheme (Zhang and Wu 2011).

2. The daily entry quota of "one-way permit" holders was set to 150 in 1980, 75 in 1983, 105 in 1993, and 150 from 1995 until now (Lam and Liu 1998: 16–17, 22).

3. In the 2010 CFPS Guangdong subsample, there are 1,577 people who were born in Guangdong and lived in urban areas. In the 2011 HKPSSD data, there are 4,109 Hong Kong natives, and 2,112 Chinese immigrants from Guangdong. We restrict our analysis to employed people who provided information on occupation, and the final sample includes 3,650 respondents. Sampling weights are used throughout the analysis.

4. People who were undocumented at the time of the survey were not included. Although the exact number of undocumented migrants at the time of the survey was not directly observed, we believe it was small. First, undocumented immigrants who arrived on or before October 23, 1980 (under the "touch-base" policy or before), registered for a Hong Kong identity card and became legal. Second, the "once caught, immediately repatriated" policy has been implemented for more than three decades. Third, nowadays Chinese citizens can easily visit Hong Kong on an individual basis under the "Hong Kong Individual Visit Scheme" launched in 2003.

5. Please note that we did not set age 14 (the age limit of separated children of Hong Kong residents under the "one-way permit" scheme) as a cutoff because the intervals suggested in Lee and Edmonston (2011) are based on a comprehensive review and empirical data and thus are more reasonable.

ORCID

Zhuoni Zhang http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2730-4066
Hua Ye http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7568-7658

References

Akresh, I. R., D. S. Massey, and R. Frank. 2014. "Beyond English Proficiency: Rethinking Immigrant Integration." *Social Science Research* 45: 200–10. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.01.005

Amelina, A., and T. Faist. 2012. "De-Naturalizing the National in Research Methodologies: Key Concepts of Transnational Studies in Migration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35(10): 1707–24. doi:10.1080/01419870.2012.659273

Åslund, O., A. Böhlmark, and O. Nordström Skans. 2009. "Age at Migration and Social Integration." IZA Discussion Paper No. 4263, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

Baker, M., and D. Benjamin. 1994. "The Performance of Immigrants in the Canadian Labor Market." *Journal of Labor Economics* 12(3): 369–405. Doi:10.1086/298349

Bloom, D. E., G. Grenier, and M. Gunderson. 1991. "An Analysis of the Earnings of Canadian Immigrants." Pp. 321–42 in *Immigration Trade and the Labor Market*, edited by J. M. Abowd and R. B. Freeman. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Böhlmark, A. 2008. "Age at Immigration and School Performance: A Siblings Analysis Using Swedish Register Data." *Labour Economics* 15(6): 1366–87. doi:10.1016/j.labeco.2007.12.004

Borjas, G. J. 1987. "Self-Selection and the Earnings of Immigrants." *The American Economic Review* 77(4): 531–53.

Borjas, G. J., and M. Tienda. 1993. "The Employment and Wages of Legalized Immigrants." *The International Migration Review* 27(4): 712–47. doi:10.2307/2546910.

Census and Statistics Department. 1972. *Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

——. 1973. *Hong Kong Population Projections 1971-1991*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

——. 1982. *Preliminary Results of the 1981 Population Census*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

——. 1991. *Hong Kong 1991 Population Census Main Report*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

——. 2011. *Hong Kong 2011 Population Census Main Report*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Census Commissioner. 1962. *Hong Kong: Report on the 1961 Census (3 Volumes)*. Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Chen, B. 2010. *The Great Exodus to Hong Kong*. Guangdong: Guangdong People's Publishing House.

Chiswick, B. R. 1979. "The Economic Progress of Immigrants: Some Apparently Universal Patterns." Pp. 357–99 in *Contemporary Economic Problems*, edited by W. Fellner. Washington, DC: The American Enterprise Institute.

——. 1991. "Illegal Immigration and Immigration Control." Pp. 45–64 in *US Immigration Policy Reform in the 1980s: A Preliminary Assessment*, edited by F. Rivera-Batiz, S. Sechzer, and I. Gang. New York, NY: Praeger.

Chiswick, B. R., and P. W. Miller. 1988. "Earnings in Canada: The Role of Immigrant Generation, French Ethnicity, and Language." *Research in Population Economics* 6: 183–228.

Chiu, S. W. K., S. Y. P. Choi, and K.-F. Ting. 2005. "Getting Ahead in the Capitalist Paradise: Migration from China and Socioeconomic Attainment in Colonial Hong Kong." *International Migration Review* 39(1): 203–27. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2005.tb00260.x

Clark, K., and J. Lindley. 2009. "Immigrant Assimilation Pre and Post Labour Market Entry: Evidence from the Uk Labour Force Survey." *Journal of Population Economics* 22(1): 175–98. doi:10.1007/s00148-007-0173-4

Constant, A., and D. S. Massey. 2005. "Labor Market Segmentation and the Earnings of German Guestworkers." *Population Research and Policy Review* 24(5): 489. doi:10.1007/s11113-005-4675-z

Donato, K. M., and A. Armenta. 2011. "What We Know About Unauthorized Migration." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37(1): 529–43. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150216

Dronkers, J., and M. de Heus. 2010. "Negative Selectivity of Europe's Guest-Workers Immigration? The Educational Achievement of Children of Immigrants Compared with the Educational Achievement of Native Children in Their Origin Countries." Pp. 89–104 in *From Information to Knowledge. From Knowledge to Wisdom: Challenges and Changes Facing Higher Education in the Digital Age*, edited by E. de Corte and J. E. Fenstad. London: Portland Press.

Eichenlaub, S. C., S. E. Tolnay, and J. Trent Alexander. 2010. "Moving Out but Not Up: Economic Outcomes in the Great Migration." *American Sociological Review* 75(1): 101–25. Doi:10.1177/0003122409357047

Ellis, M. and J. Goodwin-White. 2006. "1.5 Generation Internal Migration in the US: Dispersion from States of Immigration?' IZA Discussion Paper No. 2274. Retrieved April 10, 2017 . http://ssrn.com/abstract=928827.

Feliciano, C. 2005. "Educational Selectivity in U.S. Immigration: How Do Immigrants Compare to Those Left Behind?" *Demography* 42(1): 131–52. doi:10.1353/dem.2005.0001

Flippen, C. A. 2012. "Laboring Underground: The Employment Patterns of Hispanic Immigrant Men in Durham, NC." *Social Problems* 59(1): 21–42.

Ganzeboom, H. B. G., and D. J. Treiman. 1996. "Internationally Comparable Measures of Occupational Status for the 1988 International Standard Classification of Occupations." *Social Science Research* 25(3): 201–39. doi:10.1006/ssre.1996.0010

Ganzeboom, H. B. G., P. de Graff, and D. J. Treiman. 1992. "An International Scale of Occupational Status." *Social Science Research* 21:1–56.

Gonzalez, A. 2003. "The Education and Wages of Immigrant Children: The Impact of Age at Arrival." *Economics of Education Review* 22(2): 203–12. doi:10.1016/s0272-7757(02)00004-3

Guveli, A. 2015. "Are Movers More Religious Than Stayers? Religiosity of European Majority, Turks in Europe and Turkey." *Review of Religious Research* 57(1): 43–62. doi:10.1007/s13644-014-0174-1

Guveli, A., H. Ganzeboom, L. Platt, B. Nauck, H. Baykara-Krumme, S. Eroglu, S. Bayrakdar, E. K. Sözeri, and N. Spierings. 2015. *Intergenerational Consequences of Migration: Socioeconomic, Family and Cultural Patterns of Stability and Change in Turkey and Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Guven, C., and A. Islam. 2015. "Age at Migration, Language Proficiency, and Socioeconomic Outcomes: Evidence from Australia." *Demography* 52(2): 513–42. doi:10.1007/s13524-015-0373-6

Hall, M., E. Greenman, and G. Farkas. 2010. "Legal Status and Wage Disparities for Mexican Immigrants." *Social Forces; a Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation* 89 (2):491–13. doi:10.1353/sof.2010.0082

Hao, L. 2004. "Wealth of Immigrant and Native-Born Americans." *The International Migration Review* 38(2): 518–46. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00208.x

He, H. 2013. "Forgotten Stories of the Great Escape to Kong." South Hong China Morning Post. Retrieved August 2016 (http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1126786/forgotten-stories-huge-escape-hong-kong).

Heath, A., and E. Kilpi-Jakonen. 2012. *Immigrant Children's Age at Arrival and Assessment Results*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
Heer, D. M. 1990. *Undocumented Mexicans in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Hong Kong SAR Government. 1998–2011. "Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department Statistics on New Arrivals from the Mainland." Retrieved July 21, 2016 (http://www.had.gov.hk/en/public_services/services_for_new_arrivals_from_the_mainland/surveys.htm).
——. 2005–2009. "Hong Kong Yearbooks. Hong Kong: Hong Kong SAR Government Printer." Retrieved July 21, 2016 (http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/).
Kim, C. H., and A. Sakamoto. 2010. "Have Asian American Men Achieved Labor Market Parity with White Men?" *American Sociological Review* 75(6): 934–57. doi:10.1177/0003122410388501
Kong, Y.-M. D. 1994. "Policing of Chinese Illegal Immigrants in Hong Kong: Application of Cohen's Labor-Migration Theory." MA thesis, Center for the Study of Public Order, University of Leicester.
Ku, A. S. 2004. "Immigration Policies, Discourses, and the Politics of Local Belonging in Hong Kong (1950-80)." *Modern China* 30: 326–60. doi:10.1177/0097700404264506
Lam, K. C., and P. W. Liu. 1998. *Immigration and the Economy of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.
Lam, K. C., and P. W. Liu. 2002. "Earnings Divergence of Immigrants." *Journal of Labor Economics* 20(1): 86–104. doi:10.1086/323933
Law, K.-Y., and K.-M. Lee. 2006. "Citizenship, Economy and Social Exclusion of Mainland Chinese Immigrants in Hong Kong." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 36(2): 217–42. doi:10.1080/00472330680000131
Lee, S. M., and M. Boyd. 2008. "Marrying Out: Comparing the Marital and Social Integration of Asians in the US and Canada." *Social Science Research* 37(1): 311–29. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2007.01.002
Lee, S. M., and B. Edmonston. 2011. "Age-at-Arrival's Effects on Asian Immigrants Socioeconomic Outcomes in Canada and the U.S." *The International Migration Review* 45(3): 527. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2011.00857.x
Li, R. 1997. "Illegal Migrants in Hong Kong from Mainland China" (in Chinese). *Population Research* 21:44–47.
Li, X. 2008. *Dream and Reality: Stratification and Social Mobility in Hong Kong (in Chinese)*. Beijing: Peking University Press.
Liang, Z., and Y. P. Chen. 2007. "The Educational Consequences of Migration for Children in China." *Social Science Research* 36(1): 28–47. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2005.09.003
Liu, P.-W., J. Zhang, and S.-C. Chong. 2004. "Occupational Segregation and Wage Differentials between Natives and Immigrants: Evidence from Hong Kong." *Journal of Development Economics* 73(1): 395–13. doi:10.1016/j.jdeveco.2002.12.003
Lui, H.-K. 1997. *Income Inequality and Economic Development*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.
Massey, D. S. 1987. "Do Undocumented Migrants Earn Lower Wages Than Legal Immigrants? New Evidence from Mexico." *The International Migration Review* 21 (2): 236–74. doi:10.2307/2546315
Myers, D., X. Gao, and A. Emeka. 2009. "The Gradient of Immigrant Age-at-Arrival Effects on Socioeconomic Outcomes in the U.S.A." *International Migration Review* 43(1): 205–29. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.01153.x
OECD. 2016. *Working Together: Skills and Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children in Sweden*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Ou, D., and S.-L. Pong. 2013. "Human Capital and the Economic Assimilation of Recent Immigrants in Hong Kong." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 14(4): 689–710. doi:10.1007/s12134-012-0262-4

Pong, S.-l., D. Post, D. Ou, and M. S. Y. Fok. 2014. "Blurring Boundaries? Immigration and Exogamous Marriages in Hong Kong." *Population and Development Review* 40(4): 629–52. doi:10.1111/j.1728-4457.2014.00004.x

Portes, A., and M. Zhou. 1996. "Self-Employment and the Earnings of Immigrants." *American Sociological Review* 61(2): 219–30. doi:10.2307/2096332

Post, D. 2004. "Family Resources, Gender, and Immigration: Changing Sources of Hong Kong Educational Inequality, 1971–2001." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(5): 1238–58. doi:10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.00274.x

Post, D., S.-l. Pong, and D. Ou. 2015. "One Country Two Peoples?" *Asian Population Studies* 11(1): 67–93. doi:10.1080/17441730.2014.947699

Rumbaut, R. G. 1991. "The Agony of Exile: A Study of the Migration and Adaptation of Indo-Chinese Refugee Adults and Children."Pp. 53–91 in *Refugee Children: Theory, Research, and Services*, edited by F. L. Ahearn and J. L. Athey. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

——. 2004. "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States." *The International Migration Review* 38(3): 1160–205. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00232.x

Siu, Y.-m. 1996. "Population and Immigration: With a Special Account on Chinese Immigrants."Pp. 325–47 in *The Other Hong Kong Report 1996*, edited by M.-k. Nyaw and S.-m. Li. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

——. 1998. "New Arrivals: A New Problem and an Old Problem."In *The Other Hong Kong Report 1998*, edited by L. C.-h. Chow and Y.-k. Fan, 201–28. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Skeldon, R. 1991. "Emigration, Immigration and Fertility Decline: Demographic Integration or Disintegration?"Pp. 233–58 in *The Other Hong Kong Report 1991*, edited by Y.-w. Sung and M.-k. Lee. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Stevens, G. 1999. "Age at Immigration and Second Language Proficiency Among Foreign-Born Adults." *Language in Society* 28: 555–78. doi:10.1017/s0047404599004030

United Nations. 2006. "Trends in the Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision." Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

——. 2013. "Trends in the Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision." Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

Wu, X. 2016. "Hong Kong Panel Study of Social Dynamics (HKPSSD): Research Designs and Data Overview." *Chinese Sociological Review* 48(2): 162–84. doi:10.1080/21620555.2015.1129495

Wu, X., and Z. Zhang. 2015. "Population Migration and Children's School Enrollments in China, 1990–2005." *Social Science Research* 53: 177–90. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.05.007

Xie, Y., and J. Hu. 2014. "An Introduction to the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS)." *Chinese Sociological Review* 47(1): 3–29. doi:10.1177/2057150x15614535

Ye, H. 2014. "Place of Birth, Place of Education, and Income of Hong Kong Residents." *Studies on Hong Kong and Macao* 4:116–32 (in Chinese).

Zeng, Z., and Y. Xie. 2004. "Asian-Americans' Earnings Disadvantage Reexamined: The Role of Place of Education." *American Journal of Sociology* 109(5): 1075–108. doi:10.1086/381914

Zhang, Z. 2014. "Contingent Transition to Triumph: Socioeconomic Attainments of Chinese Immigrants' Children in Hong Kong." *Chinese Sociological Review* 46: 68–88. doi:10.2753/csa2162-0555460404

Zhang, Z., S. Song, and X. Wu. 2017. "Exodus from Hunger: The Long-Term Health Consequences of the 1959-1961 Chinese Famine." *Biodemography and Social Biology* 63(2): 148–66. doi:10.1080/19485565.2017.1311203

Zhang, Z., and X. Wu. 2011. "Social Change, Cohort Quality and Economic Adaptation of Chinese Immigrants in Hong Kong, 1991–2006." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 20(1): 1–29. doi:10.1177/011719681102000101

Zhou, M. 2016. "Educational Assortative Mating in Hong Kong, 1981–2011." *Chinese Sociological Review* 48(1): 33–63. doi:10.1080/21620555.2015.1088380

Zhou, M., X. Wu, and G. He. 2017. "Marriage in an Immigrant Society: Education and the Transition to First Marriage in Hong Kong." *Demographic Research* 37: 567–98. doi:10.4054/demres.2017.37.18

Zuccotti, C. V., H. B. G. Ganzeboom, and A. Guveli. 2017. "Has Migration Been Beneficial for Migrants and Their Children?" *International Migration Review* 51: 97–126. doi:10.1111/imre.12219

About the Authors

Zhuoni Zhang (Zhuoni.Zhang@cityu.edu.hk) is an assistant professor in the Department of Applied Social Sciences at City University of Hong Kong. Her research interests include social stratification and mobility, migration, labor market, income inequality, and education. Her recent research focuses on migrants' economic well-being in mainland China and Hong Kong.

Hua Ye (yehua5@mail.sysu.edu.cn) is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Work at Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, P.R. China. His main fields of interest are social stratification and mobility, labor markets, sociology of education, and social demography. His recent research focuses on how demographic changes in China affect family investment in children and their educational outcomes.

Appendix

Table A1

Descriptive Statistics for GD-HK Immigrants, GD Stayers, and HK Natives

	GD-HK Immigrants					GD stayers	HK natives
	By mode of migration		By age at arrival				
	Undocumented	Documented	0–5	6–12	13 +		
ISEI	34.0 (11.57)	35.6 (13.47)	43.4 (12.60)	41.9 (13.51)	33.0 (12.17)	40.2 (14.66)	45.6 (13.48)
Age	55.5 (8.10)	43.1 (13.00)	38.8 (15.54)	37.2 (14.06)	48.6 (11.52)	35.8 (10.57)	39.6 (11.37)
Female (%)	9.8	49.3	31.1	24.6	44.4	41.0	41.4
Married (%)	92.2	67.4	56.7	49.5	80.9	77.9	55.1
Education level (%)							
primary school or below	47.7	30.4	21.0	22.5	37.5	23.2	11.4
Junior high school	29.0	28.0	17.4	13.6	32.9	33.3	13.7
Senior high school	21.2	21.0	38.3	46.8	24.2	23.2	43.4
No college degree	0.7	3.2	4.3	6.2	1.8	12.2	4.8
College degree	1.4	7.5	19.0	10.9	3.5	8.1	26.7
N	167	569	60	104	521	676	2238

Notes: Sampling weights are used to calculate the percentages, means, and standard deviations. The means and standard deviations are reported for ISEI and age. The sample size for GD–HK immigrants by age at arrival is smaller than that of the immigrants by mode of migration because fifty-one immigrants did not report their age at arrival.
GD = Guangdong; HK = Hong Kong; ISEI = International Socioeconomic Index.

Table A2

Ordinary Least Squares Regressions on Occupational Attainment (ISEI) of Immigrants from China to Hong Kong (Immigrants Restricted to Those Arrived Before 1981)

	1	2	3	4
Migrant status (ref: GD stayers)				
GD–HK immigrants	–2.048+			
	(1.065)			
HK natives	–1.339			
	(1.263)			
Immigrants by mode of migration				
Undocumented		–1.939		
		(1.295)		
Documented		–2.154+		
		(1.286)		
HK natives		–1.355		
		(1.266)		
Immigrants by age at arrival				
0–5			2.296	
			(2.182)	
6–12			1.047	
			(2.573)	
13+			–3.193**	
			(1.193)	
HK natives			–1.331	
			(1.319)	
Immigrants by mode of migration and age at arrival				
Undocumented				–1.971
				(1.332)
Documented, 0–5				2.810
				(2.453)
Documented, 6–12				–0.807
				(2.448)
Documented, 13+				–3.955*
				(1.997)
HK natives				–1.384

(*Continued*)

Table A2 **Continued**

	1	2	3	4
				(1.317)
Controls	yes	yes	yes	yes
N	3,246	3,246	3,195	3,195
R^2	0.408	0.408	0.407	0.406

Notes: The sample size for Models 3 and 4 is smaller because fifty-one immigrants did not report their age at arrival. Control variables (i.e., age, age^2, sex, marital status, education, and rural origin) are not reported. Robust standard errors in parentheses.
$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $+p < 0.1$.

Table A3

Propensity Score Matching Results of Occupational Attainment (ISEI): Chinese Immigrants Relative to Guangdong Stayers (Full Sample)

Immigrants vs. stayers	Average treatment effect on the treated (ATET)
(Undocumented) vs. (stayers)	–3.15
(Documented, 0–5) vs. (stayers)	2.16
(Documented, 6–12) vs. (stayers)	–2.07
(Documented, 13 +) vs. (stayers)	–6.99***

Notes: We use the teffects psmatch (y) (t x_1 $x_{2\ ...}$, probit), atet command in Stata, where y is ISEI, t is a dummy variable for each comparison (e.g., undocumented = 1 and stayers = 0 for the undocumented-vs-stayers comparison), and Xs (x_1, $x_{2,\ ...}$) include age, age^2, sex, marital status, education, and rural origin.
$^{***}p < .001$.