**Appendix justifying specific variables**

My key dependent variable is whether and when an individual emigrated or not after threatening to do so. I will measure this by whether they have resided outside of Hong Kong for more than one year. Social-psychological research suggests that humans when confronted with adverse or negative experiences, news or challenges in life often go into a state of psychological denial or avoidance of such facts rather than immediately confront them and react to them (Billings and Moos, 1984; Folkman et al, 1986a). Therefore, many Hong Kong inhabitants may not have believed the measures that China took would affect their daily lives as much as they later did, or optimistically believed that they could prevent or reverse them.

For my first model, I will collect data on demographic variables, including age, sex, foreign citizenship, self-reported health, whether police arrested the respondent for protesting, and whether their job is based in civil society. Scholars of self-selectivity have observed younger people are more likely to migrate than older people and men are more likely to migrate than women (Van Dalen & Hankens 2007). Since inhabitants with dual or foreign nationality can more easily migrate to another country abroad, I will ask if they have a foreign passport. Those who are both inclined to protest and who were previously arrested by the police for protesting may have more reason to fear remaining in Hong Kong, so I will collect data on this. Scholars have found that amongst those with intentions to migrate, those who emigrated were healthier, so I will collect a 5-point self-rating of a respondent’s health (Van Dalen & Henkens 2013). I will ask if respondents are a politician, journalist, teacher, labor leader, artist, activist, or student, since anecdotal evidence suggests they are more pessimistic about the future of Hong Kong than those in other occupations (Richberg, 2021).

I will also collect data on several culture- and personality-related variables. First, my key independent variable—how acculturated a respondent was to the democratic and liberal postcolonial culture of Hong Kong—I will operationalize by whether respondents are a 1) first, 2) second, or 3) greater than second-generation immigrants to Hong Kong. Although inhabitants were evenly divided in 1998 about whether they identify more as a Hong Konger or a Mainlander, more of those identifying as a Hong Konger said they might emigrate than those identifying as Mainlander. The first-generation immigrants identified more with the Mainland where their kin still resided than second or greater generation immigrants (Siu-Lun, 2001). Furthermore, the proportion of those emigrating from Hong Kong but born in China has been low and tended declined over time (Skeldon, 1990). Relatedly, I will also collect data on whether the individual inhabited or inhabits Hong Kong Island, Kowloon or the New Territories because the British military first occupied Hong Kong Island in 1841, and only leased Kowloon in 1860 and the New Territories in 1898 for the following 99 years under the *Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory*. Since 1997, inhabitants of the New Territories might view integration with China more favorably than Kowloon, and those in Kowloon more favorably than those in Hong Kong Island, given differences in length of time under British rule. Since the New Territories and Kowloon are closer to Mainland than Hong Kong Island, the proportion of the population that are immigrants from Mainland China is much higher and somewhat higher respectively in the New Territories and Kowloon than in Hong Kong Island. New research suggests that even individuals unaffected directly by an event often share a collective memory about it due to nearby “ties that remind” (Gerber & van Landingham, 2021 ). Such differences may affect the extent to which Hong Kong inhabitants identify with China and therefore their interest in emigrating.

Migration scholars might suppose that a respondent being highly risk-averse and fearful of the unknown would seem to be a reasonable predictor that they would not emigrate. However, many Hong Kong inhabitants may view not emigrating as risky itself, since many speak nervously about the “uncertainty” of whether their private property is secure if they stay. I therefore ask respondents a series of validated Likert scale questions that together determine whether they are a “sensation seeker” —someone that tends to take more risks and perceive the world as less threatening, and therefore would be more open to migrating (Horvath & Zuckerman, 1993). I also ask respondents a series of questions that can provide a measure of their self-efficacy—the confidence that they can cope well with changes and a new, unfamiliar situations and therefore their willingness to enter such situations (Sherer et al., 1982). I will also ask them if they believe they would pay higher taxes than in Hong Kong if they migrated abroad. I will ask them whether they believe the government of a country they emigrated into would spend their tax dollars in a way that aligns more with their values than the government of Hong Kong. Finally, I also ask whether a respondent speaks a language other than Cantonese since if so they may be more comfortable emigrating abroad.

In my second model, I will add indicators of SES. These include the respondent’s monthly income, whether they are satisfied with their income, and their wealth, years of formal education, attendance at a prestigious university, occupational prestige, and the geographic scope of travel experience and visas acquired (outside Asia versus within Asia versus only within China). Scholars have shown that the propensity to emigrate has an inverted U-shaped relationship with income (Massey et al., 1999). Therefore, I collect data on respondents’ annual income before taxes. SES status can also have a subjective dimension since scholars have demonstrated for decades that relative deprivation is a major driver of international migration (Massey et al., 1999). Therefore, I collect data on whether an individual is “satisfied” with their income. Self-reports of total wealth tend to be unreliable (Keister, 2000). However, property ownership is a reliable measure of wealth in Hong Kong so I obtain data about the value of a respondent’s real estate assets. Years of education is also highly correlated with propensity to migrate (Kapur and McHale, 2005) so I include a measure of this too. Research on Hong Kong students returning from overseas suggests that even those with tertiary education are stratified in the labor market by the selectivity and prestige of their university (Waters, 2008), so I will ask whether respondents attended a foreign university or one of the top three universities in Hong Kong (HKU, CUHK or HKUST) rather than any other HK institution. SES inequality exists between those with equal years in education but who studied different academic subjects (Torche, 2011). I will ask whether respondents majored in humanities, social science, a profession, a STEM major or business/economics. Scholars have noted how the prestige of one’s occupational prestige is an important symbolic indicator of SES so I also collect data on respondents’ occupation to calculate their occupational prestige scores (Ganzeboom et al., 1992). Finally, my past research in Mainland China suggests the geographic scope of visas acquired is also an important signal of SES, so I include a variable for whether they have a visa for travel outside of Asia.

The indicators of social ties I collect for my third model include respondents’ marital status, whether they have a family member who resides abroad, have a close friend who resides abroad, have a family member who can sponsor them for an immigrant visa, the number of years they have worked at their current job, their number of siblings, and being a parent of a child minor and a child of a living retired parent. Potential emigrants are more likely to migrate if they are single (Massey et al., 1999) and also have significantly close family members or friends in the country of migrant destination (Wong & Salaff, 1998). However, many adult potential emigrants have elderly parents or minor children in the country of origin that depend upon them for in-person care and that would give them reason to return. In Asia, many children learn from school, the media, and significant others that they should be loyal and obedient to their parents due to a tradition called filial piety (Hu & Scott, 2016). Parents sacrifice much for their children to have a better life than they did (Choi & Peng, 2016). The intensity of this reciprocal concern and care of children and parents for each other may be positively associated with both a) whether the child is a minor (since younger children require more support) and b) whether the parent is retired (since older parents need more support), and negatively associated with c) how many siblings sisters the child has, since this divides the burden of caring for elderly parents among children. Parents also tend to be more concerned about their child going abroad and immigrating into a new country if they are the only child and therefore discourage them from doing so (Ho, 2010). Therefore, an individual’s ties to retired parents, minor children, and a lack of siblings also decrease their propensity to emigrate. My prior research suggests the longer a person has worked at a certain job, the more enmeshed they become in the professional and social ties of that position, reducing the inclination to emigrate, so I ask about how long a respondent has been at their current job.