Toward One Country, Two Peoples?
Inter-marriage and Social Distance in Hong Kong, 1991 - 2011

Keywords: identity; mainlanders; immigration; endogamy; marriage

After Hong Kong's 1997 Handover, the steady arrival of Mainland-born legal immigrants created expectations of blurred identities and decreased social distance among Chinese coethnics who had become compatriots. Sixteen years after the Handover, what is the imagined and manifest relation between Mainlanders and Hong Kong's natives? This article uses micro-data from the Hong Kong census since 1991 to report trends in the integration of Chinese residents who were born either in Colonial Hong Kong or elsewhere in China. As the summary indicator of social distance, we focus on marital exogamy by nativity. By contrast with findings by immigration scholars in other nations, in HK there is evidence of increasing, rather than decreasing, subjective social distance. Our findings offer clues about Hong Kong's future social integration with China, and the likely role of identity politics that results from, while also contributing toward, the propensity for marital endogamy. From 1991 to 2011 (the most recent census), we found decreasing likelihoods for Hong Kong natives and Mainlanders under age 50 to be married to one another. This decrease partly reflects educational homogamy, since HK women tend to be more educated than available Mainland men. However, even after controlling for education levels and for the spoken language (Cantonese versus Mandarin), we find in multivariate analysis an increasing propensity for endogamous marriage, within each nativity group. Consequently, more Hong Kong children will be raised by parents who are either from the Mainland, or from Hong Kong, but are not mixed.

In the years following Hong Kong's 1997 "Handover" to the Peoples Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region, the arrival of Mainland-born legal immigrants (largely Cantonese speakers from Guangdong Province) created an expectation of blurred identities and decreasing social distance among coethnics. Living in the SAR, all Hong Kongers, regardless of their nativity, were expected to live under the ideal of "One Country - Two Systems." This expectation was based not merely on assumptions of pan-Chinese identity; it was also justified from assimilation experiences in other immigrant societies. Immigration researchers often focus on marriage as a key indication of identity and social distance, and most have documented greater propensities for intermarriage over time between immigrants and natives, even when marriage partners continue to identify themselves as being of different ethnicities. By contrast with many studies in the US, Canada, Australia, and most of Europe, immigration into Hong Kong has largely come from legal compatriots: Mainland Chinese.

Hong Kong also shares with a small number of contemporary cases - Germany, Taiwan, and Japan when encouraging immigration from Brazilian Nisei - the experience of immigration by coethnics. And most coming to Hong Kong not only have been Han Chinese but also are native Cantonese speakers. The new arrivals since 1997, though born in a different polity than Hong Kong's majority population, shared in a common history, diet, and many cultural attitudes. As Siu (2009, p. 140) commented, "The blurring of boundaries is achieved not only by the flow of capital and goods, but also by the traffic in cultural meanings carried by immigrants, emigrants, commuters, and cross-border consumers." Sixteen years after the Handover, how blurred are the intimate boundaries manifest between Mainlanders and Hong Kong natives by rates of inter-marriage?

This article uses micro-data from the Hong Kong census since 1991 to report marriage of Chinese residents who were native either to Colonial Hong Kong or to the Peoples Republic of China. To interpret the experiences of Hong Kong natives and newcomers from mainland China, we first place the immigration experience in its contemporary historical context. We also situate experiences of Hong Kong's growing mainland population within a broader Asian migratory context, and we review international migration studies, in order to appreciate what is both unique and what is common about the trajectory of Hong Kong's Mainland-born population. As the summary indicator of social distance we focus on marital exogamy by nativity, which has generally been considered the ultimate sign of immigrant assimilation (Gordon, 1964). In contrast to findings by immigration scholars of other nations, we see evidence in Hong Kong of increasing, rather than decreasing, subjective social distance. These findings offer clues about Hong Kong's future social integration with China, and the likely role of identity politics.

Hong Kong Context: Coethnic Migration

About one third of Hong Kong's population in recent years has been born in mainland China, but there was never a continuous in-flow of Mainland natives. Rather, Hong Kong immigration occurred under distinctive historical contexts even within the lifetimes of current residents. During the Japanese occupation, many Hong Kong residents were forcibly dispersed to southern China. Then, at the end of the Occupation, and especially during the 1949 establishment of the Peoples Republic, Hong Kong received hundreds of thousands of returnees and refugees who automatically became British Subjects of Colonial Hong Kong. The 1948-49 civil war between Kuomintang and Communist partisans prompted created another flood of over 340,000 mainlanders. The exodus prompted Hong Kong's first serious attempt to negotiate with China to control immigration (Lam & Liu, 1998). After negotiations, a quota system was implemented in 1950. Immigration was restrained until the 1960s when China collectivized its agriculture, creating massive starvation, and this was followed by the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s. Following an initial laissez-faire policy toward illegal immigration, after 1974 the Hong Kong government allowed illegal immigrants to become permanent residents by way of the "reach-base policy." Under this policy, Chinese citizens who entered illegally were granted residency if they managed to travel south of Boundary Street (demarcating the pre-1898 border between China and the British Colony). This policy prompted increased illegal immigration, averaging 246 arrests per day in 1979, and led Hong Kong to eliminate the policy in 1980. Then, amid the 1983 negotiations that were to culminate a year later in the Sino-British Joint Declaration, and with consent from the Chinese government, Hong Kong sealed its border with China. Hong Kong subsequently enforced the deportation of illegal immigrants, issued Hong Kong identity cards, and imposed fines on businesses which hired illegal workers (Lam & Liu, 1998). Since 1983, Hong Kong has admitted a daily quota of 150 legal immigrants, and the status of Chinese immigrants has changed from primarily illegal to legal (Hong Kong Government, 2006).

The daily quota is not, however, the only source of new immigrants. After 1997, several additional immigration policies promoted movement to Hong Kong. Apart from the daily quota, the Admission Scheme for Mainland Talents and Professionals was implemented in 2003, primarily to encourage high-skilled individuals from the mainland to work in Hong Kong. Most mainland immigrants who were recruited under this policy were university-educated professionals or accomplished athletes, artists, and musicians. The policy objective was to fill needed professional positions to enhance Hong Kong's status and competitiveness with other countries (Hong Kong Immigration Department, 2011). This policy has boosted the overall education levels among immigrant workers. Another policy promoting immigration was the Capital Investment Entrant Scheme, also implemented in 2003. This allows wealthy mainland investors to enter Hong Kong by making capital investments (Hong Kong Information Services Department, 2012). As a result of these two policies, new arrivals from the mainland are no longer poor, uneducated, or political refugees.

Perhaps the immigration policy that is the most controversial and has had furthest-reaching implications for Hong Kong is the government's facilitation of a great number (in the millions per year) [1] of mainland visitors travelling to Hong Kong on a two-way permit, often with multiple-entry status. This is the so-called "freedom travel." On January 2003, 24-hour clearance service for mainland visitors passing through one of the border control points was introduced. This was followed in 2004 by the automation clearance systems which are now installed in all border control points (Hong Kong Information Services Department, 2012). These measures enable easy border crossing. Hong Kong natives have been ambivalent about this policy, according to a recent survey. On the one hand, mainland visitors boost the local economy and create new jobs. On the other hand, the visitors' strong purchasing power is seen by survey respondents to have created shortages of consumer goods

[1] In 2011, the Lo Wu check point alone recorded 92.83 million mainland visitors passing through (Hong Kong Information Services Department, 2012).

while pushing up prices (Hong Kong Asian-Pacific Research Center, 2012). In the popular view by Hong Kong natives, the increasing number of non-resident mainlanders staying in Hong Kong has compromised the city's social and cultural fabric. According to public opinion polls, public places are becoming over-crowded. Coming from all over China, visitors often speak Putonghua rather than Cantonese. Reports of mainlander visitors' behaviors, such as spitting or eating on the train, have spread through web-based media. Some cross-border travelers were even engaged in "parallel trading," that is, transporting consumer goods (e.g., baby powder) from Hong Kong to the mainland. This created congestion on trains and around train stations, as well as rising prices and shortages of consumer goods. While this activity had disturbed local residents for a long time, it was not curbed by the law enforcement authority until local residents took to the street to protest (Ming Pao, 2012).

Closely related to the freedom travel scheme is the controversy surrounding non-resident births in Hong Kong. The first known case occurred in 2001 when an undocumented mainland woman gave birth in Hong Kong. Hong Kong's Court of Appeal subsequently ruled, based on its interpretation of the Basic Law, that children born in Hong Kong had the right of abode (SingTao Daily, 2001). Since that ruling there have been rapidly growing numbers of pregnant women entering Hong Kong from the mainland to give birth. The consequence is a shortage of hospital beds in maternity wards and heightened competition for primary school places, prompting protests by local pregnant women and other parents, and further straining relationship between mainlanders and Hong Kong natives (South China Morning Post, 2012). Another flash point, discussed below, come from the recruitment of talented students to Hong Kong's expanding system of higher education. This has created tension not only over the allocation of the limited subsidized places available for local students, but also over language of instruction (Lee and Wai 2012). We know from previous investigations (Author 3) that there are persisting gaps in the incomes of mainland-born and Hong Kong native workers, driven in

part by lower returns to years of schooling among workers born on the mainland. Moreover, those born on the mainland were unlikely to have accessed postsecondary education, compared to Hong Kong natives, and this disadvantage increased over the years net of other changes in family income and social status. Mainland born children today, when they do attend postsecondary institutions, are usually found in one of the expensive but low-return "community colleges."

Immigration and Identity Politics

There is reason to believe that the population inflow from the mainland has heightened the identification by Hong Kong natives with Hong Kong, generating a discourse of empowerment aimed a protection and control of the Hong Kong living space. Surveys suggest that "we" and "they" feelings have reached unprecedented heights. A politics of identity and difference - in the sense described by Calhoun (1994) with reference to post-Soviet Europe - may ironically have appeared in response to the Chinese government's very call for unity and immigration by Mainlanders. Today Hongkongers seek recognition and legitimacy of their existence and ownership of Hong Kong by framing their differences with Mainlanders as not only economic and political but also cultural. Since 1997, an opinion poll on "People's Ethnic identity" has been conducted annually by the University of Hong Kong, which asks a random sample of respondents to rate the strength of their identity in a scale of 0-10. The results show that the identity as a Hong Kong citizen has always been stronger than the identity as a Chinese citizen, except for the years between 2001 and 2003 when the identity gap briefly closed. But this identity gap became visible again after relaxed immigration policies were implemented in 2003 and widened further after 2007, reaching its maximum in 2011 among all survey years (The University of Hong Kong, 2012).

There are no exact historical matches with the migration experiences of mainlanders in Hong Kong, the case of Shanghai offers a cautionary example of the subjection of a "foreign" coethnicity. Emily Honig describes the imagined ethnicity and the traits ascribed to the Subei immigrants to Shanghai (Honig 1990, 1992). Outside of China but there are parallels in the ways that ethnic Germans returned to Germany from Eastern Europe after World War II, and even more as East and West Germans sought to create one country after reunification.[2] In the United States there is an ample literature on the internal migrations of the 1930s and on the way that White Americans became instant ethnic minorities when they moved as "hillbillies" to cities from Appalachia, or as they moved West to California as "Oakies" during the 1930s (Philliber and McCoy 1988; Gregory 1992; Alexander 2004).[3]

In Asia there additional parallels. Led by Korea's Ministry of Unification, South Korea grants extensive welfare and educational support to its growing (but still small) number of refugees and immigrants from the North (who may arrive after years of living in China). The plight of these North Koreans is a cautionary tale for Hong Kong, for in most respects their integration and educational success has been severely limited. The reception by the South Korean public and by school children has sometimes not matched the official welcome by the government (Seol and Skrentny 2009; Kim and Jang 2011; Choi 2011; O 2011; see especially Fracker 2012). Another parallel experience could be found in Japan. Facing labor shortages in 1990, Japan modified it's immigration law to create a category of "long term residence" for the descendants of over-seas Japanese. Within this category, Brazilians and other South American make up a very large proportion, along with Filipinos of Japanese

[2] A classic joke about the attempt to create a united nation, from the early 1990s: An East German approaches a West German in the excitement of the moment and happily shouts, "We are ONE PEOPLE!" The West German replies dryly, "So are WE!!"

[3] In the case of the Oakies, their Otherness persisted until the eve of the war with Japan, when Californians found a common enemy. As California's Fresno County Deputy Superintendent of Schools, wrote to the community in 1940, "they are white folks like yourselves. We must assimilate them..." (cited in Alexander 2004, p. 124).

ancestry (Higuchi 2005). Ayumi Takenaka (2009) studied one sub-community of Peruvians of Japanese ancestry to find that they were not well-integrated by government policies and had tended to form enclaves. They often relied on internal social networks and their social difference were important for their success. In terms of educational attainment, Yoshimi Chitose (2008) found a clear hierarchy even within the ethnic Japanese return migration, at least as revealed in the odds that children will remain in school.

Our focus on Hong Kong's reception of new arrivals is of more than academic interest because of current political and inter-group conflict, both in Hong Kong and world wide. A focus on Mainlander integration is also warranted because of a world-wide rise in openness and also its opposite, xenophobia, in response to globalization. As summarized by the past head of the world trade organization and by the European Union's Commissioner on Home affairs, "Mainstream politicians, held hostage by xenophobic parties, adopt anti-immigrant rhetoric to win over fearful publics, while the foreign-born are increasingly marginalized in schools, cities, and at the workplace" (Sutherland and Malmstrom 2012). In the United States, immigration from Latin America (and, to some degree, from Asia) has become a major political issue. The state of Arizona passed a law in 2010 that would have given local police broad powers to arrest and penalize people who were in the state without legal authorization by the U.S. Federal government.[4] Hong Kongers are not immune from the same suspicions, fears, and resentments that have been found in Korea, Japan, Europe, and the United States. A recent spontaneous outpouring of resentment by Hong Kong natives toward Mainlanders was reflected in a widely-circulated poster comparing mainlanders to "locusts" who litter the streets and who prey on Hong Kong's services and prevent Natives from accessing their own hospitals (see Illustration 1). Meanwhile, Hong Kong native university students are protesting the surge in

[4] This law was eventually ruled unconstitutional by a narrow majority of U.S. Supreme Court (see Schwartz 2012).

Mainlanders in graduate programs, squeezing out professional opportunities for natives (see Illustration 2). In this context, an outpouring of Mainland and Hong Kong news reports have focused on intermarriage (China Daily, 2008, 2012; China News, 2012; Hong Kong China News Agency, 2012; SingtaoNet.com, 2007; Wen Wei Po, 2013; Xinhua Net.com, 2011). Most Mainland-oriented newspapers (whether printed in Hong Kong or on the Mainland) have stressed that intermarriage is seen as increasingly desirable by Hong Kongers. A typical headline in the English-language *China Daily* was "Hong Kong Women Seek Mainland Love" (2 January 2008). Other news from the Mainland relate that Mainland women prefer to avoid the bureaucratic requirements and long delays when marrying a Hong Kong native, and also emphasize that the material benefits to marriage with a Hong Konger are no longer so high as in the past, and thus Mainland women increasingly choose to remain in the Mainland rather than migrate to Hong Kong for marriage. [China Daily, 2008; Xinhua Net.com, 2011]. Closely related to marriage among Hong Kong residents is the phenomenon of cross-border marriages and "second wives" of Hong Kong men (So 2003). As the regulations and norms surrounding these relationships changed over time, so has the corresponding propensity for legal, monogamous marriage within Hong Kong as reported to the Census and Statistics Department.

(insert here Illustrations 1 and 2)

Theoretical perspectives on assimilation and social distance

The experience of Hong Kong problematizes the analytic concept of "assimilation," and raises a question that has preoccupied immigration scholars for decades. Assimilation is a multifaceted concept, but the definition that stands the course of time is Milton Gordon's (1964) formulation in which an immigrant group changes their culture and behavioral patterns to those of the dominant group in the host society ("cultural assimilation"), enters fully into the societal network of groups and

institutions ("structural assimilation"), develops a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society ("identificational assimilation"), and, ultimately, intermarries and interbreeds with the dominant group ("marital assimilation"). At this last stage they are presumed to face no further discriminatory behavior, bias, or power conflict. The case of Hong Kong challenges this view of assimilation. Who are the "new comers?" Which is the "host" society? From the point of view of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the *mainland immigrants are the new comers* and Hong Kong society is the host. However, sovereignty exists outside of Hong Kong. From the perspective of the central PRC government, *Hong Kong people have been the new comers* since the Handover. Hong Kongers have been welcomed back into the host, the motherland of China. Thus, a classic definition of assimilation focusing on how immigrant minorities fit in the host society does not easily apply.

A more useful definition of the concept of assimilation has been put forward by Richard Alba (1999) as "the decline, and only at some ultimate endpoint the disappearance of an ethnic distinction and its allied differences." This formulation releases the rigidity of racial/ethnic categories and acknowledges the very fact that boundaries that exist at one time can be absent at another time. Alba's view is consistent with early theorists of social distance. In the 1920s, Chicago sociologists Robert Park (1924) elaborated on the subjectively-viewed differences between racial groups, which he termed their "social distance," and Emory Bogardus (1925) subsequently tested a measurement scale of this distance. In this scale, one endpoint of a continuum, ranging from wide to non-existent social distance, was agreement with the affirmation that the respondent would not object to marriage with an individual from a particular background. In our study of Hong Kong, we pose the empirical question of whether or not ethnic distinctions are disappearing or are appearing, at least as manifest in the changing propensity of intermarriage.

Data and Method

To gauge the changing likelihood of endogenous and exogenous marriages over time, one would need to have retrospective or contemporaneous information about all individuals' marriages, regardless of whether they eventually reside in Hong Kong or elsewhere, and regardless of whether they remained unmarried. This type of information does not exist in Hong Kong, unfortunately. But a rougher approximation of these trends is possible based on large random samples from the Hong Kong census or by-census. These are records of individuals who nominally resided in Hong Kong households at the time of each census, every five years. The marriages recorded in these records exclude couples who permanently emigrated from Hong Kong after their marriage.[5] Census records also do not specify the length of years individuals have been in their current marriages, nor whether they were previously divorced. Most marriages in Hong Kong occur when both partners are younger than 50, and so the overwhelming majority of these marriages are first marriages (after 50, a larger number are second marriages following divorce). A useful approximation of marriage trends over time can be obtained by focusing not on the marriage act itself but on the changing likelihood of *being married* among those ages 20-49 at each of the 5-year intervals of the HK Census or By-Census. Therefore, we focus on the changing propensity for individuals, ages 20-49, to be married to another group and to their own group (natives versus mainland immigrants), as opposed to remaining single.

Net of other demographic factors such as the supply of marriageable partners of similar age, language background, and educational level - the changing rates of inter-marriage serve as powerful indicators of the changing social distance between immigrant, national, racial, and language groups. For this reason marriage has long been studied by social demographers. The institutional constraints on the marriage, together with norms of culture and educational homogamy, are considered paramount

[5] However, they include individuals who were not physically present in the household at the moment of the census, but who would be considered "de jure" normal residents, e.g. those studying abroad or whose doing business in China.

determinants in the resulting propensity to marry within one's group (endogamy) or outside the group (exogamy) . Apart from the supply of marriage partners, the changing supply of marriage alternatives also determines of the likelihood of endogamous and exogamous marriage. Our view is that remaining single (or becoming single through divorce) is an alternative that must be taken into account. The only previous study specifically in Hong Kong, by Ge Lin and Zhongdong Ma (2008), and by Ma, Lin, and Zhang (2010), used records of cross border marriages in 1998 and in 2005 to discover whether there had been changes over these seven years in the degree of educational homogamy and in the age differences between couples. In addition, Hong Kong marriages, as reported in census tables, were included by Jeroen Smits and Hyunjoon Park (2009) in their study of tendencies for educational homogamy in East Asia. We have found no similar studies following national unification in Germany, surprisingly, although there are a number of relevant studies concerning marriage exogamy between natives and immigrants from culturally distinct nations. One recent example of these (Choi et al. 2011) compared inter-marriage among natives and immigrants to Australia and the United States. In their review of the existing literature on this subject, the authors concluded (p. 51) that "social status based on placement in the status hierarchy, is a marker of spouse desirability, but there is very limited evidence about whether and how nativity operates as a social boundary in couple formation, and thus, social cohesion via immigrant integration." Choi et al. (2010 found that higher levels of education diminished the importance of nativity as a social boundary (p. 60). Qian and Lichter (2001, 2011) have distinguished changes in the odds of exogamy among U.S. ethnic groups that were due to changing social boundaries and to changes in the opportunity for intermarriage that may have resulted from changing group sizes. Another study from the US that considers both nativity and ethnicity is that of Ono and Berg (2010), who investigated the odds of intermarriage with white Americans of Japanese natives and Japanese Americans after World War II.

Most investigations of immigration and marriage find, notwithstanding variations in national context and on the concentration of available same-ethnic partners, that over time there is an increasing tendency for marital exogamy. Lee and Boyd (2008) found greater propensity over time for both Canadians and for Americans of Asian ethnicity to marry partners from other ethnic groups. Among immigrants to France there were also sharp declines in the proportions of endogamous marriage between the late 1960s and the late 1990s (Safi 2008, p. 247). And Rosenfeld (2002) found increasing tendencies since 1970 for Mexican immigrants to marry US partners who had no Mexican ancestry, ascribing this change to assimilation.

In the case of Hong Kong, the data previously available to study inter-marriage has been from marriage registrations of grooms. As mentioned previously, Lin and Ma (2008) and Ma, Lin and Zhang (2010) investigated the age gaps, educational difference, occupational difference between grooms and brides from Hong Kong and the Mainland who registered their marriages between 1998 and 2005. This approach allowed them to estimate the odds of marriage to mainland brides by native Hong Kong men, as opposed to marriage to a bride born in Hong Kong. Our own analysis of martial endogamy (meaning either HK-HK or Mainland-Mainland marriages) and exogamy (mixed marriages) builds on but also departs from methods used in the previously-cited research. Unlike several past studies, we consider the options among *all individuals, married or not,* who were born either in Hong Kong or in China, Macao, or Taiwan. We respond to recent warnings by demographers about focusing only on married couples, and we incorporate a research designed responsive to the cautions expressed by Kalmijin (1998, p. 405) and by Blossfeld (2009).[6] In our study, we exclude only the roughly 3

[6] Blossfeld writes (p. 517): "Existing cross-sectional studies of assortative marriage also start from marital matches and then try to explain patterns of assortative mating through the spouses' individual characteristics and other structural variables (Blossfeld & Timm 2003). The methodological problem of such an approach is obvious: This type of analysis not only starts from the outcomes (the marital matches) and then goes back in time to their causal conditions (the individual characteristics related to earlier life course phases), but it also excludes all those individuals from the study who are still single at the time of the interview. With increasing single rates at the beginning of the life course in modern societies, this is an important methodological problem."

percent of Hong Kong's population which is non-Chinese, because they are too few in number to be well-represented in the 5% Census samples and because our focus in this article is social distance among co-ethnics. But we include all individuals, ages 20-49, whether or not they are currently married. We then sought to identify both their own nativity and (in cases where they were currently married) and the nativity of their spouse. In some cases we could not identify information from the spouse, such as when the spouse was not a current member of the household. We excluded cases where information on the spouse was missing.

To explore change over time, we would ideally like to know the year in which the individual married. Unfortunately, based on individual-level information from the Hong Kong Census, it is only possible only to know about marriages at the point of time when the census is undertaken; we have no information about the length of the marriage or even whether it is the first marriage (although divorce is uncommon among the age groups we selected). Our reason for selecting only a 30-year window (i.e. ages 20-49) is because we found that, by age 49, nearly everyone in Hong Kong who would eventually marry had already done so. We did not wish to select older individuals or the entire adult population. So doing would have obscured the changing tendencies for exogamous versus endogamous marriage. Change would happen largely among younger people because most marriages in Hong Kong are first marriages. In the older generation, most married couples came from Mainland China before 1950. Because our focus in this paper is on the impact of national unification and its impact on the social distance, we must focus on the population of newer arrivals and on younger Hong Kong natives, who married relatively recently. Changes in this social distance would be difficult to observe if we grouped together newer and older mainland-mainland marriages.[7]

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[7] We also restricted the analysis to those under 50 because we wished to focus on first marriages. Divorce and remarriage, while still uncommon in Hong Kong, are more likely in marriages of those aged 50 and older.

Table 1. presents the percentages of Hong Kong natives and mainland-born men and women who were unmarried, married to a HK native or married to a mainlander. These tabulations are given for each of the five census years scrutinized for this study. Before focusing on the question of endogamy and exogamy, there are some important secular tendencies in the likelihood of marriage that must be appreciated. The percentages of unmarried Hong Kong native men were not much different in 2011 than twenty years earlier, in 1991. But the percentage of unmarried native women increased 10 percentage points during this time. In 1991, less than 17 percent Hong Kong's resident, mainland-born women ages 20 – 49 were not married. But by 2011, this figure grew 11 percentage points. As mentioned above, we found that, after the age of 49, there is very little additional increase in the percentage of married individuals. Thus what we observe in Table 1. is not so much the delay of marriage but the fact that marriage is becoming less common. One corollary of reduced marriage among Hong Kong natives is that there are far fewer children being born to natives than in past years. Although mainland-born individuals are still a minority in Hong Kong, the fact that they are more likely to be married and to have children implies that their children will be less of a minority in the future. In other words, the proportions of children having Mainland parents are greater than the proportions of adults who were born on the mainland.

[insert Table 1 here]

From Table 1 there are some evident tendencies in the net likelihood of exogamous and endogamous marriage. Notice that Hong Kong native women, although they were *more likely* to remain single in 2011 than in 1991 (56.91% versus 42.89%), were *not much less likely* to be married to Hong Kong men (38.53% in 2011, versus 41.84% in 1991). Instead, the fall in the marriage rates of women born in Hong Kong reflects the decline (to 5.56% in 2011, down from 15.27% in 1991) in the rate of current marriage with mainland-born husbands. Meanwhile, mainland-born women were also

more likely to be married with mainlander husbands in 1991 (65.12 percent) than in 2011 (only 39.4 percent). In their case, this tremendous drop in endogamous marriage was not mainly the product of their remaining marriage with Hong Kong men (their exogamy rate declined to 13.7% after rising briefly in 2001 and 2006). Instead, like Hong Kong native women, more Mainland-born women under age of 50 were single (increasing from 16.85% in 1991 to 46.9% in 2011). Hong Kong men may have preferred to marry women from the mainland over this period, as is popularly reported, but we discovered that recent marriages between Hong Kong men and mainland wives often involve large age differences, such that the mainland women married older Hong Kong men in second marriages, and these men are beyond the age range of our table.

Before investigating the factors associated with exogamous and endogamous marriage, it is necessary first to look at these marriages as changing proportions of the population of married persons, rather than all persons. Figure 3. thus shows the three types of marriages (combining the two types of possible mixed marriage, Husband ML and Wife ML). Figure 3. illustrates that, whatever the causes, both the proportions and the absolute numbers of mixed marriages have declined. Whereas in 1991, 28 percent of married individuals had a spouse with a different nativity, only 21 percent did so in 2006 and in 2011. The proportions of mainland-mainland marriages remained fairly stable over these 20 years, notwithstanding the passing of the older generation of Hong Kongers born on the Mainland before the War. However, from 1991 to 2011, the numbers of Hong Kong marriages where both wife and husband were born in HK increased from 48% to 56% of the total.

All approaches to marital endogamy see it as one part of a larger social fact about the ways individuals define and demarcate themselves and their circles. The most widely-studied feature of this definition is educational homogamy. To some extent, schooling may impart norms and allow experiences and a common cultural frame that partners look for as they consider whether and whom to

marry. Schools and universities also offers a meeting place for many couples (although given the advanced and advancing age of marriage in Hong Kong, it would appear increasingly unlikely for secondary school or college sweethearts to tie the knot). Another key factor in Hong Kong marriages is language. Without a common language, it would be difficult (though hardly impossible) even to consider marriage. Using census data we sought to identify the role of nativity in the propensity to marry endogenously or exogenously, net of any possible effects of education and net of the ability to speak Cantonese. To do so, we followed an approach taken by Martin Dribe and Christer Lundh (2011) in their study of marriage among immigrants to Sweden over a fifteen year period, controlling for the levels of education by natives and immigrants. However, unlike those authors, who used multinomial logistic regression only among married couples to determine the relative odds of taking one versus another type of partner, in our study we included the entire population of the married and unmarried Chinese. We estimated multinomial logistic regression of the odds that an individual had married a Hong Kong native (compared to remaining single) and the odds that they had married a mainlander (also compared to remaining single). In Model 1 of Table 2, we estimated the effects only of age and of being born on the mainland (as opposed to Hong Kong). We estimated these effects separately for women and for men in each of the five census years. In Model 2 we added dummy variables for the level of education attained (each as opposed to receiving only primary schooling or less). We also included a cultural and communication variable that we suspect would be important for marriage, i.e. whether the individual used Cantonese as his or her usual language. Again, we estimated Model 2 ten times, for each of the five census years for women and for men.

[insert Table 2 here]

Table 2. reports only the relative risk ratios (rrr) associated with each variable. We interpret these as the effect on the odds of being married either to a Hong Kong native or a Mainlander (as

opposed to being unmarried at the time of the census). Ratios greater than 1.0 show that the variable affects positively the odds of the outcome. Ratios less than 1.0 show the contrary effect, that the variable reduces the odds of that outcome. Table 2 shows that, for both women and for men, age has a positive effect on the odds that the individual had married at all (and there appears little difference in the effect of age for marrying either a Hong Kong native or a mainlander). There is little change in the effect of age across the five census years. The dummy variable for being born on the mainland has increased only slightly among men, in terms of the effect of marrying a Hong Kong native. Men who were born on the mainland were less likely (rrr= 0.689) in 1991 to have marred a Hong Kong native, and they were only slightly more likely to have done so in 2011 (rrr= 0.746). There are more dramatic changes seen in the odds for marriage among women who were born on the mainland. In 1991, mainland-born women were *less likely* than Hong Kong native women (rrr = 0.790) to have married a Hong Kong native husband than they were to have remained single. In other words, in 1991 the probability of marrying a HK man (compared to staying single) *was lower* among Mainland-born women than among HK native women. By 2011, Mainland women were *more likely* than Hong Kong native women (rrr = 1.314) to have married a man from Hong Kong than to have remained unmarried. This change would have increased the net likelihood of mixed marriages, had there been no changes in the propensity of mainland-born women to be married to mainland men. However, there was a change that runs counter to the preceding one, and that had an opposite impact on the net change in mixed versus endogamous marriage. Notice that the odds ratios for mainland-born women who marred mainland men increased from 6.378 times the odds for Hong Kong women in 1991, to 14.549 times the odds for native women in 2011. In other words, although mainland-born women became more likely than were HK-born-women to be married to Hong Kong men (as compared to being single), the opposite was true among Hong Kong native women: compared with mainland women, women born in

HK were much *less likely* to be married to mainland-born men in 2011 than had been the case in 1991. This is because increasing proportions remained single (a finding that would not emerge in analysis only of those who recorded their marriages).

Model 2 repeats the same analysis but adds variables for education and language. As is widely discussed in Hong Kong, women with higher levels of education are less likely to marry at all, either to Hong Kong natives or to Mainland men. Taking women's' education into account has the effect of increasing the apparent odds of marriage to Hong Kongers and reducing the odds of marriage to Mainlanders (for example, in 1991, 0.849 > 0.790 and 5.644 < 6.378). We interpret this to mean that some of the nativity effects seen in Model 1 are actually effects of education. Among men the effect of education on marriage partner is different than among women. In 1991 more education was weakly associated (rrr=1.386 and 1.177) with a greater likelihood of marriage to a Hong Kong woman, as opposed to being single. This effect has grown over time, such that by 2011 men with postsecondary were more than 2.6 times as likely to be married to a Hong Kong native woman as to remain a bachelor. This is a similar trend to that seen for educational effects among Hong Kong women. Over the 1991 – 2011 period, women became more likely to marry Hong Kong men (as opposed to remaining single) if they had more education, and also more likely to marry mainlanders than to remain single.[8]

Turning now to the effect of Cantonese usage, there are no surprises. Even after controlling for nativity, those who spoke Cantonese were more likely to marry Hong Kongers than to remain single, but they were less likely to marry mainlanders than to be single. These effects diminished slightly from 1991 to 2011, which we interpret to mean that language became less important than place of birth.

[8] Similar findings are visible if the reference group is considered to be marriage to a HK native. See Appendix A. for parallel estimations of the effects in each census for nativity on marriage or remaining single, as opposed to marriage to a spouse born in Hong Kong.

After controlling in Model 2 for educational changes and language – both powerful determinants of marriage choices – what is the remaining effect of nativity? It seems that the trends seen in the over-time estimates of Model 1. remain even after including controls for education or language. Over time, Hong Kong marriages have become more endogamous, with less mixing by spouses born in Hong Kong and the Mainland. This net result is the product of two countervailing tendencies, we further suggest. On the one hand, the increasing rrr of mainland women shows they are more likely than Hong Kong women to marry Hong Kong men as opposed to remaining single. But this positive indication of integration has been more than offset the apparent flight by Hong Kong women from marriages with mainland men. In 1991, Mainland-born women were only about 5.6 times as likely as were Native women to have married a Mainland-born man. By 2011, they were about 12.47 times as likely, even after controlling for differences in education and Cantonese ability. It seems over time more Hong Kong women would prefer to remain single than to marry mainlanders. This is not an indication of narrowing social distance between mainlanders and natives. The net result of both tendencies are reflected in Figure 1.

Conclusion

Pitirim Sorokin (1927) famously distinguished between individual and group mobility in social stratification. New arrivals to Hong Kong represent the type of group mobility envisioned by Sorokin. The corollary is that the new group could be seen as a new social stratum, if not an ethnicity, in Sorokin's sense. The status of individual mainlanders who arrive in Hong Kong may increasing reflect the rising or falling status of a group which has formed since the 1997 Handover: Mainlanders. To conceptualize the emergence of a new group would also be consistent with more recent theories of segmented assimilation. Positive as well as negative consequences would result from a future Hong

Kong where occupations, lifestyles, educational opportunities, and even political attitudes come to be associated with provenance of birth. The bonds of reciprocity that help new arrivals to Europe, Japan, Canada, and the US could also be useful for newcomers to the SAR.

Hong Kong's recent immigrants from the Chinese mainland have received no explicit government assistance and they often feel discriminated against by Hong Kongers who are second or (rarely) third generation in the city. We have found from previous research that Mainlanders are at risk of entering a vicious cycle of low-skill work and transmitting fewer educational opportunities to their Hong Kong-born children. It is likely that antipathy by many in Hong Kong toward the government of China drives some of the hostility toward recent immigrants, who in general are far more supportive of the government of China and far less supportive of Hong Kong's opposition, pan-Democratic parties and mobilizations (Wu 2011). There is direct clinical evidence of widespread depression as a result of perceived discrimination (Chou 2012). And yet our findings based on census data comparisons offer a mixed message regarding the future. On the one hand, there are more mixed marriages as a result of mainland women marrying Hong Kong native husbands (perhaps as it became less acceptable for HK men to keep second "wives" on the mainland). On the other hand, this trend is more than offset because there are many fewer mixed marriages of Hong Kong native women to mainland men. The net result is that marriages were increasingly endogamous from 1991 to 2011. We conclude that new arrivals to Hong Kong are at risk of becoming an enclave isolated from the opportunities available to those who arrived in the previous generation. Despite a common culture and appearance, ethnogenesis will occur if the Mainland-born Hong Kongers become seen – and if they see themselves – as a group apart. To the extent that this group is disadvantaged in terms of social status, they will pass along their disadvantages to their own children, who will have fewer opportunities to interact with the children of Hong Kong - born parents than was the case prior to 1997.

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Illustration 1. Hong Kong poster comparing mainland immigrants to hungry locusts who litter the city and claim scarce health and welfare services.

Illustration 2. Poster protesting "Mainlandization" of universities and the increasing numbers of Mainland-origin graduate students at the expense of HK native students.

Table 1.
Numbers and Percentages of Unmarried and Married Men and Women, Ages 20-49,
by Nativity and Nativity of Spouse, in Census Samples 1991-2011

	MEN				WOMEN			
	unmarried	Married to HK native	Married to Mainlander	Total	unmarried	Married to HK native	Married to Mainlander	Total
1991								
Hong Kongers	22,270	15,492	2,483	40,245	16,637	16,228	5,925	38,790
Row percent	55.34	38.49	6.17	100.00	42.89	41.84	15.27	100.00
Mainlanders	4,909	4,865	7,857	17,631	2,704	2,893	10,451	16,048
Row percent	27.84	27.59	44.56	100.00	16.85	18.03	65.12	100.00
1996								
Hong Kongers	24,938	21,048	3,242	49,228	20,444	22,200	6,006	48,650
Row percent	50.66	42.76	6.59	100.00	42.02	45.63	12.35	100.00
Mainlanders	5,620	4,302	8,870	18,792	4,345	3,593	11,772	19,710
Row percent	29.91	22.89	47.20	100.00	22.04	18.23	59.73	100.00
2001								
Hong Kongers	27,210	21,183	3,725	52,118	24,668	23,136	4,871	52,675
Row percent	52.21	40.64	7.15	100.00	46.83	43.92	9.25	100.00
Mainlanders	4,895	3,206	8,049	16,150	4,865	4,471	11,239	20,575
Row percent	30.31	19.85	49.84	100.00	23.65	21.73	54.62	100.00
2006								
Hong Kongers	29,143	19,066	5,099	53,308	28,055	21,960	3,905	53,920
Row percent	54.67	35.77	9.57	100.00	52.03	40.73	7.24	100.00
Mainlanders	5,360	2,780	6,488	14,628	6,305	6,471	9,500	22,276
Row percent	36.64	19.00	44.35	100.00	28.30	29.05	42.65	100.00
2011								
Hong Kongers	29,626	16,162	4,098	49,886	28,832	19,519	2,311	50,662
Row percent	59.39	32.40	8.21	100.00	56.91	38.53	4.56	100.00
Mainlanders	7,750	6,269	8,283	22,302	5,872	1,715	4,932	12,519
Row percent	34.75	28.11	37.14	100.00	46.90	13.70	39.40	100.00

Source: Analysis of individual records in HK Census. Note: tables exclude residents and spouses who were born neither in Hong Kong nor in China (about 5% of sample), as well as residents who were married but whose spouses were not living in the household and so no nativity information is available (about 10% of marriages). Individuals are younger than age 50 in this tabulation, but their spouses may be older.

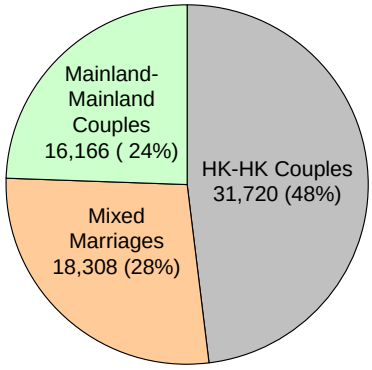
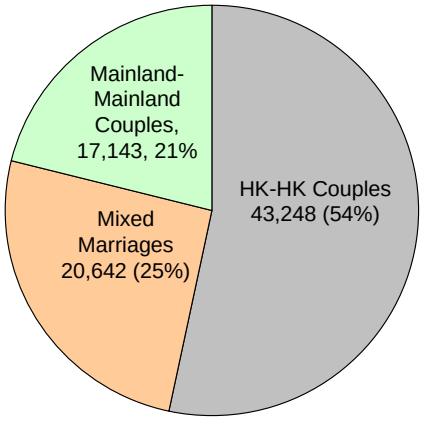
Table 2.

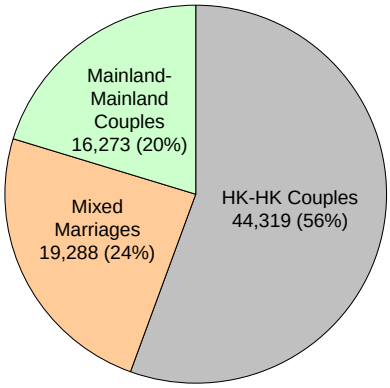
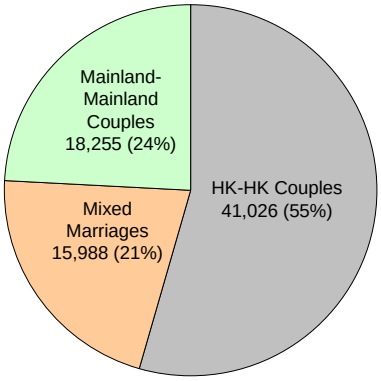
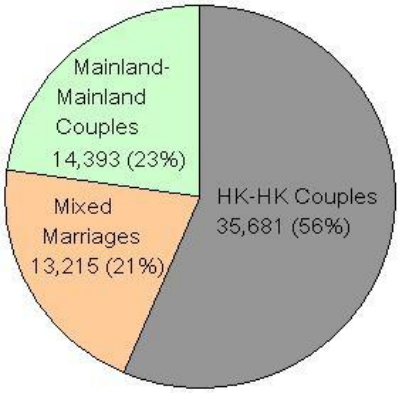
Relative Odds of Being Married to a Hong Kong Native or Mainlander,
Compared to Being Unmarried, Ages 20-49, By Census Year

	WOMEN					MEN				
Census Year:	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011
MODEL 1.										
Married Hong Konger (relative to remaining single)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.175	1.146	1.134	1.130	1.132	1.237	1.227	1.220	1.204	1.184
Born in Mainland (not HK)	0.790	0.728	0.967 +	1.337	1.314	0.689	0.618	0.702	0.793	0.746
Married Mainlander (relative to remaining single)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.251	1.224	1.210	1.178	1.165	1.261	1.236	1.245	1.233	1.217
Born in Mainland (not HK)	6.378	8.337	11.633	11.387	14.549	6.377	8.116	9.702	6.840	8.533
Pseudo R-square	0.231	0.228	0.226	0.197	0.207	0.275	0.292	0.310	0.279	0.266
Number of observations	54838	68360	73250	76196	76118	57876	68020	68268	67936	65272
MODEL 2.										
Married Hong Konger (relative to remaining single)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.165	1.141	1.131	1.127	1.127	1.242	1.231	1.227	1.211	1.193
Born in Mainland (not HK)	0.854	0.784	1.040 +	1.378	1.344	0.776	0.705	0.822	0.860	0.854
Attained secondary education	0.780	1.052 +	1.322	1.421	1.329	1.347	1.325	1.606	1.718	1.776
Attained post-secondary	0.421	0.537	0.740	0.931	0.960 +	1.198	1.155	1.657	1.947	2.643
Usual language is Cantonese	3.619	2.495	3.196	2.048	2.171	4.982	4.054	5.528	2.292	2.536
Married Mainlander (relative to remaining single)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.233	1.207	1.189	1.166	1.155	1.270	1.240	1.242	1.230	1.213
Born in Mainland (not HK)	5.675	7.328	10.170	10.207	12.471	5.717	7.301	9.256	6.515	7.939
Attained secondary education	0.521	0.697	0.769	0.956 +	1.030 +	1.268	1.197	1.159	1.186	1.196
Attained post-secondary	0.158	0.225	0.279	0.482	0.567	0.847	0.683	0.752	0.799	0.821
Usual language is Cantonese	0.758	0.553	0.649	0.703	0.661	0.543	0.544	0.765	0.668	0.682
Pseudo R-square	0.250	0.246	0.243	0.206	0.215	0.289	0.304	0.319	0.286	0.276
Number of observations	54720	68141	73250	76196	76118	57724	67816	68268	67936	65272

+***not*** statistically significant

Figure 1.
Hong Kong Native - Mainlander Marriages Among Individuals Ages 20-49 Since 1991

1991	1996
	
Note: There were 66,194 married Hong Kongers and Mainlanders with information about nativity of their spouse. There were also 46,520 unmarried natives and Mainlanders.	Note: There were 81,033 married Hong Kongers and Mainlanders with information about nativity of their spouse. There were also 55,347 unmarried natives and Mainlanders.

2001	2006	2011
		
Note: There wer 79,880 married Hong Kongers and Mainlanders with information about nativity of their spouse. There were also 61,638 unmarried natives and Mainlanders.	Note: There were 75,269 married Hong Kongers and Mainlanders with information about nativity of their spouse. There were also 68,863 unmarried natives and Mainlanders.	Note: There were 63,289 married Hong Kongers and Mainlanders with information about nativity of their spouse. There were also 72,080 unmarried natives and Mainlanders.

Appendix A. Relative Odds Being Married to a Mainlander and Being Unmarried, Compared to Being Married to a Hong Kong Native, Ages 20-49, By Census Year

	WOMEN					MEN				
Census Year:	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011
MODEL 1.										
Married Mainlander (relative to married Hongkonger)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.065	1.068	1.066	1.043	1.030	1.020	1.007	1.020	1.024	1.028
Born in Mainland (not HK)	8.079	11.459	12.031	8.519	11.068	9.254	13.134	13.826	8.627	11.435
Being unmarried (relative to married Hongkonger)										
Age in years (20-49)	0.851	0.873	0.882	0.885	0.884	0.808	0.815	0.820	0.831	0.845
Born in Mainland (not HK)	1.267	1.375	1.034+	0.748	0.761	1.451	1.618	1.425	1.261	1.340
Pseudo R-square	0.231	0.228	0.226	0.197	0.207	0.275	0.292	0.310	0.279	0.266
Number of observations	54838	68360	73250	76196	76118	57876	68020	68268	67936	65272
MODEL 2.										
Married Mainlander (relative to married Hongkonger)										
Age in years (20-49)	1.058	1.058	1.051	1.034	1.025	1.022	1.007	1.012	1.016	1.017
Born in Mainland (not HK)	6.646	9.346	9.782	7.409	9.281	7.368	10.361	11.266	7.574	9.296
Attained secondary education	0.669	0.663	0.582	0.673	0.775	0.941 +	0.903	0.721	0.690	0.673
Attained post-secondary	0.375	0.419	0.377	0.518	0.590	0.707	0.592	0.454	0.410	0.310
Usual language is Cantonese	0.209	0.222	0.203	0.343	0.305	0.109	0.134	0.138	0.291	0.269
Being unmarried (relative to married Hongkonger)										
Age in years (20-49)	0.858	0.877	0.884	0.887	0.887	0.805	0.812	0.815	0.826	0.838
Born in Mainland (not HK)	1.171	1.275	0.962+	0.726	0.744	1.289	1.419	1.217	1.163	1.171
Attained secondary education	1.283	0.950 +	0.756	0.704	0.753	0.742	0.754	0.622	0.582	0.563
Attained post-secondary	2.374	1.861	1.352	1.075	1.041+	0.835	0.866	0.604	0.514	0.378
Usual language is Cantonese	0.276	0.401	0.313	0.488	0.461	0.201	0.247	0.181	0.436	0.394
Pseudo R-square	0.250	0.246	0.243	0.206	0.215	0.289	0.304	0.319	0.286	0.276
Number of observations	54720	68141	73250	76196	76118	57724	67816	68268	67936	65272

+***not*** statistically significant