Job Transition Patterns of Recent Chinese Labor Immigrants in the United States*

(Extended Abstract)

Miao David Chunyu

Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences
Brown University, Box 1916
Providence, RI 02912
Phone: (401) 863-9547
Fax: (401) 863-3213

E-mail: Miao_Chunyu@Brown.edu

*Paper draft prepared for the 2010 annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Dallas, TX. My work is supported by the Doctoral Fellowship from Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (USA).

Abstract (148 words)

This study examines job transition patterns of recent Chinese labor immigrants in the U.S., using a new dataset from the Chinese International Migration Project. This research finds that although these immigrants tend to concentrate in a few select ethnic niche jobs and do not achieve much upward mobility in occupational status, they still experience significant job changes over time; and these transitions are often accompanied by geographic mobility, especially into nongateway areas. Event history analyses of repeated events reveal systematic patterns of job transitions among these immigrants, with individual demographics, U.S. experience and status, and job earning as the determinants. Job mobility rates also vary significantly across different types of jobs. There are also increasing economic opportunities in the nontraditional places for these immigrants, especially in recent years. The exorbitant immigration cost encountered by the undocumented immigrants constitutes another layer of driving force behind their job transition movements.

Background of Study

Occupational achievement is a very important aspect of immigrant incorporation in the United States. Immigrants' occupational progress over time can also produce important fiscal impact and thus has significant policy implications. Existing studies on immigrants' longitudinal advancement in occupational status have mainly focused on occupational mobility, which largely falls into two strands of research. One strand engages the concept of assimilation and has engendered a series of debates. One side of the debate is represented by Richard Alba and Victor Nee (Alba and Nee 2003; Nee and Sanders 2001), and argues for immigrants and immigrant children's inevitable outcome and benefits of crossing ethnic boundary and blending into the mainstream economy; the other side of the debate, as exemplified by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou's work, emphasizes the presence of alternative opportunity structure for social mobility within the ethnic domain, especially in the form of ethnic entrepreneurship supported by the power of ethnic solidarity (see Zhou (2004) and Light and Gold (2000) for the most comprehensive reviews). The other strand of research on immigrant occupational achievement examines immigrants' advancement along the general occupational ladder, as ranked by standardized numeric scores or broad hierarchical categories (e.g., Kandell 2004; Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark 1996; Myers and Cranford 1998; Neidert and Farley 1985; Powers, Seltzer, and Shi 1998; Toussaint-Comeau 2006; Waldinger and Gilbertson 1994). The main finding from this line of research is that over time many immigrants can experience upward mobility in occupational status, and that usually results from better education, improved English proficiency, and longer residence in the U.S.; however, there are important inter-group differences in the trajectory.

By focusing on occupational mobility, extant research can be most effective in depicting the occupational progress of skilled immigrants and immigrants who come to the U.S. at young ages. However, this approach tends to be limited in accounting for the experience of the labor migrants, who constitutes another important component of the new immigrant population (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Having low stock of human capital and limited prospect for acculturation, these low-skill immigrants do not experience upward occupational mobility as often; even for those who aspire to become self-employed, only a small minority of them can eventually succeed (typically between 10% and 20% except for Iranians and Koreans). Most of these unskilled immigrants tend to be confined within certain sectors and have the same type of jobs over time (Waldinger and Lichter 2003). But this certainly does not mean their occupational progress is static. Instead, one can still expect them to act as individual earning maximizers, who change jobs regularly albeit laterally for better pay and treatment. For example, a restaurant cook can move from one restaurant to another as he discovers an opportunity for better salary and working conditions. However, not much is known about this aspect of immigrant labor market experience. Thus, other than occupational mobility, it is also important empirically to study immigrants' job transition patterns, in particular for low-skill immigrants.

Besides the issue of operationalization, existing research on immigrant occupational progress is also limited by the available data sources. By definition, this type of study requires the use of panel that can reflect changes occurring to the same individuals over time. However, data of this sort are not abundant, and usually result from extensive administrative efforts. For

example, the work by Portes and Bach (1985), by Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark (1996), and by Powers et al. (1998) use data collected by INS from legal or legalized immigrants. Other studies are based on survey data (Nee and Sanders 2001; Toussaint-Comeau 2006). But at this point the information captured by all these datasets tends to be outdated. The well-known Mexican Migration Project (MMP) is another large scale and still ongoing survey (Durand and Massey 2004). But surprisingly, the MMP dataset hasn't yielded much research on immigrants' occupational achievement (Kandell 2004). Very often, researchers turn to cross-sectional data such as decennial census or CPS data to estimate immigrants' occupational mobility patterns (Myers and Cranford 1998; Neidert and Farley 1985; Waldinger and Gilbertson 1994). But this approach can be challenging if it is to be used on estimation of immigrants' longitudinal trajectory patterns, because on the one hand it is not easy to fully disentangle the effects of various temporal factors, as demonstrated by the methodological development in the research on immigrant wage growth (Chiswick 1978; Borjas 1995; Myers and Lee 1996), and on the other, important indiscernible changes in the composition of immigrant population can confound the results about the temporal effects, such as return migration or change in immigrant legal status.

Another limitation in existing literature is the prevalent focus on Hispanic immigrant experience, in particular on Mexicans (Kandell 2004; Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark 1996; Myers and Cranford 1998; Portes and Bach 1985; Toussaint-Comeau 2006). This is not surprising given their numeric preponderance in the immigrant population as well as in the immigrant labor force. But in order to ensure the generalizability of the findings and theories derived from these studies we need to conduct similar research on immigrant groups from other regions, such as Asians.

Therefore, to address these issues, in this study, I examine the job transition patterns of recent Chinese labor immigrants in the U.S. Specifically, I study the Fujianese subgroup, who originates from China's Fujian province and comprises the largest wave of emigration from China in the 1990s (Liang 2001a). Fujianese immigrants are a typical labor migrant group and prove to resemble the Mexican migrants in several important ways (Liang et al. 2008). Extant literature has documented that the influx of Fujianese immigrants has drastically transformed the landscape of Chinatown in New York City, displacing the previously dominant Cantonese subgroup (Kwong 1997). Furthermore, these new Chinese immigrants have made inroads into most of the U.S. states, typically as restaurant owners and workers (Lee 2008). This study takes advantage of the recently available data from the Chinese International Migration Project (CIMP) which specifically surveyed this Chinese sub-group. Event history analysis is conducted to address a series of research questions.

Research Questions

As discussed in the previous section, the primary focus of inquiry in this study is about the general job transition patterns of these unskilled Chinese immigrants. Research has shown that only slightly over 10% of these immigrants are self-employed (Chunyu 2009), while most of them remain as enclave workers in select industries, in particular in restaurants, garment factories and construction (Chin 1999; Kwong 1997). Then the question is whether these

unskilled immigrants experience any job transition over time; and if they do, do these job transitions occur in more of an ad hoc way or are they determined by systematic factors, such as socio-demographic characteristics, length of residence in the U.S., and the type of job they take? More importantly, do these job transitions occur out of individualistic pursuit of better wages, the indicator of availability of opportunities for better economic well-being over time?

Another major research question is about these new Chinese immigrants' economic opportunities in the nontraditional destination areas. In recent years, immigration scholars have been intrigued by immigrants' movement and settlement into the new destination areas (Goździak and Martin 2005; Massey 2008; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). However, most of these studies tend to focus on Latino immigrant experience; and to my knowledge the only existing case studies that deal with Asian immigrants are about refugee groups from Southeast Asia (Goździak and Martin 2005). In other words, the experience of major Asian immigrants in the new places is quite understudied. Thus, I hope to make a contribution to this field by taking into account the recent Chinese immigrants' experience in the new destinations. In this study, I want to learn how the nontraditional destination location can factor into these Chinese immigrants' job transition patterns.

The last major research question addresses the impact of legal status. An important feature of the Fujianese migration to the U.S. is that the majority of them came as illegal immigrants, whose migration trips and entry into the U.S. are heavily reliant upon the operation of the international smuggling network (Chin 1999; Zhang 2008). And this feature can have two ramifications for these immigrants' adaptation experience in the U.S. One is that many of these immigrants will remain undocumented as they settle in the U.S., although some of them can become legalized under special amnesty programs (Liang 2001b). However, in existing literature not much is known about the impact of legal status on immigrants' occupational achievement. A practical reason is the lack of appropriate data. So far, the most widely used data source for measuring the legal status impact is the MMP dataset, but the research largely focuses on the impact on wages rather than occupational attainment (e.g., Aguilera and Massey 2003; Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra 2007; Massey, Durand and Malone 2002; Philips and Massey 1999). Although the Legalized Population Survey records immigrants' change in legal status and has been used to estimate immigrants' occupational advancement (Powers et al. 1998), there is no control group available for statistical comparison.

Another ramification related to these Chinese immigrants' illegal status is their exorbitant migration cost, typically in the form of smuggling fees paid to snakeheads for the smuggling services they provide. The smuggling fees have been typically five-digit figures in U.S. dollars since the late 1980s (Kwong 1997; Chin 1999), and in the 2000s the smuggling cost has well exceeded 60,000 dollars (Liang et al. 2008; Zhang 2008). The funds for paying these exceedingly high smuggling fees typically come from loans from the migrants' relatives and friends and sometimes from shark loans, and the debts are expected to be paid back after the migrants arrive in the U.S. and start to make money by working. Thus, these illegal immigrants face the immediate pressure of paying off smuggling fee debts in the beginning years of their American life. Kwong (1997) and Chin (1999) have documented the adverse impacts of the smuggling fees on the migrants' post-arrival experience. Liang et al. (2008) also demonstrate that the higher migration cost can cause a delay in the re-union of family members in the U.S. In

this study, I would like to examine the impact of smuggling fees on these immigrants' job transition patterns.

Data and Methods

In this study I use a recent data set from the Chinese International Migration Project (CIMP). The CIMP is directed by Zai Liang at the University at Albany, and its design largely follows the well-known MMP model, collecting ethnosurveys in both the migrant-sending communities in China and the receiving region in the U.S. The survey site in China is located in the Fujian province (see figure 1 and figure 2), and the U.S. survey site is mainly in the New York City region (Liang et al. 2008). One major difference between CIMP and MMP is that the CIMP was carried out within a limited time span: the survey on the China site was conducted twice, first between October 2002 and March 2003, and second during December 2003; the U.S. site survey was conducted during June-August 2003. Altogether the CIMP gathered data on about 1,800 households in the Fujian region and about 400 households in the U.S. Compared to the decennial census and other immigration surveys, the main advantages of the CIMP and MMP data is their adequate coverage of the undocumented population; another feature is that they have collected immigrants' detailed employment history information, which allows the data users to trace the economic progress the immigrants have made over time. In this study, I mainly use the U.S. dataset from the CIMP, because it contains the most reliable information regarding immigrants' employment history in the U.S. as well as information regarding their legal status and smuggling cost.

Immigrants are generally expected to have multiple job records during their stay in the U.S., so this is essentially a study of repeated events, a special type of event history analysis. Accordingly, I will use proportional hazards (PH) model to conduct the analysis. The dependent variable for the analysis will be the hazard rate of job mobility. Hazard rate represents the instantaneous conditional rate that job shifts are occurring given that the job shifts have not yet occurred. Formally, the hazard function is defined as

$$h(t) = \lim_{\Delta t \to 0} \frac{\Pr\{t \le T < t + \Delta t \mid T \ge t\}}{\Delta t}$$

where *t* is a point in time (Allison 1995: p. 15). For the analysis of hazard rates, I will employ the Cox regression method (Cox 1972), is a combination of the PH model and partial likelihood estimation. The PH model can be written as

$$\log h_i(t) = \alpha(t) + \beta_1 x_{i1}(t) + \beta_2 x_{i2} \cdots + \beta_k x_{ik},$$

where $\alpha(t)$ is an unspecified baseline hazard function, $x_{i1}(t)$ represents time-varying explanatory variables, x_{ik} represents time-constant explanatory variables, and β_k is the coefficient. Thus, the PH model assumes that the hazard of event at time *t* depends on individual *i* characteristic *x* at the same time *t*.

In the PH models under this study, jobs will be the unit of analysis, so each record corresponds to one job spell. The immigrant will be considered having experienced an event if a

job change occurs; otherwise, the record will be censored, and this includes the right-censored records and employment exit records. The event history analyses will be conducted in two stages. The first stage is to predict job change in general. The second stage is to model job changes with a specific locational outcome, which is getting a job in the nongateway areas. In both stages, the duration of job will be precise to the months. The values of the independent variables will be allowed to vary across a respondent's job history although some variables will remain time-constant. The independent variables include socio-demographic characteristics, length of U.S. residence, religion, legal status, migration cost, monthly income, job type, job location, and period of time. Since the first stage of analysis is based on immigrants' continuous employment history in the U.S., I shall use conditional models so that an individual cannot be at risk for a subsequent event without having experienced the previous event first. In the second stage of analysis, I will include the number of prior U.S. jobs an immigrant had instead of doing conditional models because immigrants' job transitions into select destinations are not necessarily a continuous experience as they may switch between the traditional destination and new places over time. Robust standard errors shall be estimated for Cox regression to overcome the dependency among the multiple events experienced by the same individual.

Results

Table 1 gives an overview of these Chinese immigrants' occupational characteristics at the time of survey. Apparently, they are concentrated in very segregated sectors with strong ethnic markings. Consistent with extant studies (Chin 1999 and Kwong 1997), they are mainly employed as restaurant workers, garment manufacturing workers and construction workers; a few have become self-employed. Among the employed workers, construction, restaurant, and other skilled workers (mainly vehicle operatives) tend to have the relatively higher incomes, with an average of above $2,000 a month. But restaurant workers and the self-employed work extremely long hours (typically above 60 hours a week), underscoring the cost of earning more money. The strong ethnic marking of these jobs is reflected by the co-ethnicity of their employers as well as by how they found their current jobs, typically through co-ethnic friends or enclave employment services.

Table 2 tabulates the crude number of jobs a migrant ever had in the U.S. Clearly, the overwhelming majority of them have changed jobs at least once. What's more significant is that they tend to experience more job transitions as they spend more time in the U.S. Table 3 shows the outcomes of these job changes by linking the origin and destination jobs of each transition. We can see that most of these job changes are just lateral mobility in the sense that immigrants will continue to work the same kind of job only under a different employer. On the other hand, there is a slight trend towards movement into the relatively more desirable jobs in the Chinese niches, such as self-employment, construction and restaurants. More importantly, about 70% of these job changes tend to result in higher income (not shown here), which indicates that even for these unskilled immigrants they manage to improve their economic well-being over time.

Geographic mobility is another feature of these immigrants' job transitions. Table 4 shows that a significant proportion of immigrant job changes are associated with changes in

geographic location. On the one hand, there seems to be an equilibrium movement between New York City and non-NYC places, which respectively represents Fujianese immigrants' gateway city and their new destination areas (Lee 2008). On the other, there are also a lot of movements across the non-NYC areas, which suggests that these Chinese immigrants have set their foot on a majority of the U.S. states (also see Table 5 for the geographic distribution of Fujianese immigrants' prior job locations). This observation is consistent with Sassen's (1995) proposition that immigrant labor market tends to be transterritorial. This also represents the rise of new economic opportunities for these immigrants beyond their gateway city.

Table 6, Table 7, and Table 8 present results from the PH models of job transitions. Table 6 and Table 7 report coefficients from the PH models that predict job transitions in general and some systematic patterns are revealed. First of all, the effects of conventional socio-demographic factors are still at play. Single men who are accompanied by fewer family members in the U.S. and who have junior high school education are more likely to have job transitions. Second, there is also a "settling-in effect" (Nee and Sanders 2001), as the immigrants' job transition hazard rates tend to be lower for those who have lived in the U.S. for a longer period of time. More importantly, higher monthly job income significantly reduces the immigrants' job transition rates, which indicates that these unskilled immigrants are acting as earning maximizers, who rationally choose between the "good" jobs and the "bad" jobs. Furthermore, the impact of smuggling fee debt is also significant. The interaction effect between immigrants' smuggling fees and the length of their U.S. residence suggests that those who paid the highest amount of smuggling fees tend to have the highest job transition rates in their early years in the U.S. This probably reflects the pressure felt by these immigrants to pay back their debts as quickly as possible and they have to constantly search for better-paid jobs. There is also some evidence that immigrants with legal status are more likely to change jobs, which suggests that legal status can bestow them more options in the job market. This probably reflects the fact that prospective employer, including those coethnic employers, have become increasingly discrete in hiring undocumented workers due to the tightened interior enforcement. The job mobility rates also vary significantly across different types of jobs. Apparently, those who work in restaurants tend to have the highest transition rates, which can be related to the booming of Chinese restaurant businesses (Lee 2008). On the one hand, the mushrooming of Chinese restaurants in the U.S. generates ample job opportunities for Chinese immigrants; but on the other, it also leads to heightened internal competition, which in turn can cause higher turnover rates among the employees. As to the effect of religious affiliation, the coefficient indicates that Christians tend to have higher job transition rates, which may reflect the support provided by the church network for these immigrants in information about alternative job opportunities (Guest 2003), but such effect is not statistically significant.

Table 8 report results from the PH models predicting job transitions into new destination places particularly. Many important effects detected from the general job transition models are also repeated here. There are also some divergences from the general transition models. First, the age effect has become statistically significant, with younger people more likely to find jobs in the new destinations, which underscores the adventurous behavior of young people. The education effect, however, has become insignificant. This probably reflects a less competitive Chinese labor market in the nongateway areas, due to the growth of Chinese businesses there and increasing demand for labor, which makes it a lot easier for a migrant to

land a job there, regardless of their human capital. Such growth of Chinese labor market beyond the gateway area can also be reflected by the period effect, which shows that the mobility rate for job transition into new destination areas have become increasingly higher in recent years. Finally, the occupation-specific mobility pattern also changes. In this case, garment manufacturing and construction workers actually fall behind those self-employed and become the only kind of people that have a lower chance of transition into nongateway areas.

References

Aguilera, Michael B., and Douglas S. Massey. 2003. "Social Capital and the Wages of Mexican Migrants: New Hypotheses and Test." *Social Forces* 82(2): 671-701.

Alba, Richard D., and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Allison, Paul D.1995. *Survival Analysis Using the SAS System: A Practical Guide.* Cary, NC: SAS Institute Inc.

Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, and Kusum Mundra. 2007. "Social Networks and Their Impact on the Earnings of Mexican Migrants." *Demography* 44(4): 849-863.

Borjas, George J. 1995. "Assimilation and Changes in Cohort Quality Revisited: What Happened to Immigrant Earnings in the 1980s?" *Journal of Labor Economics* 13(2): 201-245.

Chin, Ko-lin. 1999. *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States.* Philadelphia, Temple University Press.

Chiswick, Barry R. 1978. "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-born Men." *The Journal of Political Economy* 86(5): 897-921.

Chunyu, Miao David. 2009. "Pathway to Entrepreneurship for Recent Chinese Immigrants in the United States." Paper presented at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America. Detroit. April.

Cox, David R. 1972. "Regression Models and Life Tables." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* B34:187-220.

Durand, Jorge, and Douglas S. Massey. 2004. "Appendix: The Mexican Migration Project." Pp. 321-336 in *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project,* edited by Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Goździak, Elżbieta M., and Susan F. Martin. (editors) 2005. *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Guest, Philip. 2003. *God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York's Evolving Immigrant Community.* New York: New York University Press.

Kandel, William A. 2004. "A Profile of Mexican Workers in U.S. Agriculture." Pp. 235-264 in *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project,* edited by Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kossoudji, Sherrie A., and Deborah A. Cobb-Clark. 1996. "Finding Good Opportunities within Unauthorized Markets: U.S. Occupational Mobility for Male Latino Workers." *International Migration Review* 30(4): 901-924.

Kwong, Peter. 1997. *Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor.* New York: New Press.

Lee, Jennifer 8. 2008. *The Fortune Cookie Chronicles: Adventures in the World of Chinese Food.* New York, NY: Twelve.

Liang, Zai. 2001a. "Demography of Illicit Emigration from China: A Sending Country's Perspective*." Sociological Forum* 16(4): 677-701.

----------. 2001b. "Rules of the Game and Game of the Rules: The Politics of Recent Chinese Immigration to New York City." Pp. 131-145 in *Migration, Transnationalization, and race in a Changing New York*, edited by Hector R. Cordero-Guzman, Robert C. Smith, and Ramon Grosfoguel. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Liang, Zai, Miao David Chunyu, Guotu Zhuang, and Wenzhen Ye. 2008. "Cumulative Causation, Market Transition, and Emigration from China." *The American Journal of Sociology* 114(3): 706-737.
Light, Ivan, and Steven J. Gold. 2000. *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego: Academic Press.
Massey, Douglas S. (editor) 2008. *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Demography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone. 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Myers, Dowell, and Cynthia J. Cranford. 1998. "Temporal Differentiation in the Occupational Mobility of Immigrant and Native-Born Latina Worker." *American Sociological Review* 63(1): 68-93.
Myers, Dowell, and Seong Woo Lee. 1996. "Immigration Cohorts and Residential Overcrowding in Southern California." *Demography* 33(1): 51-65.
Nee, Victor, and Jimy M. Sanders. 2001."Trust in Ethnic Ties: Social Capital and Immigrants." Pp. 374-392 in *Trust in Society,* edited by Karen S. Cook. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Neidert, Lisa J., and Reynolds Farley. 1985. "Assimilation in the United States: An Analysis of Ethnic and Generation Differences in Status and Achievement." *American Sociological Review* 50(6): 840-850.
Philips, Julie A., and Douglas S. Massey. 1999. "The New Labor Market: Immigrants and Wages after IRCA." *Demography* 36(2): 233-246.
Portes, Alejandro, and Robert L. Bach. 1985. *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the U.S.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1996. *Immigrant America: A Portrait,* 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Powers, Mary G., William Seltzer, and Jing Shi. 1998. "Gender Differences in the Occupational Status of Undocumented Immigrants in the United States: Experience Before and After Legalization." *International Migration Review* 32(4): 1015-1046.
Sassen, Saskia. 1995. "Immigration and Local Labor Markets." Pp. 87-127 in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, ed. Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Toussaint-Comeau, Maude. 2006. "The Occupational Assimilation of Hispanic Immigrants in the U.S.: Evidence from Panel Data." *The International Migration Review* 40(3): 506-536.
Waldinger, Roger, and Greta Gilbertson. 1994. "Immigrants' Progress: Ethnic and Gender Differences among U.S. Immigrants in the 1980s." *Sociological Perspectives* 37(3): 431-444.
Waldinger, Roger, and Michael I. Lichter 2003. *How the Other Half Works: Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
Zhang, Sheldon X. 2008. *Chinese Human Smuggling Organizations: Families, Social Networks, and Cultural Imperatives.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
Zhou, Min. 2004. "Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements." *International Migration Review* 38(3):1040-1074.
Zúñiga, Víctor, and Rubén Hernández-León. (editors) 2005. *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Figure 1. Location of Fujian Province in China

Figure 2. Major Immigrant-sending Regions in Fujian Province, China

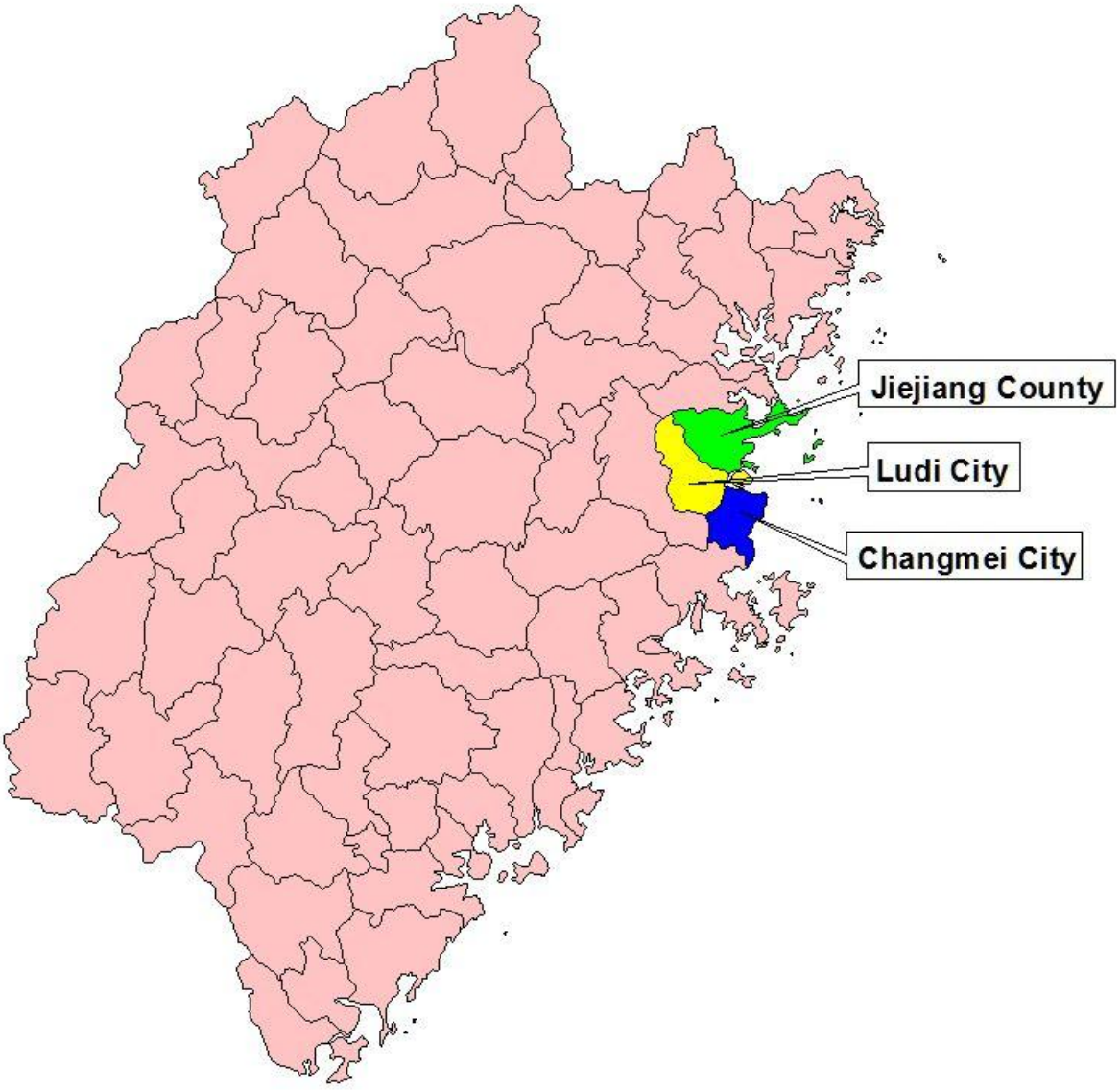

Table 1. Occupation Characteristics of Employed Chinese Immigrants in the U.S. Sample

U.S. Occupation	Median Monthly Income	Mean Weekly Working Hours	(Estimated) Median Hourly Wage	Payment Form (Mode)	Race/Ethnicity of Employer (Mode)	How Job Was Obtained (Mode)	N
Self-employed	3500	62.5	10.29	Cash	----	----	17
Professional	1000	45.33	5.18	Cash	Fujianese	Friends	3
Sales and storage workers	1400	53.29	5.97	Cash	White	Friends	8
Food service workers	2100	69.96	6.79	Cash	Fujianese	Chinatown Agency	175
Garment manufacturing workers	1000	49.77	4.61	Cash	Fujianese	Friends	97
Construction workers	2240	50.52	9.60	Cash	Fujianese	Friends	21
Other skilled workers	2500	61.75	8.92	Cash	Fujianese	Friends	8
Other unskilled manual worker	1200	54.47	6.14	Cash	Fujianese	Friends	19
Unspecified menial laborers	1650	68.18	5.47	Cash	Fujianese	Chinatown Agency	22
Total							**370**

Table 2. Number of Jobs Had by Chinese Immigrants Tabulated by Their Length of Residence in the U.S.

Length of Residence in the U.S. (Dur)	Number of Jobs						N
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	
Dur <= 1 year	70.59%	29.41%	0	0	0	0	17
1 year < Dur <= 5 years	21.68%	25.87%	29.37%	10.49%	7.69%	4.90%	143
5 years < Dur <= 10 years	10.16%	16.41%	15.63%	23.44%	14.84%	19.53%	128
Dur > 10 years	7.08%	14.16%	16.81%	18.58%	19.47%	23.89%	113
Total	**15.96%**	**19.70%**	**20.20%**	**16.46%**	**12.97%**	**14.71%**	**401**

Table 3. Cross-Classification of Origin Jobs by Destination Jobs for Class of Worker and Occupation
Chinese Immigrants in the U.S. Sample

Origin Job	**Destination Job**									
	Self-employed	Professional	Clerical, sales	Restaurant Workers	Garment Workers	Construction workers	Other Skilled Workers	Other Unskilled Manual Workers	Unspecified Menial Laborers	Total
Self-employed	11	0	0	8	2	1	0	3	0	25
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical, sales	1	1	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	9
Restaurant workers	19	0	2	459	12	9	6	10	12	529
Garment workers	5	0	3	19	158	3	0	8	7	203
Construction workers	2	0	0	1	0	23	0	1	3	30
Other skilled workers	1	0	0	3	1	0	5	0	3	13
Other unskilled manual worker	3	0	2	1	4	0	0	6	2	18
Unspecified menial laborers	1	0	2	88	7	4	3	1	70	176
Total	**43**	**1**	**11**	**583**	**185**	**40**	**14**	**29**	**97**	**1003**

Table 4. Cross-Classification of Origin Jobs by Destination Jobs for Location Chinese Immigrants

Origin Job	Destination Job			
	New York City	NYS, NJ, CT	Other States	Total
New York City	404	60	69	533
NYS, NJ, CT	49	71	60	180
Other States	82	57	153	292
Total	**535**	**188**	**282**	**1005**

Table 5. Geographic Distribution of the Jobs Taken by Fujianese Immigrants in the U.S. – Based on the Household Heads' Employment History in the U.S.

U.S. Location	Frequency	%
New York City	807	56.83
New Jersey	155	10.92
Pennsylvania	115	8.10
Connecticut	52	3.66
New York State (excluding NYC)	43	3.03
Massachusetts	26	1.83
North Carolina	19	1.34
Florida	18	1.27
Georgia	18	1.27
California	16	1.13
Virginia	16	1.13
Ohio	15	1.06
Maryland	14	0.99
Washington, D.C.	14	0.99
Indiana	11	0.77
Tennessee	11	0.77
Illinois	9	0.63
Michigan	8	0.56
South Carolina	6	0.42
Texas	5	0.35
Wisconsin	5	0.35
Rhode Island	5	0.35
Alabama	3	0.21
Iowa	3	0.21
Vermont	3	0.21
Maine	2	0.09
Minnesota	2	0.09
Mississippi	2	0.09
Missouri	2	0.09
Arizona	1	0.07

Arkansas	1	0.07
Colorado	1	0.07
Delaware	1	0.07
Kansas	1	0.07
Nebraska	1	0.07
Nevada	1	0.07
New Mexico	1	0.07
South Dakota	1	0.07
Washington	1	0.07
Unknown Location in the U.S.	5	0.35
Total	1420	100

Table 6. Proportional Hazard Estimates of Job Change in General: Chinese Immigrants, Occupation Excluded from Predictors

	Model A		Model B	
Independent Variables	***B***	**Robust S.E.**	***B***	**Robust S.E.**
Male	0.2064 †	0.1055	0.2092 *	0.1054
Age	-0.0066	0.0048	-0.0075	0.0048
Ever married	-0.1783 †	0.0975	-0.1814 †	0.0965
Education				
No formal education (reference)	----	----	----	----
Elementary school or less	0.3941 †	0.2040	0.3671 †	0.1979
Junior middle school	0.5194 *	0.2050	0.4752 *	0.2003
Senior or vocational high school	0.4174 †	0.2131	0.3808 †	0.2098
College or above	0.4157	0.2535	0.3853	0.2525
Religious affiliation				
Christianity	0.2223	0.1358	0.1998	0.1341
Other religions	0.0755	0.0908	0.0945	0.0910
None (reference)	----	----	----	----
Number of years in the U.S.	-0.0622 *	0.0248	-0.3292 **	0.0979
Authorized to work in the U.S.	0.1449	0.0922	0.1705 †	0.0932
No. of other family members in the U.S.	-0.1859 **	0.0334	-0.1913 **	0.0332
Monthly income	-0.0003 **	0.0001	-0.0003 **	0.0001
Job location				
New York City (reference)	----	----	----	----
NY-NJ-CT	0.3446 **	0.0925	0.3369 **	0.0935
Other states	0.5872 **	0.0811	0.5849 **	0.0813
Smuggling fee				
$0~$19,999	0.1253	0.1475	-0.0472	0.1682
$20,000~$39,999	-0.0086	0.1394	-0.3828 *	0.1775
$40,000~$59,999	-0.0032	0.0978	-0.1729	0.1233
$60,000+ (reference)	----	----	----	----

Smuggling fee × Years in the U.S. (Y)						
$0~$19,999 × Y	----		----	0.2570	**	0.0960
$20,000~$39,999 × Y	----		----	0.3205	**	0.0961
$40,000~$59,999 × Y	----		----	0.2507	**	0.0912
$60,000+ × Y (reference)	----		----	----		----
Job starting year						
Before 1993 (reference)	----		----	----		----
1993-1996	0.2609	*	0.1046	0.2149	*	0.1041
1997-2001	0.2330	*	0.1174	0.1746		0.1178
2002-2003	-0.4284	*	0.2104	-0.4171	*	0.2088
Number of jobs	1396			1396		
Number of job changes	1005			1005		
-2 Log Likelihood	9189.325			9174.545		

Note: † P < 0.10, * P < 0.05, ** P < 0.01

Table 7. Proportional Hazard Estimates of Job Change in General: Chinese Immigrants, Occupation Included in Predictors

	Model C		Model D	
Independent Variables	***B***	**Robust S.E.**	***B***	**Robust S.E.**
Male	-0.0101	0.1103	-0.0135	0.1111
Age	-0.0035	0.0049	-0.0042	0.0049
Ever married	-0.1632 †	0.0989	-0.1644 †	0.0990
Education				
No formal education (reference)	----	----	----	----
Elementary school or less	0.4335 *	0.1940	0.4109 *	0.1888
Junior middle school	0.5683 **	0.1953	0.5289 **	0.1912
Senior or vocational high school	0.4365 *	0.2039	0.4047 *	0.2012
College or above	0.3353	0.2767	0.2983	0.2820
Religious affiliation				
Christianity	0.2185	0.1409	0.1904	0.1390
Other religions	0.0206	0.0926	0.0388	0.0929
None (reference)	----	----	----	----
Number of years in the U.S.	-0.0610 **	0.0231	-0.3273 **	0.1005
Authorized to work in the U.S.	0.1971 *	0.0929	0.2208 *	0.0928
No. of other family members in the U.S.	-0.1703 **	0.0325	-0.1760 **	0.0322
Occupation				
Self-employed	-0.8069 **	0.1915	-0.8284 **	0.1919
White collar worker	-0.5221	0.3509	-0.5144	0.3486
Garment worker	-0.5813 **	0.1365	-0.5972 **	0.1380
Construction worker	-0.5557 **	0.1670	-0.5218 **	0.1606
Other manual worker	-0.6003 **	0.1986	-0.5965 **	0.1969
Unspecified menial job	0.0447	0.0880	0.0279	0.0885
Restaurant worker (reference)	----	----	----	----
Monthly Income	-0.0003 **	0.0001	-0.0003 **	0.0001
Job location				
New York City (reference)	----	----	----	----

NY-NJ-CT	0.1752 †	0.0956	0.1714 †	0.0967
Other states	0.4374 **	0.0816	0.4396 **	0.0819
Smuggling fee				
$0~$19,999	0.1884	0.1496	0.0306	0.1667
$20,000~$39,999	-0.0429	0.1393	-0.4256 *	0.1751
$40,000~$59,999	0.0393	0.0972	-0.1382	0.1210
$60,000+ (reference)	----	----	----	----
Smuggling fee × Years in the U.S. (Y)				
$0~$19,999 × Y			0.2512 *	0.0989
$20,000~$39,999 × Y			0.3220 **	0.0984
$40,000~$59,999 × Y			0.2535 **	0.0943
$60,000+ × Y (reference)			----	----
Job starting year				
Before 1993 (reference)	----	----	----	----
1993-1996	0.2386 *	0.1070	0.1890 †	0.1064
1997-2001	0.2010 †	0.1169	0.1338	0.1171
2002-2003	-0.4718 *	0.2100	-0.4788 *	0.2083
Number of jobs	1396		1396	
Number of job changes	1005		1005	
-2 Log Likelihood	9147.194		9132.823	

Note: † $P < 0.10$, * $P < 0.05$, ** $P < 0.01$

Table 8. Proportional Hazard Estimates of Job Transition into Nongateway Areas: Chinese Immigrants, with and without Occupation in the Predictors

	Model A		Model B	
Independent Variables	***B***	**Robust S.E.**	***B***	**Robust S.E.**
Male	0.4480 **	0.1651	0.1104	0.1482
Age	-0.0192 *	0.0075	-0.0159 *	0.0076
Ever married	-0.0972	0.1285	-0.0599	0.1316
Education				
No formal education (reference)	----	----	----	----
Elementary school or less	0.0004	0.2389	0.0726	0.2248
Junior middle school	0.2358	0.2372	0.3052	0.2194
Senior or vocational high school	0.1895	0.2491	0.2315	0.2316
College or above	-0.0838	0.4160	-0.1896	0.4650
Religious affiliation				
Christianity	0.2585	0.1864	0.2572	0.1996
Other religions	-0.0111	0.1299	-0.1122	0.1316
None (reference)	----	----	----	----
Number of years in the U.S.	-0.4446 **	0.1494	-0.4347 **	0.1573
Number of prior U.S. jobs	0.0713 †	0.0411	0.0682	0.0420
Authorized to work in the U.S.	0.1311	0.1388	0.2433 †	0.1401
No. of other family members in the U.S.	-0.2669 **	0.0540	-0.2271 **	0.0529
Occupation				
Self-employed			-0.4921	0.3314
White collar worker			-1.4892	0.9966
Garment worker			-1.2480 **	0.3084
Construction worker			-1.3408 *	0.6027
Other manual worker			-0.5645	0.3539
Unspecified menial job			0.1332	0.1237
Restaurant worker (reference)			----	----
Monthly Income	-0.0002 †	0.0001	-0.0003 †	0.0002

Job location				
New York City (reference)	----	----	----	----
NY-NJ-CT	1.1300 **	0.1566	0.8459 **	0.1524
Other states	1.2991 **	0.1552	1.0438 **	0.1523
Smuggling fee				
$0~$19,999	-0.4515	0.2896	-0.3520	0.2980
$20,000~$39,999	-0.0151	0.2245	-0.0431	0.2273
$40,000~$59,999	-0.0849	0.1630	-0.0702	0.1612
$60,000+ (reference)	----	----	----	----
Smuggling fee × Years in the U.S. (Y)				
$0~$19,999 × Y	0.3938 **	0.1527	0.3663 *	0.1624
$20,000~$39,999 × Y	0.3450 *	0.1484	0.3293 *	0.1559
$40,000~$59,999 × Y	0.2857 *	0.1431	0.2915 †	0.1503
$60,000+ × Y (reference)	----		----	----
Job starting year				
Before 1993 (reference)	----	----	----	----
1993-1996	0.4841 **	0.1854	0.4713 *	0.1921
1997-2001	0.6738 **	0.2009	0.6561 **	0.2074
2002-2003	-0.0241	0.3335	-0.0321	0.3350
Number of jobs	1396		1396	
Number of jobs experiencing a transitions into nongateway areas	470		470	
-2 Log Likelihood	5757.550		5715.276	

Note: † P < 0.10, * P < 0.05, ** P < 0.01