Educational Consequences of Emigration for Children in China

Hideki Morooka
Department of Sociology
State University of New York at Albany
1400 Washington Ave.
Albany, NY 12222
e-mail: hm5390@albany.edu

ABSTRACT

Fujian is considered one of the largest emigrant-sending provinces in China. Socio- demographic profiles of emigrants from Fujian consist mainly of young males, from rural areas, with low educational attainment. Over 60 percent of the emigrants from the Fujian Province are married and a majority of these married emigrants left their family members in their place of origin. This study examines the educational consequences of this emigration for the children of the emigrants who are left behind. Specifically, I compare the school enrollment for children from emigrant households with the school enrollment for children of non-emigrant households. The results show that emigration affects the education of children in a positive way. First, children from emigrant households are more likely to be enrolled in schools than children from non-emigrant households. Second, there is a significant differential in school enrollment between urban and rural residents. Third, emigration also has a positive consequence in terms of gender. Although the gender differential is still observed, the difference in school enrollment status between boys and girls from emigrant households has been approaching convergence, unlike the girls from non-emigrant households.

Introduction

Fujian province has a population of nearly 35 million and is located in the southeastern part of the country along the coastline of the East China Sea across from Taiwan. The province has been considered one of the largest emigrant-sending provinces in China. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of emigrants who have left Fujian in the last twenty years. While the total number of people who emigrated from China to a variety of international destinations was 236,800 in 1995, Fujian province produced the largest number of 66,200 emigrants. Emigrants originating from Fujian province represented approximately 28 percent, the largest proportion by far among all the thirty provinces and municipalities in China. The figures are believed to include fairly large numbers of illicit, undocumented emigrants (Liang, 2001a; Liang and Ye, 2001). One of the distinctive features of Fujian emigration is a professional, illegal transnational organization called "snakeheads" that has developed a network that engages in secret maneuvers and imposes smuggling fees that start as high as $47,000 in U.S. currency (Holmes, 1998; Liang and Ye, 2001). The significant proportion of risk-taking Fujianese emigrants eventually arrive in North America and Europe, particularly Chinatown in New York City, via various relay points and obtain jobs at Chinese restaurants or become laborers in the garment industry.

One could easily wonder what motivates potential emigrants to undertake emigration with all the many risks and hardships it entails. As I describe the current situation of the migration process in China, a possible answer may emerge. Ever since the establishment in 1958 of the household registration system called *hukou*, the settlement and occupational opportunities for individuals has been controlled. As a result, the strict enforcement of *hukou* has been a major drawback in internal migration from rural areas to urban areas throughout the country (Chan and Zhang, 1999). Living in a city without local *hukou* influences migrants in all aspects of their lives to an extent that is hard to imagine. If they do not have local *hukou*, migrants are put at a disadvantage in job allocation, and worst of all, suffer from a lack of basic social services, such as affordable housing and education for their children. With only local temporary registration cards available, a family would find permanently residing in a city, marriage, home ownership and access to public education for children difficult to achieve. The research shows that migrants are segregated from urban society and their children cannot be enrolled in public schools without local *hukou*, unless parents are willing to pay the high endorsement fees (Liang, 2001b; Roberts, 2002; Feng, Zuo, and Ruan, 2002). Attaining higher levels of education and employment are two of the essential factors that propel upward mobility in a society but, without local *hukou*, the children of migrants do not even have the opportunity to receive decent public education and job prospects are not bright. Under such existing conditions, migration from rural areas to urban

centers is disadvantageous. The problems inherent in internal migration, therefore, increase the urge for people to want to emigrate. In the case of emigration from Fujian, there is an added factor. Liang and Ye (2001) contend that one of the strongest motives compelling the Fujianese to leave for destinations abroad is their own poverty coupled with the amount of foreign money they witness being brought back by previous emigrants. The hope that they, too, could realize, as others have, the dream of great financial success by going abroad, fuels their desire to emigrate.

My primary interest and the main focus of this study lies in examining the educational consequences of the emigration on children in the Fujian province who are left behind while a parent lives abroad. Specifically, I will compare the school enrollment status in compulsory education for children from households of emigrants to the school enrollment status of children from non-emigrant households. There are studies that examine the educational turnout of children who emigrated with their families. However, only a limited number of studies explore the educational consequences of emigration for the children who are left behind, which makes this study rather unique.

Background

I speculate that the children of emigrants intentionally leave school and language

training in order to transfer and adjust into schools abroad more smoothly. I develop the hypotheses that reflect the positive and negative impacts for children from household with emigrants. Although emigrants leave their spouses and children in their hometowns or with relatives, remittances from emigrants abroad enables their families to avoid poverty, enriches the household's financial resources, and establishes upward mobility with regard to their socioeconomic status in a local community (Liang and Ye, 2001). Kandel and Kao (2000) assert that the remittances from emigrants enlarge the positive educational outcomes, particularly for lower age children. Curran et al. (2003) substantiate that remittances from migrants greatly contribute to raising the educational opportunities for girls to a level closer to that of boys. Benefits of higher income would consequently result in releasing children especially in rural areas from obligatory labor by hiring temporary migrant farmers and providing ample educational opportunities as well as better health and nutrition for their children (Kandel and Kao, 2001). In fact, the higher remittances contribute to improving the well-being of children in their communities of origin where very high levels of emigration occur (Kanaiaupuni and Donato, 1999). Furthermore, one of the benefits of their parents' absence seems to be in the way that absence can, and often does, promote the independence of children. It has also been suggested that children from households with a history of emigration are more likely to emigrate by following their network.

On the other hand, there are also indications that migration has had a negative impact on the education of children. There are disadvantages in earning higher income. People in their communities of origin rely heavily on remittances from emigrants rather than actively establish investment and development. Households with emigrants could spend the remittances on capital goods as well as housing and consumer goods instead of investing in the education of the children (Croll and Ping, 1997; Durand, Parrado, and Massey, 1996; Massey, 1988; Taylor et al., 1996). Especially living in a rural community, households with strong remittances put themselves at a greater risk of possible envy and harm from their neighbors.

The absence of parents could generate more harm than benefit because parents residing abroad are less able to give sufficient attention to their children or adequate control over them. Children, for example, could be more likely to feel emotional distance and could be teased by other children at school and/or in their neighborhoods. As feelings of loneliness and the stress level of children experiencing neglect increases, emotional and behavioral problems could develop, especially among adolescents. Health concerns also rise. According to Dawson (1991), children from single parent households are physically more vulnerable. Accidental injury and asthma are top sources of anxiety for the children of divorced parents and single mothers, respectively.

The negative effects can be especially seen in a case in which children changed schools

and received less parental involvement (Astone and McLanahan, 1991; Hagen et al. 1998). Not only do children in single parent households, or households in which there is a stepparent, or in which grandparents or other family members have assumed parental roles and responsibilities, show relatively lower educational performance and aspiration, these children also have a propensity to cause problems at school (Coleman, 1988; Astone and McLanahan, 1991; Dawson, 1991; Jonsson and Gahler, 1997; Thomson, Hanson, and McLanahan, 1994). The impact of the absence of parents is severe, particularly for preschool children and for more for boys than for girls (Krein and Beller, 1988). Consequently, when compared to children from households in which both parents are present, children from single parent households face a higher risk of possible withdrawal from school, but that risk is even greater for children living with stepfamilies (Astone and McLanahan, 1994). As children plan to move out of China to reunite with their parents abroad, it could discourage these future immigrants from pursuing their education because the society to which they are emigrating tends to underrate the value of education in foreign countries (Kandel and Kao, 2001); then, children would try to focus on English language training. As a result, the legal guardians of the children of emigrants would neglect the children's educational needs, often inevitably causing a delay or termination of their education.

The Case of Fujian Province

The increase of emigration from Fujian began almost immediately following China's recent transition to a more market type economy which resulted in a dramatic increase in the amount of foreign capital investments in China. As the emigration has become a less and less selective process among the Fujianese, the changes in socio-demographic characteristics have been experienced. As a result, a change in patterns in the place of origin among the emigrant population from city to countryside occurred in the early 1990s. Evidently, not only educational attainment of emigrants but also the overall socio-economic status of emigrants from the Fujian province has become significantly lower than that of emigrants from other popular emigrant-sending areas in China, such as Beijing and Shanghai. Socio-demographic profiles of Fujianese emigrants in 1995 consist mainly of young males from rural areas, with over 60 percent married and the majority leaving their family members in their place of origin (Liang, 2001a).

In addition to a rapid increase in the number of emigrants from Fujian in the last twenty years and its status as being the number one emigrant-sending province in China, the uniqueness of Fujianese emigrant profiles, when compared to other popular emigrant-sending areas, lies in the fact that such a large number of married emigrants going abroad means that a very large

number of children are left behind. Also, an increased number of new, rather nice, homes have recently been built in Fujian from the remittances sent back by emigrants. This led me to examine the association between household wealth and children's educational opportunities and advancement. The unique emigration and community level trends taking place in Fujian make it an ideal place to conduct this type of study.

Data and Methods

Data for this study were drawn from the Fujian portion of the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Surveys (China Population Sample Survey Office, 1997). The dataset contain a variety of socio-demographic information in household registration and is believed to have included the number of illegal emigrants in addition to legal ones (Liang and Ye, 2001). I first detect an individual whose local registration is suspended in a household registration status, reflecting the fact that at least one family member in the household was residing abroad at the time the survey was taken. Then, I can successfully identify households which have produced emigrants at any time. In measuring the influence of school enrollment status for children, I am interested in the enrollment status among students in the first through the ninth grades at elementary and junior high school levels which are considered within compulsory education by

China's Compulsory Education Law (PRC, 1998). Thus, I identify and select the children

between 6 and 15 years old. In the relationship with the head of household variable, I include any

individuals in the specific age restriction that indicate child, child-in-law, grandchild, and others,

to define children of emigrants in the broadest possible sense because I attempt to accommodate

children staying with their grandparents, uncles, aunts, or other family members. I separate the

children into two groups, whether or not the household has a history of sending off any emigrants

and then dichotomously categorize each group by children's enrollment status, enrolled or not

enrolled in school. I exclude children who are registered as household heads and children from

institutional households from this study so as to extract only those from ordinary households.

As my dependent variable is in dichotomy, enrolled or not enrolled, the multivariate

logistic regression analysis was performed to estimate the likelihood of the effect of various

socio-demographic factors on the school enrollment status of children within compulsory

education in the Fujian province. The explanatory factors incorporated for my models are gender,

age, the head of household's divorce status, the existence of any emigrants in a household, as

well as the relationship of the emigrants of the household to the children, the educational

attainment level of household head, and a place of residence. I treated age as a continuous

variable. Because of the explicit male dominance in the demographic profiles of Fujianese

emigrants, it is presumably meaningful to categorize the household relationship of emigrants

with children into the three groups: (1) father and/or mother emigrants; (2) any relatives in a household other than the emigrant parents of the children; and (3) all others, i.e. households in which no emigrants are present. It is noteworthy to denote that a male emigrant is often recorded as a spouse and wife of the emigrant as a household head in a household registration. The educational attainment levels of the head of household are grouped into four categories: (1) those who received no formal education; (2) those with elementary school education; (3) those with junior high school education; and (4) those with high school or college education. It should be noted that I separate high school and college educated groups for the descriptive tables. A place of residence consists of three locations: city, town, and rural. The overall model is shown as Model 2 in Table 3.

As my interest now extends to determining the effect of household wealth on school enrollment and the educational opportunities available to children, I add (see Model 3) to the overall model the factors that represent the household wealth, i.e., the size of the living space, the number of rooms in a house, and the number of children within compulsory education in a household, to the overall logistic regression model so as to recognize an existence of any differences when I control for household wealth. Though public education is accessible at no cost for children whose parents possess local *hukou*, I hypothesize that the cost of stationery and material fees, such as school uniform and transportation, can be a severe financial strain for low

income households. The affordability of such items must greatly influence the enrollment of children in school and a lack of capital, in part, results in the delayed entrance or termination from school of children from low income households. I selected the first two factors because I have determined that such housing characteristics proportionally reflect the wealth of a household and can, therefore, be considered as reasonable indicators of household wealth for convenience. I selected the third factor on the hypothesis that in families where there are siblings, whether or not one or more siblings is enrolled in school, is determined by the extent of a family's wealth. These characteristics are transformed into the natural logarithms of the raw count upon inclusion in the logistic regression model. When I consider the housing characteristics, I exclude any observations that indicated an area and number of rooms in a house as zero.

Findings

Out of the 40,777 children considered for this study, 34,678 children are enrolled in schools, and 6,099 children are not enrolled. Counts for the children of emigrants and of non-emigrants extracted from the sample are 270 and 40,507, respectively. Among them, 270 children, consisting of 91 percent, of household with emigrants are indicated to be enrolled in

school compared to the 85 percent enrollment recorded for children of households with no emigrants present. Children of emigrants have a higher percentage of school enrollment.

The socio-demographic profiles of children from households with and without emigrants are denoted in Table 1. Table 1 shows the distributions within a category of each variable by school enrollment status and the existence of emigrants in a household. A large proportion of adults achieve between an elementary and junior high school level education. A majority consists of rural residents. The age groups of children not enrolled in school are bipolarized into younger and older groups for both emigrant and non-emigrant children. This could indicate an age delay in school enrollment among lower aged children. Surprisingly, households with one or two children share, when combined, more than 60 percent of the non-enrolled population for both emigrant and non-emigrant households.

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

The two descriptive tables are paired. Table 1 mainly shows vertical (column) distributions by enrollment status and the existence of emigrants in households. For example, there are 270 children of emigrants. 246 children of emigrants are enrolled in school, 52 percent boys and 48 percent girls. Then there are 24 children not enrolled, approximately 54 percent

boys and 46 percent girls. Table 1 does not display what proportion of male children of

emigrants is actually enrolled among all the male children of emigrants. While Table1 only

shows the distribution of boys/girls of emigrants within enrolled and not enrolled groups, for

example, Table 2 emphasizes the proportions within each variable category and enables us to

make a comparison between boys and girls of children of emigrants, as well as between girls of

emigrants and non-emigrants. Of 270 children of emigrants, there are counts of 141 boys and

129 girls. 90.8 percent of the boys and 91.5 percent of the girls are enrolled. Comparing the

percentages in the table, higher school enrollment rates are observed among children of

emigrants than among those of non-emigrants in every single category, including gender, age,

background of head of household, geographic place of living, and wealth indicators.

(TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

Though the results are not shown in tables, based on the distribution of household

relationship between the children and emigrants by school enrollment status, I observe that there

are six children (three households) with both parents living abroad, and all of them are recorded

as being enrolled in school. As I look into the household relationship for children from

households with emigrants, among 270 children who are enrolled in school, about 70 percent of

the households have one or more parents residing overseas. Additionally, approximately 64 percent live apart from their fathers who have emigrated. The non-enrollment rate is slightly higher for children whose non-parent member lives abroad but not as high for children of non-emigrants.

In Table 3, there are three logistic regression models shown. Model 1 is the simplest model and incorporated to calculate the probabilities of school enrollment based on only gender and the household relationship between children and emigrants. Model 2 includes the various basic socio-demographic variables with a place of residence. Then in Model 3, I added the three wealth indicator variables, such as number of children in household ages between 6 and 15 years old, housing area in square meters, and number of rooms in house to Model 2.

Based on the outcomes from the logistic regression models in Table 3, I found a negative association with school enrollment among girls and children who have divorced parents, and a positive association in all of the other explanatory variables, such as age of a child, household's emigrant status, household head's educational attainment, place of residence, number of children in household ages 6 to 15, housing area, and the number of rooms in house.

The distributions of a housing area in square-meters for a place of living among the Fujianese children, as well as of the number of rooms in a house are also not shown. The tendency of a higher likelihood of school enrollment is generally seen as the area of living space

increases. Likewise, the similar trend is implied as I consider the number of rooms in a house.

The more rooms in a house, the more likely children are to be enrolled in school. As increasing

number of children in households has the positive association with school enrollment, it can be

inferred that the existence of a keen competition of school enrollment among siblings is

somewhat doubtful. Focusing on the school enrollment status for the children of emigrants

predicted based on Model 3 in Table 3, the results confirm my hypothesis that household wealth

significantly accounts for school enrollment for the children of emigrants, although I could not

obtain the reasonable statistical significance in the area of a house.

(TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

I determine the probability of school enrollment of children in Fujian province under

certain conditions in Figure 1. I focus my predictions on Model 3 in Table 3. The comparisons

between gender, as well as city and rural areas have been explored. For predictors other than

gender and a place of residence, I assume that an individual possesses a socio-demographic

background of a typical Fujian province resident. I substitute the mean values for the continuous

variables such as age, number of children in a household, living space, and number of rooms in a

house and the mode for such nominal variables as educational attainment and the divorce status

of the head of household for Model 3.

(FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

The results suggest that the children of emigrants are much better off than their

counterparts. The children in the city consistently show a better chance of school enrollment

when compared to their counterparts in rural areas. The difference in predicted scores between

urban and rural children exists for both genders within emigrant and non-emigrant groups. The

scope of urban and rural difference is more significant for girls. The discrepancies between city

and rural areas seem remarkable. In terms of gender differential, boys generally boast a higher

likelihood of enrolling in school than girls. In fact, when I compare boys and girls in cities whose

parents live abroad, I find that boys enjoy a slightly higher probability of enrollment.

However, I would argue that the girls of emigrants seem to be as likely enrolled in

school as boys of emigrants but observe that the percentage of girls enrolled in school slightly

surpasses the that of boys; therefore, a gender inequality in educational opportunity has been

somewhat rectified. On the other hand, a severe gender differential exists among children of

non-emigrants in school enrollment. Girls living in rural areas suffer the most. My results are

consistent with studies conducted by researchers in the past which examined the educational

discrepancies between genders in China (Hannum and Xie, 1994; Lavely et al. 1990).

Moreover, children in rural areas are at a clear disadvantage in terms of school

enrollment when compared to children in urban areas. This difference in degree becomes even

more apparent as I prepare the predicted scores of school enrollment for children from

non-emigrant households in rural areas. The likelihood of rural girls from non-emigrant

households being enrolled in school is dramatically lower, in fact the lowest among all twelve

groups considered, than that of rural boys from similar household with the difference of 5.2

percent. Simultaneously, a rather astonishing disparity, 12.9 percent, emerges between city girls

whose parents emigrated and rural girls from non-emigrants households. Educational attainment

level of the head of non-emigrant households living in rural is lower than that of city residents

(Liang, 2001a). It has been argued that educational attainment of the male parent plays a major

role for girls and is considerably detrimental to the likelihood of their school enrollment; for

example, daughters of rural farmers with low educational attainment experience substantial

educational gender inequality (Bauer et al., 1992; Broaded and Liu, 1996; Curran et al., 2003;

Haveman, Wolfe, and Spaulding, 1991).

I am surprised to see the result that a larger number of children in a household

contributes considerably to increasing the likelihood of school enrollment for children. The

outcome was totally opposite of and beyond my hypothesis of the possible existence of competitions for school enrollment between children in school age. Finally, the enrollment rate for children from households whose parents have been divorced indicates that they were significantly less likely to be enrolled in school and these results support the arguments suggested in past research literature.

Conclusion and Discussion

I conclude that emigration substantially brings positive consequences for the education of children who are left behind in the place of origin. My results suggest that children from households with emigrants are more likely to be enrolled in school than children from non-emigrant households. Compared within children of emigrants, children who reside in urban areas are more likely to remain enrolled in schools than those in rural areas. It has been evident that household wealth reinforces the likelihood of educational well-being among all children, including those of emigrants. It is noteworthy that emigration of any household members brings strong positive consequences for girls, especially. Although the gender differential is still observed, the difference in school enrollment status between boys and girls from emigrant households has been approaching convergence, unlike the girls from non-emigrant households.

This propensity could be implied from financial stability resulting from the remittances received from emigrants living abroad, which could directly result in exempting the girls from obligatory labor. Children who belong to the youngest age group in rural areas are more likely not to be enrolled in schools. There is a significantly higher probability of school enrollment, as well as remaining in school, among children whose household members are emigrants and in which the head of household has achieved a high school or higher level of education. Among household members, emigration of parents facilitates the highest school enrollment rate. My findings reveal that children from households with emigrants are overall better off than children of non-emigrants. This is, in part, the result of the remittances sent by the emigrants to their families in the Fujian province. Boys whose parents have emigrated experience the most parity, while the situation experienced by non-emigrants' girls living in rural areas is exacerbated. Thus, this supports the argument that educational opportunities are significantly affected and maximized for children, especially for girls, whose household members have emigrated.

Once children arrive in the host country and reunite with their parents, what awaits them educationally? Knowing that children of emigrants, particularly those whose parents reside abroad, have the best school enrollment rate, I now discuss the predicted situation that children would face at schools in their new home countries in terms of their possible educational consequences. Generally, Asian immigrant children tend not to encounter a disparity in school

enrollment. Rather, school enrollment among Asian immigrant children is even higher than native-born American children (Hirschman, 2001). Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) argue that Asian immigrants are highly motivated, educationally and attain higher grades at school. Furthermore, the authors state that a Chinese immigrant status enhances advantages in school performance.

Closely maintaining social ties with their ethnic communities influences children of any race in a positive direction. Children who immerse themselves in traditional cultural and family norms of their parental heritage not only develop a strong ethnic identity but their educational performance is positive affected. Also, acquiring the parental native language substantially promotes the children's academic excellence and exemplary conduct (Rumbaut, 1994; Zhou and Bankston, 1994; Bankston and Zhou, 1995 Zhou, 1997). Supporting this argument is the evidence that bilingual children in New York City's Chinatown have a better chance of succeeding academically and retaining emotional well-being (Sung, 1987).

We surely cannot predict school performance of emigrant children based simply on an examination of their school enrollment status because their educational success depends upon other factors as well. For example, evidence from the observation of Chinese children in schools in New York City suggests that many of the children of emigrants intentionally drop out of school in China during early stages and concentrate on English language training before their

departure to their destination. However, the effectiveness of the English language training they receive is questionable. As a result of this, as well as having had an abbreviated period of education in their home country, some students arrive in the host country ill-prepared as they are deficient in many subject areas, including Chinese and English language skills. Some, in fact, are sublingual children. Fieldwork experience seems to suggest that to prevent children from having feelings of neglect and loneliness and to help overcome language and cultural barriers in their new homeland, emigrant children need more attention from their parents and school systems. Such attention would include sustained parental involvement, the reinforcement of traditional family values and supportive roles in their children's educational efforts.

Massey (1988 and 1990) argues that the migration structures already in place, such as networks, along with the strong demand for and availability of overseas job opportunities encourage migration and give the migration flow a momentum that would be difficult to reverse. The current brisk flow of emigration from Fujian province no doubt suggests the solid potential that an even greater number of emigrants will depart from that province, which supports the merit of further examining in more depth the educational consequences of emigration on school performance and aspiration.

In this study, I only examined students' enrollment status and it is virtually impossible for me to gain the detailed information regarding how well children learned in class. I presume

that I would have been able to substantiate my arguments and offered more dependable predictions if I could obtain and include such explicit educational achievement measures as grade point averages and class ranks. Moreover, a larger sample size of emigrant children would be desirable to generalize the patterns and characteristics among them. Observing the dramatic increase in the number of emigrants from Fujian persuades me to believe that more sufficient data will soon be available. Also, in China, it is common practice for relatives to care for the children of emigrants while their parents are abroad (Roberts, 2002). I have to admit, however, that it is difficult for me to extract this type of household from the dataset that was available for study. If there are children staying with relatives who have never sent emigrants abroad, I may have overlooked such children.

References

Astone, Nan Marie and Sara S. McLanahan. 1991. "Family Structure, Parental Practices and High School Completion." *American Sociological Review* 56:309-320.

Astone, Nan Marie and Sara S. McLanahan. 1994. "Family Structure, Residential Mobility, and School Dropout: A Research Note." *Demography* 31:575-584.

Bankston, Carl L. III and Min Zhou. 1995. "Effects of Minority-Language Literacy on the Academic Achievement of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans." *Sociology of Education* 68:1-17.

Bauer, John, Wang Feng, Nancy E. Riley, and Zhao Xiaohua. 1992. "Gender Inequality in Urban China: Education and Employment." *Modern China* 18:333-370.

Broaded, C. Montgomery and Chongshun Liu. 1996. "Family Background, Gender, and Educational Attainment in Urban China." *China Quarterly* 145:53-86.

Chan, Kam Wing, and Li Zhang. 1999. "The Hukou System and Rural-urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes." *The China Quarterly* 160:818-855.

China Population Sample Survey Office. 1997. *Tabulations of china 1995 1% Population Sample Survey.* Beijing: China Statistical Publishing House.

Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:S94-S120.

Croll, Elisabeth J. and Huang Ping. 1997. "Migration for and against Agriculture in Eight Chinese Villages." The China Quarterly 149:128-146.

Curran, Sara R., Chang Chung, Wendy Cadge, and Anchalee Varangrat. 2003. "Boys and Girls' Changing Educational Opportunities in Thailand: The Effects of Siblings, Migration, and Village Remoteness." Review of Sociology of Education 14(Dec).

Dawson, Deborah, A. 1991. "Family Structure and Children's Health and Well-Being: Data from the 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health." *Journal of Marriage and*

the Family 53:573-584.

Durand, Jorge, Emilio A. Parrado, and Douglas S. Massey. 1996. "Migradollars and Development: A Reconsideration of the Mexican Case." *International Migration Review* 30(2):423-444.

Feng, Wang, Xuejin Zuo, and Danching Ruan. 2002. "Rural Migrants in Shanghai: Living Under the Shadow of Socialism." *International Migration Review* 36(2):520-545.

Hannum, Emily and Yu Xie. 1994. "Trends in Educational Gender Inequality in China, 1949-1985." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 13:73-98.

Haveman, Robert, Barbara Wolfe, and James Spaulding. 1991. "Childhood Events and Circumstances Influencing High School Completion." *Demography* 28(1):133-158.

Hao, Lingxin and Melissa Bonstead-Bruns. 1998. "Parent-Child Differences in Educational Expectations and the Academic Achievement of Immigrants and Native Students." *Sociology of Education* 71(3):175-198.

Hirschman, Charles. 2001. "The Educational Enrollment of Immigrants Youth: A Test of the Segmented-Assimilation Hypothesis." *Demography* 38(3):317-336.

Holmes, Steven A. 1998. "Ring is Cracked in Smuggling of Illegal Chinese Immigrants: Route Ran Through Indian Land in New York." *The New York Times* December 11, Metro Section.

Jonsson, Jan O. and Michael Gahler. 1997. "Family Dissolution, Family Reconstitution, and Children's Educational Careers: Recent Evidence for Sweden." *Demography* 34(2):277-293.

Kanaiaupuni, Shawn Malia and Katharine M. Donato. 1999. "Migradollars and Mortality: The Effects of Migration on Infant Survival in Mexico." *Demography* 36(3):339-353.

Kandel, William and Grace Kao. 2000. "Shifting Orientations: How U.S. Labor Migration Affects Children's aspirations in Mexican Migrant Communities." *Social Science Quarterly* 81:16-33.

Kandel, William and Grace Kao. 2001. "The Impact of Temporary Labor Migration on Mexican Children's Educational Aspiration and Performance." *International Migration Review* 35:205-232.

Krein, Sheila Fitzgerald and Andrea H. Beller. 1988. "Educational Attainment of Children From Single-Parent Families: Differences by Exposure, Gender, and Race." Demography 25(2): 221-234.

Lavely, William, Xiao Zhenyu, Li Bohua, and Ronald Freedman. 1990. "The Rise in Female Education in China: National and Regional Patterns." *The China Quarterly* 121:61-93.

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

Liang, Zai. 2001b. "The Age of Migration in China." *Population and Development Review* 27:499-524.

Liang, Zai and Wenzhen Ye. 2001. "From Fujian to New York: Understanding the New Chinese Immigration." Pp. 187-215 in David Kyle and Rey Koslowski (eds.) *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1988. "International Migration and Economic Development in Comparative Perspective." *Population and Development Review* 14:383-414.

Massey, Douglas S. 1990. "The Social and Economic Origins of Immigration." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 510:60-72.

People's Republic of China (PRC). 1998. *The Law of Compulsory Education of the People's Republic of China.* Beijing: Law Press.

Rumbaut, Ruben C. 1994. "The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 28:748-793.

Roberts, Kenneth. 2002 "Female Labor Migrants to Shanghai: Temporary 'Floaters' or Potential

Settlers?" *International Migration Review* 36(2):492-519.

Sung, Betty Lee. 1987. *The Adjustment Experience of Chinese Immigrant Children in New York City.* Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies.

Taylor, J. Edward, Joaquin Arango, Grame Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Douglas S. Massey, and Adella Pellegrino. 1996. "International Migration and Community Development." Population Index 62:397-418.

Thomson, Elizabeth; Thomas Hanson, and Sara McLanahan. "Family Structure and Child Wellbeing: Economic Resources vs. Parental Behaviors." *Social Forces* 73(1): 221-243.

Zhou, Min, 1997. "Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23:63-95.

Zhou, Min and Carl L. Bankston, III. 1994. "Social Capital and the Adaptation of the Second Generation: The Case of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans East." *International Migration Review* 28(4):775-799.

Table 1. Socio-demographic Profiles of Children from Households with and without Emigrants in Fujian Province by School Enrollment Status, 1995 (Column Percentages)

Variables	Children of emigrants		Children of non-emigrants	
	Enrolled	Not enrolled		Not enrolled
	(%)	(%)	Enrolled (%)	(%)
Gender				
Boy	52.0	54.2	53.2	42.8
Girl	48.0	45.8	46.8	57.2
Age				
6 - 9	46.3	87.5	40.9	61.4
10 - 12	31.7	0.0	34.2	5.1
13 - 15	22.0	12.5	24.9	33.5
Divorce status of household head				
Divorced	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.1
Married	100.0	100.0	99.2	98.9
Educational attainment of household head				
No formal education	6.9	4.2	11.5	15.1
Elementary school	43.9	41.7	49.7	53.3
Junior high school	34.2	41.7	26.0	23.8
High school	13.8	12.5	11.9	7.1
Some college+	1.2	0.0	0.9	0.7
Place of origin				
City	10.6	8.3	11.0	6.5
Town	19.9	16.7	7.8	5.8
Rural	69.5	75.0	81.2	87.6
Number of children ages 6-15 in household				
1	23.6	41.7	23.7	34.1
2	38.6	20.8	42.5	34.6
3	27.2	20.8	23.4	20.4
4 or more	10.6	16.7	10.4	11.0
Number of observations	246	24	34,432	6,075

Source: The 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey

Table 2. Socio-demographic Profiles of Children from Households with and without Emigrants in Fujian Province by School Enrollment Status, 1995 (Row Percentages)

Variables	Children of emigrants		Children of non-emigrants	
	Enrolled (%)	Not enrolled (%)	Enrolled (%)	Not enrolled (%)
Total	91.1	8.9	85.0	15.0
Gender				
Boy	90.8	9.2	87.6	12.4
Girl	91.5	8.5	82.3	17.7
Age				
6 - 9	84.4	15.6	79.1	20.9
10 - 12	100.0	0.0	97.4	2.6
13 - 15	94.7	5.3	80.8	19.2
Divorce status of household head				
Divorced	-	-	80.7	19.3
Married	91.1	8.9	85.0	15.0
Educational attainment of household head				
No formal education	94.4	5.6	81.1	18.9
Elementary school	91.5	8.5	84.1	15.9
Junior high school	89.4	10.6	86.1	13.9
High school	91.9	8.1	90.4	9.6
Some college+	100.0	0.0	88.6	11.5
Place of origin				
City	92.9	7.1	90.5	9.5
Town	92.5	7.6	88.4	11.6
Rural	90.5	9.5	84.0	16.0
Number of children ages 6-15 in household				
1	85.3	14.7	79.8	20.3
2	95.0	5.0	87.5	12.5
3	93.1	6.9	86.7	13.3
4 or more	86.7	13.3	84.3	15.7
Number of observations	246	24	34,432	6,075

Source: The 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey

Table 3. Logistic Regression of School Enrollment for Children in Fujian Province, 1995

Variables	Model 1 b		Model 1 SE	Model 2 b		Model 2 SE	Model 3 b		Model 3 SE
Gender -- a	-0.42	***	0.03	-0.42	***	0.03	-0.39	***	0.03
Age				0.16	***	0.01	0.17	***	0.01
Household head divorce status --b				-0.28	*	0.14	-0.05		0.17
Household relationship of emigrant -- c									
Parent	0.70	**	0.27	0.64	*	0.27	0.63	*	0.27
Other family member	0.39		0.35	0.46		0.36	0.42		0.36
Household head educational attainment -- d									
Elementary school				0.20	***	0.04	0.18	***	0.05
Junior high school				0.41	***	0.05	0.38	***	0.05
High school+				0.77	***	0.06	0.75	***	0.07
Place of origin -- e									
City				0.49	***	0.06	0.68	***	0.06
Town				0.32	***	0.06	0.41	***	0.06
Number of children ages 6-15 in household -- f							0.44	***	0.04
Housing area -- f							0.04		0.03
Number of rooms in house -- f							0.15	***	0.04
Constant	1.95	***	0.02	0.05		0.06	-0.68	***	0.14
(N = 40,777)									

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

a: Boy serves as the reference category.

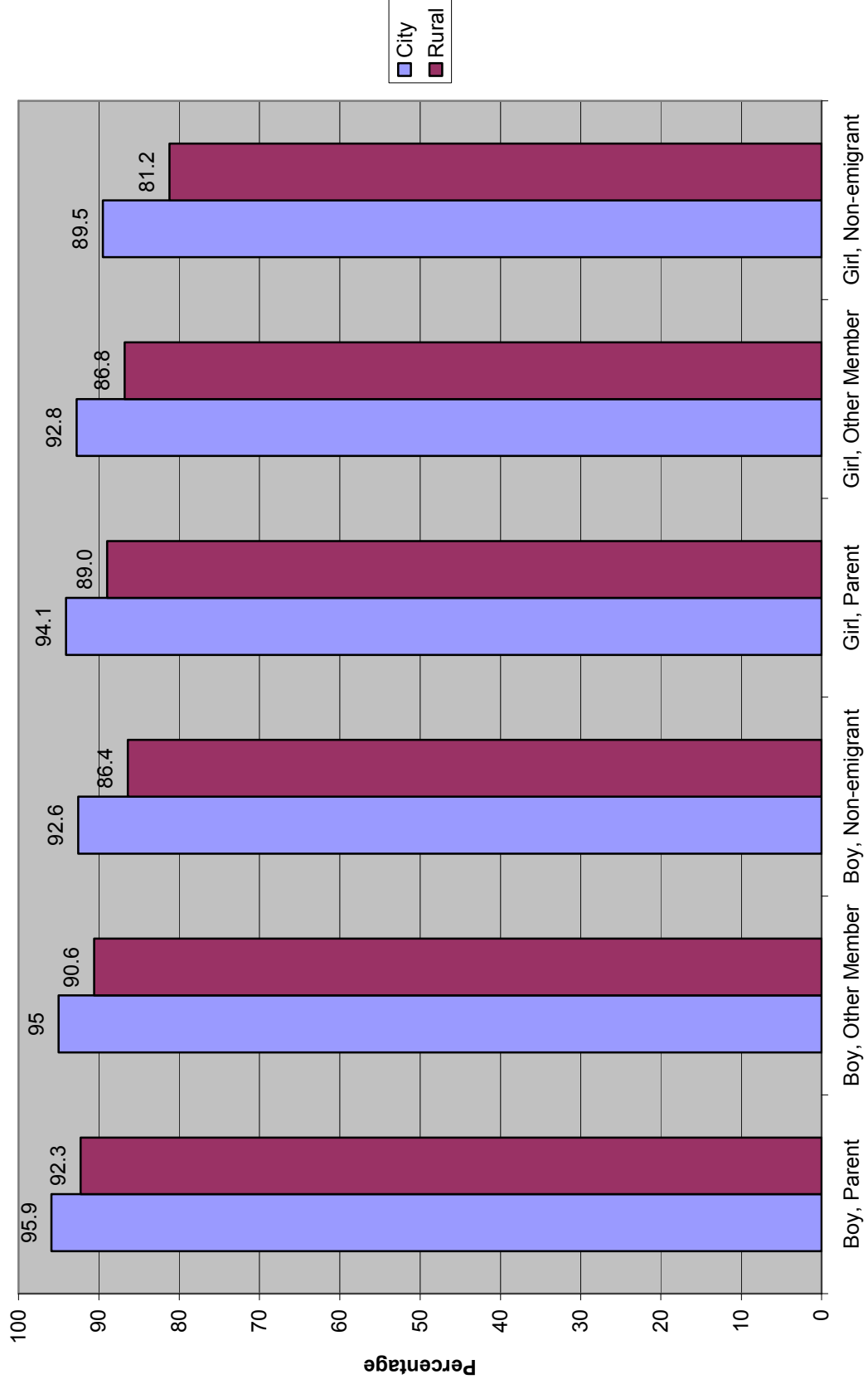b: Married serves as the reference category.

c: No emigrant in household serves as the reference category.

d: No formal education serves as the reference category.

e: Rural serves as the reference category.

f: Figures are logged.

Figure 1. Predicted Percentages of School Enrollment by Gender and HH Relationship between Children and Emigrants in Fujian Province

Appendix 1. Descriptive Statistics for Analysis Variables for Children from Households with and without Emigrants in Fujian Province, 1995

Variable	Measure	Children of emigrants		Children of non-emigrants	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gender	1 = Girl	0.48	0.50	0.48	0.50
Age	Mean age in years	9.79	2.76	10.18	2.81
HH head divorce status	1 = Divorced	-	-	0.01	0.09
Parent	1 = Parent of a child is emigrant	0.70	0.46	0.00	0.00
Other family member	1 = Other family member in household is emigrant	0.30	0.46	0.00	0.00
No emigrant	1 = Household without emigrants	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
No formal education	1 = HH head with no formal education	0.07	0.25	0.12	0.32
Elementary school	1 = HH head with elementary school education	0.44	0.50	0.50	0.50
Junior high school	1 = HH head with junior high school education	0.35	0.48	0.26	0.44
High school+	1 = HH head with high school or college education	0.15	0.36	0.12	0.33
City	1 = Residence located in city	0.10	0.31	0.10	0.30
Town	1 = Residence located in town	0.20	4.00	0.08	0.26
Rural	1 = Residence located in rural	0.70	0.46	0.82	0.38
Number of children in HH	Natural log of number of children ages 6-15 in household	0.73	0.53	0.69	0.48
Housing area	Natural log of area of house in square meters	4.55	0.67	4.40	0.72
Number of rooms	Natural log of number of rooms in house	1.10	0.65	0.98	0.64

Source: The 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey

Appendix 2. Map of China with Fujian Province