

## **Chinese Immigrants in Vancouver: Quo Vadis?**

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## **Introduction**

The 2001 Census of Canada reveals that Canada's population is becoming increasingly ethno culturally diverse. The census reports that as of May 15, 2001, 18.4% of the total population was born outside the country, and that 13.4% identified themselves as visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2003). According to the 2001 census, the Chinese have become the largest visible minority group in Canada, approaching a total of 1,029,400 up from 860,100 in 1996. At the provincial level, Chinese residents comprised the largest proportion of the visible minority populations in British Columbia (44%), Alberta (30%), and Saskatchewan (29%). While many Chinese permanently settle in Canada, an increasing number return "home," be it Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Mainland China. The question is "Why?" Who returns and who stays? What are the push and pull forces that act on these Chinese immigrants to attract them back? Should Canadians be concerned or is this phenomenon simply the working of an open immigration policy? This paper attempts to address these questions in the Vancouver context.

This survey based study is part of a large scale research project entitled "The Chinese Leaver-Stayer Project," which examines the underlying forces that influence the "move-stay" decision for Chinese immigrants after their arrival in Canada. The study is comprised of two stages. Stage One seeks to understand the settlement and adaptation experience of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Their responses will be compared with those of Chinese immigrants who returned "home" in Stage Two. The Canadian portion of the project surveyed immigrants in

three cities: Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton using two distinct mythologies. First, we employed an online survey investigation complemented with in person questionnaires<sup>1</sup> This paper reports the findings from the Vancouver portion of the study. It is organized into four parts. The first part provides contextual information and then outlines an immigrant circulation model. The second section introduces our research methodology. Third, we report the findings of the study. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the results and their policy implications.

### **Canadian Immigration Policy**

Immigration has always played a central role in the history of Canada's nation building. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century immigration was used as a strategy to populate and develop Western Canada. It has also served the economic and demographic interests of Canada. In addition, immigration has functioned as a means of social control. In deciding who are the most desirable and admissible, the state sets the parameters for the social, cultural and symbolic boundaries of the nation, as manifested in historically racist Canadian immigration policies. From Confederation to the 1960s, the selection of immigrants was based on their racial background. The British and Western Europeans were the most "desirable" citizens, an Asians were deemed "unassimilable" and, therefore, "undesirable."

The history of Chinese immigrants mirrored Canada's immigration past. The first group of Chinese immigrants arrived on Canada's west coast in 1858 in search of gold. They came predominantly from the southern Chinese coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. They came as coolie workers and chain migrants. Chinese immigrants were used extensively during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) (Li, 1998; Tan & Roy, 1985). With the

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<sup>1</sup> The web based instrument can be found at [www.riim.metropolis.net/surveys/Chinesereturnees/](http://www.riim.metropolis.net/surveys/Chinesereturnees/)

completion of the CPR, the Chinese were no longer welcome. In 1885, the government of Canada imposed a \$50 head tax on all incoming Chinese to control their entry. The head tax was increased to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903. When it was found that the tax was not effective in keeping the Chinese out of Canada, the Canadian federal government passed the restrictive Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which virtually prohibited all Chinese immigration into Canada until its repeal in 1947. Besides the head tax and the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, the Chinese also faced political discrimination. Since they were not allowed to vote, they were prohibited from entering certain professions such as law, medicine, or accounting (Li, 1998; Tan & Roy, 1985).

In the mid-1960s, Canada was still experiencing a great "postwar boom" (Whitaker, 1991, p.18). Skilled labour was required to help Canada build its expanding economy, but Europe as the traditional source of immigrants was unable to meet Canada's manpower needs. Thus, the Canadian government turned its immigrant recruitment efforts to the traditionally restricted areas - Asia. In 1967 a "point system" was introduced by the then Liberal government, which based the selection of immigrants on their "education, skills and resources" rather than on their racial and religious backgrounds (Ibid., p.19). Whitaker affirms that this new system represented "an historic watershed," and "it did establish at the level of formal principle that Canadian immigration policy is 'colour blind'" (Ibid. 19). He further added that the "point system" was successful in reversing the pattern of immigration to Canada from Europe to Asia. By the mid-1970s there were more immigrants arriving from the Third World than from the developed world, the largest number coming from Asia, followed by the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa (Ibid., p.19). Among the Asian group, many were from China. As Li (1998) points out, Canada admitted 30,546 Chinese immigrants between 1956 and 1967, increasing to

90,118 between 1968 and 1976 with the introduction of the point system. Many of these Chinese immigrants who arrived after 1967 were urban and well-educated. They came predominantly from Hong Kong.

## **Chinese Emigration**

To understand the experience of Chinese immigrants, it is important to first and foremost examine the social and political contexts within which Chinese immigrants came from.

According to Li (1998), the majority of the Chinese immigrants originated from three areas: Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China - the focus of this review.

Hong Kong was the primary source of Chinese emigration to Canada after the Second World War (Li, 1998). According to Wong (1992), there have been three major waves of emigration from Hong Kong since the end of the Second World War. The first occurred between 1958 and 1961, owing to dramatic changes in Hong Kong's agriculture. The second wave was triggered by a political crisis, the 1967 riot. It was a spill-over of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China. It began with a demonstration led by local communists, but ended with violence and terrorism. Threatened by bombs and political instability, thousands left Hong Kong for the United States and Canada. Many of them were members of the Hong Kong elite. The third wave of emigration, described by Wong, began in the 1980s. According to the 1984 Sino-British Agreement on the future of Hong Kong, the colony would become a special administrative region under the rule of China. Many of the residents who were worried about their future began to leave Hong Kong. A large number of them found homes in Canada. Wong described this latest group of emigrants as "predominantly 'yuppies' - young, educated, middle class professionals" (Ibid. p.4).

China had been isolated from the rest of the world since the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949. Until the 1980s direct emigration from China to Canada was relatively small (Li, 1998). The pro-democracy student movement in 1989 became a catalyst as well as a hindrance for the emigration of Chinese people. On the one hand, the event prompted the Canadian government to issue permanent resident status to many Chinese students and scholars who were studying in Canada at that time. On the other hand, the Chinese government tightened the rules to further restrict people's mobility. However, this restriction did not last long. The 1990s witnessed substantial emigration from China to Canada. China's "open door" policy and economic development resulted in an economic boom in China and a new middle income class. Combined with the relaxed passport restrictions by the Chinese government, China entered the "emigration phase" (Wallis, 1998). Furthermore, Canada opened its immigration office in Beijing, which processed immigration applications directly from China. Given these developments, the PRC émigrés outnumbered Hong Kong's and Taiwan's émigrés in 1998, as the PRC became the top source region for immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999).

Taiwan is a unique case. The influx of emigrants from Taiwan has always been closely related to the island's political instability, particularly with regard to Taiwan's relationship with mainland China (Tseng, 2001). Tseng argues that two events in the 1970s influenced Taiwanese people to turn to emigration as a solution to their uncertain future. One early event was the withdrawal of the Republic of China from the United Nations and the concomitant acceptance of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the sole legitimate government in China. The other was the normalization of the relationship between the PRC and the United States in 1978, which worried many Taiwanese. They were concerned that Taiwan might eventually be reclaimed by

Communist China. In addition to this concern over political instability, emigration from Taiwan may also be understood “as a middle-class response to the problems resulting from the burgeoning export-oriented economy” (Tseng, 2001, p.34). In short, some Taiwanese were discontented with the quality of life on the island as a result of rapid industrialization. According to Kotkin (1993, cited in Tseng, 2001), an estimated 50,000 Taiwanese emigrated between 1985 and 1991, with the United States, Australia, and Canada being the most popular destinations.

### **A Triangular Model of Immigrant Circulation**

A recent theoretical perspective underpins this study: namely the triangular immigration model. DeVoretz, Ma, and Zhang (2002) earlier adopted a triangular model to explain the movement of Chinese immigrants between Hong Kong, Canada, and the rest of the world (ROW). This model predicts a complex movement pattern of immigrants from sending countries (including Hong Kong) to entrepôt countries (Canada and Australia), and then on to the rest of the world (USA). The authors argue that immigrants initially choose an entrepôt country like Canada because it supplies subsidized human capital (language training, education) and other public goods (passport, citizenship). Canada’s unique immigration and integration policies and its strategic geographical location make it a popular entrepôt destination. However, the authors continue to argue that, after the initial move to the entrepôt country, these immigrants face three choices: (i) staying permanently in the new entrepôt country (Canada), (ii) returning to the origin country (Hong Kong or PRC), or (iii) moving on to a third country (ROW). The 2001 Hong Kong census (cited in DeVoretz, Ma, & Zhang, 2002) reveals that among the 85,793 Chinese who returned to Hong Kong between 1996 and 2001, 40% were from Canada. This triangular

model further predicts that immigrants will stay in the entrepot destination (Canada) or move on depending on relative economic conditions between the entrepot country and other possible destinations given their citizenship status. We will use the theoretical arguments of this model to frame our later survey questions and to analyze our findings.

## **Research Methodology**

### **A Questionnaire Approach**

This research adopts a questionnaire approach. Earlier work by DeVoretz, Ma and Zhang (2002) on this topic clearly stated the limitations of an econometric analysis based solely on census data. Thus, the *raison d'être* for a web based questionnaire approach derives from its capability to explore in depth the motivations of immigrants for staying or moving and to maximize the number of responses in a reasonably short time. There are four parts to the questionnaire: i) basic demographic information, ii) a description of the immigrants motivations for moving to Canada, iii) the Canadian experience of Chinese immigrants, and iv) concluding remarks.

Part one seeks to understand the participants in terms of their age, gender, citizenship, immigrant entry category, and their educational background. Part two aims to examine the Chinese immigrants' motivations for moving to Canada, and whether they have achieved the original goals they had in mind prior to immigrating to Canada. Part three is the core of the questionnaire, which addresses their integration experience in Canada, including their economic, social, cultural, and language integration; and their experience with government and non-government organizations. The last part includes only open-ended questions which invite participants to comment on changes which need to be made in order to help immigrants integrate into Canadian society more effectively. The questionnaire was made available in both English



and Chinese.

## **Research Findings**

### ***Sample Design***

This survey is strategic in nature, namely we seek to understand the motivations of recent Vancouver Chinese immigrants to stay or leave. We sampled 322 Chinese households in Vancouver circa 2004-2005. In fact, as figure 1 portrays we are over sampling the economically active Chinese immigrant population resident in Vancouver circa 2004-2005 since over 90% of our surveyed population is aged 20 to 60.

### **Insert Figure 1 Age Distribution**

In addition, as figure 2 demonstrates over 60% of the sample are males and 40% are females which again mimics the gender distribution of Vancouver's Chinese labour force and fulfills our goal of emphasizing the economically active Chinese immigrant population.

### **Insert Figure 2 Gender Distribution**

Place of birth is an essential conditioner in the move-stay decision since the level of development in the origin country relative to Canada will often attract immigrants to return (DeVoretz, Ma, and Zhang (2002). Moreover, an historical analysis of Canadian immigrants who leave Canada suggest that the majority leave in the first 5 years. Thus, to capture the most prone leaver portion of the Vancouver Chinese population we would like to over sample recent PRC immigrant arrivals. Figure 3 demonstrates that this survey sample fulfills this goal since mainland China

(PRC) arrivals represents 58% of the sample with Hong-Kong (27%) and Taiwan (10.4%) providing another 33% by place of arrival.<sup>3</sup>

### **Insert Figure 3 Place of Birth**

In sum, figures 1 to 3 report the survey population reflects those we wanted to survey, namely the economically active recent Chinese immigrant arrivals who are most prone to leave.

### ***Sample Statistics***

Marital status and visa status will also condition the move-stay decision and these characteristics for the Chinese sample population in Vancouver are reported in figures 4 and 5.

### **Insert Figure 4 Marital Status**

The majority of our surveyed population is married (62%) with a permanent residence status in Canada since they are either Canadian citizens (48%) or landed immigrants (44%). These two characteristics, married with Canadian citizenship should positively influence the sampled households economic outcomes and enhance integration if the Chinese immigrant community in Vancouver follows the general Canadian immigrant population (DeVoretz and Pivnenko, 2006).

### **Insert Figure 5 Visa status**

The length of time in residence in Canada (Figure 6) for our sampled population is on average short (7 years, 5 months) and this should hinder integration. Nonetheless, the vast majority of

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<sup>3</sup> Between 1997-2004 PRC Chinese immigrants represented 18.4% of the Canadian inflow.

the Chinese immigrants sampled (75%) have been in residence greater than three years which would explain this relatively high rate of early citizenship acquisition.<sup>4</sup>

### **Insert Figure 6 Length of Stay**

#### ***Conditions prior to and at arrival in Canada***

Why did this sampled Chinese group of immigrants move to Vancouver? Since our sampled group is young and married with a permanent visa status we would anticipate that their motivations to move were long run and perhaps economic in nature. An inspection of figure 7 indicates that in fact economic motivations (i.e. a higher paying job, greater job security or a promotion) taken collectively only motivated 37% of the recent arrivals. Acquiring Canadian citizenship (39.7%) and Canada's pleasant physical environment (51.7%) were clearly the strongest forces motivating a move to Canada. In addition, the immigrant's intention to acquire further education (25.5%) or facilitate their children's acquisition of education (32.1%) were also strong motivations. In sum, what economists would label as tax financed public goods; the environment, education and citizenship were the primary motives for these immigrants to choose Canada. This is a unique finding and we will explore in our conclusions the implications of this non-economic motivation in the context of the triangular model outlined above.

### **Insert Figure 7 Motivations to Move**

Given these motivations to move and remembering the average length of stay of this surveyed population was seven years, did these immigrants realize their defined goals?

### **Insert Figure 8 Main Goals achieved?**

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<sup>4</sup> Three years of continuous residence qualifies a permanent Canadian immigrant to apply for citizenship. In practice, citizenship acquisition requires at least four years in residence (DeVoretz and Pivnenko, 2006)

A majority (58.2%) did indicate in Figure 8 that they achieved their goals with only 42 % indicating disappointment in not achieving their goals. Of those who did not achieve their goals there was less optimism with over 70% rating their chances of achieving their remaining goals as uncertain or slim (Figure 9).

**Insert Figure 9 Possibility of Achieving Goals?**

Given this uncertain status of achieving their goals it is not surprising that 74 percent of the survey population encountered difficulties after arrival (Figure 10) with language and

**Insert Figure 10 Difficulties Encountered?**

employment being the most frequently cited barriers.

Given that employment was viewed as one of the major difficulties encountered by these surveyed immigrants we explored that problem in detail.

**Insert Figure 11 Employment Situation in Canada**

Over 60% of the Vancouver surveyed Chinese population indicated that their employment situation in Canada was worse than in China and only a minority (17%) perceived it as better (Figure 11). This finding is especially disturbing since our data report that 72.54% have post-secondary education, among whom 26.76% have master's or doctoral degrees.

**Insert Figure 12 Chinese Work Experience Missing**

Moreover, the majority felt that their Chinese experience was not helpful (Figure 12) in the Vancouver labour market

Table 1: Income Distribution of Survey Vancouver Households

<b><u>Household Income in Canada (\$)</u></b>	<u>Survey (Vancouver)</u> <u>(245)</u>
Up to 20000	43.67%
20001 to 31000	15.92%
31001 to 46000	17.14%
46001 to 62000	8.16%
62001 to 78000	4.49%
Over 78000	10.61%

These pessimistic responses are mirrored in their reported household incomes (Table 1) with over 60 % of the survey households reporting earnings of less than \$31,000 with 44 percent reporting poverty level incomes of less than \$20,000. These reported income levels of this highly skilled group is less than for refugees in Canada (DeVoretz and Pivnenko, 2005).

Since the other major difficulty cited in Figure 10 was English language ability, we also explore this impediment in detail below.

#### **Insert Figure 13 English upon Arrival**

Given the stated linguistic difficulties noted in Figure 10 the results reported in Figure 13 seem puzzling with 55% of the surveyed Chinese stating that they had advanced English skills.

#### **Insert Figure 14 Language Classes attended**

Figure 14 which notes the high number of Chinese studying English after arrival (70%) confirms our suspicions that their language skills were not as stated in Figure 13.

#### **Assessment of Vancouver**

Given these motivations to move and their linguistic and employment difficulties what was this group's overall assessment of Vancouver compared to their expectations prior to arrival?

### Insert Figure 15 Comparative Expectations

The even split between those who felt they were better or worse off (Figure 15) reflects our earlier analysis of employment and linguistic barriers.

### Insert Figure 16 Regrets about moving to Canada

Given the results in Figure 15 however, the results in Figure 16 are surprising, namely that only 11.7% felt any regrets about moving to Canada.

Nonetheless, even given this lack of regret about moving to Canada, the Chinese sought help from friends and not NGO's or governments (Table 2). However, if they did visit a Vancouver NGO they visited S.U.C.C.E.S.S. (60%) a predominately Chinese uni-cultural agency to help find a job (60%).

Table 2: Distribution of Organizations Visited

<b><u>Organization(s) Visited</u></b>	<b><u>Survey (Vancouver)</u></b> <b><u>(188)</u></b>
Burnaby Multicultural Society	5.85%
Family Services of Greater Vancouver	0.00%
ISS	12.23%
MOSAIC	6.38%
North Shore Multicultural Society	2.66%
SUCCESS	59.57%
Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society	7.98%
Other	5.85%

### ***General Remarks***

Recognizing the fact that the previous sections had limited opportunities for participants to express their opinions in detail, this section included three open-ended questions:

1. From your experience, what could the Canadian Government do to help new Chinese immigrants integrate into the Canadian society more effectively?

2. Is there anything both the Canadian and Chinese governments could do in cooperation to better serve Chinese immigrants?

3. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

We received 145 entries to these open ended questions. The answers fell under six categories: lack of recognition of Chinese credentials and work experience; difficulties finding employment; inadequate settlement, language and educational services and a perceived lack of cooperation between the Chinese and Canadian governments namely with respect (i.e. lack of recognition of dual citizenship) and other general comments. Their desire for the improvement of the first two issues really stands out. We outline a selection of these comments in Table 3 below.

Table 3: General Comments about Issue for New Immigrants and Areas of Improvement

Categories	Comments
Recognition of Chinese Credentials and Work Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Immigrants are underemployed because their educational levels are not recognized."</li> <li>- "Chinese qualifications and work experience need to be recognized."</li> <li>- "Provide or create more opportunities for those with profession but no Canadian work experience."</li> <li>- "The federal government needs to cooperate with professional associations (such as establishing committees) to keep immigrants."</li> </ul>
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Provide more training and employment opportunities."</li> <li>- "Improve the employment environment."</li> <li>- "Fund immigrants to find a job or start own business."</li> <li>- "Create and introduce more internship or coop opportunities so that new immigrants can obtain their first North American experience to find a job they like."</li> <li>- "Offer equal opportunities for jobs and equal access to promotion management levels, co-op education &amp; volunteer for new immigrants."</li> <li>- "more job information and services"</li> <li>- "Help to understand the work environment of Canada so can be prepared earlier."</li> <li>- "Create an immigrant dataset."</li> </ul>
Settlement Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Provide more information for immigrants and more services. Understand what immigrants think is difficult about living in Canada. Give more long term assistance."</li> <li>- "Improve services for immigrants and provide help when there are difficulties."</li> <li>- "Need more programs like the "host program"."</li> <li>- "Give more funds to organizations such as SUCCESS to help more immigrants systematically, provide permanent rather than temporary service."</li> <li>- "pre immigration services"</li> </ul>
Language and Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Provide high level English classes and don't need to wait too long time."</li> <li>- "The existing language program offered by the government is too basic."</li> <li>- "Help them with their language ability, provide loans for their language study, recognize Chinese credentials or provide classes (local diplomas) for their specialties to fill the gap."</li> <li>- "Provide more free language class."</li> <li>- "Professional English training."</li> </ul>
Immigration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Provide Chinese people a more realistic view of Canada. Speed up the processing time"</li> </ul>

	<p>of immigration applications.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Canadian government should go to China to let those who want to emigrate to Canada better understand Canada.”</li> <li>- “Help immigrants to know the difference between the two countries from all aspects as early as possible.”</li> <li>- “Canadian government should tell people in advance of all difficulties they may encounter in Canada in the near future and help them prepare for it.”</li> <li>- “Inform potential immigrants that their qualifications may not be recognized by Canadian society.”</li> <li>- “Allow dual nationality.”</li> <li>- “Encourage international graduates to immigrate to Canada. Give them some preferential policies.”</li> </ul>
Cooperation Between the Two Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Strengthen bilateral trade.”</li> <li>- “More free trade. Reduce tax. Improve investment environment.”</li> <li>- “Both governments should allow free flows of immigration. Speeding application processing.”</li> <li>- “Strengthen the cultural exchange between Canada and Hong Kong so that people may develop a better understanding of each country and the life of the country.”</li> <li>- “Chinese government should allow new immigrants to bring more USD to Canada.”</li> <li>- “Information dissemination &amp; allowing local citizenship, eliminate visa, exchange of Mandarin education.”</li> </ul>
Other Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Improve immigration application and management. Eg: Provide more specific employment consultation services to new immigrants.”</li> <li>- “More flexible and steady policies &amp; rules.”</li> <li>- “Canadian customs are tough on immigrants.”</li> <li>- “Diversity is a bonus not disability. Multiculturalism should be combined with multilingualism - beyond English &amp; French, Mandarin, Japanese...”</li> <li>- “lower taxes”</li> <li>- “Overseas income should be exempt from Canadian tax system.”</li> <li>- “improve problems of discrimination”</li> </ul>

### **Discussion and Implications**

The primary aim of this research project was to better understand the motivation of Chinese immigrants resident in Vancouver circa 2004-05 to stay or move. In particular we hoped to interview that portion of the Chinese Vancouver immigrant community that would be prone to move. Our web based survey, supplemented with in person interviews was particularly well suited to produce this survey group with 322 respondents in the economically active group (20-60) who had higher levels of education and putatively good English language skills.<sup>5</sup> In addition, those surveyed were relatively recent arrivals (average of 7 years in residence), predominantly from mainland China, who were largely married with permanent residency status

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<sup>5</sup> The in person interviews were conducted to provide an insight to the difficulties inherent in the web based survey and to supplant the small number of Cantonese speakers who responded to the web based survey in Vancouver.



in Canada. Given this background to the survey population it is especially relevant to ask how well integrated did this most recent Chinese immigrant group feel in Vancouver with respect to several key measures? Did they achieve their original goals prior to moving and if not what were the perceived impediments?

This surveyed resident group definitely had a long term time horizon if we reflect on their motivations to immigrate to Vancouver. They came to Canada to become Canadian citizens, enjoy the natural environment and educate their children. Superficially these motivations appear to reflect the traditional goals of Canada's past immigration flows whose intention was to remain permanently in Canada. However, there exists another interpretation which is more consistent with the work of DeVoretz, Ma and Zhang (2003) which suggests that these motivations are those of sojourner immigrants who when faced with short term economic exigencies may later be tempted to leave Vancouver. The key sequence of events in the triangular migration model are the arrival of immigrants to an entrepot country such as Canada who then begin to equip themselves with subsidized education and citizenship to hedge against future movement. This interpretation mirrors the findings for the surveyed Vancouver Chinese immigrant group. These necessary conditions for the triangle model to hold however, must be supplemented by weak (strong) economic outcomes in Canada (China or the rest of the world) to insure later onward movement to complete the triangle.

The reported poor employment prospects in Canada, the devaluation of both their acquired Chinese education and their labour market experience and finally their low incomes all fulfill the necessary conditions for this group to move on as predicted by the triangular model. Faced with these dire economic circumstances these surveyed Chinese immigrants in Vancouver did exactly what the triangular model would predict. They invested in themselves with

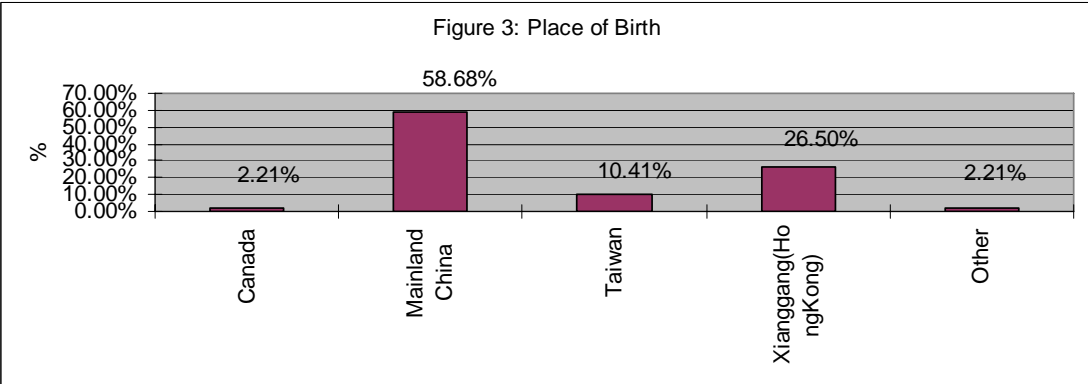
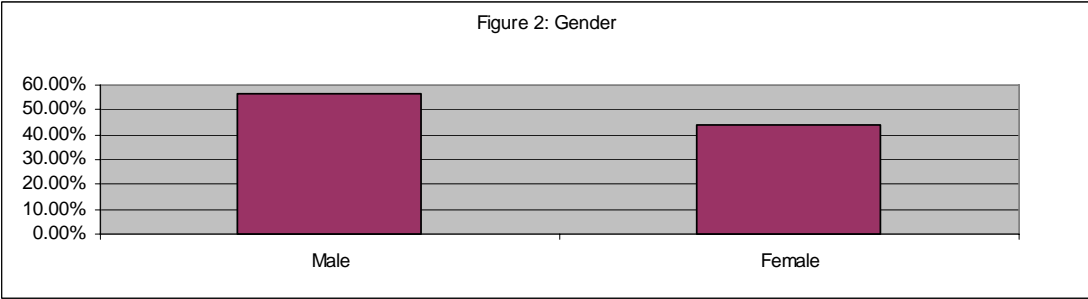
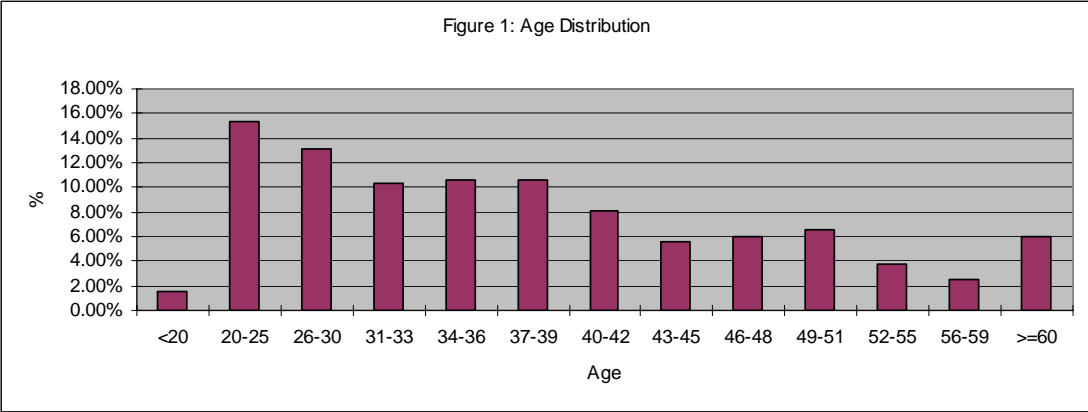
subsidized public goods with 70% of the adults reporting further language training, by acquiring citizenship and educating their children. Thus, this penultimate prediction of the triangular model of extensive human capital acquisition would suggest that our surveyed Chinese immigrants experienced deep dissatisfaction with Canada and planned to move on. In fact 50% of the respondents felt they were worse off in Vancouver than in China. Thus, we predict that both the necessary and sufficient conditions exist for a continued large scale emigration of the post 1998 Chinese immigrant arrivals from the PRC to Vancouver. However, it should be noted that they will leave with few regrets (17%) which is not inconsistent with an immigrant group who did not intend to stay but came to acquire human capital and citizenship to later move on.



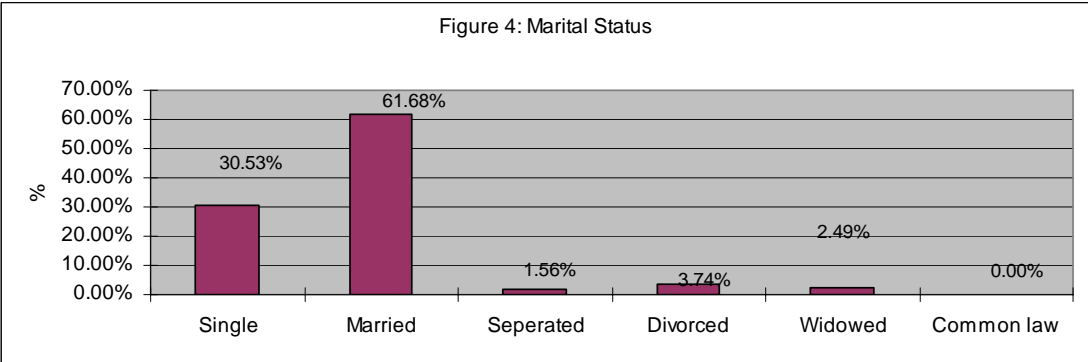
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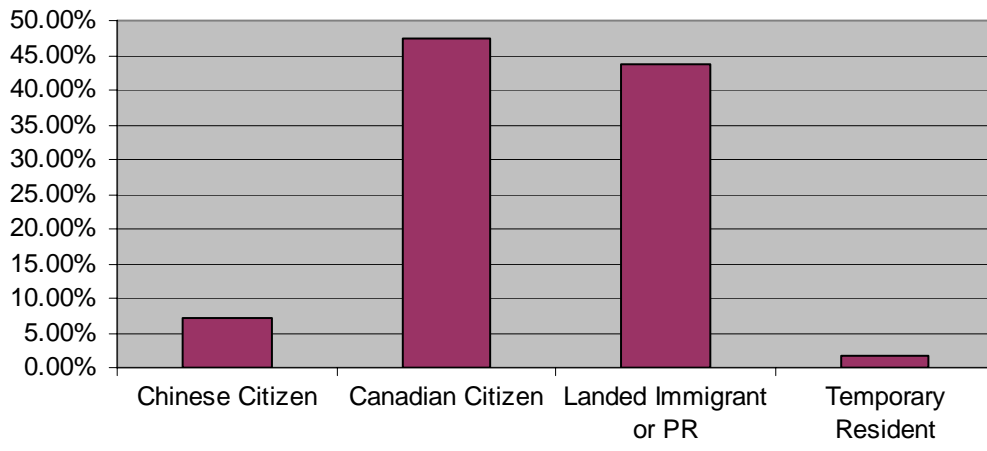
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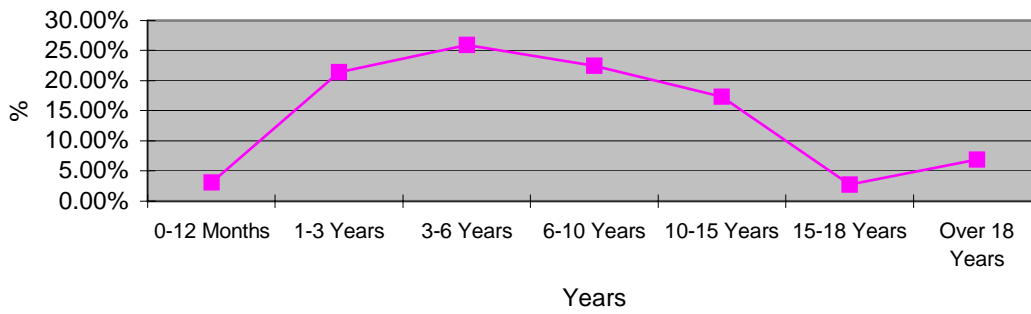
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**Figure 5: Current Status in Canada**



**Figure 6: Length of Stay**



**Figure 7: Motivations for Moving to Canada**

