

Chapter 3

Flows of People and the Canada-China Relationship in the 21st Century

Kenny Zhang

3.1 Introduction

The contemporary movement of people between China and Canada has a variety of implications for bilateral relations between the two countries. Woo and Wang (2009) argue the flow of people between the two countries will be increasingly characterized by two-way movements and by transnational citizens with business, personal, and emotional attachments on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. They further suggest that this nexus of human capital is a unique focal point in relations between Ottawa and Beijing.¹ Zhang (2011a) illustrates some of the trends that have emerged in the flow of people between the two countries and discusses its impact on bilateral relations.² Zhang (2011b) suggests that the Chinese communities in Canada and Canadians in China can form the basis for building stronger relations between Canada and China.³

China became a major source of immigrants, international students and visitors to Canada at the turn of the twenty first century. The concentration of Chinese immigrants in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal has had implications on their settlement and integration into Canadian life, and also on shaping foreign

¹ Woo and Wang 2009.

² Zhang 2011a.

³ Zhang 2011b.

An early version was presented to “Migration in China and Asia: Experience and Policy”—a seminar of the *International Metropolis Project* in China, May 20–21, 2010 Beijing. It was revised in April 2012 with the help of grants from the International Development Research Centre in Ottawa, and the Province of British Columbia, Victoria, under the auspices of the Canada-China Human Capital Dialogue. Critical comments from participants at the Metropolis seminar and research assistants by Mikhail Iturralde are gratefully acknowledged.

K. Zhang (✉)
Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Vancouver, Canada
e-mail: Kenny.zhang@asiapacific.ca

policy. Diaspora politics and transnational business networks have the potential to affect Canada-China relations in ways that generally are not well understood. At the same time, a sizable number of Canadians have moved to live in Greater China.⁴ The push and pull factors of these Canadians living abroad, who number roughly 600,000 in Asia and about 2.8 million globally,⁵ are not well understood either, but can have a profound impact on the exchange and development of human capital, as well as on research, development, innovation, business, citizenship, consular services, public finance, healthcare, social security and border security.

This paper provides an overview of the multi-stream flows of people between China and Canada and illustrates how Chinese communities in Canada have been reshaped as a result. At the same time, it also discusses the growing Canadian diaspora in China. Looking through the lens of the human capital exchange, this study will examine some of the key policy implications of this migration in the shaping of Canada-China relations this century.

3.2 Emerging Trends

3.2.1 *Increasing Flows of People from China to Canada*

Under Canada's current visa provisions, Chinese nationals may come to Canada either as permanent immigrants or temporary residents/visitors. Although the two groups are mutually exclusive at the time they first enter Canada, the two categories often become blurred later on, as some of the temporary entrants switch to become permanent residents.

Immigrants

Historically, Chinese immigration to Canada dates to 1788 when the first Chinese settled in Canada.⁶ But their number declined precipitously under the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese citizens from immigrating to Canada. In this way, the Chinese were the only ethnic group discriminated against in Canadian history. It was not until 1947 that Canada repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act. And it took another twenty years after that—with the adoption of a points system—that the Chinese were admitted under the same criteria used to accept international applicants from all nations.⁷

⁴ Greater China in this context refers only to mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. China is referred to the People's Republic of China or mainland China. China and PRC are used interchangeably in the rest of paper.

⁵ APF Canada 2011.

⁶ CBC News Online, June 10, 2004.

⁷ UBC Library, Online; Lee 1984; CCNC Toronto, Online; Li 1998, 2005.

It was not until the 1980s, however, that the number of Chinese immigrants to Canada started to grow significantly. Since 1989, the number of new immigrants each year from the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) has nearly tripled, growing from less than 10,000 a year to a peak of over 40,000 in 2005. That pace slowed to 30,000 a year from 2006–2011, but overall, the PRC has been the top source country of immigrants to Canada between 1998 and 2009 and is currently the third-largest source country of immigrants to Canada overall (see Table 3.1).⁸

In the first decade of the twenty first century, Canada welcomed nearly 2.5 million immigrants from around the world. During this period China was the leading source country, with 337,317 immigrants or 14 percent of the total, followed by India with 11 percent and the Philippines with 8 percent.⁹

Since 2002, Canada's immigration program has been based on regulations under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA). The IRPA defines three basic categories of permanent residents: reuniting families, contributing to economic development and protecting refugees.¹⁰ Each of the categories corresponds to major program objectives.

International Students

The number of Chinese students coming to Canada has grown significantly from just a few hundred a year in the mid-1990s to close to 10,000 a year in the early 2000s. By December 2010, 56,906 Chinese students were studying in Canada, up from just a couple of thousand in the mid-1990s.¹¹ Today Chinese students make up 19 percent of Canada's annual intake of international students, up from 10 percent in 2000, making China the largest source of international students in Canada. Currently nearly one in four foreign students in Canada is from China.

Foreign Workers

Canada established the *Temporary Foreign Worker* (TFW) program in January 1973, which was initially targeted at specific groups such as academics, business executives and engineers—in other words, people with highly specialized skills that were not available in Canada.¹² Historically, Canada has brought in temporary foreign workers from countries ranging from the United States and the Philippines to France, Australia and the United Kingdom. China has not been on the list of major

⁸ CIC, various years.

⁹ CIC 2011a.

¹⁰ CIC 2011a.

¹¹ CIC 2011a.

¹² Nakache and Kinoshita 2010. In addition to the TFW program, there are other provisions including multilateral arrangement such as GATS and NAFTA, which allow foreign workers to enter Canada on a temporary basis.

Table 3.1 The flow of people from China to Canada at the turn of the twenty first century. (Source: CIC, Facts and Figs. 2008, 2010. Statistics Canada, Travelers to Canada by country of origin, top 15 countries of origin (2000–2010). Statistics Canada, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<i>Immigrants</i>											
Arrival	36,750	40,365	33,304	36,251	36,429	42,292	33,078	27,013	29,337	29,051	30,197
Share (%)	16.2	16.1	14.5	16.4	15.5	16.1	13.1	11.4	11.9	11.5	10.8
Rank	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
<i>International Students</i>											
Annual Entry	6,687	11,446	11,811	10,140	7,458	7,432	8,988	10,037	13,685	16,401	17,934
Share (%)	9.7	14.2	15.4	14.6	11.3	11.0	12.5	13.6	17.2	19.3	18.7
Rank	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
Stock	11,055	20,372	29,744	36,544	39,215	39,502	39,775	41,044	42,124	49,907	56,906
Share (%)	9.7	14.9	19.8	22.9	23.8	23.7	23.4	23.4	23.7	25.5	26.1
Rank	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Foreign Workers</i>											
Annual Entry	1,166	1,193	1,314	1,128	1,289	1,406	1,698	2,657	2,321	2,271	2,393
Share (%)	1	1	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.3
Rank	12	13	12	13	14	15	14	12	15	15	14
Stock	1,338	1,574	1,801	1,927	2,393	3,048	4,182	6,618	8,518	10,629	12,063
Share (%)	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.6	3.3	3.4	3.8	4.3
Rank	14	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	9	8	8
<i>Tourists</i>											
Visit (1,000)	74	82	95	77	95	113	139	151	159	160	193
Share of top 15 origins (%)	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.9	1	1.1	1.3
Rank	14	14	13	12	12	10	9	9	9	8	7

source countries for a long time but their numbers have been rising steadily over the last decade, doubling from 1,166 to 2,393. This trend was driven not only by the needs of Canada's labour market, but also due to the growing number of Chinese investments in Canada and an emerging group of Chinese expats who work for Chinese multinational corporations.¹³ The exact number of Chinese expatriates in Canada remains unknown, but the total stock of temporary workers from the PRC dramatically increased from 1,338 to 12,063 over the same decade, putting China in eighth place today. Temporary workers from China represent nearly four percent of the total number of foreign workers in Canada.

Tourists

Trips to Canada from the PRC grew at an average rate of 12.2 percent year-over-year between 2000 and 2011, rising from a total of 78,000 to 248,000. (The exception was in 2003, when the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome or SARS curtailed much international travel.) The Chinese tourism market holds tremendous growth potential for Canada's economy under the Approved Destination Status (ADS).¹⁴ Canada is now welcoming group tours from China along with business and individual travelers. In the first 12 months after China implemented ADS for Canada, or from June 2010 to May 2011, tourist arrivals from China increased by 25.8 percent on a year-over-year basis. Arrivals from China over the first 11 months of 2011 were 50 percent higher than the same pre-ADS period in 2009. China is currently the fourth biggest contributor of tourists in Canada, up from sixth place in 2010.¹⁵

Transition from Temporary to Permanent Residents

Canada's immigration system is shifting towards encouraging immigration by young, bilingual, highly skilled immigrants that can help the country replace its aging labour force. In order to attract migrants with the right skills, Canada is opening its doors to more and more temporary workers. The federal government has granted exclusive eligibility to 29 different occupations under the federal skilled worker program and devolved responsibility for immigrant selection to the provinces.¹⁶ In 1998, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) was introduced to give provinces a mechanism with which to respond to economic development needs at the local level. PNP has grown a great deal since then, and in 2010 represented 20 percent of

¹³ The Economist 2010a.

¹⁴ The ADS scheme is a bilateral tourism arrangement that facilitates travel by Chinese tour groups to other countries. The ADS was granted to Canada in June 2010 and the first flights from China to Canada started arriving in August 2010. To date, China has granted 135 countries and regions ADS.

¹⁵ CTC 2012.

¹⁶ Reitz 2011; Challinor 2011.

the total economic class of immigrants, up from 0.8 percent in 2001.¹⁷ In September 2008, Canada introduced a new Canadian Experience Class (CEC),¹⁸ which aims to make Canada more competitive in attracting and retaining individuals with the skills the country needs. A total of 6,462 immigrants were selected under the CEC designation during the first two years of the program, making up 1.9 percent of all economic related immigration during the same period.

These programs have paved the way for some immigrants initially classified as temporary to shift their status to permanent residents.¹⁹ From 2001 to 2010, Canada welcomed over 768,000 international students from around the world, of whom over 114,000 were from China (see Table 3.2). During the same period, more than 83,000 international students made the transition to permanent resident status and 14,000 Chinese students became permanent residents of Canada. The probability of making the leap to permanent resident during that time period was 11 percent for all international student groups and 12 percent for those from the PRC. The majority of 70 percent Chinese students succeeded to permanent residents were gone through the economic classes, including the skilled workers program (41 percent). Chinese students made up 58 percent of all CEC participants during the first two years of the program.

Similarly, the probability of Chinese temporary workers making the transition to permanent residents is also high. Of the 1.4 million foreign workers entering Canada between 2001 and 2010, 17,000 were from China. During the same period, of the 186,000 foreign workers who became permanent residents in Canada, more than 13,000 were from China. Indeed, nearly 79 percent of the temporary workers from China were granted permanent residency during that period, compared with just 13 percent for workers of other nationalities. And 90 percent of the Chinese workers who were admitted as permanent residents were gone through the economic classes, dominantly by the skilled workers program (36 percent). Finally, Chinese workers made up one-third of all the immigrants who entered Canada under the CEC program.

3.2.2 *Changing the Direction of Mobility*

While Canada competes in the global marketplace for immigrants, China is gradually becoming a magnet for skilled and well-educated immigrants from around the world—especially those of Chinese origin who have degrees from Western universities. Today the movement of people between Canada and China moves in two directions, a phenomenon also known as circulation. More and more Canadians (of both Chinese and non-Chinese origin) are going to China to visit, study, work, and live.

¹⁷ Challinor 2011.

¹⁸ The Canadian Experience Class is a new category of immigration for temporary foreign worker and foreign student graduates with professional, managerial and skilled work experience in Canada. Unlike other programs, the Canadian Experience Class allows an applicant's experience in Canada to be considered a key selection factor when immigrating to Canada. (CIC 2008)

¹⁹ For more details about these programs, please refer to CIC 2010; CIC 2011b.

Table 3.2 Transition from Temporary to Permanent Resident Status (2001–2010 Aggregated). (Source: CIC, RDM, Facts and Figs. 2010. Data request tracking number: RE-12.0382)

	Entry as foreign students			Entry as temporary foreign workers		
	From China	From all sources	Share of Chinese	From China	From all sources	Share of Chinese
Total entries as temporary residents	114,275	76 8,218	15	17,480	1,425,330	1
Total transitions to permanent residents	14,240	83,674	17	13,845	186,635	7
Probability of transition	12%	11%		79%	13%	
<i>Immigration category</i>						
Economic immigrants	9,985	63,327	16	12,310	138,811	9
Skilled workers (PA)	5,770	29,989	19	4,980	47,257	11
Provincial/Territorial nominees (PA)	185	745	25	2,940	23,566	12
Canadian experience class (PA) ^b	110	191	58	1,435	3,774	38
Other economic immigrants ^a	3,875	32,315	12	2,885	64,214	4
Family class	3,665	17,298	21	1,470	46,186	3
Refugees and others	605	3,049	20	55	1,638	3

Due to privacy considerations, the figures in this table have been subjected to random rounding. As a result of random rounding, data may not add up to the totals indicated.

PA: principal applicants

^a Includes spouses and dependants.

^b Aggregate data from 2009 and 2010

Visiting China

China has become an appealing destination for Canadian tourists. In the first decade of the twenty first century, the number of Canadians visiting China grew by about 14 percent annually. In 2011, the total number of Canadian visits to China reached a historical high of 300,000, up from just 107,000 in 2001. In the same period, Canadians have made over 2 million visits to China (see Fig. 3.1). China, among all destinations in Asia, accounts for the fastest growing number of visits from Canadian travelers.

Studying in China

The PRC has also become a major destination for international students over the last decade. In 2010, 265,090 international students from 194 countries and regions

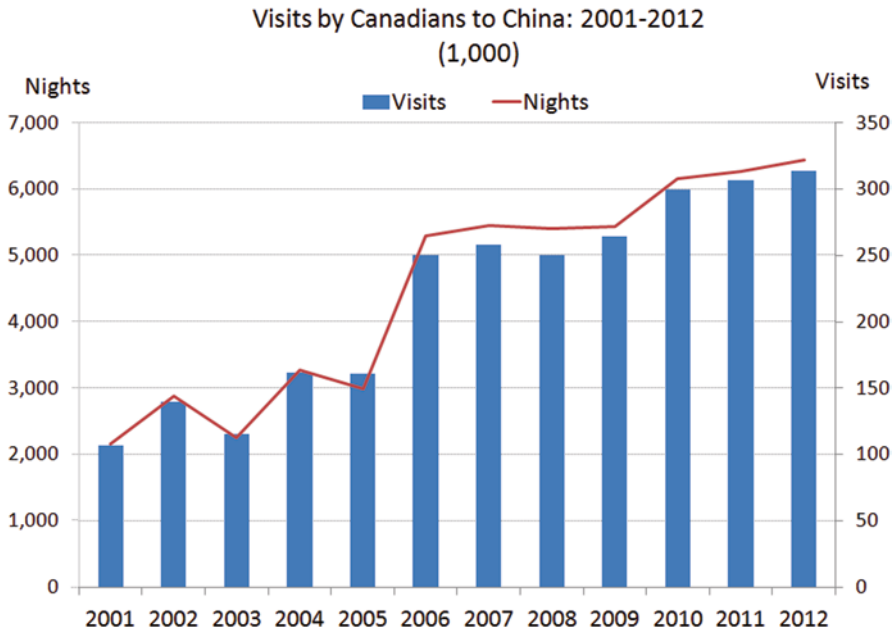


Fig. 3.1 Visits by Canadians to China: 2001–2012. (Source: Statistics Canada, Travel by Canadians to foreign countries, top 15 countries visited)

were studying at 620 colleges and universities, research institutions and other education institutions in the PRC.²⁰ In 2008–2009, the top five source countries were South Korea, U.S., Japan, Vietnam and Thailand. The exact number of Canadian students in China is unknown because China only provides figures for the top ten countries of origin, and Canada is not on that list. By some estimates, the number of Canadian students in China does not exceed 5,000, but that number is likely to increase for several reasons. For a start, China is actively promoting itself as a major destination for international students, and under a government scholarship program (CGSP) is increasing the funds it makes available to foreign students. In 2008, 13,516 international students, or six percent of all international students in China, received Chinese government scholarships, an increase of 33 percent year-over-year. In 2010, 22,390 or eight percent were granted Chinese government scholarship, up 23 percent over the previous year.²¹

China has surpassed Canada as one of the top destinations for international students. In 2001, the U.S. was the top destination of foreign students globally and attracted 28 percent of all international students studying overseas. At that time, both Canada and China were not among the top list. By 2012, the U.S. remained in the top position, but their share had shrunk to 19 percent and China had become the

²⁰ CSC 2011.

²¹ Ibid.

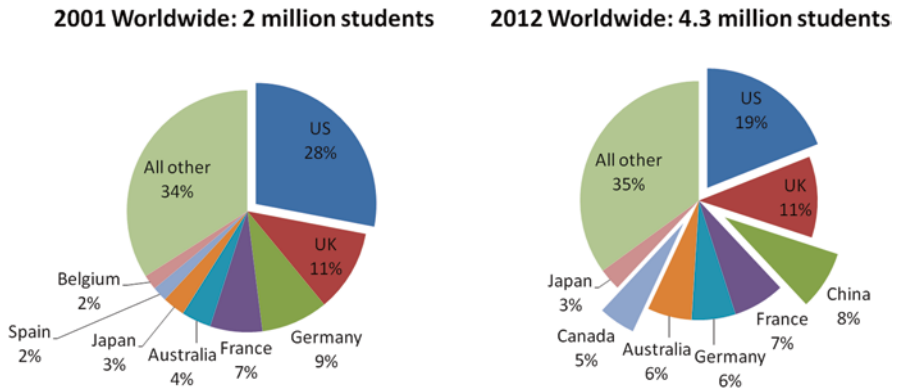


Fig. 3.2 Top Eight host countries of International students, 2001 and 2012. (Source: *Atlas of Student Mobility, 2011*, <http://www.iie.org/projectatlas>)

third most popular destination with eight percent of all international students. By contrast, Canada attracted only five percent (see Fig. 3.2).

Working in China

Before the financial crisis struck in 2008, the Washington Post reported that a growing number of the world's emigrant population was heading East rather than West in search of better opportunities.²² And in the wake of the crisis, the "Go East" strategy to find work has gained a lot of credibility among Asians and non-Asians in North America and Europe. Quoted the Vancouver Sun, "If you're in London you're in the wrong place at the wrong time... You gotta move east."²³

China's economy is one of the most robust in the world, and brighter job prospects are attracting many people to move to the mainland. While China has posted average economic growth rates of over 10 percent over the last decade, Canada's economy has grown at an average of two percent a year over the same period.²⁴

It is arguable that China is no longer a country that just exports immigrants. It has also become a magnet for professionals and students from around the world seeking better job opportunities and a good education. And it is evident that perceptions that Chinese immigrants to Canada who return home have "failed" in some way, is completely out of date. The changing direction of the flow of people between the two countries will become more obvious as China further develops policies and programs at the national, provincial and municipal government level that actively encourage Chinese citizens or foreigners with Chinese-origin that have trained

²² Washington Post Foreign Service, Oct. 21, 2007.

²³ Vancouver Sun, July 7, 2009. For similar reports see New York Times, Aug. 11, 2009; World Journal, Sept. 20, 2009.

²⁴ World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files.

overseas to return to China. In 2004, for example, Beijing launched a “Green Card” system,—permanent resident permit, which allows qualified foreigners to work in China permanently.²⁵ By the end of 2008, China announced a new strategy to attract talented workers under a variety of different programs, one of which, the Thousand Talents Program, calls 2,000 high-level overseas Chinese to return to China before 2018.²⁶

According to recent Chinese statistics, total foreign residents who have stayed 6 months or longer in China amounted 20,000 in 1980, and jumped to 600,000 in 2011. By the end of 2011, total permanent resident permit holders reached 4,752, among whom, 1,735 are classified as high-level foreign specialists and their family members. In 2000, nearly 74,000 foreign workers in China held work permits, and the number increased to 220,000 by the end of 2011. They are mainly staff of foreign-funded enterprises, foreign language teachers, foreign representatives in China.²⁷

It is inevitable that some Canadian graduates will have to look for job opportunities elsewhere, including teaching English or French as a second language (E/FSL).²⁸ Although the exact number and profile of Canadians working in China is statistically unavailable, recent press reports and studies by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APF Canada) have found that Canadians in China are mainly made up of three groups: employees of Canadian or multinational corporations; Canadian students and teachers; and Chinese-Canadians who return for business or other reasons.²⁹

3.2.3 Focusing on Human Capital

By 2010, the number of permanent and temporary international migrants worldwide reached an estimated 215 million. Of those, a significant number were highly skilled people including university students, nurses, IT specialists, researchers, executives, managers, and intra-company transferees. In OECD countries alone, there are more than 20 million highly skilled immigrants in 2010.³⁰ Nowadays, the highly skilled are more likely than the less skilled to move across national borders. Docquier and Rapoport (2005) have estimated that the worldwide average emigration rates amounted to 1.1 percent for the low skilled, 1.8 percent for the medium skilled and 5.4 percent for the high skilled workers in 2000. Between 1990 and 2000 they estimated that the worldwide average rate of emigration of skilled and

²⁵ China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Public Security 2004.

²⁶ Wang 2012

²⁷ Xinhua News, April 25, 2012.

²⁸ National Post, June 26, 2009.

²⁹ APF Canada 2010.

³⁰ The World Bank 2010; Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat 2005; University of Sussex 2007.

medium-skilled workers had risen by 0.4 percentage points, against decrease of 0.1 percentage points for low-skilled workers.³¹

Today, the flow of people between China and Canada has become varied and complex, reflecting the changing economic and social circumstances of the two economies, the evolving relationship between Beijing and Ottawa, and priorities in immigration and visa policies in each country. China's development strategy is undergoing major changes, shifting from low-end manufacturing towards greater investment in education, science and technology, and research and development. In line with the Chinese government's objective to transform its economic growth model, the National Medium- and Long-term Talent Development Plan was developed to create a highly skilled national workforce by 2020. Programs such as the Thousand Talents Program, will help China become one of the magnets attracting international talent including Canadians. Canada is changing too. The Canadian economy and its international competitiveness increasingly rely on the country's capacity for innovation. The Canadian population is aging and immigration is increasingly becoming a major source of labour in the workforce growth. Shifts in Canada's immigration policy have been made to attract top talent from around the world, allowing foreigners to study, visit, work and immigrate to Canada.

Many studies on immigration tend to look at the importance of immigrants in Canada through the lens of the labour market, especially the earnings of immigrants relative to their Canada-born counterparts. Reitz (2011), describes the problem of "brain waste" of immigrants in Canada, which costs Canada at least \$3 billion a year, not to mention the ruined dreams of the immigrants themselves.³² Grubel and Grady (2012), however, point out that immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1987 and 2004 received about \$6,000 more in government services per immigrant in 2005 than they paid in taxes. In other words, these immigrants impose a huge fiscal burden on Canadian taxpayers of between \$16 billion and \$23 billion annually.³³

In the contexts of human flows between China and Canada, Li (2011) examines the supply of human capital from China to Canada since the 1990s and discovers that Canada saved about \$2.2 billion in education-related expenses by accepting immigrations from China with university degrees between 1991 and 2000. Li further points out that the Canada's gain in human capital from China is discounted because a university degree held by men and women born in the PRC is not regarded as highly as a degree held by other Canadians.³⁴

There are also studies in China that shed light on the aspects of human capital provided by foreigners living in China. For example, according to a Chinese survey in 2008,³⁵ the composition of foreign workers in China has undergone a number of changes. Unlike in the past, younger people outnumber retirees; top-level talent has replaced mid-level talent, and workers are staying longer. A more recent report

³¹ Docquier and Marfouk 2005.

³² Reitz 2011.

³³ Grubel and Grady 2012.

³⁴ Li 2011.

³⁵ Xinhua News, Feb. 21, 2008.

suggests that most foreign workers in China are highly skilled.³⁶ Over 92.3 percent have a university degree. The majority hold senior management positions and their ranks include senior technicians, administrators, representatives of foreign companies and so on. Higher salaries and lower taxes also attract skilled workers. On average, foreign workers can earn ¥380,000 (US \$55,600) a year in Shanghai, nearly seventeen times the salary of local workers.

3.3 Re-Shaping Communities in the Diaspora

Accelerated globalization and international migration has reshaped diaspora communities in both Canada and China. The multi-stream flows are re-shaping the diversity of Chinese communities in the same way as it does for the entire Canadian society. But the growing number of Canadians in China does not sit well with the national psyche in Canada, which tends to think of itself as a country of receiving immigrants, not a source country of migrant workers seeking livelihoods abroad. And given the importance of knowledge-based economies and competitiveness, these dynamics are having an impact on relations between Canada and China.

3.3.1 Diversified Chinese Communities

The Canadian Census (2006) reported that over 1.3 million people in Canada claim their ethnic origin as Chinese.³⁷ This makes the Chinese community the eighth-largest ethnic group in Canada and the largest of Asian origin. However, the Chinese community in Canada has changed, is changing, and will continue to change in many ways that will ultimately have an impact on Canada-China relations.

There is no longer a homogenous Chinese community in Canada. Differences in demographic background, human capital endowment, and migration experience have all contributed to the diversity of Canada's Chinese communities. People of Chinese ethnic origin are not necessarily newcomers to Canada. Some of them were born in Canada and their families may have lived in Canada for more than two generations. And within the Chinese community, Canada-born Chinese (CBC) has become a significant group. The 2006 Canadian Census reported that 27.4 percent of respondents who claimed they were ethnic Chinese were born in Canada. It also found that 14.3 percent were second generation and 2.3 percent were third generation or more, even if the majority, or 83.4 percent, were first-generation

³⁶ China's www.hr.com.cn, March 26, 2009.

³⁷ Statistics Canada, 2006 Census data products. Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural origin of a respondent's ancestors, as defined by the 2006 census. The 2006 census also reported 17,705 Taiwanese and 4,275 Tibetans. The 2011 census results related to this breakdown were not available at the time this paper was revised.

Canadians.³⁸ In addition, 77 percent of the Chinese population holds Canadian citizenship only. Five percent possess both Canadian and at least one other citizenship, and another 18 percent had not yet become Canadian citizens.

Ethnic Chinese groups also may have achieved different levels of fluency in Canada's two official languages. The census found that nearly 86 percent had some knowledge of English, French or both. Only 14 percent claimed they had no knowledge of English or French. Nearly one in five ethnic Chinese reported English or French as their mother tongue. Seventy-nine percent indicated neither English nor French was their mother tongue. One third reported they spoke English or French most often at home, with about 60 percent saying they spoke other languages most often at home. The number of respondents with a Chinese language as their mother tongue grew from less than 100,000 in 1971 to nearly 900,000 in 2001 and over 1 million in 2006. However, the respondents who reported a Chinese language as their mother tongue may actually speak different dialects. In the 2006 census, Chinese languages were broken down into seven major languages: Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Taiwanese, Chaochow (Teochow), Fukien and Shanghainese, as well as a residual category (Chinese languages not otherwise specified).

Chinese immigrants may also be admitted to Canada under three streams: an economic one, based on human capital facts; a kinship one, the "family reunification" program; and a humanitarian one, the refugee acceptance program. Currently, 73 percent of immigrants to Canada from the PRC are admitted as economic immigrants, including skilled workers, professionals, investors and entrepreneurs. Nearly one in five immigrants from China is gaining entry as a relative of family members who already live in Canada. By contrast, only a small margin is being admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds. Less than 30 years ago, immigrants from the PRC were mainly relatives of people who had already emigrated to Canada, or over 90 percent of the total (see Fig. 3.3). Recently, a growing number of international students and temporary workers from China to Canada have added to the diversity of local Chinese communities.

Chinese immigrants to Canada come from various source countries or regions. According to the 2006 census, nearly half of the Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada from the PRC (49 percent), and 23 percent come from Hong Kong. Others came from the Caribbean and Bermuda, the Philippines, India and other Asian countries. Ethnic Chinese are most visible in the provinces of British Columbia (10 percent), Ontario (5 percent) and Alberta (4 percent). In other parts of Canada, the odds of seeing a Chinese person are close to or less than one in a hundred. Chinese are concentrated in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and more recently, Calgary.

To sum up, the image of Chinese Canadians today is vastly different than it was in the last two centuries when Chinese immigrants were stereotyped as railway coolies, laundrymen and waiters. Hollywood exaggerated the stereotype with movies

³⁸ Ibid. First generation refers to persons born outside of Canada. Second generation refers to persons born inside Canada with at least one parent born outside of Canada. Third generation refers to persons born inside Canada with both parents born inside Canada.

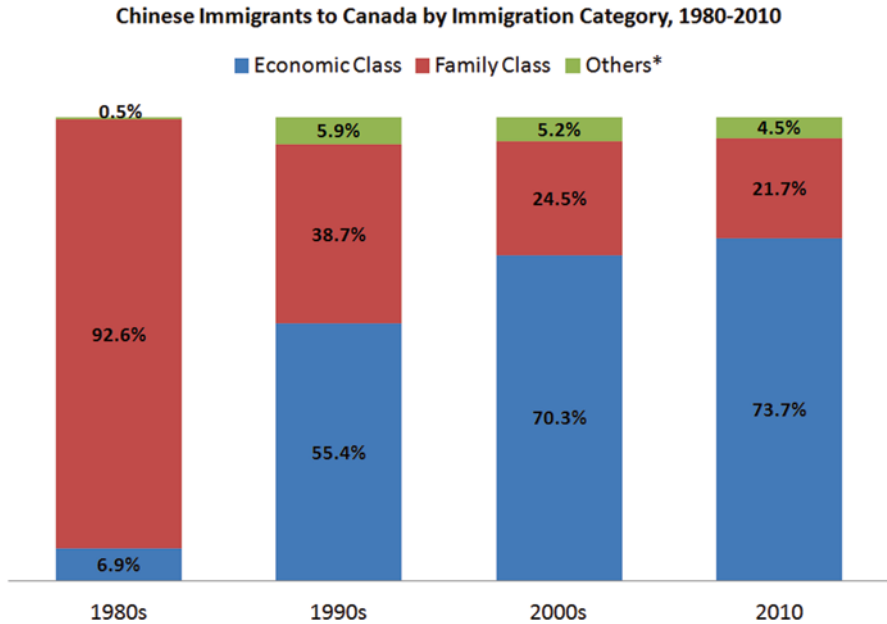


Fig. 3.3 Chinese immigrants to Canada by category, 1980–2010. (Source: Wang and Lo, 2005; CIC, Facts and Figures, 2001, 2002, 2010) * Includes all residual categories

about opium dens, celestials in pig-tails with knives hidden up their silk sleeves, slant-eyed beauties with bound feet and ancient love potions.³⁹ What the Chinese Canadian community looks like today is as diversified as Canadian society is as a whole.

3.3.2 *Canadian Diaspora in China*

Canadians historically have travelled widely and today an estimated 2.8 million Canadians live and work abroad.⁴⁰ There have always been large numbers of Canadians living outside the country for extended periods, especially in the U.S. There are also many Canadian expatriates working for multinational companies and international organizations around the world. More recently, there is evidence that many immigrants to Canada are returning to their countries of origin to pursue business and professional activities, especially in Greater China.⁴¹

³⁹ Lee 1984, p. 178.

⁴⁰ APF Canada 2011.

⁴¹ Zhang 2006, 2007.

Migration takes place in two directions, and return migration occurs naturally. A recent study by the OECD found that depending on the country of destination and the time frame, 20 percent to 50 percent of immigrants return home or move to a third country within five years of their arrival in a new country.⁴² A recent report from Statistics Canada demonstrated that a significant number of male immigrants to Canada of working age, especially skilled workers and entrepreneurs, are highly mobile. This suggests that a substantial part of migration to Canada is temporary. The estimated out-migration rate 20 years after arrival is around 35 percent among young working age male immigrants. About six out of ten of those who leave do so within the first year of arrival, which suggests that many immigrants make their decisions within a relatively short period of time after arriving in Canada. Controlling for other characteristics, out-migration rates are higher among immigrants from source countries/regions such as the U.S. and HKSAR.⁴³

Despite these general observations, the return of Chinese Canadians to China is not well documented. As China increasingly becomes a global economic powerhouse and the biggest destination for foreign direct investment, more than 90 percent of the top 500 multinationals in the world have set up in China, and 30 percent of those have established regional headquarters there.⁴⁴ Canadian businesses are increasingly involved in the China market, and there are growing numbers of native-born and naturalized Canadian executives, engineers and other professionals and specialists working in China.

The APF Canada (2011) study indicates that these groups have transnational characteristics—often moving back and forth between the two countries at different periods in their life, and having attachments on both sides of the Pacific for business, family, and social activities.

Transnational Parenting is not uncommon among young Chinese Canadian families. High child-care costs, the lack of family support in Canada and a volatile job market have forced some families to send their children back to China so that grandparents or other relatives can raise them. A study in 2002 of Chinese immigrants in five prenatal programs found that 70 percent of the female respondents said they planned to send their children back to China to be raised by relatives.⁴⁵

Transnational Schooling is also quite common. Many Chinese families who want their children to be bilingual and well-schooled in mathematics will send their children back to China for certain years of their education.

Transnational entrepreneurship plays a key role in connecting Canada and China. A report commissioned by the APF Canada in 2008, revealed that foreign-educated Chinese transnational entrepreneurs (CTEs) make up a distinct segment

⁴² Migration Policy Institute 2008.

⁴³ Aydemir and Robinson 2006; DeVoretz 2010.

⁴⁴ China Radio International, Sept. 28, 2007.

⁴⁵ The Globe and Mail, Jan. 2, 2007.

of the immigrant community.⁴⁶ Key characteristics distinguish them from classic middlemen traders, returnee entrepreneurs or those who have returned to their home countries permanently. Instead, the characteristics of Canada-based CTEs include a greater likelihood of having multinational experience; more established in their professions; more deeply entrenched in Canada and having a stronger desire to engage Canada in cross-border entrepreneurial endeavours. The same report also identified a variety of mechanisms used by transnational entrepreneurs to link Canada and China at the innovation level.

Transnational retirement allows senior Chinese Canadians to enjoy the pleasure of two homes. Like many Canadian snowbirds in the U.S., these senior citizens are moving across the Pacific as the season changes.

Canadian ESL teachers are another significant group of Canadians in China. They are in high demand not only because of the importance of learning English as a second language, but also because Chinese students seem to prefer the English spoken in Canada to that in England, Australia or the U.S. The success story of Dashan has also helped raise the profile of Canada and the kind of English spoken there. Canadian communities in China also include students and groups that stay there for other reasons.

The growing body of Canadians (Canada-born or naturalized) living and working in China and the HKSAR suggest that a Canadian diaspora is emerging. What policy area does the Canadian government need to develop is to recognize this diaspora, maintain and enhance Canada's international ties and maximize the benefits of those ties to Canada. The size and importance of Canada's diaspora in China point to the need for Canada to revisit its foreign policy toward China.

3.3.3 *Human Capital Content and Linkage*

Li's 2011 and earlier studies on China's supply of human capital to Canada suggest that Canada gained about \$2.2 billion in the form of savings on education expenses by accepting immigrants from China with university degrees between 1991 and 2000. This finding is a classic example of the kinds of human capital links that exist between countries sending and accepting immigrants.

Nevertheless, the multi-stream flows have painted more complicated pictures of human capital linkages between the two countries. China constitutes an important source of international brain flow to meet Canada's human resource needs. Between 2001 and 2010, China supplied a total of 5,470 PhDs, 34,760 people with Masters degrees and nearly 100,000 university graduates to Canada.⁴⁷ Chinese immigrants have dominated the increase of foreign-born PhDs in Canada, outnumbering the U.S. and U.K., the two dominant sources prior to 1981. The U.S. share went from

⁴⁶ Lin et al. 2008.

⁴⁷ CIC 2011a.

a high of 24 percent during the 1971–1980 period to a low of 6 percent over the 1991–2000 period, while China’s share went up from a low of 2 percent to a high of 25 percent.⁴⁸ In the past decade, China supplied nearly 70,000 professionals from all occupations; 25,000 managers including 2,400 senior ones; and 14,000 skilled workers and technicians.⁴⁹

Diversified Chinese communities play a crucial role in the accumulation of human capital for Canada and will continue to do so for many future generations. This is particularly true in terms of teachers at Canadian schools and universities. On the one hand, staff of Chinese origin represented the largest minority group, 28.2 percent of all minority faculty or 4.2 percent of the total Canadian university staff as of 2006.⁵⁰ And as of September 2010, of the 1,845 Canada Research Chair positions, nearly 100 or 5 percent identified as Chinese, including those from the PRC, HKSAR and Taiwan.⁵¹ On the other hand, children from Chinese families have the highest university completion rate (62 percent) among 25-to-34-year-olds in 2006, compared to 24 percent of children of Canadian born families.⁵² Like other Canadians, Chinese children typically select four areas as their major fields of study in post-secondary education: business, management and public administration; architecture, engineering and related technologies; health, parks, recreation and fitness; social and behavioral sciences, and law.⁵³

The various skills that Chinese immigrants, students and temporary workers contribute to Canadian economy are well documented. For example, the 2006 census reported that Chinese are more likely to work in occupations related to applied sciences and business, such as natural and applied sciences and related occupations; processing, manufacturing and utilities; business, finance and administrative occupations and sales and service. Perhaps not surprisingly, Chinese are more visible than average Canadians in accommodation and food services (restaurant jobs); professional, scientific and technical services (accountants and lawyers); finance and insurance (bank jobs); manufacturing (general labour) and wholesale trade (import and export). However, Chinese are less likely than average Canadians to work in construction, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; health care, social assistance, and public administration. Similarly, it is often reported in the Chinese media that Chinese immigrant communities have experienced significant upward skill mobility from traditional Three Knives (A kitchen knife, Tailor scissors, Shaving knife) to the more modern professions of (lawyers, engineers, doctors, accountants, senior technicians and university professors).⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Gluszynski and Peters 2005.

⁴⁹ CIC 2011a.

⁵⁰ CAUT 2011.

⁵¹ Zha 2012.

⁵² Garnett and Hou 2011.

⁵³ Statistics Canada 2006 Census.

⁵⁴ “三把刀”(菜刀、剪刀、剃刀)变为“六个师”(律师、工程师、医师、会计师、高级技师和大学教师). Xinhua News 2007; lask.com 2012.

There are many other contributions that Chinese communities make, however, that are less well-known. Despite financial funds that business immigrants contribute upon admission to Canada,⁵⁵ their entrepreneurship and international business skills are less appreciated. From 2001 to 2010, over 52,000 business immigrants arrived from China to Canada but it has been difficult for many of them to figure out how to connect with local business partners, *vice versa*.

The business benefits of diaspora networks have been observed by many.⁵⁶ The transnational networks can have the same effects for the host societies. As an essay in *The Economist* (2010) pointed out, in the case of the U.S., immigration provides legions of unofficial ambassadors, deal-brokers, recruiters and boosters. Immigrants not only bring the best ideas from around the world to North American shores; but they are also a conduit for spreading American ideas and ideals in their homelands, thus increasing the “soft power” of their adoptive country.⁵⁷ The same holds true for Canada.

Transnational links also take place in knowledge sharing and innovation. As *The Economist* also pointed out that in Silicon Valley, more than half of all Chinese and Indian scientists and engineers reported having shared information about technology and business opportunities with people in their native countries. At the same time, as people in emerging markets continue to innovate, North America will find it ever more useful to have so many citizens who can tap into the latest information from cities like Mumbai and Shanghai.⁵⁸ In Lin and his colleagues’s study (2008), the authors identify specific roles of internationally educated Chinese transnational entrepreneurs in linking Canada and China in innovation activities. Their study finds that the innovation links established and maintained by Chinese transnational entrepreneurs who concurrently engage in business in Canada and China, but keep Canada as home base.⁵⁹

Furthermore, the local knowledge immigrants have of their home countries reduces the cost of doing business for the U.S. and Canadian firms.⁶⁰ Can the Canadian diaspora play a similar role? Nearly 300,000 Canadians living in the HKSAR makes the city largest Canadian one in Asia.⁶¹ Over 2.8 million Canadians abroad should be recognized as a major asset for Canada.⁶² The new challenge is how Canada can deepen its connections with its citizens living overseas for the benefit of all Canadians.

⁵⁵ About 120,000 business immigrants landed in Greater Vancouver from 1980–2001. These immigrants brought to Vancouver total funds of \$ 35–40 billion (Ley 2011).

⁵⁶ *The Economist*, Nov 19th 2011.

⁵⁷ *The Economist*, Apr 22nd 2010b.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Apr 22nd 2010.

⁵⁹ Lin et al 2008.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Apr 22nd 2010.

⁶¹ Zhang and DeGolyer 2011.

⁶² APF Canada 2011.

3.4 Conclusion: Changing Games in the twenty first Century

The turn of the twenty first century witnessed an increasing flow of people moving between China and Canada. Greater freedom of movement in and out of China and the growing affluence of Chinese citizens is rapidly changing the pattern of people flows and broadening them to include tourists, students and professional workers. The flow of people between the two countries has become a two-way flow. China is no longer an exporter of labour but has also become a destination for foreign talent. The popular perception that immigrants to Canada who return to their native countries have “failed” or are “opportunists” is misguided. These game-changing dynamics have broader foreign policy implications.

3.4.1 China as a Source and a Destination

Canada-China people flows will be increasingly characterized by two-way movements and by transnational citizens with personal, business and emotional attachments on both sides of the Pacific. While there are many challenges that arise from diaspora-like populations at home and abroad, the phenomenon of international labour mobility—especially of the most talented (and sometimes the most notorious)—is here to stay. The challenge for policy is to take a holistic and multi-generational view of transnational citizens, rather than to treat international mobility as a problem.

Looking ahead, it is unrealistic to predict that the immigration flow from China to Canada will remain the same as it has been in the last 10–15 years. This should not be regarded as less important for Canada, however, even if China is no longer the top source country of immigration. In fact, many Chinese will still consider emigrating to Canada for lifestyle reasons rather than purely economic reasons.⁶³ Canada has to be prepared to leverage this new trend for Canada’s economic and social benefit rather than just for the benefit of its labour market.

Only if more Canadians understand the new game—that China is both a source and a destination for people seeking new opportunities—will policy change to reflect the importance of this dynamic. Canada needs to position itself as a preferred destination for Chinese immigrants, students and visitors. Equally important is that Canada should also prepare more Canadians for “going east” to study and work. A broader China policy could ensure that China’s economic rise benefits Canada by increasing two-way trade and investment in goods and services, as well as by increasing two-way flows of people between the two countries.

⁶³ The Globe and Mail, October 3, 2009b.

3.4.2 *Chinese Communities in Canada*

The importance of Chinese communities in Canada has been underestimated for a long time. Chinese immigrants, like all immigrants, have traditionally been seen as suppliers of needed manpower. Too often when people try to measure the contribution of Chinese communities to Canada, they will talk about their higher unemployment numbers and lower earnings. They also talk about the concentration of Chinese communities in cities like Vancouver and Toronto, or about the perception that they may not integrate fully into Canadian society.⁶⁴ In fact, the image of Chinese Canadians today is vastly different than it was in the last two centuries when Chinese immigrants were stereotyped as railway coolies, laundrymen and waiters. What the Chinese Canadian community looks like today is as diversified as Canadian society is as a whole.

Despite its visibility and diversity, the majority of Canadians of Chinese origin feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada. In 2002, 76 percent of those who reported Chinese origins said they had a strong sense of belonging to Canada. At the same time, 58 percent said they had a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group. Canadians of Chinese origin also actively participate in Canadian society. For example, 64 percent of those who were eligible to vote reported doing so in the 2000 federal election, while 60 percent said they voted in the last provincial election. In addition, about 35 percent reported that they had participated in an organization such as a sports team or community association.⁶⁵

Major-General Victor G. Odlum (1880–1971), who during his career served as Canada’s ambassador to China, once called for the day when Chinese Canadians would “not be distinguished from other Canadians.” That wish remains as relevant today as it was during Odlum’s lifetime.⁶⁶

3.4.3 *Role of Canadian Diaspora in China*

Canada cannot afford to ignore the fact that so many Canadians live in China. How Canada can turn its diaspora in China into an advantage remains a huge challenge. First, how should Canadians living in China or other parts of the world be recognized as part of Canada rather than as foreigners who hold Canadian passports? Canadians have to change their mindset and accept the fact that the flow of people moves in two directions. Canada must learn to respect the fact that Canadians, native-born or naturalized, are more internationally mobile than ever before and many have the choice of working and living abroad. When they settle down in Beijing or in another city, Canada must learn to treat them the same as any other Canadian in terms of their rights and obligations. Canada should also encourage their economic

⁶⁴ Johnson 1979; Guo and DeVoretz 2006.

⁶⁵ Lindsay 2001.

⁶⁶ Lee 1984, p. 169.

and social participation abroad. Canada should think about how to better communicate with its overseas communities, how it can deliver better consular protection and other services. This would also ensure that any risks associated with Canadians abroad are properly assessed and addressed.

Furthermore, how should Canada better leverage its expatriate communities in China to enhance opportunities for trade, investment and business between the two countries? Traditionally, diaspora communities have contributed significantly to their home countries through remittances (India, Mexico and Philippines), trade and investment (China and South Korea) and technology transfer (Taiwan, South Korea and China). This is a new game for Canadian policy makers and members of the business community.

3.4.4 Human Capital Exchange

While the scale of the people flow is growing and its direction is changing, the real focal point is the exchange of human capital. It is likely to continue to be a central part of policy discussion in the future. One layer of the policy issue is obviously related to visa and immigration programs. However the exchange of human capital between the two countries requires more policymaking than that.

Canada needs a smarter, more proactive and collaborative approach in addressing this exchange of human capital in the twenty first century. A smarter policy will ensure that Canada brings in international talent of all kinds for the benefit of all Canadians.⁶⁷ A more proactive approach would help Canada be prepared for broader human capital issues. For instance, when Canada welcomes newcomers, it should also embrace its own diaspora, especially when they return.⁶⁸ There is a need for a welcome package designed for returning Canadians, including things such as re-settlement services and international credential recognition.⁶⁹

The most challenging area perhaps is collaborating with Chinese counterparts. There is notable friction in a wide range of issues related to human capital exchange between the two countries. Canada recognizes dual citizenship, but China doesn't, which has already caused tensions in the implementation of the Consular Agreement.⁷⁰ There is a tax treaty between Ottawa and Beijing for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.⁷¹ However, bilateral agreements on social security (especial the employment

⁶⁷ Papademetriou 2003; Kuptsch and Pang 2006.

⁶⁸ Zhang 2006, 2007.

⁶⁹ There was a 'Brain Gain' pilot project launched in Ontario in Jan 2011. It is a joint effort by the federal and provincial governments to reverse the brain drain. It is aimed at making it easier for Canadians abroad to bring their skills home and contribute to the Canada of tomorrow (CIC 2011c).

⁷⁰ DFAIT 2007.

⁷¹ Department of Finance Canada, Online.

insurance and pension arrangements)⁷² and health care have not yet been achieved, both of which are critical. In China, the internationalization of skills and experiences is highly valued, while Canadian employers only look at Canadian credentials and experience. As a result, it is no wonder that there are many agreements or MOUs in science and education collaboration at various levels and fields, while Canada has only one MRA with China for accountants and one with HKSAR for engineers.⁷³

Of all the reasons for Canada to have a robust and forward-looking China policy, people-to-people linkages is arguably the most fundamental. Seen in this light, the nexus of Canada-China human capital is a unique focal point for developing relations between Ottawa and Beijing. While other countries are lining up to sign trade and investment deals with China, Canada can go a step further and investigate the possibility of an agreement on human capital. Such an agreement could encompass issues such as citizenship, visas, education and training, professional accreditation, social security, healthcare, taxation and even extradition. Given the large number of Canadians and Chinese with deep connections across the Pacific, it is a certainty that these bilateral issues will become bigger policy challenges for Beijing and Ottawa in the years ahead. There is an opportunity now to address these issues in a comprehensive way and to turn potential problems into a competitive advantage.

References

- APF Canada. (2011). *Canadians abroad, Canada's global asset*, Vancouver. http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/canadians_abroad_final.pdf. access 4 March 2014.
- Aydemir, A., & Robinson, C. (2006). Return and onward migration among working age men. *Analytical Studies-Research Paper Series*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 11 F0019MIE, No. 273. <http://z.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2006273-eng.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Canadian association of university teachers (CAUC). (2011). *Almanac of post secondary education 2011-2012*. <http://www.caut.ca/resources/almanac>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Canadian tourism commission (CTC). (2012). *Tourism fact sheet: CHINA*, Vancouver.
- CBC News. (10 June 2004). Indepth: China-Chinese immigration. http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/china/chinese_immigration.html. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Challinor, A. E. (September 2011). Canada's immigration policy: a focus on human capital. Country Profiles, Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=853>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- China Radio International. (28 September 2008). Multinational corporations make China home. <http://english1.cri.cn/4026/2007/09/28/1361@278675.htm>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- China scholarship council (CSC). (06 September 2011). News. <http://www.csc.edu.cn/Laihua/newsdetailen.aspx?cid=122&id=902>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- China's ministry of foreign affairs and ministry of public security. (15 August 2004). China's permanent resident administrative methods (外国人在中国永久居留审批管理办法). <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/pds/fw/lsw/fgzl/t267618.htm>. Accessed 15 July 2009.

⁷² Canada has signed social security agreement with 54 countries, but China is not included. Service Canada, Online.

⁷³ CIC 2012.

- Chinese Canadian national council Toronto Chapter (CCNC Toronto). (2012). Online, Chinese Canadian historical photo exhibit. <http://www.ccnc.ca/toronto/history/index.html>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2001). 'Brain gain' pilot project launched in Ontario, News Release, January 30, Ottawa. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2011/2011-01-30.asp>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- CIC. (2008). Canadian experience class now open for business. News release, September 5, Ottawa. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2008/2008-09-05c.asp>. Accessed 23 Sept 2009.
- CIC. (2009). New citizenship rules. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/rules-citizenship.asp>. Accessed 4 Aug 2009.
- CIC. (2010). Evaluation of the International student program. Ottawa.
- CIC. (2011a). Digital library facts and figures 2010: Immigration overview-Permanent and temporary residents, DVD Rom. Ottawa.
- CIC. (2011b). Evaluation of the Provincial Nominee Program. Ottawa.
- CIC. (2012). Strengthening Canada's economy: Government of Canada progress report 2011 on foreign credential recognition, Ottawa.
- Department of finance Canada, Online, Canada-China income tax agreement. http://www.fin.gc.ca/treaties-conventions/china_-eng.asp. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Department of foreign affairs and international trade (DFAIT). (2007). Statement by Minister MacKay on Huseyincan Celil. *News Releases* No. 59 (19 April 2007). <http://news.gc.ca/web/srch-rchrch-eng.do?mthd=advSrch>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- DeVoretz, D. (2009). Canada's secret province: 2.8 million Canadians abroad. *Project research paper*. Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/PP_09_5_DD_estimate_0.pdf. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Docquier, F., & Marfouk, A. (2005). International migration by educational attainment (1990–2000)-Release 1.1. http://perso.uclouvain.be/frederic.docquier/filePDF/DM_ozden-schiff.pdf. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Garnett, P., & Hou, F. (2011). Preparing for success in Canada and the United States: The determinants of educational attainment among the children of immigrants. Analytical studies branch research paper series, Statistics Canada, Ottawa.
- Gluszynski, T., & Peters, V. (2005). Survey of earned doctorates: A profile of doctoral degree recipients. Culture, tourism and the centre for education statistics research papers. Statistics Canada. http://www.acao.org/docs/pdf_phds_health_research.pdf. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Grubel, H., & Grady, P. (2012). Fiscal transfers to immigrants in Canada: Responding to critics and a revised estimate studies. In H. Grubel (Ed.), *Immigration & refugee policy*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute. <http://www.fraserinstitute.org/uploadedFiles/fraser-ca/Content/research-news/research/publications/fiscal-transfers-to-immigrants-in-canada.pdf>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Guo, S., & Don DeVoretz, J. (2006). The changing face of Chinese immigrants in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 7(3), 425–447.
- Heard, A. (2008). Canadian elections 2008. <http://www.sfu.ca/~aheard/elections/index.htm>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Institute of International Education. (2011). Atlas of student mobility, 2011. <http://www.iie.org/projectatlas>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Iask.com (2012). <http://www.iask.ca/news/world/2012/0409/128503.html>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Johnson, G. E. (1979). Chinese family and community in Canada: Tradition and change. In J. L. Elliott (Ed.), *Two nations, many cultures: Ethnic groups in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall.
- Kuptsch, C., & Pang, E. F. (2006). *Competing for global talent*. Geneva: International Labour Office. (Singapore: Singapore Management University).
- Ley, D. (2011). Millionaire migrants: Lessons for immigration policy today. Presentation at 2011 Metropolis Conference, Vancouver.
- Li, P. S. (1998). *Chinese in Canada* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

- Li, P. S. (2005). The rise and fall of Chinese immigration to Canada: Newcomers from Hong Kong special administrative region of China and Mainland China, 1980–2000. *International Migration*, 43(3), 9–32.
- Li, P. S. (2011). Immigrants from China to Canada: Issues of supply and demand in human capital. In P. Potter & T. Adams (Eds.), *Issues in Canada-China relations*. Toronto: Canadian International Council.
- Lindsay, C. (2001). The Chinese community in Canada. Statistics Canada-catalogue No. 89-621-XIE. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2006001-eng.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Migration Policy Institute. (2008). Top 10 migration issues of 2008 Issue #6-return migration: Changing directions? Feature story, Washington DC, Dec 2008. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=707>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Nakache, D., & Kinoshita, P. J. (2010). The Canadian temporary foreign worker program: Do short-term economic needs prevail over human rights concerns? *IRPP Study*, No. 5, May 2010. http://www.irpp.org/pubs/irppstudy/irpp_study_no5.pdf. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- National Post. (26 June 2009). More Canadians seek work teaching english overseas (by Nina Lex). <http://www.nationalpost.com/news/canada/story.html?id=1736363>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Papademetriou, D. G. (2003). *Innovation in the selection of highly skilled immigrants. Policy Brief 15*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Population division of the department of economic and social affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. (2005). Trends in total migrant stock: The 2005 revision, New York. <http://esa.un.org/migration>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Reitz, J. G. (2011). Taxi driver syndrome: Behind-the-scenes immigration changes are creating new problems on top of old ones. *Literary review of Canada*, March 2011. <http://reviewcanada.ca/essays/2011/02/01/taxi-driver-syndrome/>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Service Canada, Online, *Status of Canada's Social Security Agreements*. <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/isp/ibfa/summarytoc.shtml#c>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- Statistics Canada. (2006). Census data products. <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- The Economist. (2010a). A tale of two expats, Dec 29th 2010. <http://www.economist.com/node/17797134>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- The Economist. (2010b). The hub nation, April 22nd 2010. <http://www.economist.com/node/15954498>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- The Economist. (2011). The magic of diasporas, Nov 19th 2011. <http://www.economist.com/node/21538742>. Accessed 18 April 2012.
- The Globe and Mail. (2 January 2007). Child care so costly immigrants sending babies back to China (by Marina Jimenez). <http://www.chineseinvancouver.ca/2007/01/transnational-parenting-separates-chinese-immigrants-kids/>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- The Globe and Mail. (31 March 2009a). Chinese-Canadian diaspora fostering bond (by Jessie Leeder). <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/archives/article704140.ece>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- The Globe and Mail. (3 October 2009b). PEI's big immigration boom (by Erin Anderssen). <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/peis-big-immigration-boom/article1310394/>. Accessed 3 Oct 2009.
- The Globe and Mail. (3 December 2009c). A chronology of Canada-China relations.
- The New York Times. (11 August 2009). American graduates finding jobs in China (by Hannah Seligson). http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/11/business/economy/11expats.html?_r=1. Accessed 31 Aug 2009.
- The World Bank. (2010). Bilateral estimates of migrant stocks in 2010. <http://go.worldbank.org/JITC7NYTT0>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Library, U. B. C. The Chinese experience in British Columbia: 1850–1950. <http://www.library.ubc.ca/chineseinbc/index.html>. Accessed 18 April 2012.

- University of Sussex. (2007). U.K., Global migrant origin database, Dataset 4, updated March 2007. http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/typesofmigration/global_migrant_origin_database.html. Accessed 13 April 2012.
- Vancouver Sun. (7 January 2008). Canada may look to WTO to gain approved destination status in China (by Joanne Lee-Young). <http://www.canada.com/vancouver/news/business/story.html?id=2c41099e-5eb0-4425-9e62-c53e132efab7&k=28213>. Accessed 4 Aug 2009.
- Vancouver Sun. (7 July 2009a). Asians to fill talent gap, boost innovation (by Eveline Danubrata). <http://www.vancouver.sun.com/business/asia-pacific/Asians+fill+talent+boost+innovation/1766289/story.html>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Vancouver Sun. (31 August 2009b). Fresh crop of B.C. jobseekers see Asia as their best employment opportunity (by Joanne Lee-Young). <http://www.vancouver.sun.com/business/Fresh+crop+jobseekers+Asia+their+best+employment+opportunity/1945671/story.html>. Accessed 31 August 2009.
- Wai-man, L. (1984). *Portraits of a challenge: An illustrated history of the Chinese Canadians*. Toronto: The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario.
- Wang, H. (2012). China's competition for global talents: strategy, policy and recommendations. *Research report*. Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. <http://www.asiapacific.ca/research-report/chinas-competition-global-talents-strategy-policy-and-recomm>. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Wang, S., & Lo, L. (2005). Chinese immigrants in Canada: Their changing composition and economic performance. *International Migration*, 43(3), 35–71.
- Washington Post Foreign Service. (21 October 2007). Page A16, Chasing the chinese dream (by Ariana Eunjung Cha). <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/10/20/AR2007102000530.html>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Woo, Y. P., & Wang, H. (2009). "The fortune in our future," *the Globe and Mail*, on June 23, 2009. <http://www.asiapacific.ca/editorials/canada-asia-viewpoints/editorials/fortune-our-future>. Accessed 3 April 2012.
- World Journal. (20 September 2009). Going to China for jobs popular in Canada and the US (赴中國覓職 加美蔚成風). http://van.worldjournal.com/pages/full_van/push?article-%E8%B5%B4%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E8%A6%93%E8%81%B7+%E5%8A%A0%E7%BE%8E%E8%94%9A%E6%88%90%E9%A2%A8%20&id=3663168&instance=bcnews. Accessed 22 Sept 2009.
- Lin, X. et al. (2008). Transnational entrepreneurs as agents of International innovation linkages. *Research Report* (December 2008). Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. <http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/ImmigEntrepreneurs.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Xinhua, N. (2007). 从“三把刀”变为“六个师” 澳华人主流意识增强. http://news.xinhuanet.com/overseas/2007-12/05/content_7202455.htm. Accessed 4 March 2014.
- Xinhua News. (21 February 2008). Survey of stratifications of foreigners in China (在华外国人分阶层调查). http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2008-02/21/content_7639618.htm. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Xinhua News. (25 April 2012). Alien entries grow 10% annually in the new century, (新世纪以来外国人入境人数每年递增10%). http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2012-04/25/c_111842921.htm. Accessed 26 April 2012.
- Zha, Q. (16 April 2012). What factors influencing the direction of global brain circulation: the case of Chinese holders of Canada research chair. *Workshop Presentation*. Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.
- Zhang, K. (22 March 2006). Recognizing the Canadian Diaspora, Canada Asia Commentary, #41, Asia Pacific foundation of Canada, Vancouver. <http://www.asiapacific.ca/analysis/pubs/pdfs/commentary/cac41.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Zhang, K. (30 September 2007). 'Mission Invisible'-rethinking the Canadian diaspora, Canada Asia commentary, #46, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Vancouver. <http://www.asiapacific.ca/analysis/pubs/pdfs/commentary/cac46.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2009.
- Zhang, K. (2011a). Flows of people and the Canada-China relationship. In P. Potter & T. Adams (Eds.), *Issues in Canada-China relations*. Toronto: Canadian International Council.

- Zhang, K. (2011b). Chinese in Canada and Canadians in China: The human platform for relationships between China and Canada. In H. Cao & V. Poy (Eds.), *The China challenge: Sino-Canadian relations in the 21st century*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Zhang, K., & DeGolyer, M. E. (24 February 2011). Hong Kong: Canada's largest city in Asia-survey of Canadian citizens in Hong Kong, survey report, Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/hk_survey_feb2011_v8.pdf. Accessed 18 April 2012.