

**A Social-Cultural-Historical Analysis of Chinese Return Migration:
Case Studies of Ten Chinese MBA Students' Migration Experiences**

by

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■ ♦ ■
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ABSTRACT

Recent years have witnessed the large number of Chinese immigrants in Canada. However, talk about the return migration of Chinese immigrants is circulating within the Canada's Chinese communities, especially among Chinese immigrants who have obtained Canadian academic credentials. This inquiry explores ten Chinese immigrants' perceptions about their immigration and living experiences in Canada. My goal is to understand, from a social-cultural-historical context, the phenomenon of Chinese-Canadian return migration among recent Chinese immigrants in Canada. The theoretical framework is derived primarily from Bourdieu's capital theory and his critical approach to the concept of *habitus*. Drawing on an interpretative, qualitative approach, I examine social, cultural, historical forces that influence the ways these Chinese immigrants perceive, negotiate and reposition themselves in facing various challenges and struggles. Traditionally, research on return migration of Chinese immigrants in Canada has focused on the economic and social integration of immigrants in the host country. I argue that "Chinese cultural habitus", such as the profound influence of Confucianism and Taoism that Chinese immigrants inherited, played critical roles in their actions, attitudes and decision-making about their return migration. I collected the participants' narratives for a one and half year period from August 2006 to March 2008 primarily through open-ended interviews, and various documentation such as field notes, reflexive notes and Canadian Statistics. Analyses of the data suggest that the unrecognized foreign credentials and the limited social capital of Chinese immigrants are the primary factors that

disadvantage their social mobility. Chinese cultural values and beliefs have great impact on Chinese immigrants' perceptions and behaviors during their journey of crossing different social spaces, assuming different positionings and negotiating among their multiple identities.

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis quelques décennies déjà, le Canada est le témoin d'une forte immigration chinoise sur son territoire. Toutefois, les rumeurs dans les communautés chinoises au Canada, plus particulièrement parmi les immigrants chinois ayant obtenu un diplôme canadien, laissent entendre que les immigrants chinois retournent dans leur pays d'origine. Cette recherche explore les perceptions de dix immigrants chinois par rapport à leur immigration et à leurs expériences de vie au Canada. Mon objectif est de comprendre, d'un point de vue socioculturel et historique, le phénomène migratoire du retour des Chinois-Canadiens parmi les nombreux immigrants chinois récemment arrivés au Canada. Le cadre théorique s'appuie sur la théorie du capital de Bourdieu et sur son approche critique du concept de l'habitus. À partir d'une approche interprétative et qualitative, j'examine les forces sociales, culturelles et historiques qui influencent les manières de percevoir, de négocier et de se repositionner des immigrants chinois lorsqu'ils font face aux divers défis et obstacles. Traditionnellement, la recherche portant sur le retour dans le parcours migratoire des immigrants chinois au Canada a davantage insisté sur l'intégration sociale et économique des immigrants dans le pays d'accueil. Cependant, je soutiens que « l'habitus culturel chinois », tel qu'une influence profonde du Confucianisme et du Taoïsme dont ont hérité les immigrants chinois, a joué un important rôle dans leurs actions, leurs attitudes et leurs prises de décision. Durant une année et demie, entre août 2006 et mars 2008, j'ai recueilli les récits des participants principalement par des entrevues ouvertes mais aussi grâce à

plusieurs autres sources de documentation comme des notes de terrain, des notes réflexives et des statistiques canadiennes. L'analyse des données suggère que la non-reconnaissance des diplômes étrangers et le capital social limité des immigrants chinois sont les premiers facteurs portant préjudice à leur mobilité sociale. Par ailleurs, les croyances et valeurs culturelles chinoises influencent grandement les perceptions et les comportements des immigrants chinois pendant leur séjour au Canada où ils ont à traverser divers espaces sociaux, à adopter des positions différentes et à composer avec leurs identités multiples.

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I dedicate this dissertation to the memories of my beloved father Hongtu and my dearest baby daughter Zipei. They are the motivation for me to carry on my Ph. D studies.

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my paper. And thanks to Amy for your smile and company, which helped me forget all my troubles. I will finally have more time to spend and play with both of you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The inquiry aims to explore the phenomena of the return migration of Chinese immigrants from Canada. All participants including me as the researcher in this inquiry are from China; we were born, raised and educated there. Although we are different in many ways as individuals, we share some social, cultural, historical, and political contexts that are a part of our lives in China. Therefore, in chapter 1, I first provide general contextual information about China and Chinese booming economy. Because all ten participants in the inquiry chose Shanghai as their return destination, I also provide background information about Shanghai. I then explain why I conducted a social-cultural-historical analysis of the participants' experiences.

Background Context of the Inquiry

General Information about China



Figure 1: Map of China (source from <http://www.lonelyplanet.com>)

China, as the third largest country in the world ranking after Russia and Canada, has a land area of about 9.6 million square kilometers, making up 6.5 percent of earth's land mass. It has a 5000 year history, rich cultural relics and historical sites. Chinese has contributed to mankind with the invention of paper, printing, powder and compass. The People's Republic of China as a unified, multi-national country, comprising 56 nationalities, was founded in 1949. The Han people make up 91.02 percent of the total population, leaving 8.98 percent for the other 55 ethnic minorities. Although the 55 minority ethnic groups make up only a small proportion of the overall Chinese population, they are distributed extensively throughout different regions of China.

The national language is Mandarin, which is one of the five working languages at the United Nations. Most of the 55 minority ethnic groups have their own languages. As a written language, Chinese has been used for thousands of years. China is a country with great diversity of religions, and over 100 million followers of various faiths. These religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism exert different influences on different ethnic groups.

Administratively, China is divided into three basic levels: provinces (autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government), counties (cities, banners, special districts, industrial-agricultural district, forest district), and townships (towns). There are twenty-three provinces, five autonomous regions, four municipalities directly under the Central Government and two special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macao).

China is one of the most populated countries in the world, with 1,330,044,544 people in July 2008 (CIA, The world fact book), about 22 percent of the world's total. This population, however, is unevenly distributed. Along the densely populated east coast, there are more than 400 people per sq km; in the central areas, over 200; and in the sparsely populated plateaus in the west there are fewer than 10 people per sq km.

China's Rapid Economic Development

Economic development in China has undergone a challenging course. The year 1978 can be seen as a watershed of China's economic development. Before 1978, China's economy had a weak foundation in agriculture, and the ratio between light and heavy industries was unbalanced. Since 1978, China has adopted a series of policies and measures giving priority to the economic development by opening it to the outside world in a planned way, step by step. Since 1980, China has established special economic zones in Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou in Guangdong Province and Xiamen in Fujian Province. It designated the entire province of Hainan as a special economic zone with the aim of absorbing foreign investment and accelerating inland economic development. In 1984, China further opened 14 coastal cities, such as Dalian, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Qingdao.

Since the implementation of the policies of reform and opening to the outside world in 1978, the Chinese people have made remarkable progress. On the world economic arena today, China has become a world-recognized political

and economic power that plays a vital role in international affairs. According to statistics from and calculations by a number of international organizations and experts, measured on a purchasing power parity (PPP) basis, China in 2007 stood as the second-largest economy in the world after the US, although in per capita terms the country is still lower middle-income (CIA, The world fact book).

In the past five decades, the living standard of China's urban and rural residents has improved, with changes in life styles. By the end of 2007, the real growth rate of GDP is 11.9% and the distribution of family income-Gini index is 47 (CIA, The world fact book). The consumption structure and pattern of merchandise changed remarkably with more money spent on housing, communication, medical insurance, education and entertainment. People seem to have more savings, stocks and other financial assets. The total deposit of Chinese people soared from 1995's 2,966.2 billion yuan to 1999's 5,962.2 billion yuan (People's Daily, Oct. 4, 2000).

Expenditures on durable goods have increased as well. Latest official statistics indicate that the number of individually-owned cars in China has now exceeded 10 million, amounting to one car for 120 people on average (People's daily, Oct. 4, 2000). Owning a car is no longer a dream for many Chinese families. Automobiles, once regarded as a luxury for individuals in China, have become standard consumer products like TVs and computers. However, before the 1990s, cars were mainly purchased and used by government departments and they were viewed as the symbol of power and wealth. Now, automobiles are part of the daily lives of many Chinese families.

For the future, China aims to further stimulate demands, accelerate infrastructural construction, promote enterprise and technological progress, and improve the quality and efficiency of economic growth.

China and Globalization

Globalization

Globalization refers to increasing global connectivity, integration, interdependence in the economic, social, technological, cultural, political and ecological spheres. The Encyclopedia Britannica indicates that globalization is the “process by which the experience of everyday life... is becoming standardized around the world” (Cultural Globalization, 2008). While some scholars and observers of globalization stress convergence of patterns of production and consumption and a resulting homogenization of culture, others stress that globalization has the potential to take many diverse forms (Raskin et. al, 2002). Thus, the term globalization captures a great number of processes that transcend and redefine regional and national boundaries. The free flow of capital, information, goods and people not only makes its impact felt on the world’s economy, politics and population, but equally culture, religion and education, thus, reshaping the world all live in.

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. For thousands of years, people have been buying and selling to each other in lands at great distances, such as through the famous Silk Road across Central Asia that connects China and Europe used during the Middle Ages. However, today’s globalization, especially

the globalization of the world economy depends more on the role of human migration, international trade, movement of capital, and advanced technological developments such as information technology. Since the term has come into common usage in the 1980s, globalization has acquired considerable emotive force. There are people who might view it as a process that is beneficial - a key to future world economic development - and also inevitable and irreversible. While others might regard it with hostility, even fear, believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens employment and living standards and thwarts social process, resulting in the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer. For China, globalization is often seen as a double-edged sword that brings both opportunities and challenges.

China and Globalization

In this era of economic globalization, no country can develop and prosper in isolation. China has learned from her long history that isolation leads to backwardness, and development progress and prosperity can only be achieved through opening to and integrating with the outside world, exchanging and cooperating with other countries and absorbing other experiences of human civilization.

China has long suffered and experienced turmoil in its economic developments. It had largely cut itself off from the world during the more radical Cultural Revolution years of the Maoist era (1966-1976) in which China's students and others, under the guidance of Mao Zedong's peasant chiliasm,

humiliated a majority of senior government and party leaders, attacked the country's major educational, social and political institutions, and destroyed much of China's cultural heritage. Consequently, after the onset of the 1978's reforms, China had to re-enter the global community almost from scratch; however, it joined the world global market with more enthusiasm. The 1978's economic reform had profound impact and continues to shape China's current growth trajectory with a mix of marketization and state intervention (Grumbine, 2007, p.250). During the 1990s, Deng Xiaoping, who assumed power in 1978, introduced the concept of 'socialist market economy' to provide an ideological spin to the changes he was overseeing. Since then, the country has adopted gradualism as an approach to globalization and hence reaped tremendous economic benefits over the past two decades from China's opening and engagement with the global economy by attracting foreign direct investment from developed countries such as the United States and some European countries. In 1960, the average Chinese expected to live only 36 years. By 1999, life expectancy had risen to 70 years, not far below the level of the United States. Literacy has risen from less than 50 percent to more than 80 percent (Rodrik, 2002).

China has learned many lessons and accumulated much experience in dealing with globalization from its practice of reform and opening up its borders. The short time frame and sheer massive scale of Chinese globalization illustrate not only how China itself is becoming more global, but also, and equally

important, how Chinese people, ideas, capital and goods find their way across the globe.

China's participation in globalization is not a one-way street. China's fast growth helped to drive the recovery in East Asia from the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998. China has also provided the world with the largest rising economic market. When more than 1.25 billion people become well-off, the demand on everything will be enormous. Western countries such as Canada and the United States have also benefited from the low prices and high quality of goods.

Although China has become the world's economic power-house with increasing influence on everything from global trade talks to currency rates, China still has a long way to go to become a developed country. For example, the huge wealth gap between the rich and the poor has increased dramatically since China's adoption of a market-oriented economy. Prior to the reform, around 85 percent of the rural population was covered by health care; while today, more than 80 percent of rural dwellers do not have any form of health care (Wen, 2005). Its economic success also comes at great environmental cost. Many environment disasters are the result of the rapid economic growth, such as China is the world's second-largest CO₂ producer after the United States. China will most likely pass the United States in CO₂ emissions around 2010 (EIA, 2006) as the result of burning brown coal for the industrial growth and the increasing number of cars on the road. In many parts of the country, water is so polluted from manufacturing waste that it is unsafe to drink. Deforestation has intensified

annual summer dust storms, and the sands of the Gobi desert have invaded Beijing, the capital of China every year.

China's response to increasing social unrest, along with its massive ecological problems, has implications not only for its 1.2 billion citizens but for the entire planet. Fortunately, the Chinese government has realized its ecological problems and has focused on pollution control to stem further ecological degradation. The Chinese government plans to shut down small coal-fired power plants with total electricity generating capacity of 50 million kilowatts between 2006 and 2010 and shut down outdated production facilities in steel, cement, electrolytic aluminum ferrous alloy, coke and calcium carbide industries (People's Daily, March 5, 2007).

Situating the Inquiry

Tales of Shanghai

Shanghai, situated on the banks of the Yangtze River Delta in East China, is the largest city of the People's Republic of China and the ninth largest city in the world. It attracts people at home and abroad. People come here for its culture, its history, its people and the energy it shows in its rush to international metropolis status. Shanghai is an image of China's fast growth that includes tourist attractions, business opportunities and cultural activities.

Shanghai is divided by the Huangpu River into Puxi and Pudong. Puxi, on the west side of the river, is Shanghai as it has always been known and it is the Shanghai of history and legend. The famous waterfront street with western style

architectures known as 'the Bund' runs along its eastern edge. The riverside esplanade attracts locals and visitors who can stroll leisurely along its length.

Although Shanghai has been an active port city for several centuries, however, it became a city of international prominence only after the Treaty of Nanjing opened it as a port for international trade in 1843 at the close of the Opium War. Prior to this, Shanghai was a cluster of fishing villages and a marketing centre in the region.

Shanghai became the third largest financial center in the world, ranking after New York City and London, and the largest commercial city in the Far East in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It was one of the most cosmopolitan places. Old Shanghai was the worst and the best of everything. It was the "Whore of Asia" and also the "Paris of the East" (Owyang, 2006, p. 412). It was a paradise for adventurers, and a haven to millions of people, both Chinese and foreigners, who sought refuge there from the wars and the poverty that surrounded it.

Today, strolling along the old streets in Puxi, one can find many old residential streets that used to be occupied by famous Chinese revolutionary intellectuals who were fighting for the future of China at the beginning of the 20th century and had great influence on Chinese history. Among those revolutionary fighters, there are Lu Xun, the most famous writer in China in the mid-war period and young, communist writer Rou Shi. Shanghai is also the base of the extraordinary Song family who dominated Shanghai and China for a quarter of a century.



Figure 2: Modern Bund of Shanghai (sources from <http://images.google.ca>)



Figure 3: Bund in old Shanghai (source from <http://images.google.ca>)

Shanghai as a Center Stage of China's Rapid Economic Development

In 2008 Shanghai is designed with the aim of letting more people all over the world have a better understanding of its modern space, especially its current developments. Shanghai plays an important role in China's social and economic development and is widely regarded as the center of China's modern economy. The city also serves as one of the most important cultural, commercial, financial, and industrial centers of China. Administratively, Shanghai is divided into 18

districts as we can see from the following map and 1 county of Chongming of 6, 3405 square kilometers, a municipality of the People's Republic of China that has province-level status.

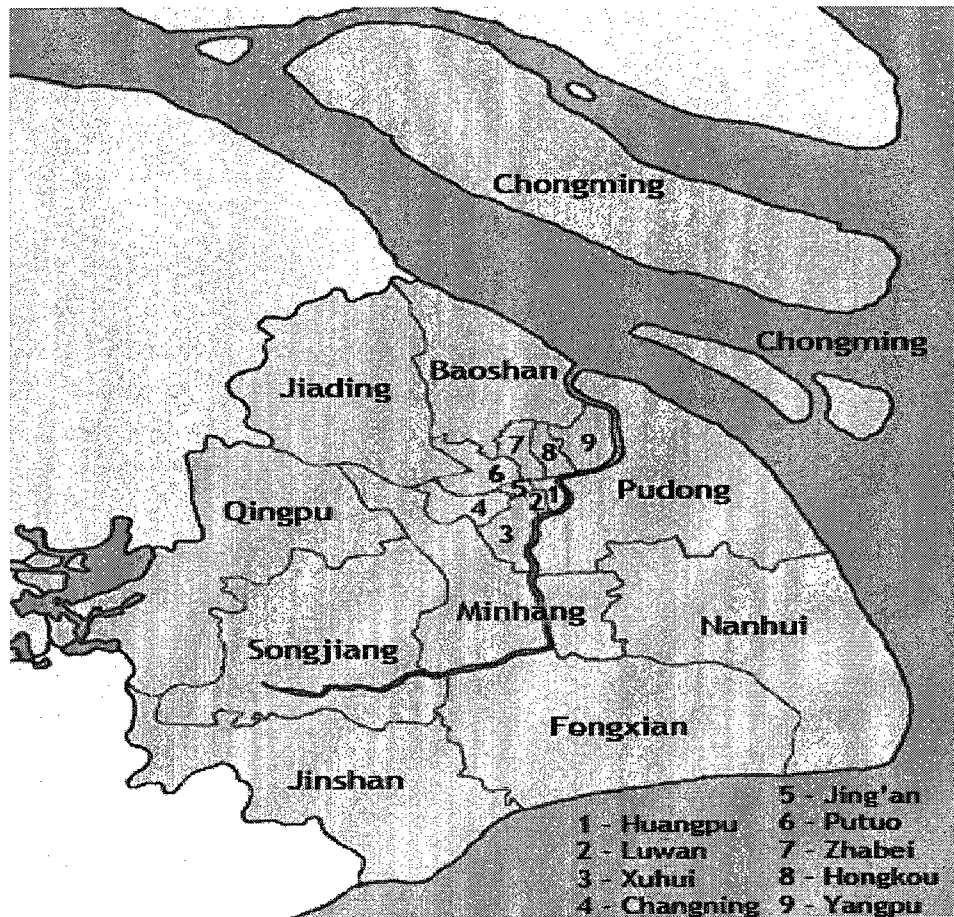


Figure 4: Map of Shanghai (source from [www. sh. gc. cn](http://www.sh.gc.cn))

Shanghai is one of the earliest cities in China that was opened to foreign trade. Its long history together with new developments in Pudong area have contributed to making Shanghai one of the world's great cities. Though modern development of Shanghai began with economic reforms in 1992 under the policy of market-economy, Shanghai has now surpassed early-starters Shenzhen and

Guangzhou, and has maintained itself as the business center in Mainland China. Shanghai is also one of the world's busiest ports, and became the largest cargo port in the world in 2005 (American Association of Port Authorization, 2006).

With a population of 13.2163 million (according to permanent residence registration) only 1% of China's total and a land area of 0.06% of China's total, Shanghai contributes 1/12 of China's total industrial output value, 1/6 of China's port cargo handling volume, 1/4 of China's total exports and 1/8 of China's financial revenue (Shanghai Municipal People's government, 2008). In recent years, Shanghai's economy is becoming more service-oriented. In 2001, the financial, business services and real estate sector made up one-fifth of the city's GDP. From 1992 to 2000, Shanghai had registered a double-digit annual GDP growth rate for nine consecutive years (Shanghai Municipal People's government, 2008). The city had a GDP per capita of ¥55,153 (ca. US\$ 7,116) in 2006, ranked no. 1 among all 659 Chinese cities. In 2005, Shanghai's nominal GDP posted an 11.3% growth to 915.4 billion yuan (US\$117 billion) (Shanghai Municipal People's government, 2008).

Shanghai's achievements have caught world attention. However, rapid economic development has placed tremendous pressure on society. The city is undergoing a lot of changes and countless infrastructure and redevelopment projects contribute to various socio-economic problems such as a huge wealth gap and high property prices. Despite these challenges, Shanghai's skyscrapers and modern lifestyle are often seen as representing China's recent economic development.

Focus of the Study and Objectives

The declining birthrate and the increasing aging population in Canada has resulted in the Canadian government's attempt to attract hundreds of thousands of skilled workers from abroad to make up a labour shortfall. Past waves of immigration tended to draw from the United Kingdom, France, and, to a lesser extent, northern European countries such as Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Iceland. Recent immigrants mainly come from Asian countries such as China, India and Pakistan. Among them, China has been Canada's top source of immigrants since 1998. According to Statistics Canada 2001 Census, Chinese was one of the largest visible minority groups in Canada, surpassing one million. In 2001 Census, 1,029,000 individuals identified themselves as Chinese, up from 860,100 in 1996. They accounted for 3.5% of the total national population and 26% of the visible minority population (Statistics Canada, 2001). Between 1980 and 2000, nearly 800,000 Chinese immigrants landed in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001). They now account for 20 per cent of Canada's total immigration in-take, and the Chinese language has become the third-most-spoken language after English and French in Canada.

Rumors about return migration are circulating within Canada's Chinese communities. Chinese officials stated in 1995 that of the 220,000 Chinese students who had gone abroad since 1979, only 75,000 had returned (Migration News, 1995). However, in recent years, there has been an increasing number of overseas Chinese returnees. Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen are the three metropolitan cities attracting most returnees. It is estimated there are about

700,000 Chinese working, studying and living abroad, and about 30-40,000 Chinese had returned by the year 2003 (China Scholars Abroad, 2006).

For many ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, both the well-off and the not-so-rich, strategies of accumulation of social capital and economic capital begin with the acquisition of a Western Education (Ong, 1999). Recent Chinese immigrants perceived western educational credentials as means to 'open doors' to the 'top jobs' (Lee, 2001), and ultimately increase their social mobility in Canada. However, despite their higher education qualifications and proficiency in Canada's official languages - English and French, many Chinese immigrants are disappointed and even frustrated by their inability to achieve satisfactory economic performance in the Canadian labour market (Tian 2000; Yu, 2002). In addition, even though equipped with university education, speaking fluent English and coming to Canada with a wealth of industry experience, Chinese immigrants are earning half as much as the general Canadian population, even after two decades. On average, their total income is only half of that for the general population (\$15,000 vs. \$30,000), and their employment income is about \$4,000 (or 15%) less. Their self-employment income is also less, though with a smaller margin \$532 (or 6%) less (Wang & Lo, 2005).

The reasons that are attributed to the return migration among Chinese immigrants are not personal ones but very complex. The scarce employment opportunities in host countries, the glass ceiling in career development and cultural differences might be the primary reasons that lead to the return migration. Canadian government's reluctance to recognize foreign credentials forced a

great number of Chinese immigrants to give up their professional jobs that they had been doing for years in China. In order to make a living, they are compelled to take up menial jobs. Jobs such as working as a truck driver in factories and restaurant cook are very common for some very well-educated Chinese immigrants. In addition, even for some immigrants with professional jobs in Canada, it is hard for them to advance in their career, such as being promoted to managerial positions. The number of Chinese immigrants in managerial positions in Canadian organizations is small. As first generation immigrants, most Chinese still hold firmly and adhere to their cultural values and traditions, which might further prevent them from integration into Canadian society.

Some subtle cultural factors also favor the migrants' return, like experiencing a familiar language and culture. Factors such as family background, age, sex also play key roles in Chinese decision-making of return migration. Males without family burdens usually return to China after obtaining western credentials compared with those males with families and children. Females in general prefer staying in Canada because of the better working conditions and natural environment. In addition, the Chinese booming economy and the Chinese government's proactive programs to entice overseas talents such as the tax cut also motivate the return of Chinese migrants from Canada.

The Chinese government at all levels, national, provincial and municipal, actively encourages return to China. At the national level, since 1996, 10 new programs have been established to encourage people to return, including the "Seed fund for returned overseas scholars", "Cross century outstanding

personnel training program”, the “ National science fund for distinguished young scholars” and the “one hundred, one thousand, and ten thousands program” (Cao, 2004). Local governments, too, compete among themselves for overseas talent; cities offer various incentives to make themselves the preferred destination of returnees by providing returnees with housing discounts, computers, free office or factory floor space, jobs for spouses and special schools for their children (Zweig, 2006).

For instance, the Shanghai government has taken measures to attract returnees by establishing special offices to strengthen coordination and management for returnees; setting up working networks between home institutions and overseas organizations outlining the main policy ‘Go abroad, welcome back’; making various types of assistance available for returnees improving complementary service and better service quality, and helping with projects and investments in ‘science parks’ (Iredale & Guo, 2001). All these efforts are aiming to assist returnees with better settlement services such as house hunting, visa application and school registration for their children. The local governments work hard to ensure the working conditions and environment in the science parks match North American’s standards. Procedures for entrepreneurship are simplified as a motive to encourage returnees to start their own companies and business.

This phenomenon of Chinese return migration poses new challenges to Canadian policy makers and community workers, including the recognition of foreign credentials, offer of more inclusive settlement services to all immigrants

and better understanding of diverse cultural values and heritages. Less well known is the exact number of Chinese Canadians living and working in China, the result of a return flow of Chinese immigrants who hold Canadian passports. There is a dearth of a research on analyzing the social, economic, and cultural reasons for their return migration among Chinese immigrants in Canada.

The Chinese Diaspora is different from the dispersal of Jewish communities because most Chinese immigrated voluntarily, although some may say, economic hunger left individuals with little alternative. Chinese immigration has a long history that can be dated back one thousand years. Since the 1978's economic reform, more Chinese have the freedom and opportunities to go abroad to study and reside. The peak of Chinese immigration to Canada occurred in the 1990s with the Canadian government changed its immigration law allowing and accepted qualified Chinese immigrants in order to make up for its aging Canadian population. Mainland China continues its record of being the largest source of new immigrants to Canada during the past five years since 1999, with a total of 175,000 people immigrating to Canada (Wu, 2004). However, Canada is losing its appeal for Chinese immigrants as a favored destination. The number of immigrant applications from China and Hong Kong has decreased notably in the past three years. In June of 2006, just 19,826 immigrant applications were processed at Canada's mission in Beijing, compared with 37,124 in July of 2004 (Jimenez, 2006).

Therefore, my research aims are: 1) to explore the lived Canadian experiences of ten Chinese MBA graduates from a Canadian University (M

University will be used as the pseudonym in the paper; 2) to uncover the graduates' process of decision-making about return migration; 3) to analyze the social, economic, and cultural reasons for their return migration; 4) to investigate the impact of return migration on these returnees, especially on their cultural identities; 5) to explore how they reposition themselves in China after return migration.

For some Chinese immigrants, obtaining foreign educational credentials is the sole purpose of migration. This group of Chinese has made a return decision before migration. Seeking western education as a means to accumulate social and cultural capital, and the accumulation of capitals may enable some individuals easy exchange of economic capital to increase their social mobility. While for others, migration can offer an escape - a way out of a highly competitive, stratified and oppressive political environment and an easier academic route. For most Chinese immigrants, immigration provides them not only with the opportunity to go abroad and get in touch with the western world, but also the chance to enjoy political freedom. They have the courage to express their political views on current Chinese politics without worrying about the outcome of their actions. For others, studying overseas can provide them with an equal opportunity for academic pursuit without fierce competition and numerous exams. In China, the competition for entrance to top universities is so fierce that children have to prepare for the competition from the day they enter kindergarten.

For Chinese returnees, they seem to be wandering in two worlds with two totally different cultural values and social systems, and face the complexities of

their identities. When they were in Canada, they were used to their identity as one of many visible minorities in Canadian society. However, after their return, as the majority of Chinese society, they find themselves belonging in the society. Their Canadian immigration experiences make them feel that the values they cherish most are constantly in conflict with the values of Chinese culture. They feel they are outsiders of the society. Most returnees feel lost about their identities, and experience an 'identity crisis' (Taylor, 1989). "They lack a frame or horizon within which things can take on a stable significance, within which some life possibilities can be seen as good or meaningful, and others as bad or trivial" (Taylor, 1989, p.28). How do they reposition themselves in Chinese society after being influenced by western ideology and values, and what strategies do they adopt in order to help them cope with their identity crisis? "Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history, and culture. Culture is not an essence but a positioning" (Hall, 2003, p.237). Cultural identity is not fixed; it changes within historical and cultural contexts.

Research Questions

My research goal is to understand from a social-cultural-historical view the phenomena of Chinese-Canadian return migration among a recent selected group of Chinese immigrants in Canada. I approach the goal by exploring three different levels of questions:

The first question focuses on the ten participants' perceptions of their Canadian lived experiences. What difficulties did these Chinese immigrants perceive they encountered when they immigrated to Canada? What kinds of challenges and struggles did they perceive they experienced in their Canadian job hunting experiences? How did they perceive Chinese cultural values? What was the impact of Chinese cultural values on their daily life in Canada? How did they reposition themselves in the host society? What strategies did they take in order to cope with the difficulties they faced in Canada?

I then explore the reasons for their return migration. What are the social, economic and cultural reasons for their return? What are the impacts of oriental cultural heritage in their lives? How do they value their cultural traditions? What roles does social capital play in their finding a professional employment in Canada? Will they permanently stay in China or go back Canada in the near future? Are they happy about their return decision? How do they value their North American educational experience in their job hunting both in Canada and China?

I then try to understand how returnees reposition themselves in two different societies. How did the participants reposition themselves in dealing with the challenges and struggles they encountered both in Canada and China? How did they adapt to the country in which they reside? How did they deal with the challenges and confusion that their multiple identities created? How do they see their own identities? How are their views of positioning themselves mediated by political, social, economic forces that they have experienced? Why did they take

on particular positionings in particular social contexts? How did they explain the ways they carried out particular actions?

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. In this first chapter, I introduced the background context of the inquiry. I explain why China is the magnet for the Chinese returnees. In chapter two, I provide the social and historical context about Chinese immigration in Canada, especially the evolution of Canadian immigration policies towards Chinese immigrants since the end of the 19th century. I also introduce the three main Chinese communities in Canada and their development and their roles in attracting Chinese immigrants. In chapter three, I provide a literature review on the economic integration of Chinese immigrants. I present and discuss some of the relevant theoretical concepts of Bourdieu, his perceptions of the forms of capital, the concept of cultural habitus. They have greatly influenced the way I understand and interpret the participants' experiences from a social, cultural and historical perspective. In chapter four, I reflect on my personal background and the various roles I played while I conducted interviews with the participants. I explain the research methodologies and my epistemological stance in the inquiry that guided the way I collected and interpreted the data of the inquiry. In chapter five, I provide the cultural context for the inquiry especially the two influential cultural habitus of Chinese culture - Confucianism and Taoism. I also present the profound influences of traditional Chinese culture on shaping Chinese attitudes, behaviors and decision-makings.

In chapter six, I introduce the ten participants' personal narratives about their Canadian immigration and return migration experiences. I focus on their strong voices as active agents in their social worlds and describe what kinds of challenges they experienced and how they dealt with those challenges. In chapter seven, I provide a critical and interpretive discussion of themes that emerged from the ten narratives. In chapter eight, I propose some implications of this inquiry for governments, researchers and policy makers.

Summary

Because of the aging population and the shortage of labor force in Canadian society, each year, Canada admits millions of skilled workers to its country in order to meet the need for skilled labors. In the past, Canada tended to attract immigrants from European countries such as from the United Kingdom, France and other European countries. Recent immigrants to Canada mainly come from Asian countries such as China and India, and China has been the leading source of immigrants for years.

However, since 2005, there have been a declining number of Chinese immigration applications. Has Canada lost its appeal for Chinese immigrants? In addition, there is a trend of return migration among Chinese immigrants. Does China's booming economy provide better career opportunities for the returnees? In order to answer these questions, I examine the policies that the Chinese government took as a means to attract its overseas students and immigrants.

My research aims to focus on exploring the social, economic and cultural reasons that cause the return migration among Chinese immigrants. I hope the research can shed light on the studies of Chinese immigrants by providing a better understanding about their return decisions and their perception on Chinese values.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

In this chapter, I discuss the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada and the changes of Canadian immigration policies towards minorities. Chinese immigrants to Canada usually have come from three geographical areas: Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Although the three groups share the same ethnicity, their political tendencies, social values, and economic behaviors are different. Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are the three largest cities in Canada attracting large number of immigrants each year. They are also the three *favoured destinations for Chinese immigrants who have founded large and mature Chinese communities in these three cities*. Even though, recent immigrants have more education than previous immigrants and high language proficiency in English, one of the two official Canadian languages, they are still lagging behind Canadian born in employment and income, and their poor economic performance further hinders their participation and integration into Canadian society.

The History of Chinese Immigrants in Canada

Immigration has been a key component in the nation building and social development of Canada. Not only is the history of Canada linked closely to immigration, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that Canada's future will be largely dependent on the long-term role that immigration is allowed to play (Passaris, 1998). Each year, approximately 200,000 immigrants from all over the

world come to Canada drawn by its quality of life and its reputation as an open, peaceful and caring society that embraces newcomers and values diversity. Among them, the Chinese is one of the largest visible minorities in Canada. Between 1980 and 2000, it is estimated that there are about 800,000 Chinese immigrants to Canada. Since the 2001 census, Chinese immigrants have dominated the total intake of Canadian immigrants. The influx of Chinese immigrants make up for Canada's shortage of labor force with well-educated skills and knowledge. However, throughout Canada's history, Chinese immigrants have received unfair and humiliating treatment from the Canadian government (Wang, 2008). A brief history of Chinese immigration to Canada confirms the unjustness and discrimination that Chinese immigrants have endured, for example the head tax levied on Chinese immigrants and the humiliating "Chinese Exclusion Act". The history of Chinese immigration to Canada can be roughly divided into four periods: the free entry stage from 1858 to 1884; the restricted entry period from 1885 to 1923; the exclusion period from 1924 to 1947; and the selective entry period from 1947 to present.

History of Chinese Immigrants in Canada at a Glance

The first period of Chinese immigration to Canada is the free entry stage lasting from 1858 to 1884. The first Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada in 1858 along the west coast in response to the gold rush in British Columbia. In the 1880s, large-scale immigration, directly from China, began as large numbers of laborers were recruited to build the western section of the Canadian Pacific

Railway. The earliest Chinese immigrants were imported to Canada for their labor skills. Poverty and political turbulence in China during the 19th century also forced many young farmers to Canada in search of a better life. Between 1881 and 1884, over 15,000 Chinese came to Canada. About 6,500 of these Chinese workers were employed directly by the CPR (Li, 2003). However, the 15,000 Chinese who helped build the railway were paid half as much as white, black and native workers. Berton argues that Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, wanted to cut costs by employing the Chinese to build the railway, and summarized the situation this way to Parliament in 1882: "It is simply a question of alternatives: either you must have this laborer or you can't have the railway" (Berton, 2001, p.249).

The restricted entry period started from 1885 until 1923. The Chinese were tolerated when they were a useful source of cheap labour. However, in 1885, as soon as the CPR was completed, Canada no longer needed Chinese as labors. Thus, many thousands of Chinese laborers were laid off. The federal government moved to restrict the immigration of the Chinese to Canada by passing The Chinese Immigration Act (1885) in which a head tax of \$50 was levied on Chinese individual seeking to enter the country. After the 1885 legislation failed to deter Chinese immigration to Canada, the government of Canada passed The Chinese Immigration Act (1900) to increase the tax to \$100, and The Chinese Immigration Act (1904) further increased the landing fees to \$500, equivalent to \$8000 in 2003 (Statistics Canada, 2001). It is estimated that the Canadian federal government collected about \$23 million from the Chinese head tax. No

other group was targeted in this way in Canadian history. In addition, Chinese immigrants were denied Canadian citizenship for decades.

Despite the head tax, Chinese immigrants continued to come to Canada. In 1923, the Canadian parliament passed The Chinese Immigration Act (1923), better known as the “Chinese Exclusion Act”, designed to exclude Chinese people from entering the country and regulate those already living there. The Chinese migration to Canada entered into the exclusion period (1924-1947). When the exclusion act went into effect on July 1, 1923, Dominion Day, Chinese Canadians called it “humiliation day,” and refused to have anything to do with Dominion Day celebrations for many years. During the exclusion years, Chinese immigrants were not allowed to bring their families, including their wives to Canada. As a result, the Chinese Canadian community became a “bachelor society” during the exclusion years. The Chinese population in Canada decreased from 46,500 in 1931 to about 32,500 in 1951. The post-war recession and high unemployment in western countries as a result of demobilization touched off another wave of anti-Chinese sentiment in Canada.

The government of Canada did not repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act nor give Chinese Canadians full citizenship rights until 1947. It was not until 1967 that the final elements of the Chinese Exclusion Act were completely eliminated. In the 1950s, the initial migration flow was small and mainly comprised of wives and children coming as family members of Chinese men already in Canada (Li, 1998, p.96). Although, the selective entry started from 1947, Chinese immigration to Canada really began after 1967 when Canada adopted a point system to

screen independent or economic immigrants that Chinese immigration to Canada gained momentum. The point system was introduced for selecting immigrants and the selection criteria for new immigrants was based upon education, linguistic ability, and Canada's economic needs. Canada began admitting Chinese people using the same criteria as for any other applicants. Between 1968 and 1976, about 90,000 immigrants from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan came to Canada, and between 1977 and 1984, another 80,000 arrived from these areas (Li, 1998, p. 99). The next ten years, 1985 to 1994, brought a dramatic increase in Chinese immigration, with the arrival of total of 353,000 (Li, 2005). The increased volume of Chinese immigration to Canada in the 1980s and 1990s contributed substantially to the growth of the Chinese-Canadian population in Canada, which rose from 289,245 in 1981 to 633,933 in 1991 (Li, 1998, p. 67), and 1,094,700 in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2003). The increase has been staggering, compared with the number of only 34,627 Chinese in Canada in 1941 (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1943).

Since 1995, there have been some shifts in Chinese immigration to Canada mainly due to changes in Canada's immigration regulations that stress business and skill immigration (Wong, 1995, 1997). Between 1997 and 2000, the number of Mainland Chinese immigrants nearly doubled from 18,400 a year to 36,600, making Mainland China the largest single source of Chinese immigrants to Canada. The number of Hong Kong immigrants dwindled to less than a thousand (Wang & Lo, 2004, p. 8).

Canadian Immigration Policies

The life experiences of Chinese immigrants are closely linked to the four phases of Canadian immigration history and its policies. A brief introduction of the history of Canadian immigration and the evolvement of its immigration policies can illuminate the understanding of the issue of the impact of the changing Canadian immigration policies on attracting and precluding Chinese immigrants.

The Canadian immigration history since the late nineteenth century can be classified into four phases, each governed by a federal policy regarding the type of people who would be accepted as desirable immigrants into Canada. During the first phase, from 1867-1895, Canada maintained a laissez-faire philosophy towards immigration in allowing market forces of supply and demand to determine migration flows into Canada (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974). Immigration strategy was essentially an open-door policy towards those of European origin, especially those from Britain and the United States. However, when the volume of immigration remained relatively low, the government encouraged group settlement including Mennonite, Scandinavian, and Hungarian immigrants (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998). British and Western Europeans were considered to be the most “desirable” citizens, while the Asians were the “unassimilable” and, therefore, “undesirable”. Even during this period of open-door immigration policy, severe restrictions were placed on non-white immigrants, especially those from Asian countries such as China and India.

The second phase of immigration extended from 1896 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914. During this period, Canada began attracting Eastern and Southern European immigrants, such as Poles, Ukrainians, Hutterites, Doukhobors and Italians. Even in periods of acute labor shortage, Canada maintained an immigration policy that used race as a basis to restrict non-whites who were deemed socially questionable and racially undesirable (Roy, 1989).

In the third period of immigration, from 1915 to 1945, Canada continued to follow a policy of accepting immigrants for land settlement. As in the past, British and American immigrants were considered the most desirable, followed by North European and then Central Europeans. Southern and Eastern Europeans were tolerated; at the bottom were Jews and non-white immigrants who were not welcome (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998, Li & Bolaria, 1979).

The end of the Second World War marked the development of a postwar immigration policy and Canada started to adopt a universal selection system in 1967 to facilitate and encourage the flow of skilled immigrants. The change in immigration regulations in 1967 brought a new wave of immigrants from non-European areas such as Asia. The 1967 Point System attempts to in theory remove all discrimination and prejudice in selecting immigrants by admitting immigrants on qualifications such as language, skill and education. It was the first major step to limit the discretionary powers of immigration officers and to provide them with a set of explicit guidelines (Green & Green, 1996, p.18).

The changes in the regulatory system in 1967 signaled a dramatic shift in the source of Canada's immigrant intake away from white Europe towards what

are euphemistically described as “nontraditional sources of immigrants”: Asia, North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean (Thompson & Weinfeld, 1995). The 1967 Point System formed the framework for immigration policy for the next three decades. Pickersgill, a former Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, stated that these provisions were “the greatest change in immigration policy since Mackenzie King announced the resumption of immigration in 1947 and they had gone into effect without approval or even debate in Parliament” (quoted in Hawkins, 1972, p. 127). Between 1961 and 1971 many ethnic groups increased considerably in size, while others declined. The East Indian group showed the greatest increase (grew by 902.7 per cent). The Greek, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, and Chinese all increased more than 60 per cent in these years (Kalbach & McVey, 1979). Li (1998) states that Canada admitted 30,546 Chinese immigrants between 1956 and 1967, and the number increased to 90,118 between 1968 and 1976 after the introduction of the point system.

The 1976’s immigration act formed the laws that the Canadian government follows to promote Canada’s demographic, economic, cultural and social goals: 1) to support the attainment of such demographic goals as may be established by the Government of Canada in respect of the size, rate of growth, structure and geographic distribution of the Canadian population; 2) to enrich and strengthen the cultural and social fabric of Canada, taking into account the federal and bilingual character of Canada; 3) and to foster the development of a strong and

viable economy and the prosperity of all regions in Canada (Immigration act, 1976).

This act was considered to be non-discriminatory in its policy and required cooperation between all levels of government. There are four basic categories for landed immigrants in Canada following this act. The first classification is family; second, humanitarian, including refugees, persecuted or displaced persons; third, independents who followed their own initiative to immigrate to Canada; and finally, assisted relatives. Changes to immigration law in 1978 and 1985 promote the large wave of Chinese immigrants. This 1978 Act upheld the principles of admissions laid out in the regulations of the 1960s: family reunification and economic contributions. For the first time in Canadian history, the new Act incorporated the principle of admissions based on humanitarian grounds.

In 2002, the 1976 act was replaced with a new point system to allow Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration. More points are granted to applicants with a trade certificate or a second degree; immigrants will earn more points for their command of the two languages, French and English; fewer points for experience with greater weight on their first two years of experience. Under the new act, immigration to Canada is divided into three categories: family class including spouse, common-law partner, dependent child and parents; convention refugees, and persons in need of protection class; and economic class including skilled workers, entrepreneurs, and investors and the self-employed.

In 2006 according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the Government of Canada has made significant improvements to Canada's immigration system to make it more flexible and responsive to changing labor market needs. For example, changes to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act might expedite the processing of selecting skilled worker applications to ensure that skilled immigrants can enter Canada quickly when their skills are in demand; the Off-Campus Work Permit Program was created in 2006 as an effort to attract and retain foreign students; and the reduction of the right of permanent residence fee by 50%, from \$975 to \$490 per person, thereby reducing an enormous burden for newcomers. All these measures are aiming to ensure that Canada is a destination of choice for skilled immigrants by making Canada's immigration system more efficient and competitive, improving service and reducing waiting times.

Immigrants: A Definition

Immigrants are people who have settled in another country (Teichmann, 2006). According to Statistics Canada, the concept of immigration concerns the movement of nationals of any given country to another country for the purpose of settlement. Canadian immigrant applies to a person who has been granted the right to permanently live in Canada by immigration authorities. It usually applies to persons born outside Canada but may also apply to a small number of persons born inside Canada to parents who are foreign nationals. Therefore, Canadian immigrants are often further classified by period of immigration and the

origin of immigration. In the case of Chinese immigrants and Chinese immigration to Canada, I discuss three main areas of Chinese immigrants: Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China.

Chinese immigrants of various origins are attracted to Canada for its better quality of life, potential economic opportunities and future prospects for their family. At the end of the 90s, recent Chinese immigrants to Canada came from different parts of the world. These different places of origin have diverse political, social, economic, and linguistic conditions. Chinese immigrants are not a uniform group, and significant internal differences exist among them. Chinese immigrants in Canada mainly came from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Nathan and Chen (2004) found that Taiwan residents are more tradition-minded than Mainland residents in issues such as honoring one's ancestors and maintaining unhappy marriages. Although they all report Chinese as their mother tongue, they use different characters (traditional vs. simplified) in writing and different dialects (Cantonese vs. Mandarin) in their daily oral communications; often they have great difficulty understanding each other. For instance, Mainland Chinese use simplified Chinese in their writing, and Hong Kong and Taiwan residents use traditional Chinese: taking the word "China" for example, in simplified Chinese it is 中国, while in traditional Chinese it is 中國.

By Origin

Of the nearly 800,000 Chinese immigrants admitted to Canada between 1980 and 2000, an overwhelming majority came from three origins: Hong Kong (45.6 per cent), Mainland China (27.7 per cent), and Taiwan (11.8 per cent)

(Wang & Lo, 2004). For this reason, when I analyze the different places of origin of Chinese immigrants in Canada, I focus on the Chinese immigrants from these previously mentioned three major areas: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China.

Between 1985 and 1997, immigrants from Taiwan were on the rise: from less than a thousand to over 13,000 in 1997. After 1997, however, their number declined considerably because of its relatively stable political situation at home. The late 1980s to 1995 saw the majority of Taiwanese immigrants arriving in Canada as business immigrants. Research shows that the migration shifts have been closely related to Taiwan Island's political stability, particularly with regard to Taiwan's relationship with Mainland China (Tseng, 2001). Two political events in the 1970s influenced Taiwanese people to immigrate: the first was the withdrawal of The Republic of China from the United Nations and the recognition of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government in China; the other was the normalization of the relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States in 1978. Tseng offers the following explanation:

The bourgeois emigration from Taiwan is partly pushed by the political uncertainty created by Chinese claims of sovereignty and partly pulled by the global economy. On the one hand, business elites are especially nervous about the implications of submitting to socialist China, and immigration is like buying an "insurance policy" against the uncertain political future. On the other hand, their pursuit of globalizing family-owned businesses has also prompted them to acquire immigrant status in certain countries. (1997, p. 276)

The great influx of Taiwanese people immigrating to Canada has resulted in the establishment of a large Taiwanese community in Vancouver, since most Taiwanese found that Vancouver offers comfortable living, and the conveniences

of modern Chinese shopping centers with a vast array of restaurants, and grocery stores that can provide the foods and entertainment that they were accustomed to prior to arriving in Canada. Immigrants from Taiwan who in the past favored resettlement in the United States began to appear in Canada in larger numbers. Taiwanese immigrants who arrived in Canada between the late 1980s and the early 1990 found it is easier to immigrate to Canada than to the United States; they were relatively wealthy and could afford the high cost of living of Vancouver. At the same time, Canada's expansion of the Business Immigration Program in the mid-1980s also benefited immigrant entrepreneurs from Taiwan. For instance, the purpose of the program was to promote economic development and employment in Canada by attracting people with capital, business acumen and/or solid managerial skills for business immigration to Canada. Through the program, business immigrants are provided a unique opportunity to immigrate to Canada.

Since the end of World War II and until the mid-1990s, Hong Kong had been the primary source of Chinese immigration to Canada (Li, 1998). Between 1968 and 1976, immigrants from Hong Kong accounted for more than two thirds of all Chinese immigrants to Canada (Li, 1998, p.99). According to Wong (1992), there have been three major waves of immigration from Hong Kong since the end of the Second World War. The first wave occurred between 1958 and 1961, owing to dramatic changes in Hong Kong's agriculture sector. The second wave was triggered by a political crisis, the 1967 riot. This riot was a spill-over effect of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China. As a result, thousands of Hong Kong's

elite left for the United States and Canada. The third wave of emigration began in the 1980s because many residents worried about their future under the rule of the People's Republic of China. Similar to Taiwan's migration, political and economic forces in Hong Kong have a great influence on the migration shifts in Hong Kong.

Before 1997, Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to Canada outnumbered those from all other areas. The peak occurred in 1994, with 43,300 arrivals. The return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 and Hong Kong's uncertain political future triggered many residents to leave Hong Kong and settle in Canada. The outcome was a huge exodus of Hong Kong professionals to Canada (Skeldon 1994). The booming economy of Hong Kong in the early 1990s created the means for many middle-class Chinese to immigrate (Li, 2005). The number of immigrants from Hong Kong increased steadily since 1987 to a peak in 1994 when Canada received more than 48,000 and British Columbia received more than 16,000 immigrants from Hong Kong. In 1994, immigrants from Hong Kong alone represented 20.0 and 33.3 per cent of immigrants from all sources to Canada and the province of British Columbia respectively (Citizenship and Immigration of Canada, 1999). After 1994, the number of arrivals from Hong Kong declined every year, dropping to 30,000 in 1996, and then 8,000 in 1998; by 2001, less than 2,000 immigrants arrived from Hong Kong (Li, 2005). Compared to the declining number of immigrants from Hong Kong, the number of Chinese immigrants to Canada from Mainland China increased greatly. For example, between 1997 and 2000, the number of Mainland Chinese immigrants nearly

doubled: from 18,400 a year to 36,600, making Mainland China the largest single source of Chinese immigrants to Canada (Wang & Lo, 2004).

Before the 1990s, Chinese immigrants from Mainland China came mainly for the purpose of family reunification. Direct immigration from China to Canada remained relatively small in the 1970s and 1980s. However, since the 1990s, a large number of Mainland Chinese immigrated to Canada. Two historical events in the 1970s paved the way for substantial immigration from the People's Republic of China in the 1990s. The first was the establishment of formal diplomatic relationship between Canada and China in 1973. After the entry of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations in 1971, Canada established diplomatic relations with Mainland China. An official visit of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to China in 1973 resulted in an agreement calling for the opening of consular missions in each country. The agreement enabled close relatives of Chinese Canadians to immigrate from China to Canada (Li, 1998). However, immigration from Mainland China did not increase until 1989, when the two nations set the political stages that enabled the movements of people. Within two years, the number of landed immigrants from Mainland China rose to 14,203 in 1991 from 4,415 in 1989. After 1993, annual immigration from Mainland China continued to rise, reaching almost 20,000 in 1998 and more than 40,000 in 2001 (Li, 2005). By the early 2000s, immigrants from Mainland China accounted for the largest number of new immigrants to Canada from a single country.

Another influential political event is the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, which marked the end of the Cultural Revolution and the rise of Deng Xiaoping to

power in 1978. Since Deng Xiaoping came to power, China adopted the “open door policy” to stimulate its market economy. The term “Open Door Policy” refers to the equal trading rights among countries. Deng announced the policy in 1978 and its policies included establishing four southern cities, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shangtou and Xiamen as special economic zones (SEZs) to attract foreign investment, offering tax privileges to new factories being built in these SEZs, reducing import tariffs on raw materials. As a result of the economic reform and development, the 1990s witnessed an economic boom in China and the growth of a new middle class. Even though the 1989’s Tiananmen pro-democracy student movement drove the Chinese government to tighten the rules to restrict people’s mobility within and out of the country, the event prompted the Canadian government to grant permanent resident status to Chinese students and scholars who were studying and working in Canada during the time (Liu, 1997).

Combined with the Chinese government’s relaxed passport restrictions, China entered the “emigration phase” in 1998 (Wallis, 1998). Canada opened its immigration office in Beijing, which processed immigration applications directly from China. Given these developments, the Mainland Chinese émigrés outnumbered Hong Kong’s and Taiwan’s in 1998, as Chinese immigrants from the People’s Republic of China became the top source region for immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999).

By Immigration Class

Immigration stimulates Canada's growth, prosperity and cultural diversity. Canada is perceived by other countries in the world to benefit from the talents, experience and energy of immigrants, regardless of whether they are skilled workers, business people, refugees, relatives of Canadian citizens and residents, foreign students, temporary workers, or others. Under the 2002 Canadian Immigration Act, immigrants to Canada can be grouped into three broad categories: (1) economic immigrants, (2) family class (3) refugees. In the first category, Citizenship and Immigration Canada use sub-categories of economic immigrants, such as skilled workers/professionals, investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed. Skilled workers/professionals are admitted on the basis of skills, education, language ability, and occupational background. They must achieve the minimum score as required by the Points System, which is the core system of Canadian immigration policies.

Most Chinese immigrants from Mainland China were skilled workers or professionals, who account for 44 per cent of the total immigrants (Wang & Lo, 2004), who belong to this subcategory. Therefore, Chinese immigrants from Mainland China in the 1990s usually have relatively higher educational qualifications than those from other origins. According to Statistic Canada, 21 per cent of the Mainland Chinese immigrants had a Bachelor's degree at the time of immigration, compared with 16 per cent of those from Taiwan, 9 per cent of those from Hong Kong. Nine per cent of the Mainland immigrants had a Master's degree, as opposed to 2 per cent of the Hong Kong immigrants and 5 per cent of

the Taiwanese immigrants. The percentage of Mainland Chinese immigrants with a Ph.D. degree also was higher: 10 times higher than those from Hong Kong and 2.5 times higher than those from Taiwan (Wang & Lo, 2004).

Investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed people are generally called business immigrants under the subcategories of economic class. These immigrants become permanent residents on the basis they aim to become economically established in Canada. For example, business immigrants are expected to make a C\$400,000 investment or to own and manage businesses in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration of Canada, 1999). The spouse and children of a business immigrant are also included in this category. Most economic immigrants from Taiwan were entrepreneurs and investors, accounting for 45 per cent of the total Taiwanese immigrants. There were also slightly more investors and entrepreneurs than skilled workers and professionals among immigrants from Hong Kong.

In the second category of family class, immigrants are accepted for family reunification. Family members include spouses, dependent children, parents, and grandparents of Canadian citizens or landed immigrants. All others are classified as assisted relatives. Compared with economic immigrants, this category of immigrants has a much lower labor force participation rate, this is because family members are accepted by Canada based on family relationships instead of the points system, which heavily relies on the applicant's education backgrounds, language proficiency and work experience.

Immigrants in the third category are those admitted on humanitarian grounds. They seem to have a higher unemployment record of an already small participation rate, resulting in extended financial dependence on government assistance for the vast majority of refugees (Statistic Canada, 1999).

By immigration class, 54 per cent of the Chinese came as economic immigrants, who are considered to be the most able to participate in economic production and to contribute to the Canadian economy (Wang & Lo, 2004); 42 per cent were accepted for family reunification; only 5 per cent were admitted on humanitarian grounds. Also noteworthy is the considerable increase in business immigrants among the Chinese. Immigrants from Hong Kong had a higher-than-average proportion of business immigrants (57 per cent compared with 54 per cent for all Chinese immigrants); immigrants from Taiwan had the highest proportion of business immigrants: 80 per cent of the total; immigrants from Mainland China had a lower-than-average proportion of business immigrants (48 per cent vs. 54 per cent). Their proportion increased dramatically, from 7 per cent in the 1980s to 55 per cent, a 48 per cent difference by decade (Wang & Lo, 2004).

The Making of Three Main Chinese Immigrant Communities in Canada

Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, the three largest urban cities in Canada, are the preferred destinations for many recent immigrants. Almost two of every three immigrants who arrived in Canada during 1996 reported their intended destination to be Vancouver, Toronto or Montreal (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Chinese immigrants to Canada usually chose large urban centers for settlement with 95 per cent choose one of 14 large Census Metropolitan areas as their intended destination, which is 9 per cent higher than immigrants from other regions and countries (Wang & Lo, 2004). Although latest media reports the other smaller provinces are experiencing large numbers of immigrants (e.g. Saskatchewan), Wang and Lo (2004) indicate Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal are the three favorite cities that Chinese immigrants chose as their destination; 40 per cent of the Chinese immigrants chose Toronto, 31 per cent chose Vancouver and 8 per cent chose Montreal as their destination. A very small proportion of Chinese immigrants landed in Atlantic Canada and the Prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. There are variations among the sub-groups of Chinese immigrants, such as 28 per cent of Chinese from Vietnam may choose Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton as their destination (Wang & Lo, 2004). However, research shows that more Mainland Chinese immigrants (41 per cent) and Hong Kong immigrants (45 per cent) preferred Toronto over the other Canadian cities, while the majority of Taiwan immigrants favored Vancouver (Wang & Lo, 2004).

Chinese Communities in Toronto

Immigration is often perceived as the foundation of Canada as a country; the same perception can be characteristic of Canadian cities. As the largest city of Canada, Toronto attracts more immigrants than any other Canadian cities every year. According to the Canadian 2006 Census, Toronto is still the major gateway for immigrants in Canada: between 2001 and 2006, the largest number

of newcomers (447,900) went to Toronto, while 165,300 chose Montreal and 151,700 settled in Vancouver (Statistic Canada, 2006). Although the Toronto CMA (Census Metropolitan Area) has one-twelfth of Canada's population, it is home to approximately 43 percent of Canada's recent immigrants. For its size, Toronto has three times as many immigrants as the rest of Canada and a much larger share of recent arrivals (Hou, 2007). Toronto is a city where more than 150 languages are spoken daily and where 50 per cent of residents are foreign born. It is perceived to be a city where diversity is a sign of strength and success (Atilia, 2003).

As a major international center for business and finance, Toronto can offer great opportunities for business class immigrants as well as skilled workers. Meanwhile, immigrants make innumerable contributions to the economic success of the city, and immigrants compose half of the labor force of the city helping maintain Toronto's labor force in the face of demographic decline. Large number of skilled workers and professionals also help enhance skill levels in the local labor force. Toronto is also the destination for most recent Chinese immigrants. The greatest number of recent immigrants in Toronto in 2001 is from China (Statistics Canada, 2001). During the period of 1996 to 2001, the number of immigrants from Mainland China in Great Toronto Area increased from 26, 3000 to 45, 9000. According to the 2006 Census, there are about 486,330 Chinese living in Toronto.

Because of the large number of Chinese immigrants in Toronto, there are number of Chinese associations, immigration agencies, websites and mass

media established to serve this group of people. For example, the Chinese Professionals Association of Canada was founded in 1992 by immigrants from Mainland China, which currently has several thousand members. Some associations were founded to promote Chinese cultures and traditions and to foster a sense of Chinese communities among its members by organizing various cultural activities, such as Chinese Cultural Centers of Greater Toronto, and Chinese Canadian Intercultural Association. Others were organized to assist new immigrants to adapt to Canadian society by providing settlement services and language training, such as Toronto Chinese Community Service Association and Toronto Home of Chinese New Immigrants. There are also some business and professional associations formed by Chinese immigrants in Toronto, such as Canada China Business Council, Association of Chinese Canadian Entrepreneurs and Toronto Chinese Business Association.

Chinese-Canadians tend to maintain their mother tongue, either Mandarin or Cantonese. According to the 1996 Census, 70% of Chinese immigrants in Canada reported that they speak their own language at home. In comparison, only 20 per cent of Italians, another large ethnic group in Canada, speak Italian at home. The latest 2006 census indicates that Chinese languages are the third largest mother tongue group, as 3% of the population reported a Chinese language as their mother tongue (Statistic Canada, 2006). Most Chinese-Canadians prefer to obtain information from Chinese media in their daily life. Although there may be discrepancies in self-reported census data, the census numbers somehow reflect the Chinese immigrants' reality. The Fairchild Media

Group is the only national Chinese multi-media network in Canada. The Fairchild Television and Fairchild Radio provide Chinese language programs for Chinese-Canadians in Toronto. In addition to the Fairchild Group, there is also a multicultural TV station, CFMT, a multicultural radio station, and CHIN Radio cater to Chinese speaking population. Besides the Television and Radio media in Toronto, there are three Chinese newspapers in Toronto, Ming Pao (catering mainly to Cantonese - speaking Chinese), Sing Tao Daily and World Journal Daily (catering mainly to Mandarin speaking Chinese). Readers can also have access to the online information through their websites, for example, the websites of the three newspapers are <http://www.mingpao.com/>, <http://www.singtao.com/>, and <http://www.worldjournal.com/> respectively. These mass media play a critical role in disseminating information and helping immigrants maintain updated information about their home country.

Chinese Communities in Montreal

The Chinese have been in Montreal for centuries. They came to Montreal before the 1880s and settled around the harbour and the railway station. These places gradually developed into the present Chinatown centered at De la Gauchetiere and St-Laurent Street.



Figure 5: Gate of Montreal's China Town (source from: commons. Wikimedia.org)

In Montreal, the Chinese are Quebec's fourth largest ethnic minority group (Maguire, 2005). Montreal's Chinatown, a bounded geographical area where city-installed arches in downtown Montreal is the major symbol of the Chinese community's roots in Montreal and Quebec society, and the historic centre of Chinese settlement within Quebec. Chinatown is thus the heart of commercial and cultural exchanges within the community itself. However, despite its visible, physical presence in the city, there is much heterogeneity within the Montreal Chinese; there are several groups mainly based on origin of home country such

as Taiwan, Hongkong, Singapore, or other countries in South-East Asia with Chinese populations (Maguire, 2006, p.1436). Today, French, English, Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese are commonly heard in stores in Chinatown as well as Chinese regional dialects like Fu-chian and Chao-chun.

The increasing number of immigrants from Mainland China has changed the demographics of the Chinese ethnic population in Montreal which is now estimated to be about 56,830 (Maguire, 2006). As Canada's second largest census metropolitan area, Montreal is also the most chosen city after Toronto where new immigrants chose to live for its French culture and heritage architecture. In 2001, there were 293,800 recent immigrants in Montreal, 12% of all recent immigrants living in Canada compared with 43% in Toronto (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001). Montreal used to be the largest city in Canada up until the 1970s. The Quebec separatist movement started with the passage of Bill 101 in 1976, which in addition to restricting English-language education, required that all immigrants moving to Quebec enroll in French-language schools, regardless of the language they previously spoke. As a result, many head offices and Anglophones moved out of Montreal.

According to the 2001 Census, Montreal immigrants came from a much more diverse set of countries than immigrants to Toronto or Vancouver. Haiti, Algeria and Morocco are major countries of birth of recent immigrants, with Montreal having a share in excess of 80 per cent of immigrants to Canada from these countries (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001). Montreal was much more likely to receive immigrants from African countries from 1991 to 2001

(18.2% of recent immigrants) and Caribbean, Central and South American countries (19.1% of recent immigrants), but less likely to receive immigrants from East and Southeast Asia. Montreal has particularly strong ties to immigrants from French-speaking countries (Heisz, 2006), such as Haiti, Lebanon, and France.

There are a total 21,700 Chinese in Montreal in the 2001 census, which means they take 3 per cent share of the total immigrants of Montreal. Between 1986 and 1995, only 6,660 immigrants from Mainland China arrived at Montreal due to language barriers, while the number increased to 9,390 between 1996 and 2001. More recently, Montreal has attracted significant numbers of recent immigrants from China. The main reasons that Montreal started to attract Mainland Chinese are its relatively low living expenses such as the low cost of apartments, the convenient metro system and most of all, its low university tuition for Quebec residents, which is the big attraction for Chinese immigrants who have aspirations of obtaining Canadian citizenship and academic credentials.

In 2008, there are at least twenty Chinese organizations in Montreal including L'association Chinoise de Montréal Inc., Service a la famille chinoise du Grand Montreal, Service a la famille chinoise du Sud, the center of Catholic Chinese in Montreal (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2003). These associations usually provide settlement information and services for new immigrants and organize various cultural activities, such as the celebration of Chinese New Year, the Dragon Boat Festival and the Moon Festival, to preserve Chinese cultural traditions.



Figure 6: Celebration of Chinese Festivals in Montreal (source from Sinoquebec.com)

La presse Chinoise and Sinoquebec are the two Chinese newspapers in Montreal serving Chinese communities. In addition, the Chinese website of www.Sinomontreal.com/ provides a platform for Montreal Chinese to exchange information and share their Canadian life and experiences.

Unlike the other two cities, Toronto and Vancouver, in Montreal, the official language is French, based on Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. Quebec school boards are linguistically organized as either English or French (Maguire, 2005). Many Chinese heritage language schools were founded and

established to maintain Chinese culture and languages. To date, there are eight Chinese Heritage Language Schools in Montreal that have no formal connection to the school boards in Quebec and are privately funded. Chinese immigrants usually opt to send their children to these Chinese heritage language schools on weekends as an effort to help their children maintain Chinese language.

Chinese Community in Vancouver

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%).

British Columbia has a long history of Chinese immigration. Initially, Chinese immigrants came to British Columbia to work on roads and railroads in the 1880s. Significant numbers of people of Chinese origins have lived in Vancouver since the city was established in 1886 (Anderson, 1991).

In 2008, the Chinese remain the largest visible minority in Vancouver. The city has one of the most diverse Chinese-speaking communities with several dialects of Chinese being represented. In 2001, Canadians of Chinese origin accounted for 10% of the total population of British Columbia. The same year, they represented only 5% of Ontario's population. Vancouver's immigrant population has grown at a faster pace than the immigrant population in the rest of British Columbia and Canada. To take the most recent five-year period as an example, between 1996 and 2001 the number of immigrants in Vancouver

increased by 104,900, or 17%. By comparison, the total number of immigrants living in Canada increased by 477,400 or 10% during the same five years. Recent immigrants to Vancouver come from all over the world. Among very recent immigrants, the share from China, the largest source country, is one-fifth, followed by Taiwan with 13%. For example, there were 189,700 residents of Vancouver who had landed in Canada between 1996 and 2001. The most common country of birth for these immigrants was Mainland China, accounting for 20% of very recent immigrants (29% if persons born in Hong Kong are included), followed by Taiwan, which supplied 13% of very recent immigrants.

Compared to Toronto and Montreal, Vancouver has a lower population of European-born immigrants while having a higher population of Asian-born immigrants. The most recent Chinese immigrants to Vancouver are also those who come directly from Mainland China. With so many Chinese living in Vancouver, not surprisingly Vancouver has the second largest Chinatown in North America (after San Francisco's), where people of Chinese origin have a sense of belonging because of its seemingly authentic oriental atmosphere.

Vancouver's Chinatown tops the list as one of North America's largest modern day Chinatowns. It attracts visitors, artists and people worldwide. As one of Vancouver's oldest settlements, Chinatown was established even before the lower mainland population was incorporated into the city. Now, as Canada's largest Chinatown to date, it is a prime example of Vancouver's cultural heritages. The dragon covered Millennium Gate at Taylor and Pender Street demonstrates the history of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver.

Vancouver's Chinatown is divided into a market section and a merchandise section. The market section runs between Main Street and Gore Street and includes East Pender, Keefer, and East Georgia streets. The merchandise section runs from Columbia to Main and includes East Pender and Keefer streets, where shoppers can find all kinds of merchandise from food to Chinese language books and magazines.



Figure 7: Vancouver's China Town (source from google.ca)

The Chinese community of 2008 in Vancouver is a heterogeneous, vibrant group with diverse cultural, professional and social backgrounds. Chinese people in Vancouver created a vibrant community life, in which community organizations have a major role in promoting Chinese culture and assisting new comers to adapt to Canadian life.

The majority of Chinese immigrants rely on their own media for information and leisure ideas. There are three major newspapers: Ming Pao Vancouver, Sing Tao Daily Vancouver, and World Journal Daily Vancouver. Readers can also access to the update news online from their websites: <http://www.mingpaovan.com>, <http://www.singtao.ca/van/>, and <http://www.worldjour>

nal.com/wj-vanews. In addition to Chinese newspaper, there are two radio stations: the Fairchild Radio AM 1470 and CHMB, and two television channels: the Fairchild TV (all Cantonese programming channel) and the Talentvision TV (exclusively Mandarin programming) delivering their services in Chinese in Vancouver. Over the last ten years, new Chinatowns have emerged in Richmond, Burnaby and gradually even in Coquitlam, and are fast becoming tourist and cultural attractions.

Chinese Immigrants in Canada in 21st Century

In 2008, Mainland China has taken over from Hong Kong and Taiwan as the largest source of Chinese immigration. The People's Republic of China has also taken over from all countries and regions as the country sending the most immigrants to Canada. When the 2002 Canadian immigration act take effect, the composition of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China also changed with more well-educated and highly skilled Chinese immigrants. According to the 2001 statistics from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the People's Republic of China has supplied the biggest number of Canadian immigrants since 2000, averaging well over 30,000 immigrants per year, totaling an average of 15% of all immigrants to Canada. Chinese is the largest visible minority group in Canada, surpassing one million for the first time. A total of 1,029,400 individuals identified themselves as Chinese, up from 860,100 in 1996. They accounted for 3.5% of the total national population and 26% of the visible minority population (Statistics Canada, 2001). Between 1980 and 2000, nearly 800,000 Chinese immigrants

landed in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001). They now account for 20 per cent of Canada's total immigration in-take.

More Chinese students are now studying at Canadian institutions such as the University of Toronto, McGill University and the University of British Columbia. Recently, Canadian universities tend to regard Chinese students not as temporary visitors but as potential immigrants, who will settle in Canada, raise families and start their own businesses. The percentage of Canadians over 60 continues to rise and the percentage in the prime working years of 22 to 45 is shrinking (Holland, 2007). With its aging population and declining birth rate, Canada is in great need of large immigrant population to fill the labor shortage.

The 2001 and 2006 census emphasized the importance of immigration for Canada. It has been projected that there could be a deficit of one million skilled workers in Canada in the next 10-20 years, despite the current intake of more than 200,000 immigrants each year (Thompson 2002). In the future, it is expected that the People's Republic of China will continue to be the primary source of immigrants to Canada. Immigrants from Mainland China continue to make an important contribution to fulfilling Canada's immigration goals. However, despite the increased human capital, the skills, language proficiency, educational attainments, and work experience, Chinese immigrants continue to experience very different economic outcomes in the Canadian labor market compared with the general population of Canada. Their average incomes have been much lower than those of the general populations, and these earning differentials exist for both genders and for all ages. For example, in 1999, their average total income

was slightly under \$15,000, which represented only half of that for the general population. Their employment income and self-employment income were \$22,156 and \$7,502 respectively, both of which were also lower than those for the general population (Wang & Lo, 2004). In the next section, I provide an overview of economic performance of immigrants in Canada.

Economic Performance of Immigrants in General

The relative prosperity of Canada's larger metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal might make some people believe that immigrants integrate into Canadian economy with ease, such that they enjoy a standard of living fairly comparable to Canadian born individuals. However, the question arises as to whether this is or is not the reality.

Two questions are usually asked in talking about the economic performance of immigrants in Canada. First, do immigrants experience rapid economic growth over the time? Second, do they catch up with their Canadian born counterparts (Alboim et al., 2005; Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Bloom et al., 1995)? Many studies, conducted on the economic performance of immigrants in Canada found that recent immigrants have both lower employment rate and lower incomes compared with national average (Saunders & Maxwell, 2003; Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Bloom et al., 1995; Picot, et al., 2007). For instance, the 2006 census shows that in 1980, recent immigrant men earned 85 cents for every dollar of their Canadian-born counterparts. In 2005, that number plummeted to 63 cents. The drop was even more pronounced for immigrant women, who went from

earning 85 cents by comparison in 1980 to only 56 cents in 2005. In addition, recent immigrant men holding a degree earned only 48 cents for each dollar their university educated Canadian-born counterparts did (Statistic Canada, 2006). In addition, very recent immigrants with bachelor's degrees had an unemployment rate that was almost four times the unemployment rate for the university-educated Canadian born (11.4% vs. 2.9%). The unemployment rate for very recent immigrants with a graduate degree increased further still to 12.4% compared to 2.4% for Canadian born (Picot et al., 2007).

In 2001, the overall unemployment rate of immigrants was 37%. Combined with the overall participation rate of 70%, this means that only 44% of landed immigrants aged 15 years and higher were working in 2001. The 44% employment rate was significantly lower than the average 2001 employment rate in Canada of 61%. Evidence indicates that, on average, immigrants continue to experience an earnings disadvantage at entry with respect to their Canadian born counterparts. Studies (Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Li, 2001, Reitz, 2001) found that low-income rates among recent immigrants further deteriorated after 2000. Low-income rates of immigrants during their first full year in Canada reached 3.5 times that of the Canadian born in 2002 and fell to 3.2 times in 2004. These rates were higher than at any time during the 1990s. About one-fifth of immigrants entering Canada during the 1990s found themselves in chronic low income (Picot et al., 2007). More recent 2007 Statistics Canada study shows that the income profile of recent immigrants deteriorated by yet another significant amount from 2000 to 2004 (Statistic Canada, 2007). Immigrants continue to have

higher unemployment rates and lower wages than Canadian-born workers even after controlling for variations in educational attainments (Badets & Howatson-Lee, 1998; Reitz, 1998). Recent evidence from the 1991 census (Lian & Matthews 1998; Reitz, 1998; Statistics Canada, 1998) indicates that earnings inequality is persisting among recent arrivals, particularly those who are members of visible minorities.

Chinese immigrants, as one of the largest visible minorities in Canada, suffered lower employment rates and lower income rates for decades. Compared with the general population of Canada, Chinese immigrants admitted between 1980 and 2000 had much lower incomes. In 1999, their average total income was slightly under \$15,000, which represented only half of that for the general population (Wang & Lo, 2004). An earlier study by Statistics Canada (2001) shows that Chinese immigrants' employment rates are 20% less than the general public. Another Statistic Canada study indicates that immigrants (all ethnicities) landed for 1 to 10 years earn about \$35,000 a year, while the current study on immigrants from the People's Republic of China indicates that they are far worse than the average new immigrants. Wang and Lo (2004) show that in 1999, the employment income and self-employment income of Chinese immigrants were \$22,156 and \$7,502 respectively, both of which were also lower than those for the general population.

Many factors might be attributed to the lower employment rate and lower income rate among recent immigrants. Human capital is only one of the factors that contribute to differences in the economic success of immigrants from various

countries of origin. Even after differences in human capital are considered, some social issues still remain, which results in immigrants from the United States, United Kingdom and other western and northern European countries being seemingly more successful economically than other immigrants (Ornstein, 1996; Reitz, 1998; Lian & Matthew, 1998).

Zietsma (2007) indicates that in 2006, very recent immigrants were more well-educated than Canadian born. More specifically, almost a third (31.8%) of very recent immigrants had at least a bachelor's degree compared to one-sixth (16.1%) of Canadian born (Census, 2006). Another one in five very recent immigrants had a graduate degree compared to just over one in twenty Canadian born. However, though with higher degrees, recent immigrants faced the most difficulties in the labor market, regardless of their level of education. For example, in 2006 very recent immigrants with bachelor's degrees had an unemployment rate that was almost four times the unemployment rate for the university-educated Canadian born (11.4% vs. 2.9%). The unemployment rate for very recent immigrants with a graduate degree increased further still to 12.4% compared to 2.4% for Canadian born (Statistic Canada, 2006).

Chinese immigrants with a graduate degree have similar high unemployment rates. Wang & Lo (2004) find that from the 1980s to 1990s, the number of Chinese immigrants with bachelor degrees almost doubled to 15 per cent from eight per cent and those with a master's degree rose to five per cent from less than two per cent. Despite having a university education, speaking English fluently and coming to Canada with a wealth of industry experience,

unfortunately, the educational credentials of many Chinese immigrants have not been recognized, or at least have been discounted as Li (2000) and Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) point out in their studies.

In previous decades, immigrant income levels did rise to the national average after 10 years, but in recent years the situation has deteriorated. Studies have shown that it used to take about 10 years for Chinese immigrants to catch up. Now it takes more than 20 years for this group of people to narrow the wage gap (Wang & Lo, 2004).

Dissatisfied with their poor economic performances coupled with the devaluation of both their acquired Chinese education qualifications, many Chinese immigrants from Mainland China started to immigrate back to their home country with the hope of finding a professional job matching their educational attainment. Their Canadian working experience and foreign educational credential play a very crucial role in the Chinese job market. Most Chinese returnees have obtained either Canadian credentials or accumulated Canadian work experience when they made return decisions. Upon their return, their overseas education and work experience add more value in their résumé. It seems to be easier for them to get a better position in world-class companies located in China, because these companies need talented people who have both western work and education backgrounds, and who also have the command of local language and knowledge of the Chinese market. Thus, my study focuses on ten selected Chinese immigrants to explore their return migration, their personal

perceptions of Canadian society in general and their immigration experience in Canada.

Summary

In Chapter two, I focused on the social and historical contexts of Chinese immigrants in Canada. I also discussed four periods of Chinese immigration to Canada along with the changes in Canadian immigration policies towards visible minorities. In addition, I described the three largest Chinese communities in Canada: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver to provide a better understanding of Chinese communities in Canada. I then reviewed the economic performance of immigrants in Canada, especially the economic performance of Chinese immigrants to further understand the difficulties that Chinese immigrants encounter in their integration into Canadian society. In Chapter three, I explore the two factors of human capital and social capital in preventing the economic integration of immigrants in Canada.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this chapter, I present a review of literature on the economic integration of immigrants. The review shows that life chances for immigrants and Canadian born are not similar, and being non-white and being immigrants disadvantage immigrant men and women of visible minority groups. I draw on three relevant theoretical concepts, Bourdieu's capital theory and concept of habitus, social capital and human capital. Bourdieu's capital theory is appropriate for understanding how cultural capital is embedded in one's family and how immigrants suffer from exclusion as the result of lack of cultural and economic capital of mainstream society. The concept of habitus enhances my understanding of the influences of culture on the behaviors and decision-making of Chinese immigrants. Social capital in the form of networks has the potential to facilitate the accumulation of economic or other benefits to individuals. The concept of human capital argues that the workers' earnings reflect the productive value of their skills - particularly skills based on formal education and work experience, while immigrants' recent labour market outcomes contradict with the theory, which reveals the devaluation of foreign credentials in Canada.

Literature Review

Economic Integration of Immigrants

A fairly extensive literature focuses on the cause of economic integration of immigrants in the Canadian context. The literature suggests that the life chances for immigrants and Canadian born are not similar, especially for recent newcomers to Canada who earn less than earlier immigrants, and relative to the earnings of Canadians (Abella, 1984; Li, 2000; Reitz & Breton, 1994; Baker & Benjamin, 1994). Most research uses economic indicators such as occupational status and earnings to see if immigrants are performing better or worse than non-immigrants. Because the economic indicators such as immigrants' earnings have important implications for issues such as earnings inequality, poverty dynamics and social cohesion, therefore, analyzing the convergence of earnings of immigrants towards those of Canadian born workers has been a popular research objective over the last decade. Do immigrants earn less than people born in this country? If so, how long does it take before immigrants "catch up" to the economic performance of Canadian-born individuals; do they catch up at all? In other words do immigrants' earnings converge or diverge from the Canadian born and how long does it take for immigrants to catch up with the economic performance of the Canadian born (Laryea, 2002)?

Studies on the economic status of immigrants in Canada and the United States have uncovered two disturbing trends: declining entry earnings of successive new immigrant cohorts and low rate of assimilation. One early study by Meng (1987) using the 1973 National Mobility Survey estimated that

immigrants earn 15% less than comparable Canadian born at entry. Borjas (1993), using the 1971 and 1981 Canadian Censuses, estimated the entry effect to be 18.4%. Abbott and Beach (1993) used the 1973 Job Mobility Survey and found that immigrants from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s took longer than earlier immigrants to catch up with the earnings of Canadian born. Baker and Benjamin (1994) found the earnings of immigrant cohorts in the Canadian labor market were falling among immigrants, while their rates of assimilation were uniformly small. Baker and Benjamin (1997) found the entry effects for immigrant families to be 35-45% for husbands and 28-43% for wives, based on the 1986 and 1991 Surveys of Consumer Finance. Reitz and Breton (1994) based on a literature review and an analysis of the 1986 census showed that immigrants for European origin earned as much as English Canadians; however, non-European immigrants men and women, especially black and Asian immigrants had an income disadvantage relative to European immigrants men and women respectively. Also using the 1986 census, Boyd (1992) showed that Canadian born racial minorities were less disadvantaged than foreign-born minority immigrants' earnings, as compared to Canadian-born Europeans. Bloom and Gunderson (1991) analyzed the earnings of immigrants and Canadian-born individuals using the 1971 and 1981 censuses and showed that immigrants earned 7 percent less than non-immigrants in 1971 and immigrants caught up after 12.8 years with the Canadian-borns. However, immigrants in the 1981 census earned about 17 per cent less than Canadian born after adjusting for other differences but their earnings crossed after 22 years.

Bloom, Grenier and Gunderson (1995) using Canadian census data of 1971, 1981 and 1986, showed that between 1970 and 1985 recent cohorts of immigrants witnessed a deterioration of their earnings at entry relative to those of Canadian born individuals, and that “complete assimilation” as the authors called would be “out of reach for post-1970 immigrants (Bloom et al., 1995, p.999). Another study of immigrant cohorts in the 1961 to 1986 censuses also showed that immigrant men arriving since 1975 and immigrant women arriving since 1970 had lower incomes than Canadian-born individuals for the same sex and age group, but earlier immigrants tended to have higher income levels than their Canadian-born counterparts (Beaujot & Rappak, 1990). A more recent study by Li (2000) using the 1996 census also showed that immigrants men and women had net earnings lower than Canadian-born men after controlling variables, such as urban size and other individual and market characteristics, that immigrants of visible minority origin tended to be further disadvantaged than immigrants not of visible minority origin.

Frenette and Morissette (2003) provided evidence on the same issue about income that unless recent immigrant cohorts experienced “abnormally” high earnings growth in the future, recent immigrant cohorts would, from now on, need more time than earlier ones before their earnings would converge to those of Canadian-born individuals. Pendakur and Pendakur (2005) looked at the variation overtime in the earnings differentials faced by visible minorities in Canada’s three largest cities from 1970 to 2000 and found that in 1970, 1980 and 1985 the earnings differential faced by visible minority males in comparison with

white males was about 8-10 per cent in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. In 1990, 1995 and 2000, that differential was more than 20% in Montreal.

The majority of analysts have, after controlling for a number of variables, such as the years of schooling, found an income gap between immigrants and the Canadian born, and between whites and visible minorities (Li, 1998; Boyd, 1993; Beach & Worswick, 1993; Bloom et al., 1995; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998).

Many factors can lead to the discrepancies in the research results. Most research on income variability based their studies on census data which mostly depend on individuals' self report, and might have inaccuracies in the data. In addition, different research methodologies were used in these studies that made the comparisons of their findings difficult. Researchers also vary in their epistemological stances and the ways they present and analyze data. Given the diversity of data and methods, results were inconsistent. However, a general pattern of being non-white and being immigrants disadvantage immigrant men of visible minority origin was found in all studies (Li, 2000).

It is open to debate whether the Canadian born/ immigrant gap can be ever fully eliminated, but in most recent work there seems to be a general agreement that for nonwhite immigrants who have arrived in Canada since the 1980s, the initial earnings gap has widened and the catch-up rate has slowed down (Baker & Benjamin, 1994).

The earnings of Asian-born immigrants in the Canadian labor market declined relative to the earnings of Canadian-born workers between 1981 and 1986 (Miller, 1992). Analysis done by Miller (1992) showed that prior to 1964

economic integration within 15 years was the norm for both men and women and for immigrants originating from different regions. While for post-1970 immigrants, the process took longer and longer with “complete assimilation” appearing completely out of reach. The economic integration has been particularly slow for immigrant men from Asia and Latin America compared with those from Europe and the United States (Miller, 1992). For example, Duleep and Regets (1992) found from the 1981 Census that the entry earning of Chinese immigrants were 53% below Canadian earnings, while the entry earnings of British immigrants were 13% above Canadian earnings. Hum and Simpson (2000) also confirmed that among visible minority groups, there were significant disadvantages for immigrant men who were members of the Indo-Pakistani group and the Chinese group with 19 per cent and 17.3 per cent of wage disadvantage. In addition, Salaff and Greve (2003) showed Chinese immigrants admitted between 1980 and 2000 had much lower incomes compared with the general population of Canada.

In addition to lower earning, Picot et al. (2007) showed large numbers of very recent immigrants working in sales and service occupations. Very recent immigrants were comparatively over-represented in these occupations. Business, finance and administrative occupations were the most widely held occupations by Canadian born and the second among immigrants. In 2006, there was a smaller proportion of very recent immigrants (15.7%) working in these occupations compared to the Canadian born (19.5%).

The very fact that studies have shown the economic returns for immigrants are not the same as for Canadian-born individuals suggests two sets of potential contributors - human capital and social capital behind the trends. Human capital such as education, age, work experience and social capitals such as social networking and the membership of certain social groups are the research focus of the economic integration of immigrants in Canada.

In the next section, I draw from Bourdieu's capital theory, the concept of cultural habitus, and the concept of human capital as the theoretical framework of the inquiry of a selected group of Chinese immigrants.

Theoretical Framework

Forms of Capital

Pierre Bourdieu, a contemporary social theorist, originally developed and defined the concept of capital as:

accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour. It is *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. (2001, p.96)

Bourdieu distinguishes four kinds of capital: economic, cultural, social and linguistic capital. Capital can present itself in four fundamental guises: as economic capital, such as stocks, shares, and property which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, the knowledge, experience and or connections individuals have through the course of their lives that enables them to succeed

more so than someone from a less experienced background; and as social capital made up of social obligations or connections. Linguistic capital can be defined as fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society. Cultural capital and social capital in certain conditions are convertible into economic capital.

Bourdieu also distinguishes three forms of cultural capital: objectified capital, institutionalized cultural capital and embodied cultural capital:

Cultural capital, in the objectified state, has a number of properties which are defined only in the relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form. The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality. The Institutionalized State. The objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications is one way of neutralizing some of the properties it derives from the fact that, being embodied, it has the same biological limits as its bearer. The Embodied State. Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e. , in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. (Bourdieu, 2001, p.100)

Bourdieu argues that cultural capital is used by dominant groups to mark cultural distance and proximity, monopolize privileges, and exclude and recruit new occupants of high status positions (1984[1979], p. 31). Cultural capital is comprised of "linguistic and cultural competence" and a broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper classes and is found much less frequently among the lower classes. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) describes cultural capital as the vehicle through which

background inequalities are translated into differential academic rewards, and which in turn lead to unequal social and economic rewards. Central to Bourdieu's theory is the cultural transmission of social inequality. He argues that cultural capital cannot be acquired at school and the school can not diminish differences in the amount of capital across groups of students.

For immigrants who are raised in a non-dominant, mainstream, social background, their parents' cultural values and beliefs have great influence on their societal perspectives. Research on immigrants has documented that one's cultural lifestyles are strongly transmitted from one generation to the next (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Kraaykamp & Nieuwbeerta, 2000).

Lamont and Annette (1988) commented that Bourdieu and Passeron introduced a more complex conception of the process of exclusion. They are concerned with four major forms of exclusion: self-elimination, overselection, relegation, and direct selection. In the case of self-elimination, individuals adjust their aspirations to their perceived chances of success (Bourdieu, 1974[1966], p. 35). By self-elimination, it means they exclude themselves because they do not feel at ease in specific social settings where they are not familiar with specific cultural norms. In the case of overselection, individuals with less-valued cultural resources are subjected to the same type of selection as those who are culturally privileged and have to perform equally well despite their cultural handicap, which in fact means that they are asked to perform more than others (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, p. 14). In the case of relegation, individuals with less-valued cultural resources end up in less desirable positions and get less out of their

educational investment. Their cultural disadvantage is manifested under the forms of "relay mechanisms such as early, often ill-informed decisions, forced choice, and lost time" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, p. 14). Self-elimination, overselection and relegation can be distinguished from direct exclusion resulting from "elective affinities" based on similarities in taste.

Immigrants suffered from the four forms of exclusion in their integration in the host country. In this research, I mainly focus on the last form of cultural capital - the embodied state of cultural capital such as Chinese traditional cultural values, which is both the inherited and acquired properties of one's self. The embodied state of cultural capital is not inherited in the genetic sense, but more in the sense of time, culture, and traditions, which bestow elements of the embodied state to another usually by the family through socialization. It is not transmittable instantaneously like a gift. It is strongly linked to one's habitus - a person's character and way of thinking. This form of cultural capital takes place at personal level, both individual and family as the medium through which cultural capital is transmitted and a sense of self, of "we-ness" is involved in the transmission.

Concept of Habitus

Habitus is a complex concept, but in its simplest usage can be understood as a set of acquired patterns of thought, behavior and taste (Scott & Marshall, 1998). The concept of habitus is re-elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu to explain

certain human perceptions and behaviours of which people are only tacitly aware.

I begin with Bourdieu's own response to the question:

Why did I revive that old word? Because with the notion of habitus you can refer to something that is close to what is suggested by the idea of habit, while differing from it in one important respect. The habitus, as the word implies, is that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions. So the term constantly reminds us that it refers to something historical, linked to individual history, and that it belongs to a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to essentialist modes of thought (like the notion of competence which is part of the Chomskian lexis). Moreover, by habitus the Scholastics also meant something like a property, a capital. And, indeed, the habitus is a capital, but one which, because it is embodied, appears innate. (1993, p. 86)

Bourdieu's habitus may be understood as a system of schemes of perceptions and discrimination embodied as dispositions reflecting the entire history of the group and acquired through formative experiences of childhood. Habitus works as a system of acquired dispositions functioning on a practical level, as categories of perception, assessment, or principles. According to Bourdieu, people in society acquire the dispositions that constitute their habitus through a gradual sociological process of inculcation throughout their lives, such as upbringing and education. Through the routine of training and learning, social individuals acquire a set of dispositions that almost become second nature. Thus, habitus is a necessary condition of action and shared understanding. Similarities and differences that characterize particular social conditions are reflected in the habitus, and this is why there may be commonality among individuals from similar cultural backgrounds or even different backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1991).

Bourdieu (1993) defines habitus as a socially embedded and systematic organizer of experience, behaviour and practice. Habitus is a structure in the

sense that it is a set of relations between perceptions, values, beliefs, and tastes, all of them linked to a certain position which groups and individuals occupy within what Bourdieu calls social space. This structure therefore has close ties to social differentiation. It is socially embedded and the result of the accumulated history of power relations within society. It organizes the way each individual processes experience, takes decisions, finds his/her position in relation to various issues ranging from taste in arts and food to politics and religion. Habitus is, therefore, a set of historical relations deposited within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporal schemata of perception, appreciation and action (Wacquant, 1992). I believe the concept of cultural habitus has profound influences on the behaviours, actions and choices that the ten Chinese immigrants made.

Cole (1996) interprets the notion of habitus as the universalizing mediation that influences individual agents' practices. The mediation occurs without explicit reasons or intentions; it occurs to the agent as "sensible" and "reasonable" (p. 79). An important implication of the concept of habitus in my inquiry is that this concept of habitus has mediated particular values, behaviours and mindset of the Chinese participants. The Chinese participants' living and working experiences both in Canada and China may be influenced by their Chinese habitus, such as honoring their family and ancestors and avoiding conflicts and open competition.

Social Capital

During recent years, the concept of social capital has been widely used in social science disciplines. More sociologists, political scientists and economists

invoke the concept of social capital. Social capital has been found to influence career success (Burt, 1992, Gabbay & Zuckerman, 1998; Podolny & Baron, 1997) and personal relationships; social capital also has shown to play a key role in helping workers find jobs in the labor market (Granovetter, 1973, 1995; Lin & Dumin, 1996). The concept of social capital was developed in sociology and political science to describe resources available to individuals through their membership in social networks in particular contexts. Social capital, as a determinant of economic growth and a contributor to the nation's well-being, has captured the attention of policy makers, researchers and community development practitioners in Canada and internationally (Anucha et al., 2006)

The first systematic contemporary analysis of social capital can be traced to Bourdieu, who defines the concept as:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition- or in other words, to "membership in a group" which provides each of its member with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" that entitles them to credit in the various sense of the world. (1993, p. 103)

Social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as reliable source of other benefits (Portes, 1998, p.3). They must be continually created and produced.

The existence of a network of connections is not a natural given, or even a social given..... in other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, that is, at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying

lasting obligations subjectively felt or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (Bourdieu, 1993, p.103)

In addition, an individual's social capital is determined by the size of their relationship network, the sum of its cumulated resources, and how successfully the individual can set them in motion.

The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. (Bourdieu, 1993, p.103)

A second contemporary source of social capital is the work of Glenn Loury (1977), a professor of economics at Brown University who at the age of 35 became the first black tenured professor of economics in the history of Harvard University. He used the term in the context of his critique of racial income inequality and their policy implications. He suggests:

The merit notion that, in a free society, each individual will rise to the level justified by his or her competence conflicts with the observation that no one travels that road entirely alone. The social context within which individual maturation occurs strongly conditions what otherwise equally competent individuals can achieve. This implies that absolute equality of opportunityis an ideal that can not be achieved. (Loury, 1977, p. 176)

Loury's work paved the way for Coleman's definition on social capital.

Coleman defines social capital by its function as

A variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure. (1988a, p.98; 1990, p.302)

Coleman extensively employed social capital in educational research. Complementary to Beck's concept of human capital, Coleman (1988, 1990) suggests that social capital may be as important as economic and human

capitals that have been established as critical for young people's success in education. According to Coleman, social capital is concerned with how the social relationships of authority, trust and norms embedded in a young person's family and community organization affects her/his development of human capital. Coleman argues that functional relationships, particularly those embedded in the family, which is the primordial socio-organizational domain of the everyday life of young people, are useful in helping children develop their cognitive and social capability.

After Bourdieu, Loury, and Coleman, a number of theoretical analyses of social capital have been published. For example, Baker (1990, p.619) a professor at Ross school of Business at University of Michigan defines the concept as "a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors". Schiff defines the term as "the set of elements of the social structures that affects relations among people and are inputs or arguments of the production" (Schiff, 1992, p.161). Burt regards social capital as "friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital" (Burt, 1992, p. 9). Lin (1999, 2000) defines social capital as investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected return.

Putnam (2000) applied Coleman's conceptualization of social capital to his landmark work on trustworthiness and obligation in civil society and came up with a politically derived interpretation of social capital based on the notion of

associational network. For Robert Putnam, social capital means “features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit... working together is easier in community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital” (Putnam, 1993, p. 35-36). Numerous debates have followed Putnam’s political interpretation of social capital.

Social capital can be contrasted with human capital and physical capital. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988, p. 98). However, unlike financial capital, which resides in people's bank accounts, or human capital, which is embodied in individuals' investment in education, inside people's heads, social capital inheres in the structures and quality of social relationships between individuals (Coleman, 1988). Therefore, social capital is less tangible, and may assume various forms such as level of trust, norms, relationships, and hence more difficult to measure.

Conceptualizations of social capital are diverse. One advantage of such diversity is that it creates great spaces for social scientists to apply it in different contexts. However, it also creates difficulties to develop reliable measurements (Anucha et al., 2006). Despite this challenge, researchers agree on three basic components of social capital as particularly important within social capital discourse: *networks, resources and norms*.

There also seems to be some agreement that social capital can be conceptualized as operating in three different forms: bridging, bonding and linking (Woolcock 2001, p.13-14). Bonding social capital denotes ties between

people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbors. Bonding capital relates to networks between homogeneous groups of people, quite close to outsiders, that constrain members into their boundaries within one's community, and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and group homogeneity. Bridging social capital encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates. Linking social capital, which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside of the community, can enable members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available in the community.

Putman tends to see two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging. He suggests the former may be more inward looking and have a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. The latter may be more outward-looking and encompass people across different social divides (Putnam 2000, p. 22).

Bonding capital is good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity... Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion.... Moreover, bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves.... (Putman, 2000, p.22)

It is not unusual for immigrants to have good bonding capital among themselves but limited bridging social capital that links them beyond their own ethno-cultural community, leading to what is sometimes called the ethnic enclave phenomenon (Li, 2000). Whereas the bridging social capital are supposed to foster the diffusion of information and trust, with beneficial effects for the economic activity and well-being, the bonding social capital may also provide job

opportunities, but is often restricted to low-paying jobs with poor prospects that are held disproportionately by new immigrants.

The most common function attributed to social capital is as a source of network-mediated benefits beyond the immediate family (Portes, 1998, p.12). Researchers (Helliwell & Putman, 1995; Knack & Keefer, 1997) have confirmed that social capital, viewed as a form of productive asset and resource embedded in social structures and relations, does facilitate economic actions and performance.

Bourdieu argues that “different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question” (1993, p.106). There are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships. It may seem that the transformation from economic capital to social capital requires a specific labor, which need time, energy, attention and concern. However, this effort is a solid investment and the profits of which in the long run may appear in monetary or other forms. According to Bourdieu, social networks must be continuously maintained and fostered over time in order for them to be called upon quickly in the future. Immigrants spend time and efforts establishing and maintaining social networks by taking part in various activities to get to know people from different backgrounds. Their social capital may eventually be helpful at the appropriate moment such as when they

are in need of job information, thus, the social capital in turn may improve their economic status.

Studies on Immigrants' Social Capital

One stream of research in social network analysis has investigated what characteristics of ties and networks help people to obtain information and find jobs. In the study of immigrants' living experiences in Canada, social capital is defined mainly as connections, networks and social contact, through which immigrants obtained job information. Loss of professional networks upon migration is a primary barrier to the adjustment in Canada for most immigrants.

Research shows social networks can provide social capital for entrepreneurship (Light & Bonacich, 1988; Zimmer & Aldrich, 1987; Portes, 1995, Sanders & Nee, 1996; Cobas & DeOllos, 1989); and provide occupational niches for employment (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991; Hondagnew-Sotelo, 1994). Research on ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic firms (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993) also shows that the information provided by community ties based on ethnic social networks is critical for the mobility opportunities of newly arrived immigrants. Social networks help immigrants or ethnic group members obtain resources and become socially integrated in their new host country. For example, studies of New York's Chinatown (Zhou, 1992); of Miami's little Havana (Portes, 1987; Ports & Stepick, 1993; Perez, 1992); and of Los Angle's Korea town (Light & Bonacich, 1988) highlighted the role of community networks as a source of vital resources for these ethnic firms.

The overseas Chinese have tended to be interpreted as a single ethnic group because of similarity in physical appearance and assumed sameness in customs, values, and culture (Salaff, 2005). However, there are distinct differentiations in the Chinese overseas communities, based on variations in ancestral language or dialect, region or country of birth, or ancestral origins.

Understanding of ethnicity is rooted in Weber's classic definition:

...most human groups ... entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (1951, p.389)

Chinese immigrants are not received as a single group. They might be subdivided into groups based on their languages and origins. For example, people who speak Cantonese may like to associate with Chinese who speak the same language; vice versa, Chinese immigrants from Mainland China may find it is easier to get along with people who also speak Mandarin. The community ties they formed are also multileveled; some of them are based on the origin and language, such as Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong have their own community associations and networks. Some community ties are based on immigrants' professional backgrounds. For example, immigrants who have computer degrees and want to work in the field may start their own networks. Basically, the community ties of Chinese immigrants are primarily divided by region or country of birth and the languages they speak.

For some new immigrants, their social networks in the host country is almost zero, which means they have no friends, colleagues, relatives or know

anyone in particular upon their arrival in Canada. They have to rely on the community ties based on language and ethnicity to obtain information and resources that provide access to job opportunities in the host country (Anderson, 1974; Fernandez, 1995).

Portes and his associates argue that ethnic economic enclaves afford opportunities for entrepreneurs and laborers to gain a foothold in the economy and labor market (Wilson & Portes, 1980; Portes & Stepick, 1985). Immigrant workers enjoy positive return to past human capital investment similar to those found in the primary labor market.

Network ties help actors gain access to information about job opportunities (Boxman et al., 1991; Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973; Lin et al., 1981; Meyerson, 1994). Not all individuals or social groups obviously acquire social capital or receive expected returns from their social capital. Putnam notes that social capital can produce negative effects by excluding others from accessing social sources such as job information (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, members of different groups defined by race, gender, religion, caste, or other ascribed or constructed characteristics may have unequal opportunities to social capital (Lin, 2000). For example, McGuire (2000) argues that high-status employees usually occupy command and control positions within their networks that facilitate their access to resources. Ethnic minorities and women were less likely than whites and men to have the resources and positions that would put them into contact with high-status employees and, therefore, they miss out on critical information and sponsorship in job markets.

Social networks may also affect the destination of migration. Researchers have shown social networks substantially determine the destination of migration (Boyd, 1989; Koser, 1997; Bauer & Zimmermann, 1997). According to the 2006 Census, among all the major census metropolitan areas, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver again attracted most of the new immigrants who came between 2001 and 2006. The most cited reason for settling in Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver was to join the social support networks of family and friends (Statistic Canada, 2006).

Social networks function to enable access to information and knowledge and to create job opportunities, but at the same time, may function to prevent others from gaining access to such sources (Gray et al., 2007). For instance, people may refer their friends or relatives to some available job vacancies, while other workers with the same qualifications might lose the opportunity to compete for the jobs. Waldinger (1995) points out, "the same social relations that ... enhance the ease and efficiency of economic exchanges among community member implicitly restrict outsiders"(p. 557).

Obviously, not all individuals or social groups uniformly acquire social capital or receive expected returns from their social capital. Inequality of social capital occurs when certain group clusters are relatively on disadvantages socioeconomic positions, and the general tendency is for individuals to associate with those of similar group or socioeconomic characteristics (Lin, 2000). Bourdieu (1986), whose work extensively focuses on the roots of social inequality, argues that social capital is distributed unevenly among people who possess different

economic and cultural capitals. In other words, one's access to and the nature of the social capital are structurally determined by one's social position. Coleman (1990) argues that social resources are created by a closed network of people who are strongly interconnected and who share high levels of trust and mechanisms to impose sanctions on transgressors. Erickson (2005, p.154) suggests that there are "culturally specific scripts for information exchange", which functions to make it more likely to keep information within closed groups. Thus, it is highly unlikely that all members of a social network, no matter how highly placed in the hierarchy, will share information indiscriminately with all members of the network. In the case of immigrants in Canada, as newcomers to the country, it may be impossible for them to have the same access as the Canadians who were born and raised in Canada to the same level of job information due to their limited social capital; therefore, they are disadvantaged in pursuing professional jobs.

This lack of networks of access to diverse information networks is one of the main barriers that immigrants face when they seek job opportunities in host country. Scholars (Homans, 1958; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954; Lin, 1982) believe that individuals tend to interact and share sentiments with others with similar characteristics. Members of a certain group, clustering around relatively inferior socioeconomic standings and interacting with others in the similar social groupings, may be embedded in social networks poorer in resources as well as poor social capital (Lin, 2000). Marsden (1987) finds that people tend to interact and establish relationships with others that resemble themselves on

characteristics such as age, class, gender, occupation, sexuality, politics, family status, where they live, or engage in leisure pursuits. As result, many women and ethnic-minority social networks may be ineffective in placing members in high-end jobs because there are fewer high-status contacts in the network. The retention of ethnic-exclusive social networks may impose costs by isolating individuals from information about job and job referrals (Calzavara, 1982). The uneven distribution of, and access to social capital is believed to be a cause of social inequality and exclusion (Bourdieu, 1977; Lin, 2000). For instance, whereas immigrants tend to look for support from networks within their own community, they are also likely to suffer from unequal institutional connections (Reitz, 1998).

For instance, new Chinese immigrants usually rely on community ties based on the same language and ethnicity for job information, especially for their first jobs in Canada. They gradually developed social networks with people with similar social economic status. However, these immigrant networks contain less resources than non-immigrant networks; thus the immigrant group members are disadvantaged in the resources they can access (Portes, 1998). The strong internal network within an immigrant group may facilitate access to certain jobs, but it may lead to structurally restricted categories of work that create inequality between groups (Burt, 1992).

Members in resource poor networks share a relatively restricted variety of information and influence. Immigrants with limited social networks have to rely on ethnic-exclusive social networks for resources that might reduce their job

opportunities because of social isolation from employment information in mainstream society. Sanders and Nee's 1996 study on self employment among Asian and Hispanic immigrants, shows Immigrants or members of minority groups had only one option to rely on members of their own ethnic group even when this can disadvantage them. Networks within racial minority communities may be most isolated because of their greater social distance from whites (Reitz & Sklar, 1997). These immigrants may risk being trapped in an ethnic sector and not be able to develop ties with outside groups. Then, looking for jobs outside of the intra-ethnic economy niche has been considered to be the only path for the social mobility for ethnic minorities (Wiley, 1967).

Individuals born into rich families in which parents have higher social and economic status in mainstream society tend to have more access to resourceful and powerful circles, unlike those raised in marginalized quarters where more than often deprivation and poverty diminish not only their life chances, but also the social networks with which they are connected. The sustaining inequality may be partly produced and reproduced through network-mediated job searchers. When the members in their social networks do not control good resources in an ethnically segregated labor market, the life chances of members of low-status ethnic groups including the job seekers themselves, their families, and their succeeding generations, depend on access to network capital through heterogeneous networks. It is especially true for first-generation immigrants lacking other resources who have to rely on co-ethnic social networks in finding jobs that are more likely to be in disadvantaged segments of the labor market. In

the case of Chinese immigrants, their limited networks in the host country barely lead them to good mainstream jobs. Facing difficulties of locating a good mainstream job, some have stayed in dead-end jobs such as working at Chinese restaurants, while others have returned to China. For those immigrants who received Canadian degrees, their social networks are still limited in terms of finding a job matching their degrees.

Bourdieu (1985) argues that social networks are not a natural given and must be continuously maintained and fostered through investment strategies over time in order for them to be called upon quickly in the future. Frequent transfers between occupations and sectors can serve to devalue the social networks of relationships between employees. More frequent career changes, often to jobs in other sectors, often serves to devalue the social networks that people build up over time. Immigrants' migration experiences interrupt their career development and they have to relinquish their previous established social networks and to accumulate new networks from scratch. The building up of a good social network needs time and investment. Therefore, the less time someone has spent in Canada, the harder it may be to negotiate the channels of participation in mainstream society and the less opportunity they may have to establish social networks.

Hence, networks as social capital can play a significant role in structuring unequal allocation of opportunities for social mobility and conditioning, and how immigrants and minority members become integrated into the host society. Social networks are important for immigrants not only because they can provide

information for finding jobs, but also affect the other aspects of life such as companionship and social esteem.

Human Capital

With its roots in the work of Adam Smith (1776), the American economists Becker extensively developed human capital theory. Becker (1993) postulates that expenditure on training and education is costly, and should be considered an investment since it is undertaken with a view to increase personal incomes. The human capital approach is often used to explain occupational wage differentials. Smith, widely acknowledged as the "father of economics", the author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), once included human capital under "fixed capital" besides useful machines, profitable buildings, and improvements of land,

The acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or member of the society. The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. These talents, as they made a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and bridges laborer, and which though it costs a certain expenses, repays that expense with a profit. (Smith, 1776, p.265-266)

Human capital refers to qualities such as education, age, work experience, health and migration that directly affect one's economic status (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001, p.1134). According to Becker, expenditures on education, training, medical care are regarded as investments in human capital. They are called human capital because people cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, health, or values in the way they can be separated from their financial and physical asset,

which means that human capital is less tangible than financial and physical possessions. When people try various ways to improve their social economic status in vain, they may consider human capital as an area to invest.

Degree of investment in human capital thus accounted for differences in the wages of labor as well as in the pecuniary recompense of professional people (Smith, p.101). When immigrants first arrive in a new country, they may be at a disadvantage in the labor market relative to Canadian born in terms of labor market information. As immigrants spend time in the host country and gradually acquire this labor market knowledge, their performance may improve relative to that of their Canadian-born counterparts (Friedberg, 2000, p. 223). The approach typically adopted in examining the economic integration of immigrants reflects the theorists' notions of human capital theory, who argues that investment in education brings appropriate financial returns following entry into the labour market (Li, 2003; Reitz, 1998).

Understanding the nature of the link between education and work is an essential part of any assessment of the integration process of immigrants. Research conducted over the previous two decades indicates that education was always assumed to be a determinant of occupational mobility among minority group members (Anise et al., 2003, p.503). However, other scholars have found immigrants were less remunerated for their human capital than others (Reitz, 1990; Boyd, 1992; Baker & Benjamin, 1994). The skills and credentials of some groups such as immigrants of visible minorities were valued more than the skills

and credentials of people with European origins, or Canadian-born workers of European origin (Reitz, 2001).

Unlike the less-skilled immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s, those arriving in Canada since 1970 tended to have relatively high educational levels. According to the 2006 Census, immigrants accounted for a large proportion of doctorate and master's degree holders. Over half the recent immigrants, who arrived between 2001 and 2006, had a university degree. The number was more than twice the proportion of degree holders among the Canadian-born population (20%), and also much higher than 28% proportion among immigrants who arrived before 2001. However, statistics show that immigrants with bachelor's degrees had an unemployment rate that was almost four times the unemployment rate for the university-educated Canadian born (11.4% vs. 2.9%). The unemployment rate for very recent immigrants with a graduate degree increased to 12.4% compared to 2.4% for Canadian born (Zietsma, 2007).

Studies (Li, 2001, 2003; Smith & Jackson, 2002; Reitz, 2001; Kazemipur & Halli, 2001) show that immigrants' foreign experience not being fully recognized as equally to those of Canadian born, in terms of human capital ability. Foreign work experience has relatively little value in the Canadian labor market. For example, Alboim et al. (2005) find that

immigrants educated abroad receive, on average (1) lower returns to the human capital they acquire abroad than native-born (nonimmigrant) Canadians receive for their education and work experience, (2) lower returns than they receive for Canadian obtained education and experience, and (3) lower returns than members of visible minorities born in Canada receive for their education and experience (this group appearing to experience no discounting of their investments relative to the nonimmigrant population. (p.14)

Their research also finds that the economic return to a year of foreign experience is about one-third the value of a year of Canadian experience. The return to foreign education, while positive, is worth about twenty-five percent less than a year of education for a Canadian-born counterpart (Finnie & Meng, 2001). Even though the levels of human capital of immigrants, such as years of schooling, degrees held, and years of experience, are often higher than for similar Canadian born, the economic rewards that the foreign-born receive for these skills is lower.

Human capital theory suggests that workers' earnings reflect the productive value of their skills-particularly skills based on formal education and work experience-immigrants' recent labour market outcomes contradict with the theory (Reitz, 2005). Li (2003) based on micro data from the 1996 Canadian Census compared the earnings of four groups: Canadian born degree holders, immigrant Canadian degree holders, immigrant mixed education degree holders (with components of their education or degree from outside Canada), and immigrant foreign degree-holders. He found that immigrants' credentials adversely affected the earnings of visible-minority women and men more than white women and men, with half of the income disparity attributed to foreign credentials. His results indicate that immigrants' credentials carry a penalty compared with those of Canadians-born individuals which means Immigrants with foreign degrees did not earn as much as those of Canadian-born workers with the same level of degrees, on the contrary, they were paid even less for having a foreign credentials. Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) examined the effects on earnings of foreign and

Canadian university degrees, noting that the foreign credentials appeared to be undervalued. McDade (1988) reports that in many professional fields, compared with those trained in Canada, those with foreign credentials often have to meet more stringent standards (Boyd & Thomas, 2001, 2002).

The problem of foreign credentials not being fully recognized may help explain why Asian immigrants were less likely to be in professional and managerial jobs, despite their relatively high educational attainment (Li, 2001). Basran and Zong (1998) surveyed immigrants of Chinese and East Indian background who were in professional jobs and residing in British Columbia. Their study shows that many foreign-trained, non-white immigrants in professional fields experienced downward mobility in Canada and an overwhelming majority of respondent considered the problem of foreign credential devaluation as the main factor. Chiswick (1978) points out, some aspects of schooling were country specific, so that formal education acquired by the foreign born prior to immigration was likely to yield a lower rate of return in terms of earnings than is a commensurate amount of formal schooling acquired by the Canadian born. Reitz (2001) reports that immigrants receive lower earnings premiums for education. On average, highly-educated immigrants received a much smaller earnings premium for their education than did Canadian born. The size of this difference varied from one study to another, but generally the education premium for immigrants on average was about half of what it was for the native-born Canadians (p. 362).

The argument that human capital factors are not as rewarding for immigrants as they are for nonimmigrant is further corroborated by the mismatch between immigrants' qualification and the jobs in which they are involved (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). It is very common for immigrants with master's degree or even Ph.d's degree to drive a taxi and some are working in factories doing low paid labor jobs.

Most studies show that foreign work experiences had relatively little value in the Canadian labor market (Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Reitz, 2001; Basran & Zong, 1998). The notorious demand for "Canadian experience" by employers points to the irrelevance of occupational or professional experience gained abroad (Reitz, 2007). Requiring Canadian experience has been a particular frustration for immigrants because of its "Catch-22 character": you need Canadian experience to get Canadian experience (Reitz, 2005). Alboim et al. (2005) report that foreign work experience is particularly discounted with a year of experience being worth only about one-third of what Canadian-based experience is worth. Reitz (2001) finds that Canadian employers essentially placed little value, or no value whatever, on work experience gained outside Canada, and immigrant men and women receive about one-half to two-thirds as much benefit from work experience as do the Canadian-born workers of the same gender (p, 364).

Finnie and Meng (2002) report that foreign education and especially work experience received low returns in the Canadian labour market. Chiswick (1978) suggests that work experience acquired prior to immigrant was likely to be of less

value than work experience acquired since arrival. The devaluation of immigrants' foreign experience can somehow explain the unemployment and under employment among recent immigrants. Being denied work in knowledge occupations which includes two main groups: professions and management (Reitz, 2003, p. 11), and experiencing greater educational competition in the lower-level work, immigrants often wind up in the least-skilled occupations.

Based on the 2001 Canadian census, Galarneau and Morrissette (2004) find that among recent immigrants with a university degree and employed between 1991 and 2001, at least one in four had a job requiring no more than a grade 9 education. According to Statistics Canada, many degree holders who came to Canada in the 1990s worked in low-skilled jobs. The list includes: restaurant and food-service managers, taxi and limousine drivers and chauffeurs, truck drivers, security guards and related occupations and janitors, caretakers and building superintendents (Reitz, 2005).

Consequently, members of the designated groups who were less likely to participate in the labor force, more likely to be unemployed and when employed, they are likely to be underemployed and are less likely to work in higher paying occupations and their pay is less than other employees (Wegener, 1991). Despite the increases in the skill levels of new immigrants, their representation in professional and managerial occupations was lower in 1996 than it was in 1981. Analysis of the 1996 census data shows that visible minorities encounter greater barriers to access managerial occupations than in the professional occupations (Reitz, 2003).

According to statistics Canada 2004, the value of foreign work experience in Canada's labour markets has declined significantly over the past 30 years. Among immigrants who arrived in Canada during the late 1960s; an additional year of foreign experience raised their earnings by an estimated 1.5%. However, immigrants of the late 1990s obtained a return of only 0.3% on average for each additional year of foreign experience. In 1960, immigrants from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia received return of 1.1% to their previous foreign work experience; while, the return to foreign work experience for immigrants of the 1990s from these regions appears to have fallen to essentially zero (Statistic Canada, the Daily, 2004).

The unrecognized foreign work experience and the interruption of their career due to immigration to other countries are the great obstacles that create barriers for recent immigrants in accessing professional and managerial occupations. Even though they received Canadian degrees, their former foreign work experience could not be counted as part of their experience as required by Canadian firms. Canadian employers often lack familiarity with standards of professional practice in many other countries. Therefore, even though many immigrants obtained Canadian degrees after immigration, they could only find entry-level positions due to the unrecognized foreign work experience.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the relevant literature on economic integration of immigrants in Canada. The research cited showed that new immigrants earned

not only less than earlier immigrants, but also relative to the earnings of Canadians. It also seems to take a longer time for new immigrants than earlier ones to catch up to the economic performance of Canadian born individuals. Some researchers are not very optimistic about the issue, and predict that the “complete assimilation” would be impossible for recent immigrants.

I also discussed my theoretical perspective which draws primarily from Bourdieu’s capital theory and habitus, social capital and human capital theories in order to understand social and cultural factors preventing the economic integration of the ten Chinese immigrants. In the next chapter, I describe the methodology and methods of the inquiry.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF INQUIRY

In this chapter, I present the methodology and methods for the inquiry. I then describe my background and roles as a researcher. I also detail the process of how I recruited the research participants and provide relevant background information about them. I also explain how I used in-depth interviews as the primary data collection method and discuss my process of data interpretation.

Situating “I” in the Inquiry

Diversity has been a fundamental characteristic of Canada. Canada’s experience with diversity distinguishes it from many countries. The country’s 30 million inhabitants reflect a diverse cultural, ethnic, social linguistic, religious and economic makeup. Each year, approximately 200,000 immigrants from all over the world come to Canada drawn by its quality of life and its reputation as an open, peaceful and caring society that embraces newcomers and values diversity.

The Chinese is one of the largest visible minorities in Canada today. Between 1980 and 2000, it is estimated that about 800,000 Chinese immigrants landed in Canada. Among them, 311,929 Chinese immigrants landed in Toronto and 242,089 settled in Vancouver. For years, Chinese immigrants have dominated the total intake of Canadian immigrants. The influx of Chinese immigrants make up for the shortage of labour force of Canada with well-educated skills and knowledge.

However, Canada is losing its appeal for Chinese immigrants. Since 2005, the number of Chinese applications to immigrate to Canada has decreased sharply, reversing a long-term trend. In 2006, Indian nationals comprised 20 per cent of the total 630,000 immigrant applicants to Canada, while people from Mainland China comprised just 3 per cent (Jimenez, 2006). There is also a trend of return migration among Chinese immigrants, a phenomenon that intrigued me to conduct the inquiry of the return migration of these Chinese immigrants.

Background and Roles of Researcher

I was born in Dalian - a beautiful seashore city in Northeast China, and brought up in a family in which both of my parents are university teachers. I recalled my childhood growing up on the campus of a Chinese university - Shenyang Agricultural University. I was raised in a very traditional Chinese way and received a very conventional education on Chinese culture and values. Confucian's influence on education and the values of Chinese family is embedded in my blood. Confucianism is an East Asian ethical and philosophical system originally developed from the teachings of the early Chinese sage Confucius and his disciples. For example, I still remember vividly that when I was a little girl, my mother taught me that I should never challenge the old and the teacher. Taoism's retreats from society also deeply influence my life attitudes towards the world and people around me. Because I grew up on the university campus, I had opportunities to see and learn about the achievements of professors in their careers such as when they were promoted to tenure, and later

I saw some professors retreat from the worldly competitive Chinese world to live a quiet and peaceful life.

Education background. After graduation from high school, I studied in a local Normal university in Shenyang, the capital city of Liaoning province in the Northeast of China, and prepared to become a teacher just as both of my parents who are university professors. Four years of study provided me with the knowledge about teaching and gave me more opportunities to understand the teaching profession and Chinese education. After graduating from university, I, as all my family expected, became a teacher and from then on, I started my teaching career. Unlike most of my classmates from university, I obtained a teaching position in a local university - Liaoning University. My education experience both as a student and as a teacher in China helped me understand how the Chinese education system functions, its advantages and disadvantages. This background enables me to share and understand my participants' perspectives on Chinese education, their educational expectations for their children, and the rational behind their eagerness to obtain North American credentials.

My life experiences in China and experiences as a new immigrant in Canada also provide me with insights into and understanding of discrepancies in living two lives and the emotional adjustments most Chinese immigrants experienced. For instance, as new immigrants when they first came to Canada with a different culture and languages, they cannot help but missing their

relatives and friends back home. They want to talk with them and share with them about their happiness and frustrations.

Immigration experience. Five years after graduation from university, my husband and I decided that we should make a lifetime change by applying for immigration to Canada. Our motive for immigration to Canada is similar to most Chinese immigrants: to have the chance to see the world, but unlike some other Chinese immigrants, we also want to have the opportunity to receive a western education, although I had already obtained a master's degree in China.

The process of immigration application was longer and more complicated than we had imagined. After submitting all the required legal documents, we waited for two years before the interviewing notice finally arrived. On March 10, 2002, six months after passing the interview and three years of waiting, we finally landed at the Pearson International Airport in Toronto and started our Canadian immigration experience. I still remember that day, when my husband I walked through the customs among passengers with different colors and dialects. Somehow, we had the feeling of being lost in a foreign country - a country where we had no friends and relatives and felt intimidated by so many strangers around us. Suddenly, we saw two familiar faces - they are my American friends who flew from Chicago to meet us. Seeing familiar faces in a foreign country cheered us up and we made a good beginning of our immigration life in Canada.

Starting a new life in a new country can be full of challenges. The daily trivialities such as opening a bank account, grocery shopping and taking a

subway seems very simple to most Canadians, but all these seemingly taken for granted activities took time for us as newcomers to get familiar with. The beginning of my immigration life is similar to that of most new immigrants. I also experienced cultural shock and cultural conflicts, and had the feeling of being “lost and confused” in the host country. For example, I remembered that not long after arriving at Toronto, one day, I went to downtown Toronto, when I walked out of subway station at Young and Bloor, standing among the skyscrapers and looking at people passing by. Some were dressed formally; others dressed informally, I recall feeling suddenly confused by the unfamiliar surroundings and wondering where I was.

Since being in Canada for the last five years, I have attempted to find my identity as I live between my Chinese cultural upbringing and Canadian culture of my host country, between two languages- Chinese and English and two political systems - the Chinese communist party and the Canadian confederation with parliamentary democracy. My previous Canadian work experiences at AICC (the Association of Immigration Counsel of Canada) and YMCA in Toronto with new immigrants have given me access to share great challenges, obstacles and conflicting cultural values and identities that most new immigrants have experienced as immigrants themselves. My personal experience as a new immigrant and a new Canadian citizen in Canada and my cultural and linguistic background as a native Mandarin speaker have further provided me with opportunities to better understand and perceive Chinese cultural values, lifestyles

and heritage, especially their influences on Chinese immigrants in their experience.

In 2006, after two years of study at a western institution, I finally obtained a Master's degree from McGill University. I am facing some of the same decisions that recent Chinese immigrants have to make between staying in the host country or returning home to China after having obtained foreign credentials. My husband graduated from McGill one year ahead of me; his job hunting experience and the experiences of his Chinese classmates in Canada encouraged me to take time to look at these issues and questions. For example, why Chinese immigrants even after having obtained Canadian credentials, still can not find jobs that matched their educational credentials and work experience; what are the obstacles they encountered in job markets? What are their career expectations and what strategies do most Chinese immigrants take to tackle the difficulties that they faced in job market?

My own experience both as a recent Chinese immigrant, and an educator encouraged me to conduct this inquiry of migration and explore the reasons of return migration and the influence of return migration on cultural identities of Chinese returnees. My five years of immigration life in Canada resonates with the life and experiences of my participants and enables me to share and understand their perceptions of the roles that human capital, cultural capital and social capital play in Canadian societies; how devaluated foreign credentials and limited social networks impede immigrants' economic integration and how immigrants suffer from the exclusion as the result of lack of cultural capital of mainstream society.

Roles of researcher. As a qualitative researcher, I am aware that my stances influence the understandings and interpretations that emerge in the inquiry. My roles in the inquiry are multiple, as an insider, an outsider, a researcher, and a researched.

Given my multiple social roles, I am an insider as well as an outsider in my research context. First of all, I am an insider for my participants, because I am a Chinese student who is studying at McGill and who shares similar Chinese cultural values and ethnic background with them. Like my participants, I was born and grew up in China before I immigrated. I have knowledge and understanding about Chinese culture and Chinese society. I am deeply influenced by Chinese cultural values, such as highly valuing education. The fact that I speak Mandarin as my mother tongue like my participants seems to have played an important role in their decision to participate in the research. For example, speaking the same language makes them recognize me as a member of their group - overseas Chinese, and their free communication in their mother tongue also makes them feel at ease and willingly to share their stories and experiences.

At the same time, my participants see me as an outsider, as they seemed to perceive me as a researcher, a Ph. D student. I am not familiar with the subject matters of their studies. Moreover, by the time I conducted the interviews with my participants, I was still living in Canada and they had been living and working in China from half year to three years respectively.

Intentionally, I tried to be an insider in the participants' social cultural worlds as much as possible. In order to facilitate their articulation of their previous

personal experiences and memories, I shared my own personal immigration and study experiences with them. I did so because I did not want my participants to feel that they were the only ones to tell their stories and provide information. By sharing my own stories with them, I wanted them to feel comfortable towards our interviews and my role as an interviewer.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) note that qualitative researchers are guided by particular interpretive frameworks that contain a set of concepts and beliefs about the human world and how it can be understood and studied. In the next section, I detail the research methodologies I adopt in this inquiry.

Research Methodologies

I view my study as a reflective, interpretive qualitative inquiry, particularly in my collection of personal narratives through interviews to learn about the life experiences of the ten participants. Two qualitative research methodologies that seemed particularly applicable for the research are phenomenological and hermeneutic interpretative methods, which I used to offer ways to understand and interpret their sense of self and the subjective experiences of the individual participants.

Phenomenological Research Methodology

Phenomenology is essentially the study of lived experience or the life worlds of human beings (Van Manen, 1997). Its emphasis is on the world as lived by a person, not the world or reality as something separate from the person (Valle et

al., 1989). It is a methodology particularly attempting to describe phenomena. A phenomenological approach focuses on the structure of the experience and the organizing principles that give form and meaning to life (Polkinghorne, 1982). It seeks to elucidate the essences of these structures as they appear in consciousness - to make the invisible visible (Kvale, 1996; Osborne, 1994). The purpose of phenomenological research is to allow the researcher to describe the core composite of a fundamental human experience through the explication of essential themes (Collen, 1984). In the inquiry of the return migration among Chinese immigrants, I use phenomenology to study the phenomenon of return migration experiences and provide a detailed description of ten participants' perspectives of their experiences.

Phenomenological research involves researchers reviewing the subjective experiences of an individual or self, identifying main themes of the experiences and mapping them in how they are associated with the other aspects of their lives. A phenomenological research approach to studying the return of Chinese immigrants may enrich people's understanding of the barriers that the ten participants encountered in their integration into Canadian society socially, economically and culturally.

Edmund Husserl (1977), founder of modern phenomenology argues that phenomenology is a turn "unto the things themselves", a return to the things of the world as they are presented in any given experience from participants' perspectives. He views phenomenology as the answer to embracing a radically genuine science of ontology. It is the study of lived experiences as they

spontaneously manifest themselves in individuals' environments before personal reflection may even begin. Epistemology is the study of knowing; essentially it is the study of what knowledge is and how it is possible. It consists of ideas about the natural world and focuses on how we can obtain knowledge. Ontology, on the other hand, is more concerned about the natural world - how it came to be rather than analysis of what is. In epistemology, we strive to generate authentic descriptions and explanations of the world. Ontology is concerned with how one, as the observer of the phenomenon may know.

Polanyi (1966) explains the subsidiary awareness as follows:

.....A suitable term is needed to speak of this relation briefly. I shall say that we attend from the subsidiary particulars to their joint focus. Acts of consciousness are then not only conscious of something, but also conscious from certain things which include our body. When we examine a human body engaged in conscious action, we meet no traces of consciousness in its organs; and this can be understood now in the sense that subsidiary elements, like the bodily organs engaged in conscious action, lose their functional appearance when we cease to look from them at the focus on which they bear, and look instead at them, in themselves. (p.799)

A central principle of Husserlian (1977) phenomenology is the notion of intentionality. In order to get back "unto the things themselves", Husserl's phenomenological reduction, or "bracketing" is an attempt to remove all personal concepts, theories and beliefs in order to present an unbiased description of the experience as it presents itself phenomenally (Sass, 1988). However, Heidegger (1962) points out that because one is already "being-in-the world", one can never fully bracket off all prejudices. In the study of Chinese immigrants, as a researcher, a Chinese immigrant myself, I know that bias occur. However, I tried to avoid imposing my own ideas, bias, and views on my participants during the

process of conducting the field research. In the next section, I explain the hermeneutic approach as a complementary methodology to phenomenology in the inquiry.

Hermeneutic Research Methodology

The word hermeneutics is derived from Greek word “hermeneuein”, which means to interpret. A key methodology in the cultural sciences was a qualitative hermeneutic interpretation of life expressions. It refers to a process of interpreting phenomenon, the lived experience expressed through the use of speech, writing, or art for the purpose of uncovering and reconstructing the meaning of phenomenon (Chessick, 1990; Gadamer, 1989; Van Hesteren, 1986). A hermeneutic approach concentrates on the historical meaning of the experienced and its developmental and cumulative effects on the individual and society (Polkinghorne, 1983). Hermeneutics in social science similarly aims to help an observer clearly understand, and disambiguate what the subjective experience of another is, i.e., what their expressions mean.

Hermeneutics is the art and science of interpretation and occurs through the use of language, which is a shared aspect of understanding (Heidegger, 1962). Heidegger considers both language and understanding to be essential elements of being. Human knowledge is an act of interpretation because it is always based on historical-cultural contexts. One’s experience is based on one’s previous understandings, and meanings one associated with these experiences. The purpose of a hermeneutic inquiry is to provide a deeper understanding of a

human experience. It is to provide a contextual awareness and perspective to the event. In Heidegger's view that understanding is a basic form of human existence because understanding is not a way one knows the world, but rather the way one is (Polkinghorne, 1983).

Koch (1995) outlined Heidegger's emphasis on the historicity of understanding as one's background or situatedness in the world. A person's history or background includes what a culture gives a person from birth and is handed down, presenting ways of understanding the world. For example, the way of my understanding about the world and the way that I see the world have been greatly influenced by my upbringing and the culture in which I grew up with strong influences of Confucianism and Taoism. Heidegger (1927/1962) stresses that every encounter involves an interpretation influenced by an individual's background or historicity. In the study of Chinese return migration, a hermeneutic approach complements a phenomenological approach by providing historical meanings of experience and their developmental and cumulative effects on individual and social levels such as the profound impact of Chinese cultural values on the characters and behaviors of Chinese immigrants.

The attitudes and experiences of Chinese immigrants in Canada can be better understood by the historical and social contexts of Canadian immigration policies towards Chinese immigrants, such as the exclusion and restriction on Chinese immigrants in Canadian history, the racial discrimination and societal stereotype imposed on them, and barriers prohibiting their assimilation and integration into mainstream society. The two poles of the Chinese philosophy

system, Confucianism and Taoism also have great influence on the behaviors and nature of Chinese people in general and me as a Chinese person in particular. For example, generally when Chinese are successful in their careers and life, they tend to adopt Confucianism to encourage them to pursue more success; while when they encounter setbacks, they tend to resort to the philosophy of Taoism to passively accept their fate and retreat from the world.

My Epistemological Stances

Qualitative methodology recognizes that the subjectivity of the researcher is intimately involved in scientific research (Ratner, 2002). Qualitative researchers, whether in the tradition of sociology or anthropology have wrestled over debating with charges that it is too easy for the prejudice and attitudes of the researchers to bias the data, particularly when data is collected through interviews with a participant. Subjectivity guides most things from the choice of topic that one studies, to formulating hypotheses, selecting methodologies, and interpreting data. Krieger's (1991) argues that the outer world or one's "external reality" is inseparable from what one already knows based on one's lives and experiences - one's inner reality.

The purpose of my inquiry is to describe and understand some aspects of Chinese immigrants' experiences, not to pass judgment on them. As a qualitative researcher, I believe that situations are complex, so I attempt to portray many dimensions of their lives that I could glean from their intentions. Thus, reflexivity and admission of my subjectivity are the useful tools in qualitative research,

Reflexivity demands that we interrogate each of our selves regarding the ways in which research efforts are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that from our own lives. We must question our selves, too, regarding how those binaries and paradoxes shape not only the identities called from in the field and later in the discovery processes of wringing, but also our interactions with respondents, in who we become to them in the process of becoming to ourselves. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 210)

Figure 8 is the reflexive journal I recorded after my first meeting with Ms. Liu.

Figure 8: Sample of reflexive journal

Date: August 18, 2006
Location: a newly-opened bar not far from her home
It was the first time to meet Ms. Liu, even though we had a small talk in the phone, I was still nervous about our meeting. I was not sure whether the questions I was going to ask would be appropriate. In our short conversation over the phone, I knew she was very busy taking care of her son by herself, and the only time she could meet me was during the nap time of her son. I waited for a while in the bar, and she showed up. Ms. Liu dressed very informally, but from the way she speaks it is not hard to tell that she is very confident. Because of the limited time she could give me for the interview, we got down to our interview immediately after a very short introduction. She is a talkative person and she likes to elaborate on her views.
Questions I forgot to ask and should be asked in the next interview:
• I should remember to ask her why she changed her job before immigration.
• When did she graduate from university and what was her major in university?

Hermeneutic research demands self-reflectivity, an ongoing conversation about the experience while simultaneously living in the moment, actively constructing interpretations of the experience and questioning how that interpretation came about (Hertz, 1997). The use of a reflective journal is one way in which a hermeneutic circle can be engaged, moving back and forth between the parts and the whole of the text (Heidegger, 1927/1962). For example, in the reflexive journal with Ms. Liu shown in figure 8, I recorded the

emotions of Ms. Liu and also I took notes of what I forgot to ask during our interview. The purpose of this reflection is to become aware of one's biases and assumptions in order to bracket them, or set them side, in order to engage the experience without preconceived notions about what will be found in the research. Van Manen (1997) believed that writing forces an individual into a reflective attitude. The interpretive process continues until a moment in time where one has reached sensible meanings of the experience, free from inner contradictions (Kvale, 1996).

In the next section, I describe the data collection methods and the process of participant recruitment.

The Design of the Research

Case studies

Case studies have become one of the most common ways to do qualitative inquiry. A case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry (Stake, 1995). Case researchers seek both what is common and what is particular about the case, but the end result regularly portrays something of the uncommon (Stouffer, 1941), depending upon the factors such as the nature of the case, and backgrounds of the case. The purpose of a case report is not to represent the world, but to represent the case. Researcher Yin defines the case study research methods as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries

between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (1984, p. 23).

Stake (1995) categorized three types of case study: intrinsic case study, in which a study is not undertaken primarily because it illustrates a particular trait or problem. The purpose of the study is in all its particularity and ordinariness, and the case study has an intrinsic interest; instrumental case study in which a particular case is examined mainly to provide insights into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, playing a supportive role and facilitates our understanding of something else; collective case study in which a number of cases are studied in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition and the studies will lead to a better understanding, better theorizing about a larger population. Even though sometimes the participants have opposite perceptions on the same issues, their insights and different explanations to the problems will rich the understanding of the topic.

My inquiry of the Chinese immigrants takes the form of collective case study of 10 recent Chinese immigrants who have obtained foreign credential from Canadian institutes and came back to work and live in Shanghai, China. I see my inquiry as an effort to describe my participants' perceptions of their lived experiences. While the sharing of experiences have served to make our collective more cohesive, it has also become crucial to our interpretations of experiences and insights that are being constructed in a series of case studies (Maguire & Beer,1994, p.133). Each case may have important features, happenings, relationships, situations, backgrounds and other contexts (e.g.,

economic, cultural, and physical). For instance, each participant in the inquiry may have their own perceptions and insights about their Canadian experience, and their economic, social backgrounds may differ from others. However, their individual experiences can be used as information contributing to the study. Knowledge is socially constructed, so as constructivists believe in the experiential and contextual accounts of participants, case study researchers assist readers in the construction of knowledge. Therefore, the study of the ten participants with their unique life and work experiences may provide a better understanding and theorizing about the current wave of Chinese return migration from Canada, helping us perceive the process of the decision-making of these participants and the impact of migration on their cultural identities.

In the inquiry of the return migration of Chinese immigrants, the ten participants recount their personal stories and experiences with their views and perceptions on their immigration experiences. For a better understanding of the issue of return migration, I analyze and incorporate the views of each participant, so that their voices and perspectives as actors are considered in the inquiry. This one aspect is salient point in the characteristic that case studies usually possess. With the ten case studies, I provided an opportunity for participants to express their feelings about their broader experiences with job searches, the barriers and obstacles they encountered, their life and study experiences in Canada, and more generally about their frustrations, hopes and aspirations in their attempts to negotiate accommodation and integration within Canada, and their experiences of return migration to China. It is extremely important that such voices be

recorded because they articulate the lived experiences and perspectives of this group of Chinese immigrants.

Personal Narratives

In the inquiry of the return migration of Chinese immigrants, I adopted a narrative approach by collecting the personal narratives of the ten Chinese MBA students to collect data. Focusing on the social positioning (Riessman, 2001) embedded in the participants and their stories and lived experiences, it was clear that not only were there many social and economic factors associated with their return migration, there were also other factors that promoted the return migration. Mishler (1999) claimed that the study of personal narrative is a form of case-centered research. The emphasis in theory and research of identity has “shifted” from the assessment of “personality” to the study of forms and context of discursive genres, such as personal narratives and life stories, within which identities are produced and performed (Mishler, 1999, p. 16-17). Bamberg and McCabe (1998) argue:

With narrative, people strive to configure space and time, deploy cohesive devices, reveal identity of actors and relatedness of actions across scenes. They create themes, plots, and drama. In so doing, narrators make sense of themselves, social situations, and history.
(iii)

I use participants' personal narratives as windows into their beliefs and experiences, to understand their experiences and obtain information that they may not have consciously known about themselves until I asked them. Analysis

of personal narratives can illuminate “individual and collective action and meanings, as well as the social processes by which social life and human relationships are made and changed” (Laslett, 1999, p.392).

Participants construct stories and experiences that support their interpretation of themselves. Whether or not they believe the stories they tell is relatively unimportant because an inquiry moves beyond the specific stories to explore the assumptions inherent in the shaping of those stories. Through telling their stories, the narrators make and interact with their worlds, and then become the “objective” conditions to which they need to respond through adapting, making, and transforming both themselves and those conditions (Mishler, 1999).

Riessman (1993) also states:

Nature and the world do not tell stories, individual do. Interpretation is inevitable because narratives are representations... Human agency and imagination determine what get included and excluded in narrativization, how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean. Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives. (p. 2)

Canagarajah (1996) argues that narratives function in opposition to elitist scholarly discourses and that their use in research offers an opportunity for marginalized groups to participate in knowledge construction in the academy. I believe through collecting the participants’ personal narratives about their immigration and life experiences, the participants’ voice and concerns can be heard.

The experiences and events of one’s lives and worlds do not have a narrative structure, but as soon as experience is put into order, under certain themes, then fragments of life are structured into a meaningful framework of

interpretations. By language we make sense out of what we experience. I find the personal narratives of the ten participants invaluable for capturing the contexts of their decision-making and particularly their behaviours, understanding all the possible reasons and meanings for their actions. The analysis of individual stories may allow deeply hidden assumptions to surface. My efforts to uncover the reasons for their return migration and their perceptions about their identities allow me to discover assumptions about the cultural values, identities and individual personal struggles that I had never thought about systematically.

Research Participants

The 2006 Census enumerated 590,400 people who belonged to a visible minority in the census metropolitan area of Montreal, the third largest visible minority population in Canada, after Toronto and Vancouver. The largest visible minority group in the census metropolitan area of Montreal was Black, which made up nearly three in 10 (28.6%) of Montreal's visible minorities. According to the Statcan Canada, in 2006, there are 72,000 Chinese in Montreal compared with 40,095 of Chinese in 2001. More Chinese immigrants start to choose Montreal as their destination, and more Chinese students study at Montreal's universities, especially at M University for its international status as an English speaking university. This is one reason why I choose Chinese immigrants from M University as participants in my inquiry.

The aim in participant selection in phenomenological and hermeneutic research is to select participants who have lived experiences that is the focus of

the study, who are willing to talk about their experience, and who are diverse enough from one another to enhance possibilities of rich and unique stories of the particular experiences under study (Van Manen, 1997).

In this collective case study of return migration of Chinese immigrants, participants are 10 recent Chinese returnees from Canada with diverse experiences and stories. With their descriptions and accounts of their lived experiences, I aimed to uncover the process of their decision-making of return migration to China and the obstacles they encountered that prevented their integration and adaptation to host country. Thus, my criteria for the potential participants are:

- recent Chinese immigrants who came to Canada at the end of 90s
- having obtained foreign credentials from Canadian academic institutions
- between the age of 30s to mid 40 of varied social economic backgrounds
- having children or not
- working and living in China during the research

Table 1: General information of participants

| Name of Participant | Gender | Duration of having been in Canada | Year of graduation from McGill | Year of leaving Canada | Previous Profession before immigration | Education Before immigration |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Liu Lu | F | 5 years | 2002 | 2004 | Office administrator | B. A in English |
| Liang Li | F | 4 years | 2005 | 2006 | Software development programmer | Bachelor's degree in Computer Science |
| Tao Ying | F | 4 years | 2002 | 2003 | Bank Clerk | Bachelor's degree in Accounting |
| Deng Hong | F | 3 years | 2004 | 2005 | Bank Clerk | B.A in Finance |
| Sun Ping | F | 3 years | 2004 | 2005 | Supervisor | B. A in English |
| Wang Fang | F | 6 years | 2005 | 2007 | Trading consultant | Bachelor's degree in International Business |
| Mu Renjie | M | 5 years | 2003 | 2004 | Engineer | Master of Engineer |
| Ma Hongwei | M | 4 years | 2005 | 2006 | Investment Banker | MBA |
| Liu Dajun | M | 3 years | 2004 | 2004 | Engineer | Bachelor's degree in Computer science |
| Yang Hao | M | 3 years | 2004 | 2004 | Engineer | Bachelor's degree in Engineering |

Table 1 presents the general information about the participants. The participants came to Canada at different times to pursue their study for an MBA degree at M University. Before their immigration to Canada, they all had obtained a degree or two from Chinese universities and had several years of work experiences in China. All names of the ten participants used in the research are pseudonym for the purpose of protecting the participants' privacy.

Gaining access. I gained access to these ten participants in various ways. First of all, I looked for potential participants in person. I put an advertisement on the largest website of the Chinese community at [www. Sinoquebec.com](http://www.Sinoquebec.com). I also talked with my friends and classmates at M University briefly explaining my research and asked them whether they knew someone who could like to participate in my research. Luckily, one of my friends informed me that she had one friend studying in M University's MBA program and would like to participate in my research. I obtained his number from my friend and made a phone call to him. However, it turned out that he is in the second year of his study at M University, which did not meet my criteria for the study. I was looking for someone who had graduated with an MBA degree and should be working and living in China by the time I conducted my inquiry. But he told me that he had a lot of contacts with Chinese MBA graduates who had moved back to live in China and would like to send my email to them first and see if they would like to participate in the research. With his help, I obtained agreement from several potential participants who showed their interest in the research. After getting in touch with these potential participants, with snowball sampling, I had the chances to contact more Chinese MBA graduates from M University. One of participants responded to the ads I put on the website, and emailed me that she was interested in the study. The consent form for the participants and the letter that I attached to the consent form explaining briefly the aim and the focus of the research are included in Appendix B and Appendix C.

Tools of Inquiry

The Chronicle of the Inquiry

In this section I provide a chronological overview of my inquiry in terms of my research activities and data collection process. According to Linde (1993), the chronicle of narrative inquiry is useful for recounting a sequence of events that does not have a single unifying evaluative point. The chronicle of my inquiry helps me better understand how my research focus has evolved.

In May 2006 I graduated from McGill with an MA in Culture and Values in Education. After graduation from the MA program, I started to think about my future. I was struggling between whether I should go back to China for a job or stay here to look for a job. Between my personal struggles, I can not help thinking in retrospect whether I am the only one who is facing the dilemma between staying and returning or are there many Chinese students with degrees from Canadian universities who are encountering the same decision-making. I began to talk with Chinese students at M University and realized the trend of return migration. With great curiosity, I decided to continue my study at McGill and make the study of return migration among Chinese immigrants as my study interest.

Consequently, in the winter of 2006, I had a chance to go back and live in Shanghai for four months. I then took this opportunity to have the initial contact with my potential research participants trying to develop research questions and build trust with my participants. I had a very informal chat with each participant by asking some questions such as their current working and living situations in

China, whether they are happy with their lives and how they see their identity in China.

The conversations with these Chinese returnees and their self-reported professional and lived experiences both in China and Canada made me shift my research focus from the study of factors leading to their return to concentrate more on aspects of the social, cultural and historical spheres of the influences of Chinese culture on their attitudes towards life and profession. Thus, I include traditional Chinese culture such as Confucianism and Taoism as the primary factors shaping Chinese characters and behaviours. During my conversation with Chinese students, I encountered issues of “social identity, language and power, social capital, habitus”, which seemed essential for a critical understanding about the return migration of these Chinese immigrants.

In the summer 2006, I gained access to six Chinese MBA graduates who were willing to participate in the inquiry through my previous contact with them. I then began my interviews with them. In summer 2007, I recruited four more participants for the inquiry and followed up with the previous six participants. Thus, I started my data collection process.

Data Collection

Interview is the primary data source of my research and fits well with the phenomenological and hermeneutic research. The use of interviewing to acquire information is so extensive today that Atkinson & Silverman (1997) and Silverman (1993) claim we live in an “interview society”. Gubrium and Holstein

(1998) note that the interview has become a means of contemporary storytelling, where persons divulge life accounts in response to interview inquiries. Spradley (1979) points out that the purpose of interviewing is to make “cultural inferences”, thick descriptions of a given social world analyzed for cultural patterns and themes. The use of interviews as a data collection method begins with the assumption that the participants’ perspectives are meaningful, knowable, and the participants’ perspectives are able to be made explicit, and that their perspectives affect the success of the project.

In the research of the return migration of Chinese immigrants, I intend to understand the phenomena of the immigration event and the lived experiences of participants as new immigrants in Canadian society. Therefore, I used in-depth interviews in the inquiry to encourage free and open responses from participants. In-depth interviews are an effective qualitative method for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences. They can also provide opportunities for me to gain insights into how they interpret their world.

I conducted one-on-one face to face interviews with all ten Chinese returnees. The interviews were unstructured and open-ended, and were conducted from summer 2006 until the spring of 2008. All interviews were conducted in Chinese except for one participant who was willing to be interviewed in English. All interviews, except one at the request of the participant for no audio-recording, were audio taped recorded to document participants’ words so that I could transform those spoken words into a written text for study. Each word a participant speaks reflects his or her consciousness (Vygotsky,

1987). Initially, I told the participants that they could choose to be interviewed either in English or Chinese and they had the freedom to switch the two languages anytime if they wanted to. Participants' thoughts can become embodied in their words and participants might be emotional in story-telling process, showing their feelings of excitement, anxiety and disappointment. For example, the following interview excerpt revealed Ms. Tao's gratitude to her Chinese students who helped her when her apartment was broken into:

I wanted to express my gratitude to my Chinese classmates, because when I was studying at M University, my apartment was broken into, and I lost all my valuable possessions. The police told me it was impossible to get all my belongings back. I was so depressed at that time. It was my Chinese classmates who collected money and bought me a new computer. I was so touched by them and I would never forget their help. (Interview with Ms. Tao, August 1, 2007)

In-depth interviews are different from other forms of interviews because it involves a greater involvement of the interviewer's self. The in-depth interviews allowed me to have face-to-face interactions with participants, and to build the kind of intimacy that is common for mutual self-disclosure (Johnson, 2002). For example, in the process of interviews, I not only listened tentatively to the stories and experiences of the ten participants, I also shared my own study and immigration experiences with them whenever they were interested in.

I met each participant at different times and places of their convenience. Most participants were very busy with their jobs and they had their families to care for. Therefore, sometimes, I met them in their offices or we went out for a lunch during their lunch hour. The first interview focused on participants' life histories by asking them to tell as much as possible about themselves.

Participants were encouraged to tell their own stories, their lived experiences both in China and Canada, their families and their current work. The second interview concentrated on the concrete details of the participant's Canadian life experiences, questions such as their choices of coming to Canada, the main stressors that they experienced upon settling in Canada, their interactions with Canadians, their perspectives of their life in Canada, their identity and the way they see Canadian education. In the third interview, participants were asked to reflect on the meaning of their experiences, emphasizing their understanding of their experiences.

Table 2: Interview schedules with each participant

| Partici- pants | First Interview | Length of Interview | Second interview | Length of interview | Third interview | Length of Interview | Total number of audio tapes |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Liu Lu | 08/18/2006 | 2:00- 4:00pm | 07/06/2007 | 1:00- 2:30pm | 07/20/2007 | 12:00pm- 2:00pm | 5 tapes |
| Liang Li | 06/18/2007 | 1:00- 3:00pm | 07/02/2007 | 1:00- 4:00pm | 07/26/2007 | 2:00pm- 5:00 | 6 tapes |
| Tao Ying | 07/25/2007 | 12:00- 2:00pm | 08/01/2007 | 1:00- 2:30pm | 08/15/2007 | 1:00- 4:00pm | 5 tapes |
| Deng Hong | 08/22/2006 | 3:00- 4:00pm | 11/15/2007 | 3:00- 5:00pm | 12/02/2007 | 2:00- 3:00pm | 4 tapes |
| Sun Ping | 10/28/2007 | 4:00-6:00 pm | 11/10/2007 | 3:00- 5:00pm | 11/29/2007 | 1:00- 4:00pm | 6 tapes |
| Wang Fang | 12/12/2007 | 1:00- 3:30pm | 12/20/2007 | 1:00- 4:00pm | 01/18/2008 | 1:00- 4:00pm | 7 tapes |
| Mu RenJie | 08/17/2006 | 3:00- 5:00pm | 08/23/2006 | 1:00- 4:00pm | Email correspond- ence 08/09/2007 | | 3 tapes |
| Ma Hong wei | 07/14/2006 | 2:00- 4:00pm | 06/ 15/2007 | 1:30- 3:00pm | 03/15/2008 | 11:30- 1:00pm | 4 tapes |
| Liu Dajun | 08/18/2006 | 11:00- 12:30 pm | 07/10/2007 | 12:00- 1:30pm | 03/02/2008 | 1:00- 3:00pm | 4 tapes |
| Yang Hao | 08/23/2006 | 10:00- 11:30 am | 11/12/2007 | 2:00- 4:00pm | 12/03/2007 | 1:00- 3:30pm | 5 tapes |

Table 2 provides the interview schedule with participants. The interview with the 10 participants spanned one and half years from August 2006 to March 2008. The total interview hours are 60 hours which produced total of 50 tapes.

At the beginning of each interview, I explained that my study focus was to understand their perceptions and lived experiences of living in two worlds, and to understand how cultural values influenced their decision-making and attitudes towards their lives and behaviours. In order to investigate how they perceive and negotiate their identities both in China and Canada, I solicited their narratives about their experiences and stories in both countries. Some sample interview questions I asked the participants are shown in Appendix D. I want my participants to feel that they could trust me with their stories and experiences and be comfortable with the interviews. Thus, I shared my immigration and study experience with each participant to make them feel that I was not here to judge their experiences but to learn, respect and share their experiences. I tried to be an attentive listener and even empathize with them.

Conducting and participating in interviews was a rewarding experience for both participants and me. For participants, they were offered the opportunities to express themselves in a way ordinary life rarely affords them to perceive their life and experiences. For me, as an interviewer and a researcher, the process of the interview unfolded reflexively as each participant looked at the world through others' eyes, incorporating both self and other into the process of interpretation. I started to see and perceive the world from different angles that I did not used to take.

Subjecting yourself.. and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, their work situation, or their ethnic situation. (Goffman, 1989, p.125)

For example, Ms. Liu's description about her impression on Montreal's winter reminded me of the days when I first came to Canada, She told me:

When the plane landed at the airport, I looked out through the window, it was very dark outside. When I was waiting for my luggage, I looked around, to my disappointment, the airport was so small, it was even smaller than most airports in Chinese cities and it was somehow obsolete compared with many airports in China. It was freezing outside which made me want to stay at the airport forever. I started to worry about my future. (Interview with Ms. Liu, August 18, 2006)

During the interview, I became aware of the incredible diversity and complexity among their past and present experiences, and the cultural values they received from their parents about their visions for the future. For example, the following interview excerpt reveals how Ms. Tao's family values were connected to her attitudes towards her lives and her epistemological stances in her life:

When I was a little girl at the age of six, my parents sent me to school. And on the first day of my school, my parents told me I had to study very hard to bring honour to the family. I should respect teachers and obey their orders without any challenge. I should avoid doing anything that would make them shameful. (Interview with Ms. Tao, July 25, 2007)

In the interview process, openness is critical and the exchange may be entirely open, with few direct questions asked (Koch, 1996). This openness can encourage the interview process to stay as close to the lived experience as possible. Kvale (1996) suggests that it is important to look for not only what is 'said', but what is said 'between the lines'. Hence, verbatims do not necessarily capture all of what is 'really said' in the interview. Van Manen (1997) supports the

importance of paying attention to silence, the absence of speaking, the silence of the unspeakable and the silence of being or life itself, as it is herein that one may find the taken for granted or the self-evident. Therefore, I use field notes to record the emotions of participants that I noticed seemed to be emerging during the interview process. Figure 9 is an example of the field note I took after the interview with Mr. Liu to show his emotional changes during the interview:

Figure 9: Sample of field notes on participants' emotions

| |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>July 10, 2007</p> <p>Interview with Mr. Liu.</p> <p>Location: A cafeteria not far from his office in NanJing Road, Shanghai</p> <p>Interview period: 12:00-1:30pm</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• When he talked about his life in Montreal, especially his broken marriage, I noticed that he was very sad and very emotional. For a while, he fell into silence as if he was deep in his memory of that period of time.• Later he cheered up, when he talked about his return migration, and his current life in Shanghai. He seemed to be very happy for his return and was certain that he would have more chances in China to find a perfect girl to live with for the rest of his life. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In the process of interviewing, I also took field notes to record my thoughts and observations at the time the interviews were conducted. With these field notes, I could write down pre and post-tape talk along with their reactions about the interview itself. I could also reflect on the ways I interviewed a participant in terms of whether I was talking too much or too little during the interview; or whether the questions I asked were even appropriate. These field notes assisted

me in determining whether or not the inquiry needs to be redefined based on what is being observed.

In addition to these field notes, I also used field notes to record my general impressions and comments on what a participant said at that time. The field notes were very helpful for following up on questions in previous interviews. For example, Figure 10 is a sample of a personal field notes that I took after I interviewed Ms. Liu.

Figure 10: Sample of personal field notes

Friday, July 06, 2007

Interview with Ms. Liu. Location: House of Flour - a very fancy restaurant in Pu Dong District, Shanghai; interview period: 1:00- 2:30pm

- Very busy, because she just started to work after one and half year of maternity leave
- Talked a lot about her role as a mother and her career
- Very good English skills and very confident
- Proud of her Canadian experiences and satisfied with her current life in China
- Good communication skills and very talkative

I can see she is very content with her life and I also can tell between the lines that she missed her life in Canada. Definitely she will go back Canada in future but not quite sure about the timetable.

I will remember to ask her in the next interview:

- How does she view her identity both in Canada and China? And why?
- Why did she quit her job in Beijing and worked in Shanghai before her immigration?

Interpreting Personal Narratives

In this section, I explain how I interpreted the data. In an attempt to organize the data, after transcribing all the interviews, I reviewed the interview transcripts and field notes so that I could have a general idea of what issues were emerging

in the participants' narratives. I was able to come up with certain points that I could use for presenting the interview quotes which were shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Points of participants' narratives

1. Name of the participant
2. General background of the participants such as gender, marriage status and immigration status
3. Educational background
4. Year of coming and leaving Canada as well as date of their graduation
5. Job hunting experience in Canada and China such as the barriers they encountered
6. Influences of Chinese cultural values
 - i. Perceptions of education
 - ii. Perceptions of harmony with self and others
7. Perceptions on social capital and human capital
 - i. Foreign credentials
 - ii. Social networks
8. Factors leading to their return
 - i. Career advancement
 - ii. Family reasons
9. How they view their identities in both China and Canada
10. Short-term and long-term plans

These points were not the research questions; however, they guided me through the interpretive process and helped me better understand their stories and experiences. While carefully reading the data, I attempted to see whether there were themes that emerged from the data. Particularly, I tried to uncover their stances in life and their values from their narratives; why they had such types of life attitudes and behaviors; what were their experiences; and why these experiences.

During the process of interpreting the participants' narratives, I found that the ten participants were dealing with different challenges in their immigration and study experiences, and some challenges were emotional and others were physical. They all made sacrifice for their dreams to live and study in a western country. For instance, Ms. Liu had to accept the cruel reality that her marriage was broken after she came to Montreal and lived with her husband for only a half year; Ms. Wang had to fly back and forth between Canada and China in order to have the opportunity to get together with her husband. However, the ten participants unanimously agreed that their life and study experiences in Canada were very valuable for them, which had great influences on their attitudes towards life and career, and they did not regret their choices.

As I carefully read through the stories of each participant, I attempted to find answers to my research questions of how they perceived their lives and study experiences in Canada, how they saw their identities, what strategies they took in order to position themselves in the two countries with different social and political systems.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the methodology and methods for the inquiry. I also described my multiple roles as a researcher, a learner and an immigrant with both Chinese and Canadian educational and professional backgrounds. I am aware of the heterogeneity and diversity in the ten participants' experiences in different social and cultural contexts. Therefore, I do not attempt to generalize

their experiences, but to describe and interpret the meaningful experiences of each participant, and their perceptions of the world. In-depth interviews were the primary methods I used for data collection, which allowed the space for participants to tell their own stories and express their personal feelings.

In the next chapter, I introduce the two influential cultural habitus of Chinese culture - Confucianism and Taoism. I also present the profound influences of traditional Chinese culture on shaping Chinese attitude, behaviors and decision-makings.

CHAPTER 5

AN EXPLORATION INTO CHINESE INTELLECTUAL SPIRITUAL JOURNEY

Culture is learned, shared, compelling, interrelated set of symbols whose meaning provides a set of orientations for members of a society. These orientations, taken together, provide solutions to problems that all societies must solve if they are to remain viable. (Terpstra & David, 1985, p.6)

In this chapter, I describe the influences of two Chinese cultural traditions - Confucianism and Taoism on shaping Chinese “habitus”. Previous literature I presented on chapter 3 on economic integration of immigrants in Canada has attributed the return migration to social and economic factors such as un/underemployment due to unrecognized foreign credentials, lack of Canadian working experience and language barriers. Undoubtedly, they are the direct and important reasons leading to the return migration of well educated Chinese immigrants. However, these factors may affect all immigrants in Canada while not all of them made return decisions. There are some key factors that play crucial roles in the return migration of Chinese immigrants in addition to the social-economic barriers showed in the literature. These factors are the Chinese “habitus” - traditional Chinese cultural values and heritage.

Traditional Chinese Cultural Values and Heritage

Chinese cultural values provide the Chinese people their identity. Although, it is said that not all members of a cultural group will hold exactly the same values (Hofstede, 1984), the Chinese core values shaped by a tradition of four

thousand years of history and maintained by the same language are embraced deeply by the Chinese people, no matter where they live.

Traditionally, the Chinese value the importance of family and education, the hierarchical structure of social life, the cultivation of morality and self-restraint and the emphasis on hard work and achievement. As the cornerstone of Chinese culture, Confucianism and Taoism have established the framework of Chinese traditional culture and also have influenced the mentality of Chinese people.

Confucianism and Taoism are two trends of thought representing opposite poles in Chinese philosophy. Taoists seek harmony with nature by advocating non-human interferences while Confucians are concerned more with harmony in the social sphere, concentrating on the formation of a moral and political conformity through changes in human behaviors. Taoism's emphasis on naturalism and Confucianism's humanism are the major difference between the two philosophy schools.

Confucius and Confucianism

Confucius

Confucius (孔 子) (551 B.C.-479 B.C.), one of the greatest educators, philosophers, and politicians in the history of China received nation-wide respect. His philosophy and teachings have deeply influenced the thought and life of the Chinese. In recent years, his philosophical perceptions have been so widely accepted in western society that many Confucius institutes have been established in the western world that are devoted to the study of the

Confucianism. The cultural values espoused by Confucius left a permanent mark on the psyche of Chinese people (Rarick, 2007). His teachings emphasized social relationships, self-cultivation, familial loyalty, and the family as a basis for an ideal government.

Known for his wisdom, Confucius attracted a large number of students following during his life. His teachings were given in oral form to his students. Shortly after his death, his followers began compiling the teachings he had given them, and these writings became the Analects, or the “Saying of Confucius” (Ames & Rosemont, 1998). The Analects, a collection of 497 sayings and short dialogues recorded by Confucius’ disciples after his death, provides a direct window into the thoughts of Confucius himself. The philosophical method he developed offers a means to transform individuals, families, communities, and nations into a harmonious international society.

Confucianism

Confucianism (儒学) or Ju is an East Asian ethical and philosophical system originally developed from the teachings of the early Chinese sage Confucius and his disciples. It is a complex system of moral, social, political, and religious thought that has had tremendous influence on the history of Chinese civilization up to the 21st century. Confucianism is undisputedly the most influential thought, which forms the foundation of the Chinese cultural tradition and still provides the basis for the norms of Chinese interpersonal behavior (Pye, 1972). Based on the traditional culture of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties, Confucianism is more

concerned with the principles of good conduct, self-cultivation, and proper social relationships rather than with the spirit world or the afterlife. Confucius once said: "The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were: extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings" (子不语怪, 力, 乱, 神. Analects, 7.21). The basic aim of Confucianism is to seek harmonious relationships with society, nature and other human beings by carrying out the duties and responsibilities appropriate to one's position in society.

Confucian political theory starts with a doctrine of political authority based on the mandate of heaven, and the legitimate ruler derives authority from heaven's command. The ruler bears responsibility for the well-being of the people and therefore for peace and order in the empire. Confucian philosophy presupposes a view of human nature in which humans are essentially social animals whose mode of social interaction is shaped by a set of socially established standards.

Although many people may consider Confucianism a religion, it is a philosophy and a way of life dealing with human relations, the relationship among people rather than the relationship between people and God. Confucianism is not a religion but a set of pragmatic rules for daily life, derived from what Confucius saw as the lessons of Chinese history (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

Development of Confucianism

Though Confucianism has been integrated into Chinese culture and it is a central part of Chinese people's daily life for over 2000 years, Confucianism was not accepted at its outset. It took more than 300 years after the death of Confucius before his philosophy found wide acceptance.

Confucianism rose to greatest prominence during the Han dynasty in the reign of Emperor Wu when it was promoted to being the official state ideology.

According to historical documents:

During the second century B. C., one of the most powerful emperors of the Han Dynasty, Han Wu-ti, came to the throne. With the purpose of setting up a strong monarchical government, he adopted Confucianism as the authorized national doctrine and abolished all other schools of thought. He then issued a decree declaring that only the scholars of the Ju group could be appointed as political advisers to the court. From that time Confucianism became the only legalized guiding principle by which the patterns of life and the framework of institutions were shaped. (Lee, 1947, p. 490)

Since then, Confucianism became the orthodox doctrine of Chinese society; and Confucius was revered as a Saint instead of an ordinary man, and his teachings were widely propagated.

Confucianism was interpreted and shaped by many sages and philosophers over time. Among them, the best known of these, and the only other historical figure to have his name Latinised, was Mencius who was called the "The Second Sage". Centuries after Confucius died, Mencius and Xun Zi both composed important teachings elaborating in different ways on the fundamental ideas associated with Confucius. In time, these writings, together with the Analects and

other core texts came to constitute the philosophical corpus known in the West as Confucianism.

Mencius or Meng-tzu (孟子) (371-289 BC) was second only to Confucius himself in shaping Confucianism and a leading exponent of Confucianism. Mencius gave a prevalently innatist and idealistic interpretation of Confucius' doctrine. Faithful to the Master's teachings, he places great emphasis on the value of culture and the traditional norms of ritual propriety, intended as an indispensable premise for a valid system of social conventions (Scarpari, 2003, p.326).

The chief doctrine of Mencius is the original goodness of human nature, bestowed by heaven and possessed by everyone. Mencius argues that every person has four innate feelings, which can be further developed into the four moral virtues: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. After his death, his teachings were compiled in the Book of Mencius (《孟子》), a work of classic Confucian philosophy that has greatly influenced Chinese philosophy. The Book of Mencius, a book of conversations with the kings of his time and compiled by Mencius and his followers, is the most original and lively Confucius canon only second to The Analects of Confucius.

In addition to Confucius and Mencius, Xun zi (荀子) is another important scholar in shaping and disseminating the teachings of Confucianism. Though Xun Zi opposes many of Mencius' ideas, he builds a structured system upon the

idea that human beings were essentially bad, had to be educated and exposed to the rites (礼), before being able to express their goodness.

From the Han era (206 BC-AD 220) onward, Confucianism held a dominant position in China. It performed an important role in reinforcing the centralized monarchy and shaping Chinese ideology (Jacobs et al., 1995, p. 29). One person can not be forgotten, Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒), a philosopher-scholar helped to bring about the triumph of Confucianism in the Han dynasty. He wanted to unify the empire culturally by teaching the Confucian classics. In AD 134, Dong Zhongsu, proposed the banning of all schools of thought except the Confucian school. The Han Emperor Wu accepted his proposal and acted on his advice to eliminate all positions of canonical scholars who taught non-Confucian books. This action in effect laid an institutional basis for the Confucian orthodoxy as the sole teaching of the imperial court and the most important means of appointing government officials through the civil service examination system. Study of the Confucian classics became the basis of the government examination system and the core of the educational curriculum since then.

In the following dynasties, with the emergence of Buddhism (佛教) and Taoism (道教), Confucianism struggled for its dominant position as state ideology. Despite its loss of influence during the Tang Dynasty, Song Dynasty witnessed a vital period of the development of Confucianism. Confucianism restored its orthodox role for the following 700 years. At the beginning of the 20th century,

with the New Cultural Movement advocating science and democracy, Confucianism was attacked as an obstacle to Chinese modernization. During the Cultural Revolution, once again it was under violent attack. Mao ZeDong declared Confucianism counterrevolutionary and his Red Guards ransacked temples dedicated to the philosopher.

Confucianism in 21st Century

In recent years, many scholars devote themselves to the study of Confucianism and its application to modern society. Confucianism has been reintroduced into the Chinese educational system (Mooney, 2007; Osnos 2007) and a number of Confucian institutes have been established throughout the world. In China, a TV program aiming to promote Chinese traditional culture turned the dusty old Confucian teachings into an overnight sensation. The book by a professor Yu Dan, who delivered the lectures on Confucian philosophy in basic terms, became the recent-best seller in China (Ni, 2007). Meanwhile, the recent economic success of the Asian tigers, with Japan taking the lead, followed by Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea, and the Chinese booming economy attract the world attention to the study of Confucianism as the ideological and cultural engine of economic growth. Many scholars contend that behind the recent economic boom in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and elsewhere, there lay a "Confucian ethic" of respect for family, hard work, and the social order equivalent to the Protestant ethic that Max Weber postulated as being responsible for the rise of capitalism in Northern Europe (Allen, 1999). It is

believed the East Asian economic miracle is a direct result of the regeneration of the study of Confucianism.

The Confucian tradition has a long historical legacy in East Asia extending from China across Korea and Japan and into Vietnam as well as various territories settled predominantly by Chinese people. The influence of Confucianism has been significant in political thought and institutions, social relationships and ritual exchanges, educational philosophy and moral teaching, cultural attitudes, and historical interpretation in these countries. Indeed, Confucian values still play an important part in East Asian life.

One of the famous scholars on Confucianism, Tu Wei-ming (1996) argues that the Chinese have been the most creative in adapting Confucian learning to modern change. He believes that others will benefit from the lessons learned and continue to develop new modern identities while renewing their Confucian roots.

Classics of Confucianism

The principles of Confucianism are contained in the nine ancient Chinese works handed down by Confucius and his followers, who lived in an age of great philosophic activity. These writings can be divided into two groups: the Four Books (《四书》) and the Five Classics (《五经》). The Four Books, compilations of the sayings of Confucius and Mencius and of commentaries by followers on their teachings, are the Analects (《论语》), a collection of quotes and anecdotes by Confucius that form the basis of his moral and political philosophy; The Great

Learning (《大学》) and The Doctrine of the Mean (《中庸》), containing some of Confucius's philosophical thought arranged systematically with comments and expositions by his disciples; and the Mencius (《孟子》), containing the teachings of one of Confucius's great followers.

The Five Classics are the The Classic of Poetry (《诗经》) made up of 305 poems, traditionally credited as a compilation from Confucius; The Classic of History (《书经》) a collection of documents and speeches of the dynasties of Xia, Shang and Western Zhou and the period before; The Classic of Rites (《礼经》) describing the social forms, ancient rites, and court ceremonies of the Zhou Dynasty; The Classic of Changes (《易经》) a book of symbol system used to identify order in chance events; and The Spring and Autumn Annals (《春秋》) the earliest surviving Chinese historical text to be arranged on annalistic principles and traditionally regarded as having been compiled by Confucius.

The Four Books and the Five Classics later became the Confucius Classics, which for anyone who wants to become a government official in old China has to study and memorize in the civil examination.

Core Values of Confucianism

Confucianism as China's national ideology has dominated Chinese society for 2000 years and played an important role in the Chinese way of thinking,

lifestyle, cultural and psychological structure as well as the formation and evolution of the socio-political system. Its values permeate the life, thinking, and customs of Chinese people. Among the fundamental principles of Confucian philosophy are loyalty, filial piety, moral integrity, and righteousness, as well as benevolence, wisdom, faith, and adherence to the Confucian code. Another fundamental principle is the absolute authority of the ruler over subject, father over child, and husband over wife. Even in contemporary Chinese society, its influence can still be felt in daily life. Therefore, any discussion and analysis of a person and the person's decision-making within the framework of traditional Chinese culture should primarily be measured against the yardstick of Confucianism.

The overall goal of Confucianism is to educate people to be self-motivated, and to assume responsibilities both to the family and the society. It emphasizes self-cultivation and individual contributions to the attainment of an ideal, harmonious society. Therefore, value is placed on good deeds, human morality, respect and love, etc. Based on the earlier study by the Chinese Culture Collection (1987), Fan (2000) classified Chinese culture values into 8 large categories including national traits, personal trait, interpersonal relations, social/family orientation, work attitude, time orientation, business philosophy and relationship with nature. Each category contains certain value elements.

Chinese culture is seen in the inquiry of Chinese immigrants' return migration as a set of core values that underlies personal attitudes towards life, work and achievement among the ordinary Chinese people and remains

relatively stable over a long period of time. The focus is on the Chinese core values, in particular, those elements that can be used to explain their thinking, behavior, decision-making and attitudes among Chinese immigrants, particularly, Chinese immigrants in Canada.

Value education. Confucius emphasizes the importance of education, and as a result, the master was the first person in Chinese history who taught to all people without regard to their position or social status. Before him, only the children of nobles had the opportunity of education. Confucius believes that everyone had the capacity to become a virtuous individual through learning and education and promoted the idea “to educate all despite their social status” and “to teach according to the students' characteristics”. The Master said: “In teaching there should be no distinction of classes” (子曰：有教无类。Analects, 15.39).

Confucius also puts great emphasis on learning. “Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous” (学而不思则罔，思而不学则殆。Analects, 2.15). When he instructs his student about what knowledge is, he said: “You, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it—this is knowledge” (由！诲女知之乎？知之为知之，不知为不知，是知也。Analects, 2.17).

Much of his approach to education was avant-garde. Although it might be impracticable for all men to be given an equal chance in education in Chinese

feudal society, he recognizes in theory the similarities inherent in human nature, and that all men should have an equal chance of becoming prominent in morality and talent through education and personal learning (Xin, 2007). His idea of bringing equal access to education to all the people has had a great effect on the development of Chinese thought. As a result, for thousand of years, the Chinese highly value education, and four ancient inventions: papermaking, gunpowder, printing and the compass are invented by Chinese people and have had a huge impact on the entire world.

Confucius is credited for creating the world's first meritocracy on education, which holds that one's status should be determined by ability instead of ancestry, wealth, or friendship. It was based on his preaching on the meritocracy of education that the Imperial Examination System was first introduced in the Han Dynasty and required that anyone who wanted to have a career as a government official, a highly coveted position in that time, which would bring wealth and honor to the whole family, must pass the examination of the knowledge of Confucianism- "The Classics". On one hand, the examination system offered opportunities for all people, even those on the lower rungs of the social ladder, to acquire power and wealth and further to change their social status through their own efforts.

It was in about the middle of the seventh century that the nation-wide competitive civil examination system was set up as an institution through which the dynastic government picked the intellectual elite , even of obscure origin, once in every three or four years. (Lee, 1947, p. 490)

In Confucianism, education and learning are always associated with effort, and the driving force of efforts is will power (Lee, 1996). On the other hand,

education became the sole means by which individuals from even the humblest backgrounds could rise to great heights. Students in ancient China would start to prepare for the exam from a very young age by memorizing all the Confucian Classics - the only knowledge that would be tested in the exam.

The Imperial Examination System became a standardized formula in ancient China and continued to be used as a way of selecting government officials for centuries. To this end, education became a strategy for survival in a country where poverty and hardship had challenged the lives of millions for countless millennia.

The influence of the Imperial Examination System can still be felt even today in China. Every year, millions of high school graduates have to compete in the National Entrance Exam for the opportunity of obtaining University/college education. For most students from rural areas, University/ College education means life change. They will no longer live the life as their peasant parents did and will be free from poverty. However, it is very cruel for most rural students because they cannot afford to lose, failure in the exam means they will be deprived of the chance to change their fate through education - the only means that they can grasp by their own hard work and efforts.

In addition to the influence of the examination system, the Confucianism's emphasis on education as the key to success has left deep marks in Chinese people. For thousands of years, a person of learning had been regarded higher in social status. Mencius once said: "Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others;

those who labour with their strength are governed by others. This is a principle universally recognized” (故曰：或劳心，或劳力；劳心者治人，劳力者治于人；治

于人者食人，治人者食于人：天下之通义也。 Mencius: Teng Wen Gong I).

Therefore Chinese society highly values education and see it as the key to success. A poem from the emperor of Song Dynasty vividly reflects peoples' view on education:

To enrich your family, there is no need to buy good land:
Books hold a thousand measures of grain.
For an easy life, there is no need to build mansion:
In books are found houses of gold.
When you go out, do not be upset if no one follows you:
In books there will be a crowd of horses and carriages.
If you wish to marry, don't be upset if you don't have a go-between:
In books there are girls with faces like jade.
A young man who wishes to be somebody
will devote his time to the Classics.
He will face the window and read.
The Song Emperor, Renzong (Larson, 1991, p. 31)

Confucius views family life as a kind of training ground that means parents are responsible for the education of their children. Children are expected to learn at early age, and parents usually use these old sayings to encourage their children that learning is the only way to achieve success. Sacrifices in pursuit of learning will be rewarded with better jobs and life choices. It is very common even in contemporary Chinese society, for parents to spend time and money on their children's education by hiring private tutors for their children. Taking children to participate in various classes after school has become part of their daily life. In China, children are expected to bring honor to the family and ancestry, by doing so, they are believed to assume their duties that are often called filial piety.

Stress filial piety (孝). An important aspect of Chinese culture is the maintenance of harmony. Therefore, the building of human relationships and assuming differing duties arising from the different status one held in relation to others is the most important part of Confucianism. Confucius defines five cardinal relationships (五伦): between ruler and the ruled, between husband and wife, between parents and children, between older and younger brothers, and between friends. Mencius further elaborates the five relationships in his book:

Between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. 父子有亲, 君臣有义, 夫妇有别, 长幼有序, 朋友有信。 (Mencius: Teng Wen Gong I)

Among these five relationships, three focus on family relationships demonstrating the importance of family in Chinese society. Confucius firmly believes that good family relationships are the key to reforming society, and thus reforming government. One of his disciples, Master You said,

They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion. The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission! - are they not the root of all benevolent actions? 其为人也孝弟, 而好犯上者, 鲜矣; 不好犯上, 而好作乱者, 未之有也。君子务本, 本立而道生。孝弟也者, 其为仁之本兴。 (Analects, 1.2)

For Confucius, the goal of living is to achieve harmony through acting appropriately in one's duties and relationships. By proper conduct of the five

relationships a Confucian social order based on harmonious relationships could be attained.

Among the five relationships, the relationship between father and son was considered paramount. Father-son identification is the central value of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1948). "Filial piety" (孝) is considered among the greatest of virtues and must be shown towards both the living and the dead (ancestors). The term "filial", meaning "of a child", denotes the respect that a child, originally a son, should show to his parents. According to Confucius, the father should treat the son with care and kindness; the son should treat the father with honor, obedience, devotion, and respect (Ho, 1994; Sung, 1995). Filial piety was thus far more than an attitude; it was one part of a model for the conduct of relationships on which the structure of Chinese society was based (Gabrenya & Hwang, 1996).

Thus, the doctrine of filial piety becomes the cornerstone of all ethics in Chinese society. It is, in Max Weber's words, "the absolutely primary virtue" which "in case of conflict..... preceded all other virtues" in China (Weber, 1951, p.157). Confucianism identifies the family as the microcosm and basic unit of the sociopolitical order (Tang, 1995). Family harmony is the premise of social stability. If everyone practices filial piety, morals in a society would be purified, and political affairs would become honest and upright.

In a Chinese family unit, the father is usually the key figure. It is the son's duty to obey without questioning and honor his father, even after death. The master believes that the relationship between father and son should be: "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The

father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this” (吾党之直者异于是, 父为子隐, 子为父隐, 直在其中矣。Analects, 13.18). He also talked about the son’s respect and obedience to his parents in the following discussion with one of his students: “That parents, when alive, be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety” (生, 事之以礼, 死, 葬之以礼, 祭之以礼。Analects, 2.5).

The family was a basic social, economic and cultural unit of the society in China. It played and continues to play a fundamental role in regulating and stabilizing Chinese social and political life (Hosfede & Bond, 1988). Qian Mu (1969), a Chinese historian, said: “Chinese society is based on family ethics, which in turn is based on filial piety.” Another Chinese scholar, Xi Youwei (1962) said, “In a sense, Chinese culture could be called a filial culture.” To the Chinese then as now, filial piety prompted the son to love and respect his parents, contribute to their comfort, bring happiness and honour to their name, by accomplishing honourable success in life. Therefore, bringing honour to one’s family and clan is regarded as the primary duties of the son. “Bring honor to one’s ancestors” (光宗耀祖) is hailed in traditional Confucian values.

Children are socialized into a mind-set that they are indebted to their parents for their raising and must pay back that debt by having love and filial piety - demonstrated through being submissive, obedient and reverent -toward

their parents. There are many ways to repay the debt. One way would be to take care of their parents when they grew old. Another way is to bring honour to their name. Honour was usually associated with individual success in the Imperial Exam System in ancient China. In contemporary Chinese society, wealth and social status are the primary yard mark to judge an individual's success. There is a Chinese saying: "When a man gets to the top, all his relatives will get there with him; when a man is found guilty, all his relatives will go to hell with him".

The Chinese continue to emphasize family values and they tend to maintain very close family links. There is a strong bond between parents, children and other family members. Historically, parents have had a very big influence on the lives of their children and had very much authority in the family. Parents in Chinese societies are prone to control and monitor more than Western parents, at the same time they devote more time to their children at a younger age by helping them with homework and encouraging and fostering their activities in and outside of school (Sing, 1998, p.166). Parents usually decide what kind of profession their children should take when they grow up and they also play a very crucial role in their children's marriage. From very young, children were taught to obey and respect seniors, teachers and authority, which became an essential part of Chinese lifestyle. Liu comments:

According to Confucianism, it appears that one should by no means be restricted to the practice of filiality alone as one's starting point, but must rise above the natural love between parents and children, go beyond its particularistic limitations, extend the affection for one's relatives to other people in general, and finally achieve a higher level of universal humanness – and in this way attain an ideal of perfection and inclusiveness in one's human existence. (Liu, 2003, p. 236)

The filial doctrine has maintained its paramount position among Chinese ethical principles, as the fountain-head of the morality of the people. Therefore, the Chinese concept holds that everyone must first cultivate his filial piety by practice in order to promote the development of all other virtues (Wei, 1959, p. 57).

Highlight Jen (仁) and Li (礼). For Confucius, the love and a sense of duty toward the family were the most fundamental and natural human feelings. Affection and respect within the family are the basis of a wider feeling radiating toward the external sphere, toward fellow human beings. He called this feeling “Jen”. In the Analects, Confucius said: “Filial piety and fraternal submission - are they not the root of all benevolent actions” (孝悌也者, 其为仁之本与。Analects, 1.2)? Jen is the highest virtue in Confucianism and was considered as the ultimate moral achievement in personal, social and cultural life (Lai, 1995).

Jen is not only a humanistic objective, but also a profoundly spiritual goal of Confucian ethics, which gives meaning and value to life and activities. The concept of Jen includes goodness, benevolence, humanity, kindness, charity and love. To oneself, Jen is self-restraint and self-discipline; to others, benevolence; to parents, filial piety; to elders, brotherly love; to personal duty, loyalty; and to interpersonal behaviors, trust (Chen, 1987). Confucian teachings believe that benevolence is human nature, and that only when one attains this moral quality of loving others can one become a real man. Yet, benevolence is not innate, but acquired through self-cultivation and continuous learning. The master said: “The

man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent consideration - this may be called perfect virtue” (先难而后获，可谓仁矣。Analects, 6.22).

However, according to the Confucian viewpoint, 'self-cultivation' is not the ultimate goal of the individual. 'Self-cultivation' is an inherent moral principle, while 'bringing peace and happiness to others' is the application of this principle to external interpersonal relations. The best way to approach benevolence is in terms of enlightened self interest that is, putting the self in the position of the other and then treating the other accordingly. It is expressed through recognition of value and concern for others, no matter their rank or class. "Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves-this may be called the art of virtue” (夫仁者己欲立而立人，己欲达而达人。能近取譬，可谓仁之方也已。 Analects, 6.30).

Confucius' concept of Jen is best expressed in what is called the silver rule of Confucianism: "What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men” (我不欲人之加诸我也，吾亦欲无加诸人。 Analects, 5.12). It is called the silver rule in comparison to the golden rule of Christianity: "Do unto others as you would want them to do to you". It is the practical consideration of one human being for another based on a concept of reciprocity. It is in one's relationships with others that the condition of maximum virtue is made concrete and manifests

itself, becoming, in a profound sense, humane-ness, a behavior that is inspired by the broadest possible understanding of and benevolence toward others (Scarpari, 2003, p.325).

Basically, the concept of Jen interweaves with the other cardinal concept of Confucian teaching: Li (礼). Li refers to propriety, rite and respect for social norms, and it is the rule of the universe and the fundamental regulatory etiquette of human behavior (Yum, 1988). It is what Confucius believes to be the ideal standard of religious, moral, and social conduct. The long existence of a hierarchical system in Chinese society has produced a strong sense of following order and respecting relationships. Li as the external form of Jen are necessary for the maintenance of roles and status within Confucian hierarchical order (Chen & Chung, 1993). Li dictates right behavior and decorum within relationships and guides relationships such as the one between children and parents: "That parents, when alive, be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety" (生, 事之以礼, 死, 葬之以礼, 祭之以礼。Analects, 2.5); and the relationship between subject and ruler: "A prince should employ his minister according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness" (君使臣以礼, 臣事君以忠。Analects, 3.19).

Li is the marker to interpret the appropriateness between human interactions and guide the individual to cultivate oneself. To a Chinese, the term conveys a sense of the individual's proper behavior and obligations in society.

Respectfulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination; straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness. When those who are in high stations perform well all their duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue. When old friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness. 恭而无礼则劳, 慎而无礼则思, 勇而无礼则乱, 直而无礼则绞. 君子笃于亲, 则民兴于仁, 故旧不遗, 则民不偷. (Analects, 8.2)

Proper observance of Li is supposed to be the basis for an orderly society and the ideal basis for government (Shun, 1993). In the Analects, Confucius emphasizes both the importance of Li to Jen and of Jen to Li: "If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with the rites of propriety" (人而不仁, 如礼何. Analects, 3.3)?

To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him..... Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety. (克己复礼为仁. 一日克己复礼, 天下归仁焉.....非礼勿视, 非礼勿听, 非礼勿言, 非礼勿动. (Analects, 12.1)

Jen as an inner morality is not caused by the mechanism of Li from outside. It is higher-order concept which gives meaning to Li (Tu, 1972). For Confucius, Li provides the structure for social interactions and Jen makes it a moral system. Therefore, if all men would live by the principles of Jen and Li, an ideal social structure and harmony could be achieved.

Confucius stresses the ways in which people can live together harmoniously and develop a just and orderly society. He does not believe in an individual self or soul. One's roles and relationships define that person. The goal of living is to

achieve harmony through acting appropriately in those roles and relationships. In Chinese society, a person is not primarily an individual, rather he or she is first a member of a family, then a member of a clan, then a member of society. Thus, behaving appropriately and following certain social norms preserved and transmitted by Chinese people for thousands of years at different social positions become very important. Children should be taught by their parents at very young age how to restrain themselves, to overcome their individuality so as to maintain the harmony in the family (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

Children are trained to inhibit any form of physical aggression and to help each other in order to promote the harmony and integrity of the group (Scofield & Sun, 1960; Wolf, 1970). Children learn very simple human interactions, such as how to address strangers and friends, how to greet elders and teachers so as to communicate meaningfully to other members of society. Traditional Chinese cherish hierarchical status in social relations. For example, if a group of Chinese eats out together, they usually ask the person who has the highest social status such as high position in work to order dishes and the rest of people usually wait until this person with the highest social status starts to eat. Another example is that in China, unlike the etiquette of the west "lady first" when it comes to go through a door, it is usually the person with highest status that goes first. The Chinese tend to adopt multiple standards of behavior for interacting with different persons around them (Fei, 1948; Hsu, 1953; Nakamura, 1964).

Collective responsibility is preferred over individual responsibility in traditional Chinese society. A focus on individualism undermines the trust that

group members can develop for each other. Confucius feels that when individuals were treated as a group, and encouraged to maintain harmony within the group, greater results could be achieved (Rarick, 2007). Therefore, it is very inappropriate according to Chinese culture to single out a member of a group to praise over others. This may explain why Chinese people are modest about their success and used to ascribe their personal success to the collective efforts of the group.

Conflict should be avoided at any cost so that every one's face (脸面) is maintained. Individuals are judged by the way they correspond to these prescribed patterns of interpersonal relations; so long as the person conforms to group expectations this person has face (Jacobs et al., 1995). The loss of face occurs when the group expectations are not met. In China, harmony is found in the maintenance of an individual's face, meaning one's dignity, self-respect, and prestige. What kind of image one intends to project and instill depends mainly on one's self-concept, one's role, one's reference group, and ones' conjecture about what is highly valued, admired, and respected by the significant others sharing the social network (Alexander & Rudd, 1981). Thus, an individual's face is a function of perceived social position and prestige gained by successfully performing one or more specific social roles that are well recognized by others (Hu, 1944). The goal is to shape and instill in the minds of others a particular favorable image (Schlenker, 1980; Tedeschi & Riess, 1981). As a consequence, saving face rather than losing it becomes a primary concern in Chinese society. It continues to be a pervasive issue affecting many aspects of Chinese behavior.

The Chinese expect that at all times and in all ways, to be treated commensurate with their position in whatever hierarchies they personally occupy, and are extremely sensitive to any behavior they perceive as implicitly diminishing their position.

Knowing that face is vital to others, if an individual cannot do something substantial to enhance face for another within the social network, he is at least supposed to do something superficially to “render him face” (Chiao, 1981). Strategies such as avoiding criticizing anyone, especially superiors in public, and challenging superiors are very common ways for Chinese people to save face. Social relations should be conducted in such a way that everybody’s face is maintained in Chinese culture.

In a relation-oriented society such as China, an individual’s Guanxi (关系) are an important consideration for all concerned (Hwang, 1987). Regulating by the Confucian ethical system of benevolence, righteousness and propriety, the Chinese are living in a network of Guanxi, which is relatively stable for a certain period of time (Hwang, 1997, p.20). Guanxi means a connection between two people where trust exists, such that the partners are willing to accept arrangements or terms that they would not from a stranger. Guanxi takes many forms; family relationships are the most obvious, but individuals from the same village (who, in China, are often related), university class, army unit, social club can be said to have guanxi ties. Success for the Chinese is facilitated through guanxi or connections (Chatterjee et al., 2006). These close relationships provide information, contacts, and financing to members of the network. Not long

ago, university graduates still rely on their family's guanxi to find jobs upon graduation. Therefore, establishing and seeking guanxi is integrated into people's lives. In everyday practice, guanxi often functions as an exchange of favors, which can be seen as a kind of storehouse of goodwill that can be drawn on in times of need. Guanxi of social network are crucial in obtaining resources, thus a person with wide guanxi of network has many kinds of privileges over others that further improve the quality of life.

For the Chinese born and raised up in this relation-oriented society, they learn that success can only be achieved by the aid of wide guanxi along with little personal struggle and efforts. Thus, when Chinese people live and work in North America where individual efforts are highly rewarded, they usually feel at lost and complain about the lack of network.

The Chinese national character of social orientation has been defined as complex behaviors consisting of social conformity, inoffensive strategy, and submission to social expectations and authority (Hsu, 1953; Yang, 1981). Confucianism's emphasis on the importance of education, the assuming of filial piety, and proper behaviors in human relationships facilitate the understanding of Chinese cultural values and their influences on Chinese character.

Lao-Tzu, Chuang-Tzu and Taoism

China has a 4,000 year recorded history and is one of the oldest civilizations in the world (Chung-yueh, 1990). Confucianism as the ethical and philosophical system of China has exerted great influence on Chinese traditional culture. While

Taoism - an indigenous religio-philosophical tradition (Taoism, 2008) has, along with its traditional counterpart Confucianism, shaped Chinese culture for more than 2,000 years.

Unlike its traditional mainstream counterpart of Confucianism, Taoism gave the Chinese a range of alternatives to the Confucian way of life and point of view - passivity and escape to nature by promoting the inner peace of individuals and harmony with their surroundings. Pas (1988) argues that while Confucianism 'represents the surface current', Taoism can be understood as an 'undercurrent in Chinese culture', and the 'undercurrents of a river are also very real'. Taoism can 'inspire people to go along with the flow, to take things easy, not to worry about what cannot be helped', and is a significant element in Chinese culture. Taoism has been one of the main components of Chinese traditional culture, and it has had a deep, long-lasting influence in many domains of Chinese culture and found its way into all Asian countries influenced by China. In every Chinese person's consciousness and subconscious, the factors of Taoism exist to a greater or lesser degree.

Lao-Tzu (Laozi)

Philosophical Taoism can trace its origins to Lao-tzu (老子). Traditionally, it is believed that Lao-tzu was the first Chinese philosopher and the founder of the naturalistic, philosophical "Way" known as Taoism. According to Chinese tradition, he is regarded as the author of the classic text known as Tao-Te Ching (《道德经》), which became the basis for the Taoist philosophy and religion.

However, little is known about his life, and the first consistent biographical account of Lao-tzu is found in the "Historical Records (《史记》)" by Ssu-ma Chien (司马迁), which served as the classical source on the philosopher's life.

According to Ssu-ma Chien, Lao-tzu was born in the state of Chu, which corresponds to the part of Honan Province. But the date of his birth was unknown; it might be a little earlier than Confucius. Lao-tzu's family name was Li, his given name was Erh, and he occupied the post of archivist at the Chou court. Observing the decline of the Chou dynasty, the philosopher left the court and headed west to live the life of a hermit. At the request of Guan Yin (关尹), the legendary guardian of the frontier pass, Lao-tzu agreed and wrote a book in two sections of 5,000 characters, in which he set down his ideas about the Tao. He then left, and what became of him is unknown. The short book he left is called Tao-Te Ching, which became the basis for the Taoist philosophy and religion.

Lao-tzu is venerated as a saint or god by some of the common people, and even Confucius like numerous Chinese, treated sayings of Lao-tzu as adages. In Chinese folklore, it is said that Lao-tzu and Confucius met once and discussed philosophical issues. Ssu-ma Chien related the meeting between Confucius and Lao-tzu in the "Historical Records": Lao-tzu met Confucius once and criticized him for his pride and ambition, Confucius was so impressed with Lao-tzu that he compared him to a dragon that rises to the sky, riding on the winds and clouds.

Chuang-tzu (庄子) - one of the most important scholars in Taoism, gave this description in his work about the meeting between Confucius and Lao-tzu:

From this interview with Lao Dan, Confucius returned home, and for three days did not speak. His disciples (then) asked him, saying, 'Master, you have seen Lao Dan; in what way might you admonish and correct him?' Confucius said, 'In him (I may say) that I have now seen the dragon. The dragon coils itself up, and there is its body; it unfolds itself and becomes the dragon complete. It rides on the cloudy air, and is nourished by the Yin and Yang. I kept my mouth open, and was unable to shut it - how could I admonish and correct Lao Dan? 孔子见老聃归,三日不谈.弟子问曰:“夫子见老聃,亦将何规哉?”孔子曰:“吾乃今于是乎见龙.龙合而成体,散而成章,乘乎云气而养乎阴阳.予口张而不能口.予又何规老聃哉?” (Section 14, Zhuangzi, Outer Chapters: The Revolution of Heaven)

As the first Chinese philosopher and the initiator of the concept of Tao (道), Lao-tzu employed only 5,000 characters to present his notion of Tao (way or path) as the origin of all creation and the force that lies behind the functioning's and changes of the natural world. His philosophical emphases on individual freedom, harmony between human beings and nature, cosmology, self-cultivation, and retirement from social life have exerted great influences on Chinese people's way of thinking, working, and acting. His philosophical creations not only shape the Chinese culture but also have great impact on the world. The Encyclopedia Britannica provides the following comments on Lao-tzu:

Lao-tzu has never ceased to be generally respected in all circles in China. To the Confucianists he was a venerated philosopher; to the people he was a saint or a god; and to the Taoists he was an emanation of the Tao and one of their greatest divinities. (Lao-tzu, 2008)

Chuang-tzu (Zhuangzi)

A legendary Chinese philosopher as well as another important representative of Taoism after Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu (庄子) elaborated on the essence of Taoism and further developed Chinese philosophy and religious thought in the classic book bearing his name Zhuangzi (《庄子》) also known as Nanhuaing (《南华经》).

In spite of his importance in Chinese history, details of Chuang-tzu's life are unknown. Meager information of the philosopher's life could only be found in Ssu-ma Chien's "Historical Records". It indicates that Chuang-tzu was a native of the state of Meng, which his personal name was Zhou, and he was a minor official in his home state. Though Chuang-tzu was born to a poor family, he was quite learned through studying the thought of all kinds of schools. In his life time, he was indifferent to fame and gain. He lived a simple life, valued complete personal freedom, and never involved himself in public affairs, which seemed to him like devils rather than angels. He regarded those who were after fame and gain as shortsighted sparrows and cicadas, who were incomparable to the ambitious rocs, an enormous legendary bird of prey, reputed to have been able to carry off and eat elephants. He treated life and death simply as a kind of natural transformation like seasonal change. In his eyes, nothing was worthy of celebrating or grieving; or rather, death was a way to escape from the worldly tortures.

Chuang-tzu took Tao as the universe basis, and believed that all things in the universe originate from the same thing, and it is an integral whole in various forms. Chuang-tzu taught that wise people accept the ebb and flow of life without attempting to challenge it; true enlightenment involves freeing oneself of traditions and personal goals that stand in the way of the mysterious, all-encompassing Tao. Once he said:

What do I mean by a True Man? The True Man of ancient times did not rebel against want, did not grow proud in plenty, and did not plan his affairs. A man like this could commit an error and not regret it, could meet with success and not make a show. A man like this could climb the high places and not be frightened, could enter the water and not get wet, could enter the fire and not get burned. His knowledge was able to climb all the way up to the Way like this. 何谓真人? 古之真人, 不逆寡, 不雄成, 不谋士。若然者, 过而弗悔, 当而不自得也。若然者, 登高不栗, 入水不濡, 入火不热, 是知能登假于道者也若此。(Section 6, Zhuangzi, Inner Chapter: The Great and Most Honoured Master)

So it is said, Limpidity, silence, emptiness, inaction - these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. So it is said, The sage rests; with rest comes peaceful ease, with peaceful ease comes limpidity, and where there is ease and limpidity, care and worry cannot get at him, noxious airs cannot assault him. Therefore his Virtue is complete and his spirit unimpaired. 故曰: 夫恬淡寂寞, 虚无无为, 此天地之平而道德之质也。故曰: 圣人休休焉则平易矣。平易则恬淡矣。平易恬淡, 则忧患不能入, 邪气不能袭, 故其德全而神不亏。(Section 15, Zhuangzi, Outer chapter: Ingrained Ideas)

Chuang-tzu refuted conventional values advocated by Confucianism, and expressed strong skepticism towards morality and benevolence; he once argued that the proponents of benevolence and morality are usually found at the gates of feudal lords who have stolen their kingdoms.

He who steals a belt buckle pays with his life; he who steals a state gets to be a feudal lord-and we all know that benevolence and righteousness are to

be found at the gates of the feudal lords. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sages. 彼窃钩者诛, 窃国者为诸侯, 诸侯之门而仁义存焉, 则是非窃仁义圣知邪? (Section 10, Zhuangzi, Outer chapter: Cutting open Satchels)

According to historians, Chuang-tzu's teachings are drawn primarily from the sayings of Lao-tzu, but his perspective is much broader which has exerted profound influence on later generations. It especially has considerable effect on Chinese landscape painting and poetry. Chuang-tzu's influence on Chinese culture and excellent contributions to philosophy made him a great man in Chinese history.

Taoism

Taoism (道教) is a Chinese religion. It has played an important role in the making of traditional Chinese culture. Some hold the opinion that without understanding Taoism, there can be no understanding of Chinese culture. Taoism is Chinese because of its deep Chinese cultural roots. It is also a cultural tradition that embraces a wide array of social, moral, philosophical, and religious values and activities (Kirkland, 1992). Taoism is a religion because it involves an orientation towards and relationship with the sacred. Taoism, during its long history of development, has exerted far-reaching influences on many domains of Chinese culture including philosophy, literature, arts, medicine and science. Taoist culture has long permeated the daily life of ordinary Chinese people and has exerted profound impact on social customs in ancient China and on the

shaping of traditional Chinese culture along with Confucianism. The venerated Lu Xun (鲁迅), the great Chinese writer, once said, "China is rooted in Taoism."

To know it is to possess a key to a better understanding of traditional Chinese culture. In the last decade or two, as an increasing number of Western scholars have devoted themselves to Taoist research, several have also turned their attention to the definitional question of what, precisely; "Taoism" is. (Kirkland, 1992, p.77)

Generally, Taoism (or Daoism) refers to a set of philosophical teachings and religious practices that are considered to be rooted in a specific understanding of the Tao. Taoism emphasizes freedom, nature, cosmology, self-cultivation, retirement from social life and even the search for immortality; and it encompasses a variety of related Chinese philosophical and religious traditions and concepts. It often uses "tao" to indicate the order of Nature. Taoism stresses that by following Nature, one will acquire contentment, enlightenment and peace.

Hu Shi (胡适), the famous Chinese philosopher thinks that the central ideas of Taoism can be summed up under three rubrics: (1) a worldview of natural and spontaneous transformation; (2) a philosophy of life that guards physical and mental health; and (3) a laissez-faire political outlook of non-action (Cited in Lou, 2006, p. 76).

Traditionally there are two forms of Taoism: Taoist philosophical tradition called Taojia (道家) based on the texts Tao-Te Ching and Zhuangzi; and a Taoist religious tradition called Taojiao (道教) focused on religious practices such as

alchemy and a wide set of popular beliefs. A famous Chinese philosopher Fung Yu-lan (冯友兰) said:

there is a distinction between Taoism as a philosophy...and the Taoist religion....Their teachings are not only different; they are even contradictory. Taoism as a philosophy teaches the doctrine of following nature, while Taoism as a religion teaches the doctrine of working against nature. (1948, p.3)

These two forms of Taoist expression are clearly interrelated. The distinction between the two forms of Taoism originated in Chinese tradition itself, not from Western scholars (Pas, 2006). At the time Lao-tzu created Taoism, it was simply a school of philosophy. During the Eastern Han Dynasty that Taoism became a religion which holds longevity (长生) and immortality (不老) as its highest object of faith. It advocates attaining longevity and immortality through a process of nourishing life (养生), cultivation and refinement (修炼), and the practice of virtuous conduct (行善), in order to escape death and reach eternity.

Development of Taoism

The history of Taoism stretches Chinese history. Since its origin, it has exerted a powerful influence on shaping Chinese life. Taoism evolved in response to changing times, its doctrine and associated practices revised and refined. Taoism's origins may be traced to prehistoric Chinese religions in China. In the Tang Dynasty, Taoism gained official status in China and Taoism became fully integrated with the imperial court system. Tang emperors claimed Lao-tzu as

their relative (Robinet, 1997, p.184). During the Eastern Han Dynasty, Taoism became a religion and Lao-tzu was respected as the creator of Taoism. In the following Song Dynasty, several emperors were active in promoting Taoism, collecting Taoist texts and publishing editions of the Daozang (Robinet, 1997, p.213). However, Taoism was seen in an unfavorable light during the Qing Dynasty. The Qing Dynasty sought to regain power by advocating Confucian orthodoxy, which returned the Confucian classics to favor and completely rejected Taoism. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Taoism had fallen so much from favor that only one complete copy of the Daozang (《道藏》) remained (Schipper, 1993, p.220). During the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, many Taoist temples and sites were damaged and monks and priests were sent to labor camps (Dean, 1993, p.41). Today, Taoism is one of five religions recognized by the People's Republic of China, which insists on controlling its activities through a state bureaucracy (The China Taoist Association, 2008).

Taoist concepts of harmonious coexistence between humans and nature as well as the promotion of spontaneity and simple life have claimed a great deal of attention. Taoism is attracting the interest of an increasing number of people worldwide and the study and practice of Taoism is flourishing once again in China and throughout the world. At the same time, Taoism is now being transmitted and adapted to a global context. It is no longer simply a Chinese religious tradition. It is now a global religious and cultural phenomenon(a), existing in Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Italy, Korea, Singapore,

Thailand, and Vietnam and practiced by people of a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds (Center for Taoist Study, 2008).

Classics of Taoism

The Tao-Te Ching (《道德经》) and the Zhuangzi (《庄子》) are two foundational scriptures of central importance in philosophical and religious Taoism and have exerted profound influence on China and the world. In the Taoist tradition, the Tao-Te Ching and the Zhuangzi have been regarded as the classical texts and the main resources for formulating Taoist thought (Xie, 2000).

The Tao-Te Ching, or Daodejing, is widely considered to be the most influential Taoist text (Miller, 2003). It has been used as a ritual text throughout the history of religious Taoism (Kohn & LaFargue, 1998, p. 158). Its name comes from the opening words of its two sections: “way (道)” in Chapter 1, and “virtue (德)” in Chapter 38, plus “classic (经)”. It is a short text of around 5,000 Chinese characters in 81 brief chapters or sections divided into two parts, the Tao Ching (道经; chaps. 1-37) and the Te Ching (德经; chaps. 38-81).

From a literary point of view, the Tao-Te Ching is distinguished for its highly compressed written style. It articulates its subject matter in short, concise statements with few grammatical particles. Much of it is rhymed and can be read as a long philosophical poem, expressing often obscure and difficult ideas. The following is the first chapter of the book.

The Way

The Way that can be experienced is not true;
The world that can be constructed is not true.
The Way manifests all that happens and may happen;
The world represents all that exists and may exist.

To experience without intention is to sense the world;
To experience with intention is to anticipate the world.
These two experiences are indistinguishable;
Their construction differs but their effect is the same.

Beyond the gate of experience flows the Way,
Which is ever greater and more subtle than the world.
(Tao-Te Ching: 1)

The Tao-Te Ching is not thematically ordered. However, the main themes of the text are repeatedly expressed using variant formulations, often with only a slight difference (Kim, 2003, p. 13). The leading themes revolve around the nature of Tao and how to attain it. Tao or “the way” can not be explained in words or conceived in thought. “The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao” (道可道, 非常道。Tao-Te Ching:1). It teaches that the Tao, or Way, is the fundamental oneness of all things: “Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from the Tao. The law of the Tao is its being what it is” (人法地, 地法天, 天法道, 道法自然。Tao-Te Ching: 25); and how it finds expression in “virtue” (Te), especially through what the text calls “naturalness” (自然) and “wu-wei” (无为). Many philosophical and practical questions are discussed in Tao-Te Ching, such as the origin and the working of the universe, the laws that govern the change and movement of things, the correct way to live and behave, and the way to govern a state. As Chuang-

tzu, Lao-tzu also showed strong skepticism towards Confucian values such as benevolence and rites. He talked about benevolence and righteousness twice in Tao-Te Ching:

Thus it was that when the Tao was lost, its attributes appeared; when its attributes were lost, benevolence appeared; when benevolence was lost, righteousness appeared; and when righteousness was lost, the proprieties appeared. Now propriety is the attenuated form of leal-heartedness and good faith, and is also the commencement of disorder; swift apprehension is (only) a flower of the Tao, and is the beginning of stupidity .故失道而后德, 失德而后仁, 失仁而后义, 失义而后礼。夫礼者, 忠信之薄, 而乱之首。前识者, 道之华, 而愚之始。(Tao-Te Ching: 38)

If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers. Those three methods (of government) Thought olden ways in elegance did fail And made these names their want of worth to veil; But simple views, and courses plain and true Would selfish ends and many lusts eschew. 绝圣弃智, 民利百倍; 绝仁弃义, 民复孝慈; 绝巧弃利, 盗贼无有。此三者以为文, 不足。故令有所属: 见素抱朴, 少思寡欲, 绝学无忧。(Tao-Te Ching: 19)

Chinese scholars of all ages after him have studied the Tao-Te Ching and they have written copious notes and commentaries to explain the meaning of every line in the book. Its influence on Chinese culture is pervasive and reaches beyond China. Tao-Te Ching is popular in the West among scholars and general readers alike. As a seminal text of Taoism, the Tao-Te Ching has been translated many times into different European languages and studied from a variety of perspectives including mysticism, comparative religion, medicine, and ethics (Hon, 2002, p. 394). The openness and ambiguity of the Chinese originals has certainly attracted translators all over the world. It is not only the most widely

translated Chinese work, but, after the Holy Bible it is the most widely translated book in world literature (Pohl, 2003, p.481). The popularity of the Tao-Te Ching is reflected in the vast number of commentaries that have been written: over 350 have been preserved in Chinese and about 250 in Japanese. Since 1900 more than 40 translations have appeared in English (Tao-Te Ching, 2008), and western philosophers have been deeply impressed by Lao-tzu's work, for instance, Nietzsche and Russell expressed their admiration for Lao-tzu. Nietzsche once said Lao Tzu's book was full with creative ideas, as inexhaustible as water in a well.

After the Tao-Te Ching, The Zhuangzi bearing the name of its author is usually regarded as another most important Taoist text. In Chinese scholarly circles, Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, taken together, are referred to as simply Lao-Zhuang. The Zhuangzi is composed of 33 chapters, seven Inner Chapters (chapter 1-7), fifteen Outer Chapters (chapter 8-22), and eleven miscellany (chapters 23-33). It is historically agreed that the first 7 chapters are, for the most part, genuine; while the rest of the text is often understood to contain fragments of material, some of which are sometimes attributed to the same author as the Inner Chapters, some of which are attributed to other authors. The text of the Zhuangzi shares much in common with the Tao-Te Ching on the cosmological and metaphysical frameworks of Taojia (Tan, 2003). For example, both texts share the same reverence for the way and the same beliefs about society, humans and the Tao. Both philosophers believe that what can be known or said of the Tao is not the Tao and Tao has no beginning or end. For instance,

The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. (道可道, 非

常道。Tao-Te Ching: 1)

This is the Tao; there is in It emotion and sincerity, but It does nothing and has no bodily form. It may be handed down (by the teacher), but may not be received (by his scholars). It may be apprehended (by the mind), but It cannot be seen. It has its root and ground (of existence) in itself. Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing. From It came the mysterious existences of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of God. It produced heaven; it produced earth. It was before the Tai-ji, and yet could not be considered high; it was below all space, and yet could not be considered deep. It was produced before heaven and earth, and yet could not be considered to have existed long; it was older than the highest antiquity, and yet could not be considered old. 夫道有情有信, 无为无形; 可传而不可受, 可得而不可见; 自本自根, 未有天地, 自古以固存; 神鬼神帝, 生天生地; 在太极之先而不为高, 在六极之下而不为深, 先天地生而不为久, 长于上古而不为老。 (Section 6, Zhuangzi, The Great and Most Honoured Master)

The Zhuangzi differs from the Tao-Te Ching in one significant area - it champions an anarchistic, spontaneous and subversive approach to life and statecraft that rejects participation in politics in favor of a withdrawal to a naturalistic lifestyle of harmony with the Tao (Tan, 2003). Chuang-tzu emphasizes that one should focus on the harmony of oneself with the Tao rather than wasting time and energy on politics. Indeed, Chuang-tzu claims that he would rather be a living tortoise dragging its tail in the mud, than a gilded but dead tortoise venerated in the ancestral shrine of the King of Chu. The story goes like this:

Zhuangzi was (once) fishing in the river Pu, when the king of Chu sent two great officers to him, with the message, 'I wish to trouble you with the charge of all within my territories.' Zhuangzi kept on holding his rod without looking round, and said, 'I have heard that in Chu there is a spirit-like

tortoise-shell, the wearer of which died 3000 years ago, and which the king keeps, in his ancestral temple, in a hamper covered with a cloth. Was it better for the tortoise to die, and leave its shell to be thus honoured? Or would it have been better for it to live, and keep on dragging its tail through the mud?' The two officers said, 'It would have been better for it to live, and draw its tail after it over the mud.' 'Go your ways. I will keep on drawing my tail after me through the mud. 庄子钓于濮水。楚王使大夫二人往先焉，曰：“愿以境内累矣！”庄子持竿不顾，曰：“吾闻楚有神龟，死已三千岁矣。王巾笥而藏之庙堂之上。此龟者，宁其死为留骨而贵乎？宁其生而曳尾于涂中乎？”二大夫曰：“宁生而曳尾涂中。”庄子曰：“往矣！吾将曳尾于涂中”。 (Section 17, Zhuangzi, Outer Chapters: The Floods of Autumn)

The Tao-Te Ching is a handbook to the ruler, because much of it consists of advice about how to rule, probably reflecting its origins in a group of shi (仕)-men aspiring to administrative or advisory positions in government (Hsu, 1965). However, the Zhuangzi is the earliest surviving Chinese text to present a philosophy for private life and wisdom for the individual. The emphasis in the Zhuangzi is on the spontaneous transformation of things in the natural world and the impossibility of fixing words or human principles onto this world. The text ridicules the attempts of rulers to impose so called human order onto the world. The Tao-Te Ching is written in a beautiful but esoteric language, while the Zhuangzi is written in a more natural, free-spirited style of writing. Chuang-tzu interprets Lao-tzu's philosophy through concrete examples by using stories, allegories, lighthearted anecdotes, essays, and fragments of earlier, perhaps even primordial mythological materials to explain the Tao in a simple, conversational language while preserving the mysticism of Taoism. The Zhuangzi is ranked with the highest achievements of Chinese literature and it is among the most widely read texts in Classical Chinese. Ames comments:

As a philosophical text, the Zhuangzi is for the most part addressed to the project of personal realization, and only derivatively concerned about social and political order. As one of the finest pieces of literature in the classical Chinese corpus, the Zhuangzi is itself an object lesson in marshalling every trope and literary device available to provide rhetorically charged flashes of insight into the most creative way to live one's life in the world. (Ames, 1998)

The Zhuangzi not only has exerted an extremely powerful influence on traditional Chinese philosophical thought but also has a universal appeal that can readily be appreciated by those with little or no background in Taoist thought and religion. Attracted by philosophical concepts such as Wu-wei, Tao and nature, the Zhuangzi has received warm reception among western intellectuals. For instance, in his essay "The Critic as Artist" (with the Taoist subtitle "With some remarks upon the importance of doing nothing") published in 1890, Oscar Wilde adopts Taoist critique of civilization. He refers to Chuang-tzu in the following way:

Chuang-tzu the wise [. . .] has proved that such well meaning and offensive busy-bodies have destroyed the simple and spontaneous virtue that there is in man. (Cited in Pohl, 2003, p. 472)

The distinctions between Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu are great, not fundamentally philosophical, but in the style of their writings. Whereas Lao-tzu is sublime and mystical, ambiguous and even humorless, Chuang-tzu is earthly, energetic, humorous and above all humanitarian (Siklos, 1988, p.545). The Zhuangzi, focusing more on personal than political realization, is without question one of the richest and most celebrated pieces of philosophical literature in the Chinese tradition (Hall & Ames, 1998). Principal canonical texts of philosophical Taoism also include Huainanzi (《淮南子》), a 2nd century B.C. work written by

Taoist philosophers at the court of Liu An, the King of Huainan (Tan, 2003, p. 523).

Principles of Taoism

Whether Taoism is perceived as philosophy or religion, there are certain core beliefs that nearly all the schools share (Robinet, 1997).

Tao and De. The Tao (the way) is seen as the core of Taoism as the name of Taoism suggests. So, what is Tao? Tan (2003) explains:

Within Chinese cosmology, the Tao may be defined as the matrix of all dynamic actualities and potentialities. It encompasses all actualities that are existing and all possibilities that could happen, but exclude all impossibilities. It is a dynamic ontology which simultaneously embodies both “being” and “non-being” in constant, cyclical and evolutionary flux of production and destruction, rather than a static, once-for-all production. Taoists understand the Tao as the unnamable ultimate reality that defies all attempts at categorization. It is the source for everything that existed, exists and will exist. (p.522)

Therefore, Tao is the origin of the universe, the basis of all existing things, and the indeterminate source from which all things become determinate. It moves in endless cycles and never changes. All life comes from it, but nothing produced by Tao lasts forever. Chuang-tzu proposes the all-in-one idea, and believes that everything in the universe originates from the same thing, and it is an integral whole in various forms. Based on this point, he claims that all the difference between big and small, living and dead, right and wrong, is relative, and such kind of differentiation turns out to be meaningless. Lao-tzu puts it in this way,

There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth. How still it was and formless, standing alone, and

undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted)! It may be regarded as the Mother of all things. I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tao (the Way or Course). Making an effort (further) to give it a name I call it The Great. Great, it passes on (in constant flow). Passing on, it becomes remote. Having become remote, it returns. Therefore the Tao is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the (sage) king is also great. In the universe there are four that are great, and the (sage) king is one of them. Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from the Tao. The law of the Tao is its being what it is.

有物混成，先天地生。寂兮寥兮，独立而不改，周行而不殆，
可以为天地母。吾不知其名，强字之曰道，强为之名曰大。大
曰逝，逝曰远，远曰反。故道大，天大，地大，人亦大。域中
有四大，而人居其一焉。人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自
然。(Tao-Te Ching: 25)

The goal of the Taoist is to seek harmony with the Tao and thereby become one with nature, not with the contentions and troubles of human civilization. He or she "sit sand forgets" the senses; the mind is to be emptied of the knowledge of all things-especially the self. In Grill's view, Tao is an ultimate, impersonal cause of all things that, in addition, not only possesses an all-penetrating power but is also to be considered a moral principle (Grill, 1919, p. 13). As a moral principle, Tao is the way by which the Taoist should live and behave. Lao-tzu advises people to be peaceful, modest, humble, passive, reserved, rejecting competition and ambition, and being indifferent to things like rank, and profuse luxury. He said,

Thus we may see,
Who cleaves to fame
Rejects what is more great;
Who loves large stores
Gives up the richer state.

Who is content
Needs fear no shame.

Who knows to stop
Incurs no blame.
From danger free
Long live shall he.

名与身孰亲。身与货孰多。得与亡孰病。甚爱必大费，多藏必厚亡。故知足不辱，知止不殆，可以长久。(Tao-Te Ching: 44)

He is free from self- display, and therefore he shines; from self-assertion, and therefore he is distinguished; from self-boasting, and therefore his merit is acknowledged; from self-complacency, and therefore he acquires superiority. It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no one in the world is able to strive with him. 曲则全，枉则直，洼则盈，敝则新，少则得，多则惑。是以圣人抱一为天下式。不自见，故明；不自是，故彰；不自伐，故有功；不自矜，故长。夫唯不争，故天下莫能与之争。(Tao-Te Ching: 22)

Both Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu encourage people to seek harmony with nature and with other human beings through a simple life, avoid dispersing their energies through the pursuit of wealth, power or knowledge and take things easy, not to worry about what cannot be helped. Here is an example of a teaching from Lao-tzu on how to abstain oneself from worldly greed:

Colour's five hues from the eyes their sight will take;
Music's five notes the ears as deaf can make;
The flavours five deprive the mouth of taste;
The chariot course, and the wild hunting waste
Make mad the mind; and objects rare and strange,
Sought for, men's conduct will to evil change.
Therefore the sage seeks to satisfy (the craving of) the belly, and not the (insatiable longing of the) eyes. He puts from him the latter, and prefers to seek the former. 五色令人目盲；五音令人耳聋；五味令人口爽；驰骋畋猎，令人心发狂；难得之货，令人行妨。是以圣人为腹不为目，故去彼取此。(Tao-Te Ching: 12)

And Chuang-tzu gives his views on how to live one life:

There is a limit to our life, but to knowledge there is no limit. With what is limited to pursue after what is unlimited is a perilous thing; and when, knowing this, we still seek the increase of our knowledge, the peril cannot

be averted. There should not be the practice of what is good with any thought of the fame (which it will bring), nor of what is evil with any approximation to the punishment (which it will incur): an accordance with the Central Element (of our nature) is the regular way to preserve the body, to maintain the life, to nourish our parents, and to complete our term of years.

吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯随无涯，殆已！已而为知者，殆而已矣！
为善无近名，为恶无近刑，缘督以为经，可以保身，可以全生，可以养亲，
可以尽年。(Section 3, Zhuangzi, Inner Chapter: Nourishing the Lord of Life)

The concept of Virtue is closely related to Tao. Tao is the force and power that decide the forms of Virtue. "The grandest forms of active force from Tao come, their only source" (孔德之容，惟道是从。Tao-Te Ching: 21). It relates "Therefore all things without exception honour the Tao, and exalt its outflowing operation" (道生之，德畜之，物形之，势成之。Tao-Te Ching: 51). Virtue is the manifestation of the Tao within all things. Tao represents the birth of all living beings as well as innate substances, while Virtue nurtures them. Thus, to possess the fullness of Virtue means to be in perfect harmony with one's original nature.

From Lao-tzu's point of view, Virtue is embodied by gentleness, economy and humbleness. "But I have three precious things which I prize and hold fast. The first is gentleness; the second is economy; and the third is shrinking from taking precedence of others" (我有三宝，持而保之。一曰慈，二曰俭，三曰不敢为天下先。Tao-Te Ching: 67). Taoists regard Tao and Virtue as the general principles of their beliefs and behavior. They should not only cultivate Tao but

also accumulate Virtue. Therefore, both Tao and Virtue serve as the basis of Taoist doctrines. Derived from the foundation of Tao and Virtue are a whole set of principles, including non-action (Wu Wei), non-passion and non-desire, non-struggle, and the pursuit of simplicity and truth.

Wu Wei (无为). Wu Wei, is usually translated as nonaction, inaction or nondoing, and as a concept, it is second in importance only to the Tao itself. It is often expressed by the paradox wei wu wei, meaning “action without action” or “effortless doing” (Kirkland, 2004). However, Wu Wei does not mean “sit doing nothing and wait for everything to fall into your lap”. Wu Wei... literally means “no action,” but not in the sense of sitting all day like a dead tree stump... rather it means avoiding action that is not spontaneous... eschewing artfully calculated action and every activity stemming from a profit motive (Blofield, 1985). Ames gives this explanation about Wu Wei:

The Authentic Person’s activity, characterized as WuWei (non-assertive action) is defined by flexibility, efficacy and non-contentiousness. One collaborates with one’s social and natural environments, serving as frictionless ground for their self-disclosure, and they reciprocally for one’s own. Because one develops a sense of identity and continuity with the process as a whole, one is calm and imperturbable. This sense of continuity enables one to exist beyond the plethora of disintegrative dualisms – self and other, creator and creature, life and death, reality and appearance – and to overcome death not by escaping to some more ‘real’ existence, but by coming to realize and to celebrate the mutually entailing identity of oneself and one’s world. (Ames, 1989)

It implies spontaneity, noninterference, and effortless, letting things take their natural course. The goal of Wu Wei is alignment with Tao, revealing the soft and invisible power within all things. Taoists believe that masters of Wu Wei can

control this invisible potential, the innate yin-action of the Way (Jones, 2004, p.255).

Linked with the human behavior, Wu Wei describes a practice of accomplishing things through proper action by knowing when and when not to act according to one's capabilities/limitations and desires. It emphasizes the notion of acting spontaneously and effortlessly rather than working against nature. Wu Wei works once we know our limitations, our true desires as opposed to those we adopt according to the social value system by which we have to abide.

In the Tao-Te Ching, there are twelve instances of Wu Wei (Loy, 1985), Taoist philosophy recognizes that the universe already works harmoniously according to its own ways; when a person exerts their will against or upon the world they disrupt the harmony that already exists. This is not to say that a person should not exert agency and will, rather it is how one acts in relation to the others and the environment. Taoism does not identify man's will as the root problem. Rather, it asserts that man must place his will in harmony with the natural universe (Faching & deChant, 2001). One way of envisioning Wu Wei is through Lao-tzu's writings on how a ruler should govern their kingdom:

Therefore a sage has said, 'I will do nothing (of purpose), and the people will be transformed of themselves; I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves become correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich; I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity. 故圣人云：我无为，而民自化；我好静，而民自正；我无事，而民自富；我无欲，而民自朴。 (Tao-Te Ching: 57)

Wu Wei is the key aspect that attributes to the sage's success according to Lao-tzu. For instance, having arrived at this point of non-action, there is nothing which he does not do (无为而无不为。Tao-Te Ching: 48); It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no one in the world is able to strive with him (夫唯不争，故天下莫能与之争。Tao-Te Ching: 22). Thus, a conclusion could be drawn that the ideal person is one who is perfectly well-adjusted. That is to say, such a person is balanced and at ease in all kinds of situations, and is not thrown by novelty or unexpected circumstances. Wise individuals, then, seek to fulfill their potential harmony with the Tao, making their life like a smooth-flowing river, clear and undisturbed in its movement. They try always to do only as much as their natural impulse requires, never straining for further achievement. They relate to other people in a spirit of natural kindness, tolerance, and humility, never striving to dominate them. The ideal man for Lao-tzu is:

He who acts (with an ulterior purpose) does harm; he who takes hold of a thing (in the same way) loses his hold. The sage does not act (so), and therefore does no harm; he does not lay hold (so), and therefore does not lose his hold. (But) people in their conduct of affairs are constantly ruining them when they are on the eve of success. If they were careful at the end, as (they should be) at the beginning, they would not so ruin them. Therefore the sage desires what (other men) do not desire, and does not prize things difficult to get; he learns what (other men) do not learn, and turns back to what the multitude of men have passed by. Thus he helps the natural development of all things, and does not dare to act (with an ulterior purpose of his own). 民之从事，常于几成而败之。慎终如始，则无败事。是以圣人欲不欲，不贵难得之货，学不学，复众人之所过，以辅万物之自然而不敢为。(Tao-Te Ching: 64)

In contrast to the twelve instances of Wu Wei in Tao-Te Ching, there are some fifty-six occurrences in the Zhuangzi (Loy, 1985, p.77). In the text of the Zhuangzi, the philosopher further interprets the concept of Wu Wei with examples. Chuang-tzu suggests that it is useless, arbitrary, and dysfunctional to set ourselves against what is natural. Since one can choose to adopt different perspectives on experience, why not choose ones which enable one to see things differently. For instance, one can choose to see death not as something to be feared and lamented, but as just one more phase in a much larger transformational movement. Therefore, when Chuang-tzu's good friend comes to console him upon the death of his wife, he finds the sage sitting on a mat, singing and beating on a basin. Chuang-tzu's friend reprimands him, pointing out that such behaviour is improper at the death of someone who has lived and grown old with him and has born him children. The sage responded in this way:

But I reflected on the commencement of her being. She had not yet been born to life; not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form; not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos, there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead. The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to summer. There now she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber; and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wall for her, I should think that I did not understand what was appointed (for all). I therefore restrained myself! 然察其始而本无生；非徒无生也，而本无形；非徒无形也，而本无气。杂乎芒芴之间，变而有气，气变而有形，形变而有生。今又变而之死。是相与为春夏秋冬夏四时行也。人且偃然寝于巨室，然随而哭之，自以为不通乎命，故止也。(Section 18, Zhuangzi, Outer Chapter: Perfect Enjoyment)

According to the theory of "having-no-activity", a man should restrict his activities to what is necessary and what is natural (Fung, 1970). In order to lead a content life, the individual must understand the principles of Nature, the values of the social structure in which he must forge a life, and his own internal wants and needs.

The basic political notion of Taoism is to govern a country by Wu Wei that is the ruler should govern with no restrictions or prohibitions on his subjects:

I will do nothing (of purpose), and the people will be transformed of themselves; I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves become correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich; I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity. 我无为，而民自化；我好静，而民自正；我无事，而民自富；我无欲，而民自朴。(Tao-Te Ching: 57)

The ruler does not teach them discrimination, virtue, or ambition because "When the Great Tao/Way or Method ceased to be observed, benevolence and righteousness came into vogue. Then, appeared wisdom and shrewdness, and there ensued great hypocrisy. When harmony no longer prevailed throughout the six kinships, filial sons found their own manifestations; when the states and clans fell into disorder, loyal ministers appeared" (大道废，有仁义；智慧出，有大伪；六亲不和，有孝慈；国家昏乱，有忠臣。Tao-Te Ching: 18). Thus, with the means of Wu Wei, the good order of the country can be achieved. "When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal" (为无为，则无不治。Tao-Te

Ching: 3). Therefore, it is better to banish wisdom, righteousness, and ingenuity, and the people will benefit a hundredfold.

The ideal society in the Tao-Te Ching is the Utopian state with a small population:

People should think their (coarse) food sweet; their (plain) clothes beautiful; their (poor) dwellings places of rest; and their common (simple) ways sources of enjoyment. There should be a neighboring state within sight, and the voices of the fowls and dogs should be heard all the way from it to us, but I would make the people to old age, even to death, not have any intercourse with it. 甘美食，美其服，安其居，乐其俗，邻国相望，鸡犬之声相闻，民至老死不相往来。(Tao-Te Ching: 80)

And people with Tao should be kind to others and avoid friction. In a state like this, people live happily and harmoniously forever.

The sage does not accumulate (for himself). The more that he expends for others, the more does he possess of his own; the more that he gives to others, the more does he have himself. With all the sharpness of the Way of Heaven, it injures not; with all the doing in the way of the sage he does not strive. 圣人不积，既以为人己愈有，既以与人己愈多。天之道，利而不害。圣人之道，为而不争。(Tao-Te Ching: 81)

Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu's philosophical concept of Wu Wei has had a far reaching influence on traditional Chinese culture. Throughout Chinese history, people weary of social activism and aware of the fragility of human achievements would follow the philosophical concept of Wu Wei to retire from the world and return to nature living a simple life free from any social restrictions.

The Impact of Taoism on Chinese Society

Taoism as a tradition has, along with its traditional counterpart Confucianism, shaped Chinese culture for more than 2,000 years. Taoism places

emphasis upon spontaneity and stresses natural societies with no artificial institutions. Often skeptical and sarcastic on human values such as morality and benevolence, Taoism values simplicity and celebrates nature and spontaneous life, many Taoists believe that man must conform to nature rather than society. It is said that the way of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu is not a method; it is an aim itself (Ham, 1988, p. 28). Based on the deep structure of Chinese culture, Taoism has had an irreplaceable influence on many domains of Chinese society from literature to Chinese medicine.

The Tao and Chinese medicine have been intertwined from the ancient beginnings of Chinese culture. Taoist efforts to procure greater longevity have been incorporated into Chinese medicine. Many early versions of Chinese medicine had roots in Taoist thought such as the breathing technique called qigong, which was based upon early Taoist breathing methods and postures aiming at purifying and preserving the body. Even today, millions of Chinese still practice it as a daily health exercise.

The qualitative, aesthetic concerns that pervade Taoism continued to have an important influence throughout the evolution of Chinese culture, most notably in the productive and literary arts, such as painting, calligraphy, and literature (Hall & Ames, 1998). Taoism can be seen as the invisible force behind the Chinese arts, particularly landscape paintings suggesting a very different relationship between humans and nature. Taoists seek a harmonious relationship with all aspects of nature, and say "Heaven and earth and I live together". The harmony in nature is illustrated in the balance between such things as water and

mountains. Therefore, in traditional Chinese paintings, waterfalls, mountains and natural sceneries such as trees and flowers are the themes of the paintings. The following drawing is a typical example of Chinese paintings by Wu Zhen (Yuan Dynasty). Wu Zhen lived the life of a recluse. He was not very famous or successful during his lifetime, but in the Ming period he came to be designated as one of the Four Great Masters of the late Yuan dynasty and his painting style was favored by many Ming painters.

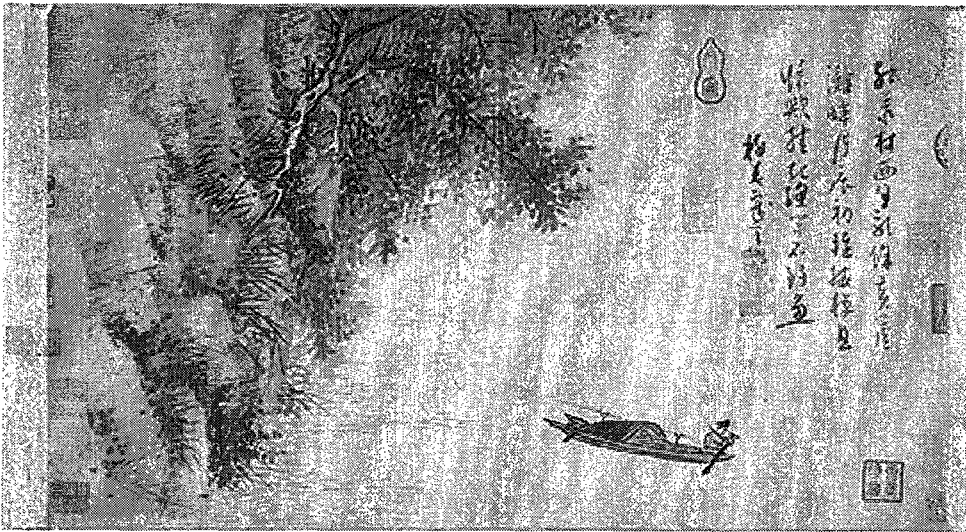


Figure 11: Fisherman by Wu Zhen (Met museum. Org)

Accompanying the hermit-fisherman, a symbol of the late Yuan unemployed scholar, is Wu Zhen's poetic colophon on the upper right of the painting:

*Red leaves west of the village reflect evening rays,
Yellow reeds on a sandy bank cast early moon shadows.
Lightly stirring his oar,*

Thinking of returning home,

He puts aside his fishing pole and will catch no more

With these natural sceneries, people seek to understand the secrets of the power of nature, the Tao and seek the harmony between human beings and the nature. Indeed, in the following quote, Liu (1979) discusses the relationship between one of the traditional principles in Chinese painting and Taoist principles:

Taoist painting is the spontaneous reflection from one's inner reality, unbound by arbitrary rules from without and undistorted by confusion and limitations from within. In this spontaneous reflection one's potentialities are set free and great creativity is achieved without artificial effort. This method of no-method in painting is the application of Taoist philosophy. Tao is the ontological experience by which subjective and objective reality are fused into one. This identification does not take place in the conscious realm through a logical process, but is that inner experience of which Chuang-Tzu speaks when he says: "Heaven and Earth and I live together, and all things and I are one." This unity in multiplicity is invisible and unfathomable and its emergence is not intentional but natural and spontaneous. (p. 202)

In addition, the art of calligraphy is related to Taoist philosophy as an expression of Tao. In some ways, calligraphy is an art related to Chinese painting since it, too, uses brush and ink. At its highest level, calligraphy is the art of expressing artist's inner emotions and understanding of nature. How can a simple character convey all this? The use of brush and ink has much to do with it. The seeming simplicity of the tools is belied by the complexity of effects. A multiplicity of effect is produced in part by varying the consistency and amount of ink carried by the brush. Black ink is formed into solid sticks or cakes that are ground in water on a stone surface (1981.120.1a-c) to produce a liquid. The calligrapher can control the thickness of the ink by varying both the amount of

water and the solid ink that is ground. For the calligrapher, how to create the Chinese character with the brushstroke is of paramount importance, because this quest for the formation of ideal characters is deeply personal unless the inner being of the calligrapher is also perfectly composed. The brush becomes an extension of the writer's arm, indeed, his entire body. But the physical gestures produced by the wielding of the brush reveal much more than physical motion; they reveal much of the writer himself - his impulsiveness, restraint, elegance, rebelliousness (1989.363.17). The key to success in this discipline lies in being close to Tao's concept of an inner, psychological world corresponding with the outer world. Here is an example of Chinese calligraphy by Yang Meizi (South Song Dynasty) and it reads:



Figure 12: Quatrain on spring's Radian by Yan Meizi (Met museum. Org)

*My makeup worn and faded,
Only the scent lingers;
Still I shall enjoy spring's beauty before my eyes.
Once you said to me, "How a year blooms quickly and as quickly dies!
May we now forsake worldly splendors for the land of wine?"*

Taoism as a more naturalistic philosophy emphasizes human beings' freedom from conventional constraints. Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu emphasize the cultivation of the inner man, through following the Way, or Tao, of inner harmony and tranquility. Therefore, the Taoists' philosophical concepts such as Wu Wei, spontaneity and the seeking for a simple, harmonious and peaceful relationship with nature also have great influence on Chinese literature, especially the poetry. Many great Chinese poets showed their Taoists' attitude in their poetry with in detailed descriptions of the beauty and awe for nature. It is very natural for modern Chinese people to illustrate the poem in their mind when they read the poems of centuries ago to appreciate the poets' Taoist attitudes. For example, a poem like this is a typical traditional Chinese poem:

Snow on the River
Over thousands of mountains, no bird flies
Over thousands of paths there is no trail of footprints.
On a lonely boat sits an old man with bamboo hat and cape,
Fishing silently in the snowy river.
Liu Tsung-yuan (柳宗元 773-819)

Nevertheless, Taoism still persists as a guiding principle in art in Chinese culture, and it continues to maintain its powerful influence on Chinese people.

The Influence of Confucianism and Taoism on Chinese Intellectuals

Confucianism, the philosophical system founded on the teachings of Confucius, has dominated the sociopolitical life of China for most of the country's history. Chinese rulers exploited the school's doctrines to maintain domestic order and preserve tradition by preaching virtues such as benevolence, traditional rituals, filial piety, loyalty and respect for superiors and for the aged. It provided Chinese society with a system of education and with strict conventions of social etiquette. One of its main purposes was to form an ethical basis for the traditional Chinese family system with its complex structure and its rituals of ancestor worship. Indeed, the essences of Confucian philosophy can be found in many official documents and teachings. Some of the more salient principles are: submitting to authority; respecting the concept of "big family"; "middle way", and amicable to preserve harmony in one community; and maintaining harmonious relationships with neighbors (Chan, 2002).

Therefore, under such a culture, Chinese people are trained from very young age to follow authoritative orders, and to behave properly according to the established social standards. Fresh and sincere character is not regarded as a virtue. Instead, there is a systematic effort to encourage people to be insincere and hypocritical in order to maintain harmonious relationships. Individual personalities and creativity are suppressed and even sometimes condemned by

society. Children learn to accept and behave according to what they were told. Honor is greatly valued. To “save face” or preserve honor for oneself or one’s family is important and worthy of great effort.

It is a Chinese tradition that children should bring honor to the family with their own achievement recognized by social norms. There is a popular saying among people: to honor one’s ancestors by achieving high scores in Chinese civil examination (金榜题名, 光宗耀祖). Face and Mientze are very important for Chinese people because they are the reflections of the corresponding social status one holds in the society. Having face means one is accepted by people in his/her social network, while if one is rejected, then he/she has lost his/her face. Attempts must be made to avoid embarrassing or causing anyone to be dishonored or embarrassed. When a group of Chinese is interacting with others for a particular social affair, they may form impressions about every participant involved in that affair and arrange them along either a vertical dimension according to their relative role positions or according to the power structure of that social network (Bond & Lee, 1981).

An individual's awareness about a public image formed in other's minds is called "face", which can be differentiated into two categories in Chinese society: Mientze is determined by one's performance, and lian is related to one's moral conduct (King, 1978). The greater performance one has, the higher position one occupies, or the more resource one controls, the greater mientze one has. Lian has nothing to do with one's performance. So far as one's conduct meets moral

or ethical demands for his/her social role, he or she will have lian to face with others in the network (Hwang, 1997, P. 21).

Under the great influence of Confucianism, education is considered the key to success and is greatly valued. Children are expected to learn, so completing schoolwork may be their sole responsibility. Chinese learners are more likely to focus on practical outcomes of education. Several researchers (Salili, 1996; Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Winter, 1996) have suggested that culturally Chinese students are more likely than culturally Western students to view education as a means to an end. Sacrifices in pursuit of learning will be rewarded with better jobs or life choices. Parents sacrifice for their children's education. In return, filial piety ensures that children will take care of their elderly parents. Historical precedents laid the groundwork for this practical view of education in China; as early as 2,500 years ago, education was a path to a secure job in Chinese government (Lee, 1996). Confucian literary intellectuals gradually molded themselves into what Max Weber termed a "status group" - a group with identical ideology, honour and interest (Girth & Mills, 1946, p.434). The status of education in Chinese societies is also markedly higher and academic achievement is valued and encouraged by parents and peers alike (Simon, 1998, p. 166).

The structure of ancient Chinese government was characterized as an intellectual hierarchy through which the more educated ruled the less educated and the literate ruled the illiterate (Lee, 1947). Social position was symbolized by the academic achievement as indicated by the success or failure in various examinations (Lee, 1947, p. 491). Greatly influenced by Confucianism's view on

education, ancient Chinese and even contemporary Chinese still hold the perception that education is the only way to change their low origin and to honor their ancestors. Even today, many Chinese still view the literati higher than merchants and other professions in terms of social status. The Chinese intellectual has always been very reluctant to soil his hands by doing physical work. There is an old saying in China: A superior man had his shambles and kitchen at a distance from the house (Book of Rites, Yu Zao 《礼记-玉藻》), which means the educated Chinese should not do the chores.

Chinese society is a hierarchical society with strong emphasis on one's origin, social status and profession. It is deemed in Chinese society that the educated is higher than the uneducated, and people who work with their mind are higher than those with their hands in terms of social status. This social system of hierarchy has deeply influenced and shaped Chinese mindset, which helps explain why educated Chinese immigrants in Canada seldom take low position jobs such as being a maid, waiter/waitress, constructor, and taxi driver.

Confucianism advocates human interference with the world to create social order or to influence things, while Taoism advocates non-human interferences. Taoism, by contrast, is a more naturalistic philosophy, which emphasizes human beings' freedom from conventional constraints. Taoism is concerned primarily with the observation of nature and the discovery of its Way, or Tao. Human happiness, according to the Taoists, is achieved when men follow the natural order, acting spontaneously and trusting their intuitive knowledge. Taoism values simplicity and celebrates nature and spontaneous life.

The fundamental form of activity among philosophical Taoists seems to be the reading and writing of books. For many educated Chinese people (the Literati), life is divided into a social aspect, where Confucian doctrine prevails, and a private aspect with Taoist aspirations. The fundamental principle of Lao-chuang's philosophy has given "asylum" to the elderly, the underprivileged and the oppressed dissidents and helped foster and encourage the patience and resilience of Chinese people in times of oppression.

Lao-chuang's philosophy has a profound influence on Chinese intellectuals with its emphasis on spontaneous lifestyle and its preach on withdrawal into obscurity when one's name is becoming distinguished. Taoism provided haven for Chinese intellectuals who were seeking freedom in feudal Chinese society, such as Tao Qian (陶潜) and Li Po (李白). It was the best instrument for social activists to criticize the negative social system, and it provided the comfort for the officials who met setbacks in their careers in Chinese government. Therefore, Taoism provides Chinese intellectual a spiritual escape when their original social values are doubtful and uncertain.

Tao Qian is perhaps best known today for his short but intriguing depiction of a land hidden from the outside world called "Peach Blossom Spring" (《桃花源记》). The name "Peach Blossom Spring" has since become the standard Chinese term for 'utopia'. The prose best reflects Chinese intellectual's emotions and attitudes when they were in unfavorable situation. The following is a part of the story:

The fisherman then left his boat and walked on into the opening. At first it was rather narrow, barely enough for one person to pass. But in less than a hundred steps, the passageway widened. Then he saw a wide plain, dotted with houses, arranged in order. There were good fields, beautiful ponds, mulberry trees, and bamboo groves. The area was crisscrossed with highways and paths between the fields, and from one village to another one could hear the friendly crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs. The people moved to and fro as they worked on the farms. All the men and women were dressed in strange garments, like some foreigners. Both the greyhaired people and the children wore their hair tresses, and everyone appeared happy and content. 便舍船从口入。初极狭，才通人；复行数十步，豁然开朗。土地平旷，屋舍俨然，有良田、美池、桑竹之属；阡陌交通，鸡犬相闻。其中往来种作，男女衣著，悉如外人；黄发垂髫，并怡然自乐。(Nida, 1982, p. 76-79)

It tells a story of a fisherman who discovered by chance an idyllic community of Chinese who centuries earlier had fled a war-torn land, and had since lived in perfect simplicity, harmony, and peace, obviously unaware of the turmoil of history beyond their grove. Throughout Chinese history, people weary of social activism and aware of the fragility of human achievements would retire from the world and turn to nature. They might retreat to a countryside or mountain setting to commune with natural beauty.

Taoism provided solace to those who were not happy with mundane living and Chinese intellectuals used Taoism as the vehicle to achieve this purpose, escapism and avoidance is the other result (Louie, 1987, p.5). Therefore, Chinese intellectuals usually resorted to Taoism when they met setbacks; however, when they were successful, they would use the sayings from Confucius to encourage themselves to work harder to pursue more success and fame. They would say:

When the men of antiquity realized their wishes, benefits were conferred by them on the people. If they did not realize their wishes, they cultivated their personal character, and became illustrious in the world. If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole kingdom virtuous as well. 古之人，得志，泽加于民；不得志，修身见于世。穷则独善其身，达则兼善天下。(Mengzi: Jin Xin I)

Taoism's emphasis on nature and what is natural and spontaneous in man persuade people to live a simple life by seeking a harmony with nature. This Taoism philosophy trained Chinese to be frugal in their life. It is said that to be frugal is to be wise. The Chinese are exemplary in carrying out this philosophy by avoiding wastefulness. They tend to purchase things with great forethought and calculated decision-making as to whether the benefits of the purchase outweigh the costs. That somehow explains why Chinese people behave so cautiously and indecisively especially when it comes to make decisions. They usually take all things and aspects into considerations before they take the actual actions, and the processes of decision-making generally take days or even months.

Taoism has its negative influences on Chinese intellectuals. For example, Lao-tzu promoted the idea of returning to a small state with a small population; people did not socialize though they lived so near and the barks of dogs could be heard. In addition, Taoism taught people to accept their fate and use Taoism as a means to avoid taking affirmative social actions (Louie, 1987, p. 6). Taoism's preaching had left a deep mark in the spiritual world of Chinese intellectuals, who always know that they have an alternate choice that is to retreat from the worldly competition and live a simple life somewhere once they failed. These mindsets somehow dissuade them from working hard towards their aims.

For centuries, Taoism has been described as a severe critic of Confucianism (Chan, 1963, p.136). Especially the early Taoist texts reject numerous basic concepts of Confucianism, such as morality, benevolence and other Confucian virtues, embracing instead values based on nature, individualism and spontaneity. Although Confucianism and Taoism are in many ways, poles apart, yet they all express similarly mistrust of hierarchical social structures and government, and similar views on relationships between man and ruler. Indeed, Taoism and Confucianism are the two complementary cornerstones that Chinese traditional culture has been built on. In Chinese history, intellectuals were Confucians in the government office but Taoists at home. The Chinese scholar-gentry personality was famous for having the ability to hold within itself both Taoist and Confucian idiosyncrasies, typified by the maxim "an internal Taoist and an external Confucian" (Louie, 1987, p. 9). Confucianism and Taoism with its opposite philosophy of Yin and Yang, softness and hardness, stillness and action, cold and hot, and forward and backward are the two poles of Chinese traditional culture.

Viewed from this common tradition, orthodox Confucianism limited its field of interest to the creation of a moral and political system that fashioned society and the Chinese empire; whereas Taoism, inside the same worldview, represented more personal and metaphysical preoccupations. The two traditions, "within society" and "beyond society," balance and complement each other.

In general, the two complementary thoughts of Confucianism and Taoism had profound influence on the Chinese cultural system and the spiritual aspects

of Chinese intellectuals. For Chinese intellectuals, when they were successful in their careers and lives, then Confucian philosophy precedes; while when they suffered setbacks, the Taoist philosophy provided the best solace for them. Confucianism's ideal of Junzi (君子) and Taoism's return to nature is the fundamental philosophy for the psychology of Chinese intellectuals. For the vast majority of Chinese, there was no question of choosing between Confucianism and Taoism. However, there is also a tendency among scholars today to draw a less rigid line between what is called Taoist and what is called Confucian. With reference to the influence of Confucianism and Taoism on Chinese people, it is understandable that many Chinese claim that it is the Chinese nature of avoiding open disputes, respecting social hierarchy, and of emphasizing on maintaining harmony, order and loyalty (Chan, 2002).

One thing is certain that the impact of Confucianism and Taoism on Chinese culture and Chinese characters will not die at the end of the century; it will be carried on by the Chinese of next generations into the 21st century and be promoted by overseas Chinese to the world for a better understanding and appreciation.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided an introduction of traditional Chinese culture, especially the impact of Confucianism and Taoism on Chinese people and society.

Confucianism as the ethical and philosophical system of China has exerted a great influence on Chinese traditional culture. Based on the teachings and writings of the philosopher Confucius, Confucianism sought to teach the proper way for all people of the society to behave by advocating concepts such as “Jen” and “Li”. The goal of life for an adherent of Confucianism is to cultivate a harmonious relationship within Chinese society through self-cultivation.

Taoism, as another pole of Chinese philosophy, has exerted extensive influences on many domains of Chinese culture such as philosophy, literature, arts, medicine and science. Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, the two important Taoist scholars have permeated the daily life of ordinary Chinese people with their emphases on the harmonious relationships between humans and nature, as well as on the seeking of inner peace and simple life. The concepts such as “Tao”, “Virtue”, “Wu Wei” and “Naturalness” have left a deep mark in Chinese mindsets which influence their behaviors and attitudes towards life and the world.

Though Confucianism and Taoism are two different poles of Chinese philosophy, together they are the cornerstone on which traditional Chinese culture is built.

In the next chapter, I present the ten participants’ narratives of their experiences. I present a range of experiences they shared with me during the interview.

CHAPTER 6

CASES STUDIES OF TEN PARTICIPANTS' MIGRATION EXPERIENCES

Immigrants have their own stories of life experiences in Canada, stories that are imbued with joy and sorrow, laughs and tears, excitement and frustration. Each story of their experiences is unique. In this chapter, I present the case studies of the ten participants' immigration, study and return migration storied experiences through their own narratives. I focus on their personal narratives, that describe their living and immigration experiences, and the influence of cultural values on their actions.

Case Study of Liu Lu

Immigration as the Means to Save Her Marriage

Ms. Liu was born and raised up in Shanghai. After she graduated from a Chinese Normal School in Shanghai with a bachelor's degree in English, she went to Beijing to work for two years. She was very proud of her job in Beijing as an interpreter and organizer for visiting foreigners. Among them, some are foreign government officials, senators, and retired generals. She said that she never thought about immigration to Canada and in the following interview excerpt she explained what changed her mind:

我对当时的工作和生活都很满意。所以从来都没有想到过要移民加拿大，尽管我周围有一些人申请了移民。但是后来发生的事情改变了我的想法。

I was very content with both of my life and my career in China, and the idea of immigration to Canada had never occurred to me, though I knew someone around me immigrated to Canada. However, one thing

1996 年我丈夫被公司派往加拿大学习技术和先进的管理方法。学成以后，他决定留在加拿大生活和工作。为了维护我们的婚姻，我决定移民，因为这是唯一能使我们团聚的方法。
(2007 年 7 月 6 日采访刘璐)

changed my mind, and I had no choice but to immigrate. My husband was assigned to work in Canada by his Chinese company to learn Canadian advanced technology and management in 1996. And then he decided to stay and work in Canada. In order to maintain our marriage, I decided to immigrate to Canada, because it was the only way that I could get together with my husband. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 6, 2007)

For three years, she and her husband had to communicate with each other through phone calls; at that time the internet and computer were not very accessible in China. Finally after three years of separation with her husband, in 1999, she landed in Montreal where her husband was residing and working. She recalled her first impression of Montreal in the next interview excerpt:

我当时到加拿大的时候是蒙特利尔的冬天。当飞机就要降落的时候，我从小窗户往外看，除了跑道上的灯光，外面一片漆黑。我在等行李的时候，四周环视，发现蒙特利尔的机场真小又很破旧。看到周围陌生的面孔和耳边操着各种口音的英语，我突然感到恐惧和孤独。(2006 年 8 月 18 日采访刘璐)

It was Montreal's winter when I arrived. I looked out from the window of the airplane when it was going to land, and it was very dark with dimming lights except the lights in the tarmac. When I waited for my luggage, I looked around the interior of the airport, it was small, very small and obsolete. Surrounded by people with strange faces and languages, I suddenly felt very overwhelmed and lonely. (Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

For months, she did not dare go around and stayed in the apartment, she was filled with desperation, and felt lost and disappointment. She felt Montreal's winter was more depressing. It was not until spring arrived that she started to walk out of the apartment she and her husband shared and attended some

French classes. Gradually, she started to make friends with students in her French classes, most of students were new immigrants like her. She felt a sense of belonging when she was with them, and shared similar topics and views on new life and uneasiness in a host country.

Her husband came to Canada three years earlier than her. He is among a group of Chinese who came to Montreal when fewer Chinese faces could be seen in Montreal streets. The company in which he worked was very generous in supporting him for a two year's MBA program at M University. So when Ms. Liu arrived in Montreal, her husband was in his last year of MBA study. He was preoccupied with his study and did not have much time to care for her needs in life and emotions. It was at this moment that she felt that three year's separation had set them apart not only in location, but also in mindset and lifestyle. She said,

我感觉到我丈夫经过三年的时间已经完全适应了加拿大的生活，但是我还是一个新移民，在思想和行为方式上很中国化。我们之间在思想上有不可逾越的鸿沟。(2006 年 8 月 18 日采访刘璐)

I felt that after three years of living in Canada, my husband has totally accustomed to Canadian life, but I was a new immigrant, thinking and behaving in Chinese ways. There was an unreachable gap between us. (Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

School Life in a Western University

Ms. Liu considered to continue her study would be a good option for her, with her previous education background. She believed that the MBA is the perfect program for her, because it does not particularly require previous business education background and anyone with a bachelors' degree can apply, as long as one can meet the minimum requirement on TOEFL and GMAT.

She submitted her application and then was admitted into M University's MBA program, but she was delayed in registering until the next year due to the limited opening for the year she applied. As a result, she experienced a year of free time before her study at M University. During this period of time, she started to explore Montreal, taking part in various cultural activities in summer and visiting museums. She said she started to like Montreal,

在这一年的时间，我开始有机会了解蒙特利尔，夏天参加了各种的文化活动，比如爵士节和电影节，冬天我很喜欢滑雪，所以我开始喜欢这个城市。特别是它的文化和传统。(2007年7月20采访刘璐)

In this one year, I started to get to know Montreal, and attended various summer activities, such as Jazz Festival and Film Festival; in winter I like to ski, gradually I began to fall in love with the city, especially its culture and tradition. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

She also found a part-time job as a receptionist in a driving school during her waiting period for school. She was happy with her job in the driving school. On the one hand, she had the opportunities to get in touch with people of different origins. On the other hand, she was independent and made a living by herself. Then school started, she immersed herself into her study immediately. It was by this time, she and her husband officially parted.

School life was exciting at first; however the courses were hard for her because she had no business background whatsoever. She recalled that five-hour sleep a day was very normal for her in the first year of her MBA study in order to catch up with the economic terminology and knowledge. She told me proudly during the interview:

我没有任何学经济的教育背景，一开始读 MBA，老师讲的英语单词我都知道，但是放在一个句子里，因为没有经济学的基础，就完全不懂了。所以我当时学习的很苦，每天要花大量的时间去学习经济学方面的知识。还要学统计学。我想既然我要学习就要坚持下去。第一个学期的考试结束后，我得到了三个 A，我的成绩比其他有经济基础的中国学生都好，我感到自己的努力没有白费。(2007 年 7 月 20 采访刘璐)

I had no education background in business. When I first started MBA at M University, I could understand all the words in professor's lecture, but with no business education, I could not figure out the meaning of these sentences. I studied very hard and spent large amount of time catching up with business knowledge. In addition, I had to learn statistics. I told myself if an MBA degree was the one that I wanted, I'd better keep working hard for it. At the end of the first semester, I got three As in my courses which were even better than my other Chinese classmates who studied business in their undergraduate. I was very proud of myself and my efforts got rewarded. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

Her study experience at M University and her efforts in study all showed the great influence that Chinese culture had on her. The Chinese tradition of studying hard was embedded in the mind of Chinese people. I myself remember that the first day when I went to school, my parents told me to study hard and to make efforts to achieve high scores in exams. Bourdieu (1991) explains that habitus inclines social individuals to act and react in certain ways. Habitus generates certain practices, perceptions and attitudes that individuals may take on without being consciously aware of any kind of social or cultural rules that influence their habitus.

It was during her study at M University that she met and married her current husband. In May 2002, Ms. Liu graduated from M University with an MBA degree and landed a job as a financial analyst in a Canadian company located in

Montreal. When I asked about her job hunting experiences, she told me her stories in the next interview excerpt.

我是五月份毕业的。在这之前我发出了很多简历，都没有回音。学校也有一些校园招聘，但是机会太少了，我们是竞争不过当地的学生的。五月底的一天，我收到了电信说有个工作要找个中国学生。我就申请了，经过几轮的面试我得到了这个工作。
(2007年7月20采访刘璐)

I graduated at the beginning of May. Before my graduation, I applied some job positions, but without success. There were opportunities of campus recruits, but the opportunities were few, besides, we could not compete with local students. One day, at the end of May, I received email from career center at M University saying there was a company looking for a Chinese MBA graduate. I applied for the job and after interviews, finally I got the job.
(Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

In Ms. Liu's own words, she was lucky to obtain this job opportunity. Because the company needed a Chinese MBA graduate, this prevented the local students from competing with her. Otherwise, she did not think that she could find a job like this with her cultural and social capital.

The concept of 'habitus' plays an important role in Bourdieu's theory.

To reconstruct what has been pulled apart [the different practices performed in different fields] ... one must return to the practice-unifying and practice-generating principle, i.e., the class habitus, the internalised form of the class condition and of the conditionings it entails. (1984, p.101)

He further argues that "social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus which is 'normally' (i.e., with a high statistical probability) associated with that position" (1984, p.372). Thus, the 'habitus' is the "internalized form of the class condition and of the conditionings" by which a member of the class knows, without thinking about it, just how to react to different cultural stimuli. Habitus is not a direct reflection of the conditions of

existence of a class, but a sensibility acquired through a life-time and an upbringing in those conditions and the possibilities they include or exclude. Thus, whether a person actually has skills or education or family, in practice turns out to be secondary to the habitus they have acquired. Therefore, it is her cultural habitus that decides what kind of job she could acquire but not her skills.

Working in Canada

Ms. Liu worked in the company for one and half years. When I asked about her experience of working in a Canadian company, she recounted her story in the following interview excerpt:

尽管收入不是很高，我还是很高兴在这个公司工作，我还和一些同事成了好朋友。每周我们都要一起出去吃顿午饭，聊聊天。我发现我的同事很细心，因为我是唯一的新移民，他们尽量找些我感兴趣的话题，但是我知道他们这样做是很困难，很辛苦。有时候，他们能花上半个小时谈论一个话题，而我是根本没有听懂。我感到自己格格不入，也插不上话。这时候，我就深深地感到了文化差异。
2007 年 7 月 20 采访刘璐)

I enjoy working at the company, though the pay was not high. I even developed friendship with some of my colleagues. We usually went out for lunch once a week and chatted. I noticed that my colleagues were very considerate and they tried to find topics that I could share every time when we went out. However, I realized that it would be very hard and tired for them to do so. They could spend half an hour talking things that I had no clue at all. Sometimes, I felt among them I was out of place and could not contribute to the discussions. I deeply felt the cultural differences. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital cannot be acquired at school and the school cannot diminish differences in the amount of capital across groups of students. Even though, Ms. Liu studied and lived in Canada for a

period of time, she still lacked the cultural capital of mainstream society. She adopted a strategy of self-elimination, which means she excluded herself because she didn't feel at ease in specific social settings where she was not familiar with specific cultural norms.

In 2004, she returned to China. I asked her why she decided to return to China, since she was very happy with her job in Canada. She explained her decision in this way:

我在这个加拿大公司主要是负责中国市场的调研，我知道这个工作对我将来的事业发展不是有很大的帮助。我想做有挑战性的工作。但是我也认识到加拿大的就业市场满足不了我的需求。所以我就有了回国的念头，等待着时机。终于有一天，我的一个中国同学告诉我在国内有个工作机会，问我感不感兴趣。我经过考虑决定接受这个工作回国。国内的这个工作更有挑战性，我承担的工作责任也很多。
(2006年8月18采访刘璐)

My job at the company was doing market research of China. I understood that it would not be very helpful for my future career development. I wanted to do a more challenging job. And I realized that the Canadian job market could not provide me with what I wanted. I had the idea of returning and waited for the opportunity. Then one day, one of my Chinese classmates told me he knew there was a job opportunity in China and asked me whether I'd like to take it. I thought it over and decided to return China, I believe the job in China was more challenging and I would take more responsibilities. (Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

Although she prefers the lifestyle in Canada, for her career development, Ms. Liu had to give up her life in Canada and return to China.

Life after Return Migration

The job in China met her career expectations and she worked in a security company preparing for the initial public offering (IPO) of a company's common

stock or shares to the public for the first time. However, at the beginning of 2005, due to the changes of financial policies in the Chinese security market, the fund on which she had been working since her return was no longer ready for the IPO. Therefore, she had two choices: one was to work for another project of the company, and the other one was to look for a new job. She took the second choice and started her job hunting in China. However, by that time, she was pregnant and she decided to stay at home waiting for the birth of the baby. When I first interviewed her in 2006, her son was only several months old, she seemed very happy talking with a proud smile about being a mom. She said she had no plan to go back work for the time being. I asked her about how she felt when she first returned to China, she said,

我认为回国生活对我是件很容易的事情。然而，在离开中国几年后，再回来生活不是想象那么简单。国内到哪里都是很多的人很大的噪音，我对此很不习惯。人们都喜欢谈论金钱，提职，汽车，而我一点儿也不感兴趣。有时，我很留念在加拿大的生活，我不禁要问自己是中国人还是加拿大人？(2006年8月18采访刘璐)

I thought it should be easy for me to return to live in China. However, it was not as easy as I thought when I started to live in China after being absent for years. Everywhere I went in China, it was very noisy and crowded, which made me feel uncomfortable. People like to talk about money, promotions and cars in which I was not very interested. I felt there was a distance between me and people around me. Sometimes, I missed my days in Canada and wondered who I am, am I a Chinese or a Canadian? (Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

The immigration experiences of Ms. Liu had great impact on her social identity. When she was in Canada, as a new immigrant she learned to negotiate her social identity and she got used to it. Now since her return, she had to

renegotiate her social identity once again. In the process of negotiation and renegotiation of her identities, she started to have doubts about her own identity of who she was. She felt that as long as she maintained the connections to the two countries, her struggle for her identity would continue.

In 2007, when I met her again, she told me she just returned to work and she is a human resource director in charge of 200 employees in a high-tech company in Shanghai. She told me working was no more a means proving and confirming her capabilities, but it is a means to keep in touch with society. When I asked her about her long and short-term plans, she replied with a smile that every decision she and her husband were making now had to revolve around their son. Of course, in the long run, they will return and live in Canada when time is appropriate. However, for the time being, they are going to accumulate experience and wealth in China when they are still young, so that their future in Canada will be better and brighter.

Human capital such as the accumulation of work experiences plays an important role in the job mobility and wage growth among immigrants in Canada as I discussed in Chapter 3. Ms. Liu and her husband recognized the crucial role that human capital will play in their future life in Canada, therefore, they are willing to work hard to accumulate the human capital and then when they return to Canada, they could convert the accumulated human capital into economic gains.

Case Study of Liang Li

Immigration as a Way to Achieve Her Dream

I was introduced to Ms. Liang through a friend of mine who was in the same MBA program with her. I gave her a call and she agreed to meet me in a cafeteria not far from her home in Shanghai. Ms. Liang grew up in a very traditional Chinese family in Shanghai. As the only child in her family, she maintained a very close relationship with both of her parents. After graduation from a prestigious university in China with a bachelor's degree in computer science, she started to work in an insurance company in charge of program development. After four years working in the insurance company, she became more and more involved with the business management of the company. At that time, she started to think about pursuing an MBA degree for further career development. With a lot of research on MBA programs in Chinese universities, she decided that an MBA program from a western country such as the United States or Canada is what she wanted. As a result, in 2000, she and her husband made the immigration decision. Ms. Liang is the principal applicant in the immigration application due to her better English skills. Then in March 2002, they landed in Montreal unlike most Chinese immigrants who usually chose either Toronto or Vancouver for their destination. I was very curious about why they chose first to come to Montreal unlike other Chinese immigrants. She replied,

对于我和我丈夫来说，选择在蒙特利尔登陆是我们的决定。因为在决定移民之前，我们就对加拿大的城市作了研究，我们也知道大多数移民选择多

For my husband and me, landing in Montreal was our own choice. Because before immigration, we did some research about Canadian cities, we knew that Toronto was the destination that most Chinese

伦多，温哥华也是比较热门的。但是我们更向往蒙特列尔的浪漫的法国生活方式，时尚的时装，还有古典的建筑。（2007年6月18采访梁丽）

immigrants would choose. And Vancouver was another favorite one among Chinese immigrants. But we like Montreal for its romantic French lifestyle, trendy fashion and classic architecture. (Interview with Ms. Liang, June 18, 2007)

She told me that her immigration life in Montreal actually was much better than what she and her husband had imagined before immigration. With much research on living and working in Montreal, they had been well prepared for the hardships they would encounter in Montreal.

Improving English Skills

Two weeks after they landed in Montreal, Ms. Liang went to Toronto for a short visit. After her trip from Toronto, she was very disappointed with her English skills, which she used to be very proud of and self-confident. She recounted:

我过去很以我的英语水平为荣。从来没有想到过我会在语言方面遇到问题。然而，当我在多伦多和人用英语交谈时，别人不能听懂我的英语的时候，我感到很沮丧。就在那时起，我决定要提高我的英语水平为将来的学习和生活打好基础。（2007年6月18采访梁丽）

I used to be very proud of my English. And I never thought of having problem with my own language skills. However, when I was in Toronto, I found people could not understand what I was talking when I spoke English. I was so frustrated. By that time, I decided that I should improve my language skills especially my English skills so that I could be ready for my future study and life. (Interview with Ms. Liang, June 18, 2007)

Coming back from Toronto, she started the preparation for her MBA application, taking the required tests of TOEFL and GMAT. In order to improve her English, she volunteered in a local community helping develop a database to store information because of her excellent computer skills. By volunteering at the community, she had the opportunities to participate and get involved in community activities and get in touch with Canadian society, which prepared her well for her future study at M University and for developing a better understanding of the host country.

Ms. Liang's determination to improve her language skills confirms Peirce's (1995) notion of social identity, language and investment.

It conceives of the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (p. 17-18)

From her efforts to improving her language skills, and her intention to know Canadian society, Canadian culture and history, Ms. Liang actually was working on repositioning her social identity in Canada from a new immigrant to integrating into Canadian mainstream society.

Life after Graduation from M University

In May 2005, Ms. Liang graduated from M University with an MBA degree. Unlike her other Chinese classmates, she decided to return to China immediately after graduation instead of job hunting in Canada. Because the initial purpose of

going abroad for Ms. Liang and her husband was to receive a western education, even though, there was a small alteration of the plan: instead of going to school, her husband worked during their stay in Canada. Since their mission was accomplished, they were ready to return to China. But the birth of their newborn baby changed their plans. In order to be able to travel and live with their daughter in the future, they decided to apply for Canadian citizenship and settled down in Canada.

Her husband started his own enterprise in Canada and the business was very busy for him with no time to help with taking care of the baby. Then, in August, 2006, Ms. Liang along with her daughter returned to Shanghai. She explained the reasons for her return in the next interview excerpt:

我想让我的孩子在加拿大长大。但是由于我丈夫生意很忙，我们最后决定由我把孩子带回国，让她在上海长大，我的父母也可以帮我照看她。还有一个重要的因素促成了我回国，那就是我是家里唯一的孩子，我的父母年岁已老，需要我的照顾。所以我就回国了。（2007年7月2日采访梁丽）

I wanted to raise my child in Canada. But because my husband was so busy, we decided that I took the baby back to China and raise her in Shanghai with the help of my parents. There was another important reason helped me make the return decision: I am the only child of the family, both of my parents are old, and they need me to spend time with them and take care of them. So I went back to China. (Interview with Ms. Liang, July 2, 2007)

Ms. Liang's experiences confirm the Confucius' influence of traditional Chinese culture on Chinese people. Confucius said: While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance (父母在，不远游。Analects, 4:19). For

thousands of years, Chinese followed his teachings and spent time with old parents, taking care of them.

When I first met her for the interview, Ms. Liang told me after almost a year of rest and adjustment in China, she is ready for job hunting in China and she had decided that she would stay in Shanghai for a long time. She wanted her daughter to stay in China and receive a Chinese education until she is old enough for high school and by that time they may return to live in Canada. I asked about her rationale for her decision. She explained:

我是在中国长大的，所以对中国教育的优缺点有很好的了解。中国的文化传统就是重视教育，我觉得这会对我女儿有正面的影响。中国教育还特别强调打下好的学习基础，孩子在很小的时候，就让他们学会记忆一些事物，我认为这对他们的成长有利。等她到了一定的年龄，自己认识到教育的重要性，我就会送她回加拿大接受教育，她喜欢学什么就学什么。（2007年7月26采访梁丽）

I grew up in China, therefore, I knew the pros and cons of Chinese education. As a cultural tradition, the Chinese highly value education which would have a very positive influence on my child. Especially, Chinese education stresses the solid foundation for study, children at young age would learn to memorize a lot of things. I believe it is good for their development. Then when my daughter is old enough and knows the importance of education, I will send her back to Canada where she can develop her interests. (Interview with Ms. Liang, July 26, 2007)

Ms. Liang's perception on education is very typical in China, where education is highly valued and emphasized. Education is perceived to be the only means for Chinese to succeed and improve their social status. Chinese parents would like to make sacrifices for their children to have a good education. Being a Chinese growing up in China, Ms. Liang definitely embedded this cultural values

from her parents in education and would like to transmit some values to her daughter as cultural capital.

In April 2008, I contacted her once again to follow up on the interview. She told me she is working for an American company as a marketing manager in Shanghai, and she is very happy with her current life and her job. She did not regret her return decision.

Case Study of Tao Ying

Going Abroad

Unlike the first two participants who were born and grew up in Shanghai, Ms. Tao grew up in a seashore city in Northeast China. After graduating from a Chinese university in 1995, she first worked for a foreign bank for one year and then asked for an internal transfer to work in the bank's Beijing branch where she worked for another two years. When I asked her why she decided to immigrate to Canada, she recounted her story in the following excerpt:

我的父母都是大学教授。我认为他们对我的影响很大。我还记得听到父母谈论同事的孩子出国移民。所以在中国工作3年后，我想去北美攻读工商管理。我进行了移民咨询，被告知移民加拿大是最适合我的，于是1998年我交了移民申请。（2007年7月25采访陶颖）

Both of my parents are university professors, and I believe I was influenced by them a lot. I remembered overhearing their conversations about the immigration of their colleagues' children. After working for 3 years in China, I decided to do my MBA in a North American University. I went to see an immigration consultant, and was told I'd better apply for Canadian immigration which best suited my

case. In 1998, I submitted the immigration application. (Interview with Ms. Tao, July 25, 2007)

Six months later after submitting her immigration application, she received a letter inviting her to an immigration interview in Hong Kong. By that time, it was not easy for Mainland Chinese citizens to go to Hong Kong, a special visa was required in order to do so. She took the trouble to get it and finally took the trip to Hong Kong and the interview was successful. She was told immediately after the interview that she passed it and she would receive her immigration paper very soon.

Shortly after receiving her immigration visa, she paid a short visit to Vancouver and fell immediately in love with Vancouver's weather and natural beauty. I asked about her first impression of Canada; she commented:

初到温哥华，我立刻就被温哥华这个城市吸引了。我感觉加拿大人都很善良，热心。当我迷路的时候，总会有人帮助我，给我指路。我对加拿大的第一印象，应该是对温哥华的第一印象是非常的好。（2007年7月25采访陶颖）

When I first came to Vancouver, I was attracted by it immediately. I felt that Canadians are kind and warmhearted. When I got lost, they would help me and give me directions. My first impression of Canada, or specifically of Vancouver was very excellent. (Interview with Ms.Tao, July 25, 2007)

Students' Life in Montreal

After her short trip to Vancouver, Ms. Tao went back to China to make preparations for her study life in Canada. In August, 1999, she came to Canada once again, but this time she was not a visitor to Canada. She headed for

Montreal, because she was admitted into M University's MBA program and she started her life as an immigrant there.

To obtain an MBA degree is not only a dream for her but also the purpose of her going abroad. Before immigration, she had prepared well for her MBA application such as she had taken the TOEFL in China. However, she admitted she did not make efforts to collect more information about Canadian society before immigration and her knowledge of Canada was only limited to the MBA programs in Canadian universities. Gradually, she started to get to know Montreal and Canadian society.

She told me as a very independent woman, she did not have a lot of trouble in day to day living. Actually in some ways, she preferred Canadian ideology of marriage and privacy. She elaborated on her views in this excerpt:

在中国，在我这个年龄，大多数的女孩都应该结婚，生小孩了。人们对我一直是单身很好奇。有些人会在背后谈论我，还有一些人给我介绍男朋友。对此我不是很高兴。我选择单身，而且这也不是件坏事情。但是在中国，女孩到了一定年龄还单身是违反中国传统价值观和家庭观念的。这给我和我的家庭带来了很大的精神负担。我也不想让我的父母为我担心。在加拿大，没有人会过问这些私人生活。我更喜欢这里的生活方式（2007年8月1采访陶颖）

When I was in China, at my age, most girls should have married and had children. People were so curious about my being single; they usually talked behind my back and some even tried to match me with guys. I was not very happy about it. I wanted to be single, and I did not see it as a bad thing, but in China being single for a girl was against traditional Chinese cultural and family values, which put great mental burden not only to me but also to my family. I did not want my parents to worry about me. In Canada, no body cares about your private life. I prefer Canadian lifestyle to Chinese one. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 1, 2007)

Ms. Tao's worries about the negative influences of her being single on her parents made her deeply feel the importance of family values in Chinese society. Even in contemporary China, people's decision-making has to revolve around the family values. When it comes to making decisions, it is very natural for people first to consider whether their actions would have any negative influences on their family and parents. If it does, they would take family as their priority in their decision-makings.

I was very interested in her student life in Montreal, because unlike other participants, she was single by the time she was doing her MBA. She may have more opportunities to meet people. She recounted her student life in the next interview excerpt:

我的大多数中国同学都结婚了，所以他们更多的时间是和他们的爱人在一起。因为我单身，所以我有更多的时间和我的加拿大和美国同学在一起。每周四的晚上，我们会聚在一起，聊聊天。我知道这是个很好的机会和同学建立联系，尤其对我们新移民，这种和当地学生的联系是很重要的。所以我参加过几次这样的聚会。
(2 0 0 7 年 8 月 1 5 采访陶颖)

Most Chinese MBA students were married, they spent most of their time with their spouses. Because I was single, so I got time to hang out with my Canadian and American classmates. Every Thursday evening, we would get together in Thompson House at M University. I knew this was a good opportunity to develop social networks with my classmates, which were especially important for new immigrants with limited social capital. Therefore, I attended the gatherings several times. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

Bourdieu (1993) states that social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies consciously or unconsciously, so that they could be available in the time when they are needed. As a new immigrant in Canada, Ms. Tao realized the importance of social capital on the

social and economic status of immigrants and admitted her limited social networking. She said she then made efforts to accumulate her social capital by hanging out with her classmates.

However, she told me even though she knew the importance of socializing with her classmates, she later decided that she would not attend such activities for the following reasons:

他们每个人都只跟我谈中国的事情，这就好像是我除了中国的事情，别的什么都不懂一样。我感到在我们谈话中，当地的学生有一种优越性。（2007年8月15采访陶颖）

The reason was the conversation between my classmates and I was all about China, which made me feel that I only had the knowledge of China, nothing else. I felt in our conversations, my local classmates had the superiority over me. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

Ms. Tao's response to her classmates' interest in China might be an overreaction. Her classmates may have been just interested in Chinese culture and she was the perfect one to provide information about China.

Beautiful Memory of Montreal

Ms. Tao likes Montreal's summer and all kinds of outdoor activities. In her opinion, Montreal is a unique city in North America with its French ambiance and architecture. In May 2002, she graduated from M University with an MBA degree and she spent six months in Canada looking for a job. Then at the end of 2002, she decided to go back China, and the main reason for her return migration was her career expectation. She realized if she continued to stay in Canada, there

would be little opportunity for her career success. She did not want to live a life at the bottom of Canadian society. She felt she doesn't belong to the mainstream society as a visible minority, and she could not achieve what she wanted for her career development in Canada. She was very satisfied with her current job in China, which met her career expectations. Her job in an investment bank brought her recognition and the respect that a job could reward.

She cherished her Canadian life experiences and attributed her current career success to her study at M University, which provided her with practical managerial concepts and mindset. She also expressed great thanks for her MBA Chinese classmates who helped her when she was in need of help, especially after her apartment was broken into, and Ms. Tao lost her laptop, passport and some valuable personal possessions. It was her Chinese classmates who collected money and bought her a new computer. Their kindness moved her to tears.

When asked whether she intended to return Canada, she replied:

等我不再追求事业发展的时候，我可能会回到加拿大定居，在那里安度晚年。但是，我现在的事业发展得很好，短期内我是不会回去的。（2007年8月15采访陶颖）

I might consider going back to live in Canada when career would no longer mean anything to me. I would live a quiet life there for the rest of my life. For the time being, I would stay in China, because I am at the peak of my career. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

Ms. Tao's future plan is a good example of Taoism's philosophy, which teaches people to seek harmony with life and others. Taoism's retreat from the world has

become the mindset of Chinese literati (文人), especially after they accomplished their dreams. By then, they are no longer interested in the worldly competition and fame is not a burden to them anymore. They will emulate famous hermits in Chinese history such as Tao Qian to retreat to a quiet place living a peaceful and simply life.

Case Study of Deng Hong

Pursuing an MBA Degree

I first met Ms. Deng in 2006. One of my participants mentioned her name and told me that Ms. Deng might be interested in the research. I gave her a call. She agreed to meet me in her office. When I went to her office, which was located in the highest building in Shanghai, with a panoramic view of the financial district of Shanghai, I assumed anyone who works here must be proud of his/her achievement.

I arrived at her office on time, but was told she was out on a very short notice. I sat in the waiting area and had a chat with the company's receptionist, who informed me that Ms. Deng had been working in the company for more than a year. I did not have to wait long before she came back.

Ms. Deng was born and grew up in Shanghai. She has a typical Shanghai soft voice. Before going to study at M University, she had never left Shanghai. In 1998, she graduated from one of the best universities in China with a bachelor's degree in Finance. Because of the prestige of the university, she had no problem finding a very good job in a foreign bank in Shanghai. Then, after three years of

working in the bank, she wanted to further improve her knowledge, skills and decided to study abroad. However, unlike the first three participants, she first came to Canada as an international student. I was curious to know why she chose M University, since there were so many MBA programs in Canada and America. She explained:

我出国主要是想得到一个国外的学历，我认为它会对我将来的事业发展有很大帮助。所以我要去一个名校，M 大学就是一个这样的学校。而且当我决定出国留学的时候，我丈夫在此之前已经在加拿大的大学攻读硕士学位。所以为了能离他近一些，我只申请了 M 大学。因为它距我丈夫住的城市渥太华很近。（2006 年 8 月 22 采访邓虹）

The sole purpose of my going abroad was to obtain a foreign degree, which I believe would be very helpful for my future career. In order to do so, I wanted to study at a prestigious university, while M University was such a well known university. In addition, by the time when I made a decision to go abroad for study, my husband had been in a Canadian university pursuing his graduate degree. In order to be close to my husband, I only applied for M University, because of its short distance from Ottawa, where my husband lived. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Aug. 22, 2006)

Ms. Deng' investment in education confirms Becker's (1993) human capital theory that treats human capital as the outcome of the investment process. Becker (1993) concludes that rational actors would make investments in education and training only if the expected stream of future benefits would exceed the short-term costs associated with acquiring the skills. Ms. Deng told me as an international student she had to pay tuition that was almost three times of the average tuition of Canadian students. However, she believed that the cost would be repaid once she found a better job with better pay.

Ms. Deng foresaw that her investment in education would reward her with a better job. Thus, the anticipated return of investment in human capital becomes the motivation for her pursuing a higher degree. Ms. Deng's investment in education helps somehow explains why there are many Chinese immigrants studying at Canadian universities.

Colorful Student Life

In June 2002, after having obtained her admission letter from M University business school, she came to Montreal to pursue her dream of MBA study. A year later, she applied for immigration, and her case was accepted.

She told me her student life in Montreal was very colorful and exciting. She took various extra-activities to know Canadian society and put what she had learned from school into practice:

我参加了 M 大学的一个项目，帮助住在因纽特的当地社区策划经济发展计划。作为这个项目的一部分，我还亲身来到因纽特地区。对于我这个从小长在比较温暖地区的人来说，这个经历是永生难忘的。我有幸看到了加拿大的北部，也是世界的北端。此外，我很高兴能用所学的知识帮助别人。（2007 年 11 月 15 采访邓虹）

I took part in a project at M University to help aboriginal people in the local community in Inuit with an economic development plan. As part of the project, I even flew to their territory. For a girl who grew up in a warmer place, this experience to visit Inuit community was memorable. I had a great opportunity to see the real north of Canada and also the world; in addition, I was very happy to use the learned knowledge to help people. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Nov. 15, 2006)

Participating in various social activities provide the opportunities for new immigrants to know Canadian society, its culture and its people. Ms. Deng took the opportunity and enjoyed it. She shared another study experience at M University in the next interview excerpt:

研讨会是 MBA 一个主要授课方式。这些研讨会给学生提供发表自己观点，甚至有时是挑战别人观点的机会。我注意到中国学生有时候沉默不语，很少有人发言。他们不是没有观点，事实上，我的很多中国同学有很好的经济学方面的知识和丰富的工作经验。语言可能是沉默不语的原因，还有一个重要因素就是文化差异，中国人在为人处事方面追求和谐，尽量避免冲突。（2007 年 11 月 15 采访邓虹）

In my MBA program, seminar was the primary teaching form. In these seminars, students were provided opportunities to present their views sometimes even to challenge others. I noticed that on those seminars, Chinese students were usually quiet, with few spoke up. This did not mean they had no perceptions, actually some of my Chinese classmates had very good business knowledge and rich work experiences. I thought language skills might be one reason for their silence in class; another important reason was cultural difference because traditional Chinese culture highlights harmony among people and avoids conflicts. (Interview with Ms. Deng Nov. 15, 2007)

Chinese students are taught at very young age to obey authority such as orders from teachers and elders. Conflicts with others should be avoided at any time at any cost. The stress of the importance of harmony between people and the world was part of Chinese culture, which had profound influence on the behaviours of Chinese students. Thus, Chinese students seldom speak up in class or challenge other's views.

Struggling for a Job in Canada

In 2004, Ms. Deng graduated from M University with an MBA degree and started job hunting in Canada. As she said that there were two major obstacles in her Canadian job hunting experiences: one was her foreign work experience and another one was the French language. She recounted her experience:

我发出了很多的简历申请工作。但我没有像我的同学那样疯狂，据说他发出了 700 份简历。我也得到了一些面试邀请，但是面试的时候，我经常是花很多的时间来解释和介绍我以前在国内的工作经历和职责。我可以感到大多数公司对我以前的工作经历不感兴趣。还有一个公司给了我非常非常低的职位，完全没有承认我以前的工作经历。我在蒙特列尔找工作还遇到了另一个障碍就是法语。蒙特利尔的大都数工作都要求应聘者能掌握法语和英语。但是我不会法语，这使我找工作难上加难。(2007 年 12 月 2 采访邓虹)

I sent out many resumes. However, I was not as crazy as one of my classmates who was said to have send 700 resumes. I had some interview opportunities, but during the interview, I had to spend most of the time explaining my previous job experiences and responsibilities in China. And I could tell they had no interest in my previous job experiences. Once I was offered a very junior job with my previous work experiences unrecognized. The other obstacle I encountered in the job market in Montreal was French. Most of jobs in Montreal require job candidates have the command of two official languages. But for me, I do not have the language skills of French, which made my job searching more difficult. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Dec. 2, 2007)

The unrecognized foreign credentials have been the primary obstacle in immigrants' job hunting, which usually results in either underemployment or unemployment of new immigrants. However, in Ms. Deng's case, it reveals that language was an additional obstacle. Bill 101 made French the official language of the province and of the courts in the province of Quebec, as well as making it the normal and habitual language of the workplace, of instruction, of communications, of commerce and of business. Almost all the jobs in Quebec

require applicants have the command of both Canadian official languages, English and French, which somehow disadvantages some new immigrants especially Chinese immigrants in job markets. Most Chinese immigrants only have English language skills.

After a year of efforts looking for employment in Canada, she gave up and decided to return to China for better career prospects. In 2005, Ms. Deng returned to Shanghai, and three months later after her return, she had three job offers in hand. She took her current job with a French bank. I asked how she felt when she spent time and money on her MBA degree, but it did not reward her with better return. She replied,

当时我在加拿大找不到工作的时候，的确感到在教育上的投资是白费了。那个时候我甚至怀疑自己读 MBA 的选择是否正确。但是回国以后，我一下就有了三个工作邀请，我突然又觉得自己的投资有了回报。我想在加拿大找不到工作的主要原因就是我在国外的工作经历没有被认可，和我的 MBA 学历没有关系。（2007 年 12 月 2 采访邓虹）

I did feel that my investment on education with nil return when I could not find a job in Canada. At that time, I started to doubt my own decision for an MBA degree. But after my return to China, with three job offers in hand, I suddenly saw that my investment on MBA was repaid. I guess the reason that I could not find a job in Canada was due to the unrecognition of foreign experiences, there was nothing wrong with my MBA degree. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Dec. 2, 2007)

Her job looking experiences in Canada confirms the results of studies (Reitz, 1990, Boyd, 1992, Baker & Benjamin, 1994; Shamsuddin, 1997) on the devaluation of immigrants' human capital, which found that immigrants were less remunerated for their human capital than others.

Revisiting Canada

During our second interview, Ms. Deng told me that she returned to Canada for six months in the beginning of 2007. She told me that her experience in Canada during her revisit was quite different from her first.

我在加拿大生了一个男孩。当时因为找不到工作而离开加拿大时，我就决定不回来了。可是这次在加拿大的生孩子的经历改变了我的想法。我可能会考虑将来再回到加拿大。在中国工作和生活两年时间，再回到加拿大，我开始认识到加拿大生活的很多优点，比如，总体上人们都很慷慨，友善。社会制度比较完善，能够帮助弱者和穷人。等我不再对事业有所追求的时候，我就可能会回到加拿大定居过上很平和的生活。（2007年11月15采访邓虹）

I went to Canada to give a birth to a baby boy in 2007. And since I left Canada with no job, I decided that I would never come back when I left. But this time my experience in Canada with birth giving changed my mind. I might give a second thought about returning Canada in the future. After having worked and lived in China for two years, when I returned Canada, I started to appreciate so many advantages of Canadian life, for example, the generosity and politeness of people in general and the established social system assisting the weak and the poor. Comparing with the busy life in China, I would like to reside in Canada peacefully with my family when I do not want to pursue professional advancement. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Nov. 15, 2007)

Her perceptions of returning to reside in Canada and living an easy and quiet life in the future echoed other participants' future plans to move back to Canada. It also once again proves the influences of Taoism's notion of retreat from society on Chinese people and on their attitudes towards life.

Case Study of Sun Ping

Departing China and Arriving at Toronto

Ms. Sun was born and grew up in Shanghai. In 1996, she graduated from a university in Shanghai with a B.A in English. From 1996 until 2002 when she immigrated to Canada, she took various jobs in China. She first worked as an interpreter in a local company, then worked as an office administer in a foreign company located in Shanghai. Before immigration, she started to focus on marketing. When she learned that a daughter of her father's friend immigrated to Canada, she started to consider the option of immigration. In 1999, she submitted her immigration application and went to Hong Kong for an interview. She finally got an immigration visa in 2001. However, she did not leave China for Canada until March 2002. During this time period, she spent time preparing for her MBA application, taking required tests such as TOEFL and GMAT. The day she left China, she had received two admission letters from two of the best Canadian universities. Pocketing her school admissions, she first came to Toronto with the hope of finding a job before school started. Luckily, she obtained a job a week later after she landed in Toronto and started her first job as a receptionist in an international school. When she shared her immigration experience in Toronto, I had the feeling that she was very proud of what she did.

我在加拿大没有朋友。之所以选择多伦多，是因为我在上 GMAT 课的时候，认识了一个女孩，她也要去加拿大，也是在加拿大没有朋友。我们决定一起去多伦多，因为多伦多的就业

I had no friends in Canada, and the reason I chose to land in Toronto was that I met a girl in my GMAT class, and it turned out that she was going to Canada with no friends either in Canada. So we two decided that we should go to Toronto

机会多。我是个很独立的人，我们在新移民接待站住了两天就搬进了我们自己的公寓。因为我英语很好，很容易在一周内就在一所国际学校找到了工作。这是个全职的很不错的工作。老板对我的表现很满意，甚至想让我负责学校的市场营销。但是我还是辞职去念书了。我对自己在多伦多的那段经历很自豪。(2007年10月28采访孙平)

together, because of its ample job opportunities. I was a very independent person, we only stayed in the home for new immigrants for two days before we moved to an apartment of our own. Because of my fluent English, I could very easily find a job within a week in an international school. Actually the job was very good, and it was a full-time position. The boss was very satisfied with my performance, and he even wanted me to do the marketing of the school. But anyway, I quit it and went back to school. I was very proud of myself and my experience in Toronto. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Oct.28, 2007)

Confucius once said: "If a man takes no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand" (人无远虑，必有近忧。Analects, 15:12). Ms. Sun's action of quitting her job and going back to school was the perfect example of following Confucius' teaching. In China, the emphasis of education had penetrated the Chinese lifestyle, and every Chinese know the importance of education and the changes it can bring to one's life.

After comparing the two Canadian universities which all admitted her into their MBA programs, she quit her job in Toronto and came to Montreal starting her study at M University.

我想获得有关这两个学校的更多的信息，因为我想做一个正确的决定。这两个学校都是加拿大很有名的大学。但是我想在最好的学校读书。最后，经过了仔细的考虑，我选择了M大学

I tried to obtain more information about the two MBA programs and wanted to make a right decision. Both of the two universities were very well-known in Canada, but wanted to study in the best one.

。(2007 年 10 月 28 采访孙平)

Finally after carefully study the two programs, I chose M University. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Oct.28, 2007)

It is a Chinese tradition that parents want their children to be educated in the best universities of the country. That explains why every year large numbers of Chinese high school graduates compete for the limited spots in the best university of the country. The values of their parents had a profound influence on their children's choice for school. Ms. Sun's hesitation between two Canadian universities confirms the impact of Chinese values on her decision-making. According to traditional Chinese values, the fame and the ranking of a university weigh more in one's future job seeking. A degree from a well-known Chinese university usually can lead to a better job and career.

Experiencing Different Educational System

Ms. Sun started her student life at M University. She told me she enjoyed her life in Montreal very much. When I asked if there was something in particular about her study life at M University she would like to share, she recounted her experience in the next interview excerpt:

对习惯了中国教育制度的中国学生来说，在北美的学习是完全不同的经历。我们中国学生习惯上课忙着做笔记，很少发言。然而，西方的教育方法和中国的截然不同。西方的教育制

Studying at a North American university was a totally different experience for Chinese students who were used to be educated under Chinese education system, in which they were busy with taking notes, and seldom came up with questions. However, western education was the opposite of Chinese teaching, which

度更强调创造性思维，教授欢迎学生提问题，确保每个人都有发言的机会。分数也不是由一次考试来决定的。是由每周的作业分数积累在一起而决定的。这样就强调学生在学习过程中的努力。还有就是中国学生由于对于加拿大的文化，社会了解不多，还受到语言能力的制约，所以在小组讨论中，大部分时间聆听别人的发言，自己很少有机会表达观点。

(2007年11月10采访孙平)

emphasized creative thinking; questions were always very welcome by professors to make sure everyone's voice is heard. Instead of one final exam, grades were determined by the marks of weekly assignments which emphasized the students' own efforts in the process of studying. In addition, because Chinese students have limited knowledge and understanding about Canadian culture and society, along with the language deficiency, most of time Chinese students passively listened to others' discussion without any chance to express their own opinions in group work. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Nov. 10, 2007)

Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital is comprised of "linguistic and cultural competence" and a broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper classes and is less accessible to the lower classes. For immigrants, the lack of "linguistic and cultural competence" may not be acquired through school and it can disadvantage new immigrants in many aspects resulting in social inequality.

In general, she was very happy with her life at M University. At the end of the first year of her MBA study, Ms. Sun even received an intern opportunity which was very difficult to obtain even for local students. She worked as an intern for a Canadian company in Montreal for the whole summer of 2003. When her school started in fall, she worked part time for the same company until she graduated in 2004.

Joys and Sorrows in Job Seeking

Because of her strong language skills and an education background of a Bachelor's degree in English, she received more interview opportunities than her Chinese classmates. She proudly told me about her experience with an American company.

有一次，一个美国公司邀请我参加在波士顿举行的论坛，这个公司对我的简历很感兴趣。我成功地通过了第一轮面试。第二轮面试在纽约举行，这时候我想到 M 大学的学生中心，也许会给我一些面试指导。但是我没能得到这个工作。当时我很难过，我真的很希望学生中心能够给国际学生和移民提供所需的就业指导。不管怎样，我很为自己能够有这样的面试机会骄傲。据我所知还没有中国学生有过这样的经历。（2007 年 11 月 29 采访孙平）

Once I was invited by an American company to attend an MBA forum in Boston, U.S., because the company was impressed with my resume. I successfully passed the first round of interview with the company and was invited to attend the second interview taking place in New York. By this time, I tried to get advice from the Career center at M University on how to answer some very specific questions; however, I was unable to get the job offer. I was very sad by the time, and I really hope that the career center could do a better job to help not only international students but also immigrants in job searching in the future. Nonetheless, I was very proud of having such experience to have the interview opportunity like this. So far as I know, no Chinese MBA students ever had such experience. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Nov. 29, 2007)

Ms. Sun's experiences with the Career Center at M University shows that the Career Center and other agencies dealing with students and immigrants with foreign credentials should improve their services to better provide interview techniques and concrete and constructive advice and assistance in job seeking.

In May 2004, Ms. Sun graduated from M University with an MBA degree. She wanted to find a job in Canada. But to her disappointment, for almost half year after her graduation, she could not find a job. Then she realized it was time for her to go back China. In the next three to four months, she took some French lessons and prepared for her return. In May 2005, she returned to Shanghai. A month later she found a job in marketing, a job she enjoyed working very much.

She is happy with her return decision because the job market in China could provide her with more career opportunities and more space for development. But she said she had a time plan that she would definitely see her returning to Canada by 2011. Because by that time, career will be no longer the foremost priority in her life and it should be replaced by a better quality of life. She expects to find a stable job and enjoy her life in Canada.

Once again, like other participants, Ms. Sun wants to follow the Taoism to retreat from the worldly attraction and competition to live a simple life seeking harmony with her and the nature.

Case Study of Wang Fang

Immigration to Follow Others' Shoes

I was informed by one of my participants that Ms. Wang might be interested in the research. I tried to contact her for an interview. But at first, she hesitated because she did not want to share her experiences and stories with a stranger. However, later she changed her mind and agreed to participate in the research. I

was surprised by her decision and on our first interview I asked her what made her change her mind.

我感到很不舒服和陌生人分享我的故事。这就是一开始我不想参加研究的原因。但是后来，我的同学告诉我你同我们一样有着移民加拿大，读书的经历，你还是博士生，最重要的是你是个中国人，我就同意参加你的研究。（2007年12月12采访王芳）

I do not feel comfortable to share my stories with a stranger. That's why I did not want to participate in the inquiry. But later I knew from one of my classmates that you had similar immigration and study experiences as most of us had, and you are a Ph. D student and most of all, you are a Chinese. Then I decided to take part in the inquiry. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 12, 2007)

I have to say that my Chinese identity gave me an easy access to the participants, who felt that they shared the same language and cultural values with me. They agreed to tell stories to someone who might have similar experiences and who might show sympathy and understanding for their stories.

Ms. Wang grew up in Kun Ming, one of the most beautiful cities in China, especially renowned for its mild weather, neither cold in winter nor hot in summer. When she graduated from high school in 1993, even though she scored very high in the Chinese national entrance exam, instead of attending schools in Beijing and Shanghai, she chose one in Xiamen - a sceneric seashore city. She explained,

我当时选择厦门的大学，而没有选择北京或是上海的学校，许多人对此百思不得其解。我决定去厦门读书后，很多人，比如我的老师，亲戚和朋友都不能理解我的选择。对他们来说，

My choice of studying in a university of Xiamen instead of the Universities in Beijing or Shanghai seemed very odd to most Chinese. After I made my decisions, so many people including my teachers, relatives and friends could not understand it. For

每个学生都应该向往去祖国的首都北京读书。但是，我却没有，我更喜欢厦门的自然条件。甚至一直到现在，当我和高中同学聚会时，他们还是不解我当初的选择。(2007年12月12采访王芳)

them, every student should want to study in the universities of Beijing, the capital of China. However, it was not the case for me. I was attracted by the weather of Xiamen and I followed my heart. Even today, when I got together with my high school classmates, they still could not understand my choice. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 12, 2007)

Once again, Ms. Wang's stories confirm the traditional Chinese cultural value, which emphasizes the fame of the university instead of the quality of study programs. The Chinese perceive that the fame and the ranking of the school would have far-reaching influence on Chinese job market, which might help explain why the Chinese would prefer to study in well-known Canadian universities.

In 1997, Ms. Wang graduated from university with a bachelor's degree in international business. Her job after graduation was in a securities company in Xiamen. She worked there until 2001 when her husband and she immigrated to Canada. She said their immigration decision was made very irrationally because they heard that their friends immigrated to Canada, so they wanted to follow in their shoes. Then at the end of 2001, they arrived in Toronto to stay with their friends. During the year they lived in Toronto, she tried to find a job, but she could not find one matching her education.

Going Back to School

Being unlucky in the job market, Ms. Wang started thinking about going back to school. Naturally, she chose to do the MBA. After a year of preparation for the school application, she was admitted to M University. Once again, her choice of M University proved the influence of Chinese values on their school choice.

在我申请 MBA 之前，我对加拿大各学校商学院作了仔细的研究。最后决定申请两所学校，一个就是多伦多大学，另一个就 M 大学。我知道很多中国人都申请多大，竞争是很激烈的。最后我被 M 大学录取了。M 大学大学 MBA 在世界商学院排名中连续多年都很靠前，而且学校本身在北美很有名气。所以我就来到蒙特利尔，开始读书。（2007 年 12 月 20 采访王芳）

Before my MBA application, I did a very thorough study on the MBA programs in Canadian universities. At last, I decided to submit two applications, one was the MBA program at the University of Toronto and the other one was M University university. I knew there were a lot of Chinese students applied for the University of Toronto, the competition was very fierce. I was admitted into M University's MBA program. The MBA program at M University ranked among the top international MBA schools consecutively; in addition, M University is a well known university in North America. Then I moved to Montreal and started my student life. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 20, 2007)

Even though, Ms. Wang made an unusual choice in her undergraduate study in China, her cultural habitus still consciously or subconsciously influenced her school decision on graduate study. Bourdieu (1991) argues that people in society acquire the dispositions that constitute their habitus through a gradual process such as upbringing and education.

Because her husband had his own small business in Xiamen, China, as a result, during her two years study at Montreal, her husband and she traveled back and forth between Xiamen and Montreal in order to find time to be together.

Ms. Wang told me:

因为我丈夫当时在国内，我一有时间就飞回去同他见面。所以我和同学没有很多的接触，只是和几个中国同学往来比较多。我知道应该多参加一些商学院的活动来建立社会关系。但是的确没有时间。比如我有一个中国女同学，她是单身，所以经常参加学校的各种活动，结识了很多的人，建立了比较广泛的社会圈子，到毕业的时候，她很容易就通过朋友帮助找到了一份很好的工作。（2007年12月20采访王芳）

My husband was in China during my two years of study at M University, I often flew back to see him when I had time. Therefore, I did not have a lot of contact with MBA classmates, I only knew some Chinese classmates. I knew that I should have participated in some school activities to build social networks. However, I just did not have time for it. For example, I had a Chinese student, who was single and was able to attend various social activities often. As a result, she got to know many people with different backgrounds and had wide social networks. With the help of her social capital, she easily found a very good job upon graduation. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 20, 2007)

Granovetter (1974) believes that information gleaned from informal social networks such as of acquaintances, old college friends, ex-workmates, or employers provide access to valuable labor market information that is not directly accessible to him or her and unavailable through more formal means such as advertisements or job fairs. Social networks play a role in the matching and sorting of immigrants to jobs in the host society (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991) and in establishing the basis for mutual trust and cooperation (Portes & Sensenbrenner

1993). The example of Ms. Wang's classmate confirms that weak /informal tie is important channel to gain employment information.

Indeed, her social network with her Chinese classmates paid off. In May 2005, Ms. Wang graduated from M University with an MBA degree and flew back China for a short visit of her husband. In September, when she came back Montreal, one of her Chinese classmates referred her to a Canadian company located in Montreal, she passed the job interviews successfully and at the end of 2005, she started her first job in Canada.

Returning to China

Ms. Wang was not very happy with her job because the pay was lower than the average for an MBA graduate and the culture of the Canadian company was "very mean and snobbish" in her words. The reason that she took the job is to make a living and accumulate some Canadian work experience. Six months later she quit the job and moved to Vancouver to get together with her family who flew from Xiamen to join her. She and her family stayed in Vancouver until Feb. 2007 when she decided to move back to Xiamen. During her stay in Vancouver, she gave birth to a baby boy, and after the birth of the baby, she tried to find a job in Vancouver, but was unsuccessful.

Unlike other participants, they came to Shanghai directly after their return migration. Ms. Wang spent some time in Xiamen adjusting her new life in China, and in September 2007, her family moved from Xiamen to Shanghai permanently.

The time when I interviewed her, she was in a transitional period and tried to adapt to her new life in Shanghai.

我们打算在上海居住三到四年，等到我儿子到了上学的年龄我们就要回到北美。加拿大是我们的目的地之一，但是缺少适合我的专业工作。我们可能会去其它的国家，例如美国。当然了，我希望我的儿子能掌握汉语，这样他就可以了解中国的文化。我希望他能够吸取中国文化的精华，去其糟粕。比如中国传统价值观中的尊重老人和父母就是很好的美德。(2007年12月20采访王芳)

We planned to stay in Shanghai for three or four years until my son is old enough for school. By that time, we are going to move back North America. Canada would be on the list of our destination, but since the scarcity of the professional jobs for me, we might want to move to other countries, such as the United States. Definitely, I want my son to learn Chinese so that when he grew up he could have knowledge about Chinese culture, I wish him to reject the dross and assimilate the essence of Chinese cultural values, such as I believe that respecting the elder and parents was a good Chinese virtue. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 20, 2007)

Ms. Wang's perception of Chinese cultural values and her intention to let her son grasp the Chinese language in order to have a better knowledge about Chinese culture confirmed that she is proud of being a Chinese and she wants to transmit the Chinese culture to her son by cultivating his cultural capital.

In April 2008, I called her to follow up on her progress. She told me that Shanghai is too crowded and the air pollution made her son sick. She started to miss Canada. In addition, she said she started job hunting and hoped to find a challenging job. I wished her good luck in her job hunting. As many immigrants, Ms. Wang is facing the relation between homesickness or nostalgia and adjustment to new sociocultural contexts. Even though, she shared similar

Chinese culture and language with the other Chinese, her immigration experiences required her to make the socialcultural adjustment to Chinese society upon her return migration. In this context, "homesickness plays a crucial role, by creating and stimulating an awareness of personal history, identity patterns, alternatives, and necessities" (Ritivoi, 2002, p. 3).

Case Study of Mu Renjie

Determined to Leave China and Never Come Back

One of Mr. Mu's classmates passed his information on to me and said Mr. Mu agreed to participate in the inquiry. I called him and he was very agreeable to meeting me in his office. Over the phone, he told me that he had just finished a project and could spare some time with me to do the interview. We met in the meeting room of his company. He is the only participant who took the interview in English at his will, which demonstrates his confidence in his English.

In 1999, after years of working in China, he went to Canada with a dream of seeing and experiencing the life on the other side of the globe. He told me that when he first went abroad, he was very determined that he would never come back to China again.

我当时来加拿大时的身份是国际学生。从我收到 M 大学录取书的那天，我就下定决心不再回中国。我厌倦中国社会的种种社会问题，而我又无能为力。所以我选择离开来逃避面对现实。（2006 年 8 月 17 采访慕仁杰）

When I first went to Canada, my status was an international student. Since the day when I received my admission letter from M University, I was determined not to come back to China. I was so fed up with various social problems in Chinese society, and I could not do anything to solve

them. I chose leaving China to avoid facing these problems. (Interview with Mr. Mu, Aug. 17, 2006)

There are many Chinese immigrants who came to Canada with the same aim to escape from social problems of China and to enjoy the opportunity to breathe the fresh air of freedom.

Later when he was doing his MBA at M University, he applied for Canadian residency and by the time he left Canada in 2004, he had already obtained Canadian citizenship.

Participating in Social Activities

During his study at M University, Mr. Mu took part in various volunteer jobs to help new immigrants and international students. For example, as a church goer, he participated in church charity activities collecting money to help the poor and the people in need. He also assisted new immigrants from China and South Asian countries to adjust to Canadian life by providing information such as temporary housing, language training and transportation. In the MBA orientation week at M University, he volunteered to answer questions concerning studying experiences at M University. The MBA study at M University was a structive and valuable experience for him. I asked whether he had any volunteering experience in China, he explained:

我乐于助人。当我在中国的时候，我也想作义工，但是没有机会。除此之外，中国社会现在是崇尚拜金主义。一方面，经济发展改善了人们的生

I enjoy helping people. When I was in China, I tried to volunteer, but there were not a lot of opportunities for me to do so. In addition, the Chinese society started to worship

活，但是另一方面，许多传统美德被摒弃了。例如，中国社会很崇尚尊老爱幼，但是在现今的中国，老人和弱者生活在社会的底层，无人帮助。比如，年轻人不再照顾老人，担心老人会成为经济负担。(2006 年 8 月 23 采访慕仁杰)

wealth. On one hand, the economic development improved people's life; on the other hand, so many traditional Chinese virtues started to be discarded by people. For example, Chinese society used to emphasize respecting the elder and helping the weak, but in contemporary Chinese society, the elder and the weak are at the bottom of society with no assistance. Children no longer take care of their parents when they get old, because they consider parents as burden to them. (Interview with Mr. Mu, Aug. 23, 2006)

Mencius said: "Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated - do this, and the kingdom may be made to go round in your palm "(老吾老，以及人之老；幼吾幼，以及人之幼。天

下可运于掌。Mencius: Liang Hui Wang I). Confucius also promotes the same values: "Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained"

(故人不独亲其亲，不独子其子。使老有所终，壮有所用，幼有所长，矜寡孤独废

疾者皆有所养。The Classic of Rites: Li Yun)

Mencius and Confucius preached the core values of Chinese culture, which had profound influence on Chinese society and people's action. With globalization and the Chinese economic reform as well as its political, ideological and social changes, traditional Chinese cultural values are clashing with western values and philosophy. Chinese traditional cultural heritages may be accepted, criticized and judged by the world. However, due to its profound influences on Chinese society and on Chinese people, some cultural values may be sustained and maintained and transmitted to the young generation.

Return Migration

Mr. Mu already had a Master's degree in Engineering from a Chinese university, but he believes with his science background, he could do much better in business. In Canada, he applied M University's MBA for its standings in the list of North American MBA programs. Two years' study at M University provided him with knowledge in business, finance and marketing. With double Master's degrees, Mr. Mu was very optimistic about his job prospects in Canada. Unfortunately, the reality of the Canadian job market could not provide him with a job meeting his career expectations. Even though, he was determined not to return to China once he left, in 2004, he did return to China. Mr. Mu explained his return migration in the next interview excerpt:

我对自己和自己的能力很自信，因此期望毕业后在加拿大会更好的职业发展。从 M 大学毕业后，我搬到了多伦多。因为同蒙特利尔相比，多伦多有更多的就业机会。我很努力地去找工作，但是由于有限的社会关系，我几乎没有途径来接触我行业的那些专业工作。只能依赖公司的网站和一些招聘网站来找工作。经过了近一年的努力，我决定回国发展。（2006 年 8 月 23 采访慕仁杰）

I was very confident of myself and my skills, and anticipated I would have a better career prospect in Canada. After graduation from M University, I moved to Toronto looking for employment there, because compared with Montreal, Toronto had more job opportunities. I tried hard to find jobs, but due to the limited social network I had, I had very few accesses to the professional jobs in my field. I had to rely on companies' websites and some online recruiting websites for job opportunities. After one year's efforts, I decided to move back to China for a better employment opportunity. (Interview with Mr. Mu, Aug. 23, 2006)

Mu's experience in the Canadian job market further confirms the important role of social capital in helping actors gain access to information about job opportunities. Bourdieu (1986) argues that social capital was distributed unevenly among people who possessed different economic and cultural capitals.

With his educational background, it was very easy for him to find a job matching both his career expectations and education backgrounds in China after his return. At the time when I interviewed him, he had been in China for two and half years. However, he told me he missed his life in Canada, and hoped to return to Canada when he accumulated enough work experience in an international company. He hoped that this period of work experience in China would be recognized and be helpful in his job hunting once he returned to Canada.

A Better Life in Canada

In autumn 2007, I called Mr. Mu to arrange for another interview, but I was told by his colleague that he had quit his job. Since I was having problems in getting in touch with him, I emailed him with the email address he gave me when we first met. Two weeks later, I received his email in which he told me very briefly he had been back in Canada. I sent another email to inquire about the reasons for his moving back to Canada. He replied in his email:

在国内工作了两年，我觉得很疲劳。在中国，员工不仅要工作还要花很多时间和精力处理各种人际关系，比如和同事之间的关系，和领导之间的关系。每个人看上去都很友善，但是同事之间会为了提升明争暗斗。我不想卷入公司这种权利相争中去，所以选择了离开。我坚信靠 MBA 学历和我在国际公司积累的工作经历，我应该能在加拿大找到一个自己喜爱的工作。(2007年8月9日慕仁杰的电子信件)

After working in China for two years, I was so exhausted. In China, employees had not only to work but also had to spend time and energy dealing with various personal relationships, such as the one between colleagues, between leaders of the company. Everyone seemed to be nice and kindly to each other, but there was fierce competition behind backs among colleagues for promotion. I did not want to get involved in the power struggle of the company, so I decided to return to Canada. I believed with the accumulated work experience in a recognized international company and my MBA degree, I would find a job I wanted in Canada. (Email correspondence with Mr. Mu, Aug, 9, 2007)

Several months later, I received another email from Mr. Mu in which he told me he had found a job he enjoyed doing in Canada and he was going to stay there for a long time. I wish him good luck with his life in Canada. Among the ten participants, Mr. Mu is the first one to return to Canada after his return migration

from Canada. However, he will not be the only one to return to Canada, because during my interviews with the other participants, they all expressed their willingness and determination to return to Canada after a period of time living and working in China - as a way to accumulate their human capital. For this group of Chinese immigrants, Canada is the country where they may have a simple and a better quality of life, but definitely not the venue for career advancement.

Case Study of Ma Hongwei

MBA Study Experience in China

Mr. Ma graduated from a Chinese university in a Northern Chinese city with a Bachelor's degree in Business in 1994. After graduation, with his own efforts, he obtained a job in one of the four largest banks in China. His job in the bank was very stable but in his own words was also very boring without any challenge. In 1998, he undertook part-time MBA courses in the same university where he did his undergraduate study and that same year he quit his bank job, which was the ideal and dream job for most Chinese people and pursued a career in investment banking. The new job was very challenging, which required strong analytical skills and profound knowledge on risk management and finance. In 2001, after three years of part-time study, Mr. Ma completed his MBA study and got his MBA degree. I was very curious to ask him since he had already had an MBA degree in China, why did he do another MBA degree in Canada? He explained in the next interview excerpt:

在国内我是用业余时间读的 MBA，可是我开始读书的时候，我在投行的工作很繁忙，使我不能够用百分之百的努力来读书。所以我对所学的专业知识不是很满意。除此之外，我认为 MBA 应该研究很多国际公司的案例，但是由于国内学校科目设计所限，我没有太多的机会接触这方面的知识。所以我决定到西方学校重新攻读 MBA。(2006 年 7 月 14 采访马宏伟)

I did part-time MBA study in China. And I was very busy with the investment banking job by the time when I started my MBA. I could not concentrate on my study with 100 percent efforts. As a result, I was not satisfied with the business knowledge I gained from the program. In addition, MBA should do many case studies of many international companies; I had very limited access to these case studies due to the program design in Chinese universities. Therefore, I wanted to redo it in a western university. (Interview with Mr. Ma, July 14, 2006)

He applied for some business schools in western universities, but it turned out the tuition for MBA study was very high and there were few scholarships available. Mr. Ma decided to immigrate to Canada, which he thought could best serve his MBA dream. Then in 2002, he and his wife landed in Toronto as new immigrants to Canada.

Working in Canada and Quitting his Job

Mr. Ma had a very successful and rich work experience in China and very good command of English. Two weeks after he arrived in Toronto, with the only one resume he submitted, he was offered a job as a financial analyst in a Canadian company in Toronto.

Compared with other participants' job seeking experience in Canada, Mr. Ma was lucky. However, Mr. Ma had his own ambitions about his career. Finding a job was not the end of his career pursuit, but just the beginning. He wanted to

have a challenging job, in which he could be recognized for his further career advancement. He worked for the Canadian company for a year and quit his job which surprised many his colleagues.

我一直梦想着能够拥有北美的学历。现在我已经有机会来到了加拿大。我是一定要读书的。我知道有很多人对我的决定感到惊诧，特别是我父母。他们告诉我有一个稳定的工作就很好了，不要再冒风险。因为没有人们能够保证我读完书后，会找到比现在更好的工作。我当然是知道有风险存在，辞职回到学校读书在经济上是受到一定的损失，但是我坚信在教育上的投资总会有回报的。我是个很有决心的人，会努力工作实现梦想的。此外，我在北美工作了一年，已经积累了北美工作经验，对加拿大的社会和文化有一定的了解。我做好了读书的准备。我的父母也给了我很大的支持，尽管他们一开始不赞同我的选择。但是像许多中国父母一样，他们总是默默地在那里支持和关心自己的孩子。（2007年6月15采访马宏伟）

I had always dreamed of an MBA degree from a North American university. Now I got the chance to come to Canada, definitely I would do it. I knew people could be surprised by my decision, especially my parents. They told me having a stable job was good enough and I should not take another risk to go back school. Because no one could guarantee that I could find a better job than my present one after study. I was aware of the risk, though it seemed that I suffered economic loss from my decision, I firmly believed I would benefit from my investment in education sooner or later. I was a person with determinations; I would work hard and pursue my dream. In addition, having worked one year in Canada, I had gained the required Canadian work experience and accumulated some knowledge about Canadian society and culture. I was ready to go back school. My parents gave me a lot of support, though they did not applause for my decision in the beginning, but like all Chinese parents, they would always behind their children, taking care of them. (Interview with Mr. Ma, June 15, 2007)

With a strong belief of the benefit of investment in education, Mr. Ma quit his job and returned to school. The traditional Chinese culture of highly valuing education had the extensive impact on his belief in the investment in the aspect

of human capital. Even though, he knew the risks involved in his returning to school, his anticipation of the reward of investment on his human capital finally helped him make the decision. Traditional Chinese parents would always support their children's pursuit on education, even though sometimes they may disapprove their children's decision, such as the case of Mr. Ma. However, parents are usually behind their children once the decision is made. Some Chinese parents even would go further to help children achieve their educational dreams by sacrificing their own wellbeing.

Dream Accomplished

Mr. Ma was admitted to several Canadian universities due to his high scores in GMAT and TOEFL. He finally chose M University for its ranking in international business schools and its relative low tuition.

In August 2003, he moved to Montreal by himself, because his wife by that time worked in Toronto. She later quit her job and joined him. After his first year at M University, in the summer 2004, he obtained a part-time job with a Canadian bank in Montreal. However, he only worked for four months during the summer even though the bank invited him to stay after the summer by giving him the flexibility to choose his work time in order to accommodate his study at M University. Once again he quit his job and concentrated on his study.

In 2005, Mr. Ma graduated from M University with an MBA degree. He received several campus interview opportunities, but unfortunately, no interview resulted in a real job offer. Disappointed with the job market in Montreal, Mr. Ma

was ready to move back to Toronto where he thought he would have more opportunities. However, before his leaving, he received another campus interview, which finally led to a real job offer in a Canadian company located in Montreal and the job met his career path aspirations. Without any hesitation, he immediately took the job.

Even though the job in Montreal was the one he'd like to work on, he quit it anyway in 2006 and returned to Shanghai. He explained his reasons for return migration,

许多人认为我运气好找到工作，但是我不认为是运气带给我工作机会。我想可能是我比其他人看得更远些，然后着手为将来做准备，一旦机会成熟，就可以得到想要的东西。我很喜欢我在蒙特利尔的工作，但是却不喜欢公司的文化，最后还是决定辞职。这个公司有很强的等级制度，从他们庆祝员工生日的方式，到停车场车位的安排你处处都可以感到这种等级制的存在。比如一般的员工，过生日没有什么礼物，可是到了经理级别的人过生日，就要员工出钱买礼物。还有停车场的车位是按照员工在公司的级别排定，级别越低停车的车位就越远。我倒不是很在乎过生日有没有礼物，或是要走很远才能到停车位。但是我认为这种依据职位高低对待员工的做法是不可取的。所以该公司的员工流动率也是很高的。我也知道，一

Many people thought that I was lucky in employment seeking; however, I do not think luck was the main reason for my success. I believed I might foresee things in the future and make good preparation for it, and when the time was right, I could get it. I like the job I did in the Canadian company, but it was the corporate culture of the company I disliked and led to my resignation. There was a very strong of hierarchy in the company which could be felt everywhere, from the way they celebrated the employees' birthdays to the arrangement of the parking lot. For example, one's position in the company determined the kind of birthday gift he/she would receive for his/her birthday. People working at low position received nothing, those who had higher positions such as managers would receive birthday from his/her colleagues did not care about the birthday gift or. And in of parking space, the lower your position in the company the further you had to go in terms of walking distance in order to park your car. I

且辞掉这个工作，短期内在加拿大找不到更好的工作。就决定短期内回国发展，两年后等积累了国际公司工作的经验后，再回加拿大。(2006年7月14采访马宏伟)

presents with the money collected case walking distance, but I felt it was wrong to treat employees unequally based on their positions in the company. As a result, the turn over in the company was very high. I knew if I quit the job, I could not find a better one in a short time in Canada. Thus, I made a return decision. But my return to China was only temporary, I would come back Canada two years later with accumulated work experience in a well known international company. (Interview with Mr. Ma, July, 14, 2006)

Once he made a return decision, Mr. Ma started to make preparations for his return. He submitted some resumes online applying for jobs in China. Finally, in June 2006, he was invited for the last round of interview with an American company located in Shanghai. The company flew his family back to Shanghai and he accepted the job offer and started his new life in China. With his success in the Chinese job market - where he found the job that he wants to do with his Canadian MBA degree and Canadian work experience, he confirms that the investment in human capital, in his case, his investment in education paid off with a better pay and a more challenging job.

Family Life in China

When I met him for the second interview, Mr. Ma had been living in China for a year. He told me about his life in China in the next interview excerpt,

我在中国的收入比当地的员工要高很多。用这些收入，我可以做一些我在加拿大想做却承担不了的事情。大多数时间我是用来陪伴家人，和我儿子在一起度过。尽管从加拿大已经回来有一年了，我还是感到那种不逊于当年到加拿大时的文化创击。在国内，我很少看中文节目，和中国同事在生活目的和家庭观上有异议。我也不感兴趣他们关于金钱，房子和名车的谈论。我生活在自己的世界。有时我问自己还是个中国人吗，我不知道自己是谁。（2007年6月15采访马宏伟）

My salary was much higher than that of the local employees. With the pay, I started to enjoy doing things that I could not afford in Canada. I spent most of my time with my families, playing with my son. Even though it had been a year since I came back from Canada, I still felt the cultural shock which was quite similar to the one I suffered when I first came to Canada in terms of its impact on my life. I seldom watch Chinese programs on TV and I did not see eye to eye with my Chinese colleagues on the issues of purpose of life and family. I was not interested in their discussion about money, housing and expensive cars. I lived in my own world. Sometimes, I doubted about my identity, I asked myself: am I a Chinese? (Interview with Mr. Ma, June 15, 2007)

Identity can be defined as the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group. Taylor (1991) argues that over the course of modernity many have come to realize that the process of discovering and affirming one's true identity is a dialogical process, that is, a process one engages in with others. It is through one's contact with others, that one starts to know who one is and what one is. For Mr. Ma, his living experiences in two countries provided him with dual identities and he was traveling between the two identities consciously and unconsciously. When he was in Canada, he constantly recognized his social identity as a new immigrant and a visible minority through his daily contact with

people around him. However, after he returned to China, the familiar culture, language and social environment around him once again required him to accept his identity as a Chinese and a majority of the mainstream Chinese society.

In April 2008, I received a phone call from Mr. Ma in which he told me he was transferred by the same company he currently worked for in China to work in its headquarters in the United States. He said that he was very glad about his return decision, otherwise he would not have the opportunity to work in the American company of Fortune 500. His return migration worked as another way to achieve his career aspirations in North America.

Case Study of Liu Dajun

Polishing Job Seeking Skills

After his agreement to participate in the research, I contacted him several times to arrange an interview. However, he traveled a lot as part of his job, so we did not get the chance to meet each other, until one day he called me and told me he was in town and we could meet during his lunch time. We met in the lobby of his office building located in one of the busiest streets in Shanghai. He told me about his immigration stories,

本科毕业后，我在一家国有的工厂做了近十年的工程师。对中国的生活和工作感到了厌倦，决定出国生活。我就和我的妻子一起申请了加拿大移民。我们约定好我先一个人去加拿大，安定好以后，我的妻子再来和我

After graduating from a Chinese university with a bachelor's degree, I worked as an engineer in a state owned factory for almost ten years. I was tired of my life and job in China and wanted to experience the life in a western country. Then my wife and I decided to immigrate to Canada. We reached an agreement that I

团聚。2001 年我在多伦多登陆，开始了我在加拿大的生活。（2006 年 8 月 18 采访刘大军）

should go alone to Canada first to get settled down, then my wife would join me later. In 2001, I landed in Toronto and started my life in Canada. (Interview with Mr. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

It is very common among Chinese immigrants that the husband would go to Canada alone first to get settled down such as renting an apartment, finding a job and the wife and children (if one has) would join later. Because in China, once one immigrated to other country, one has to give up one's HuKou, which is the most important part of Chinese life. Hukou is basically a resident permit given by the government of China. It is issued on a family basis. Every family has a Hukou booklet that records information about the family members, including name, birth date, relationships with each other, marriage status (and with whom if married), address and employer. In China, everyone needs HuKou as a legal document to prove one's residency, from enrollment in kindergarten to the registration of marriage.

For decades, HuKou was also used to categorize city residents and rural residents, which restrained the mobility of rural residents. Nowadays, Hukou does not play this important role as before, but there are still a lot of differences between city and rural HuKou. For example, if one does not have HuKou of Shanghai or Beijing, one could not find employment there, because many jobs only open to people with a local Hukou. Therefore, it means a lot to give up one's HuKou.

After arriving at Toronto, Mr. Liu started looking for a job. Without any success in job seeking, he thought about improving his job searching skills as he told me in the next interview excerpt:

我发了很多简历申请工作，但是没有得到一个面试机会。我就想是不是我的简历写得有问题。所以我就想提高自己找工作的技巧。为此，我参加了多伦多 YMCA 辅导新移民写简历和提高面试技巧的课程。参加了这个辅导后，我得到了一些面试机会，但是还是没有找到工作。这使我意识到，一些找工作的技巧是可以学习和提高的，但是有一些东西是通过学习学不到的。比如在面试中如何和面试者谈一些他们感兴趣的事情，如何打开面试的尴尬局面，使其自然进行。（2006年8月18采访刘大军）

I sent many resumes to apply for jobs, but I did not get one interview. I thought there might be something wrong with my resumes. I wanted to improve my job seeking skills. In order to do so, I went to Toronto's YMCA to attend courses helping new immigrants with resume writings and interview skills. With their help, I got some interview opportunities. But still I did not have a job offer. I realized that some skills could be learned and improved, while others could not such as the small talk with the interviewers and skills of icebreakers during the interview. (Interview with Mr. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

Bourdieu's cultural capital theory argues that in order to acquire cultural capital, the individual must have the capacity to receive and decode it. However, society does not provide the techniques for receiving and decoding culture, even though they implicitly demand them from everyone. Consequently, the acquisition of cultural capital depends on the cultural capital transmitted by the family. Certain interview skills that Mr. Liu believed that he could not learn are the cultural capital which is directly affected by family background.

A Difficult Life in Montreal

Mr. Liu tried to find a professional job for six months before he gave up searching. Then he decided to go back to school so that in the future, if he could not find a job in Canada, he could at least go back to work in China with a foreign degree. He was going to do an MBA study, and was admitted to M University. In 2002, he went to Montreal and started his student life at M University. He told me his life in Montreal was full of hardships,

我的妻子得知我没有在加拿大找到工作，就决定不来加拿大了。由于分居两地，我们的婚姻也破裂了。我不得不面对家庭危机，一边还要学习。我本科学的是理工专业，所以我的英语没有其他有英语背景的同学好，为了能听懂教授的讲授，我每堂课都用录音机记录老师的讲课，然后课后一遍一遍地听录音，直到听懂为止。我学习非常的刻苦。（2007年7月10采访刘大军）

When my wife knew that I could not find a job in Canada, she decided she was not going to Canada but to stay in China. And due to the separation, our marriage was broken. I had to face the family crisis and at the same time went on with my study. I did science in my undergraduate study. As a result, my English skills were not as good as some of my Chinese classmates who had education background in English. In order to follow professor's speech, I had to record the lecture, and listened to the tape again and again after class. I studied very hard. (Interview with Mr. Liu, July 10, 2007)

Perseverance and hard work have been Chinese cultural values for thousands of years. Chinese people used these words to encourage themselves to work hard for achieving their dreams, especially when they were in adversity. Apparently, Mr. Liu followed the ancient teachings and struggled firmly towards his target. He did not give up when he faced the difficulties - his broken marriage and the language barrier, and neither did he relinquish when he could not understand

professors' lectures. Instead, he persistently made great efforts and worked hard and finally completed his study.

Living in a Mainstream Culture

In May 2004, Mr. Liu graduated from M University with an MBA degree. In the following half year after his graduation, he applied for jobs and meanwhile took some French courses in Montreal. Finally, he decided to go back China at the end of 2004.

事业发展是我回国的主要原因。当然还有一些其他的原因促使我回国。文化是其中一个因素。毕竟，我生长在中国，我的根在这里。我更愿意在一个我了解的文化环境中工作和生活。当然了，我更愿意讲汉语，而且讲汉语使我很舒服，这个事实是不能否认的。例如，我用汉语可以很自由流利地和你讨论各种话题。但是如果你用英语来采访我，我想有很多问题我们都不会谈论。此外，我认为用汉语我可以表达更复杂的思想，这点是用英语达不到的。（2008年3月2采访刘大军）

Career development was the primary reason for my return. There were some other factors. Culture was another issue. After all, China is the place where I was born and grew up and my root is here. I preferred to live and work in a culture that I felt comfortable and familiar with. Of course, I prefer Chinese to English. I could not deny the fact that I felt very comfortable to speak Chinese. For example, I could talk with you on any topics freely and fluently in Chinese, but if the interview was done in English, I am afraid that there might be some issues that we might not have chance to discuss because of the language barrier. In addition, I believe with Chinese, I could express very complex notions which could be impossible to achieve in English. (Interview with Mr. Liu, March 2, 2008)

Hall (2003) points out that the traditional model of cultural identity views identity in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with

a shared history and ancestry hold in common (p.223). Mr. Liu felt comfortable in a Chinese cultural identity and have the feeling of belonging to Chinese society.

Mr. Liu is happy about his return decision and he is satisfied with his job in China. For his personal life, he has every reason to believe he has more chances to meet the woman he wants in China.

Case Study of Yang Hao

Improving English Skills

Mr. Yang grew up in Beijing, the capital city of China. After graduation from a Chinese university in Beijing, he worked as an engineer in a large state owned company for ten years. In 2001, his family immigrated to Canada. He explained the reason for his immigration in the next interview excerpt:

在一个公司工作了那么长的时间，我想生活是因该有些变化了。当时我想的是换工作。但是有一天，我遇到了大学同学，我们谈起了大学时的其他同班同学，从他那里我了解到我的一些同学移民加拿大好让孩子有更好的前途。我就和妻子商量移民的事宜，我们都知道像我们这样的经济条件是不可能给孩子将来提供留学机会。如果我们想让孩子出国读书那么最好的方法就是移民，这样孩子就可国外长大和受教育。于是我们就申请了移民。(2006年8月23采访杨浩)

After having worked so long in one company, I wanted to have a change of my life. By that time, I was only thinking about job change. But one day, I met my university classmate; he informed me that some of our old classmates had immigrated to Canada as a means to provide their children a better future. I talked the immigration with my wife and we agreed on one thing that was in a family like ours, we did not have the resources to send our child to study abroad when he grew up. The only way that we could do so was to immigrate to a western country where he could grow up and receive western education. Then we filed our immigration application. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Aug. 23, 2006)

Like so many Chinese parents, Mr. Yang and his wife put their child's education as their priority, and they chose Canadian immigration as the way to provide the best education and future for their child.

After coming to Toronto, Mr. Yang and his wife registered for the LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) in order to improve their language skills. They took every opportunity to practice their English. For example, they used their English skills to ask for directions and made phone calls to inquire various information regarding immigrant services. Unlike other Chinese immigrants, they were not in a hurry to find employment. He explained,

我们到了多伦多以后，没有急于找工作。我们打算等提高了语言能力，并且对加拿大社会有很好了解之后，再开始找工作。我们尽可能来提高英语水平。但是作为新移民，除了看电视以外，我们没有很多机会来提高语言。有的时候，即使有机会，如果别人不明白我们说的英语，我们就感到不自在，有一种被人评头论足的感觉。也就不愿意和人交往了。(2007年11月12采访杨浩)

We were not very eager to look for a job when we first arrived in Toronto. We wanted to wait for a while until we had improved our language skills and had better knowledge of Canadian society. We took every opportunity to practice our English. But as newcomers and English learners, we did not have many opportunities to do so. Sometimes even though we had the opportunities, if our English could not be understood, we would have the feeling of being judged by others. As a result, we did not want to interact with others. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Nov.12, 2007)

Peirce (1995) argues that the complex social identity of language learner must be understood with reference to large, and frequently inequitable social structures, which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction. It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different

sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to, or is denied access to, powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak (Heller, 1987).

The real world is to a large extent unconsciously build on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.....the linguistic system ... of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade... (Sapir, 1958, p. 69)

In this sense, language is not a medium of communication but is understood with reference to its social meaning. One is judged by how one speaks and what one speaks.

At the beginning of 2002, Mr. Yang changed his mind and decided to pursue an MBA degree. He was admitted to M University and moved his family to Montreal. He said that he benefited a lot from his efforts to improve his English skills. Language skills are a form of human capital. As with other forms of human capital, the improvement of language skills requires time and other resources (Chiswick & Paul, 2003).

Returning to China for Career Development

Two years' study at M University provided Mr. Yang with better business knowledge and management skills. In May 2004, he graduated from M University with an MBA degree. In the same year, he returned to Shanghai, the financial center of China. He recounted his return decision:

从 M 大学获得学历后，我就开始找工作。我想找一份符合我的教育和工作背景的工作。但是我的努力没有什么结果。六个月后，我决定回国发展。中国的经济发展迅猛，像我这样有海外教育背景和对中国市场有很好了解的人有很多就业机会和事业发展空间。当然，我也知道回国也有利弊。优点就是国内有大量的就业机会。缺点有很多，比如空气污染，交通堵塞。但是事业发展对我很重要，我就回来了。（2007年12月3采访杨浩）

After having obtained my MBA degree from M University, I started to seek employment in Canada. I wanted to find a job matching both my education and work experience. However, my efforts in job seeking did not turn out any result. After six month of looking for a job in Canada, I decided that I would return to China. With a booming economy in China, people like me with western education background and knowledge of Chinese market usually have very good opportunities and space for career development. I knew there were pros and cons in the return migration. The good thing in China is the ample career opportunities, but the bad things are a lot such as the air pollution and the traffic jam. However, career development is my priority, and here I am. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Dec. 3, 2007)

In ancient China, to establish a career was one of the most important responsibilities that children had for their families and their ancestors. For example, teachings of establishing one's career can be found in some popular rhymes in children's primers during the Ming Dynasty: "Prime ministers and commanders are not born so, A man should seek to improve himself" (将相本无种，男儿当自强. Wang shu). The influence of these cultural values can still be felt today in Chinese society.

For their child's sake, Mr. Yang and his wife decided that he would return China alone. Since his return, he flew back and forth between China and Canada in order to see his family. I asked how long he planned to do so, he replied,

我回加拿大没有什么特定的时间限定。我想要等我有了在著名的国际公司工作的经历后，这些工作经历会被加拿大雇主承认，那时，我肯定要回到加拿大的。但是暂时，我还要忍受和家人分离的痛苦。（2007年12月3采访杨浩）

I had no specific time of returning Canada. I guess when I had gained rich work experiences in a well known international company which could be recognized by Canadian employers, by then I would definitely move back to Canada. But for the time being, I had to suffer the separation with my families.
(Interview with Mr. Yang on Dec. 3, 2007)

Some well educated Chinese immigrants returned to China at the peak age of their employment due to unrecognized foreign credentials. This is a waste of human capital for Canada, a country heavily relying on immigrants for its economic growth.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the life experiences of immigration and return migration of the ten research participants revealed in my interviews with them. In the next chapter, I look at the emerging themes from their lived experiences and explore meaningful relations among their mediated actions and reactions. My theoretical discussion in searching for the meanings of the ten participants' lived experiences is based on the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3. From analyzing their personal narratives of their experiences, themes such as identity crisis, social identity, language and power, social networks, influences of Chinese

habitus on agency and positionings emerged. I theoretically tackle some fundamental questions, such as why I believe that the stories of my participants are so valuable to listen to. I reflect on the ways I interpret the “ordinary” experiences in my participants’ narratives.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF EMERGING THEMES FROM THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF PARTICIPANTS' SELEFREPORTS

From the lived experiences of the ten participants in the inquiry of the return migration of Chinese immigrants, themes emerged that connect to my research questions, such as why they chose to return to China, what difficulties they encountered in their immigration life in Canada, how they perceive their identities, and the profound influences of Confucianism and Taoism on their life attitudes and actions. In this chapter, I provide a critical interpretive discussion of key themes that emerged from the ten participants' perceptions of their lived experiences.

The ten participants' frustrations over their multiple identities emerged in their comments about their migration experiences. They also expressed their views on their social identity, and their perceptions of relationships between language and power in the host country. The ten participants recognized that the limited social networks as new immigrants in Canada prevent their career advancements. They all agreed that Chinese habitus has great influence on their decision-making to return to China.

Identity Crisis

The issue of identity demands to be taken seriously. Gilroy (1997) claims:

We live in a world where identity matters. It matters both as a concept, theoretically, and as a contested fact of contemporary political life. The word itself has acquired a huge contemporary resonance, inside and outside the academic world. (p.301)

Identity is the division of people into 'us' and 'other' (Li et al., 1995). Mercer (1990) remarks: "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (p. 43). Hall (1990) argues that there are two ways to understand cultural identity. The first position defines "cultural identity" in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self", hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed "selves", which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. The second position defines cultural identity in terms of its instability and change that responds to specific historical contexts. He says,

Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being". It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous "play" of history, culture, and power. Far from being grounded in mere "recovery" of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity. Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narratives of the past. (Hall, 1990, p.233)

Cultural identity from this latter perspective is never stable or fixed. Instead, it is changing, fluid, flexible, heterogeneous and hybrid. Identity is influenced by many forces such as race, class, politics, religion, language, and gender. It is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside in which history has made no fundamental mark. It is not once and for all. It is not a fixed origin to which one makes some final and absolute return. "Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made,

within the discourse of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning" (Hall, 1990, p. 237).

I see identity as the sense of self, or what Woodward (1997) has called subjectivity, as a collection and recruitment of conscious and unconscious moments of identification (Bhabha, 1994). We as individuals identify with that which speaks to us and has particular significance in our identity formation. Identity, as Hall (1990) shows, is never full or complete; instead, it is an ongoing produce that is subject and is subjected to social conditions, "where language and culture give meaning to our experience of ourselves and where we adopt an identity" (Woodward, 1997, p. 39). This adoption of an identity, the positions we then take up, and the collection of moments of identification will eventually "constitute our identities" (p. 39).

When people migrate from one nation or culture to another they bring their knowledge and cultural backgrounds with them. In settling down in a new culture, their cultural identity is likely to change and that encourages a degree of belonging to the host country. For Chinese immigrants in Canada, in the process of their immigration to a new country with different cultures and languages, they have to learn to adjust to the new changes in their lives including repositioning themselves in the host country. Hall (1990) argues "difference, therefore, persists-in and alongside continuity" (p.227). To return to one's homeland after any long absence is to experience again the shock of the 'doubleness' of similarity and difference. Immigration to Canada made the Chinese immigrants see at once how different China is from Canada. The difference is not mere

geography or climate. It is a profound difference of culture and history. The difference matters because it positions Chinese and Canadian as same and different.

He continues:

Moreover, the boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference. Vis-a-vis the developed We belong to the marginal, the underdeveloped, the periphery, the 'Other'. We are at the outer edge, the 'rim', of the metropolitan world-always 'South' to someone else's *El Norte*. (1990, p.228)

Cultural repositioning starts with being aware of one's own culture and extends to an understanding of other cultures. Finally, cultural repositioning can evolve through interactions with multiple cultures. All participants admit they have the feeling of displacement in their Canadian life experiences. Even though they can function well such as attending classes, some of them even successfully hold employment in another language and another culture; they still suffered from feelings of displacement. For example, Ms. Liu explains,

主流文化不仅仅是语言，它还包括传统，体育，甚至是酒文化，笑话。虽然作为一个外国人，可以理解他们的文化，但是要想成为他们中的一分子来加入他们的话题，这几乎是不可能的，而且可能大家都会觉得没有意思。我和我的同事每周都会在一起吃顿饭。我也会加入他们的活动。因为我是唯一的和他们有不同文化背景的人，所以他们很照顾我，但是你不

Mainstream does not only refer to language, it also includes other traditions, such as sports, wine culture and party jokes. As a foreigner, I can understand their culture, but it is impossible for me to participate in their conversation, and if I did participate in their conversation, they would feel very uncomfortable. My colleagues and I usually had lunch together once a week when I worked in Canada. Because I was the only minority among them, when they talked, they

能要求他们所有的话题都要迎合你。有时他们会花一个半小时的时间谈论一个你更本就不知道是什么的话题。我可以在旁边倾听，但是没有说话的机会。同事会觉得很辛苦，自己也有 would try to find topics that I may be interested in. But you cannot ask your colleagues all the time to talk 种格格不入的感觉。结果使大家都感觉不很舒服。(2007年7月20日采访刘璐)

things that you are interested in. Sometimes, I found that they may spend one and half hour on a topic that I had no clue at all. I may sit next to my colleagues, but without any contribution to their conversation. I am sure my colleagues must be very exhausted to figure out the topics with me, meanwhile, I also felt very out of place among them. As a consequence, everyone is uncomfortable. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

Ms. Liu's experiences as a visible minority surrounded by her Canadian colleagues made her recognize the cultural differences between her and the mainstream society. It is this difference that differentiates one and otherness. This 'difference', whether we like it or not, is already inscribed in our cultural identities determining who we are.

Ms. Tao expressed the same notions of displacement feeling with her own experience in interacting with her classmates:

我认为自己是一个思想非常开放的人，能够接受不同的事物和观念。对于西方的价值观和文化有一定的了解。但是我发现每次我参加活动的时候，我的那些加拿大或是美国的学生和我谈论的话题都是问我一些关于中国的事情，时间久了，大家都会觉得很不舒服。我不大喜欢他们关于冰球，棒球的话题。所以也不会加入到

I, myself as a woman with open mind, accept various concepts and different values. I had knowledge about western culture and values before immigration. But it turned out every time when I took part in the social activities at M University, my classmates from Canada or the United States would ask me the same questions about China. I am sure everyone would feel very uneasy if it happened more than twice. Besides, I am not interested in their conversation on hockey and

他们的谈话，我想这可能是文化的差异。(2007年8月15日采访陶颖)

baseball matches. As a result, I never joined in their conversation about sports. I guess this is the so-called cultural difference. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

The feeling of displacement in a host country helps accentuate their ethnicity as Chinese. They are used to taking "being a Chinese" for granted. Now they realized that they are being judged and seen by others as a group. Consciously or subconsciously, they are proud of their nationality and are working hard to maintain and transmit their cultural heritage to their children in their daily life in Canada, such as speaking Chinese at home and celebrating Chinese festivals. Meanwhile, they make efforts to integrate themselves into mainstream Canadian society. Mr. Yang comments:

我很骄傲自己是个中国人。在别人看来不管我有没有加拿大国籍，我都是中国人。如果中国法律许可，我猜想所有的人都会保留双从国籍的。我会让我的孩子学习汉语，学习中国的传统文化。中国的传统文化有精华也有糟粕，但是很多是博大高深的，值得孩子去认真学习。在加拿大，有的时候我真的觉得自己是生活在主流社会的边缘。我不关心加拿大的节日，更不要说去庆祝这些节日了，我也很少参加社会活动。去唐人街买生活用品和中国人来往，就好像生活在所说的"

I am very proud of being a Chinese. I know no matter whether I am a Canadian citizen or not, I am still a Chinese in the eyes of the western people. I guess all Chinese Canadians would like to maintain double citizenships if Chinese law allows them to do so. I will urge my child to learn Chinese and traditional Chinese culture. There are pros and cons of Chinese culture, but some of Chinese culture is very profound and worth learning. In Canada, sometimes, I really feel I am in the fringe of the mainstream society. I care less about Canadian festivals, not to mention to celebrate them, and I seldom take part in its social activities. I usually go to China town

Niche”中。(2007年11月12采访杨浩)

for shopping and hang out with my Chinese friends; it seems that I live in the so called “ethnic niche”. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Nov.12, 2007)

However, before their return migration to China, the returnees had their memories and visions of living in China. When they were in the land of China facing the realities of daily life after long absence, they found the reality was not as beautiful as they had imagined. They suddenly found they suffer again the shock of the “doubleness” of similarity and difference in their identities (Hall, 2003). Some migrants might feel it is difficult to find reconnections with the societies of their birth. Many may miss the cosmopolitan rhythms of life in Canada to which they have become accustomed. Many may feel that ‘home’ has changed beyond recognition. In turn, their natural and spontaneous chain of connection with China was disturbed by their migration experiences. Being born and raised in China, they have a natural connection to Chinese culture and society; however, their immigration experiences might have impact on their perceptions in the process of repositioning their identities in the host country. Ms. Deng expressed her frustration about identity when she returned China in this way:

从加拿大回来后，我感觉很失落，觉得自己就像一个边缘人。我在回国之前认为，回到中国对我来说是一件很简单的事情。因为我是中国生，中国长的，没有什么语言上的障碍，回国对我来说应该没有什么困难。可是当

Since I came back from Canada, at first, I felt lost and had a sense of living in in-between states of two cultures. Before returning, I thought that going back China should be a very simple thing. Because I was born and raised in China, there is no language barrier for me, returning

我回国后，却发现自己又经历了一次文化冲击，这种文化冲击对我的影响不亚于我到北美时所受到的冲击。这些文化冲击包括了生活方式上的，周边环境方面的，人际关系上的，还有思维方式上的。这种冲击来自各个方面。我觉得非常的不适应。我用了两年的时间才慢慢的适应。(2007年12月2采访邓虹)

should be very easy for me with no problem. However, when I really landed on the soil of China, I found I experienced another cultural shock, which struck me as hard as the one I suffered when I first arrived in Canada. The cultural shock that I experienced in my return migration includes many aspects, such as the life style, the natural environment, the relationships between people, and the mindset. I felt very uncomfortable with these shocks. It took me almost two years to get used to the life in China. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Dec. 2, 2007)

For the returnees, they are happy to be home, but history has somehow irrevocably intervened. When they were away from home, they might learn to see their home from different viewpoints for the first time, and they might obtain more understanding and information about their own country. Their home may be the one in their memory to which they can never return. In the case of migration, immigrants may naturally develop homesickness or nostalgia. Boym in her work

The Future of Nostalgia writes:

Nostalgia was said to produce "erroneous representations" that caused the afflicted to lose touch with the present. Longing for their native land became their single-minded obsession. The patients acquired "a lifeless and haggard countenance," and "indifference towards everything," confusing past and present, real and imaginary events. (2001, p. 3)

Nostalgia, as a way of relating to a vanished past, seems inevitably to incorporate elements of distortion of past experiences. In most cases, the distortion appears to be a constructive one. The further in time one is removed from places and events, the more likely one normally is to emphasize positive

aspects and minimize the unpleasant ones. As new immigrants in a different country facing the language and cultural differences, it is natural for them to miss their homeland and its family surroundings as well as so many pleasant things back home. Chambers (1990) in his book **Border Dialogues: Journeys in Postmodernity** expresses the nostalgia feelings towards one's home:

We can never go home, return to the primal scene, to the forgotten moment of our beginnings and 'authenticity', for there is always something else between. We cannot return to a bygone unity, for we can only know the past, memory, the unconscious through its effects, that is when it is brought into language and from there embark on an (interminable) analysis. In front of the 'forest of signs', we find ourselves always at the crossroad, holding our stories and memories while scanning the constellation full of tension that lies before us, seeking the language, the style, that will dominate movement and give it form. Perhaps it is more a question of seeking to be at home here, in the only time and context we have.... (1990, p.104)

The home is no long "the home in their memory" for immigrants. Ms. Liu told about her own experience in China since she returned from Canada,

当我回国后和以前的朋友和亲友相聚时，突然发现我们之间很难有共同的话题。国内的人见面就很爱谈论工作上的提升，涨工资，买车，买房等话题。我因为在加拿大居住了一段时间，加拿大的生活方式使我对一些物资上的追求和名利看得很淡，对我来说家人的健康和平安才是最重要的。所以我觉得自己和他们有些格格不入。加拿大的生活方式和生活经历改变的我的人生的态度，也改变了我的性格，我不再是一定要出人头地，一

After I returned China, when I got together with my previous friends and relatives, I suddenly found that we did not see eye to eye in many things. For example, people, who never live abroad, like to chat on things such as job promotion, pay raise, housing and car purchasing. Because of my Canadian immigration experience, there is a period of absence for me in China. The living experience in Canada made my attitudes and views on material stuff change. For me, the welfare and safety of my family is the priority of my life. Therefore, I felt I

定要在事业上有所作为。我认为能够
做自己喜欢的事情才是最重要的。

(2006 年 8 月 18 采访刘璐)

am out of place among my old friends in terms of attitudes towards life. The immigration experience in Canada not only changed my attitudes towards things but also reshaped my characters. I no longer behave very aggressively, and the achievement in career is not measured by the status one holds in the company but doing things that one likes is most important.

(Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

When Ms. Liu finally returned to China, she suddenly found that her absence from China during her immigration to Canada had influenced her attitudes towards life. China is no longer the one that she remembered in her memory when she was in Canada. Even though she shared same language and cultural heritage as her Chinese friends and relatives, her immigration experiences had changed her and made her different from other Chinese in terms of her pursuit for life. Mr. Mu reflected on his personal experience in China,

回国后有一段时间我感到很不适应，国内的人的生存压力很大，所以他们的生活方式和思维方式同西方有一定的差异。我有时候对国内的生活方式很看不惯，我不禁问自己我还是个中国人吗？如果不是，那我是加拿大人吗？回答也不是。我不禁想那我是什么人？我突然意识到自己是生活在两个文化，两种语言间的边缘人。

(2006 年 8 月 23 采访慕仁杰)

For a period of time, I did not feel very integrated into Chinese society after returning from Canada. Because of the pressure on surviving, people in China have great differences in life styles and mindset from western people. Sometimes, I think the Chinese way of living is not right. When that happens, I can not help wondering who I am? Am I a Chinese, if I were a Chinese then why did I criticize Chinese way of life? Am I a Canadian? If the answer is no, who am I? Suddenly I realized that I am a person in-between two cultures, two languages and two identities, but

I belong neither of them. (Interview with Mr. Mu, Aug. 23, 2006)

All ten participants agreed that when they were in Canada, even though they spoke one of the official languages of Canada, they did not feel plugged into the Canadian society. They feel that they do not have connections to Canadian culture and languages. When they spent time with their Canadian friends, they would find although they grasped the language skills, they do not appear to share Canadian cultural history or experiences. Therefore, in conversations, they could not contribute a lot on topics such as current television programs and local politicians. This uneasiness made them feel that they would never fully integrate into Canada. With this nostalgia for their homeland, they would naturally develop the desire of returning to live in China where they were born and raised, and they shared the knowledge about its culture and history.

However, Nietzsche (1957) comments: "The things of the past are never viewed in their true perspective or receive their just value; but value and perspective change with the individual or the nation that is looking back on its past (p.19). Dames (2001) argues that nostalgia is a form of retrospect that remembers only what is pleasant and only what the self can employ in the present. In these participants' memories, China is a land where they are the majority of the society, and there are ample employment opportunities for them. They can be surrounded by their friends and relatives without the feeling of being isolated and lost.

When Chinese immigrants returned to China, their instant sense of great familiarity makes them feel comfortable with the language and culture. However,

after a while, they started to have a sense of uneasiness again among their friends and relatives, even though they have a shared ancestry, lineage, or heritage, because their views and attitudes towards life and work changed during their immigration experience. For example, Ms. Sun said,

移民之前，我有时会和朋友谈起我的雄心大志，比如说等我有了钱，我要买一个豪宅，一辆很时尚的汽车。但是，这段移民经历改变了我对物质追求的看法。我不再感兴趣和别人攀比财富和地位。这也是我很快就要回加拿大的原因。（2007年11月29采访孙平）

Before my immigration, I used to discuss my ambition with my friends, such as I liked to say when I were rich, I'd like to buy a huge house and a fancy car. However, the immigration experience changed my views on materials; I am no longer interested in competing with others in pursuing wealth and fame. That's why I would return Canada in near future. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Nov. 29, 2007)

They started to miss their Canadian life. However, because of their proficiency in two languages: Chinese and English, along with an attached feeling towards two identities and cultures, returnees alternatively felt that they were living in in-between two countries, but they belonged to neither of them. Their struggle for identity may continue as long as for they move back and forth between the two countries.

Social Identity, Language and Power

Social identity can be seen as the various ways in which people understand themselves in relation to others, and how they view their past and their future (Peirce, 1995). A social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs

to a social category or group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In the case of Chinese immigrants, having a particular social identity means how they come to see themselves as members of one group in comparison with another group and how they feel belonging to a certain group, being like others in the group and seeing things from the groups' perspective.

Immigration to a new country can profoundly affect a person's social identity and immigrants have to renegotiate their social identity in the new society. Some people may experience this change more as an act of recreation rather than as a temporary process of readjustment (Ullman, 1997). For instance, Ms. Wang recounted her experience in renegotiating her social identity in Canada,

在国内的时候，我是上中产阶级，受过良好的教育，还有稳定的收入。我记得我在国内很受尊敬。如果我需要什么，周围的人就很乐于帮助。但是自从到了加拿大，我感到自己作为新移民和有色人种，我是处于社会的底层，感受不到以前在国内受到的那种重视和尊敬。随着时间的流逝，我也就慢慢习惯了我在加拿大作为新移民的社会身份。(2007年12月20采访王芳)

When I was in China, I belonged to the upper middle class with good education and a well paid job. I remember I was well respected in China, and if I needed something, people around me would love to help. But since I came to Canada, I felt as a new immigrant and a visible minority, I was at the bottom of the Canadian society. I did not feel the respect and attention that I used to receive back in China. With time passing by, I got used to my new social identity as a new immigrant in Canada. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 20, 2007)

All ten participants agreed that when they first came to Canada, they suffered cultural clashes to a lesser or greater degree even if they had been well prepared before their immigration. For example, Mr. Mu said,

我在国内的时候，对什么事情都很自信。可是到了加拿大以后，尤其是最开始的一段时间，我要学习所有的东西，例如，如何乘坐地铁，到银行开户，这些看上去很简单的事情对新移民来说要从头学起，对于当地的加拿大人来说简直是不可思议。所以我感觉自己像一个另类。（2006年8月17采访慕仁杰）

When I was in China, I was very self-confident. But since I came to Canada, especially at the beginning of my life in Canada, I had to learn everything from how to take subway to opening a bank account. These seem very simple for local people, but as a new immigrant I had to learn from scratch, which made me look stupid. At that moment, I felt myself is out of place in the society. (Interview with Mr. Mu Aug. 17, 2006)

McNamara (1987) claims, "in the act of immigration, immigrants are entering a new social context, in which their former social identity may have to be substantially redefined" (p.215). One participant, Ms. Tao recounted her own stories by comparing her two social identities she experienced both in China and Canada,

在国内，我作为一个受过高等教育的大学生，毕业后我的工作很稳定，收入也很可观，别人对我很尊重，我的社会地位在中国是很高的。可是到了加拿大以后，我感到了很大的落差，在这里由于文化和语言的上的差别，我的生活基本是处于社会的底层。自己不属于主流社会。（2007年8月1采访陶颖）

I, as a well-educated university graduate, had a very stable job with good pay in China. People showed me their respect and my social status was high. But after I came to Canada, I felt the great differences in social and economic status. Because of the differences in culture and language, my life in Canada was at the bottom of the society, and I did not belong to the mainstream society. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 1, 2007)

Based on Weedon's poststructuralist theory, Peirce (1995) conceptualizes social identity as multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change (p.14). Castells (1996) further explains the central role of identity in one's life:

In a world of global flows of wealth, power, and images, the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning. This is not a new trend, since identity, and particularly religious and ethnic identity, have been at the roots of meaning since the dawn of human society. Yet identity is becoming the main, and sometimes the only, source of meaning in a historical period characterized by widespread destructuring of organizations, delegitimation of institutions, fading away of major social movements, and ephemeral cultural expressions. People increasingly organize their meaning not around what they do but on the basis of what they are. (p. 3)

Therefore, face-to-face encounters with people in a new country on a daily basis can have great impact on immigrants' social identity, and language has always played an important role in the formation of and expression of identity (Warschauer, 2001, p.151).

Language as a means of communication between people is not only a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and emotions; it also represents a basic expression of social identity. Peirce argues:

the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's social identity. It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time. Thus language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning. (1994, p. 2)

For Chinese immigrants, the process of language learning can take a lifetime. Their language abilities can have profound influence on their social identity and self esteem. Ms. Liang commented:

我一直对我的英语很自信，可是到了加拿大以后，当我和当地的人交谈时，我感到很沮丧，特别是当我说的英语，别人听不懂的时候，我对自己的能力产生了怀疑。使我感到我和他

I was very proud of my English skills when I was in China. But after I immigrated to Canada, especially when I had a conversation with native speakers, I felt very frustrated. For example, when I talked with

们是不一样的。我是个外来人。(2
0 0 7 年 6 月 1 8 采访梁丽)

native speakers and they did not understand what I was talking about, I started to doubt my own language capabilities, which made me realize the difference between us. I felt I am an outsider of the society. (Interview with Ms. Liang, June 18, 2007)

Weedon (1987) argues:

Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested, yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed. (p.21)

Ms. Liu shared her own experiences with language:

我一直认为我的英语是很好的，在加拿大生活是没有问题的，应为我大学学的是英语专业，毕业后英语一直是我的工作语言。可是到了加拿大以后，我才认识到英语对我来说是一个巨大的障碍。我刚到加拿大的时候，电视都看不太懂。后来等我上了法语班，结交了一些朋友，我才开始慢慢的适应。等到工作以后，我又发现英语成为我工作上的一大障碍。毕竟英语不是我的母语，我在谈论一件事情的时候，用英语不可能象母语那样谈论事情达到一样的深度和广度。这样就使得别人觉得我很愚蠢，其实我对事情的了解不亚于我的同事，可是我不能像我的同事那样用同样流利的英

For a long time, I am very confident of my own English skills, and I never thought there should be a language problem for me if I lived in an English speaking country. Because I was majored in English in my undergraduate study and after graduation from college, English had been my work language. But since I came to Canada, I realized that English is an obstacle for me. I remembered when I first immigrated to Canada, I could not understand the TV program until I took some French class and started to make friends, then I started to adjust to the English environment. However when I worked in a Canadian company after graduation from M University, I suddenly found language once again was an obstacle in my work. After all, English is not my mother tongue, when I talked things, I could not

语来表达出来，这使我很懊恼。

(2006 年 8 月 18 日采访刘璐)

express my views in English as I did in Chinese in terms of the depth and width of my topics. Sometimes, I have the same knowledge as my colleagues on the issue, but due to my limited English, I could not express it in very fluent English which made me feel very vulnerable and discouraged. (Interview with Ms. Liu, Aug. 18, 2006)

People may be judged by what they say and how they express their ideas. Therefore, as new immigrants when they expressed their points of views in not very fluent English, they may be judged by the words they select. Conscious of their own dialects in speaking English, sometimes they chose to keep silent. Silence becomes a way to avoid being judged by others and save face. Mr. Yang talked about his study experiences at M University:

在 M University 读 MBA 的时候，我上课很少发言，因为我的语言能力不是很强。有时候，我可以看到当一个英语说的不是很流利的同学在发言的时候，有些当地同学就表示出了不耐烦，不愿意听的表情，这就使我再也不愿意上课发言了。(2007 年 11 月 12 采访杨浩)

When I did my MBA at M University, because of my limited English, I seldom spoke up in class. Sometimes, I noticed that when one of my classmates was talking in not very fluent English, some local students would have the impression of impatience on their faces, which discouraged me from participating in class discussions. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Nov.12, 2007)

Gee (1999), a sociolinguist, argues that language scaffolds “the performance of social activities” and “human affiliation within cultures, social groups and institutions” (p.1). Peirce (1995) argues that a learners’ ability to speak is also affected by relations of power between speakers. Power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target

language speakers. For example, Ms. Deng told me about her interactions with one of her professors during her study,

我对自己很自信，我承认我的英语口语可能没有本地学生的口语好，但是我很自信我在英语写作方面的能力。有一次，我发现教授给我的分数不对，我就去找他理论。我先问他对于这个作业的要求，等他说完后，我就按照他说的要点在我的作业里给他找到他要的内容，这个教授没有办法，只好一点一点的把分数给我加上，到了最后，他说这就是你的分数，我不再给你加了。我觉得就是因为英语不是我的母语，即使所以我写得再好，对于英语母语的人来说，他们也觉得不是很地道的。(2007年11月15采访邓虹)

I am a person with strong self-confidence and self-esteem. I acknowledge that I am inferior to my local classmates in spoken English, but I am very good at English writing. Once, I found that one of my professors underrated my paper. Then I went to see him. I asked what his expectations on the particular paper, after he explained his requirements on the paper, I found one point after another in my paper which met his requirements. As a result, the professor had to add additional scores to my paper, and at the end of our meeting, he said: "this is your final grade, I am not going to give you more marks". The incident made me think it is because of our language difference that I can hardly meet his requirement on the appropriate usage of English. (Interview with Ms. Deng, Nov. 15, 2007)

Peirce (1995) believes that theories of communicative competence in the field of second language learning should extend beyond an understanding of the appropriate rules of use in a particular society. Theories of second language learning should include an understanding of the way rules of use are socially and historically constructed to support the interests of a dominant group within a given society. Ms. Liang's study experiences confirm that the power relations played a very crucial role in the social interactions between Chinese students as language learners and the target language speakers.

我们上课的时候，有的时候同学发言来表达自己的看法，可是有的同学的观点很浅薄，但是他的英语说的流利，地道，所以有时候占用了课堂很宝贵的时间。而我们的一些中国同学，无论在工作经历和知识方面都有很多可以和同学分享的，但是由于受到语言的约束，只能坐在那里倾听。（2007年6月18采访梁丽）

When I was at M University, sometimes our classmates would like to express their views on certain topics in class, but some of their opinions on certain subject may be too shallow. However because of his/her fluent English, he/she can talk forever which took too much class time. On the contrary, some Chinese students with valuable work experience in industry and updated field knowledge should have had a lot more to share with their classmates, but due to their limited language abilities, they could not make any contribution to the class discussion and sit there listening to others passively. (Interview with Ms. Liang, June 18, 2007)

Bourdieu (1977) in his theories about the economics of linguistic exchanges argues that:

The structure of the linguistic production relation depends on the symbolic power relation between the two speakers, i.e., on the size of their respective capitals of authority. Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power. A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, and distinguished.....the linguist takes for granted the conditions for the establishment of communication: that those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak. (p.648)

Therefore, when language learners speak, "they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social worlds" (Peirce, 1994, p.4). The complex social identities of language learners must be understood with reference to larger and frequent inequitable social structures that are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction.

All ten participants' immigration and study experiences in Canada and their efforts and frustrations in repositioning their social identities in terms of their interactions with target language speakers, confirm the crucial roles of cultural capital in producing and reproducing social inequality. Bourdieu (2001) in the *Forms of Capital* argues,

Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the periods, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously.....it can not be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent. (p. 99)

Bourdieu (2001) further argues that the relationship between the agent and the resources in terms of means to accumulate the capital, and the profits they produce are mediated by the relationship of competition between himself and the other possessors of capital competing for the same goods. For example, in the case of Chinese immigrants, they went to school for recognized academic credentials and meanwhile, upgraded their language skills. With their accumulated human capitals, they naturally would compete with Canadian born individuals in the job market.

Central to Bourdieu's theory is the cultural transmission of social inequality. The fast and easy accumulation of cultural capital starts from one's family. Parents usually transmit cultural values they believe and knowledge to their children. He argues that cultural capital can not be acquired at school and the school can not diminish differences in the amount of capital across groups of students. Differences in cultural capital are reinforced by an educational system that prefers these styles; along the way, students with higher cultural capital receive better grades and more attention and feedback. Students who have more

cultural capital may feel more comfortable in school. Thus, cultural capital serves as power resources, or a way for groups to remain dominant or gain status (Dumais, 2002).

Since all ten participants were students, cultural capital influenced their investment and possibilities for positioning. For example, prestigious names of institutions, high proficiency of English languages, high grades in courses were often mentioned in the participants' narratives. The ways they positioned themselves in the processes of gaining the cultural capital were very much influenced by their Chinese social-cultural habitus. Chinese immigrant students are raised in non-dominant mainstream social-cultural backgrounds and their parents' cultural values and beliefs have great influences on their societal perspectives. Therefore, when they come to school competing and interacting with students from the dominant class, the lack of prevailing cultural capital may discourage their participation in education, and their values may be ignored and misunderstood. In addition, the limited social capital of new immigrants in a host country further disadvantages immigrants in many aspects of their life.

Social Networks

Social capital rooted in social networks and social relations plays a very key role in facilitating the social mobility and the attainment of social status for new immigrants in the mainstream society. The social networks providing or impeding access to resources have been conceptualized as "social resources" (Lin et al., 1981) or social capital (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985). Studies have revealed that

personal contact is the primary way in which job-seekers acquire information about the jobs they accept (Campbell, 1986; Mier & Giloth, 1985; Granoetter, 1974). Social capital is important for new immigrants in employment opportunities in a host country. Granovetter (1974) shows that information gleaned from informal social networks provide access to valuable labor market information that is not directly accessible to him or her and unavailable through more formal means such as advertisements or job fairs. He argues that people who have found their jobs through informal methods such as social networks seem to find higher prestige jobs, greater job satisfaction, and higher earnings. Granoetter (1974) defines informal social networks such as networks of acquaintances, old college friends, ext-workmates, or employers as "weak ties", as allowing a person to reach beyond his or her small, well-defined social circle in order to make connections with parts of the social structure not directly accessible to him or her. Weak ties serve as channels through which "ideas, influences and information socially distant from ego may reach him" (p.1371). He further uses the "strength of weak ties" to refer to the power of indirect influences outside the immediate circle of family and close friends to serve as an informal employment referral system.

For new immigrants immigrated to a new country, when they started job searching, there tend to be a very scarce social network that they can use to facilitate the process. The accumulation of one's social network needs time and investments. The more contacts one has with others, the wider social network one may maintain, then the more job information one may obtain. Therefore, the

less time immigrants spend in Canada, the fewer social networks they may develop. In order to increase ones' social network, new immigrants have to have contact with more people.

The ten participants all agreed that social networks in Canada played a very important role in their process of job hunting. They all know that the best way to cultivate social networks is to 'get socialized' with their MBA classmates. But they also expressed their frustrations in their efforts to develop social networks. For instance, Mr. Ma said:

在 M university 读书的时候，我们有很多需要小组来完成的作业，一般情况下，我会愿意和加拿大同学在一个小组，这样可以和他们有机会交往。但是通常情况下，我们中国学生不是有很多的机会去参加他们的小组，因为，当地的学生很快就组成了一组。
(2006 年 7 月 14 采访马宏伟)

When I studied at M University, we had a lot of group work. Normally, I'd like to be grouped with local students, so that I could have opportunities to get socialized with them. However, in general, we, Chinese students seldom had that chance to be grouped with them, because they grouped themselves very quickly.
(Interview with Mr. Ma, July 14, 2006)

Mr. Mu expressed the same concerns:

我们在读 MBA 的时候，每周在 Thompson House 会有活动，给大家一个相互了解和认识的机会。可是我发现中国学生很少去。我也就去了一次就不再去了，原因有很多，最主要的是文化差异。中国人不太适合这种社交活动，我们更习惯于和一两个朋友在一起。(2006 年 8 月 23 采访慕仁杰)

Once a week, we had a social activity in Thompson House when I was in my MBA program, which provided opportunities for students to get socialized. However, I found few Chinese students attending such activity. I went to the party once, but decided that I would not come any more, cultural difference is the main reason that dissuaded me from taking part in such activity. The Chinese are not familiar with this kind of social gatherings. I'd like to go out with just one or two friends.

(Interview with Mr. Mu, Aug, 23, 2006)

Bourdieu (2001) argues that social capital is distributed unevenly among people who possess different economic and cultural capitals. In other words, one's access to and the nature of the social capital are structurally determined by one's social position. The reproduction of social capital requires not only the investment of time and energy, but also relies on the other capitals such as cultural capital and economic capital.

The reproduction of social capital presuppose an unceasing efforts of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed. This work, which implies of expenditure of time and energy and so, directly or indirectly, of economic capital, is not profitable or conceivable unless one invests in it a specific competency and an acquired disposition to acquire and maintain this competence, which are themselves integral parts of this capital. (p. 104)

The uneven distribution of, and access to social capital is believed to be a cause of social inequality and exclusion (Bourdieu, 1977; Lin, 2000). For instance, immigrants tend to look for support and job information from networks within their own community; they are also likely to suffer from unequal institutional connections (Reitz, 1998). According to Statistics Canada (2004), immigrants tend to have higher unemployment rates than Canadian-born individuals and lower income than their counterparts in the general population (Hum & Simpson, 1999), even when they hold the same Canadian credentials (Anisef et al., 2003). In addition, women and minority group members are disadvantaged in their access to social capital. Coleman (1990) convincingly argues social capital is a means to an end and must be defined by its function: "like other forms of capital,

social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence" (p. 302).

In the case of these ten Chinese MBA students, they face a scarcity of social networks in their field of business management. On one hand, there are fewer Chinese people in managerial positions in Canadian companies; on the other hand, due to their limited social networks, they do not have access to the employment information as their local students may have, which resulted in their unsuccessful job searching experience in Canada. For instance, Ms. Tao recounted her own experiences,

按惯例 MBA 第一年课程结束后，学生应该在夏季找到一份在加拿大比较大的公司实习机会。通过实习，毕业的时候就能够找到工作。实习的机会很难得到的，学生一般都是通过自己的社会关系来找到。我的一个同学就找到了在加拿大最大的一家会计事务所实习的机会。后来我才得知，这个机会是她以前的同事介绍给她的。对于像我这样的新移民，尽管我在学校的成绩很好，也有行业经验，但是缺乏这种社会关系，我在事业上也没有什么太大的发展。（2007 年 8 月 15 日采访陶颖）

Usually at the end of the first year of MBA study, it was supposed that students should find an intern job during summer at one of Canadian companies which would finally lead to employment upon graduation. The internship was very hard to obtain, students usually found the opportunity by themselves through their networks. One of my classmates had the internship with one of the largest accounting companies in Canada. Later, I was told that she was referred by one of her previous colleagues. For newcomers as me, though my grades were good and I had previous industry work experience, without the networking, I could go nowhere in my career development. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

For Chinese immigrants, the concept of social network is not new to them. Social networks exist in every society, and they are widely believed to play a different and more prominent role in Chinese societies. In China, Guanxi (关系) is the equivalent word for social network in western society. Guanxi in Chinese society has long been known for its emphasis on interpersonal relationships as a guiding structure in economic and social organization (Fried, 1969; Walder, 1986; Cheng & Rosett, 1991; Smart, 1993). Literally, it means “relationship” or “relation”, but its essence is a set of interpersonal connections that facilitates exchanges of power, wealth and authority. Guanxi is built through the exchange of gifts, favors, and banquets. The art of guanxi “lies in the skilful mobilization of moral and cultural imperatives such as obligation and reciprocity in pursuit of both diffuse social ends and calculated instrumental ends” (Yang, 1989, p. 35). For example, businessman in contemporary China would give gifts such as luxury cars or houses to government officials as a means to build interpersonal connections so that they could obtain favors in business deals such as becoming the winners in the bid for road construction.

Bourdieu argues social capital is not only dynamic and creative but a structured phenomenon. Bourdieu describes social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (1985, p.248). Social capital, then, includes obligation and trust. “Connections and obligations are not givens, but are the product of investment strategies consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing

social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249)". Obligation is always potential: once it has been used, it does not exist anymore, and until then, there is no certainty that the obligation or "gift debt" will actually be reciprocated. Thus, one does not really know how much one has until one try to use it. It is nebulous because of the forms in which it is created, through ex-changes of reciprocity, gifts, or favors (Smart, 1993, p. 392).

In China, personal networks are used to gain influence from job assigning authorities rather than to gather employment information such as job vacancies. Jobs are secretly assigned by officials as favors to those who are directly or indirectly connected to them. For example, it is very common in China that a relative of a government official could hold a position that is beyond his education and work experience background. From the mid-1950s through the late 1980s, the Chinese government used a program of urban job allocation to control the size, growth and distribution of urban jobs. After graduation from colleges, youths were required to wait for state job assignments, and once assigned the youths were restricted from switching between places of employment. Thus, the initial job was a vital step in career development (Walder, 1986; Davis, 1990; Lin & Bian, 1991). Although some radical changes have occurred in the 1990s, *guanxi* in Chinese society still played a core role in facilitating employment and career advancement.

Immigration to a foreign country made the social networks Chinese immigrants had built with efforts in China worthless. They had to make efforts to build networks once again in a foreign country with different cultures and

languages, which put great obstacles in front of new immigrants. One of participants Mr. Yang said,

我在国内的时候，有很广泛的社会关系。有时候需要办事，打个电话找到熟人就可以解决了。可是来到加拿大，一个人都不认识，做任何事情都得靠自己，感觉很不适应。(2007年11月12采访杨浩)

I had very wide social networks when I was in China. For example, by only a phone call, I can easily find the right person from my social networks to help me solve any problems. However, since I came to Canada, I have no established social networks in the country, I felt very lost and had to rely on myself for all the things. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Nov.12, 2007)

The job hunting experience in Canada is actually the first step that new immigrants have to go through in order to integrate into Canadian society. It is generally believed that job satisfactions have great impact on one's attitudes toward the host country, and the participation of new immigrants in mainstream society (Li, 2000; Reitz, 1998). In addition to language barriers and cultural differences, lacking network source of job information made the experience more miserable and depressing. Hoping with an MBA degree from one of the most prestigious universities in Canada, my participants anticipated that the Canadian education experience will result in a better return both in job opportunities and social networks. But to their disappointment, they discovered that they were still lacking the ties that can facilitate their job seeking when competing with local students with the same education backgrounds. In the next interview excerpt, Ms. Tao expressed her perceptions of the issue of social capital,

我以为有了学位后，就可以找一个我想要的理想工作，但是现实让我认识到，由于缺少社会关系，我们是无法与本地的学生竞争的。在加拿大的中国移民，只有少数在大公司里担任经理。金融领域里的很多工作，都是朋友或是同事推荐的，而不是从网站上找到的。中国人在加拿大有限的社会关系也限制了中国移民在事业上的发展。（2007年8月15采访陶颖）

I believed that with a Canadian degree I could find a good professional job in Canada. But reality tells me that without social networks, as a new immigrant, I have little chances to compete with local students. According to my information, there are few Chinese immigrants who are holding very high managerial positions in big companies. And those who found jobs in the field of finance usually got jobs with the help either from their friends or colleagues; no one found job from a company's career website. The limited social networks of Chinese immigrants in Canada prevent their career advancement in the host country. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

Social capital, viewed as networks of social relationships embedded in social structures and relations, does facilitate economic actions and performance (Helliwell & Putman, 1995; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Temple, 1998). McGuire (2000) argues that high-status employees usually occupy command and control authoritative positions within their networks that facilitate their access to resources such as job openings and promotions. Ethnic minorities and women were less likely than whites and men to have the resources and positions that would put them into contact with high-status employees and, therefore, they miss out on critical information and sponsorship. Obviously, not all individuals or social groups uniformly acquire social capital or receive expected returns from their social capital. Inequality of social capital occurs when a certain group clusters are on relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic positions, and the general tendency

is for individuals to associate with those of similar group or socioeconomic characteristics (Lin, 2000).

Immigrants with limited social networks have to rely on ethnic-exclusive social networks for resources that might reduce their job opportunities because of social isolation from employment information in mainstream society. For example, most new immigrants rely on the job ads of local Chinese newspaper for job information, which usually results in a job in Chinese town. In the long run, these immigrants risk being trapped in the ethnic sector and not being able to develop ties with outside groups. Then, looking for jobs outside of the intra-ethnic economy niche has been considered to be the only path for the social mobility for ethnic minorities (Wiley, 1967)

Influence of Chinese Habitus on Agency and Positionings

Bourdieu (1991) argues that habitus influences the generation of social agents' actions, perceptions and attitudes without their conscious implementations of particular rules and norms. The habitus enables an agent's collusion within the society of which he/she is a member. Bourdieu calls this fit, or the sense of being "at home" in a familiar milieu, an "ontological complicity" between embodied history in the habitus and objectified history in institutional roles (Bourdieu, 1981). For the participants in the inquiry, their "habitus" is the dispositions they have acquired gradually through their upbringing and educational experiences in China.

As the two pillars of Chinese cultural values and cultural habitus, Confucianism and Taoism have shaped people's beliefs and attitudes and guide their behaviours. As a country with thousands of years of splendid culture and history, Chinese habitus has not only shaped the country's ideology, but also the personalities of China as a nation and the Chinese as a national identity.

Perseverance and Hard Work

For centuries, Chinese people have strongly believed that with hard work and determination, anything could be accomplished. There are many such kind of proverbs in Chinese literature, and they have been the impetus to motivate the Chinese to attain their goals in their life. For example, in Chinese we have proverbs such as "Constant dripping wears away the stone/stones" (滴水穿石); "April showers bring May flowers" (宝剑锋从磨砺出, 梅花香自苦寒来); "where there is a will, there is a way" (有志者事竟成). All these proverbs are used to encourage people to endure the hardship and menial work, and everything could be done.

All participants strongly believe that determination and individual efforts would lead to ultimate success in career. When I asked them about any advice they could give to Chinese immigrants who are still in Canada struggling in their lives and careers, the advice they give unanimously is to work hard to pursue their dreams and never give up easily. For example, Mr. Ma said,

对那些还在加拿大的中国人，我的忠告是一旦认定了自己的目标，就要为之付出努力，只有坚持不懈地努力，经历了挫折与困难，最终才有可能获得成功。(2007年6月15采访马宏伟)

For Chinese immigrants who are still living and struggling in Canada, my advice is to be persistent in their goals, and work hard. Only with hardworking and perseverance, can one succeed after overcoming obstacles and difficulties. (Interview with Mr. Ma, June 15, 2007)

Bourdieu (1990) explains:

The habitus...the generative principle of responses more or less well adapted to the demands of a certain field, is the product of individual history, but also, through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class.... (p. 91)

For the ten participants, they learned the Chinese habitus of perseverance and hard work as the approach to achieve success in life goals from the influences of their family and the Chinese society. Honoring one's family is another important Chinese habitus and their life struggle.

Honor One's Family

At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right. 吾十有五而志于学，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳顺，七十而从心所欲，不逾矩。(Analects, 2.4)

For thousands of years, Chinese people have firmly followed Confucius' philosophy as instructed in the Analects on personal development. It is especially emphasized in Chinese society to have a family and children by the age of thirty along with a very successful career. Even in contemporary Chinese society,

people still adhere to his teachings and make great efforts to establish a successful career in terms of material values such as having enough money, a big house, and a fancy car by the time one is thirty years of age.

It is genuinely believed in Chinese society that those who obeyed Confucius' teachings have shown great respect and served the filial piety to their parents and ancestors. The relationship between parents and children is one of the most emphasized relationships in Confucian philosophy. Because one's success is not an individual own business in China, one's achievement has great impact on one's family and even the clan, and it can either bring pride or shame to the family. For example, in one of popular rhymes for children in Ming dynasties, the notion of honoring one's parents by achieving high in their life could be found,

A white horse with golden saddle,
The rider is admired by the multitude.
Please tell me whose son is that?
He is someone who has studied the books and is now an official.
One day your name appears on the roster of exam passers,
And both your parents are not yet old.
You return home in your fine official gown,
What a man you have become!

白马紫金鞍,骑出万人看。

借问谁家子,读书人做官。

一举登科日,双亲未老时。

锦衣归故里,端的是男儿。

The parent-child relationship is a reciprocal relationship in which children serve their parents with filial piety and submission. Children should bring honor to family by working hard and achieving success; on the other hand, parents treat their children with kindness and it also involves the self-sacrifice of parents for

the good of their children. Children are supposed to payback by bringing honor instead of shame to the family. The notion that children are supposed to return their parents' upbringings with success somehow helps explain why the Chinese underscore career achievement. Ms. Sun recounted her own explanation:

小的时候，父母就教育我们要努力学习来报答他们的养育之恩。所以当我的父母得知我要出国来加拿大，他们都为我高兴，也感到很自豪。但是如果我读书后，找到很差的工作，那么父母会对我很失望。当别人问起我时，他们也会觉得很丢脸。我的工作的好坏，不仅是我个人的事情，它也关系到我父母对我的期望。所以我决定回国来发展事业。因为国内的经济形势能给我的事业发展提供一个发展平台，也会给我的父母带来荣耀（2007年11月29采访孙平）

When I was young, my parents told me to study hard in order to pay back them for their hard work to bring me up. When I told my parents about my Canadian immigration, they were very happy and proud of me. But I know if I did not find a good job after my MBA study, my parents must be very disappointed, and when people mention my name, they will be shameful. Whether the job is professional or non-professional is not only my own business, it also has a lot to do with my parents and their expectations on me. That is why I decided to return China because the economic situation in China can provide me with a better platform for career advancement, which in return will bring honor and face to glorify my parents. (Interview with Ms. Sun, Nov. 29, 2007)

Bourdieu maintains that the social construction of reality is not carried out in a vacuum; cognitive structures are themselves structured because they have social origins. Habitus entails these social origins. Habitus, a system of dispositions acquired through a relationship to a certain "field," serves to economize psychic energy; "agents merely need to let themselves follow their own social 'nature', that is, what history has made of them, to be as it were,

'naturally' adjusted to the historical world they are up against" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 90). It is through the system of habitus that traditional Chinese cultural values are transmitted from one generation to the next generation. The Chinese habitus of stressing the importance of one's face and its impact on parents and clans have profound influences on Chinese students' choices for future profession and career. As a result, Chinese students would regard a good profession with high social status such as being a university teacher or a doctor as an ideal career to honor one's family.

Harmony with Others

Both Confucius and Lao-Chuang emphasize the importance of harmony with person and nature. They believe the two opposing and complementary forces (气) of yin (阴) and yang (阳) should be maintained in a harmonious state no matter what level they are operating on, such as universe, nature, society, or an individual (Li, 1996). Therefore, conflict with others should be avoided at any cost to maintain harmonious relationships. As a result, the Chinese stay far away from conflicts and arguments.

The personality of Chinese individuals seeking harmony creates obstacles for Chinese immigrants in Canada, where competition is highly valued and rewarded. For Chinese immigrants who were born and raised in Chinese culture in which harmony is the priority of personal relationships, they have to learn to compete with others especially in the job market in Canada by presenting

themselves to employers. One of the participants Mr. Yang recounted his own experiences in Canada,

我在加拿大读书的时候，上课很少发言，一方面是我的英语不是很好，另一个重要的原因就是不大习惯他们的上课方式。每个人都可以发表自己的意见，同时也可以反驳别人的不同看法。从小我们就被父母和老师告知不要当面与人争论，要息事宁人。所以即使我有不同的观点，我也不会发表意见。(2007年12月3采访杨浩)

When I was at M University, I seldom spoke up in class. On one hand, my English is not good enough and on the other hand, I am not very used to the western teaching style. Every student has the chance to express his own opinions, meanwhile students can confront with others' different views. I remember when I was a kid, I was taught never to argue and challenge others especially face to face. I was told that harmony is the priority in life. Therefore, though I have different perspectives on things, I would remain silent. (Interview with Mr. Yang, Dec. 3, 2007)

In a relationship oriented society as China, avoiding conflict is thought to be particularly prevalent and appropriate. Therefore, the Chinese habitus had great impact on the behaviors and actions of the ten participants and the strategies they took to deal with interpersonal relationships. For example, Mr. Yang resorted to silence in class as the way to avoid direct confrontation with his classmates.

There are two 'golden rules' (Tu, 1998) that universally govern almost all kinds of social interpersonal relationships in China. The first one "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others" (己所不欲，勿施于人。Analects, 15:24). The rule is stated in the negative based on the belief that what is best for me may not be best for others The second golden rule is "In order to establish

ourselves, we must help others to establish themselves; in order to enlarge ourselves, we must help others to enlarge themselves” (己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人。Analects, 6, 30). Confucianism teaches that social and economic activities are not based on competition, but on the collectivist principles of cooperation, coexistence, and mutual support. A person is not viewed as being independent, instead he/she is an integral part of a larger network of people that survives and succeeds together. Maintaining trusting and harmonious relationships within the social network is vital.

Social Stratification

For thousands of years, China was under sovereign governance. Therefore, there was a strict system of stratification in ancient China that had a profound influence on contemporary Chinese society. Confucius said: “There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son” (君君，臣臣，父父，子子。Analects, 12.11).

The five filial relationships between the king and the subject, fathers and sons, the elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend and husband and wife are vital for the harmony of the society.

According to traditional Chinese culture, especially widely used among people, there are four primary social stratifications of Shi (士), Nong (农) Gong (工) and Shang (商) to divide people based on their occupation in Chinese

society. Shi was at the top of the list of the social stratifications. These people were often referred to as scholars, who worked with their mind. Nong were peasants in the agricultural society, Nong played key roles in producing food. Gong were workers, who produced all the nonagricultural tools and implements that people needed to survive. The last one among the four social stratifications of ancient Chinese society was Shang, which referred to businessman, or merchants. Since merchants did not actually create anything, but just brought it into one place, merchants were considered to be only one step above parasites of the society.

In addition, China is a traditional agricultural country, which has a long history of stressing agriculture and disdaining the importance of business. Confucius' promotion of education further demeaned business as a profession. The social difference between the professions in Chinese society influenced the ideology of the Chinese and their choice of occupations. For centuries, business was a field that few parents would allow their children to pursue, because the popular thought among Chinese people was only those with no or little education would work as a businessman. Medicine and science were the most popular subjects in Chinese universities with more student applicants than other disciplines.

However, since the implementation of the "open door" policy and China's booming economy, more and more Chinese people realized the importance of economic development and rewards that business could bring. As a consequence, people start to pursue MBA degrees that usually lead to a well

paid job in the Chinese job market. For example, more than 18,500 students of all nationalities were admitted to about 90 Chinese MBA programs in 2004, including nearly 12,000 full-time students, a more than sevenfold increase in just seven years (Business Week, Jan. 9, 2006). In less than 15 years, Chinese business schools raced through the evolution it took the business schools in the United States more than half a century to accomplish. More than half of Chinese MBA students expect a sizable pay raise at graduation, about 25% intend to start a business in five years, and the vast majority plan to pursue careers in China, according to the magazine of Business Week (Jan. 9, 2006).

However, the shadow of the Chinese habitus' influence could be still found in people's perceptions about their occupation. For example, even nowadays, many Chinese would prefer to work in a big company to being an entrepreneur. The cases of these ten participants are examples of this attitude. None of them had attempted to start their own business in China. Because they believe that a businessman always symbolizes low social status in Chinese society, and people show little respect for businessmen. For example, Ms. Liu said,

在国内我愿意在一个大的国际公司里做事，也不愿意自己做生意。但是，等我将来再回到加拿大，我可能会做一些小生意，比如我会开个便利店，或者开个网站。在国外社会等级不像中国那样严格，我可以做自己想做的事情。可是在中国，如果你让我开个便利店，所有的人都会取笑我，传

I would rather work in a large multinational company than starting a business of my own in China. But if I return to Canada in the future, I might change my mind on the selection of my profession. I may take jobs such as running a convenient store or an online store. I feel that in Canada, there is no such strict social stratification as in China: everyone basically can do anything

统上，中国人还是看不起自己做生意的小企业者，除非是你的公司有一定的规模和声誉，否则，在别人眼里你就是个小业主。(2006年8月18采访刘璐)

as long as he abides by the law. However, in China, if I were to start a convenient store, I would be the laughing stock for every one. Traditionally, businessman is still looked down upon in terms of social status in Chinese society. Business man such as the CEO of the large businesses, for instance, Bill Gates may be respected in China because of the fame and scale of his business. (Interview with Ms. Liu Aug. 18, 2006)

Bourdieu argues (1984) that "To speak of habitus is to include in the object the knowledge which agents who are part of the object, have of the object, and the contribution this knowledge makes to the reality of the object" (p. 467). Kelly and Lusi argue that:

The habitus is the framework within which the value associated with various forms of capital is established. It is the objective 'rules of the game' that establish what will be prized and rewarded in any given context of what things are worth, and what is considered worthy and worthwhile. Although these rules of the game exist beyond individual control, they must also be reproduced by individuals in their social practices. (Kelly & Lusi, 2005, p. 834)

Within the Chinese habitus, people started to see the benefits of MBA degrees could bring to their lives. In order to pursue individual success, some of them might turn to value the object that may be worthless in the ancient Chinese society. Habitus transcends the dichotomy between deterministic social structures and unfettered individual choice.

Harmony with Oneself

Greatly influenced by Taoism, Chinese people follow its life philosophies to hold oneself aloof from the world and stand far away from worldly success once one is getting older. Lao-tzu advises people to be peaceful, modest, humble, passive, reserved, and not to show off and challenge others. A Taoist seeks harmony with nature, not with the contentions and troubles of human civilization. For example, Tao Qian, one of the great poets in ancient China, wrote many poems reflecting his inner harmony with nature in aesthetic conception, and later quit his job as a government official to live a hermitical life. A great majority of Chinese literary figures usually follow his shoes to choose a quiet place with beautiful sceneries to live and enjoy the rest of their life once they retired. Some of them may start to draw and some may start to write. They usually stay away from fierce competition and aim to be peaceful with oneself and others.

All ten participants admit unanimously that they will ultimately go back to live in Canada for a very quiet and peaceful life when they are ready to retreat from the lure of success. Ms. Wang said,

当我决定回中国发展的时候，我就对自己说我一定会再回到加拿大的。即使是现在，我事业有成，收入丰厚，我也想到如果有一天我厌倦了工作，对事业的成功不再感到兴奋。那时候，我就要回到加拿大了。（2007年12月20采访王芳）

When I made the return decision, I said to myself that I would go back to live in Canada one day. Even nowadays, I am at the highest of my career with good pay and a comfortable life, I still believe that one day when I am fed up with working, and no longer feel excited for the career success, I will go back to live a simple life in Canada. (Interview with Ms. Wang, Dec. 20, 2007)

Traditional Chinese culture believes that one should retire once he had gained success and recognition in his career. Mozi, one of the greatest politicians and philosophers in ancient China said: "For, fame does not spring up out of nothing, nor does praise grow by itself. Fame follows upon success and is not obtainable by hypocrisy"(名不徒生而譽不自長，功成名遂，名譽不可虛假，反之身者也。

Mozi: Self-cultivation, 4).

Thus, when Chinese retire, they usually use one of the Chinese proverbs to encourage themselves to withdraw from various attractions. For example, the proverb: "A contented mind is a perpetual feast "(知足常乐) has been the maxim for most Chinese individuals and can always be found hanging in Chinese houses to show their satisfaction with life.

Perceptions of Education

Since all ten participants were MBA students at M University, cultural capital seemed to be one of the most important forms of capital, and influenced their investment and strategies for positioning themselves. For example, because Chinese highly value education, the prestigious name of institutions, high proficiency of English skills, high grades were often mentioned in the participants' narratives. Chinese are willing to make efforts in their studies. The historical importance of education in Chinese society has its cultural and historical roots as I explained in chapter 5.

Value Education

For centuries, Chinese emphasize the importance of education. The pursuit for education is not for the pure joy of learning, but for the potential economic and social rewards gained through success in examinations; and education was nothing but the necessary preparation for that ultimate examination. Because in a feudal society governed by sovereign monarchs, one's social status is predetermined by one's family, education is the only way for social mobility. The Imperial Examination System established in the Han Dynasty made it possible for anyone, no matter their origin, to rise to great heights. Confucius' educational philosophy that there is no one that could not be educated further makes education accessible to everyone wealthy and poor.

Even today, most Chinese parents put education for their children as their priority. Parents in the urban cities such as Beijing and Shanghai believe that good education can provide a path to higher status jobs, and parents in the rural areas consider education as the only means to enable their children to live and work in cities instead of spending their life on the farm. Therefore, each year, the national entrance exam is not only a challenge to students but also a great challenge to their parents. For some students, failure in the exam means they not only lost the only chance in their lifetime to receive higher education but also the opportunity for social and economic mobility.

Therefore, greatly influenced by their parents, children raised and growing up in China tacitly know the importance of education. The evidence of Chinese parents' concerns and enthusiasm about their children's education can be found

in the following popular verses of this not-so-poetic poem: Golden mansions and beautiful women are to be found through the books (书中自有黄金屋, 书中自有颜如玉). This poem has been frequently quoted by parents, teachers, and officials ever since to urge youngsters to study. They have been taken as a strong piece of evidence that education was highly valued in historical China. There are numerous other indicators of such promotion of and enthusiasm for education throughout Chinese history. Some popular rhymes from the Ming Dynasty had been widely used even today to encourage children to pursue education,

The emperor values talents;
Admonishes that essays be taught to all of you.
All pursuits are of low value;
Only studying the books is high.

天子重英豪,文章教尔曹。

万般皆下品,唯有读书高。

When you are young you need to study diligently,
Knowing how to write essays can establish your future.
Look at all the powerful and wealthy people in the emperor's court,
They are all people who have studied the books.

少小须勤学,文章可立身。

满朝朱紫贵,尽是读书人。

Learning is the precious jewelry on the body,
Scholarship is the fine delicacy on the table.
Sir, look at those who have become prime ministers,
They are all people who have studied the books.

学乃身之宝,儒为席上珍。

君看为宰相,必用读书人。

These verses preach the importance of education as the only way to succeed, which helps explain why so many Chinese immigrants in Canada attended school even though they already had degrees from China. They all realized that

in Canada the Canadian degrees will be the best tools to a professional job. Ms. Liang gave us her own example of going back to school,

我在国内读的是名牌大学，所以毕业后找到的工作很称心。但是到了加拿大以后，找一份养家糊口的工作很容易，但是要想找到一份很好的工作，加拿大的学位是很重要的。所以不管花费多少钱，多么辛苦，我都要把书读完。（2007年6月18采访梁丽）

I graduated from a prestigious Chinese university, which resulted in a very good job with high salary in China. When I came to Canada, I learned from my own experience that finding a job and making a living in Canada is not difficult, but to find a professional job requires Canadian degrees. Therefore, no matter how much it costs and how much effort it requires, I will finish my study to get a Canadian degree. (Interview with Ms. Liang, June 18, 2007)

This practical orientation toward education may intensify when ethnic Chinese immigrate to Western countries as they perceive that education can provide a path to higher status jobs when discrimination and other barriers such as language proficiency block certain routes (Sue & Okazaki, 1990).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) describes cultural capital as the vehicle through which background inequalities are translated into differential academic rewards and which in turn lead to unequal social and economic rewards, thereby maintaining and legitimizing the process.

By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and given " to exchange them (by substituting one For 'another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. This product of the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital establishes the value, in terms of cultural capital, of the holder of a given qualification relative to other qualification holders and, by the same token, the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labor market (academic

investment has no meaning unless a minimum degree of reversibility of the conversion it implies is objectively guaranteed). (Bourdieu, 2001, p.102)

Consequently, the acquisition of cultural capital, and consequent access to academic rewards, depends on the cultural capital transmitted by the family. The higher the social class of the family, the closer the culture it transmits is to the dominant culture and the greater the attendant academic rewards (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

The ten participants' Chinese habitus on educational investment and cultural capital seemed to influence consciously or subconsciously their choices of MBA programs and their determination to obtain an MBA degree. In their personal narratives, they all mentioned the reason that they attended M University was for its prestige as a western business school, and they all foresaw the possibilities of converting the human capital of education into economic capital with the academic degrees they were going to acquire.

Two Education Systems

Most Chinese immigrants have already obtained a university degree before immigrating to Canada in order to meet the requirements of Canadian immigration and citizenship under the category of skilled workers for Canadian immigration. For example, in the point system of Canadian immigration policies, the college degree is worth 22 points and the Master degree or above is worth 25 points. Therefore, most Chinese immigrants generally in Canada would pursue

graduate studies at Canadian universities where they experienced a totally different western educational system.

Yang and Levin (2002), two Canadian educators believe that education is inextricably bound to ideas of self-knowledge and identity, as well as to empowerment, which means “becoming more than we are” in western society. The aim and the end of all education is the development of character. While Chinese people see education as paramount for being successful and competing in society and education is the only means to move along the social class. For example, Chinese’s pursuit of education is not for the sake of learning, but for the economic and social benefits that the education would bring to them.

Different conceptions of education result in different teaching methods. In China, traditional teacher-centered classroom based spoon-feeding method is the technique that most teachers and schools use. Rote drills and memorization are the methods that Chinese students use to memorize knowledge. Examination is the primary teaching tool in China. The principal role of a teacher in Chinese education is to transmit knowledge. A Chinese educator, Han Yu once said: “A teacher is to propagate the doctrines of the ancient sages, give academic instructions, and remove doubts in life” (师者传道授业解惑也). However, the role of the teacher answering questions has been neglected by most teachers due to traditional Chinese assumptions that the young should never doubt the old, and the elderly have all the wisdom to make a decision. Questions from students are not encouraged by teachers.

On the contrary, western education aims to encourage the development of students' cognitive skills, analytical abilities, creative and critical thinking, and questions are always welcomed by teachers. The role of a teacher in western education tends to be more as a facilitator to help students develop their interests. Tests and examinations are not the only ways to see how well students grasp the taught knowledge.

As a result, Chinese students usually are traditionally perceived to be very good at math and science which require a lot of practice and the memorization of formula and rules. Chinese students lag far behind western students in skills of presentation and critical thinking. In addition, Chinese students tend to be very passive in class and participate very little in class discussion. Ms. Tao commented:

与北美学生相比，中国学生的表现能力很有限。中国学生在知识面和工作经历方面都不比北美学生差，但是由于我们缺乏表现能力，又不擅长课堂讨论，所以我们没有机会让别人了解我们的能力。（2007年8月15采访陶颖）

Compared with North American students, Chinese students are inferior in their presentation skills. As a matter of fact, some Chinese students have a lot of industry knowledge and work experience, but because of their poor presentation skills along with their insufficient language skills, they could not have the chances to let others know their values and abilities. (Interview with Ms. Tao, Aug. 15, 2007)

Ms. Liu also expressed similar views in the next interview excerpt,

中国学生在国内的教育制度下，习惯填鸭式的教育方式，老师教授什么知

Under Chinese educational system, students are passive in learning. They only grasp the knowledge

识就学什么知识，不教授的就不去掌握，缺乏学习的主动性。学习的功利性太强。中国学生一般数学都很好。这就是为什么，我们很多同学拿到 MBA 后找到的工作都是和数字打交道的工作，很少有真正的管理工作。
(2007 年 7 月 20 采访刘璐)

the teacher taught and lack the willingness to learn. The purpose of their study is for material gain. Chinese students are very good at math, that's why after having obtained MBA degrees, many Chinese found jobs in fields of research and high-tech which stress statistics skills, and few found an employment in managerial positions. (Interview with Ms. Liu, July 20, 2007)

The ten participants' cultural habitus in which they were raised and the way they were taught determined their actions in school. School can not provide the cultural capital and family background is the place where students accumulate it. Cultural capital, defined as competence in a society's high status culture, its behavior, habits, and attitudes, is often considered an important mechanism in reproduction of educational and social hierarchies (Katsillis & Robinson, 1990, p. 270). Bourdieu (1977) states,

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when transmit the dominant culture. (p. 494)

Thus, cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use the language. Thus, the possession of cultural capital varies with the social class and status. In the case of the ten Chinese participants, their Chinese social origins have a strong influence on their cultural resources. Once they came to Canada, their culture

capital is no longer the mainstream culture. There is a cultural mismatch between home and mainstream society that could disadvantage their educational development due to their less advantaged social backgrounds while favoring students from more advantaged backgrounds.

As a consequence, Chinese students may have difficulty to getting their ideas across, which might create misunderstandings between teachers and students, like the story of Ms. Deng's confrontation with her professor. Bourdieu believes this is particularly apparent in the universities, where students, afraid of revealing the extent of their ignorance due to the lack of mainstream cultural capital '...minimize the risks by throwing a smoke-screen of vague over the possibility of truth or error' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.14). For Chinese students, they are all aware of the usefulness of engaging in class discussion is a good way to let other students know them and also a best way to gain social capital by developing friendship with other students. However, their worries about being laughed at by other students for their views or being judged by their language skills kept them silent in class which is the typical strategy they use in most cases.

The majority of Chinese immigrant returnees in the inquiry recognized the pros and cons of the two education systems. Therefore, they have their own educational expectations for their children.

Educational Expectations

Asked about their educational expectations of their children, all participants with or without children agreed that their children should complete elementary school in China before they start their studies in North America. The rationales of their educational plans for their children are schools in China usually have very strict control of students with a lot of assigned home work along with much book knowledge for students to memorize. As parents they all believe homework is the best way to encourage students to go over the learned knowledge, and Chinese education based on knowledge teaching can lay a solid foundation for future study. Meanwhile, they all hope that their children can develop skills in their mother tongue by learning how to read, write and speak Chinese.

The ten participants all recognized the shortcomings of Chinese education. As a result, in order to overcome these shortcomings, they will let their children return to Canada to receive high education in a western education system.

Table 4: Marriage status and numbers of children of participants

| Participant | Marriage status | Number of children | Birth country of children |
|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ms. Liu | Married | One | China |
| Ms. Liang | Married | One | Canada |
| Ms. Tao | Single | | |
| Ms. Deng | Married | One | Canada |
| Ms. Sun | Single | | |
| Ms. Wang | Married | One | Canada |
| Mr. Mu | Single | | |
| Mr. Ma | Married | Two | One in Canada One in China |
| Mr. Liu | Married | One | China |
| Mr. Yang | Married | One | Canada |

Among the ten participants, seven of them are married and their children are very young. Due to their immigration, some postponed having children. From the table, it is not hard to see that these returnees have well planned their children's future in terms of leaving the options for their children to return to Canada for their education. Five children of participants are Canadian citizens because they were born in Canada. The other three children were born in China, but because their parents' Canadian citizenship, this makes them automatically Canadians even though they were born in China. With the status of being a Canadian citizen, they all have the freedom and opportunities to receive higher education in Canada, which is a dream for every Chinese parent. Being a Canadian citizen means opening another world to the children. They have the access to work and study in many countries in the world without worrying too much about visas. With a Chinese passport, the process of obtaining a visa to other countries could be a nightmare for most people due to the strict control of the government on people's mobility to other countries and the hassles involved in the process.

Mr. Ma commented:

我们办理加拿大移民的时候就计划好了，可以在加拿大生个小孩，这样他就可以成为加拿大公民，即使将来我们回国定居，孩子什么时候要是想出国读书，就可以去，也不用签证。国内很多有钱的人都把孩子送到国外读大学，我们如果不是移民加拿大，在国内我们是没有条件给孩子提供这个

When my wife and I applied for Canadian immigration, we planned that we are going to have a baby in Canada, so that the baby will be born a Canadian citizen. In the future if we go back to live in China, the child will have the freedom to study in Canada without obtaining a visa. In China, many children from wealthy families can afford to study abroad. But for us, Canadian immigration is the only chance that we can provide

机会的。对我们来说移民加拿大是一举两得。作为父母可以进一步深造，孩子可以有机会在国外长大。（2006年7月14采访马宏伟）

our child with the opportunity of studying abroad. If we were in China, we could not afford it. Therefore, Canadian immigration is to shoot two hawks with one arrow: On one hand, we, as parents can have the chances for further education; on the other hand, our child can have a chance to grown up in Canada. (Interview with Mr. Ma July 14, 2006)

Cultural capital comprises not only accumulation of education and knowledge, but also parents' tastes, preferences, and general "know-how" of the education system (Bourdieu, 1977). This form of capital may affect children's educational attainment because the home environment acts as a "learning lab" in the development of children's educational preferences, knowledge of the normative codes on education system, and cognitive skills. Therefore, these Chinese immigrant returnees' educational perceptions may have profound influence on their children's education, even on their life attitudes, actions, and cultural values. My study provides the evidence of the influences of traditional Chinese cultural values on their perceptions of education and life. Immigrant Asian culture places a premium on education, ambition, and persistence that explains the high achievement of immigrant Asian children (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). The encouragement and aspirations of immigrant parents may be the most important ways they perceive that they can influence their children's education (Fuligni, 1997). The high value they place on education is sustained by unique elements of Asian cultures, such as collectivity, filial piety, and self-discipline (Hsu, 1971) as I described earlier in chapter 5.

Summary

The analyses of the ten participants' narratives revealed that while in their journey of immigration and return migration, they were consciously assuming different positionings, and negotiating among multiple identities, beliefs, values and meanings. The ways that they negotiate within the complex social relations of power manifest their investment in achieving different forms of capital. Sometimes they might have difficulty in converting different forms of capital, in this case, they may feel frustrated. However, the key for them is to find the space to have their voices heard first rather than appropriating the voices of others.

In the next chapter, I discuss the implications for both Chinese and Canadian governments in the circle of brain drain and brain gain of immigrants' migration and return migration.

CHAPTER 8

IMPLICATIONS OF THE INQUIRY

In the chapter, issues such as the pull factors and push factors in the 'brain circulation' between China and Canada are discussed to explore reasons for the return phenomena. I include policy implications for Canadian government in order to retain and attract talented immigrants based on the understandings that emerged in this research. Actions should be taken by Canadian government to tackle with the return migration among Chinese immigrants, such as the recognition of foreign credentials, the improvement of current language programs for immigrants and strategies to facilitate newcomers in building social networks.

Respective Responsibilities

Implications for Chinese Government

In the last two decades, many of the best and brightest in Asian countries such as China and India have left for western shores in the belief that studying and working abroad offer greater opportunities and life stories. However, the Chinese have systematically reversed the "brain drain". The decisions to immigrate to other countries or return homeland are not personal issues; there are the push and pull factors for the brain circulation among immigration.

Studies show that a major factor in the brain drain is the unappealing nature of educational, economic or intellectual conditions in developing countries (UNDP, 2006, p.12). In the case of Chinese immigration to Canada, the reasons may include political instability, poor salaries, lack of freedom of research, lack of

resources for research, inferior research facilities, lack of career progression, isolation from the world, family complications including children's' education, and the relative rewards of individual labor in the west relative to their home country, China. This is especially the case in China, a country in which for centuries, the central government adopted a closed - door policy, which strictly restricted people traveling outside the country. Thus, going abroad to experience the outside world becomes the dream for millions of Chinese people in their lifetime. Once a door to the west is open, the Chinese, especially the well educated are pushed out of their homeland and pulled into the developed world exploring various opportunities available for them.

Since 1978, when Chinese policy-makers decided to restore educational exchange with western countries as part of its reform and open-door policies, an increasing number of Chinese students and scholars have been sent abroad for education. In the beginning, Chinese governments tightly controlled their overseas study programs. The fields students could study, the countries they visited, and the length of time students could stay overseas were largely decided by Chinese authorities because most students were officially sponsored to go abroad. Since the mid-1980s, a new trend in the movement of overseas study has occurred in China as a result of the shift of the policies on foreign education. During this period of time, students' self-funded overseas study were allowed, large number of Chinese students went abroad for education at their own expenses. In the following years, the Chinese government relaxed its strict restrictions on the application for a Chinese passport, which used to be

impossible to obtain by individuals in the past. By then, Chinese individuals have opportunities to go abroad either for leisure, education or residence.

China's governance and economy have evolved, especially the new booming Chinese economy provides more opportunities and career advancement for people of Chinese origin with western education and professional experience. To keep the country's economic engines going, officials realized that they need some of these foreign-educated professionals back home.

As a result, the Chinese government at all levels-national, provincial and municipal - actively encourage overseas scholars to return to China. Apart from direct incentives, the Chinese have succeeded in creating a seemingly dynamic macro-economic environment to attract students back by creating a very favorable political climate (Zweig, 2006). China's Ministry of Education even launched a so-called "111" program in September 2006, aiming to invite 1,000 world class academics from the world's top 100 universities to establish 100 innovative research bases in China. Domestic firms and many multinational companies that have flooded the country are constantly hunting for Chinese executives with MBAs from the best business schools abroad.

By the late 80s, Chinese cities began to compete with each other to recruit overseas-educated talents by offering tax incentives, better housing and faster promotions. Some special science and technology "parks" are constructed where returning Chinese enjoy special tax breaks, western-style services, and school on par with those they would expect in the west. Research by Zweig et al. (2008) demonstrates that the annual increase in the number of returnees in the late

1990s was 13 per cent, between 2001 and 2002 it rose by 45 per cent. In 2007, approximately 40,000 students returned to China and overall, the return rate has hovered around 25 per cent.

Today, the Chinese government takes a much more relaxed approach to its nationals becoming citizens of other countries, in the belief that many will choose to return because of the enormous economic opportunities. And fortunately for China, a significant reverse “brain gain” has emerged.

Implications for Canadian Government

Canada is an immigration country attracting millions of immigrants from all the parts of the world each year. Immigration stimulates Canada’s economic prosperity and enriches its social and cultural diversity. Canada benefits from the talents, experience and energy of immigrants. However, Statistics Canada study found higher rates of return migration among immigrants admitted under the skilled worker and business classes. Historically, about 4 to 6 per cent of all new immigrants eventually chose to leave Canada after arrival, says Don DeVoretz, an economics professor at Vancouver’s Simon Fraser University, and an authority on this subject. But with Chinese Canadians, the outflow rate is about 20 per cent. Worse, those leaving are doing so at a time when they are entering their peak earning years, starting in their early thirties (DeVoretz & Ma, 2002).

As the third largest country in the world, Canada has wide territory and an extremely varied topography. Similar to other industrialized countries in the world, Canada is facing an aging population, and suffering the scarcity of labor shortage

in some sectors of the economy. According to the 2006 census, Canada's population growth rate remains much lower than it was 50 years ago despite its recent increase. Between 1956 and 1961, the population expanded by 13.4%, roughly three times faster than in the last five years. At that time, in the middle of the baby boom, women were having an average of more than 3.5 children (Statistic Canada, 2006). The post-baby boom decline in fertility and the increase in deaths due to population aging have both played a role in slowing the pace of population growth substantially. In order to meet the demand for highly skilled professionals to work in these economic sectors, Canada turned to the developing countries to solve their labor shortage.

As a consequence, the Canadian government even changed its immigration policies to allow immigrants from Asian countries to come to Canada in contrast to former years of exclusion. Since then, the number of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China has increased greatly. Another pull factor is the existence of safe and socially stable environments in Canada which contribute to a more secure, stable and certain present and indeed future for immigrants. Especially, for almost a decade (to 2001), Canada was ranked number one among 175 countries in the United Nation's Quality of Life survey as the best country to live in. Vancouver ranked third overall in the 2005 annual "Quality of Life Survey" out of 215 cities, published by Mercer Human Resource Consulting. The other four Canadian cities, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Calgary took 14th, 20th, 22nd and 25th place in the survey, respectively. All five

Canadian cities were praised for their relatively high levels of “personal safety and security” and for being in a politically stable country (Mercer, 2005).

Newcomers in Canada usually face structural barriers and individual disadvantages in integration into Canadian society. The barriers and disadvantages include non-recognition of education and qualifications, inadequate Canadian experience, language deficiency, lack of skills in the labor market, lack of familiarity with Canadian society and culture, and lack of social networks. In the case of Chinese immigrants, despite having a university education, speaking fluent English and coming to Canada with a wealth of industry experience, they are earning half as much as the general Canadian population - even after two decades. According to the 2006 Census, in 1980, immigrant men who had some employment income earned 85 cents for each dollar received by Canadian-born men. By 2005, the ratio had dropped to 63 cents. The corresponding numbers for recent immigrant women were 85 cents and 56 cents, respectively. Earnings disparities between recent immigrants and Canadian-born workers increased not only during the two previous decades, but also between 2000 and 2005 (Statistic Canada, 2006).

Hindered by these obstacles, Chinese immigrants cannot seem to find professional jobs matching the jobs they used to have in China. They usually find themselves or end up either underemployment or unemployed. Unsatisfied with their poor employment prospects in Canada, the devaluation of both their acquired Chinese education and their labour market experience and finally their low incomes, Chinese immigrants started to move on. Most of them return to

China where they found better career opportunities and lived in a familiar cultural environment in which they were born and grew up. Some migrated to Canada's southern neighbor - the United States for better development and more opportunities. Canada is seeing its brain gain from Chinese immigrants into brain drain by providing them the best education and training, then allowing them to move on when they are at their peak career development to contribute to other countries.

Implication for Canadian Policy Makers

Globalization provides more opportunities for skilled immigrants to migrate between countries, and enables skilled professionals to have multiple destination choices. The economic prosperity and growth of any country requires a large population, not only as consumers of goods and services, but also to provide skills and capital required for the economic growth. Canada is a country whose economic development rely on its immigrants, to address its skills shortage, Canadian government are offering various incentives to attract immigrants. So despite the annual influx of hundreds of thousands of foreigners who meet immigration criteria, the need for skilled workers has never been greater in Canada.

Thus, there is an imperative for Canadian government to put in place programs to assist new arrivals to integrate into Canadian society. Otherwise, immigrant professionals who fail to find jobs commensurate to their qualifications may be returning to their former countries. Some immigrants are pessimistic

about their career prospects in Canada, some immigrants may be upset by the fact that the devaluation of their foreign credentials. Thus, these immigrants will return to their home country reversing the “brain drain” that Canada gained through its immigration policies and contributing to the “brain gain” of the country from where Canada recruits its large number of immigrants.

Countries like Canada who rely on immigrants to meet the demand for labor shortage have to take concrete steps to attract and retain immigrants. Unless authorities who take more than token steps to assist new immigrants find placements in their respective fields of expertise, new arrivals may become unhappy and frustrated in futile job search experiences and they may move to other countries. Drawn from my research on return migration among Chinese immigrants, there are some steps that Canadian government could take in order to facilitate the integration process of newcomers.

Recognize foreign credentials. It is estimated that over half of Canada’s 2000,000 immigrants enter as independents or skilled immigrants each year. Canada’s immigration system gives more points to immigrants with higher skills and education. However, when immigrants arrive in Canada, they are frustrated and unhappy about the devaluation of their human capital and always encounter a variety of barriers that often lead to underemployment and unemployment. Many skilled immigrants cannot find a job in their chosen field despite the fact that they are coming to Canada with higher qualifications than ever before. It is taking much longer for them to catch up to Canadians with similar levels of

education and expertise -resulting in low income levels. A longitudinal survey of immigrants to Canada (LSIC) shows that within two years 80% immigrants find full time job, but only 42% in their field.

Literature suggests that upon arrival, male immigrants' incomes are, on average, about 30 percent below those of Canadian-born individuals, and then catch up only very slowly over time (just over 1 percent in the first year after arrival, and then at a declining rate) (Alboim et al., 2005). In addition, based on the file of the LSUDA database, Alboim et al., (2005) find foreign education receives lower returns than schooling obtained in Canada (worth only about 70 percent as much), which means a foreign degree, on average, only has a return worth less than one-third that of a degree obtained in Canada by the native-born (worth about 37 percent in higher earnings as compared to a high school graduate, on average).

In the next 10 years, immigrants may account for 100% of Canada's net labor force growth (HRSD, 2006). Therefore, attracting and retaining the best talent, including those with international education and training, and ensuring they reach their full potential is critical to the country's long-term economic success and prosperity.

The recognition of foreign credentials plays a very key role in immigrants' social and cultural integration. It is a complex process to verify the education and work experience obtained by immigrants from another country are equal to the standards established for Canadian professionals. So far, the Foreign Credential Recognition program has established assessment programs in the fields of

engineers, physicians, nurses and some other five priority programs. However, there still a lot to be done in order to create a comprehensive and integrated system of programs and services.

Current problems in the assessment of foreign credential include the remarkable inconsistencies in the assessment. Few providers furnish an assessment for all possible purposes, education, employment, and licensure. Therefore, holders of foreign degrees usually spend time and energy understanding the assessment process. Another problem in assessment is the difficulty for immigrants to obtain the original documents from their home-country universities or colleges, which usually are required for the recognition of their foreign educational attainment. Those documents such as official transcripts are often difficult to obtain once the immigrant has arrived in Canada. There are various ways that the existing academic evaluation procedures could be improved upon to lower the cost and increase their effectiveness of the assessment of foreign degrees.

Immigrants should be informed prior to immigration that their education credentials may not meet Canadian standards, and they should have access to the information as to how to have their credentials assessed and recognized before their arrival in Canada. If academic assessments could be done before immigrants left their home country, immigrants would have a more realistic sense of the value of their academic credentials in a Canadian setting before they arrived. On the other hand, employers in Canada should be given more information regarding the educational standards of other countries. Employers

should be engaged to facilitate job applicants in the process of assessment and recognition.

The process of foreign credential assessment should be standardized, consistent and simple to follow. Multiple assessments in order to obtain licensing and recognition should be avoided. Immigrants especially new immigrants sometimes are confused by various foreign credential assessments institutions in Canada. They have to make efforts to understanding different assessment procedures and requirements, which not only take longer time to have their foreign credentials recognized but also put great troubles for immigrants. In addition, in Canada, due to the jurisdictional roles and responsibilities of governments, provincial governments should collaborate to negotiate a bilateral agreement in credential recognition.

Recognize foreign work experience. Apart from the recognition of foreign educational credentials, the recognition of foreign work experience is also another primary barrier for most newcomers in their job search. Canadian employers tend to use previous work experience and references as a proxy for demonstrated skills and competencies (Alboim et al., 2005). When they are not familiar with the names of the employing organizations/companies and cannot easily get references they trust, they may be reluctant to take a chance on the individual. This is especially the case when the individual's work experience was obtained outside Canada.

One option for immigrants to demonstrate their skills is through the competence-based assessment tests by using simulating or real environments to demonstrate their skills. Though some of these tests are very effective in assessing occupation-specific competencies, they are very expensive to develop and implement, which prohibit their wide practice in daily hiring. Government should provide incentives to support the development and use of these competence-based assessment methodologies by collaborating the employers and post-secondary institutions to work together for the purpose. Employers can also take active roles in the process to test the skills of potential employees by asking them to demonstrate their competencies as part of the hiring process.

Canadian employers require job applicants' Canadian work experience as a must in hiring, which put immigrants in a "Catch 22" situation. Without Canadian work experience, they could not be accepted by Canadian employers, however, who will be the first one to hire them without it. Therefore, immigrants need more specialized work-placement/internship programs to encourage employers to hire skilled immigrants to provide them with their first Canadian work opportunity. Federally and provincially funded programs of this nature already exist for youth, persons with disabilities and Aboriginal peoples, but there is no formal set of programs for immigrants.

On the other hand, universities should do more to help students find internship during their study at school to gain valuable Canadian work experience, which will facilitate immigrant students in their future employment. With the internship programs, immigrant students may have a better understanding of the

technical skills involved in Canadian context, as well as learning how the practice of an occupation in Canada differs from the practice in their home country. In addition, they will learn the codes of conduct, the workplace cultures and the norms of behaviors with co-workers and clients in particular contexts.

Local and provincial governments should work together to develop a Bridge Program to work through the use of internship, temporary or permanent work placement opportunities that allow skilled immigrants to have their first Canadian work experience. There is a successful program in Toronto. For example, Career Bridge is a paid internship program designed to address the dilemma of “no Canadian experience, no job” factors, which prevent many skilled immigrants from contributing to Canada’s economy. It was established in 2003 to help qualified professional immigrants gain their first Canadian work experience in their fields. Since its foundation, there are more than 130 paid internships in the Toronto area, 1400 candidates are in the prescreened talented pool. Such kind of Career Bridge should be founded in all Canadian provinces to accommodate new immigrants’ needs for Canadian work experience.

In addition, new immigrants should have access to up-to-date employment information so that they can make better labor market decisions. For example, employment information related to internationally trained workers and employers should be provided to prospective immigrants on immigration requirements, so that they should have good knowledge of what jobs are available and where and what the requirements are for entering a certain occupation. Once they arrive in Canada, skilled immigrants should be advised on job search skills, such as how

to write a Canadian standardized resume and cover letter. Free classes on job search techniques should be provided and the lecturers should be very experienced in helping newcomers.

Enhance language training. Research has shown that language proficiency is a determining factor in how quickly immigrants integrate into the labour market. In the case of Chinese immigrants, though they have the knowledge of English language skills as a result of their better education in China, they still have to deal with the barriers that a lack of technical language and workplace communication skills. In Toronto, there are language programs for newcomers called LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) to help new immigrants upgrade their language skills. Once new immigrants arrived at Toronto, they can register at LINC programs located in different regions of the city, and meanwhile have their language skills tested in the LINC test centers. The language skill test usually includes three parts: listening, writing and speaking. Once they have their English level decided, newcomers will be assigned to English classes according to their location.

While, the LINC programs usually provide programs for English training up to Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) levels 6 to 7, and a lot of immigrants and employers have indicated that most positions require language and communication skills that exceed this level. For Chinese immigrants, because of their limited access to put English into practice, they need more opportunities to practice their communication skills.

In Montreal, a similar language program also exists to help newcomers improve their French skills. However, compared with the LINC program in Toronto, the waiting time of the French program sponsored by Canadian government in Montreal is longer.

Meanwhile, a mentor program may be needed to help immigrants find a local Canadian who would like to help newcomers by showing them around and spending time together to improve their communication skills and obtain more opportunities to see Canadian society, which will ultimately promote the integration of immigrants into mainstream society.

Currently, there are a variety of language tests used by educational institutions to assess the language capacity of potential students in an academic context. There lacks occupation-related tests of language proficiency. Governments could provide incentives to encourage employer sector councils and occupational regulatory bodies to develop sector-specific language tests (Alboim et al., 2005). With these job related language tests, employers may have a better assessment of the language skills of immigrants.

The Government of Canada should work with partners to provide enhanced language training, especially occupation specific language training and workplace literacy programs. Once immigrants obtain a job, the employers should provide the opportunities for new arrivals to enhance their job-specific language by allowing and supporting them to participate in some paid language programs in community colleges. Immigrants should be reimbursed for the expenses incurred in improving their language skills. Employers should take

steps to encourage their newly recruited immigrants to upgrade their language skills by providing relevant information on language training. In addition, more improvements should be made on the French training programs for immigrants. For example, the number of French training for immigrants should be increased; the long waiting time of COFI programs in Montreal should be cut short; and immigrants should have more options to choose for their language placement.

Implications for Chinese Immigrants in Canada

In recent years, there is a great change in the profile of skilled immigrants to Canada. Today's immigrants to Canada are more educated according to the 2006 census, so they tend to seek more skilled positions in the labor market. Many of the immigrants have the education, work experience and language skills to excel in the workforce but lack the social networks by which they can increase the prospects of a successful job search. In the case of Chinese immigrants, a lack of social networks is the key factor affecting their job hunting.

Granovetteh argues (1982) that informal methods and weak ties proved a greater advantage for obtaining a job and achieving social integration. For Chinese immigrants, their lack of social network resources, especially a lack of weak ties is a major setback for their social segregation. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrants have not yet integrated themselves into the host country and they are still in the early stage of adaptation. In addition, they are not yet well-integrated into the established local Chinese communities or institutes. They are "somewhat distant from both the mainstream society and the established

Chinese society formed mainly by Chinese of non-Mainland origin” (Liu, 1995, p. 163). For example, all ten participants in the research never participated in any activities organized by local Chinese communities, because they believed they do not have common likeness with community members, among whom most of members are from Hong Kong and speak Cantonese. Because of the large number of Mandarin speaking Chinese immigrants in Toronto and Vancouver, there are more Chinese organizations in these two cities than those in Montreal. As a result, more community activities are organized and arranged in these two cities which provide more opportunities for newcomers to get socialized. However, even though Chinese immigrants in these two cities have more chances to take part in their community activities, their social network outside the Chinese communities is still very limited. The limited networks of skilled Chinese immigrants can not lead them to good mainstream jobs. Faced with difficulties of locating professional jobs in Canada, some Chinese immigrants have stayed in a dead-end job while others have returned home for career development. Thus, networks, as social capital, can play a significant role in how immigrants and minority members become incorporated into the host society.

Chinese communities should establish certain organizations/programs to help newcomers develop social networks by inviting some successful Chinese individuals from various fields to give lectures and speeches on topics that newcomers might be most interested in. Or they can answer or provide advice on the most concerned questions that most newcomers have about job searching, resume writing, and job interviewing. Meanwhile, they could provide information

on the job prospects in their fields. By socializing with successful Chinese immigrants in communities, newcomers may have a better understanding of Canadian society and job prospects.

In addition, Chinese associations or organizations in Canadian cities should go out of the Chinese communities to connect people from different cultures. They can organize social activities and invite not only Chinese origins but also people from different communities and cultures to introduce Chinese culture and tradition to Canadians.

Mentoring is another way to overcome the barrier of lacking social networks. The objective of mentoring is to give under/unemployed skilled professional immigrants access to a person already employed in the fields, for which they are trained or interested in working. The key of the program is to match the mentor and the skilled immigrant based on their occupation. Through the program, immigrants may not find employment in the mentor's place of work, but they gain valuable professional networks and guidance from mentors. With the help of a mentor, a skill immigrant can have a greater understanding of a specific occupation context and its trends. A good example of a mentor program is the one in Toronto region - the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC), which had made a big success in matching skilled immigrants with their mentors, it is estimated that in the first year of the program, about 1,000 skilled immigrants were matched with their mentors.

Implications for Researchers

The findings of the study further confirm the findings of other studies that unrecognized foreign credentials, insufficient language skills and lack of social capital are the primary barriers that skilled immigrants encountered in adaptation to Canadian society (Li, 2003; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998; Basran & Zong, 1998; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Reitz, 2005). The study also corroborates previous research indicating skilled immigrants have to face structural barriers in job seeking and integration into Canadian society, and the life chances for immigrants and the Canadian born are not the same (Abella, 1984, Li, 2000, Reitz & Breton, 1994, Baker & Benjamin, 1994), which reflected from their occupational status, earnings and devaluated human capitals. The research contributes to a better understanding of Chinese immigrants in Canada by offering an analysis of the influences of traditional Chinese cultures and values on Chinese immigrants' professional and life choices.

In Canadian context, transnational migration has been examined on several dimensions such as identity, family, education, housing and entrepreneurship (Mitchell, 2001; Waters, 2002; Kelly, 2003), primarily through qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and focus groups. There is limited information on the extent to which transnational migration occurs. In particular, much of the work on Chinese immigrants has focused on Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants who entered Canada in the 1980s (Li, 1992; Olds, 1998; Ley, 2003; Walton-Roberts, 2003; Waters, 2003; Wong, 2004; Ley & Kobayashi, 2005). An exception to the Asian oriented literature is Owusu (1998) who examined the Ghanaian

community. Transnational migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan have been explored in contexts such as the 'astronaut family', business immigration and migration motivation. Few studies have been done on the transnational migration of Mainland Chinese, particularly, the influences of cultural habitus on their transnational migration.

Although Chinese immigrants have been in Canada for more than one hundred years and have been the subject of much research, the recent Chinese immigrants are very new and with new challenges for these in academic circles and policy makers. There is very limited available information about this group of recent Mainland Chinese immigrants. Due to their short time of stay in Canada and the long-term process of social integration, the trend identified in this study needs to be further examined and follow-up studies are necessary.

Because the sample is relatively small, focusing on ten Chinese MBA graduates from M University, future research should attempt to study a larger sample including Chinese immigrants from other Canadian universities and in various fields; studies of how gender differences influence their return decisions should also be addressed with large sample; follow up studies should be done to further follow up those returnees in China in different time periods such as a three year, five year and ten year periods to see their changes in life and career, and what are the reasons for these changes and how they see their identities.

Future studies of the return migration of Chinese immigrants should also address issues such as the social and economic integration of Chinese immigrants in Canada, the strategies they took to reposition themselves in the

host country, and the issues on the influences of immigration and return migration on the education of immigrants' children, do these children have the problem with their identities and how they reposition themselves in the process of immigration.

Reflexivity of the Inquiry

The narratives of the ten participants in the inquiry indicate that through living and studying abroad, they have learned valuable lessons that they might not have learned otherwise. They all cherish their Canadian immigration experiences providing them with the opportunities to live, study and work in Canada - a country that all participants agreed that they would like to return in the future.

The ten participants recounted their own stories and experiences in Canada and their return migration. Although their stories and experiences are personal and individual, there are some common likeness and differences in their narratives. They immigrated to Canada for various personal reasons. All participants faced various challenges in their lives in Canada, some of them faced language barriers, some struggled with their study, and still some faced family crisis. However, they all encountered the same issue in career development; Canada could not provide the job they would like to do. As a result, they made a return decision to move back to China where the booming economy could provide them with more career opportunities. Upon their return migration, all participants once again face an identity crisis; they were searching for their

identity, for who they are and what they are. Their struggle for their identity continues as long as they maintain the connection with two cultures and languages.

Having had the privilege to listen to their personal narratives about their experiences, I was able to understand the contexts of particular events, challenges, and hardships they experienced. I was able to appreciate how their perceptions about those experiences were socially, culturally and historically constructed. With their narratives about their lives and experiences, I started to reflect on my own immigration and study experiences in Canada. The immigration experience changed my life and my attitudes towards life and work. It taught me to appreciate what I have owned and work hard to pursue what I want.

My own immigration experiences and the lived experiences of the ten participants made me realize the profound influences of cultural habitus on persons' life attitudes and actions. I used to take my Chinese cultural heritage for granted, and never gave a thought about the influences of the Chinese habitus on my behaviors and perceptions of the world. With the inquiry, it provided me with the opportunity to understand how cultural habitus has influenced my life and the decision-makings. Individuals may take on certain perception, attitudes and actions without being consciously aware of any kind of social or cultural rules that influence their habitus. Bourdieu's theory of capital and habitus offer a useful way of thinking about the ways in which the

environments in which people are raised, their conditions of cultural and material existence, shape their attitudes, their means of interpreting the world.

The habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures, (eg language, economy etc) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the forms of durable dispositions. (Bourdieu, 1977. p.85)

Habitus is second nature, knowing how to 'walk the walk' and 'talk the talk' in relation to a particular field, how to play the game. It's 'the way we do things'. Habitus also includes what one eats, how one dresses, one's tastes, preferences and the way how one talk. Cultural habitus greatly influences individual's attitudes towards the world. When people migrate from one country to another, they usually bring their cultural baggage with them - their attitudes towards life and their values, to the host country. Newcomers generally got lost by the cultural differences and the changes of their social status in the new country, as a result, they started to doubt about their own identity as to who they are and to which group they belong.

I agree with Ms. Sun's comment that "experiencing life is the most important aspect in the process of immigration and return migration. My background as a native Chinese and roles as an insider and outsider in the inquiry are the factors that influence the research. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) note that qualitative researchers are guided by particular interpretive framework that contains a set of concepts and beliefs about the human world and how it can be understood and studied. The two research methodologies, phenomenological and hermeneutic methodologies I used in the inquiry help me with the study of lived experiences or

the life worlds of human beings, and how to interpret the phenomenon of return migration, and uncover and reconstruct the meaning of it. For example, the phenomenological methodology assists me in understanding the ten participants' perceptions of the world and their experiences, and the hermeneutic research method provides the historical, social and cultural contexts of the selected group of Chinese immigrants' return migration.

I used case studies to explore each participant's individual narratives about their life experiences. Each participant has the opportunity to have their voices and experiences heard. Together their individual experiences contribute to my study for a better understanding and theorizing about the phenomenon of Chinese return migration from Canada. If I had the chance, I would invite all the ten participants to meet and put some issues that emerged in their personal narratives for their reflective discussion. I would like to observe their discussions on Chinese habitus, their understandings of Canadian society, their perceptions about their identities and their immigration experiences. I believe with their discussions more issues would emerge for further research and inquiry on Chinese immigrants.

I used open-ended interviews with participants in the inquiry to elicit their rich life and immigration stories and experiences. Interviews also provide the opportunities for me to understand their experiences and struggles in particular contexts. With their personal narratives, I, as the researcher obtained the opportunities to gain insights into how they interpret the world. I hope the lessons that I learned from doing the inquiry would provide a better understanding of

Chinese immigrants in Canada. In my future research on the impact of return migration on the social identities of returnees' children, a cultural-historical theory might be used as theoretical framework.

Summary

In the chapter, I discussed implications for researchers, Chinese immigrants, Chinese and Canadian government to take actions to address the issues that emerged in the inquiry. I also presented strategies for Canadian policy makers to improve programs and services for the assessment of foreign credentials, provide profession-related language training programs and facilitate the development of social networks for newcomers.

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APPENDIX B. The Consent Form for the Participants

CONSENT FORM FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

Research Title: “*A social –cultural-historical analysis of Chinese return migration: Case studies of ten Chinese MBA students’ migration experiences*”

Researcher: LI MA Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education

Supervisor: Dr. Mary Maguire Tel: 514-398-2183

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Purpose of the research: To describe and provide a deeper understanding about Chinese return migration from Canada. In particular, the study investigates the rationales of return migration among Chinese, the patterns of return migration from Canada to China among a selected group of MBA graduates from McGill University, the impact of return migration on returnees, and the strategies they took to reposition themselves in China. This research represents the core phase of the writing of my dissertation. Like all such works, the finished text will be available to the public. The information may also be used in other analyses that I write on Chinese immigrants in Canada.

What is involved in participating: I will ask you a few questions relating to your life experience in Canada, questions such as your choices of coming to Canada, the main stressors that you experience upon settling in Canada, your interaction with Canadians, their perspectives of your life in Canada, your identity and the way you see the Canadian education will be discussed. The time and length of the interview will be at your own convenience.

Your signature below serves to signify that you agree to participate in this study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can choose to decline to answer any question or even to withdraw at any point from the project. Anything you say will only be attributed to you with your permission; otherwise the information will be reported in such a way as to make direct association with yourself impossible. My pledge to confidentiality also means that the tapes will only be accessible to researcher and my PhD supervisor and will be kept by my supervisor Prof. M. Maguire under locked conditions.

Consent:

I wish to be identified in the report ____YES ____NO

I agree to be tape-recorded ____ YES ____ NO

I agree that the tape may be used as described above ____ YES ____NO

I have read the above information and I agree to participate in this study

Participant's signature: _____ Researcher's signature: _____

Participant's Name: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C. Letter to Participants

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH

Dear participants:

My name is Li Ma, a PhD candidate in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University. I would like to invite you to participate in my doctoral research project entitled, "A social-cultural-historical analysis of Chinese return migration: Case studies of Chinese students' return migration experience". The purpose of this research is to provide a deeper understanding on Chinese return migration from Canada. Through this study, I hope to understand the rationales of this group of well-educated Chinese immigrants' return to China and how they re-position themselves in the shifts of culture and social environments.

I would like to do a series of interviews with you on your Canadian experiences and perceptions about the distinctions of Canadian and Chinese societies and cultures. All interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed in English. However, your real name will not be disclosed in the research publication unless you choose so.

You are free to withdraw from the participation at any time without penalty before or during the interview. The information that you choose to disclose in our interviews will remain strictly confidential. I will obtain your approval about any information that you provided in the interviews.

Thank you for your collaboration in this research. If you have any questions regarding this research project, please feel free to contact me at 021-50456792 or email me li.ma2@mail.mcgill.ca.

Sincerely,

Li Ma
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education
McGill University

APPENDIX D. Sample of Interview Questions

1. Tell me about yourself, such as your family, your parents and your childhood.
2. Tell me about your education and your work experience before immigrating to Canada.
3. Tell me when and why you had developed the idea of immigrating to Canada or going abroad? What are the primary reasons for you to make this decision?
4. Recount the whole process of your immigration application experience, such as when did you hand in your application, how you described yourself in the letter of immigration application, how long did the whole process take.
5. How much did you know about Canada, Canadian culture and Canadian job market before immigrating to Canada? Where did you get this information?
6. Before coming to Canada, have you ever thought about whether you are going to stay in Canada permanently or you will come back China sooner or later.
7. When did you land in Canada and in which city, what is your first impression about Canada and the city you chose to stay. What is your impression about Canadians?
8. What are the difficulties or obstacles/ culture shocks you have encountered when you first came to Canada, such as life style, language, culture, etc. and with whom you shared your problems, and to whom you turned for assistance and help? Have you ever experienced discrimination in your life and study in Canada?
9. Have you ever tried to find jobs before studying at McGill? What kind of jobs did you apply? What do you think are the reasons for having failed to get the job you wanted?
10. When did you take the TOEFL and GMAT exams for MBA study? Why did you choose MBA to study and why did you choose McGill's MBA program instead of MBA program at other Canadian universities?
11. Tell me about your learning experience at McGill. How do you rate McGill's MBA? Will you recommend it to other Chinese, what are the reasons?
12. Tell me your life in Montreal, did you enjoy the city and the culture? How do you perceive cultural capital and social capital? As Chinese, What impact/ influence has Chinese cultural values and heritage on your life in Canada?

When you were in Montreal, have you ever taken part in activities organized by Chinese communities, why and why not you took part in these activities?

13. How do you see the value of your North American education experience in your job hunting both in China and Canada? What are your perceptions and values of education? Please compare the two educational systems in China and Canada? What is your educational expectation for your kids' schooling? Do you want your children to be educated in China or Canada, what are the rationales for your decision?

14. Tell me your job hunting experience in Canada after having obtained MBA degree from McGill, what lesson you have learned from these experiences?

15. Tell me about your Canadian volunteering experience? What are the reasons for volunteering? What have you learned from these experiences?

16. Tell me your Canadian work experience, the things you like and dislike about Canadian companies, such as the company culture and etc. if you have ever worked in Canada?

17. How long did it take you to prepare to go back China? What are the factors that motivate your return or your stay in Canada? Have you found a decent job in China before returning or not? If not, how long did it take you to find a job in China after coming back? What are your career expectations in China, and are they different from those you have in Canada? Why did you choose Shanghai as your destination?

18. Since your return, have you ever experienced another cultural shock? Whether you make comparison of things, values between China and Canada all the time? Have you ever judged Chinese people and Chinese behaviors by Canadian standards? When and under what circumstances? When you are back China, do you see yourself fit in Chinese society, if not, what are the problems? How do you see your identity in China?

19. Tell me about yourself, your family, your job after returning to China. Are you satisfied with your life and your career advancement? Have you ever regretted for your return decision, when and why?

20. How do you see your Canadian experience? Have you considered coming back Canada and when?

21. How do you see Chinese culture and values, what are the influences of Chinese culture and values on you and your decision of returning? How do you see your cultural identities in the host society and how you reposition yourself?

22. What kind of recommendation or suggestion that you could like to provide for other Chinese immigrants and Canadian government in order to change the return migration from Canada to China?

23. What is your attitude towards the return migration and how do you understand this issue?

24. What is your short –term and long –term plan for the future?

25. What are the reasons that you decided to go back to Canada? Which city are you residing now? What kind of job are you holding/looking for? What is your impression about Canada and the city you are residing after years of apart? Have you experienced culture shocks once again?

APPENDIX E. Sample of Questionnaire

Sample of Questionnaire

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Tel: _____

E-mail address: _____

1. How old are you?
2. What is your educational background? (Please list all the degrees you have obtained including degrees both from China and Canada).
3. What is your current job title? And which company are you working for? Is this the job you have been working for since your return, if not, please list all the jobs that you have taken in China since your return from Canada?
4. How did you find your first job in China since your return migration from Canada?
5. Before immigrating to Canada, what was your job title in China? And what was your yearly income?
6. When did you return to China?
7. What was your status in Canada?
8. What is your marriage status? If you are married, do you have kids and how old is he/she?
9. What is your current yearly income in China? What was your yearly income in Canada if you have even been employed in Canada?
10. How long have you been in Canada?
11. Are you originally from Shanghai? If not, which province and city are you originally from?
12. How long have you been in China, and how long have you been in Shanghai?
13. Do you intend to settle down in China or will you consider come back Canada later?

