

Taiwanese Immigrants to Canada: An Exploratory Study

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the immigration process and adjustment patterns of recent Taiwanese immigrants to Canada. Using data derived from participant interviews with Taiwanese immigrants living in Vancouver, Victoria, and Nanaimo, the experiences of the immigrants challenge existing literature that groups Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and The People's Republic of China under the same umbrella. The thesis also looks at Canada's immigration policies, how they influenced the type of immigrant Canada seeks and how they contribute to 'backlash racism', and examines Canada's multiculturalism policy and its ability to defend against 'backlash racism'. The findings of this exploratory study, while not able to give definitive answers, are also used to question the validity of recent international migration theories.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	v
Chapter One – Introduction.....	1
Chinese Immigration to Canada: A Historical Overview	1
The First Period: 1860 –1947.....	1
The Second Period: 1947 – 1967	5
The Third Period: 1967- 1984.....	7
The Fourth Period: 1985 to present.....	9
Purpose and Organization of the Thesis.....	10
Chapter Two – International Migration Theories	12
State-Centric Approach	12
Push-pull Theory	13
World Systems Theory of Migration	14
Economic Theory of Migration.....	16
Diaspora Theory	18
Assimilation/Integration Theories.....	20
Chapter Three – Research Design and Methodology.....	23
Existing Literature on the post-1985 Wave of Ethnic Chinese Immigrants	23
Research Design	26
Government Sources	26
Canadian Newspapers	27
Interviews	28
Chapter Four - Causes and Processes of Taiwanese migration to Canada	31
Macro Causes for Migration	31
Meso Causes for Emigration.....	35
Micro-level analysis: The actual decision-making process.....	37
Conclusions	40
Chapter Five – Adjustment Patterns.....	41
Micro level analysis	41
Meso-level.....	47
Conclusion	51
Chapter Six – Backlash Racism and Taiwanese-Canadian Identity	55
Chapter Seven - Conclusion	64
Literature Cited.....	72
Appendix One – Total Chinese Immigration to Canada 1984-2000	81
Appendix Two - Chinese and Visible Minority Population in Canada (selected entry): 1996, 2001	82
Appendix Three - Canada Immigration Regulations - October 1, 1967	83

Appendix Four - University of Victoria- Human Ethics Committee Certificate of Approval.....	84
Appendix Five - Participant Characteristics.....	85
Appendix Six – Pre Interview Questionnaire.....	87
Appendix Seven – Interview Questions and Topics (Complete List).....	90
Appendix Eight - Selection criteria for business immigrants, assisted relatives and other independent immigrants (1999)	94
Appendix Nine - Class of Entry for immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China - 1994-2000.	95

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Chapter One – Introduction

Chinese Immigration to Canada: A Historical Overview

In the past twenty years there has been a dramatic influx of ethnic Chinese immigrants from different parts of the world to Canada (see Appendix One), and especially to British Columbia (see Appendix Two). This has heightened awareness to the changing face of certain communities and raised several questions: Why do ethnic Chinese leave their home countries and decide to come to Canada? What are their experiences and strategies once they reach Canada? What are their connections with their homelands and with other ethnic Chinese in other host countries? This thesis will examine these questions in relation to recent immigrants from Taiwan, the ‘Taiwanese’. Most of the literature on recent ethnic Chinese immigrants has concentrated on Hong Kong Canadians. Now that Taiwanese immigrants are more numerous, research on their experiences is apropos. Nevertheless, as mainstream society tends to treat all ethnic Chinese alike, it is necessary to provide an outline of Chinese immigration to Canada since the mid-nineteenth century in order to put Taiwanese immigration in an historical context.

The First Period: 1860 –1947

Early Chinese immigrants came to Canada in the mid to late nineteenth century first in search for gold, then to help build the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) or to work in natural resource extraction industries such as coal mines, lumber mills and salmon canneries in British Columbia. While many migrants came directly from South China, some also traveled up from the United States.

The majority of these workers were young males, looking for a better life, new opportunities and wealth (Li 1998: 19). As the men's lives became more stabilized, a form of chain migration became more common as a few brought in family members and provided a base for those from the same lineage or native place to escape political instability and social chaos in China.

Discriminatory policies and racism against the Chinese in Canada, and especially British Columbia, were prevalent from the very beginning. Scholars have suggested three main reasons for this. The first hypothesis is that within mainstream white society, the belief in Social Darwinism, a theory originated in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, was common. Adherents of this idea saw all 'colored' races as inferior and feared that they would 'pollute' the Aryan race, especially if they were to arrive in overwhelming numbers. Even Prime Minister John A. Macdonald did not hide his racist sentiments, referring to Chinese as "an inferior race,...[and] semi-barbarians" and insisting that "the Mongolian and Aryan races could never combine" (quoted in Roy 1989: 63). In British Columbia, the desire to preserve the province as a 'white man's province' was strong (Roy 1989: 13; Con et. al. 1982: 54-55). All efforts were made to segregate Chinese and other Asians from white society.

The second hypothesis is that as Canada was a young country whose white settlers in the process of nation building were trying to preserve their racial identity and hold on to their political hegemony (Con et. al. 1982: 44-46). In order to do so, they tried to segregate Asians physically and to label their cultures as inferior. The Chinese were branded as immoral and unsuitable to become

Canadians because they were labeled as gamblers, opium smokers, involved in prostitution, lived in filth and were a “non-assimilating race... a disgrace to a civilized (sic) community” (Con et. al. 1982: 54).

The third hypothesis is that white workers disliked the Chinese for economic reasons. While the owners of factories, mills and mines had no problem exploiting the cheap Asian labour, white workers loathed the unfair competition. As Asians were willing to work for one-quarter of white wages, their presence enabled employers to “grind down all labour to the lowest living point.” (Con et. al. 1982: 55).

It is not my aim to evaluate the validity of these three hypotheses. The fact is, all Asians suffered from racial discrimination and violence in this period. They were excluded from the political process, being disenfranchised from federal (in British Columbia), provincial and municipal elections. This denied them economic opportunities in mainstream society. They were not allowed to practice law, or become pharmacists or accountants because they were not on the voters’ list (Li 1998: 33-34; Con et.al. 1982: 45-46). They were shut out of labour unions (Li 1998: 50; Muthanna 1975: 79). ‘White labour only’ clauses appeared in city works and provincial contracts. The Chinese were often singled out for taking jobs at lower wages by anti-Asian associations such as the Workingmen’s Protective Association and the Anti-Chinese Society which lobbied to protect the ‘working class’ against the rise in the numbers of Chinese in British Columbia (Roy 1989: 51-53; Con et. al. 1982: 46). They were forbidden to work below

ground in coalmines, and confined to manual labour or such domestic positions as house boys.

In addition to legislated racism and discriminatory union policies, the Chinese also suffered physical violence, the most notable example was the Vancouver Riot of 1907 which damaged a great deal of property in Chinatown and 'Little Tokyo'.¹ Even Canadian-born Chinese children did not escape discriminatory policies and racism. White parents and school board members in Victoria attempted time and again to segregate Asian children from white children.

Although the vast majority of Asians in Canada suffered institutional discrimination and racial violence, the Chinese arguably faced the worst treatment up to the beginning of the Second World War. The particularly strong anti-Chinese sentiment could partially be attributed to the weakness of official Chinese presence in Canada due to events and political situations in their home country. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, China was in political disarray. Since 1842, China was considered an inferior state by the international community because of the number of unequal treaties the Chinese government had signed. Until 1909 there were no official Chinese representatives in Canada, and even after a consulate was established, China had a difficult time dealing with foreign aggression at home, let alone attempting to protect citizens in a foreign

¹ In 1907, in response to what they saw as the threat of increased Asian immigration, the Asiatic Exclusion League staged a 'parade' in Vancouver to protest against mainly Japanese immigrants, but basically any non-whites. For example, some of the banners are said to have said "A white Canada and no cheap Asiatic labor (sic); ... and 'White Canada – patronize your own race and Canada'" (Li 1998: 36). The parade quickly turned into a riot causing a great deal of damage in the Japanese and Chinese areas of Vancouver (Adachi 1991: 70-77, Li 1998: 36).

country. Between 1916 and 1927, China degenerated to Warlordism, with no stable government to exercise the rights of a sovereign state. As a result, the Chinese in Canada had little support from their home government and were limited in their abilities to protest against ill treatment and discrimination in Canada (Con et. al. 1982: 73-76).

During this period, Chinese in Canada were often singled out by special legislations. For example, effective January 1, 1886, a \$50.00 head tax was placed on every Chinese entering Canada, except diplomats, students, tourists and merchants. This tax was raised to \$100.00 in 1900 and again to \$500.00 in 1903 in an attempt to discourage further immigration. In 1923, the Chinese Immigration (exclusion) Act was implemented, which excluded any Chinese from entering Canada except diplomats, missionaries, Canadian-born Chinese, students on government scholarships and merchants with at least \$2,500 invested in a Canadian business for three years. This Act restricted new immigrants, and prevented the re-entry of many Chinese who had been out of the country visiting friends or relatives in China for more than two years (Knowles 1997: 107; Lai 1988: 56; Lai 1987: 348; Con et. al. 1982: 141; Hawkins 1972: 90). Further, Chinese could no longer sponsor a spouse or children to enter Canada (Lai 1988: 56). Not until after the Second World War did such harsh policies change.

The Second Period: 1947 – 1967

Wartime events and alliances between China and ‘the allies’, such as Britain, France and the United States, allowed for a more sympathetic view by Canada towards China and the ethnic Chinese. The government followed the lead

of the United States and Britain which abrogated all unequal treaties in 1943.

With the United States repeal of its Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 (which was passed in 1882), events were set in motion for Canada to water down its institutional racism against the Chinese.

At this time, the Chinese government was allowed to set up an Embassy in Ottawa which enhanced its ability to represent the interests of Chinese nationals in Canada (Con et. al. 1982: 204-205). With the 500 local-born Chinese who had served in the Second World War for Canada leading the fight for equality and civil rights, Canada's 'Chinese exclusion act' was repealed in 1947. Chinese citizens also gained the right to vote and were afforded the same civil liberties as white Canadians (Con et. al. 1982: 207-208).

Unfortunately, lifting the Chinese exclusion act did not widely open the doors for Chinese immigration to Canada (Li 1998:95-96; Lai 1987: 349; Con et. al. 1982: 207). In his statement on Canada's immigration program, Prime Minister King emphasized that "immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population...The government, therefore, has no thought of making any changes in immigration regulations" (Canada. House of Commons Debates 1947: vol. 10, 2646).

As a result of this racist attitude, the 1947 Immigration Act stipulates that only unmarried children under eighteen years old and the spouses of Asian Canadian citizens would be admitted into Canada (Li 1998: 90; Lai 1987: 349; Con et. al. 1982: 210-211). Adult children, aged parents, and siblings were all

denied entry². A small concession was made in late 1950 when the age of Asian Canadians' dependent children was raised to 21 years, and then to 25 years if the children were not married (Con et. al. 1982: 212). Children born of second wives were still denied admission to Canada³.

Because of these restrictions, many "unqualified" Chinese had no choice but to enter Canada as 'paper sons' in the 1950s⁴. A major investigation in the early 1960s found that as many as 11,000 Chinese (or 50 percent of Chinese immigrants) entered Canada illegally during the 1950s (Lai 1988: 104-105; Con et. al. 1982: 214-215). Because of the sheer numbers involved, the government instated the 'Chinese Adjustment Statement Program' in 1962. It allowed those who voluntarily came forward to have their case reviewed to stay in Canada as long as they had not been "systematically engaged in illegal immigration and were considered to be of good moral character" (Con et. al. 1982: 216).

The Third Period: 1967- 1984

The Diefenbaker government adopted a more relaxed immigration policy towards the Chinese in 1962. At this time, as Canada was moving beyond an economy based on natural resource extraction and it felt the need to acquire skilled labour through immigration (Lai 1988: 104). However, not until 1967 was an

² This rule applied only to immigrants from Asia (Con et. al. 1982: 211).

³ Men who had returned to visit China but were 'caught' there during the War may have taken second wives and had children while their first wives were in Canada. These family members were not allowed to come to Canada for family reunification.

⁴ 'Paper sons' were fraudulent young immigrants who pretended to be natural sons of Chinese residents in Canada. They acquired a birth certificate of eligible children and entered Canada under an assumed name (Ng 1998: 14).

arguably non-discriminatory immigration policy toward the Chinese fully implemented in Canada.

The 1967 Immigration Act allowed for independent immigration based on the 'point system' (see Appendix Three). It moved away from selection based on race, ethnicity or national origins to one focused on suitability and need in Canada (Lai 1988: 105). As will be explained in detail in chapter four, this point system gives preference to young adults, those with knowledge of English or French, those who are educated, and those who have skills that are in demand in Canada or have made prior arrangements for employment in Canada.

Treatment of the Chinese improved dramatically in the 1970s. The liberal immigration policy was followed by a policy of multiculturalism adopted by Prime Minister Trudeau. The policy was largely in response to a rising protest from non-English groups, such as the Ukrainians, who were concerned that the government's proposed program of bilingualism and biculturalism would only emphasize French and English. They demanded a multiculturalism policy which not only allowed for, but also encouraged, all ethnic groups to preserve and promote their culture. The government conceded to the demand. Federal and provincial funds were set aside to help achieve these goals.

Besides yielding to internal political pressure, the Trudeau government saw the need to foster a good international image of Canada as a tolerant country. This country may not have been a military power, or an economic power in the rapidly globalizing world, but Trudeau thought that Canada could make a mark as a country which promoted multiculturalism and humanitarianism. To this end, the

Immigration Act of 1978 made liberal provisions to “alleviate the plight of refugees through humanitarian programs” (Lai 1988: 109). The sponsorship program made it possible for Canada to admit tens of thousands of refugees from Vietnam, over 50 percent of whom were ethnic Chinese (Lai 1988: 109). While the number of Asian immigrants began to increase, it was not until the mid-1980s that migration from Hong Kong and Taiwan grew dramatically.

The Fourth Period: 1985 to present

In the 1980s, the Canadian economy took a turn for the worse and the government added a new category to the point system known as Business Class Immigrants⁵ (CIC 2000). As places in East Asia, particularly Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore, achieved ‘economic miracles’, Canada hoped to attract investment capital and business expertise from them to give its own economy a boost.

This new strategy worked: Asian immigration really began to ‘take off’ in Canada in the late 1980s, and especially into the 1990s. It accounts for almost half of all immigrants to Canada. Chinese from Hong Kong, the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and Taiwan have been among the top five immigrant groups since 1993, with British Columbia, and specifically Vancouver, as their main destination point (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 1996-2000 Facts and Figures). The 2001 census showed more than 365,000 Chinese living in British Columbia, including some 342,665 in Vancouver. these figures

⁵ This new category has three components: investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed. I will expand on this in Chapter 5.

represent an increase of over 66,000 and 63,000 in B.C. and Vancouver respectively over a five year period (1996-2001) (see Appendix Two).

This 'new' wave of Chinese immigrants differs from previous ones. The pre-war group were mostly poor, unskilled, rural based, illiterate, single males. The 1947-1967 group came for family reunification. They were slightly more educated, but still unskilled natives of rural South China, although many lived in Hong Kong briefly as refugees. The 1967-1985 group was often educated and highly skilled. Most came as intact families (Laquian and Laquian 1997: 9). The post 1985 wave is similar to the 1967-1985 group in that they came as a family making use of the point system. However, there are more affluent professionals and entrepreneurs in this wave. They can make use of the new business immigrant program to enter the country.

Purpose and Organization of the Thesis

The history of Chinese Canadian immigrants ran parallel to the development of Canadian immigration policy from a restricted racist to an open unbiased one. In the pre-1967 period, ethnic Chinese in Canada, especially those in British Columbia, experienced not only discrimination in the process of immigration, but also racist policies and laws within the country. Although all these laws have all been repealed, any understanding of the immigration and adaptation process of new Chinese immigrants of the last two decades has to be placed in the context of Canada's racist past.

Most of the recent Chinese immigrants have been from Hong Kong, Taiwan and the PRC. While Hong Kong was the leading source area until the

1990s, Taiwan and now Mainland China have overtaken its spot (Employment and Immigration (EI) 1986-1991, CIC 1992-2000). Academic literature in Canada on recent Chinese immigrants either tends to follow past practices of using common Chinese ethnicity as the basis for discussion, or else focuses on Hong Kong immigrants' experience⁶. While the latter approach is understandable considering the larger numbers of Hong Kong immigrants, it is time to focus our attention on the Taiwanese.

This thesis is an exploratory study of the causes, processes and adjustment patterns of recent Taiwanese immigrants to Canada. Chapter two starts with general theories on international migration. Chapter three reviews the existing literature on the recent wave of Chinese immigrants to Canada, including those from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Peoples Republic of China. It also describes my research methodology and provides background information on my subjects. In chapters four to six, I present my findings. Chapter four focuses on the causes and processes of migration from Taiwan to Canada. Chapters five looks at micro and meso levels of their adjustment pattern. Chapter six delves into backlash racism in Canada in the post 1985 period and examines the identities of Taiwanese Canadians. The final chapter summarizes my findings and critically evaluates the applicability of migration theories for the Taiwanese Canadian case study.

⁶ See Chapter Three pps 24-27 for specific examples.

Chapter Two – International Migration Theories

A vast amount of literature on migration theory has developed from a number of different disciplines including political science, sociology, anthropology, economics, and human geography. No one migration theory is able to cover all grounds, but theories are important in that each lays out a framework which will guide the study and help unearth errors and/or omissions in research. This chapter will discuss some of the main migration theories in relation to Taiwanese immigration to Canada.

Broadly defined, migration can be seen as a “permanent or semi-permanent change of residence” (Lee 1996:16). The term ‘residence’ has multiple meanings: migration may mean moving from one house to another, from rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to urban areas, shifting back and forth in the same country, or across national borders. This study focuses on theories that attempt to predict and/or explain why people move across national borders, the process and organization of such a movement, and the effects of the move. They include state-centric theories, push/pull approaches, economic theories, world systems/globalization theories, the diaspora approach, and assimilation and/or integration theories.

State-Centric Approach

The state-centric approach is a macro theory which argues that state policies are the driving force in both immigration and emigration. As ‘gatekeepers’ the nation state decides unilaterally, and in the interest of national security, who may immigrate or emigrate (Meyers 2000: 1260, 1265). For

example, Canadian immigration policies in the past have excluded certain groups, such as Chinese people, in the name of national interest. Since 1967 Canada has used the point-system to attract skilled, educated independent immigrants from around the world and restrict the entry of people who do not have the qualifications and experiences Canada wants, again in the name of national interest.

While state-centered theories may be useful as a basis for the study of international migration statistics, they are too simplistic. It only looks at the macro-level issues (Meyers 2000: 1262, 1265). It completely neglects micro and meso-levels and does not cover the effects of global economic division of labour, social networks, geographical location, the will of the individual, and family decision-making in the migration process.

Push-pull Theory

Some scholars focus on the push and pull factors involved in international migration (Skeldon 1997a:20). The push factors from the country of origin may include population pressure on land, lack of economic or education opportunities, and fear of political persecution. Pull factors may include demand for labour, availability of land, good economic or education opportunities, or political freedoms and civil liberties.

The main problem with the push-pull theory of international migration is that the pull factors are often considered as polar extremes from the push factors (Skeldon 1997a:20). This may not be the case. The reason why someone chooses to migrate from his or her country of origin may not be the main factor in the

choice of the country of destination. For example, a push factor may involve problems finding employment in the home country, but the pull factor could be better educational opportunities, better health care, clean environment, or relatives already living in the host country. In addition, the push-pull theory cannot fully explain all movements or predict future ones (Castles and Miller 1998: 21). For example, when push and pull factors are no longer strong, individual families might still migrate because they have relatives or social networks in the country of destination. Nevertheless, researchers should not ignore push and pull factors because they provide a framework to explain the causes of initial migration.

World Systems Theory of Migration

The World Systems Theory of Migration is a variation of Wallerstein's dependency theory, subscribed by many scholars since the early 1970s (Skeldon 1997a: 24; Massey et al. 1996: 194; Cornelius et. al. 1994:29; Zolberg 1981 :9). Dependency theorists originally focused on explaining the lack of expected development in Latin America and other Third World countries. The dependency theory divides the world into core and peripheral countries and argues that the periphery plays a subordinate role in the world economy and suffers economic exploitation by the core (industrialized) countries (Viotti and Kauppi 1993: 455-457). It also argues that the elites of the peripheral country benefit from foreign economic involvement at the expense of the rest of society. As such, the elites become the 'core' and the rest of society the periphery (or 'the periphery of the periphery') (Viotti and Kauppi 1993: 458).

World Systems Theory attempts to take a more globalist approach in examining uneven development. It also introduces a historical perspective to the dependency theory. It divides the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery countries. It asserts that as a result of a unique configuration of historical forces, some peripheral countries are able to industrialize quickly even though they are still dependent on the core countries. They become the semi-peripheral or newly industrialized countries (NICs). This theory is utilized to explain the emergence of the NICs in Asia in the 1960s and 1970s (Viotti and Kauppi 1993: 459-460).

The dependency and world system theories have been used by later scholars to explain international migration. There are two versions. One version is that the expansion of transnational corporations (TNCs) based in core or semi-periphery countries into periphery countries causes a deprived, or economically disadvantaged, population in the peripheral countries (the periphery of the periphery). As a result, many migrate to the core or semi-periphery countries to improve their life chance (Massey et. al. 1996: 194; Cornelius et. al. 1994: 29). The second version is that as TNCs have become more involved in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries, the elites of these countries acquire the money and technical training which enables them to migrate to 'core' countries such as the United States and Canada. This is sometimes known as the 'brain drain' theory.

In general, the world systems theory and the dependency theory are useful in that both recognize the global framework in the study of international migration, and emphasize "functional economic links across space" (Skeldon 1997a: 27). Nevertheless, these theories have three weaknesses. First, they focus

too much on the uneven development of the world's economic structure and neglect national policies. It is the nation state which sets immigration and emigration policies. No matter how uneven the economic development process is in global terms or how strong the global economic links, it will not result in significant emigration or immigration unless state policies facilitate the process. Whereas the state-centric approach ignores global economic structures, the dependency theory and the world systems approach overlook the role of the state.

Second, the dependency theory and the world systems theory neglect other push or pull forces intrinsic to countries of origin and countries of destination that may not be caused by the uneven penetration of global capitalism. Third, both theories cannot explain all types of international migration, particularly migration between core countries. For example, in 1997, over 65 percent of immigrants to the United Kingdom were from the United States and Australia rather than third world (peripheral) countries (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development 1999:22). If the dependency theory and the world systems theory are based on the assumption of migrants moving from periphery countries to semi-periphery or core countries, it can do little to explain the above figure.

Economic Theory of Migration

The economic theory of migration is a close cousin to the dependency theory and the world systems theory but expands to include other macro level factors as well as meso and micro factors. The economic theory assumes:

- 1) migration is caused by differences in labour supply and wage scale between countries. People from labour abundant areas will move to labour scarce areas because of the perceived chance of either finding employment or finding better-paid employment.
- 2) labour markets are the primary mechanisms by which international flows of labour are induced; other kinds of markets do not have important effects on international migration; and
- 3) governments could control migration by regulating or influencing labour markets in sending and receiving countries. For example the elimination of wage differences would end the movement of labour (Massey et al. 1996:184).

Unlike dependency theory and the world systems theory, the economic theory of migration at the macro level does not arbitrarily divide the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries, but focuses on geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour (Massey et. al. 1996:183). It also takes into consideration other macro factors such as the regulatory role of the nation-state.

Furthermore, unlike the dependency theory and the world systems theory, the economic theory manages to work down to meso and micro levels of analysis. It incorporates the decision-making process of individuals or households into its framework of analysis. For example, international migration is seen as households trying to maximize income and minimize risks to their economic survival or standards of living by moving family members to a labour scarce country so their remittances can support the remaining members of the household (Massey et. al. 1996:186).

The ability to use different levels of analysis makes the economic theory of migration an improvement over the dependency theory and the world systems approach. However, it is only applicable to labour migration. It does not address other goals of migration. For example, it does not explain why some people move

to a country with lower wages in order to have a more diversified lifestyle or more political freedom or civil liberties.

Diaspora Theory

The term diasporas is from the Greek *speiro* (to sow) and *dis* (over) (Cohen 1997:ix). In layman's terms it has been translated into "to scatter". It was usually associated with the dispersal of the Jews from Israel. More recently the concept has been widened to include the "movements of any distinct ethnic group to any other part of the world" (Skeldon 1997a: 27)

Cohen (1997) found nine common features of Diasporas:

- 1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically;
- 2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
- 3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland;
- 4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home;
- 5) a return movement;
- 6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time;
- 7) a troubled relationship with host societies;
- 8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and
- 9) the possibility of a distinctive creative,, enriching life in tolerant host countries. (p. 180).

Unlike all the migration theories previously discussed in this chapter, the diaspora theory does not focus solely on causes of international migration. As a macro theory it incorporates some elements of the push-pull theory, but keeps the causes of migration open-ended and steers the researcher away from focusing on economic or political determinism. As a meso-level theory, it encourages the researcher to look at social networks of international migrants. It looks at links between co-ethnics in different countries and migrants' collective ties with the country of origin. As a micro-level theory, it looks at migrants' families or

individual strategies in both the country of origin and the country of destination (Bottomley 1995: 387). Additionally, diasporic theory helps one to understand hostile receptions to migrants in their new countries of residence.

Despite its versatility, one cannot totally rely on diaspora theory to study international migrants. First, it tends to make generalizations about the behaviour patterns of all members from the same home country. This is highly problematic: immigrants from the same country may not behave in the same way. For example, adults are more likely than young immigrants or locally born children to maintain social networks of co-ethnics in other host countries. In addition, in the age of globalization, professionals with portable skills or wealthy entrepreneurs are more likely than semi-skilled or unskilled workers to commute back and forth between their homeland and their host country. Hence, the diaspora theory may only apply to a certain portion of the same ethnic group in any particular country.

In addition, a diaspora may not last forever. Moving between their country of origin and country of destination may only be a transitional phase for professionals and entrepreneurs who are first generation immigrants. In time, they might choose either to settle in their new country or return to their country of origin. What they eventually decide to do depends on how the “pull” and “push” forces of return migration develop. On the one hand, people might go home permanently because their homeland has returned to economic or political stability, or life in the host society has become intolerable, or simply because they are nostalgic as they grow older. On the other hand, people might decide to become committed to the host society because they find the natural or social

environment much more attractive than that in their country of origin, or simply because they or their children have already become established.

In order to capture the full spectrum of behaviour patterns of immigrants and their children in the post-arrival stage, the theory of diaspora has to be supplemented by the theory of assimilation/integration.

Assimilation/Integration Theories

Assimilation, or the 'melting pot' theory, as its commonly known, is the disappearance of any distinct or separate economic, social or cultural structures based on race or ethnicity (Skeldon 1997b: 214; Sills 1968: 438). For visible minorities, such total disappearance is near impossible because of the physical differences from the dominant group in mainstream society. Thus, many social scientists abandon assimilation theory and move onto integration theory as a vehicle to study ethnic groups.

Integration is the product of the interaction between immigrants and members of mainstream society (Weinfeld and Wilkinson 1999: 56). How far an individual integrates depends on the ability and willingness of the individual as well as the presence or absence of barriers in the host society. If a member of a minority group is not allowed to work, live, or associate with members of the larger society, there cannot be any integration. Conversely even if mainstream society opens its boundaries, adult immigrants may not fully integrate because of language or cultural differences, children, however will have the cultural and linguistic apparatus to readily integrate (Weinfeld and Wilkinson 1999: 67; Neuwirth 1999: 54).

In general, integration theory is much more appropriate than assimilation theory for studying visible minorities. It is not a uni-dimensional process, and allows researchers to examine cultural, social, economic, and psychological aspects separately. In addition, integration theory is an improvement over the diaspora approach. It does not treat all international migrants of a certain ethnic group as part of a global diaspora. By placing the individual's behavioral pattern along a continuum of segregation to integration, this theory enables us to look at the effects of such variables as age, gender, generation, education, socioeconomic status, and occupational background on the adaptation of individual international migrants.

However, this theory as it was conceived in North America in the 1960s has a built-in racial bias. It tends to take the values of the host society as a given, and measures the merit of the individual in accordance with the degree of adjustment to dominant social norms, culture, and institutions of the host country. It also assumes that so long as the individual becomes integrated, he or she will cut ties with people from the same ethnic group and with the homeland. This may not be true. An individual may integrate into dominant society while participating in a global diaspora at the same time.

With the coming of multiculturalism in Canada in the 1970s, the government encourages visible minorities to keep their ethnic cultures and identities while trying, simultaneously, to fit into the larger society (Isajiw 1990: 35). This throws proponents of integration theory into a dilemma: "segregation" has lost its negative connotations and is in fact considered part of the integration

into the host society. Thus, the theory integration has to be modified accordingly. Scholars now study the immigrants' rate of integration into both mainstream society and their own ethnic community in the host society.

My study of Taiwanese immigration to Canada will be used to test the applicability of all the international migration theories discussed in this chapter with respect to the causes and process of moving from Taiwan to Canada. For the post-arrival stage, I will focus on evaluating the usefulness of the diaspora approach and the integration theory.

Chapter Three – Research Design and Methodology

Existing Literature on the post-1985 Wave of Ethnic Chinese Immigrants

Very little has been written specifically on Taiwanese immigrants to Canada. They are often examined as part of the larger Asian category (Hugo 1997; Hutton 1997; Samuel 1994; Basavarajappa and Verma 1985) or grouped together with other ethnic Chinese (Fong 2001a; Li 2001; Li and Li 1999; Wang 1999; Li 1993). Some writers, such as Luk (2001), Fong (1999), Li (1998), Hutton (1997), and Wong (1995), do acknowledge the distinctions between Hong Kong, Taiwan and PRC immigrants, but do not separate between them in their actual analysis.

Because of the lack of information available specifically on Taiwanese in Canada, I have used existing literature on ethnic Chinese to plan my study. There are four common themes on the post-1985 wave of ethnic Chinese immigrants in Canada.

The first theme is their economic adaptation. The Business Immigrant Program is said to have been especially important in attracting wealthy professionals and entrepreneurial Chinese to Canada. Since their arrival in the late 1980s, they have moved away from the lower end service sector occupied by the pre-existing local Chinese community to areas of manufacturing, construction and finance (Fong 2001b: 43; Li 2001: 118; Li and Li 1999: 56; Wang 1999: 33; Hiebert 1998; Wong 1995: 483; 485; Samuel 1994; Li 1993: 243). According to the scholarly research (Fong 2001a; Wang 1999; Wong 1995; Li 1993), these recent Chinese have not suffered from ‘blocked mobility’ in Toronto or

Vancouver.⁷ They do not find it necessary to establish businesses that supply services and products solely directed to their own ethnic clients (Fong 2001; Li 2001; Wang 1999; Li 1993). In fact, their businesses are often linked to the wider mainstream economy (Li and Li 1999).

A second common theme is the settlement patterns of the most recent wave of ethnic Chinese immigrants (Hutton 1997; Hugo 1997; Samuel 1994). The concentration of ethnic Chinese in Richmond and parts of Vancouver can be seen as a form of ethnic segregation (Bauder and Sharpe 2002; Hugo 1997: 307; Wong 1995: 487). However this is not a 'forced' separation from mainstream society. Since the Business Immigrant Program does not require applicants to have a high level of English or French, Chinese entrepreneurs and investors who enter Canada since the mid 1980s are often not totally comfortable with the English language or the Western way of life. Many choose to live in areas where there are already networks in place, and where they can form their own cultural and social organizations (Hutton 1997: 306). These social support networks play an important role in helping them adjust and adapt to their new environment (Hiebert 1998:36).

A third common theme in the current literature is the tendency of the post 1985 wave of Chinese immigrants to engage in return migration and/or 'astronaut' family arrangements (Fong, J 1999; Skeldon 1997a; Skeldon 1997b; Samuel 1994; Wong 1995; Li 1993). In these families one (usually the father) or both parents

⁷ Blocked mobility theory argues that for a variety of structural and cultural constraints, minorities are not able to enter the mainstream economy and are forced into an ethnic or closed market (Li 1993:221).

either return permanently to their country of origin or travel back and forth, while the wife and/or children would remain in Canada either alone, with one parent or another relative (Fong, J 1999: 66; Skeldon 1997b: 216-217). This arrangement could have far reaching impacts both at the micro level for the Chinese immigrants themselves and at the macro level, in terms of Canada's nation-building process. It often incurs the displeasure among members of mainstream society who question the loyalty of new Chinese to Canada.

A related theme pursued by scholars is the resurgence of anti-Chinese racism in the wake of massive immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the PRC in the late 1980s. This 'backlash racism', or reactive racism, often targets cultural practices and attributes of ethnic Chinese and expresses its anger in graffiti, hate literature, verbal abuse and physical attack⁸. Articles by Laquian and Laquian, Tepper and Skeldon in The Silent Debate: Asian Immigration and Racism in Canada (Laquain, Laquian and McGee eds 1997) show how racism and discrimination, while not as overt as in the early part of the 20th century, is still prevalent in society today. While Canada has outwardly portrayed itself as an open multicultural society since the 1970s, stereotyping and subtle discrimination towards ethnic Chinese continues to exist in Canadian society and are on the upward swing (Hiebert 1998; Ley 1997; Wong 1995; Samuel 1994).

⁸ The term "backlash racism" (or "reactive racism") is in contra distinction to "institutional racism. While institutional racism is a systemic form of discrimination legalized by acts of parliament or union rules, reactive or backlash racism depicts feelings and actions by members of the dominant group against a certain racialized group at a time when open discrimination is either illegal or not condoned by society at large.

As far as I can tell, existing literature tends to focus on commonalities among the post 1985 wave of Chinese immigrants. There has been no definitive study to examine the immigration process and adjustment strategies of the Taiwanese in Canada specifically.

Research Design

This study aims to fill in some of the gaps in our understanding of the Taiwanese immigrants. Using the four themes identified in the existing literature, I collected data in three ways. First, I surveyed Canadian government documents, in particular those published by Employment and Immigration Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. I also looked at Taiwanese government publications to get an understanding of Taiwanese emigration policy and its general policy towards overseas Chinese. Second, I perused Canadian newspapers to gain an insight into the public's attitudes towards Chinese Canadians. Last, and most importantly, I conducted interviews with twenty-one Taiwanese in nine Taiwanese households in Vancouver, Victoria and Nanaimo in order to enrich written material with the lived experiences of real people.

Government Sources

Information on Taiwanese migration statistics after 1985 is available in records kept by the Taiwan and Canadian governments. Taiwan's Population Affairs Administration of the Ministry of the Interior (MOI) consistently publishes demographic information including statistics on emigrants from Taiwan to the top

five destination nations.⁹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada¹⁰ (CIC) produces both immigration program information and yearly statistics on immigrants to Canada from the top ten source countries.

For my research, these statistics have two major weaknesses. First, Canadian immigration records do not consistently classify business immigrants into investor, entrepreneur, and self-employed categories. Second, it is not possible to obtain records of return migration from Canada to Taiwan because both Taiwan and Canada allow dual citizenship and neither keeps statistics of return movements.

In addition to immigration records, I also looked at 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census data. Data on 'self-identified ethnic origin' and 'places of birth', as well as settlement patterns yield some information on the degree of settlement concentration amongst those who came from Taiwan or who identified themselves as Taiwanese in those two census.

Canadian Newspapers

Canadian newspapers were reviewed between 1987 and 2003 in an attempt to gauge the attitude of mainstream Canada towards Asian, Chinese and/or Taiwanese in Canada. As Taiwanese immigrants in general tend to settle in British Columbia, mainly Vancouver, I chose to focus on The Vancouver Sun, The Vancouver Province, and Victoria Times-Colonist. As most mainstream

⁹ Top five choices are the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (MOI 2002: 13).

¹⁰ Immigration affairs was under the department of Employment and Immigration Canada up to 1992, and then under Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Canadians cannot distinguish different categories of Chinese, and some cannot even distinguish between different categories of East Asians, it was difficult for me to find articles or editorials reflecting mainstream Canadian attitudes specifically towards the Taiwanese. Nevertheless, it seems justified to use newspaper articles and letters to the editor as indices of the resurgence of anti-Asianism in general.

Interviews

As can be seen above, it is extremely difficult to obtain adequate data on the Taiwanese immigrants in Canada by relying on academic literature, government sources or newspaper accounts. For any in-depth knowledge of causes of migration and adjustment processes of the Taiwanese, I found it crucial to interview individuals on their experiences.

Following the guidelines of the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix Four), I conducted interviews with 21 Taiwanese who came to Canada in the post 1985 period: sixteen adults and five children between twelve and eighteen years. Of these ten were male and eleven were female. These individuals came from a total of seven different families living in nine households¹¹ (see Appendix Five for details of my subjects).

Participants were chosen through existing networks and connections. I knew one family in Vancouver, one in Nanaimo, and two families in Victoria prior

¹¹ Families are defined as consisting of direct relatives (grandparents, parents, children, brothers, sisters). Households are defined as people under the same roof.

to this project. Other participants were introduced through these people or, in the case of families in Vancouver, through mutual friends.¹²

Prior to the interviews, I met with the participants to introduce the project and myself and to ask them to fill out a pre-interview questionnaire (see Appendix Six). Based on individual information in the pre-interview questionnaire, I then developed a specific list of interview topics from my comprehensive list (see Appendix Seven). Before the actual interview, participants were presented with the interview topics. All participants under 18 years old had a parent or guardian present while the interview was conducted. Each interview lasted between one and three hours. Most were taped and then transcribed. Due to technical difficulties, two interviews were not taped, but detailed notes were kept. There were no follow-up interviews, but some participants were contacted by phone subsequently to clarify some answers.

As the following chapters testify, data collected through interviewing these twenty-one individuals yielded valuable micro-level data which provided insight into gaps in government documents on Taiwanese immigrants or Canadian newspaper articles on Asians. There are, of course, drawbacks. First, the small size of the sample and the fact that my subjects were not randomly selected meant their experiences may not be representative of all Taiwanese immigrants in Canada. Second, the fact that these subjects agreed to be interviewed by a

¹² Taiwanese associations in Vancouver were contacted for general information and to help introduce me to possible participants, and although agreeing to help, the association leaders had difficulties finding willing subjects, which they attributed to time constraints.

Caucasian female born and raised in Canada left open the question whether they are “typical” new immigrants from Taiwan.

One redeeming feature is that I am not a “typical mainstream Canadian”. After completing my Bachelor of Arts degree in 1997, I received a scholarship to go to Taiwan to study Mandarin, Chinese culture and history, and teach English for two years. I informed my subjects of this fact, and engaged in small talk with them, often in Mandarin, to break the ice before the interview sessions. My ethnic background, however, may have acted as a deterrent to openness during the discussion on racism and discrimination. Most of those interviewed did not admit to or brushed aside any encounter with racism or discrimination in Canada. Still, I believe that the majority of questions were answered honestly and openly.

It is true that interviewing a small number of non-randomly selected individuals does not give us a complete picture of the Taiwanese immigration experience in Canada. It is also true that this data cannot be utilized to totally support or discredit any international migration theory. Nevertheless, individual and household experiences do enrich our understanding of the causes of migration and process of adjustment of the post-1985 wave of Taiwanese immigrants. As can be seen from the following chapters, my interview data provided counter-examples that allow us at least to question the validity of some of the migration theories.

Chapter Four - Causes and Processes of Taiwanese migration to Canada

Many factors contribute to an individual or a family's decision to emigrate. In examining the causes and process of Taiwanese immigration to Canada, I use macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. The macro-level analysis focuses on push, pull and enabling factors for migration from Taiwan to Canada, including uncertainty with regards to Cross Straits relations, Taiwan's emigration policy, and Canada's immigration policy. Meso level analysis looks at push factors out of Taiwan, including community tensions within Taiwan. Micro level analysis will look at the actual decision making process of Taiwanese families, including all push and pull forces. Using my interview data, I describe how my subjects combined macro and meso factors with personal reasons to leave Taiwan for Canada.

Macro Causes for Migration

One of the most important reasons for the eagerness of Taiwanese to leave their home country is the worsening of Cross-Straits relations in the last two decades. Since 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has insisted that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. The Kuo Min Tang (KMT) government, which had established itself in Taiwan in 1949 as a Chinese government in exile, also accepted the principle that Taiwan is part of China. Indeed the move to 'recover the Mainland' dominated every government and military decision in Taiwan until the mid 1980s. The rival governments on both sides of the Taiwan Straits tried to enlist the aid of 'Superpowers' such as the United States of

America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) to take over the other militarily.

Developments since the 1970s have tilted the balance heavily in favour of the PRC. Canada first recognized the PRC as the true government of China in 1970. This was quickly followed by the United Nations General Assembly in October, 1971. With the visit of President Nixon to China in 1972 the status of the PRC government was further legitimized. When the Cold War ended in the late 1980s, the PRC with its growing economic power and military might was ready to step up with its threat to take over Taiwan by force if necessary.

On the Taiwan side of the Strait, political factors such as the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975 and the loss of international standing¹³ did not impede economic growth. In an attempt to restore the prestige of the Nationalist Party, the Taiwan government ushered in a more liberal political system (Ng 1998:11). Martial law was lifted in 1986. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) with its pro-independence stance was allowed to run for election in the 1990s (Wang 1999:160). The PRC government closely watched these political developments. It interpreted the 1996 announcement of open elections for political positions, including President, as Taiwan's move towards separation from China and threatened to use force. The PRC army began to flex its muscles, performing military exercises in the Strait, including pointing missiles directly towards Taiwan. The United States stepped in, sending two aircraft carriers to the Strait.

¹³ Prior to the 1970s, most governments and the United Nations (UN) recognized the ROC. By the 1980s however, only about twenty countries in the world recognized the ROC as the legitimate government of China (Ng 10-11).

The PRC eventually pulled its military back, but still claims that Taiwan is part of China and as such will never be allowed to achieve independence (Wang, T.Y. 1999: 163-169). For the Taiwanese who do not want to see reunification with the PRC, and for those who fear invasion by Mainland China, emigration seems to be a way out.

Luckily for those who want to leave, Taiwan does not frown on emigration or put hurdles in the way of anybody who wants to leave. The government allows emigrants to remain Republic of China (ROC) citizens with all the rights and responsibilities this entails, even after they have acquired foreign citizenship. In fact, for many decades, the ROC government has actively sought to assist emigrants, and retain connections and networks with Chinese around the world (The Republic of China Yearbook 2002: 2-4).¹⁴ The thought that they do not have to ‘burn their bridges’ in leaving the country can be comforting for those who decide to leave.

The relaxed Canadian immigration law is an important factor for Taiwanese emigrants choosing Canada as their destination. This country does not have a strict immigration quotas, and since 1985, it welcomes new immigrants with professional skills, money and business experience. Generally, the point system (see Appendix Eight) gives preference to applicants with knowledge of

¹⁴ The Republic of China government has established an Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC) since 1926. After its exile to Taiwan in 1949, the OCAC continues to “strengthen its contacts and services for all overseas Chinese. It is hoped that overseas Chinese and the ROC government will form a common entity and that overseas Chinese everywhere, irrespective of party identity or sub-ethnic origin, can unite in harmony and support one another” (ROC, Government Information Office, 2002: 2-3).

English or French, are educated, have skills that are in demand in Canada, or have arranged for employment before entering Canada.

The Business Immigration Program has three subcategories: the entrepreneurial program, the investor, and the self-employed. The entrepreneurial program requires applicants to establish or buy a business in Canada within 2 years of arrival. They can obtain landed immigrant papers if they play an active part in the business and hire at least one non-family member in Canada (CIC 2000a: 1).¹⁵ Under the Investor program, applicants do not have to draw up business plans. Between 1996 and 1999 they were required to have a minimum net worth of \$500,000 and invest between \$150,000 and \$350,000 (depending on the year they arrived) (CIC 2000a: 5, Woo 1997: 316). After 1999 this amount was increased. Each applicant must have a minimum net worth of \$800,000 and deposits \$400,000 directly to the Receiver General of Canada. The money is guaranteed and will be returned to the immigrant, without interest, five years and two months after landing in Canada. This change was to allay fears of the possibility of losing all of their money to business fraud (Woo 1997:315).

In contrast to the investor and entrepreneur programs, the self-employed immigrant program requires the applicant to buy or establish a business that

¹⁵ The danger to the applicant is that this business is not guaranteed by the government. If the business goes under, there is little recourse for the immigrant. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996) reports that between 1992 and 1995 over \$10 billion was invested by entrepreneur immigrants, creating over 33,000 jobs.

provides employment only for himself or herself (CIC 2000a: 2). It does not require the applicant to hire any Canadians.¹⁶

With the well-developed education system, the dramatic industrialization of Taiwan, and the increasing affluence of the Taiwanese since the 1970s, many can find easy acceptance into Canada as skilled worker, entrepreneurs, investors or self employed (see Appendix Nine).¹⁷

Meso Causes for Emigration

While some Taiwanese are eager to use the lax emigration and immigration policies of Taiwan and Canada to leave their home country for macro (political) reasons, others are eager to leave because of meso level factors – discomfort and tension at the community level, caused by the division between the ‘mainlanders’ and ‘locals’ in Taiwan. ‘Mainlanders’ are those who came from China in the post-1945 period when the KMT government took over Taiwan from Japan (Ng 1998: 2). ‘Locals’ are Taiwanese-born descendants of earlier settlers, some dating as far back as the sixth century. While ‘mainlanders’ are of diverse provincial origins, the ‘locals’ are mostly Hokkiens of South Fujianese origins or Hakkas of Guangdong origins (Ng 1998: 2).

Apart from these cultural and historical differences, relationships between the two groups in Taiwan were tarnished because of the treatment of ‘locals’ by

¹⁶ While the initial financial expense and general requirements for this program seem less stringent than the entrepreneur or investor programs, it does not mean acceptance into Canada will be easier. Entrepreneurs and Investors need 25 points to be admitted, while Self-employed needs 65 points (see Appendix Eight).

¹⁷ Between 1986 and 2000, the total number of immigrants to Canada under the Business class was 277,141 or 9.2 percent of all immigrants entering the country during the same period. Taiwan has consistently been one of the top three source countries since 1986 (EI 1986-1991, CIC 1992-2000 – compiled statistics).

the Nationalist government since the late 1940s. In the immediate post war period, the Chinese government installed General Chen Yi as the first Governor of Taiwan. He ruled in the style more of “victor over vanquished, rather than that of liberator” (Hughes 1997: 25). The conflict between the rulers and the ruled came to a head in what is referred to as the 2/28 incident,¹⁸ in which an estimated 6,500 to 10,000 people died (Hughes 1997: 23-24).

The tension between ‘mainlanders’ and ‘locals’ increased in 1949 when two million people from Mainland China followed the Nationalist forces to Taiwan to set up a Chinese government in exile. Since then, the KMT treated Taiwan as the staging area for plans to ‘recover the Mainland’. The KMT government used national symbols (such as the KMT flag, national anthem and national calendar) in order to have Taiwanese think of themselves as part of a nation (China). Statues and memorials to Sun Yat-Sen and later Chiang Kai-Shek were erected; portraits of these two leaders were hung in the classrooms. Streets in Taiwan were named after places in China, and children were taught the rail lines and geography of Mainland China rather than those of Taiwan. The KMT also banned the use of Japanese or *Minanhua* (Taiwanese dialect), making Mandarin the only language to be used in schools and for official purposes. Children caught speaking Japanese or Taiwanese in school were punished.

¹⁸ On February 27, 1947 KMT officials, enforcing a monopoly, beat a female tobacco peddler in Taipei. This event seemed to have a catalyst affect on the pent up frustrations of the local Taiwanese. The riot, suppressed by the army, resulted in much violence which spread throughout the island ending in thousands of people being killed, beaten or jailed. February 28th (2/28) was when most of the violence and deaths occurred. Even into the 1980s, it was forbidden to openly discuss this event (Hughes 1997: 23-24).

Until the late 1980s, each person in Taiwan had to carry an identity card indicating whether they were a ‘mainlander’; or ‘local’. Mainlanders occupied the top positions in government, school administration, and government owned enterprises (Ng 1998: 104-105). Under martial law, full power rested in the hands of the KMT government and no dissention was allowed.

Not until 1987, with the lifting of martial law did the power structure begin to change. By 1992, all ‘mainland’ appointed officials had retired and Taiwanese-born politicians filled almost all top political positions (Klintworth 1995: 235). In 1996, Lee Teng Hui, a KMT party member with a Taiwanese background, was elected president. Since then, the use of Taiwanese or Hakka dialect has made a come back. Traditional Taiwanese arts and culture have also returned. However, the underlying bitterness between ‘locals’ and ‘mainlanders’ has not totally disappeared.¹⁹ As the ‘local’ Taiwanese continue to promote what they see as their distinct culture, they are constantly reminded of their historical differences and animosity towards ‘mainlanders’. Thus, community tension continues from this separate identity and is one of the reasons for emigration.

Micro-level analysis: The actual decision-making process

The reasons why people emigrate are as varied as the people themselves. When it comes to micro-level analysis of the decision-making process, it is clear that individuals or households take many factors into account. My interview data

¹⁹ The term ‘mainlanders’ now has a different connotation. As most of those who came with the KMT government in the late 1940s have passed away, the term now refers to their descendents who, like the ‘locals’, were also born in Taiwan.

shows some common factors as well as idiosyncratic reasons for wanting to leave Taiwan for Canada.

The 'Taiwan question' was a constant factor in people's choice to leave, although its weight varied between respondents. The deteriorating Cross-Straits relations, the threat to use force by the PRC government, the uncertainty of Taiwan's future, and the possibility Taiwan might fall under Communist rule, alone or in combination affected the interviewees' decision to leave. As Michael, one respondent, commented, "I don't like Communism...no freedom... If China catches Taiwan, I choose to die".

The discomfort of living in a (at times bitterly) divided community figured quite prominently among respondents' decisions to leave. To illustrate this point, Cheryl, one of my subjects, told about taking her mother to the hospital in Taipei. A taxi driver picked them up and from her mother's accent he could tell that she was originally from Mainland China. He pulled the taxi over and asked if this was true. Cheryl said yes, but "what did it matter, I just want to get my mother to the hospital". The driver proceeded to ask her in the Taiwanese dialect if she could speak Taiwanese. When she answered yes, he grunted and resumed the journey to the hospital. Cheryl is convinced that if she could not speak Taiwanese, he would not have taken them to the hospital.

In Vancouver, Cheryl and her friend Christine run a small coffee shop. They were convinced this business partnership would not have been possible in Taiwan because Cheryl's family came from the Mainland in 1949 and Christine's family came from 'native' Taiwanese stock. The societal pressure to keep them

apart would have been too great; emigration to Canada is one way of avoiding this pressure.

While escaping from political and social tension in Taiwan are major reasons cited by subjects for emigration, they chose Canada as their destination because of pull forces. They believe Canada to be safer, less conflict-ridden, politically more stable, and with lower crime and suicide rates than Taiwan. This belief in a better social environment is important to all subjects, especially if children are involved. My data shows that the future of dependent children is indeed a prominent micro-level factor in the households' decision to come to Canada. A safe environment and a less stressful education system²⁰ are the main reasons for parents to settle in Canada with their children.

Personal idiosyncratic reasons for immigrating to Canada include having family, friends, or co-workers already in the country, prior visits, romantic love or a sense of adventure. Indeed, some subjects became Canadian citizens almost by accident. Chia-Lin, for example, had no intention of immigrating here. She came to study English one summer, fell in love with the son of her home stay family, and becomes a Canadian citizen by marriage. Pi-hua, also did not originally 'plan' to emigrate. While in the hospital in Taiwan giving birth to her son, she overheard the couple next to her talking about immigrating to Canada. Her sense of adventure took over, and she and her husband looked into the Canadian

²⁰ In Taiwan, countrywide tests are written by students of all ages and a child's educational future can be determined as early as grade 5 or 6. Therefore in addition to attending regular school most students are enrolled in '*Bushibans*' which are held in the evenings and on weekends. It is believed that if a child does not attend *Bushibans*, he/she will not be as successful in regular school.

immigration laws. They realized they could qualify under the investor program and so they applied.

Conclusions

As can be seen from the descriptions above, many of the theories on international migration (outlined in chapter two) are applicable to the Taiwanese case. One can explain the decision to leave Taiwan and come to Canada by a variety of push and pull factors. The state-centric approaches such as emigration and immigration policies of Taiwan and Canada are also valid explanations for migration of the Taiwanese. The fear of Communist takeover and community tension in Taiwan provides sufficient macro and meso causes for emigration.

The only two theories that are not applicable for the Taiwanese case are the dependency/world systems theory and the economic theory. My subjects did not come to Canada for any obvious economic reasons. They left Taiwan for political, social, or idiosyncratic reasons, and possessed the financial means to do so comfortably. They did not come to Canada because of dire economic necessity or in search of economic opportunities.

Chapter Five – Adjustment Patterns

Micro level analysis

The decision to migrate to Canada is only the first of many steps in the immigration process. Once the move has been made, families face a variety of issues in adjusting to life in a new and different country. New skills must be learned and old skills drawn upon in order to be successful. In addition, many Taiwanese do not want to forget their culture. Cultural retention is important to them, especially for their children. The interview data illuminate some problems and patterns in their adjustment process.

English language ability is a barrier for new immigrants from Taiwan. Compared to their seniors, children pick up the language much faster. As the lack of financial and family responsibility puts less stress on children, they can focus on learning English. All children interviewed attended ESL classes upon arrival. Within a year they were in the proper grade for their age, and were able to make new friends and communicate with them.

By contrast, adults found using English as the most difficult issue in adjusting to life in Canada. Even after ‘mastering’ the language, adults continue to feel intimidated because they speak English with an accent. Chia-Lin, who married a Caucasian Canadian, commented that she neither wanted nor enjoyed ‘hanging out’ with her husband’s friends. She has a good command of English, but felt listeners became impatient when she had problems expressing herself. Chia-Lin’s experience is not unique. In a 1998 study, Hiebert found similar perceptions among Asian Canadians. When looking for employment, subjects felt

their accented English lessened their chance to be hired (Hiebert 1998: 23-34).

The idea that one must have perfect, unaccented English to be accepted in Canada is a major issue in the immigrants' ability to feel comfortable in their new country.

The differential rate in acquiring English upon arrival also causes a role reversal between parents and children. As children tend to become fluent in English faster, they are often called on to help parents negotiate simple life encounters in Canada. Children interviewed in this study (ranging from 12 – 18 years old) have acted as cultural interpreters for their parents in phone calls to businesses, in visiting doctors, in shopping malls, and elsewhere. While Taiwan is a very 'Westernized' country, children are still expected to be subordinate and respectful to seniors while parents are expected to provide guidance to children in dealing with the outside world. When asked if the role of being an intermediary for parents bothered him, Leo responded "yeah," and then gave a 'but what can you do' shrug. It is difficult to tell how this new role reversal may change intergenerational relationships.

For their part, parents in my sample see cultural retention as important, especially for their children. They enrolled young children in Chinese language school. While Mandarin and/or Taiwanese is spoken at home, parents want to make sure that their children can also read and write Chinese.

Most families interviewed continue to celebrate the 'big three' Chinese festivals: Lunar New Year, Dragon Boat Festival, and Mid-Autumn Festival, yet many are frustrated at not being able to do this 'properly'. The food and other

items (such as firecrackers for New Year) commonly associated with these festivals in Taiwan are not always available in Canada.

Maintaining family ties and fulfilling obligations to support elderly parents are an important aspect of Taiwanese culture. My respondents are not different. They continue to feel a sense of duty towards their elderly parents left in Taiwan. Most send money to brothers or sisters in Taiwan who care for their parents. They acknowledged that these funds were not really needed for survival, but were tangible evidence they still cared greatly for their family. This expression of filial piety can be a financial hardship to those who are having difficulty securing permanent, well-paid employment in Canada. In addition, the duty to provide actual care for their seniors in some cases plays a crucial role in my subject's family strategies. Two case studies illustrate this last point.

The first case is that of Ming-Hsien. He is an eldest son whose parents remained in Taiwan. In order to care for them, he took early retirement soon after immigration and now spends three to four months at a time in Taiwan while his wife and young son remain in Canada. The second case is David. He initially wanted to go to the United States because he found work in an American company in Boston, but his parents asked him not to leave them alone in Taiwan. As a result, not until they passed away did David's family decide to emigrate. However, by that time the opportunity for employment in America had passed, so he came to Canada.

Employment opportunities are also an issue in the adjustment process of adults. Language is a major barrier in attaining positions compatible with their

previous training or experience. The lack of accreditation for overseas qualifications is another barrier in securing suitable employment. While Canadian immigration policy assigns extra points to applicants in the independent immigrant category if they have education and/or experience in certain occupations, Canadian employers often ignore credentials or experience acquired in Taiwan. Christine had worked as a nurse's aid in Taiwan for over 10 years and she felt that this had helped in the application process. However, after arriving in Canada she was told that she would have to go to college for at least two years in order to obtain Canadian accreditation. The training and the time away from paid employment made that impossible. Michelle ended up working in a small coffee shop.

An additional issue is the amount of time it takes to find a job in Canada. My subjects' experience is that having personal connections (*guanxi*) is a crucial factor, even in Canada. If they have few connections, the process of finding employment becomes more difficult and drawn out, which can cause a strain on finances. As a result, subjects try to obtain alternative forms of income including returning to Taiwan.

Commuting to Taiwan for financial reasons was fairly common among my subjects, but only in the first few years after arrival in Canada. The experience of three households provide good examples of this phenomenon. In the first case, Ming-Hsien operated a water cooler supplier business with his wife Pi-Hua while they were in Taiwan. For the first year and a half after arrival, Ming-Hsien spent most of his time in Taiwan to manage the business, while his wife and young son

remained in Canada. With plans to open a branch in Canada, Pi-Hua joined groups and associations to find out all the rules, regulations and red tape involved in such an adventure. They soon gave up their plan. They never opened a franchise in Canada, and even sold their business in Taiwan. When asked why they made such a drastic move, Pi-hua replied “after a year and a half, I look[ed] around and no Canadian people are busy, busy, busy, so we decide [to] retire early.”

The second case study is the household of Jeff. He had an acupuncture practice in Taiwan and planned to open a practice here. For the first three years, he kept his practice open in Taiwan in order to have financial backing while trying to build a steady clientele in Canada. This plan called for spending half of the year in Taiwan leaving his children with his in-laws in Canada. After three years, Jeff’s practice in Canada was sufficiently successful so he sold his business in Taiwan and returns only to visit friends and family.

The third case study is that of David. He entered Canada under the independent immigrant class in the skilled worker category as a computer programmer, but had difficulty finding permanent work along this line in Canada. His family first landed in Toronto because he had connections there that he hoped would help secure employment. Unfortunately, most of the job opportunities fell through. As he had no problem re-gaining previous employment in Taiwan, he began to commute. To make it easier and less expensive, he moved his family to Vancouver because it was closer to Taiwan. After one year he finally secured

permanent employment in Vancouver as a computer programmer and ended the 'astronaut' family experience.

The above case studies show that not all Taiwanese in Canada commute to Taiwan for business or employment on a long-term basis. As they have become more financially secure and employment opportunities have improved in Canada, my subjects became permanent settlers and not 'astronauts'.²¹ As the number of families I interviewed is small it is difficult to quantify the prevalence of 'astronaut families' with regards to Taiwanese immigrants. There are in fact no statistics on this phenomenon as neither Canada nor Taiwan keeps records on return migration. This is because both countries allow dual citizenship. Taiwanese are not required to renounce their citizenship when immigrating to Canada, nor are Taiwanese Canadians required to do so when returning to Taiwan.²²

The public perception of 'disloyal' new Asian immigrants who have no commitment to Canada is an exaggeration. None of the households interviewed had any plans to return permanently to Taiwan after obtaining Canadian citizenship. As Chris noted "I choose Canada, want to become Canadian, decide to become Canadian, ... home is here." While adults in my sample remain

²¹ My findings on the Taiwanese Canadians are not unique. Despite all the public outcry about the lack of commitment to Canada among Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants, Samuel (1994) found that Asians had the lowest return rates of all immigrants and that within the Asian group, those originally from India, and not Taiwan or Hong Kong, were the largest group to return. In addition, the reason for return was not planned in advance, but was due to the inability to achieve their desired goals in Canada (Samuel 1994: 487-488).

²² To obtain citizenship, immigrants must have lived in Canada three of the four years before applying. To maintain status as a permanent resident, people must have two years of physical presence in Canada in every five year period.

connected to family and friends in Taiwan, there is little desire to return, except for holiday visits. The children have even less desire to do so. While the parents hope that their children will have a better future and more opportunities in Canada, the children themselves often have much more prosaic reasoning for staying. Howard and Wilson are brothers who came to Canada five years ago. When asked about returning to Taiwan, Howard said he would like to visit, “but only to go to the fun places”. Wilson said he would not “ever go back, the cockroaches are bad”.

Meso-level

While micro level analysis of adjustment patterns offers insight into immigrants household experience, the meso or community level of adjustment in the post-arrival phase further considers issues such as residential, business and friendship patterns of Taiwanese immigrants and their involvement in voluntary associations and religious institutions.

Between 1990 and 2000, over 50,000 Taiwanese immigrants entered the City Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Vancouver (CIC1994-2000), with Toronto as the second most popular destination (CIC 2000). Vancouver is attractive for a variety of reasons. On the personal level, it is considered to be a safe, clean and friendly city in which many different cultures seem to co-exist with little discrimination and racism (Laquian and Laquian 1997: 9) and which has a Chinese community already in place. Economically, Vancouver is a port city on the Pacific Rim, and there are regular flights between Vancouver and many Asian capitals including Taipei. This combined with the financial infrastructure and the

possibilities for developing a manufacturing industry draws many Asians to this west coast city (Hutton 1997: 287, 304).

Most Taiwanese entrepreneurs take a pragmatic approach to their business ventures. Whereas, because of pre-existing networks and ties, they may initially reach out to their own ethnic community and start a business in an area in which many Chinese-Canadians live, they take every opportunity to expand into wider society. This strategy can be illustrated by two of my case studies. Jeff entered Canada under the self-employed program and opened an acupuncture office in the downtown area. He eventually met a Chinese doctor with an office in Chinatown. They decided to join forces and now share an office in Chinatown, but their clientele is a mixture of Asian and Caucasian people. Likewise, Cheryl opened a small coffee shop in a mixed ethnic area, but serves traditional Taiwanese food, including bubble tea. She has a mixed clientele. Her business not only caters to Chinese, but also to mainstream people who are interested in a “taste of Asia”.

A similar pattern can be seen in my subjects’ usage of social seminars and participation in voluntary associations. Many in Vancouver and Victoria join cultural associations that cater specifically to their own group. My subjects, for example, are members of the Taiwanese Cultural Society in Vancouver which has a drop-in centre for seniors and other socio-cultural programs promoting Taiwanese culture. At least one subject (Chia-Lin) attended special seminars set up by the Taiwanese Entrepreneurs Association in Vancouver. According to her, people who attended these seminars were mainly wealthy immigrants who were seeking to open or expand businesses in the city. The Association brings in

speakers to lecture, in Mandarin, about Canadian business and tax laws, and sends out Chinese language newsletters to members. The ability to connect with Taiwanese who could explain Canadian laws was invaluable to these new investor/entrepreneur immigrants. While information is available in English, the fact that it was presented in Mandarin by a Taiwanese made them feel they could really understand the issues involved.

While Taiwanese Canadians participate in social and economic functions offered by their own associations, they also make use of social seminars offered by other associations. For example, they made contact with such associations as SUCCESS in Vancouver to help with general adaptation problems and sent their children to Chinese language schools in Vancouver and Victoria. In addition they frequented mainstream service organizations such as the Immigrant Services Society of BC (Vancouver), the Inter-cultural Association (Victoria) for language training and job-hunting purposes. With one exception, those interviewed had attended English classes offered to new immigrants. Many continue to attend, not only to improve their English skills, but also to meet new friends. These classes are made up of mixed ethnicities and therefore help to widen their social circle.

Equally eclectic is my subjects' participation in religious organizations. They join such organizations both for religious purposes, and for meeting new people. All adults interviewed claimed to be either Buddhist or Taoist, but not exclusively so. Cheryl and Pi-Hua stated that they were Taoist and Buddhist respectively but had attended Christian churches. When they first arrived in Canada they signed up for free ESL classes offered by local churches. As they

became more familiar with the people there, they accepted invitations to attend religious services, which they enjoyed, and they felt that the Bible had important messages. Pi-Hua commented that she believes in God and in the Bible, sometimes, especially the “unusual power” of God. She feels no pressure to be baptized, and continues to have a Buddhist altar in her home in respect for her parents. Likewise, Cheryl, who considers herself a Taoist, and has a shrine in her home, attends a Chinese Baptist Church because she is “curious [and] want[s] to know what they are doing”. This is a practice she brought from her homeland. In Taiwan, many have fused Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist beliefs (Ng 1998: 7-8). Therefore, while drawing on Christian faiths may not be the norm in Taiwan, the idea of combining different religious beliefs is not unheard of.

In Canada, mainstream Canadians are also becoming more eclectic. My subjects, Paul and Michael, come from strong Taoist families. Upon their arrival in Canada, they established their homes as Holy Houses²³. In the beginning, the Houses mainly attracted Taiwanese, but four years later, as a result of the growing curiosity about Asian religions in mainstream society, more Caucasian Canadians attend.

The desire to move beyond their own Taiwanese associations and business clientele to reach out to the local Chinese community and mainstream institutions has led my adult subjects to a wide social circle. Interview data shows that Taiwanese immigrants had a mixture of friends who are Chinese, Caucasian, and

²³ Holy Houses are private homes which are used for worship in place of Taoist temples. While not permanent temples, followers use holy houses as place to pray, learn and teach the religion, and for special ceremonies.

other ethnicities whom they met through ESL classes, work or religious institutions. They have a core group of Chinese friends with whom they are very close, particularly from Hong Kong or Taiwan. Beyond that, they make friends with new immigrants from other countries. My subjects find that although they and their friends are from different countries, every one shares common ground in socio-cultural adaptation concerns. They feel safe in discussing these concerns. Interestingly, very few of my subjects' new friends are from Mainland China. When questioned further on the reasons, the answers were not forthcoming. Either a shrug or "I just don't meet them" answer. Perhaps the "Taiwan question" has cast a shadow over their relationships.

Taiwanese children, like their parents, have a variety of friends, generally made through school. These include Chinese, other immigrant groups and mainstream children. When asked if they felt there was any difference between their Taiwanese friends and other groups, most of the children in my sample answered in the negative. Leo did feel that there may have been a difference but could not explain it. After a moment's thought, he did say "maybe some Taiwanese friends don't seem as polite".

Conclusion

This chapter on the post-arrival experience and strategies of Taiwanese Canadian families allows me to re-examine the applicability of both the diasporic theory and the integration theory.

As a start, let me point out that diasporic theory and integration theory are not mutually exclusive. It is possible that new immigrants while trying to

integrate into mainstream Canadian society are at the same time retaining network and connections with other compatriots in Canada and their homeland. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the first part of the chapter my subjects' partake in the Taiwanese diaspora only as a short-term strategy and are increasingly integrating into their host country. While some may have been dispersed from their homelands for political reasons, economic adjustment is their main problem in the post-arrival stage. Their temporary commuting between Taiwan and Canada was done for economic or family reasons. However, this did not last long. At some point, they either returned to their homeland permanently or reduced their reliance on social or economic networks in Taiwan and settled in Canada for good. If the "Taiwanese diaspora" is a temporary phenomenon for the adults it is even more a non-issue among their descendants. None of the young subjects in my sample is interested in keeping ties with Taiwan on a permanent basis.

The disinclination to commute to Taiwan on a long term basis and the tendency to regard Canada as their permanent home does not mean that all subjects intend or are able to culturally integrate into mainstream society. Some Taiwanese may segregate themselves from mainstream society but integrate into the local Chinese community. The insistence of the adults in my sample to retain ethnic Chinese cultural tradition and habits and send their children to local Chinese school suggests that they still value their cultural heritage. It is still an open question whether or not the children, with their increasing degree in English language proficiency, will be culturally integrated into mainstream society and forget about the Taiwanese/ethnic Chinese cultural values.

Peach (1996) suggests that there is “bad segregation” and “good segregation” (cited in Bauder and Sharpe 2002: 205), and this distinction applies to my case study. Prior to 1947, institutional racism disallowed Chinese from fully integrating into mainstream society: a form of “bad segregation”. Today we find Taiwanese may segregate themselves from mainstream society, but integrate into local Chinese communities as a way to retain their ethnic identity and unity. They also utilize their Chinese connections and Chinese associations to help their entry into mainstream society (Ujimoto 1999: 257; Isajiw 1975: 129).

Just as there is “good” and “bad” segregation, I would argue that there is also “good” and “bad” integration. Before the 1980s, integration often meant a one way adoption of mainstream culture and institutions. However, with the advent of the policy of multiculturalism and the rise of Asian economic might and cultural influence, the current ethnic boundary between Asian Canadians and mainstream society in Canada is much looser and more permeable. As some mainstream Canadians learn to appreciate Chinese culture, integration becomes a two way process, or “good” integration.

As the data in the second part of the chapter suggest, my subjects did not come to Canada to create a ‘Little Taiwan’. Given the current socio-cultural milieu, they feel it comfortable to retain their social group affiliations, and to reach out to the local Chinese, other new immigrants as well as members of the mainstream society. The fact that all of my subjects have decided to stay permanently in Canada also makes the move to widen their social circle desirable.

Judging from the above, it seems safe to conclude that the diaspora theory, which speculates that those who were dispersed from their homelands for political reasons tend to keep to themselves together as a social entity, does not hold water. By contrast, the integration theory seems to fit the Taiwanese-Canadian case better. There is a certain degree of socio-economic integration into both mainstream and ethnic Chinese society among my subjects. Whether this will convert into psychological integration is the topic for the next chapter.

Chapter Six – Backlash Racism and Taiwanese-Canadian Identity

Whereas the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada... (Canadian Multicultural Act, preamble)

Since 1967, there has been a growing gap between Canadian public policy and private discourse on matters of immigration from non-traditional (European) sources. In the early 1970s, the Trudeau government actively promoted a policy of multiculturalism, initially to appease the Francophone population but increasingly directed towards minorities and, in particular, visible minorities (Jones 2000: 111). A fundamental component of the policy is the recognition of the rights of minorities to retain and develop their ethnic identities (Frideres 1999: 70; Ujimoto 1999: 283; Tepper 1997: 61). Although this initiative has won Canada a positive image abroad, it has some intrinsic internal problems. While encouraging a pluralistic society, the multiculturalism policy has failed to attack the problems of systemic racism, discrimination, and stereotyping. Supporting the preservation of ethnic cultures may lead to permanent division within Canadian society (Frideres 2000: 70; Thobani 2000: 43; Ujimoto 1999: 281; Skeldon 1997a: 70, Tepper 1997: 53; Bissondath 1994; cited in Henry and Tator 1999: 94). When some mainstream Canadians are under economic stress, and when they find that a large number of new Asian Canadians are, in fact, more affluent than themselves, anti-Asian racism, latent since the 1950s, raises its ugly head, often in the form of 'backlash racism'.

'Backlash racism' differs from the institutional racism found in the pre-World War II era. Prior to 1947, racist ideas and attitudes were intrinsic in state policies. Immigration policy, national, provincial and municipal legislations used the theory of racial inferiority to exclude Chinese and other Asians from full participation in Canadian society (Li 1998: 37; Simmons 1997: 30). Officially labeling Asians as inferior to 'white' Canada allowed for labour exploitation. During the 1960s and 1970s while racist policies were no longer embedded in state policies, there existed an "informal racism" which allowed for partial exclusion of visible minorities, especially in the employment sector (Simmons 1997: 33-35). In the 1980s, with the advent of multicultural and other proactive policies, institutional racism became a thing of the past. In its place, there has been a shift to the direction of 'backlash racism' among the mainstream Canadian population.

'Backlash', or reactive racism, continues to use the othering process. Instead of well-planned out and systematically applied racist policies, it takes the form of spontaneous "knee jerk" reaction to the presence of Asians in Canada. Since it is no longer legal or acceptable to openly express racist feelings in action or words, people who harbour racist attitudes often argue that it is not the race of the other that they dislike, but that they do not like what they wear, or the houses they build, or the way they live. This form of racism differs from institutional racism in that it is people's reaction against the different characteristics and cultural practices of certain groups of visible minorities (Simmons 1997: 29-47). I have often heard the statement which begins with 'I'm not racist but...' and then is

followed by a comment such as ‘I can’t stand how all the Chinese cut down all the trees on a lot and then build those huge houses’.

Mainstream Canadians usually cannot distinguish between different subcategories of ethnic Chinese, and sometimes not even between ethnic Chinese and other East Asians, so this ‘backlash racism’ is directed equally against people from Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan, and South Korea. Anti-Asian feelings are expressed in graffiti in public toilets, distribution of racists pamphlets, radio talk shows, letters to the editors, push for rezoning by-laws, and even violent physical attacks on individuals.

These racially motivated actions among mainstream Canadians reached a climax in the late 1980s because the business immigration program made it easier for Asians with investment capital and entrepreneurial expertise to enter Canada. Prior to the 1980s, the Asian population in Canada was relatively small, the community was generally segregated, and they were not prominent in the Canadian economy. Those that entered Canada after the inception of the point system were more skilled and educated than those who came prior to World War II, but took employment in Canada that was below their skill level and lower paid (Simmons 1997: 33-35). The post 1985 wave of immigrants are wealthier and more successful compared to the average Canadian (Li 1998: 40; Simmons 1997: 47-49). They can no longer be regarded or treated as inferior (Simmons 1997: 47). The reactive racism is born of resentment and envy. The public perception was that all Asian immigrants were uncommitted to Canada, and unwilling to integrate (Rose 2001: 485-486; Wong 1995: 486). They all seemed to flaunt their

riches and use loopholes in Canadian immigration policy to further their own personal agenda in Asia. This public perception was (and remains) evident in media coverage of issues of consumption patterns and life-styles among Asian Canadians.

The Vancouver/Richmond area, for example, has seen a rapid influx of Chinese immigrants in the past ten to fifteen years. This cultural transformation has led to racist agitation in the region. Mainstream residents felt threatened by this dramatic change in racial composition. They raise the question of non-integration in Canadian society. One respondent in the study by Rose (2001) commented on the 'attitude' of new Chinese neighbors: they just did not want to socialize with other residents, even when long-term Richmond residents attempted to engage in conversation, the new residents made no effort to become 'neighborly' (Rose 2001: 488).

A far more serious charge against new Chinese immigrants in Vancouver concerns housing styles. In the late 1980's, buyers and builders (mainly from Hong Kong) of 'monster houses'²⁴ in Shaughnessy and other parts of Vancouver found themselves in direct confrontation with long term residents who were almost exclusively made up of individuals of British heritage (Mitchell 1999: 156). Residents complained about the large houses which change the traditional character of the neighbourhood and inflate real estate values. This remains an issue with Vancouver and Richmond residents long after the legal battle. For

²⁴ 'Monster Houses' are large houses, often over 4,000 square feet, which are built on a cleared lot and often built in a mixture of styles including Greek columns, spiral staircases and a large entry hall with very few trees or shrubbery surrounding the home so that it can be clearly seen by all who pass (Ley 1997: 335)

example, Rose (2001) interviewed a group of people who had lived in Richmond prior to 1980 and asked their views on the changing face of their community with regards to new immigrants. Many were unhappy, with one participant noting “they don’t care about building mega-houses, cutting down the trees...[t]hey didn’t come caring about Canada because it’s a temporary ‘wait and see’ home” (Rose 2001: 485).

Given that Canada was under economic stress in the 1990s and given the rise of ‘backlash racism’ against new Asian immigrants, it should not come as a surprise that many mainstream Canadians have lost the humanitarian feeling towards refugees from Asia, which they felt for the “boat people” from Vietnam in the late 1970s. From July to September 1999, the landing of 599 Fujianese immigrants on the shores of western Vancouver Island led to a frenzied response from the media, harping on the fear that British Columbia would be ‘invaded’ by undocumented Chinese migrants. Newspaper articles consistently racialized the illegality of the Chinese (often referred to as ‘Asian’) immigrants. In no time, the issue changed from a ‘problem’ to a ‘crisis’ in Canada’s immigration and refugee policy and a crisis for Canadian people’s health and welfare (Hier and Greenberg 2002: 502-506).

An inundation of letters to the editor took on much the same tone as feature articles in the paper. In Vancouver, The Province asked its readers to respond to the question “[s]hould Canada toughen refugee regulations to discourage illegal migrants?” Many of the responses focused on immediately sending illegal migrants back. “Illegal immigrants should be fast-tracked out of here,... it’s time

to start looking in our own back yard” (The Province 2001, April 16: A17).

Others complained of the cost to Canadian taxpayers: “Because of Canada’s inept immigration laws, conceived and enacted in Ottawa, B.C. taxpayers are going to be stuck with a bill of more than \$5 million for the care of the illegal migrants....Fly them to Ottawa ...once they are safely on the ground, they become Ottawa’s problem.” (The Vancouver Sun 1999, August 17: A12). The tone was not one of overt discrimination, but discrimination veiled under the pretext of issues with illegal immigrants. The people professed to object to the ‘boat people’ because they were illegal, not because they were Chinese. “We should send the illegal immigrants home. It has nothing to do with their being Chinese” (Times Colonist 1999, August 26: A11). Jon Ferry’s article, “We’re not racists: We just don’t like being taken advantage of,” argued that the illegal migrants were “content to break every rule in the immigration book by slinking in through the back door, however squalid.” (The Province 1999, August 19: A18). Those who lived close to the holding base at CFB Esquimalt were also none too pleased. “We live right in the middle of a war zone...I’ve just had it” (Times Colonist 1999, September 13:A4). Even before refugee hearings were undertaken, the migrants were already judged by mainstream Canada. “The plain and simple fact is that Canadians oppose admitting phoney refugees and illegal immigrants...” (Times Colonist 1999, September 27: C05). One writer was angered by seeing overt racism raise its ugly head in Vancouver at the height of the Fujianese migrant case. She witnessed a smartly dressed white male driver yelling a racial epithet at

a young Asian woman walking with her mother and daughter (The Vancouver Sun 1999, September 20: A9).

While Fujian 'boat people' and Hong Kong Chinese bore the direct brunt of the resurgence of anti-Asian backlash, in the 1990's Taiwanese Canadians must have felt the effects of 'backlash racism'. Yet, when participants in this study were asked about mainstream Canada's reception to them, they claimed that they had not faced any forms of racism or discrimination since coming to Canada.

There are three possible reasons for this response. The first is that they truly had not experienced racism. However, I find this difficult to believe given the intensity of anti-Asian frenzy I read in the media and heard in my own social circle. The second reason is that they might be unwilling to share possible negative experiences with a Caucasian interviewer. Third, there may be a desire on their part to ignore racism and discrimination as real issues in their adjustment to Canadian society. This last hypothesis is supported by a study done by Ruggiero and Taylor (2000) who found a tendency for minority or "disadvantaged"²⁵ group members to minimize the possibility of discrimination. According to this study, respondents believed the reason for failure was due to personal attributes as opposed to discrimination (Taylor, Wright & Ruggiero 2000: 198-203). Since the reactive form of racism is often couched in indirect terms, new immigrants may be deceived into believing that the negative treatment they received was not racial discrimination.

²⁵ Initially the study was done on women, but then expanded to Asian and Black students with findings surprisingly similar (Taylor et. al. 2000: 198-200).

When Taiwanese immigrants arrive in Canada, they find reassurance in the knowledge that Canadian legislations allow and encourage maintenance of ethnic cultures. They believe they are entering a society in which racial diversity is celebrated and where they can integrate into mainstream society, but still preserve their ethnic identity. Yet, after arrival, they are faced with anti-Asian 'backlash racism' in the media and amongst mainstream Canadians. Ever so subtly, they are continually reminded that they are not *real* Canadians.

My subjects have made serious attempts to integrate into both the local Chinese community and mainstream society in the post-arrival stage. Some adults, after an initial period of commuting to Taiwan for economic or personal reasons, have settled down permanently. Most adults, not feeling entirely comfortable with the English language and wanting their children to retain ethnic heritage, have continued networking with other Taiwanese as well as the local Chinese community. However, by and large, interviewees indicate a genuine attempt to reach out to the wider community. Their businesses now have a mixed clientele. They have made use of social services provided by both Chinatown and mainstream institutions. They participate in both Chinese and non-Chinese cultural and religious associations. They are making friends with mainstream Canadians who have grown to admire elements of Asian culture.

While adults are semi-integrated into Canadian society, the children's social integration is almost complete. None of them is interested in continuing strong ties with Taiwan, and they are developing close friendships with mainstream Canadian children. That this increasing degree of socioeconomic

integration into mainstream society may not be converted into psychological integration can be attributed largely to the resurgence of anti-Asian 'backlash racism' in Canada.

When my adult subjects were asked about their identity, none of them answered 'Canadian'. Many said they were Chinese. One participant (Michelle) checked the Chinese, Taiwanese and Canadian categories in my questionnaire. Cheryl, when given the option of choosing the "Chinese-Canadian" category, she said, "oh I like that one, I've never used it before".

The question of identity can be hardest on the younger children. Sammy is an eight year old from a wealthy Taiwanese family who came to Canada when he was a baby. He is currently the only ethnic Chinese enrolled in the local French immersion school. His mother has always self-identified their family as "Chinese". One day he was visiting a Caucasian Canadian friend's house and telling his little friend that he was Chinese. The friend's father, overhearing, said 'No, You are Taiwanese'. When he returned home, he was very confused and asked his mother to explain. She could not explain, as she was confused about her own identity. Yes, she is Taiwanese, but she is also Chinese, but (as of yet) does not identify herself as Canadian.

Chapter Seven - Conclusion

As there is no comprehensive study of Taiwanese immigration to Canada, this project was undertaken as an exploratory study to fill an important gap in our knowledge of these Asian Canadians. Using existing literature on the post-1985 wave of East Asian immigration to Canada as points of departure, I designed a multifaceted research methodology, which included examining government documents, perusing newspapers, and interviewing a small group of Taiwanese-Canadians in Nanaimo, Victoria and Vancouver. This data was used to question the validity of the different international migration theories.

Results suggest that the Taiwanese came to Canada not for economic betterment, but because they thought that, compared to their home country, Canada offered a much better social, political, and natural environment for themselves and their offspring. Indeed, looking from the outside, Canada in the post 1985 period seems to be an attractive host country. Its immigration legislation is liberal. It welcomes immigrants who have the skills and expertise its economy needs. It encourages those who have the investment capital and the entrepreneurial experience to enter the country. It promises to respect and support immigrants who wish to retain their cultures and create their own ethnic neighbourhoods and associations. It allows visible minorities full civil liberties, political participation, and equal opportunities. It has laws which protect its citizens from racial discrimination. It has affirmative legislations, which allow disadvantaged groups such as visible minorities a level

playing field. It offers a number of social services to help new immigrants adjust and settle in the country.

As Taiwan has undergone an “economic miracle” in the past few decades, more and more of its citizens have the “right” qualifications to enter Canada. Immigration/emigration legislations in both Canada and Taiwan allow Taiwanese to enter and exit either country with ease. Citizenship laws and social policies in both countries allow them to be simultaneously Taiwanese and Canadian.

The actual reality in Canada, however, does not measure up to this liberal image. In post-arrival stage, my subjects are caught in the gap between public policy and private discourse on immigration and multiculturalism. There are sufficient roadblocks in Canadian society to make economic adjustments problematic for Taiwanese migrants, even for those who were told by the Immigration Officers that their skills and expertise are needed and welcomed by Canada. Many heads of households, therefore, had to commute back and forth from Taiwan to Canada for employment. When they did so, mainstream Canadians often accused them of not being fully committed to Canada, and purposely leaving their children and seniors to “milk” the Canadian system especially in the education, health, and social services.

As the Business Immigrant Program downplays the necessity of English/French language ability, many Taiwanese immigrants came with little or no knowledge of the official languages. Not feeling comfortable, they chose to live in Chinese neighbourhoods. Wanting their children to retain their cultural heritage, they

celebrate Chinese festivals, speak Chinese at home, cook ethnic foods. They place their children in Chinese schools. With the belief that Canadian multiculturalism policy encourages each ethnic group to retain its cultural heritage, it must be disconcerting for my subjects to find that their cultural practices offended the sensitivities of mainstream Canadians who suspected them of not being willing to integrate into mainstream society.

It is ironic that these accusations by mainstream Canadians are false. Media articles and letters to the editor depicting post-1985 Chinese immigrants as uncommitted to Canada and refusing to integrate do not accurately reflect reality. All subjects in my study – both parents and children – have decided to settle in Canada and regard Canada as their home. Some adults may have initially commuted back and forth from Taiwan for family or employment reasons, but once they found an economic niche within Canada, they cut their economic ties with Taiwan. Their businesses now have a mixed clientele, they use mainstream as well as Chinese –run social services, and they participate in all kinds of social, cultural, and religious associations, whether they are set up by fellow Taiwanese, local Chinese, or mainstream society. With increasingly permeable ethnic boundaries, they are making friends with mainstream Canadians who have grown to appreciate elements of Chinese culture. The children are integrating socially and culturally into mainstream Canada, even though some attend local Chinese schools.

A whole history of anti-Asian racism is behind this false accusation of Asian immigrants being uncommitted to Canada and unwilling to integrate, particularly in British Columbia. In the pre-War period, the poor downtrodden Chinese were accused of being sojourners, uncommitted to Canada because they remitted their entire savings home and intended to retire to their villages. With their “strange” cultures, they were regarded as unassimilable. They lived in Chinatown, worked in ethnic businesses, and only participated in Chinatown associations, seemingly refusing to integrate into mainstream society. Being an “inferior race” as defined by Social Darwinist theory of the day, both government and mainstream people supported discriminatory legislations, which excluded newcomers and kept the remaining Chinese unintegrated in Canada.

All this has changed since 1967. At present, in accordance with economic and human resource needs in Canada, immigration policy welcomes affluent and skilled Chinese to the country. However, the image of uncommitted and unintegrated Chinese immigrants dies hard. Under modern-day economic stress, many mainstream Canadians resent the fact that their government’s Business Immigrant Program has brought into the country proud ethnic Chinese who are more affluent than the average Canadian. This has caused a resurgence of ‘backlash racism’ which inhibits psychological integration of the Taiwanese into mainstream society. Even though they regard Canada as their permanent home, many do not identify themselves as “Canadians”. They regard themselves as either “Chinese” or “Taiwanese”.

Apart from government documents and newspaper articles, the findings outlined are based on the actual experience of a small non-randomly selected group of Taiwanese households and individuals. The limitations in generalizability of these findings are obvious. As an exploratory study, this data does not intend to provide a full spectrum of Taiwanese-Canadian experience, or offer definitive confirmation or refutation on the validity of various international migration theories. Apart from attempting to fill a knowledge gap on the post-1985 Asian Canadian immigration and the Canadian response, these case studies can only be used as counter-examples to allow us to begin questioning the validity of various theories and schools of thought on international migration.

Judging from the testimony of subjects, I think scholars tend to over-emphasize the economic push and pull forces of immigration. Neither the dependency/world system theories nor the economic theories of migration apply to the participants of my project. Some came because of increased political tension across the Taiwanese Straits, and others came because of residual community tension between 'locals' and 'mainlanders' in Taiwan. Still others came because they thought that Canada offered a better educational, natural, and social environment for their children. Some subjects came for personal and idiosyncratic reasons. None came because of dire economic necessity or in search for better economic opportunities.

The diaspora approach to the study of international migrations seems to work better for my case studies because this theory keeps the causes of

immigration/emigration open-ended, thus avoiding the economic-focus of other theories. In emphasizing networking activities of individuals, this theory helps look at commuting practices of immigrants and their network building activities with their compatriots within Canada. However, this approach is of limited applicability for my particular study. Only a few adults in this sample are part of a “global diaspora” in the initial post-arrival stage. They did not commute to Taiwan as a long-term economic strategy. As well, while some adult subjects keep their Chinese social network in Canada, it is not their only strategy; they also reach out to mainstream society. In addition, their children have not been, and will probably never be, part of a Taiwanese diaspora.

This does not mean that this study totally discredits the diaspora theory. For every subject who opted out of the Taiwanese diaspora, there may be many others who are part of it. The fact that these adult subjects are here and willing to be interviewed by a Caucasian woman, may indicate that they have become rooted in Canada. Researchers like me may never be able to pin down subjects who are constantly “in transit”, or who are so enveloped in the Taiwanese network that they would not be willing to talk to a Caucasian female interviewer. Thus, my study can only provide counter-examples to show that the diaspora theory does not apply to every Taiwanese immigrant.

While not all ethnic Chinese immigrants of the current period are commuters on a long-term basis, the media-image that they are all part of a global diaspora

causes them to suffer from ‘backlash racism’. People in mainstream society who subscribe to the diaspora theory tend to imagine ethnic Chinese as part of an “international conspiracy”. With their lack of commitment to the host country, new Asian immigrants threaten to undermine the Canadian nation-building project.

Despite its limitations and certain built-in biases, I find the integration theory most useful in examining the post-arrival experience of Taiwanese immigrants. As integration can be broken down into economic, social, cultural, and psychological levels, this theory is very flexible in terms of applicability. It can be adequately used to explain inter-generational differences among my subjects. Adult subjects, for example, find it difficult to totally integrate culturally into mainstream society because of linguistic barriers and upbringing. They do, however, succeed in culturally integrating into the local Chinese community, and many achieve partial socioeconomic integration with mainstream society. The children, through participation in mainstream public schools, are integrating socially and culturally into mainstream Canadian society more fully and at a much faster rate than their parents.

As in the case of diaspora theory, the data here cannot totally confirm the integration theory. The fact that these subjects agreed to be interviewed by a Caucasian woman shows they may be well in the process of integration. For every subject in the sample who is partially or totally integrated, there may be many more who are totally segregated from mainstream society or even from the local Chinese community. However, my findings do highlight the fact that the degree of integration

depends on the convergence of two forces: the willingness and ability of the immigrants themselves to participate fully in Canadian society, and the openness of socio-cultural environment in their host country. This is particularly the case for psychological integration. Even at its most liberal stage, ethnic boundaries in Canada are still not totally permeable. Given the anti-Asian past and the resurgence of 'backlash racism', even the most socially or culturally integrated Taiwanese Canadians may never reach the stage of psychological integration. However much they continue to show their desire to be involved in and contribute to Canadian society, they may never regard themselves, or be regarded by others, as truly Canadian.

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Appendix One – Total Chinese Immigration to Canada 1984-2000²⁶

Year	From all source countries	From Asia	Chinese	Chinese as percent of total
1984	88,273	41,896	10331	12%
1985	84,333	38,597	9799	12%
1986	99,326	41,600	8490	9%
1987	152,001	67,327	20262	13%
1988	161,500	81,136	28246	17%
1989	191,497	93,213	27726	14%
1990	216,398	111,739	40931	19%
1991	232,751	119,955	40743	18%
1992	254,820	139,216	59795	22%
1993	256,739	147,323	55909	22%
1994	224,373	141,587	64066	29%
1995	212,860	129,106	52728	25%
1996	226,044	124,771	60732	27%
1997	216,024	117,076	54093	25%
1998	174,162	84,125	35031	20%
1999	189,911	96,429	38237	20%
2000	227,209	120,491	43086	19%

²⁶ 'Chinese' refers to the total number of immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China. While ethnic Chinese have immigrated from other countries, Citizenship and Immigration Canada does not provide statistics on sub-ethnic categories, only home countries

Appendix Two - Chinese and Visible Minority Population in Canada (selected entry) – 1996, 2001

	Canada		BC		Vancouver		Victoria	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Total Population	28,528,125	29,639,035	3,689,760	3,868,870	1,813,935	1,967,480	300,030	306,970
Total Visible Minority²⁷	3,197,480	3,983,845	660,545	836,440	564,600	725,655	22,915	27,185
Total ethnic Chinese	860,150	1,029,395	299,860	365,485	279,040	342,665	9,445	11,245
Chinese % of Total Population	3%	3%	8%	9%	15%	17%	3%	4%

Source: 1996 and 2001 Census Nation Tables Series.

²⁷Visible Minorities are defined in Census Canada as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”. The visible minority population in this table includes the following groups: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs/West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans and Pacific Islanders (1996 Census, definitions).

Appendix Three - Canada Immigration Regulations - October 1, 1967

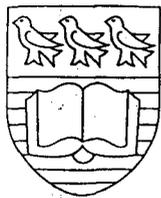
The 1967 regulations created three categories of immigrants: 1) sponsored dependents²⁸, 2) nominated (non-dependent) relatives, and 3) independent applicants. Sponsored dependents were admitted to Canada if they were in “good health and of good character” (Hawkins 1972: 374). Nominated relatives and independent applicants had to meet certain standards under the point system. Nominated relatives were assessed under the first five factors only. Independent immigrants were assessed under all factors and had to achieve at least fifty of the one hundred units available. Immigration Officers had the final say in the admission of an applicant, and was able to admit those with under fifty points or disallow those who achieved over fifty points at their discretion.

Factor	Units of assessment	Notes
1) Education and Training	20 maximum	One unit for each successful year of formal education or occupational training.
2) Personal Assessment	15 maximum	Based on immigration officer's assessment of applicant's adaptability, motivation, initiative, and other similar qualities.
3) Occupational Demand	15 maximum	Based on demand in Canada for applicant's occupation, whether skilled or unskilled.
4) Age	10 maximum	Ten units if under thirty-five. One unit deducted for each year over thirty-five.
5) Arranged Employment	10 units given	If applicant has definite job arranged in Canada.
6) Knowledge of English and French	10 maximum	Dependent on degree of fluency in French and English.
7) Relative	5 maximum	If applicant has relative in Canada able to help, but is unable or unprepared to sponsor or nominate applicant.
8) Employment Opportunities in Area of Destination	5 maximum	If applicant intends to go to an area of Canada where there is a generally strong demand for labour.

Source: Freda Hawkins. 1972. Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press. pp. 374-375.

²⁸ Dependents are defined as husband or wife; fiancé or fiancée; unmarried sons or daughters under twenty-one; parents or grandparents over sixty, or under if unable to work; and orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren under eighteen (Hawkins 1972: 374).

Appendix Four - University of Victoria- Human Ethics Committee Certificate
of Approval



*challenge minds
change worlds*

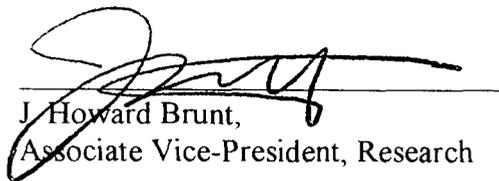
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA - HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

<u>PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR</u> Nancy Blundell Graduate Student	<u>DEPARTMENT/SCHOOL</u> PAOR	<u>SUPERVISOR</u> Dr. Yuen-fong Woon	
<u>CO-INVESTIGATOR(S)</u> :			
<u>TITLE</u> : Taiwanese Immigrants to Canada: Social networks and family patterns			
<u>PROJECT No.</u> 408-01	<u>START DATE</u> 2/25/2002	<u>END DATE</u> 2/24/2003	<u>APPROVAL</u> 2/25/2002

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the University of Victoria Ethics Review Committee on Research and Other Activities Involving Human Subjects has examined the research proposal and concludes that, in all respects, the proposed research meets appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Subjects.


J. Howard Brunt,
Associate Vice-President, Research

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the procedures. Extensions/minor amendments may be granted upon receipt of "Request for Continuing Review or Amendment of an Approved Project" form.

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Appendix Five - Participant Characteristics

Pseudo-name	Gender	Age Range	Marital status	Education level	Occupation in Taiwan	Year of Entry	Immigration Category	City of Residence	Occupation in Canada
Cheryl	Female	40-44	Divorced	2 years college	Hospital Manager	1998	Investor	Vancouver	Business owner (coffee shop)
David	Male	40-44	Married	University Degree	Software Developer	1999	Skilled Worker	Vancouver	Computer Programmer
Christine	Female	40-44	Married	Highschool diploma	Nurses aid	1999	Dependent	Vancouver	Food service worker
Wilson	Male	under 15	Single	Middle School	Student	1999	Dependent	Vancouver	Middle School Student
Howard	Male	under 15	Single	Middle School	Student	1999	Dependent	Vancouver	Middle School Student
Min-Hsien	Male	55-59	Married	University Degree	Businessman (own Business)	1996	Investor	Vancouver	Retired
Pi-Hua	Female	50-54	Married	High School Diploma	Housewife/Help with family business	1996	Dependent	Vancouver	Retired
Chia-Lin	Female	30-34	Married	High School Diploma	Student	2001	Family Class	Victoria	Unemployed
Lien Fang	Male	over 65	Married	MD degree	Medical Doctor	1996	Retiree	Victoria	Retired
Paul	Male	25-29	Married	University Degree	Student	1996	Dependent	Victoria	Photographer
Tracy	Female	20-24	Married	University Degree	Student	1995	Dependent	Victoria	Housewife

Name	Gender	Age Range	Marital status	Education level	Occupation in Taiwan	Year of Entry	Immigration Category	City of Residence	Occupation in Canada
Jeff	Male	45-49	Married	University Degree	Accupressure	1998	Self-employed	Victoria	Accupressure clinic
Shu-fang	Female	40-44	Married	University Degree	Housewife	1998	Dependent	Victoria	Help with family business
Leo	Male	15-19	Single	High School	Student	1998	Dependent	Victoria	High School Student
Michelle	Female	15-19	Single	High School	Student	1998	Dependent	Victoria	High School Student
Jenny	Female	15-19	Single	1 year University	Student	1998	Dependent	Victoria	University Student
Chris	Male	35-39	Married	University Degree	Own business - retail sales	1999	Self-employed	Victoria	Own Family Business (store)
Man Ying	Female	30-34	Married	University Degree	Housewife/help with family business	1999	Dependent	Victoria	Help with family business
Michael	Male	40-44	Married	University Degree	Businessman	1998	Investor	Nanaimo	Hotel Management
Phyllis	Female	40-44	Married	High School Diploma	Housewife	1998	Dependent	Nanaimo	Housewife
Sunny	Female	35-39	Single	University Degree	Family Business	1999	Investor	Nanaimo	Unemployed

Appendix Six – Pre Interview Questionnaire

This form is to be filled out after you have signed the informed consent form, and prior to the actual interview. You are at liberty to delete, modify, revise, or add any questions. This pre-interview questionnaire is designed to give me basic information from which to base the individual interview questions. By filling out this form, questions which do not pertain to you can be omitted from the interview, thus saving time. Please answer questions to the best of your ability. If there is not enough space, please feel free to write on the back of the paper. Thank you.

1) Age range (please circle)

Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	over 65

2) Place of birth

If not born in Taiwan, number of years lived in Taiwan

3) Occupation in Taiwan just before immigration

4) Occupation (in Canada)

1st Job _____ **Year(s):** _____

2nd Job _____ **Year(s):** _____

3rd Job _____ **Year(s):** _____

5) Marital Status (please circle)

Single (never married)

Married/Common-law (with children)

Married/Common-law (no children)

Divorced

Widowed

6) Education (please indicate highest level attained)

Type of school	Level attained (grade/year)	Location (country) of School
Elementary School		
Junior High School		
Senior High School		
College/University		
Name of College/University:		
Bachelor's Degree		
Master's Degree		
Doctorate (PhD)		
Medical Doctor		

7) Ethnicity (as you describe yourself)

Chinese Taiwanese Chinese-Canadian
 Taiwanese-Canadian Canadian Other: _____

8) What is your religion? if any

Did you belong to any religious organizations in Taiwan?

Do you belong to any religious organizations in Canada? Which ones?

Do you hold a leadership position?

9) Immigration category you entered Canada under (please check)

Family Class
 Refugee
 Independent Immigrant (please specify sub-category)
 Assisted relative
 Skilled worker
 Entrepreneur
 Investor
 Self-employed
 Retiree

11) Date left Taiwan

12) **Date of Landed Immigrant Status**

13) **Date of getting Canadian Citizenship**

14) **Number of visits to Canada prior to immigrating**

Year	Purpose of visit?

15) **Do you have any Children under 18 years or age?**

How many?

What are the ages of your children?

How many attend school?

What are the names of the schools they attend?

From which ethnic group would you like your child to marry?

Taiwanese

Mainland Chinese

Hong Kong Chinese

Local-born Chinese

Other Chinese

Asians

Westerners

Other: _____

No preference

16) **Organizations/Associations involved with in Canada?**

Type of Organization	Position (if any)

Appendix Four – Interview Questions and Topics (Complete List)

These are a copy of the questions and topics I would like to discuss during our interview. You are at perfect liberty to delete, modify, revise or add any questions or topics. During the interview, you have the right to refuse to answer any questions or discuss and details that you do not feel comfortable with. You have the right to end the interview session whenever you wish. I will respect your wishes. After you have had time to look over these topics, you will be asked to sign an informed consent form. Thank you for your time and participation.

這是一份當我要訪問您的時候,所要與您討論的問題與主題.您可以充份自由的刪除,修改或是增加任何您有興趣的話題.在訪問期間,您有權利拒絕回答或討論任何令您覺得不自在的話題.當您不想繼續接受訪問時,您也有權利隨時終止訪問.我將會尊重您的選擇.在您仔細的看過這些問題之後,您將會被要求簽署一份同意書.謝謝您所投入的時間與合作.

Prior to Immigration

移民之前

- 1) What was your life like in Taiwan?
您的家庭成員,經濟狀況,及您參與組織/社團的情形.
 - a. family structure
 - b. socio-economic status (just before immigration)
 - c. organization/association involvement
- 2) Why did you decide to leave Taiwan?
您為什麼要離開台灣?
- 3) Was Canada your first choice in destination? Why or why not?
加拿大是您的第一選擇嗎?為什麼?
- 4) If not Canada, which country was your first choice? Why?
如果加拿大不是您的第一選擇,哪一個國家才是您的第一選擇?為什麼?
- 5) Other than Canada, did you have any other options/countries from which to choose?
除了加拿大之外,您是否有其他的選擇?
- 6) Did you have any ties (family or friends) with Canada prior to immigration?
您是否有親戚或朋友已經移民加拿大?
- 7) How did you feel about the immigration process?
您移民的過程:
 - a. Did you have help with application? If yes – who?
是否有人協助您申請移民手續?如果有,是誰幫您申請?
 - b. Time from application to acceptance and then migration?
從申請到核准進而遷居報到,共花了多少時間?
- 8) Are you happy you chose to come to Canada? Why, why not?
您是否滿意選擇移民加拿大?為什麼?

In Canada –

抵達加拿大

Socio-cultural Issues

社會與文化問題

- 1) Did you receive any help with adjusting to Canadian socio-cultural customs upon arrival in Canada? If so, by whom? Do you feel they were helpful?
當你抵達加拿大之後,是否有人提供協助您適應加拿大的社會與文化?如果有,誰提供這項服務?您覺得對您有幫助嗎?
- 2) What nationality are your neighbours, people on the same block, people on the same street? Taiwanese, Chinese, other Asians, ‘Western’
您的鄰居是什麼國籍?台灣人?中國人?其他亞洲人?或是西方人?
- 3) Do you own or rent your home?
您的房子是自行購賣或是租賃?
- 4) What do you do in your spare time?
您如何打發您的休閒時間?
- 5) Who do spend your spare time with?
誰與您共度休閒時間?
- 6) What was your level of English when you left Taiwan?
在您離開台灣之前,您的英文程度如何?
- 7) What language do you speak at home? with friends? At work?
在家中,與朋友相處或工作時,您都是以什麼語言和他人溝通?
- 8) When you are out in the community, which language do you use:
當您外出購物,處理銀行業務或是看醫生的時候,您都使用什麼語言?
- when shopping?
- for banking?
- when seeing a Doctor?
- 9) Do you celebrate Taiwanese/Chinese holidays or festivals? If so, which ones? Are they celebrated as they would be in Taiwan?
您慶祝台灣的節慶嗎?哪一個節慶?慶祝的方式和台灣一樣嗎?
- 10) Do you belong to any organizations/associations? If so, what kind of organization? Do you hold any leadership position?
您是否加入任何社團組織?在組織中,你是否擔任領導地位?
- 11) How did you become involved in the organization/association?
您是如何加入社團組織的?
- 12) Do you practice any religion/belief? If so, are you able to continue to do so comfortably in Canada? Do you hold any leadership position?
您是否有任何宗教信仰?在加拿大,您是否能自在的繼續您的宗教信仰?在您的宗教信仰組織中,您是否居於領導的地位?

Occupation/Business Issues

職業/事業問題

- 1) What is your current occupation?
您現在的職業是什麼?
- 2) What ethnic origin are your co-workers/partners/employees?
您的同事,夥伴,職員是什麼種族?

- 3) Have you held more than one job since arriving in Canada? If so, how many and what types of employment?
您是否有過一個以上的工作?都是什麼性質的工作?
- 4) Do you have any business or investments in other parts of Canada? If so, where and what are they?
您是否有另外的事業或投資在加拿大其他城市或其他國家?在哪裡?是什麼性質?在這項事業中,您所扮演的角色是什麼?爲什麼您仍繼續維持這個事業?

Taiwan connections

與台灣的聯繫

- 1) Have you returned to Taiwan since immigrating to Canada?
從您移民至加拿大之後,是否曾回過台灣?多少次?每次都停留多久?
- 2) How many times? How long was each trip? What was the purpose of the trip(s)?
您回台灣的目的是什麼?
- 3) Did your spouse, children and/or senior parents accompany you?
您的配偶,子女或父母是否與您同行?
- 4) What connections do you maintain with Taiwan?
您是否依舊維持與台灣親戚,朋友或事業的聯繫?
 - a. Family?
 - b. Friends?
 - c. Business
- 5) Do you send remittances back to any family in Taiwan? Does the family rely on this for their living expenses? Education funds?
您是否需要匯款回台灣給您的任何親戚去接濟他們的生活或教育基金?
- 6) Do you maintain connections with other Taiwanese in other parts of Canada or the world?
您是否與居住在加拿大其他城市或世界各地的台灣籍親戚,朋友保持聯繫?

Child/Youth Dependents²⁹ (if applicable)

未成年子女的教育問題

- 1) How old was your child (children) when you arrived in Canada
您移民加拿大是在您的子女幾歲的時候?
(* How old were you when you came to Canada?)
- 2) What was their level of English?
當時他們的英文程度如何?
(* How much English could you speak?)

²⁹ Parents were asked these questions when their dependents were not available or too young to be interviewed. Questions which show an asterisk (*) were asked directly to the youth if they were present at the interview.

- 3) Did they receive ESL classes? If yes:
他們是否接受 ESL 課程的幫助?如果有,是透過學校方面,官方非營利組織,或是私人家教的幫助?
- through the school system?
 - through a non-profit organization (free tuition)?
 - through special arrangement paid by you?
- (* Did you go to ESL classes? Where?)
- 4) What type of influence do you think the Canadian education system has had on your child? More positive or negative than in Taiwan?
您認為加拿大教育系統給予您的子女什麼影響?與台灣的教育系統比較起來,是正面影響居多?還是負面影響居多?
(* Do you like school in Canada better than Taiwan?)
- 5) Are their classmates/friends mainly Taiwanese, Chinese or others?
他們主要的同學,朋友是什麼國籍?
(* Are your classmates/friends mainly Taiwanese, Chinese or other?)
- 6) Do you approve of your children's friends?
您是否同意您的子女與他們的朋友交往?
- 7) What future do you hope for your children?
您希望子女的未來會是如何?
(* What do you hope to do in the future?)
- 8) Do you think they have better opportunities in Canada than Taiwan?
Why?
您認為他們在加拿大會比在台灣有更多的機會嗎?為什麼?
(* Are you happy you came to Canada?)

Other issues

其他問題

- Do you intend to settle permanently in Canada?
您是否打算永久的居留在加拿大?
- Do you still keep your Taiwanese citizenship?
您是否仍持有台灣國籍?
- Do you intend to sponsor any other relatives?
您是否鼓勵您的親友移民加拿大?
- Under what conditions would you return to Taiwan? Leave Canada?
什麼情況之下,您會考慮離開加拿大,回到台灣?
- Would you move to another part of Canada? Another country? Why?
您會遷居到加拿大其他城市或其他國家嗎?為什麼?
- Do you know Taiwanese who applied to Canada, but were not accepted?
Do you feel you were luckier than those Taiwanese that were not able to immigrate to Canada?
在您的朋友中,是否有人申請移民加拿大,但卻被拒絕?您是否覺得您比他們幸運?

Appendix Eight - Selection criteria for business immigrants, assisted relatives and other independent immigrants (1999)²⁹

Factor	Units of Assessment	Notes
Education	16 maximum	Secondary School must have been completed.
Education and training	18 maximum	
Experience	8 maximum	0 units mean an automatic refusal, except for persons with arranged employment or a desired occupation. ³⁰
Occupation	10 maximum	0 units mean an automatic refusal, except for persons with arranged employment or a designated occupation ³¹ and the self-employed. (N/A for entrepreneurs and investors)
Arranged employment or designated occupation	10 maximum	(N/A for business immigrants)
Demographic factor	10 maximum	Established by the Minister
Age	10 maximum	10 units if 21-44; 2 units deducted for each year under 21 or over 44
Knowledge of English or French	15 maximum	Decided by immigration officer under the guidelines provided by CIC
Personal suitability	10 maximum	Based on qualities such as adaptability, motivation and initiative.
Bonus for assisted relatives	5	
Bonus for self-employed immigrants	30	
Minimum selection units required per category, 1999		
Entrepreneur	25	
Investor	25	
Self-employed	65 (including 30 bonus points)	
Skilled worker	65	
Assisted relative	65 (including 5 bonus points if have relative in Canada)	

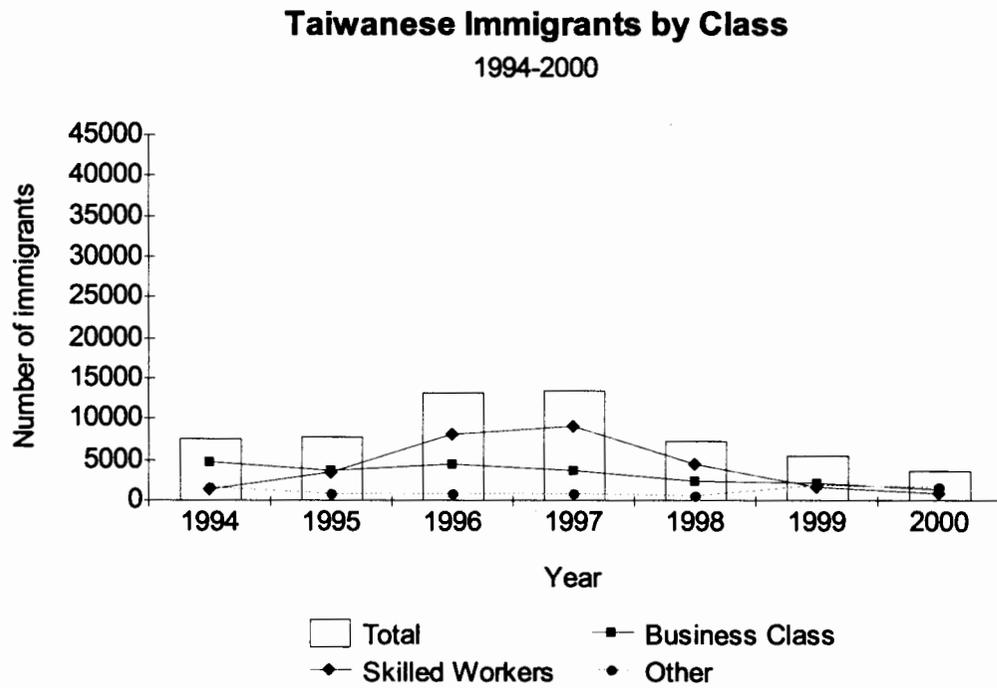
Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2000. Citizenship Manuals

²⁹ Most participants interviewed entered Canada between 1997 and 1999, There were assessed according to these criteria.

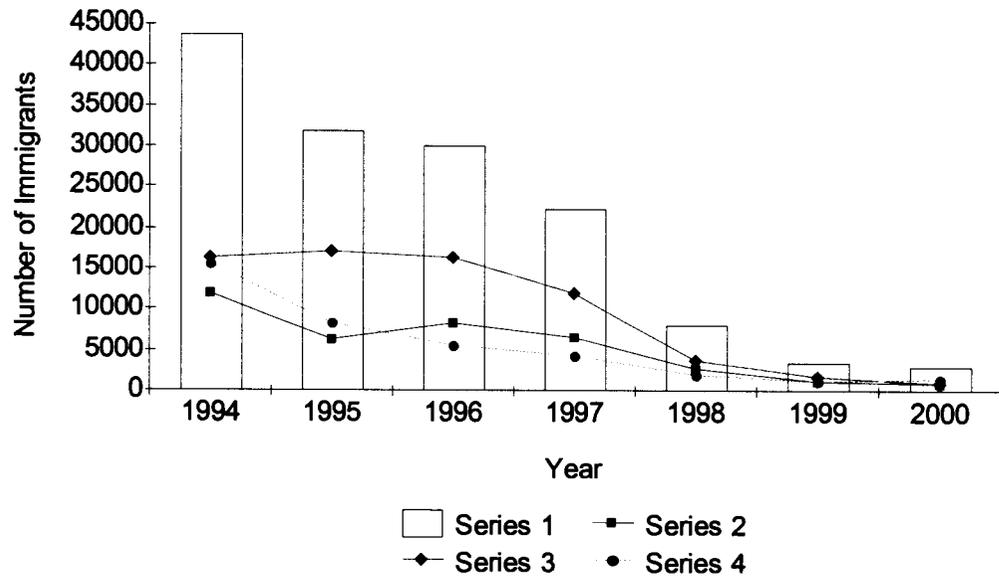
³⁰ Desired occupation refers to the general employability of the individual in Canada - not necessarily Canada's needs. Points are given based on published National Occupation Codes (NOC)

³¹ Designated occupation refers to current labour market needs within Canada. The specified designated occupation may vary according to provincial needs. These number of units assessed depends on the NOC.

Appendix Nine – Class of Entry for immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China – 1994-2000



Hong Kong Immigrants by Class
1994-2000



Mainland Chinese Immigrants by Class
1994-2000

