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**THE ADAPTATION EXPERIENCE OF
CHINESE INDEPENDENT IMMIGRANTS**

by

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M.Ed., University of Victoria, 1999**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies

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ABSTRACT

Chinese independent immigrants are entering Canada in increasing numbers. Immigration policy indicates that these individuals have skills that will enable them to quickly integrate into Canadian society. However, more than half of the Chinese independent immigrants live below the poverty line in Canada. In order to gain insight into the integration process, eight independent immigrants living in Victoria, B.C. were invited to participate in a qualitative exploration. Through in-depth interviews, the participants shared their experiences and perceptions of adaptation.

The participants revealed that their views were very different from the findings of previous researchers and government policies. For these participants, contribution to society was viewed as a priority. They saw the integration process as a hierarchy, with level of motivation as the main determinant that allowed them to move through various stages. Other factors identified by the participants that aided their immigrant adaptation were favorable government policies, supportive host society members, and adaptation competence. Those factors that hindered adaptation included high-level language requirements, a sluggish Canadian economy, racial discrimination, ineffective integration services and their Chinese-ness. The participants made several suggestions to improve the integration process: transitional services, better information dissemination, and an immigrant education program with co-op and

volunteer opportunities.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to Young, my dearest son, who has never complained about his mother's frequent absences since he was two years and eight months old. It was then that I began my in-service studies in other cities of China, and the current study in Canada. Instead, he has been trying his best to help me in whatever way, and to encourage me. He makes my life meaningful and his love is the primary source of motivation inside me to search for a lofty goal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	I
Abstract	II
Dedication	IV
Table of Contents	V
Figures and Tables	X
Acknowledgement	XI
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	1
<i>The Independent immigrant</i>	2
<i>The Research Problem</i>	4
<i>The Purpose of the Study</i>	5
<i>Conceptual Framework</i>	7
<i>Boundary Conditions</i>	9
<i>Phenomenology</i>	9
<i>Contributions to the Field</i>	10
CHAPTER TWO: A Review of the Literature	12
<i>Immigrant Adaptation and Influential Factors</i>	13
<i>What Is Adaptation?</i>	13
<i>What Are the Adaptation Factors?</i>	15
<i>Pluralism ideology</i>	17
<i>Civic ideology</i>	17
<i>Assimilation ideology</i>	17
<i>Ethnist ideology</i>	18
<i>What Are the Major Modes of Adaptation?</i>	19
<i>Assimilation</i>	20
<i>Separation</i>	20
<i>Marginalization or anomie</i>	20
<i>Integration</i>	21

<i>Where Should Integration Start?</i>	22
<i>What is the Standpoint of the Canadian Government?</i>	24
<i>Different Perspectives on Immigrant Integration</i>	28
<i>Integration - a Canadian Approach</i>	29
<i>Integration - an Interactive Process</i>	31
<i>Integration - a Personal Learning Process</i>	34
<i>Integration – Meeting Hierarchy of Needs</i>	37
<i>Chinese Immigrant Adaptation</i>	38
<i>What is the policy environment?</i>	38
<i>What is the social environment?</i>	39
<i>The comments about the Chinese immigrants.</i>	39
<i>The national mood about immigration.</i>	42
<i>The hierarchy of acceptance.</i>	43
<i>What Are the Perceptions of Chinese Immigrants?</i>	44
<i>Acculturation orientations and patterns</i>	44
<i>The integration competence</i>	48
<i>Characteristics of the Chinese immigrants</i>	50
<i>What is the Current Situation of Immigrant Integration?</i>	52
<i>Relation between Theories and the Present Study</i>	53
<i>What is the Significance of the Study?</i>	53
<i>How is the Conceptual Framework Built?</i>	54
<i>Summary and Questions</i>	56
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology	58
<i>The Qualitative Research Paradigm</i>	58
<i>The Phenomenological Research Design</i>	59
<i>Phenomenological Interviews</i>	59
<i>The Researcher’s Role</i>	60
<i>Data Collection</i>	63
<i>Setting</i>	63

<i>Participants</i>	63
<i>Events</i>	65
<i>Ethical Considerations</i>	65
<i>Data Collecting Strategies</i>	66
<i>Data Analysis Procedures</i>	68
<i>Verification</i>	72
<i>Reporting the Findings</i>	73
<i>Summary</i>	74
CHAPTER FOUR: Findings	75
<i>Perceptions of Integration</i>	75
<i>Integration – a Must for Independent Class</i>	76
<i>Integration Hierarchy</i>	77
<i>Integration = Contribution</i>	78
<i>Self-chosen Cultural Marginality</i>	81
<i>Leaning and Changing</i>	85
<i>Something Impossible for the First Immigrant Generation</i>	87
<i>Summary and Implications</i>	89
<i>Adaptation Motivation</i>	91
<i>Motivation One: Stability and a Better Life</i>	92
<i>Motivation Two: Freedom</i>	93
<i>Motivation Three: Multiculturalism in Canada</i>	95
<i>Motivation Four: Better Professional Development</i>	96
<i>Motivation Five: Family Responsibility</i>	97
<i>Summary and implications</i>	99
<i>Adaptation Preparation</i>	100
<i>Scenario One: Sufficient Preparation</i>	101
<i>Scenario Two: Insufficient Financial Preparation</i>	102
<i>Scenario Three: Insufficient Psychological Preparation</i>	103
<i>Scenario Four: Severely Insufficient Preparation</i>	106

<i>Summary and Implications</i>	107
<i>Expectations and the Reality</i>	109
<i>The Economic Situation and Job Market</i>	109
<i>The Occupational Needs</i>	113
<i>The Family Members' Endurance of Adaptation Pain</i>	115
<i>Summary and Implications</i>	116
<i>Factors That Aid Adaptation</i>	117
<i>State Immigration and Integration Policies</i>	117
<i>Acceptance of Host Society Members</i>	120
<i>Adaptation Competence</i>	122
<i>Education</i>	123
<i>Motivation and willingness</i>	126
<i>Summary and Implications</i>	127
<i>Factors That Hinder Integration</i>	128
<i>Insufficient Language Skills</i>	129
<i>Ineffective Integration Services</i>	132
<i>The Hidden White Superior Mentality</i>	135
<i>The Sluggish Development of Canadian Economy</i>	136
<i>The Chineseness</i>	138
<i>Summary and Implications</i>	141
<i>The Adaptation Strategies</i>	143
<i>Strategies for Language and Cultural Problems</i>	143
<i>Strategies for Psychological Equilibrium</i>	145
<i>Strategies for Long Term Professional and Career Development</i>	149
<i>Summary and Implications</i>	151
<i>The Integration Needs</i>	152
<i>Transitional Services</i>	152
<i>Guidance of Occupational Demands</i>	153
<i>A Regular Immigrant Educational Program</i>	154
<i>A Special Consideration for Family Reunification</i>	156

<i>Summary and Implications</i>	157
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions	159
<i>Overview of the Themes</i>	159
<i>The Participants' Views</i>	165
<i>Observations & Reflections</i>	167
<i>Implications</i>	169
<i>The Implications for Policy Makers</i>	169
<i>The implications for host society members</i>	171
<i>The Implications for integration Service Providers</i>	172
<i>The Implications for Landed Immigrants</i>	172
<i>The Implications for Prospective Immigrants</i>	173
<i>Limitations</i>	173
<i>Future Directions</i>	174
REFERENCES	175
APPENDICES	187
Appendix A Interview Topics	188
Appendix B Certificate of Approval	189
Appendix C Letter of Contact to Possible Participants	191
Appendix D Consent Form	192

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1. Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies.....	34
Figure 2. Revised Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies.....	34
Figure 3. Relational outcomes of host community and immigrant acculturation orientations.....	35
Table I: General Information of the Participants	65

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I finished the last draft of this project, what still lingered in my mind was the heartfelt gratitude to all the people who had contributed to the completion of this study. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the participants who agreed to volunteer their valuable time and reflection. I was deeply touched by their enthusiasm in participation and their concern to immigrant adaptation.

I wish to extend special thanks to Dr. Yvonne M. Martin, Dr. M. Honoré France, and Dr. John Anderson for their tremendous guidance and efforts to develop my critical capacities. I appreciate their ceaseless patience and true understanding of the diverse cultures of students.

I would like to thank Dr. Antoinette Oberg, Dr. Alan Hedley and Dr. William Neilson for their critical comments on the direction and content of my study.

Acknowledgement also goes to my special close friends Dr. Fritz H. Konig, Lucinda L. Brown, and William Ferguson who offered generous help and advice during my study at the University of Victoria. They read through this report and made many insightful comments. Thank you for seeing me through.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Chinese immigrants came to Canada as early as 1788 (Lai, 2000); however, these people were not always a welcome group. Chinese people were viewed as 'unassimilable' and there were numerous riots directed against their entry into Canada. Canadian immigration history reveals several pieces of legislation (1885, 1900, 1903, 1914, 1923) that were passed to restrict the entry of Chinese citizens. They were placed near the bottom of the racial hierarchy created by Canada's discriminatory immigration policies (Knowles, 1997:92; Head, 2000:4; Whitaker, 1987:93). However, during the 1990s many changes were made to the Canadian immigration policies and there was a marked increase in the number of Chinese people who were accepted into Canada. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada statistics, the number of landed immigrants (all classes) from China ranked third in 1996 and 1997, and rocketed to first position in 1998 with consistently increasing numbers thereafter: 19,766 in 1998, 29,116 in 1999, 36,664 in 2000 (CIC, 2001b), and 40,282 in 2001 (<http://dailynews.creaders.net/oversea/newsViewer.php?idx=130699>, April 19, 2002). Currently, mainland China is the largest source country of immigrants entering Canada (CIC, 2001b). However, it is the independent class of immigrants who have increased most dramatically.

The Independent Immigrant

In order to be considered for immigrant status in Canada, applicants must fall under one of four broad categories: independent/skilled, family-class, business and refugee. Independent immigrants are selected under a point system on the basis of their labor skills and/or business experience. They are assessed according to a variety of criteria such as: age, education, occupation, occupational requirements, years of work experience, French or English language aptitude, personal suitability and occupational needs. These applicants must achieve a minimum score of seventy points in order to be entitled to become landed immigrants of Canada (www.cic.gc.ca).

During the 1990s, Canada's immigration policy became more selective, with priority given to the admission of independent immigrants (Abu-Laban, 1998; Advisory Committee, 1998; Campbell, 2000; Citizenship and Immigration Canada: *Immigration Review*, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000; Simmons, 1999). The intention of the policy was to shorten the process of newcomers' settlement and integration. It was believed that independent immigrants would make an immediate contribution to the Canadian economy, thereby reducing the expenses of settlement services.

We should expect the economic principal applicants to have very strong labor force attachment and to experience the highest employment earnings of all categories because of this and because they were selected on the basis of their labor market skills and attributes" (CIC 1998:14).

The implementation of the policy brought a rapid increase in the ratio of the independent immigrant class to other immigrant classifications. The percentage of the

independent class climbed from 31.08% in 1993 to 58.9% in 1997. The ratio has remained almost unchanged ever since (CIC, 2001a).

Since 1998, China has become the top source country for skilled workers admitted as permanent residents to Canada. The principal applicants alone increased dramatically from 5,945 (17% of the total skilled workers admitted to Canada) in 1998 to 10,069 (24%) and 12,760 (25%) in 1999 and 2000 respectively (CIC 2001b: 96). These numbers are far beyond the second source country, India, by more than double. During the first quarter of 2001, the top five source countries of immigrants entering the province of British Columbia were Asian, and Mainland China was the leading source of independent immigrants (*Immigration Highlights* www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/pubs/pr_immig.htm).

In 1999 when introducing a new selection model, the Minister of Immigration and Citizenship, Lucienne Robillard, once again confirmed the principle of selection for better integration. Minister Robillard emphasized that this model would focus on choosing skilled workers with sound and transferable skill sets and place more emphasis on education and experience (CIC, *News release*, 99-03).

The government expands the independent immigrant class quota each year with the belief that the better education, the easier and smoother integration; however, there are problems with this notion. An argument that is very much against the prevailing wisdom on immigration policy is that, in fact, independent immigrants face more difficulty adjusting to Canada because of a lack of a social network and accreditation (Hiebert, 1998; Reitz, 1998). Recent reports from the 1996 and 2001 census data indicate the relative declining economic performance of immigrants from the 1990's,

Immigrant earnings have been steadily falling. Our record is now worse than Australia's, no bastion of equality. But the gap is widening between what we recruit immigrants for and what they do here. Too many highly qualified people are delivering pizzas for too long. This is not good for them, not good for us (*The Star*, March 17, 2002 by Columnist Siddiqui).

The news also reveals that more than 50 % of Chinese independent immigrants live below the poverty line, even though they were selected by their education, work experience, integration competence, and Canadian's job market needs (news.creaders.net, March 4, 2002; Reitz, 1998; torontoservice.com, March 4, 2002; www2.chinesenewsnet.com/cgi-bin/b2g.cgi?file=index.html, March 4, 2002). Some try to explain this phenomenon as a result of racial prejudice and discrimination. However, it is unclear why some ethnic groups have been able to surmount their disadvantage while others have not (Frideres, 1999:80). Although there is much speculation about this discrepancy, there is little consensus (Burstein, 1998; Ley, & Smith, 1997; *National Post*, February 25, 2002:A6; news.creaders.net, March 4, 2002; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1996; torontoservice.com, March 4, 2002).

The Research Problem

Selective immigration has been a standard practice in Canada for several decades and Canadian immigration policy has become increasingly selective. Yet, immigrants' economic performance keeps declining. Unfortunately, there are few qualitative studies that focus on the process of independent immigrant adaptation, particularly in cases where these immigrants anticipate success, but are faced with unforeseen hardships and unfulfilled expectations. The Immigration Legislation and Policy Advisory Group (1998) calls for research on the factors that affect immigrants' success or failure. In light of the

policy changes and influx of Chinese independent immigrants, it is particularly important to target this population. Since independent immigrants represent the majority of individuals migrating from China (CIC 2001b: 96), by focusing on this group, researchers may be able to gain valuable information about the adaptation process.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the individual adaptation experiences of Chinese independent immigrants. Immigrants in Canada are free to choose the areas and ways in which they will adapt. However, their adaptation is influenced by many factors such as social environment, their adaptation competence and cultural background. It is very optimistic to think that all independent immigrants will voluntarily choose to integrate into every aspect of Canadian society. Even if integration is their choice, it is difficult to imagine that the integration of the entire independent immigrant class would be a smooth process. Therefore, this study was an attempt to understand immigrants' perceptions of integration, their adaptation competence, the factors that affect their success or failure in Canada, and their adaptation strategies and needs.

Eight Chinese independent immigrants were invited to participate in a qualitative exploration. The reasons for the invitation of this group were as follows:

1. At the time of the study the majority of independent immigrants were Chinese.
2. Chinese immigrants were believed by many to be 'unassimilable' in Canada (Knowles, 1997:92; Head, 2000:4; Whitaker, 1987:93);
3. The adaptation process of Chinese immigrants, particularly the independent class, remains obscure.

The results of the study may yield a better understanding of patterns and needs in the adaptation process of independent immigrants from China, and will hopefully fill a research gap. These patterns and needs would provide important information for both immigration policy makers, and settlement and integration service providers. It may also be useful for independent immigrants who are preparing to come to Canada, or who have arrived have from China or other countries.

The study focused on the following questions: How do Chinese independent immigrants perceive integration in Canada? How does the preparation prior to immigration affect the adaptation process? What role does government policy play in the adaptation process? What role does the acculturation orientation of the host society play in immigrant adaptation? What strategies and needs are necessary for effective adaptation? The first question and the last one were trying to obtain information unknown in the field while the other three were generated from conceptual framework.

In addition to the research questions, the study was directed by three specific objectives:

1. To review the literature which focuses on immigrant adaptation in general and on Chinese immigrant adaptation in particular;
2. To explore eight independent immigrants' experiences and perceptions through in-depth interviews. The interview topics covered (a) motivation and expectations of immigration; (b) perception of integration; (c) adaptation competence, such as knowledge of Canada, cognitive complexity in responding to the environment, affective co-orientation with the mainstream culture, and

language proficiency; (d) factors that aid or hinder adaptation; (e) adaptation strategies and needs.

3. To contribute to the literature by completing a dissertation and preparing the information for publication.

Conceptual Framework

Immigrant integration into Canadian society is the ultimate goal of the Canadian immigration policies. As stipulated by the Federal Government, integration is a two-way process of mutual accommodation by newcomers and the Canadian society. Ideally, upon arrival, a newcomer must start a process of adaptation in many spheres of life in order to be accepted by the individuals and institutions that comprise Canadian society. Meanwhile, the Canadian society may choose to adjust some of its institutions, policies and services in order to accommodate these newcomers to allow them to participate in Canadian society, but also retain their cultural heritage (Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia – ISS, 1993).

However, integration is by no means an inevitable outcome of adaptation. Adaptation or acculturation, as termed by socio-psychologists, may take several forms such as integration, assimilation, separation/segregation, and marginalization/anomie/individualism (Berry, 1990; Berry & Sam, 1997, 1992; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; Mayadas & Elliott, 1991). During the adaptation process, state policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and members of the host society (Bourhis, et al., 1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994).

Under a pluralistic state policy, immigrants make a choice in the methods of adaptation: assimilation, integration, separation, or anomie. Integration becomes possible when immigrants' willingness to integrate coincides with the acculturation orientation of members in the host society. It becomes more feasible when the members' attitudes are in line with the stance of the state integration policy (Bourhis, et al., 1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994; Kim, 1988).

In practice, as Berry (1990) points out, acculturation tends to induce more changes in immigrants. As far as immigrants are concerned, adaptation is an individual voyage because not all individuals acculturate to the same degree (Berry & Sam, 1997; Nguyen, 1987). Theoretically, beside supportive government policy and the different levels of an individuals' willingness to adapt, successful immigrant adaptation requires other conditions (Beaujot, 1992; Frideres, 1999; the Immigrant Service Society, 1993). These conditions include: personal communication competence such as motivation and preparation, language and social skills; and adaptive predisposition factors such as knowledge of the host society. In addition, they must consider the immigrants' professional skills, as well as their resultant internal transformation (Campbell, 2000; Kim, 1988).

Independent immigrants were selected under a point system, on the basis of their high-level skills. According to the assumption of Canadian immigration policy makers and integration theories, it seems as though this class, "the best and brightest," should have a comparatively smooth integration and should not need much settlement help (Campbell, 2000; Hawkins, 1987; Rao, Richmond & Zubrzycki, 1984; Reitzel, 1998). If

this is the case, increasing the immigration quota of the independent class could greatly enhance the economic development and save substantial settlement expenses.

Boundary Conditions

The study included in its domain the immigration laws, policies and statistics that are related to immigration selection, and immigrant adaptation. At the same time, the study was limited to Chinese immigrants who were born and raised in China, and moved to Canada as permanent residents after 1980 under the independent category. The adaptation process was viewed as common among all Chinese independent immigrants. In other words, all immigrants go through at least some adaptation experience, even though the degree of intensity and extensiveness might differ from one person to the next. Instead of restricting the present study to a group of Chinese independent immigrants based on length of residence in Canada, occupation, academic disciplines, age or gender, these conditions were recognized as factors that potentially influenced the individual needs for adaptation.

Phenomenology

Based on the preceding research questions and conceptual framework, a phenomenological approach was used in this study. Phenomenology recognizes that “any effort to understand human behavior must take account that humans are cognitive beings who actively perceive and make sense of the world around them, have the capacity to abstract from their experience, ascribe meaning to their behavior and the world around them, and are affected by those meanings” (Palys, 1997:16). Anderson and Arsenault (1998) state, “qualitative research seeks to understand the world through the eyes of the participants” (p.126). Therefore, in-depth interviews were used to “obtain data of

participant meanings – how individuals conceive of their world and how they explain or ‘make sense’ of the important event in their lives” (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:443). Through in-depth interviews, adaptation experiences were shared and explored through the eyes of the independent immigrants.

Contributions to the Field

What would this research contribute to the advancement of knowledge of *the adaptation process of Chinese independent immigrants*? As a doctoral student and a Chinese independent immigrant, I had to ask myself this question repeatedly during the selection of my dissertation topic. I recognized that my experiences were different from others. At the same time, I realized that my experiences held many similarities with other immigrant students.

This study would be the first one in the field to observe the adaptation process as a personal learning experience through the eyes of the independent immigrants. For each individual, the adaptation process is inevitably influenced by cultural background, perception of adaptation, personal character traits and conditions. Immigrants might perceive the notion of integration differently and their lived reality might be different from the perceptions of the government and researchers. The immigrants’ experiences, processes, realities, and strategies could enrich and bring clarity to the area of immigration adaptation.

From such a perspective, the results would be a contribution to the field of immigrant adaptation or acculturation study, and would also be useful for policy makers, service providers, new immigrants, immigration policy analysts, and researchers. In

addition, it is hopeful that the study will enhance the mutual understandings among ethnic groups and positively influence immigrant adaptation.

CHAPTER TWO

A Review of the Literature

I had several concerns when I began exploring the adaptation experience of Chinese independent immigrants: What is immigrant adaptation? What are the factors that affect immigrant adaptation? How is the political and social environment for the adaptation of Chinese independent immigrants in Canada? What are the characteristics of independent immigrants as far as adaptation is concerned? Based on these questions, I have focused my review of the literature on these themes: (1) immigrant adaptation and adaptation factors; (2) the adaptation environment of Chinese immigrants in Canada; (3) different perspectives on immigrant integration in general and on Chinese immigrant adaptation in particular, and (4) the relationship between adaptation theories and the study of adaptation of Chinese independent immigrants. Consequently, the review of the literature has provided a theoretical base to form the conceptual framework and set the direction for this study.

The preceding themes are discussed in five sections. The first section is an overview of the study on immigrant adaptation and influential factors. Section two examines different perspectives on immigrant integration. Since no research has been found particularly on Chinese independent immigrants, part three outlines the research on Chinese immigrants at large. The fourth section analyzes the relationship, derived from the literature, between the theories and the study of integration of Chinese independent

immigrants and forms the conceptual framework of the study. A fifth and concluding part includes a brief summary of findings and considerations for further research.

Immigrant Adaptation and Influential Factors

Immigrant integration as the Canadian government policy is, in fact, one of the possible outcomes of immigrant adaptation. Immigrant adaptation is such a multifaceted phenomenon that many factors, such as government policy, personal decision and the attitudes of members of the host society, could change its course of development and the direction. With different philosophy and ideology from different sectors, there would be different forms or outcomes of immigrant adaptation. Thus, this part begins with the discussion on immigrant adaptation, then, identifies the adaptation factors and the modes of adaptation, and finally unfolds the different aspects of integration.

What Is Adaptation?

When encountering a new environment and culture, people would instinctively respond in various ways. These responses are generally identified as adjustment, reaction, and withdrawal. In the case of adjustment, people make changes in the direction to reduce conflicts and seek harmony with the environment, and a harmony between different cultural groups. Contrary to adjustment, in the case of reaction, immigrants try to change the environment and culture according to their needs. Withdrawal from the arena happens when immigrants either want to reduce the pressure of environment or are excluded by the host culture. These responses indicate that adaptation is people trying to fit into a new environment and culture.

As far as human interaction is concerned, in the course of a continuous and first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups, there are inevitably cultural changes in either a group or an individual to gain harmony. This cultural change, which is resulted from cultural contact, is described in social psychology as acculturation. Simply put, cross-cultural adaptation is the generic term used to refer to both the process of dealing with acculturation and outcome of the acculturation (Berry, 1987:43).

However, the concept suffers from the application of divergent disciplinary viewpoints by different investigators from anthropology, sociology, political science, geography, economics, psychology, just to name a few. Each conceptual model emphasizes different aspects of the adaptation experiences. Varied sets of labels such as 'acculturation', 'adjustment', 'assimilation' and 'integration' are present with only occasional cross-referencing (Kim, 1988: Preface). Therefore, we should not feel surprised that students and novel researchers encounter some confusion when they enter this field.

For clarification, researchers try to draw a line between different levels of research. For example, scholars in anthropology and sociology have generally approached the field mainly on the level of immigrant *groups* rather than on the level of individuals. Along with the group approaches to cross-cultural adaptation, in some disciplines, such as socio-psychology, and communication, studies have been undertaken examining the experiences of *individuals* adapting to the host society (Berry & Sam, 1997; Kim, 1988; Moghaddam, 1987).

In recent literature, a further distinction has been made between psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to a set of internal

psychological outcomes including a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context. Socio-cultural adaptation is a set of external outcomes that link individuals to their new context, including their ability to deal with daily problems, particularly in the areas of family life, work, and school. Psychological adaptation may best be analyzed within the context of the stress and psychopathology approach, while socio-cultural adaptation is more closely linked to the social skills framework (Searle & Ward, 1990; Walton & Kennedy, 1993; Berry & Sam, 1997).

Theoretically, adaptation, or acculturation, refers to mutual changes in both immigrants and the host society as the result of interaction. In practice, most changes occur in the non-dominant group or group with weak vitality (Berry & Sam, 1997; Bourhis, et al., 1997; Kim, 1988). A good example can be found in both American history and Canadian history. In North America, European immigrants have successfully adapted to the environments of the new continent with the help from Aboriginal people, but European languages, customs, values and life styles have become the dominant culture in both countries. The reverse example is that Chinese culture has remained uninterrupted after the invasions of Mongolians (Yuan Dynasty) and Manchus (Qing Dynasty).

What Are the Adaptation Factors?

Although contact (interaction) and change are identified as two important key words in adaptation or acculturation, the primary question in adaptation is that who should change and to what direction. Although in cultural contact changes inevitably happen in every culture involved, it is important to note that most research discusses the

cultural changes of immigrants. This may be simply because the era of invasion and colonization is gone and nowadays, in most cases, people migrate for personal safety, peace or better life. Thus immigrants possess inevitably weak vitality and are supposed to change, no matter whether they come to the new land voluntarily or involuntarily, and no matter which country they migrate to. In contemporary societies, as we have discussed, the only realistic alternative is that immigrants change in order to adapt to the host society (Berry, 1990; Berry & Sam, 1997; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Honeyford, 1988; Kim, 1988).

Although immigrants are the agent of cultural change, they do not have one hundred percent power to choose the direction of change. Beside immigrants themselves, there are basically two other main factors influencing the directions or outcomes of adaptation. These two factors are government policies and acculturation orientations of the host society members with the former as a decisive one. Halli and Driedger (1999) assert, "Government policies and approaches that lead to successful integration are part of the adjustment process". In fact, state immigration and settlement policies can have a decisive impact on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and members of the host society (Berry & Sam, 1997; Bonin, 1976; Bourhis, et al., 1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994; Halli & Driedger, 1999; Harles, 1997).

State immigration and settlement policies are generally shaped within one of four clusters of state ideologies, or philosophies, namely, pluralist, civic, assimilationist, and ethnist (Bourhis et al. 1997; Breton, 1988; Drieger, 1989; Helly, 1993; Rao, Richmond & Zubrzycki, 1984). Each of the four ideological clusters is likely to produce specific public policies concerning the acculturation of immigrant groups. Under the context of state

policies, immigrants and members of the host community develop their acculturation orientations.

Pluralism ideology. The first cluster expects that immigrants adopt the *public values* of the host country. However, this ideology also upholds that the state has no mandate in defining or regulating the *private values* of its citizens, whose individual liberties in personal domains must be respected. One premise of this approach is that it is considered of value to the host community that immigrants maintain key features of their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness while adopting the public value of the host majority. Another premise is that it is equitable that state funds be distributed to support both majority and immigrant group ethno-cultural activities. Canada is an example of a pluralistic society with multiculturalism as a mechanism for tolerance of minority cultures.

Civic ideology. It shares two important features of pluralism ideology: (1) the expectation that immigrants adopt the *public values* of the host country and (2) that the state has no right to interfere with the *private values* of its individual citizens. However, this ideology is characterized by an official state policy of *nonintervention* in the private values of specific groups of individuals including those of immigrant and ethno-cultural minorities. Great Britain is seen as an example of a country espousing a civic ideology.

Assimilation ideology. As the pluralism and civic ideologies, this ideology also includes the expectation that immigrants adopt the *public values* of the host country. However, it expects immigrants to abandon their own cultural and linguistic distinctiveness for the sake of adopting the culture and values of the dominant group constituting the core of the nation state. The USA, although it is slowly shifting away

from original assimilation policies to a civic position, is still widely used as a distinguishing example of assimilation ideology.

Ethnist ideology. The fourth cluster shares the first two features of the assimilation ideology, namely, (1) immigrants must adopt the public values of the host nation, and (2) the state has a right to limit the expression of certain aspects of private values, especially those of immigrant minorities. Unlike the other ideologies discussed so far, the ethnical ideology usually defines a nation as being composed of a kernel ancestral ethnic group as determined by birth and kinship. Thus immigrants who do not share this common kinship may never be accepted as legitimate citizens of the state, legally or socially. Most homogeneous countries, such as Germany, Japan, and Israel, are seen to belong to this ideology.

Among the ideologies discussed, only pluralistic and civic societies allow people of various cultural backgrounds living together to form a multicultural society. However, we have to keep in mind that even though the friendly and supportive policies have a decisive role in immigrant acculturation, the attitudes of host culture members can never be neglected, because they are the very people with whom immigrants have contact on a daily basis. It is undeniable that state policies cannot always represent the choice of every societal member, no matter whether in a democratic social setting, or authoritative social setting. Therefore, attitudes of host culture members will greatly influence the course of immigrant adaptation.

It is evident then in most cases, the culture of the host society is the mainstream culture for immigrant groups to appreciate, share and live on. We also know that the acculturation orientations of the members of mainstream culture will support or constrain

immigrant acculturation. Even though immigrant acculturation is very conditional, in a pluralistic society, immigrants, by and large, enjoy the freedom to decide their acculturation orientations or how to acculturate. Their acculturation orientations are generally identified within the framework of modes of acculturation created by researchers.

What Are the Major Modes of Adaptation?

As we have discussed in the beginning of this section, when individuals settle into a new culture, they have to respond to new values and beliefs that may differ significantly from those left behind. Since emigration now is an individual action, the adaptation strategies such as adjustment, reaction and withdrawal are seen in various forms that reflect personal diversity. In most cases, to function in a new culture, the newcomer may choose to adjust some of his or her expectations and behaviors, and start the voyage of adaptation.

On the premise of a pluralistic social system, this process of adaptation, or acculturation, will be in the modes of *assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization or anomie*. *Assimilation* and *integration* usually take place in many spheres of a newcomer's life for him or her to be accepted by the individuals and institutions, which comprise the host society. However, newcomers' different perspectives and different experiences on arrival in the host country, and the political environment and the attitudes of the host society would lead to reaction quite often in the form of *separation*, or lead to withdrawal in the form of *marginalization or anomie* (Berry 1997, 1987, 1980, 1974; Bourhis et al., 1998; Furnham & Bochner, 1986b; Honeyford, 1988; ISS, 1993; Thomas 1992).

Assimilation. It happens when newcomers voluntarily or involuntarily give up their heritage culture in order to move into the host culture. For the host society, it implies the absorption of the migrant minority into the dominant culture for a homogeneous society. Complete assimilation, because it involves a total surrender of ethnic identity, imposes a sometimes painful sacrifice on immigrants and inevitably brings acculturation stresses (Berry 1997, 1990; Bourhis, et al. 1998). In the case of Canada, some researchers hold that assimilation would cause a loss of the heritage language advantages of immigrants in the international trade (Stoffman, 1993).

Separation. The other end of acculturation continuum is *separation*. It is the term used for immigrants' adaptation orientation of avoiding the host culture. This acculturation orientation implies barriers between ethnic groups. It happens when the newcomers retain their heritage culture and remain apart from the host culture. *Separation* is indicative of unwillingness to be accepted by the host society, and has the nature of reaction. When there is separation, newcomers isolate themselves in terms of setting up relationships with other social groups or participating even partially in the host society (Thomas, 1992; ISS, 1993).

Marginalization or anomie. In this mode, groups lose or reject both their traditional culture and that of the larger society (Berry & Sam, 1997). This strategy is characterized by little possibility or interests of immigrants in cultural maintenance, but in vain to merge into the dominant culture because of racial discrimination or exclusion. When imposed by the larger society, it is tantamount to ethnocide and constitutes classical marginality. This outcome of acculturation is often accompanied by a feeling of

alienation, loss of identity, and a good deal of collective and individual confusion and anxiety.

However, researchers have discovered that some immigrants who dissociate themselves from both their ethno-cultural origin and the host majority culture may choose to do so. They prefer to identify themselves as individuals rather than as members of either an immigrant group or the host majority (Moghaddam, 1992; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Some Chinese researchers and immigrants feel proud of a marginal position between Western culture and Eastern culture so as to make greater contribution to the world (Lee, 1994; Li, 1994; Wang, 1994). Moise and Bourhis (1996) group these people as *individualists*, given that such immigrants refuse to be bounded by either in-group or host majority ascriptions (In Bourhis, et al. 1997).

Integration. This is an ideal outcome of cultural acculturation, a strategy most immigrants and some countries prefer, such as Canada and Australia. The *integration* strategy from the immigrants' side reflects a desire to maintain key features of the immigrant cultural identity while actively adopting the principles and values of the host society and modifying their own (Bourhis et al., 1997; CIC, 1996; Ho, Chen & Bedford, 2000). Integration also implies that immigrants embrace and celebrate cultures of other minority groups.

Even though the integration process is not smooth, given that the acculturation orientations of the dominant culture members would affect the immigrant acculturation process, immigrants suffer much less acculturation stress when they integrate than when they adopt other options. Therefore, this mode enables immigrants to settle down and to begin making contributions to society in a comparatively shorter time. This is the very

reason that immigrant integration is widely recognized as the ideal model of immigrant adaptation (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al, 1997; Harles, 1997, Rao, et al. 1984).

Where Should Integration Start?

In some sense immigrant integration is a participation in the sphere of social life. Marshall's (1973) conception of citizenship rights has been widely employed in immigrant integration. He asserts that citizenship comprises civil rights, political rights and social rights. Civil rights concern individual freedom: liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. Civil rights lead to political rights, which concern the rights of democratic participation. Political rights enable the working class to obtain social rights covering "the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society" (Marshall, 1973:72).

In Canada, civic, economic, and social rights are granted first, with political rights constituting the last layer in the sequence (Hammar, 1990). Therefore, in investigating immigrants' incorporation into their host societies, attention should be paid to immigrants' access to civil and, particularly, to economic and social rights (Isbister, 1996:196).

Access to economic rights enables immigrants to enter and compete in the labor market. Access to social rights includes eligibility for government programs, such as education in public schools, health benefits, and welfare and social insurance schemes (Neuwirth, 1999:53).

That immigrants enjoy, in principle, the same civic, economic, and social rights as citizens also means that they integrate into Canada from these perspectives. In view of

globalization and the restructuring of the economy, the dimensions of economic and social integration are considered to be the primary factors in the overall integration of immigrants from nontraditional source countries. Some researchers hold that the economic integration of immigrants in the host society constitutes an essential dimension of the general process of integration.

Neuwirth (1999) defines economic integration of immigrants as their participation in the economic opportunity structure. Thus, immigrants who exercise their economic right or enter the labor force but experience long term or periodic unemployment are considered as wanting in economic integration. Piche and Belanger (1995 in Neuwirth, 1999) identify three sets of factors that affect immigrants' economic integration. The first set is related to the global context affecting receiving as well as sending societies, such as international relations, globalization of changes. The second set derives from the context in sending societies both at the macro- (e.g. level of economic development, educational level, etc.) and micro-levels (e.g. pre-migration characteristics). The third set refers to the context in receiving societies, also both at the macro- (e.g. immigration policies, degree of pluralism, etc.) and the micro-levels (e.g. post-migration characteristics).

Since economic integration of immigrants is dependent on their personal characteristics (selectivity, age, education, language, etc.) and the nature of the receiving society (levels of skills, needs for labor, extent of closure toward outsiders), two distinct processes are at work in immigrants' economic integration. The first one is access to jobs, and the second is human capital factors operating in the expected direction. Immigrants' economic integration or the exclusion from it would affect their social integration.

Social integration is defined as participation in the social institutional sphere of society. In order to participate, immigrants must first acquire the necessary competence to follow the social and cultural practices which structure the public aspects of life in an industrialized society. Equally important, the kind of economic integration immigrants are able to achieve would be the primary factor influencing their participation in the social-institutional sphere. Therefore, immigrants' economic integration combined with their educational background is particularly significant.

What is the Perspective of the Canadian Government?

The Canadian government has been very pragmatic in its immigration and integration policymaking. Therefore, its stance in immigrant adaptation differs from period to period. Basically, the stance comes from its ideology and philosophy of the day, and is reflected in selective policies, and particularly its creative point system.

In 1994, at the Organization Economic Co-operation and Development Convention held in Paris, the immigration countries, according to their policies, were categorized into three main systems, namely, the permanent settlement model, the short-term labor model, and the long-term establishment model. Canada was one of the permanent settlement countries. In these countries, the objective of integration was predominant and governs the selection procedures to a large extent. Selection was stated at the time of admission, where the bulk of controls were focused. This was the basic thinking especially behind Canadian immigration policy (Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994:24; Rao et al. 1984).

As a matter of fact, as a typical permanent settlement country with pluralism ideology, the Canadian government has been selecting adaptable immigrants from as

early as the 1770s when an Act of the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed in 1775 to control the admission and exclusion of foreigners, even though not deliberate proactively (Galloway, 1997; Ruddick, 1994), but racial-discriminatively and pragmatically.

Generally speaking, Canadian selective immigration policies have mainly served for a white and West-European dominated Canada until 1962. In 1872, immigration legislation began to impede access to the country by identifying classes of person who ought to be denied entry. Section 10 of the Immigration Act that year provided for the exclusion of any "criminal, or other vicious class of immigrants." From this time onwards, the identification of prohibited classes - frequently defined in vague, value-laden, and vituperative terms - became a central element and defining characteristic of Canadian immigration law (Galloway, 1997:10).

The Act of 1910 granted even wider powers to the Governor in Council "to prohibit ... the landing in Canada... of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character"(*The Immigration Act*, S. C. 1910. c27, s38). The Deputy Minister in 1910 specified that immigrants included in the "undesirable" group were "those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals". This basic approach of focusing on a prospective immigrant's country of origin remained unchanged until 1962.

The introduction of a requirement of the visa issued abroad for entry to Canada in 1921 was a further control of immigration at source. The regulations during this period of time set the administrative base which permitted the government to separate

prospective immigrants into those from *preferred* and those from *non-preferred* countries. The restriction of Asian immigration remained to "keep the basic character of the Canadian population" as expressed by Prime Minister MacKenzie King in May 1947 (Abella, 1988; Manpower and Immigration, 1974).

The criterion of adaptability, for a while, steered away from countries of origin to quality in Canadian immigration history when Sir Clifford Sifton, the father of the selective immigration policy, was appointed as Minister of the Interior while Canada was recovering from a depression in the 1890s (Hawkins, 1989; Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974; Munro, 1978). His talk (1922) about the quality of immigrants desired to populate Canada's "Last Best West," has been widely cited:

When I speak of quality ... I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-dozen children, is good quality (in Knowles, 1997:68; Munro, 1978:41; Rao, et al. 1984:13).

Sifton's policy marked the beginning of substantial non-Anglo-Celtic, non-French immigration in Canada. It is from this period that Canada opened the door of immigration to eastern and southern Europe. More importantly, Sifton's policy indicates that selection must, of course, reflect current governmental objectives and policies, and serve the economic, social and cultural interests of Canada. This policy remains an important part of Canadian immigration law to this day (Knowles, 1997; Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974; Munro, 1978).

Sifton's standpoint has been practically enhanced from 1962 on when Canada officially abandoned racial discrimination in immigration policy, and setting adaptability

criteria for unsponsored immigrants from anywhere in the world - the "education, training, skills or other special qualifications" necessary to obtain employment or integration (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974). The emphasis on the professional and technical occupational skills of immigrants reached a crescendo in the 1966 *White Paper on Immigration*. It linked immigration to economic requirements, stating that immigration policy must be consistent with national economic policy in general and with national manpower and social policies in particular as well as demographic requirements (Manpower and Immigration, 1966:7).

In 1967, immigration selection was greatly systematized through the "point system" awarding points for socio-economic and demographic attributes. The independent applicants are assessed according to nine adaptability criteria. These immigrants defined by Manpower and Immigration, were expected to become self-supporting and successfully established in Canada by virtue of the skills, knowledge or other qualifications they possessed, and not to require any assistance other than that which was available to other residents of Canada (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974:41)

These nine adaptability criteria include five long-term criteria and four short-term ones. The five long-term criteria, which were conceived as indicators of one's prospects for long-term success, are education and training, personal qualities, occupational demand in Canada, occupational skill, and age. The Education and training factor is given the greatest weight - a potential 20 units of assessment - not only because an advanced level of education and training is associated with most good jobs available, but also because it is the best known indicator of an individual's potential for adapting to, and

taking advantage of, the frequent changes in Canada's increasingly technological economy (Knowles, 1997; Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Rao, Richmond, Zubrzycki, 1984). Manpower and Immigration (1974) believes, "The better preparation a person has, the more likely he is to be able to go on improving these qualifications, productivity and personal achievement" (p.43).

The four short-term factors are arranged employment or designed occupation, knowledge of English or French, presence of a relative in Canada, and general employment opportunities in the area of destination. These criteria were originally intended to reflect mainly an individual's prospects for establishment in the short term. Beside the nine selection criteria, each independent applicant is also required to have the means to maintain herself/himself and her/his immediate family until s/he is established (Manpower and Immigration, 1974:49).

On August 9, 1993 the selection criteria were revised to give more weight to higher levels of education. Prior to this change, one point was assigned for each year of schooling to a maximum of 12 with no additional points given for a certificate, diploma or university degree. The revised scale assigned 15 points for post secondary credentials, (CIC, 1993). In June 2002, the further revised scale gives 25 points for graduate credentials, thus weighting the selection criteria in favor of better-educated applicants (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/02/0218-pre.html#back1>).

Different Perspectives on Immigrant Integration

Up to date, no consensus has been reached on the notion of immigrant integration. The Canadian government believes in the adaptability of certain immigrant groups and

regards immigrants' financial self-sufficiency as the first integration indicator. Among researchers, while some of them perceive integration as an interactive process, some regard it a personal learning process. Still others argue it is the incorporation of needs and services. These different perspectives will be discussed in this section.

Integration - a Canadian Approach

The Canadian Government declares that immigrant integration is a Canadian approach (CIC, 1994). For a multiethnic federation as Canada with a French-English balance at the basis of the social system, immigrant integration, in some sense, is a must. Complete assimilation of immigrants is difficult since there is no agreed norm to which they could conform. The balance between the charter groups could easily be disturbed if immigrants were to assimilate more into one group than the other (Thomas, 1994:107-8).

Another reason for Canada to emphasize integration is the radically changed racial, ethnic and cultural character of Canada's immigrants. Since 1975, immigrants from Third World countries have outnumbered immigrants from Europe each year. The recent numbers indicate that 70% in 1998, 77% in 1999, 79% in 2000 of the total inflow were nonwhite (www.cic.gc.ca). As a result, more than half of the total populations of immigrants who now live in Canada are no longer of European origin (1996 Canada census).

According to the Government, integration is “a process of mutual adjustment by both newcomers and society” (CIC, 1994). But as indicated in the preceding discussion, the weight of integration is always on the side of immigrants when the Government further explains,

the concept "integration" implies a political desire and commitment to encourage newcomers to adapt to Canadian society and to be received by Canadians and their institutions without requiring newcomers to abandon their cultures to conform to the values and practices of the dominant group, as long as the adherence to immigrants' cultures does not contravene Canadian laws (CIC,1994:7). .

The integration is specified by CIC in 1996 including commitment to adapt to life in Canada; the ability to communicate in one of Canada's official languages; contributing to the economic and social fabric; economically and socially self-sufficient; and sharing the principles, traditions, and values such as freedom, equality, and participatory democracy:

Key Elements of Integration

- 1. Integration is a two-way process, which involves commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to adapt to new people and cultures.**
- 2. The ability of newcomers to communicate in one of Canada's official languages is key to integration.**
- 3. Newcomers' contributions to the economic and social fabric of Canada are valued: it is important for newcomers to become economically and socially self-sufficient; and it is important for members of communities in Canada to help to ensure that newcomers have opportunities to participate in and contribute to the economic and social life of Canada.**
- 4. It is important to share with newcomers the principles, traditions and values that are inherent in Canadian society such as freedom, equality, and participatory democracy (CIC, 1996a).**

Integration as such, the Government believes, begins when an immigrant first applies to come to Canada and continues beyond the acquisition of citizenship and achievement of full participation in Canadian society (Advisory Committee, 1998; CIC, 1990; Thomas, 1994). However, in order to shrink state and government expenditures, to slow and then reverse the growth in annual public debt, and to stimulate an internationally competitive economy (Simmons, 1999), the new immigration policies during the 1990s are all broadly oriented toward "ensuring that newcomers to Canada can integrate and contribute to Canada as quickly as possible, without adding to the burden on social programs" (Green & Green, 1996:30)

Consequently, immigrant integration has been simplified into economic contribution and self-sufficiency. For such a change of heart on the part of the Government towards immigrant integration, researchers question if immigrants could really enjoy political, economic and social rights when the government overemphasizes their obligations to make economic contributions to Canada, but does not ask what an immigrant can expect when settling in Canada (Neuwirth, 1999).

Integration - an Interactive Process

The interactive model asserts that immigrant integration is by no means a personal effort but harmonized acculturation orientations of both the host majority and immigrant groups within a suitable government integration policy environment. It also suggests that both sectors could influence the policy making towards their acculturation orientations (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977, Hardwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994).

An interactive model has been developed on Berry's adaptation framework. Based on his research on immigrant adaptation, Berry (1980, 1984, 1997) argues that basically both immigrants and the members of the host society have to deal with two issues: culture maintenance and development; inter-ethnic contact and relationship and the attitudes towards these two issues lead to different orientations of acculturation (see Figure 1&2). Acculturation occurs within the two groups, immigrants and host, with changes in each interacting together to influence the direction and outcomes of that change (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bonin, 1976; Bourhis, 1994; Foster, 1998; Kalin & Berry, 1994; Sayegh & Lasry 1993). Obviously, for better or worse, as we have discussed, most change is expected to happen on the side of immigrants.

Integration becomes possible and smooth within a configuration of same acculturation orientations (see Figure 3). Whereas, a configuration with different acculturation orientations of the host society, its native-born members and immigrants, in most cases, results not in integration but in racial conflicts, problematic immigrants, and chaotic social order (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Researchers and students of Canadian immigration are aware that the Canadian Government's influence on immigrant integration is much more than the interactive model has proposed – it starts before the arrival all the way through naturalization. However, few studies or government documents show how the government influences the adaptation orientations of the host community, and how the host community and immigrant groups with strong vitality influence the policymaking.

Dimension 1: (for immigrants)

Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?

Dimension 2:

Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the dominant society and other groups?

	YES	NO
YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
NO	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION
i		INDIVIDUALISM

Figure 1. Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies (p.296).

Dimension 1: (for members of dominant culture)

Do you find it acceptable that immigrants maintain their cultural identity?

Dimension 2:

Do you accept that immigrants adopt the cultural identity of the host community?

	YES	NO
YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
NO	SEGREGATION	EXCLUSION
		INDIVIDUALISM

Figure 2. Revised Berry's acculturation strategies (Bourhis et al., 1997:377).

Integration - a Personal Learning Process

As we move from group level to the individual level, we notice a reality that integration tends to induce more changes in immigrants (Berry, 1990a; Kim, 1988). Therefore, some researchers see immigration integration as a learning and growth experience (Bar-Yoself, 1968; Bochner, 1972, 1981, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kim, 1988; Thayer, 1975; Tu, 1992). This is a process of socialization and desocialization, acculturation and deculturation, or learning and unlearning, as named by different researchers. It involves modifying or relinquishes previously learned attitudes, norms, values, beliefs and behavior patterns. Also, it contains obtaining new life skills and coping with problems which were not present in the home country. In this personal learning and growth process, the success is rooted in the personal integration competence, adaptive predispositional factors and host environmental conditions (Argyle, 1979, 1980; Bochner & Orr, 1979; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Kim, 1988; Rao, et al. 1984).

Integration competence is composed of knowledge of the host communication system, cognitive complexity in responding to the host environment, affective co-orientation with the host culture, and behavioral capability to perform various interactions in the host environment. Each factor would affect the other and together form an individual's integration competence.

Knowledge of the host communication system refers to the knowledge of the host language, host non-verbal behavior, and communication rules. Cognitive complexity can

Interactive Acculturation Orientation

Immigrants Host society	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Anomie	Individualism
Integration	Harmony	Problem	Conflict	Problem	Problem
Assimilation	Problem	Harmony	Conflict	Problem	Problem
Segregation	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict
Exclusion	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict	Conflict
Individualism	Problem	Problem	Problem	Problem	Harmony

Figure 3. Relational outcomes of host community and immigrant acculturation orientations. Bourhis et al., (1997:382).

be defined as the structure of immigrants' knowledge/thoughts/ideas. During the process of cultural learning, immigrants increase their internal information-processing capacity and recognize their cognitive patterns as distinct from those of host culture. This gradually leads to "perspective taking" and "co-orientation relation" with members of the host society. Affective co-orientation with the host culture is related to adaptation motivation, affirmative self-other attitude, and aesthetic emotional appreciation to the host milieu. Along with the above three capabilities, immigrants gain behavioral capacity to express the internal cognitive and affective experiences outwardly in communicating with other persons, verbally or non-verbally.

Predisposition decides that immigrants respond to host environment differently and have various adaptation experiences. Three factors have direct bearing on immigrant integration, namely, cultural and racial background, personal attributes, and preparedness for change. Cultural similarity or disparity and perceptions held by host community toward certain ethnic groups have an important impact on immigrant integration. Equally important, the degree of openness and resilience would also influence immigrant integration. For the preparedness, formal education experience is highlighted as schooling suggests the cognitive capacity for new learning and mental resourcefulness. The preparedness also includes motivation, provision of practical and cultural information about the host society and language training.

However, integration learning does not happen in a vacuum, and host environment serves as the "foreground" or social context in which immigrants mobilize their resources and to which they strive to integrate in the host society. Two host environmental conditions directly pertinent to the immigrant adaptation are receptivity

and conformity pressure. Environmental receptivity offers a positive or negative climate of openness and acceptance affecting housing, employment and interpersonal contacts of immigrants. Society varies in permissiveness, 'plasticity' or tolerance, in allowing immigrants to deviate from its normative cultural patterns. Pluralistic societies tend to manifest a substantially high tolerance level toward cultural diversity, thus to provide supportive environment for integration and cultural learning.

Integration – Meeting Hierarchy of Needs

Immigrant integration is also seen as a process to meet needs at different integration stages. As newcomers are uprooted and transplanted into a new environment, whether involuntarily (as in the case of refugees) or voluntarily (as in the case of other immigrants), they would experience certain needs that should be met to achieve participation and membership in the host society. ISS (1993) suggests that integration occurs when immigrants try their best to participate in all the life of Canadian society, the Canadian government adjusts some of its institutions, policies and services to accommodate the adaptation process of the newcomers.

Combining Maslow's needs hierarchy and Neuwirth et al.'s (1989) settlement indicator framework with information gathered from the experience of settlement workers and relevant literature, ISS (1993) illustrates immigrant needs at different stages of integration. It indicates that at different levels of the hierarchical order - *survival, safety, social, esteem* and *self-actualization*, immigrants have different needs in five spheres of life: *physical/mental well being, linguistic, economic, civic/social welfare, and privacy/sociability*. Nguyen argues (1987), "although the needs of the migrating person may vary from one individual to another, there are certainly some basic needs that have

to be met if the immigrant is to adjust satisfactorily to his or her new environment” (p.50).

Chinese Immigrant Adaptation

From literature, we know that immigrant adaptation is by no means a simple process. It is a personal decision within a plural social setting and affected by both external factors, such as political and economic situations and the degree of acceptance of the host society, and internal factors, such as willingness, readiness, and demographic variables, like education, etc. So, this part includes (1) the policy environment for Chinese immigrant adaptation; (2) the social environment; (3) the perceptions on Chinese immigrants and their characteristics, and (4) their present adaptation state. The data has been drawn from the research conducted on Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland, or other places, such as Vietnam as a whole from cultural perspective. The simple reason is, to date, very few studies especially conducted on immigrants from Mainland China, or on independent immigrants.

What is the policy environment?

Chinese immigrants had been obviously a least preferred group in the history of Canadian immigration. There were several legislations especially targeting Chinese. The Chinese Immigrant Act in July 1885 required every person of Chinese origin to pay a head tax of \$50 to discourage and restrict Chinese from entering Canada. The head tax rose to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903 when the wages of a Chinese immigrant were only about \$1.25 per day (Mar, 1988:10; Munro, 1978).

The Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration concluded in 1902 that Asians were “unfit for full citizenship...obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state” (Whitaker, 1987:93). Legislation in 1923 made it virtually impossible for Chinese or people of Chinese descent to enter Canada. Those Chinese who were domiciled in Canada traditionally were prohibited from voting in BC and federal elections. Even the second generation of Chinese, raised and educated in Canada, was denied the right of citizenship and the right to work in many professions such as medicine, and pharmacy.

On May 14 1947, Ottawa repealed the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, and subsequently abolished many discriminatory laws and regulations against the Chinese. After 1967 the federal government adopted the universal point system to select immigrants on the basis of qualification rather than racial origin, many Chinese immigrants were admitted into Canada as professionals and skilled workers.

What is the social environment?

The comments about the Chinese immigrants. Plenty of data on Canadian immigration history have recorded that Chinese immigrants were mistreated, but very few provide the reasons. The confusion from the reading of the history of Canadian immigration policy rose as Li (1998) predicated, “Today it seems almost incomprehensible that people first brought to the country to alleviate labor shortages could have been seen as so threatening that municipal, provincial, and federal governments would pass extensive laws to restrict their rights and single them out for exclusion” (p.3).

In the work of Kelley and Trebilcock (1998), the complaints about Chinese

immigrants were found wide in range from willing to accept low wages to poor hygiene. Some of them were pure slanders.

The Chinese workers were relatively easy to secure, were more servile than most other workers, and were willing to work at wages 30-50 per cent lower than those paid to white laborers' (p.94).

..in the face of growing public opposition, Macdonald agreed to appoint a royal commission to examine the issue. The commission began its deliberations in the summer of 1884. A wide cross-section of witnesses, including politicians, lawyers, police officials, judges, clergymen, businessmen, and workers, testified that the Chinese were dirty, disease-ridden, dishonest, immoral, and totally incapable of integrating within the larger community. Their uncleanliness was reportedly evident in almost all aspects of their lives, from the raw sewage that ran through their residential areas to their use of human excrement as manure for their vegetable gardens. Their habit of living in crowded dwellings, and sleeping several to a bed, was offered as additional evidence of their disregard for personal hygiene as well as of their lack of moral scruples. The Chinese way of living, it was claimed, compromised the safety of other communities. The noxious diseases alleged to be carried by large numbers of the Chinese, such as smallpox, cholera, and leprosy, brought with them from Asia, could spread quickly in their overcrowded, unsanitary living areas, contaminating other residential districts and putting the health of the general public at great risk.

It was also alleged before the commission that the Chinese gambled compulsively and kept gambling-houses for this purpose and for the purposes of prostitution. One Nanaimo justice of the peace went so far as to assert that 'nearly the whole of their females that leave China are professed prostitutes, from children ten or twelve years of age to old hags'. Their use of opium was advanced as further evidence of their moral depravity. The fact that these vices were purportedly attracting white people was regarded as reason enough for the termination of Chinese immigration lest more Canadian youth be corrupted by such practices. Union representatives and other workers appearing before the commission

complained that the competition provided by Chinese workers drove wages down and put whites out of work' (p. 95-6).

The Province of British Columbia is the place where Chinese immigrants first landed, and it is also the place where they were severely discriminated against. As early as 1875, a law passed to disenfranchise Chinese to vote in any provincial elections (Lai, 2000).

Residents of British Columbia claimed that, giving the burgeoning population of China, the West was in danger of being overrun by Chinese immigrants whose moral depravity, poor hygiene, and willingness to work for low wages threatened the physical health and economic well-being of the white race. (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998:110)

Hawkins (1987) comments that Chinese unwittingly played a major role in the evolution of the immigration policies of Canada as they represented the first significant movement of non-European immigrants to arrive in Canada, though they were not settlers initially. The early Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada were organized in a very ancient and complex family lineage system which commanded life long loyalty and profoundly affected their manner of emigrating. Although they worked shoulder to shoulder with their white coworkers, they lived, worked, dressed and used what leisure they had much as they did in China. Their co-workers as well as a growing section of public opinion were not prepared to accept a wholly alien race with a different language, clothing, customs and way of life, cutting in on their territory, taking a share of their profits, and generally depreciating working and living conditions. Soon many of them began to see the Chinese not only as alien, but as evil and dangerous as well. In their view, the Chinese were the possessors of "dark and hideous vices" and the bearers of "loathsome diseases". These attitudes became firmly entrenched and were a major factor

in the development of discriminatory immigration policies directly against all non-whites in the late 19th and 20th centuries (Hawkins, 1987: 90-91).

Li (1998) comes to the issue with aculeate points. That Chinese were not accepted was not so much their cultural characteristics but ideological, political, social and economic reasons. First of all, the racial discrimination against Chinese was rationalized by an ideology stressing the superiority of white over non-white. Secondly, the racial discrimination against Chinese rationalized racial exploitation so to ensure that menial tasks in industrial production were performed by a marginalized racial group at a relatively low cost. Thirdly, racial antagonism was aimed at eliminating the competition that white workers faced from the Chinese. Further, the head tax brought substantial financial gains for the government – between 1886 and 1943, the total revenue collected from the Chinese was \$23 million. Moreover, union organizers and politicians used the issue of Chinese exclusion as a means of consolidating union organization and winning political support. Still, many politicians exploited the Chinese issues to advance their political careers. A good example occurred in 1879: Noah Shakespeare, a member of the Victoria City Council, formed the Anti-Chinese Association to exclude the Chinese, won him political success first as mayor of Victoria, then as a member of Parliament (Li, 1998:37-42).

The national mood about immigration. It seems for decades, the national mood has not strongly supported Canadian immigration and integration policies. Not all Canadians welcome immigrants with open arms, even though they are immigrants or descendants of immigrants themselves. The Ipsos-Reid poll, which was conducted in March 2001 for the federal government, showed 39% Canadians felt that immigration

increased unemployment among people already living in Canada (Times Colonists, August 17, 2001:A3). The Leger Marketing survey conducted in February 2002 indicates that 54% of Canadians think the country welcomes too many immigrants, compared with 26% who believe not enough are accepted. Another 20% of respondents didn't know or did not answer (National Post, March 18, 2002:4; Toronto Star, March 18, 2002:18). Several national surveys conducted in Canada from 1974 to 1991 indicate that even though integration is the state policy and has gained support from majority among Canadians, there are still a noticeable number of people who are not in favor of these policies. The disagreeing group ranged between 31 percent to 59 percent in several national surveys, e.g. 1974 by Berry et al.; 1987 By Bibby; 1979 by Decima; 1985 and 1989 Environics Surveys; 1989 by Fletcher; Globe and Mail and CBC News 1991 poll (Kalin & Berry, 1994). The obstacles along the way of immigrant acculturation are apparent.

The hierarchy of acceptance. For reasons unknown (Why is there racial discrimination in this world?), there are acceptance or prestige of immigrant groups in the immigration inflows. The national surveys conducted in Canada from 1974 to 1991 (1974 by Berry et al.; 1987 by Bibby; 1979 by Decima; 1985 & 1989 Environics Surveys; 1989 by Fletcher; Globe & Mail & CBC News 1991 poll) indicate that there is an acceptance and tolerance racial hierarchy among Canadians, with European ethnic groups at top and Chinese, Canadian Indians and East Indians at the bottom. The situation has not changed much in the 21st century. In the recent Leger Marketing survey, 61 % say they are more favorable to immigration of people from Western Europe (National Post, March 18, 2002:4; Toronto Star, March 18, 2002:18). Other numbers were Eastern Europe (56%),

Latin America (53%), Asia (50%), Africa (50%) and North Africa (47%), while 34% favor Arab countries (National Post, March 18, 2002:4; Toronto Star, March 18, 2002:18).

What Are the Perceptions of Chinese Immigrants?

To set the stage, this part begins with the issue of acculturation orientations and patterns of Chinese immigrants. It is followed by the discussion on their integration competence. Finally, it summarizes their unique characteristics.

Acculturation orientations and patterns. In this part Chinese immigrant integration and Chinese identity has been a long time focus among researchers, and several external and internal factors that affect their adaptation orientations have been identified. The external factors are the “push” of the discriminative policies and host society environment (Tu, 1994; Wang, 1994; Wang, 1994; Wu, 1994), and the unfavorable political situation of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong (Li, 1994; Tu, 1994), and the “pull” of the governments of three places with political and material incentives to attract Huaqiao (overseas Chinese) and Huayi (naturalized Chinese in foreign countries) back (Tu, 1994; Wang, 1994). The internal factors include purposes of immigration, the culturally “home” complex and the degree of Chineseness (Li, 1994; Wang, 1994; Sun, 1985).

The impact of both external and internal factors on Chinese immigrants leads to different forms of adaptation. Wang (1994) summarizes these forms in the cultural bound notions around *gen* 根 (root): *Luo ye gui gen* 落叶归根 (fallen leaves go back to their roots); *Zhan cao chu gen* 斩草除根 (to cut the grass and dig up its root); *Luo di shen gen*

落地生根 (to settle down and grow roots); *Xun gen wen zu* 寻根问祖 (to search for root and ancestors).

Luo ye gui gen (fallen leaves go back to their roots) is the sojourner or internal separation mentality. Returning to and being recognized by the homeland is a high social and cultural value inculcated from childhood on (Tu, 1994; Wang, 1994). It is vital to the structuring of one's existence and to the formation of identity in a collective society like China where everyone is bound by interpersonal relationships and how to be perceived by others (Sun, 1985). Racism and discrimination of the host society has reinforced this mentality and these people become more determined to stand proud as Chinese.

Those who came abroad for economic gain especially hold this mentality, especially when China, Taiwan and Hong Kong attract them back with certain privileges and incentives. In the old days, Chinese immigrants built Chinatowns not only as a protection but also as alternative of home and place to sustain their heritage and their sense of identity. At present, the lingering *Luo ye gui gen* mentality is owing to the politics and conventional thinking about race and culture, many Chinese who have acculturated to the indigenous population are still labeled Chinese and subject to suspicion, discrimination, or exclusion from sociopolitical participation (Wu, 1994).

The dissidents who take exile in foreign countries form the other group. Similarly, the new breed feels they are on a *Naihe* bridge in Chinese mythology where they would be fed a soup of forgetting to prepare the soul for its new incarnation, but not for a moment do they cease to love their homeland (Schwarcz, 1994). They sing their pain and elaborate their identity:

What I forget comes back to me in dreams.

Cuts me open like a knife...

Mother? Motherland? (*Comrade*, eight Chinese artists from Hong Kong, Mainland, Taiwan, Singapore, and New York, cited in Schwarcz, 1994).

China, O China you're big in my throat so hard to swallow!

The Yellow River flows torrential in my veins.

China is me, I am China.

... (Yu, 1966, in Schwarcz, 1994).

Opposite the sojourner mentality stands *Zhan cao chu gen* (to cut the grass and dig up its root), the assimilationist mentality most commonly associated with the second generation Chinese and those who immigrated at an early age. Through education and interaction, these people became aware of the sharp difference – racially, culturally, socially, and legally – between them and their Caucasian peers. These differences soon led to comparisons and the making of value judgments and choices. The overwhelming superiority of the dominant white society over their community, perceived as repressed and backward, dictated their choices. Very quickly, they become ashamed of their personal appearance, the values and behaviors they were taught in Chinese culture, and their community. The need to be accepted by white society became their primary obsession. Some went so far as to anglicize their Chinese family names, suppress their Chinese language ability and accent, dissociate themselves from their relatives and Chinese friends, and take advantages of modern cosmetology by dyeing their hair, altering their eyelids, nose, and lips (Wang, 1994). This mentality will last as long as public policy, media depiction, school curricula, and academic disciplines continue to provide preferential treatment for Caucasians.

Luo di shen gen (to settle down and grow the roots) or accommodation refers to some Chinese immigrants who have successfully planted their roots in the host society. This mentality calls for a commitment to permanently, accommodating to local life styles at least in public without fundamentally changing private Chinese life style and cultural values, and contributing to the well-being of the host society (Wang, 1994). It is a survival strategy in an alien setting one is unable to leave, a notable pragmatic approach even if the host society continues to show intolerance or hostility toward Chinese immigrants.

Luo di shen gen seems quite natural among educated professional men and women. But it often requires that these professionals master modern ideas and technologies to operate fully within Western institutions. However, there is a growing group of Chinese professionals and others who work comfortably with non-Chinese. This group has been influenced by other factors, notably by their having gone to the same school as non-Chinese (Wang, 1994:135). The success of root planting of either group has depended largely on the receptivity of the host society and on the changing relations between the host country and China (Wang, 1994:206).

Xun gen wen zu (to search for roots and ancestors), ethnic pride and consciousness, goes beyond its original meaning and refers to the reconceptualization, reconstructing, or reconfiguration of Chinese cosmopolitanism or the self-chosen marginality (Lee, 1994; Li, 1994; Tu, 1994; Wang, 1994). This is an initiative advocated by Chinese intellectuals from the Mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and North America to explore the meaning of being Chinese in a global context, to have a big vision and to remap the world.

For years, there was a yearning inside Chinese intellectuals for a historically, culturally, and racially more complete home. However, they are neither willing nor able to fully melt into mainstream society. Meanwhile they are trying to shake off the burden of which China they belong to (Li, 1994; Tu, 1994), but still play heroic role as cultural transmitters, guardians of the well being of the people, and articulator of universal human values (Tu, 1994:27). What they prefer is a stance called Chinese cosmopolitanism, a self-chose marginality within the context of the Pacific Rim as a large internationalized region of intermingling economies and cultures – both ancient and modern, Asian and Western. This cosmopolitanism, a self-chosen marginality allows them to embrace both a fundamental intellectual commitment to Chinese culture and a multicultural receptivity, which effectively cuts across all conventional national boundaries (Lee, 1994).

The integration competence. It seems the big barrier in integration for Chinese immigrants is English language skills. Based on the study of 46 foreign students from eight countries, White and White (1981) indicate that nationality is an important factor related to skill in the use of the English language. In this study, 45 percent of the Chinese students judged their English usage to be the chief problem in adjustment, compared with none of the Indian students. This finding supports a previous study by Sue and Kirk (1972) on 236 Chinese American students. The study found that these students exhibited greater quantitative than verbal skills. These students also expressed more interest and chose majors predominantly in the physical science and engineering fields, and avoided occupations demanding communication in verbal-linguistic form (Sue & Kirk, 1972).

Another integration competence factor - cultural exposure, according to Chiswick and Miller (1992), influences the language ability. In their study, Chiswick and Miller

(1992) examined exposure prior to migration, time units of exposure in Canada, and the intensity of exposure per unit of time in Canada. The main variables capturing exposure prior to migration are the birthplace variables. For example, the Asian countries have been categorized as "Chinese-Asia" and "Other-Asia," with the defining characteristic being the experience most of the countries in the latter group had with English or French during American, British, and French colonial administrations or occupations. Among the immigrants from Asia, those of Chinese origin have a rate of dominant language proficiency 10 percent points lower than immigrants from other Asian countries and from English and French speaking countries, other variables are the same. The language deficiency of the Chinese Asian is also consistent with the greater linguistic distance between Chinese and the official languages in Canada (p.46).

Some researchers are trying to explore this phenomenon from a psychological perspective. Psychologists believe that one of the best behavioral manifestations of an overtly assertive attitude is verbal and ideational influence. Because Chinese have been taught loyalty and filial piety under all circumstances since their childhood, researchers predict that Chinese people will appear less fluent, verbally and ideationally, than Westerners (Liu, 1986). Chinese are believed to have their behavior commanded by Confucius. When going back to *The Analects* (Confucius, 1987), we can easily find that many doctrines depreciate speaking, for example,

Chapter One - To Learn: 3. Clever talk and pretentious manner are seldom compatible with the benevolent.

Chapter Four - To Live Among the Benevolent: 22. In ancient times, men hesitated to speak out, for their conduct, if falling short, would be shameful. 24. The gentleman wishes to be slow to speak but quick to act.

***Chapter Thirteen - Zi Lu: 27.* Resoluteness, persistence, simplicity and slowness to speak are close to benevolence.**

***Chapter Fifteen - Duke Ling of Wei: 26.* Clever talk disorders virtue.**

***Chapter Seventeen - Yang Huo: 19.* I wish not to speak. ... Does heaven speak? The four seasons prevail, a hundred things grow, and does heaven speak?**

It seems that for all the goodness of being a good person, being respected, or enjoying a good relationship with others, one should most of the time, keep silence, or be cautious when talking. Confucius' doctrines on speech were certainly helpful for the social order of a feudal agricultural society. However, it has a great negative impact on the language capacity of people who share the Chinese culture.

In Yao's (1979) study, Chinese immigrants showed less change in the intrinsic traits (value systems, use of mother tongue) than the extrinsic traits, such as integrated residences, membership of professional organizations, social acceptance and economic position. It implies that Chinese immigrants would strongly stick to their culture of origin, so that integration would be the best strategy for them.

Characteristics of the Chinese immigrants. A quantitative study conducted by Tu (1992) on the adaptation of Mainland Chinese graduate students at the University of Victoria indicates that command of English, length of stay in Canada, and amount of financial aid from Canadian sources are positively related to adjustment and assimilation.

Contrary to the findings of many other researchers, Tu (1992) reveals in her study that social interaction with the host community has a significant negative association with adaptation (p.52-53). This result confirms Breton's (1964) notion of institutional completeness that an ethnic community can provide all the services required by its

members, thereby obviating the need to use native institutions. It also evidently implies a certain degree of sojourner mentality or sensitivity to potential racial discrimination.

There is considerable disparity between the core values and behavioral norms of western and Chinese cultures. Results from a study conducted in the United States showed that Chinese-Americans believe that the rewards of life are contingent upon some sort of social force beyond personal control (Kuo, Gray & Lin 1976). Liem (1980) and Triandis, Vassiliou, Vassiliou, Tanaka, and Shanmugam (1972) report similar findings in their study on Vietnamese who have been influenced by Taoism's "Do nothing and everything will be accomplished spontaneously." This doctrine leads to a defeatist attitude, particularly when faced with apparently insurmountable difficulties. Further, the principle of *Yin* and *Yang*, or the constant duality of nature could make people refrain from disturbing the natural order of things. Taking initiatives is considered to be vain, the active life is disdained and passivity is valued.

Confucianism also provides a model for social relations, based on the doctrine of San Cong, which prescribes three important sets of loyalty and filial piety relationships to be conducted: those between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. The first leads Chinese employees to regard their employer as someone who is to be obeyed without question. At the same time, they expect their employer to be a role model. The second set of relationships and the third set could be the source of family relation conflicts, and these concepts are all against western cultures (Liem, 1980; Triandis, et al., 1972).

What is the Current Situation of Immigrant Integration?

General speaking, the immigrant integration in Canada is not optimistic. The Canadian Council on Social Development released the result of a federally funded study on February 25, 2002 that in 1998, the proportion of university graduates among all immigrants, including refugees, was substantially higher than for Canadians. For immigrant men, the proportion was 36%, double the 18% for Canadian men, and for immigrant women it was 31% compared to 20% for the Canadian women. However immigrants who had arrived between 1985 and 1998 earned on average \$18,011, or 66% of the \$27,305 earned by non-immigrants or those who had arrived prior to 1985. The proportion of immigrants living on low incomes was high at 52% among those who had arrived after 1991 and 35.1% among those who had arrived after 1986. "The large gaps in earnings between recent visible minority immigrants and other Canadians cannot be explained by inferior levels of formal education," The study comments: "The point system used for selecting immigrants brings many highly educated people to Canada." (*National Post*, February 25, 2002:A6)

Data from Toronto Chinese Professionals Society indicates that more than 50% of the new immigrants from the Mainland China live below the Canadian poverty line (www.torontoservice.com; www.voa.gov/chinese; dailynews.creaders.net). Nevertheless the government seems confident that it is a temporary problem. The draft Citizenship and Immigration Canada report, which is based on tax records, says "Skilled workers adapt quickly, exceeding the Canadian average as soon as three or four years after arrival" (*Global & Mail*, April 9, 2002:A7).

The new Minister of Immigration, Denis Coderre, is reported to plan to reduce the number of skilled workers from China and other Asian countries but to attract more from Europe and South America. The media reveal that a former Canadian Visa officer in Beijing comments that the Canadian government does not want too many Chinese immigrants (news.creaders.net).

Relation between Theories and the Present Study

This section analyzes the relationship, derived from the literature, between the theories and integration of Chinese independent immigrants. The analysis confirms the significance of this study on Chinese independent immigrants. Then a theoretical framework for this study is built on the review of literature and the analysis.

What is the Significance of the Study?

Although statistics has revealed that from 1990 on immigrants' economic performance is declining; although up to 50 % new Chinese immigrants are reported to live below the poverty line, there is little research found to explain the reasons. The research is especially scarce on the Chinese immigrants in general, and the Chinese independent immigrants in particular. Therefore, there is a need of qualitative research to find the reasons behind these numbers. A qualitative study on the Chinese independent immigrants is necessary because (1) they form the largest number of immigrant inflow from the late 1990s; (2) there is a discrepancy between the current integration situation and well-grounded assumption that these "the best and brightest" can quickly and smoothly integrate into the Canadian society; (3) one of the direct ways to know a

phenomenon is through the eyes and feelings of those living them (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001; Tuckman, 1999).

How is the Conceptual Framework Built?

The literature review indicates that immigrant adaptation is primarily a responding choice of immigrants within host countries with different ideologies. This choice is greatly affected by state policies and attitudes of the host society members, and it leads to different forms of adaptation. From the review of the literature, we know that integration is one of the adaptation outcomes. This outcome results in the harmonious interaction among government policies, the acculturation orientations of both members of the host society and immigrants. Thus, integration is the preferred adaptation form for a plural society, such as Canada, and most of the immigrants.

This provides a framework to investigate the adaptation modes of the Chinese independent immigrants. Given Canada's history of discrimination against Chinese, the negative attitudes of the host society in the past and 50 % social popularity at present, the acculturation orientation of the Chinese independent immigrants should be examined within the context of the Canadian political and social environment. What adaptation choice do they make and why? How do they live with their choice, such as *gui gen*, *chu gen*, *shenggen*, or *xun gen*? How do they perceive their choice?

Different concepts of immigrant integration and different aspects of integration offer a base of framework for better understanding of integration as personal learning, social participating, and a new identity forming process. In this process, the government policies and the host members' attitudes are the important learning and participating

environment. Meanwhile, the adaptation competence of immigrants is equally or even more important, because it is immigrants who adapt into a host society and benefit or suffer directly.

This competence includes the preparation before immigration such as motivation, knowledge of Canada, English or French proficiency, and professional skills. It also includes flexibility, cognitive capacity, social skills and openness for learning and problem solving during the whole process of integration. Inevitably, immigrants have certain needs at the different stages of adaptation. As long as they are aware of this hierarchy of adaptation and needs, they would have a degree of certainty and readiness, and try to meet the needs through their own efforts or the assistance from available social services and their network.

The Chinese independent immigrants have been selected for their adaptation competence. However, it might be safe to say some of them have well integrated, while some of them not, given the government statistical numbers and media reports. How is their competence related to their success or not yet success in Canada? What needs have been met and how? What needs have not been met and why? How do they perceive their success or not-yet-success?

The ideal version of adaptation, according to the Chinese intellectuals all over the world is the Chinese cosmopolitanism and a self-chosen marginality identity. On this marginal ground, they have a bigger vision, and feel psychologically secure and culturally privileged. Is this adaptation stance identified with what perceived and held by Chinese independent immigrants in Canada, to be specific, the participants of this study from Victoria?

Summary and Questions

The literature reviewed indicates that, to date, very little direct research relevant to the purpose of this study has been undertaken. Since education and language proficiency are the key elements in the point system of immigrant selection, people may take it for granted that the independent immigrants would not have any problems to adapt into Canada. However the census data shows the opposite, especially when the Canadian government emphasizes economic immigrant integration.

The literature on immigrant adaptation indicates that integration is a choice made not only by immigrants but also by the government and host community. The government policy, immigrants' willingness, and the attitudes of the host community, and interaction among the three could lead to different adaptation paths from assimilation to separation/segregation. Even when integration becomes the choice of immigrants, the process may be a ragged one that requires competence, diligent learning, and supportive political and social environment. Also, at different integration stages, there would be various needs to be met.

Although China is Canada's number one source country of immigration, Chinese were one of the least welcomed groups in the Canadian immigration history. Research reveals that discrimination dies hard. For reasons unknown, only 50 % Canadians express their welcome to the Chinese immigrants. Even though the Chinese independent immigrants are selected through a point system and assumed to integrate into the Canadian society smoother and quicker than others, over 50% of them live below the poverty line.

Research indicates that the Chinese immigrants generally are not strong in language acquisition, and they possess many character traits greatly different from Western culture. Meanwhile, the Chinese intellectuals as cultural transmitters do not intend to give up their culture, but prefer a self-chosen marginality stance to be international. Therefore, qualitative researches are needed to find out if the above are the factors that hinder the success of adaptation of the Chinese independent immigrants. The research methods are described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This study was a qualitative inquiry designed to explore the adaptation process and the experience of eight Chinese independent immigrants. This chapter elaborates upon the qualitative research paradigm, and the phenomenological research design. Then it defines the role of the researcher, and sets the boundary of the study and data collection. After discussion of ethical considerations, it outlines data collection strategies and data analysis procedures. Finally, the issues concerning verification, limitations, and reporting are the contents of the last three parts.

The Qualitative Research Paradigm

People conduct qualitative inquiry to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction (Creswell, 1994; Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1987). Qualitative inquiry refers to both interactive and non-interactive approaches (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). While the former is an in-depth study using face-to-face techniques to collect data from people in their natural settings, the latter, also called analytical research, investigates historical concepts and events through an analysis of documents. The current study utilized an interactive approach in which detailed descriptions of the participants' perspectives were obtained in order to understand the complex adaptation process. The inquiry was conducted using the phenomenological interview method.

The Phenomenological Research Design

The phenomenological inquiry describes the meaning of a lived experience. This inquiry maintains that any efforts to understand human behavior must take into account that humans are cognitive beings who actively perceive and make sense of the world around them, have the capacity to abstract from their experience, ascribe meaning to their behavior and the world around them, and are affected by those meanings (Palys, 1997:16). This kind of inquiry enables the researcher to obtain multiple meanings of an experience, and it allows readers to feel that they understand more fully the concept relating to the particular experience (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). In the phenomenological inquiry, as indicated by Creswell (1994), Duckes (1984), and Olier (1986), the researcher puts aside all prejudgments, and collects data on how individuals make sense of their adaptation experience or situation through long interviews between the participants and researcher. The procedure involves studying a small number of participants through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning (Creswell, 1994:12).

Phenomenological Interviews

Phenomenological interviews are used to investigate what was experienced, how it was experienced, and the meanings that the participants assign to the experience. This type of interview also permits an explicit focus on the researcher's personal experience combined with the experiences of the participants. The researcher interprets phenomena in terms of the meanings the participants bring to the interview (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001).

Interviews are not only popular and basic research approaches, but they are also important in accessing the meaning that people give to the most complicated social issues. They are abstractions based on the concrete experiences of people. Du Bois' (1940) illustration of his research method has been widely cited for the meaning of interviews: "I seem to see a way of elucidating the inner meaning of life and significance of that race problem by explaining it in terms of the one human life that I know best" (p.viii). Through the interview process and the resulting narratives, humans may be able to make sense of their experiences.

Immigrant adaptation is a unique experience for each person. Our observational understanding of adaptation would never get to the meaning of the action without subjective understanding – the meaning of the action elaborated through the narration of the immigrant. Thus, interviews better complete our understanding of the adaptation process, and provide access to the context of immigrants' experience and behaviors.

The Researcher's Role

One concern with the interview process is the role of researchers. A major difference between qualitative and quantitative approaches is that in interviewing, we recognize and affirm the role of the instrument, the human interviewers. Rather than criticizing the instrument used to gather data (Rudestam & Newton, 1992), we recognize that the human interviewer can be a marvelously smart, adaptable, flexible instrument who can respond to situations with skill, tact, and understanding (Creswell, 1994:147; Lincoln & Guba, 1985:107; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:416). The interviewer has experience or connection with the topic and may be able to provide additional enriching insight.

The investigator may include statements in the report about her or his past experiences that provide familiarity with the topic, the setting, or the informants (Creswell, 1994; Rudestam & Newton, 1992). My familiarity with the topic comes from my experiences as an independent immigrant and a researcher interested in immigrant adaptation. I have been in Canada for six years, first as a visiting scholar and a student, later as a landed independent immigrant. During this period of time, I have accumulated a good knowledge of Canadian immigration policies because of my immigration application and consultation with others. In addition, I have had extensive social, academic and professional contact with both immigrant and Canadian born citizens while working, volunteering, and studying in Canada.

I began to notice the successes and failures of independent immigrants when I started my graduate studies in Canada in 1997. My observations, coupled with media reports detailing the declining immigrant economic performance, heightened my research interest in the year 2000. Since then, I have studied all of the available literature and data concerning immigrant adaptation. These experiences and the knowledge acquired enhanced my awareness and sensitivity to many aspects of immigrant adaptation and assisted me in working with the participants. Anderson and Arsenault (1998) explain that it is important to “understand phenomenon through the participants’ eyes, then place that understanding within your theoretical and conceptual framework of the phenomena and reconsider the participants’ perspective with the goal of trying to define, unravel, reveal or explain the world” (p.125).

However, in this phenomenological inquiry, I also followed the advice of Creswell (1994), Duckes (1984), and Olier (1986) that the researcher put aside all

prejudgments when considering how individuals made sense out of their adaptation experience. My endeavors in this regard were being an attentive and astute listener during the interviews as well as being a serious researcher when dealing with data, participants' check of the raw data, and comments from my advisory committee members. I also remain mindful of the limitations of the study.

One important position I took during the study was to act as a facilitator, rather than imposing a strict agenda during the interview process. As such, I adopted Donawa's (1999) perception of interviews as inter/views. She explains that in her research, interviews were more a conversation than questions and answers, and sometimes the participants ended up interviewing her (p.39). Donawa's perception was adopted because the inter/views reflected the very spirit of interactive inquiry, especially when the researcher was positioned both outside and inside of the adaptation phenomena. The adoption of the inter/view concept complemented my position in dealing with the people participating in the interactive inquiry.

When we see the interview as an inter/view, an equal and cooperative relationship has been set up between the researcher and the participants. However, some researchers point out that the names researchers choose to refer to the person being interviewed, such as 'interviewee', 'respondent', 'subject', 'informant' suggest a passive role (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Seidman, 1998:8). The use of the terms has significant implications for how people design research, gather and interpret data. In this study, people were encouraged to reconstruct their experience actively within the context of their lives. Therefore, the word "participants" was used for people who were involved in the research. The choice suggested an effort to capture both the sense of active involvement that occurred in the

inter/view and the sense of equity that the researcher tried to build in the inter/view relationship.

Data Collection

Setting

This study was conducted in the city of Victoria, British Columbia. The province contains a concentrated Chinese immigrant population and historically, Victoria was the first city to accept Chinese immigrants. It was also the first city in Canada where a Chinatown emerged because of residence restrictions (Lai, 1988). The interviews were conducted at locations, which were chosen by the participants. Of eight interviews conducted, three were in the participants' offices, three were at the participants' home, and two were at the researcher's home. These places were private, and relatively free from disruption.

Participants

From the literature review and the researcher's observation, the general situation of independent immigrants fall into four scenarios: 1. Working in a professional field as selected by Canada Immigration; 2. Returning to an educational institution; 3. Working in a field that does not fit his or her trained skills; 4. Planning to go back to China. In order to gather information from the different groups, eight participants were recruited through the network method, which "is frequently used for in-depth interview studies" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:403). Four of the participants belonged to the first group, three belonged to the second group and one belonged to the last group (see Table I).

**Table I: General Information of the Participants
in the Study on Adaptation Experience of Chinese Independent Immigrants
(January 2002)**

Name	Professional Positions in China	Years in Canada*	Education Received in Canada	The Status in January 2002
Zhe	Researcher & Administrator	5	Master's program	Student
Yong	Manager	3	Bachelor of Arts program	Student
Ren	Secondary School Teacher	14	Master's program	Government officer
Richard	Professor	5	Doctoral program	Student
Yi	Engineer	4	Master's program	Going back to China
Hui	University Lecturer	12	Doctoral program	Senior Scientist
Zhuo	Secondary School Teacher	14	Master's program	College Professor
Da	University Lecturer	16	Master's & Doctoral program	Senior Researcher

* Years in Canada include the years of stay before immigration.

Initially, eleven people were contacted and nine people agreed to participate, but one from the third group withdrew after the interview was scheduled. The selection also took gender, length of settlement and age into consideration, as these were regarded in the literature as factors which affect adaptation. The participants were one female and seven males. They lived in Canada for three to sixteen years respectively. The age range was 28 to 51.

The belief I held throughout the interview was that the relationship between the researcher and the participant in the interview must be marked by respect, interest, attention, and good manners on the part of the researcher. Although the participants were invited through the network method, I introduced the study to potential participants in a professional manner. I followed Seidman's (1998) recommendation of erring on the side of formality rather than familiarity by contacting them through personal visits, email and telephone to explain in detail the procedures and their rights as participants.

Events

Using a phenomenological research methodology, the study commenced to understand immigrant adaptation experience by exploring the adaptation experiences of eight Chinese independent immigrants, and the perceptions and meaning attached to these experiences as expressed by the participants. This included their reflections, adaptation orientation, the adaptation environment, adaptation competence, adaptation strategies and needs.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are important in qualitative research designs (Creswell,

1994; Locke et al., 1982; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001; Merriam, 1988; Palys, 1997; Spradley, 1980). First and foremost, the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of the participants. In addition to the assessment conducted by the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Committee (Appendix B) before the study commenced, the following safeguards were employed to protect the participants' rights: (1) the research objectives and how data would be used were articulated verbally and in writing so that they were clearly understood by the participants (Appendix C); (2) signed consent forms were obtained from the participants which stated that participants could withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty (Appendix D); (3) the participants were informed of all data collection devices and activities; (4) verbatim transcriptions were sent to every participant through email, and written interpretations and the report were made available to the participants; (5) the participants' rights, interests and wishes were considered first when choices were made in regard to reporting the data; (6) the participants were asked to select their own pseudonyms.

Data Collecting Strategies

Data were collected in January and February of 2002. The data collecting strategies included face-to-face audio-recorded interviews, which lasted approximately two hours. The interviews were transcribed and the appropriate transcripts were given to each participant for review. The participants' input, additional questions and clarification were obtained through follow-up interviews which took place in person, through e-mail interactions, or during telephone conversations. The interview topics covered adaptation competence, adaptation environment, adaptation needs and reflections. These areas were

divided into four sections: before immigration, after arrival, reflections, and recommendations (Appendix A).

In the initial contact with the potential participants, the aims and objectives of the study were made clear and the participants' minds set at rest concerning my motives and intentions in doing the research. I made sure that the potential participant understood the nature of the study and how he or she fit into it. Also in the initial contact, complete confidentiality was assured for all data collecting, storing, analyzing, and reporting procedures. The participants were told that only my supervisors and I could access the raw data.

Based on the information provided, these potential participants made a decision to participate or not participate. Once people agreed to participate, they signed the consent form and decided the dates, times and locations of the interviews. Before interviews, the interview topics were sent to participants to aid them in their preparation. During one interview, the participant's spouse came to the location and expressed some opinions. Her comments and opinions were not included in this study.

The interviews were conducted in a relaxed and easy manner. When the participants did not wish to respond to a particular question(s), no pressure - subtle or otherwise - was put on them to respond. Some of them talked according to the order of topics, and some did not. The participants were given a choice to have their interviews recorded by tape-recorder or by hand-written notes. However, all of the participants agreed to have the interviews taped. The participants were re-assured that their conversations would not be repeated nor quoted in a way that would allow them to be

identified. At the onset of the interview, the participants were asked to choose pseudonyms to be used in the report.

During the interview, I was an attentive and astute listener. The participants' opinions and feelings were fully respected. If the participants wanted to know my experience, I told them honestly, but briefly in order to leave them enough time to share their stories. I allowed the participants to use either English or Chinese during the interviews, and they used Chinese most of the time. However, almost every one switched between these two languages during their narrations. I believe that in most issues regarding interviewing, there is no single right way to respond to these situations, except to recognize the importance of language and culture of thoughts. With this awareness, both researchers and participants can experiment with ways of talking to each other that most authentically reflect their thinking (Seidman, 1998:88).

The transcription was done as soon as possible and was returned to the participants for their input and necessary changes. Most of the participants were satisfied with the transcription, however two made some minor changes. The participants were able to choose the method in which follow-up interviews were conducted. These methods included face-to-face interviews, e-mail, or telephone conversations. All of the participants showed great interests in this study, so they were informed of the progress and were promised a copy of the result of the study.

Data Analysis Procedures

Some researchers contend that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research (Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1988; Marshall &

Rossman 1989). Immediately after the interviews, I took anecdotal notes while my memory was still fresh, and I began transcribing and translating the interviews. This was the initial stage of data analysis. Although a hallmark of qualitative inquiry is the active involvement and most of the researchers wish to avoid standardizing the process, researchers are not allowed to be limitlessly inventive (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). To let the interview breathe and speak for itself, I played some ambiguous sentences again and again, discovered the participants' narrative patterns, and researched the connections to the whole context to understand the meaning.

Besides frequently going back to the literature for methodological advice, I also adopted some procedures established by recognized professional researchers. I found the steps used by Tuckman (1999) to be especially concise and pragmatic. These seven steps included:

- Review the data collected and develop category labels for classifying them.
- Identify enough specific examples of each category in the data to completely define or saturate each category, clearly indicating how to classify future instances into the same categories.
- Based on the examples, create an abstract definition of each category by stating the criteria for classifying subsequent instances.
- Apply the definitions as a guide to both data collection and theoretical reflection.
- Attempt to identify additional categories that suggest themselves on the basis of those already identified (e.g. opposites, more specific ones, more general ones).

- Try to determine and specify the conditions under which relationships between categories occur.
- Where appropriate, make connections between categorized data and previously articulated theories (Tuckman, 1999, p.417).

While following the above procedure, I also utilized the inductive thinking proposed by McMillan and Schumacher (2001). They believe in general inductive analysis - transcripts, topics, emic and etic categories, patterns, narrative structures - the researcher is constantly returning to the prior level of abstraction as s/he moves to more abstract levels of data analysis. In this process, an inductive thinking at appropriate times is used - moving back and forth between analyzing raw data and recasting tentative analyses at each phase of building to more abstract levels of synthesis (p.462). With this back and forth reading approach, I identified Chinese cosmopolitanism from the participants' statements when most of them emphasized they were not able to completely integrate into Canada.

While McMillan and Schumacher (2001) believe that the main intellectual tool for analysis is comparison, Seidman (1998), like Tuckman (1999), emphasizes connection. In the process of working with excerpts from participants' interviews, seeking connections among them, explaining those connections and building interpretative categories, I let them develop from the experience of the participants as represented in the interviews, even though they were not the same as *my* observation. Seidman's (1998) explanation is that the reason an interviewer spends so much time talking to participants is to find out what *their* experience is and the meaning *they* make of it, and then to make connections among the experiences of people who share the same structure (p.3).

For the interpretation, Seidman (1998) asserts that it begins as interviewers question their participants. It goes through analytic work of marking, labeling, and grouping. Making a profile is also an act of analysis, as is presenting and commenting upon excerpts arranged in categories. These processes allowed me to lay the groundwork for interpretation. I called the procedure of thinking through the data “on site interpretation.”

I also utilized “distance interpretation” that was derived from other researchers (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998; Creswell, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). For this kind of interpretation, I put the raw data aside and read the related topics for brainstorming. McMillan and Schumacher (2001) ask researchers to debunk assumptions made by the observed people, to search for what people really mean, and to explore all the possible aspects of a category to avoid standard ways of thinking. Steering away from “standard ways of thinking” enabled me to look at the data in different ways.

Finally, I frequently referred to Seidman's (1998) analysis questions throughout the study. What connective threads are there among the experiences of the participants? How do we understand and explain these connections? What do we understand now that we did not understand before we began the interviews? What surprises have there been? What confirms previous instincts? How have the interviews been consistent with the literature? How inconsistent? How have they gone beyond?

Verification

Should we address the validity of the interview process in qualitative inquiry?

Ferrarotti (1981) argues that the most profound knowledge can be gained only by the deepest intersubjectivity among researchers and that which they are researching. Such a discussion suggests that neither the vocabulary of "validity" nor "trustworthiness" is adequate. Some researchers hold that the validity in interviews should be addressed differently from quantitative research, which emphasizes the structural corroboration and the generalizability of the findings of the study (Rudestam & Newton, 1992).

Seidman (1998) argues that the interviewer can respond to the question of validity through carefully designed structures, the opportunity for participants to check for the internal consistency of their narration, and comparison of experiences and the comments of one participant against those of others. He believes that there is room in the universe for multiple approaches to validity. The problem is not in the multiplicity. Rather it lies in the sometimes doctrinaire ways in which some advocates of divergent approaches polarize the issue. What are needed are not formulaic approaches to enhancing either validity or trustworthiness but understanding of and respect for the issues that underlie those terms.

No matter how researchers differ in the issues of validity, I adopted the following strategies to ensure validity:

- 1. Triangulation of data – data were collected through multiple sources to include the participants from different adaptation scenarios;**

2. **Member-checking** – the participants served as a check throughout the analysis process. They reviewed their transcripts and made changes which they deemed important. Most of the participants were very concerned about the study. An ongoing dialogue regarding my interpretations of the participants' reality and meanings would ensure the accuracy of the data;
3. **Peer examination** – my supervisors, two colleagues and a friend served as peer examiners;
4. **Participatory modes of research** – two participants were voluntarily involved in most phases of the study, from the formation of research questions to checking and discussing interpretations and findings; and
5. **Clarification of researcher bias** – the researcher openly articulated her bias.

Reporting the Findings

Miles and Huberman (1984) assert that narrative text has been the most frequent form of display for qualitative data. In this study the results were presented in descriptive, narrative form under different themes. I chose to quote the participants frequently throughout the text in order to present their experiences and views as directly as possible. The integration process of eight Chinese independent immigrants was then presented holistically. This reporting was a construction of the participants' experiences and meanings they attached to them. Since the participants perceived integration differently from each other and the conventional notion, the term "adaptation" was used in the report whenever possible.

In the report, all participants were quoted with pseudonyms. Although the participants were asked to select their own pseudonyms, all but one (Richard) requested that I choose a name for them. I chose pseudonyms which suggested some character traits

of the participants that I observed: Zhe: sagacious, wise, and philosophical; Yong: brave, courageous, and valiant; Ren: diligent, and tenacious; Yi: persevering, independent and possessing strong willpower; Hui: bright, sapient, and wise; Zhuo: preeminent, outstanding, super-excellent, salient, and transcendent; Da: philosophical, resilient, and broad-hearted.

Summary

In this chapter, the research methodology, the study design, the role of the researcher, the ethic issues, and the procedures of sampling, data collecting, analyzing, and reporting have been described. The subsequent chapter will present the themes emerged from the narration of the participants on their integration experiences. These themes and excerpts tell about their integration experience in Canada: their dreams and preparations before immigration, the realities and their integration strategies, their perceptions of integration, the factors that aid or hinder their integration, their integration strategies and needs, and the guidelines of their whole development in Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

The findings of the study are presented in this chapter under different themes. They are in the order of the participants' perceptions of integration, adaptation motivation, adaptation preparation, expectations and the reality, factors that aid or hinder adaptation, adaptation strategies and needs. Following each theme, there is a summary and the researcher's perceived implications.

Perceptions of Integration

When discussing integration, one of the participants, Zhe, pointed out that an important issue was "how people perceive it". He believed that immigrants' perception of integration guided their adaptation directions and attitudes. The adaptation stories revealed that the participants of this study perceived integration differently from both other participants or researchers and the Canadian government. The participants believed that integration was imperative for independent immigrants. They also noted an integration hierarchy in which immigrants were situated at different tiers with different goals to accomplish; a synonymy of making contributions; a self-chosen marginality between the mainstream culture and the Chinese culture, learning and changing, or something impossible for the first generation of immigrants. Within these perceptions, the participants also declared their attitudes and actions.

Integration – a Necessity for Independent Class

This perception was rooted in the fact that independent immigrants, or skilled workers were different from the immigrants from other classes, such as family, business, self-employed, or refugee. They were admitted according to the needs of the Canadian job market. Citizenship and Immigration Canada states that “Independent immigrants are selected for the knowledge, skills and experience needed in Canada's labor market” (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigr/index2.html>). Therefore it is imperative that independent immigrants integrate into Canadian society in order to gain employment.

Yi explained his perception, “Independent immigrants are different from investors or entrepreneurs. They are supposed to work with their expertise.” To enter the Canadian job market, independent immigrants must integrate into Canadian society. Richard and Yi concluded that for both survival and professional development, this group had to integrate.

When you immigrate to one country, you certainly should adjust yourself to its society, to its culture. It is your duty, I think. If you do not have such a plan, you should not immigrate in the first place (Yi).

For the independent immigrants, they must integrate into society, no matter the big society or small one. You need a job. You have to try your best to integrate. There is no choice. You do not have money, but skills. ... There is no room for you to make a choice. Or you have your own business. Otherwise you should integrate into this society to reach a higher level (Richard).

With such a realization, they suggested that immigrants should not consider the local people's attitudes, but rather they should look for fault in themselves. “When we talk about local people's attitudes, in most cases, what we talk about is how we feel. In

fact, it is about our feeling through the interaction with people here. ... the attitudes of others, in some degree, are your attitudes towards others." (Richard). Therefore, even if they encountered some unfriendly attitudes, they should tolerate and feel responsible to change the situation for the better,

As to some unfriendly attitudes from host society, I feel it is normal. If they are too friendly, that is abnormal, because you are immigrants, your culture and customs are different. They would feel uncomfortable. Immigrants have a responsibility to reduce this gap, do not complain others' attitudes but allow others' opinions. This is my position (Yi).

Integration Hierarchy

Zhe saw the immigrant integration process as a hierarchy. At the bottom level lay "the practical everyday life integration", such as shopping, banking, seeing a doctor, and the like. This bottom level was particularly easy for independent immigrants because of their language and cognitive skills. The second level was economic integration. At this level, independent immigrants were trying to situate themselves in a profession in which they were trained and had expertise. This level was very challenging. Zhe said,

You've got to survive. You first of all should get a job, and be a part in the social economy. It is a bigger problem. Some immigrants have to struggle for years at this level. If you always cannot find a job, if you are always looking for a suitable job, or travel to and fro between your home country and the host country, or you have to stay at school, you personally do not have any sense of stability and sense of security. You socially do not play any role in society, or make any economic contributions to the whole economic development. Integration at this level is hard.

The third level was what Zhe referred to as "political and cultural feelings." He believed "it takes even longer. It is a longer term. Really a long term." What he meant

here was a sense of being the host. His conclusion was that it was very hard for the first generation immigrants to succeed at this tier. Zhe described that at this tier,

You are a complete and active part of this society. Politically, you want to vote, and you have your political position. Culturally, you feel Canadian culture is part of your culture. It is definitely a long-term happening. For many people, in this generation, I think, it is hard.

So it was important where immigrants located themselves. Most of the pain associated with integration was rooted in immigrants seeking higher-level integration when they were actually struggling at a lower level. Zhe suggested a realistic attitude towards integration, "You do not need to strive for something impossible." For psychological equilibrium, Zhe advocated a realistic attitude towards integration,

[An unrealistic attitude] is like this: one day, you wake up and say to yourself: I decide to live to 200 years old. It is your hope but it is not realistic. You should not strive for it to frustrate yourself. This applies to integration. No matter government or immigrants, both of them should have a realistic understanding of the integration process.

...As in my case, for such an age and my situation, I have not expected to completely or fully integrate politically and culturally. I did not set these goals or feel I should set these as my goals. If I did so, I would make me to struggle a lot.

Integration = Contribution

All participants regarded contribution as synonymous with integration. So, integration was immigrants making contributions to the host society. This perception coincided with the expectation of Canadian government (CIC, 1994b) that newcomers should contribute to the economic and social fabric of Canada as soon as possible. The

participants held that immigrant contributions suggested the acceptance and recognition by the host society. The level of contribution, and the amount of reward for the contribution suggested the level of integration. Different levels of contributions and their relevant rewards formed a contribution hierarchy. The immigrants at a higher tier of this hierarchy enjoyed a sense of proud membership in the host society. Richard elaborated this point in detail,

Now what is integration? First of all, you should define what is integration. I do not think that you can survive or you can find a job is integration. I feel that integration includes a wide range of things. From my view, the true integration is you can contribute to this society.

I really mean it. You should have a true contribution. What is the true contribution? What do you do so that you have more confidence in yourself? ...I think it is simple. You have to sell something, and then you get something. You must sell something. This sale is you must contribute to this society, specifically, through our own work. [For example] now I mainly do research, so my contribution is to have more results. It is this simple. Your achievements are the contributions to this society. And I am also teaching. Teaching is also a contribution to the society. To evaluate my contributions, one is research and the other is teaching. These are direct ways to make contributions. If you are qualified in these two jobs, if you can make contributions in these two aspects, you would feel really good.

You feel that you are a person that is accepted by this society. When you have made some contribution, and when you feel you have made some contribution, you feel really good. It is not enough that you have made contributions, but these contributions are accepted, recognized and appreciated. Then your relationship with others will be more harmonized. Everything becomes natural. If you do not have contribution, but only getting something, even others do not say anything, you yourself could not feel at ease. From a long view, no matter wherever you go, even

if you work as a low level worker, you also make contribution. Even if you do cleaning and you are a janitor, you also make contribution. When you have income, your income suggests your contribution. No matter what you do, as long as you do, you have others' recognition, and then you will feel good.

However, a person who was able to survive in Canada could not be considered as being integrated. If someone did not feel the need to contribute, he/she would not have been motivated to integrate. The simple reason is that in a plural society like Canada, it would be no problem for some immigrants to survive without integration into the mainstream culture or society. They could stay inside Chinatown or alike for their whole lives. When immigrants wanted to make bigger contributions, when they set making more contributions as their goal, they would try hard to integrate into the society socially and economically. Richard further shared his understanding of integration:

Some people can live within his small circle for a whole life. It does not matter if he can speak English or not. He can survive in this society. He might say that he has integrated into this society.

My opinion is that integration, for an individual, first is the degree of your social participation. The economic integration, to my understanding, is your expectation of your future income. Income expectation. ... If you want to reach this goal, you have to go to a certain social level. If you are satisfied with low-level job, you cannot reach this goal.

Simply put it, there are different levels of incomes. For annual \$10,000 or more, you can go to Chinatown to work in the restaurant, or work in a supermarket. If you think of \$20,000 to \$40,000 annual incomes, you should have a job of engineer or alike. If you want more than that, you have to be medial doctor, or professor or the like. Higher incomes suggest a higher social contribution. To contribute more requires that you have been recognized by this society. For this

reorganization, you must integrate, no choice. Otherwise you cannot be at a higher social level.

For Richard, his mission in this world was to make contributions to mankind. He was never satisfied with a good material life, but he looked forward to a higher level and rapid professional development to be able to contribute more to the world. He emphasized that this was the very reason why he immigrated to Canada. As the result of his perception, he would not think that he had integrated into the society before he reached his goal,

Our purpose of coming over is to have greater and better development. We hope to contribute more to the world. The environment and conditions are better, so we should make more contributions

I feel no matter I work or study, this society helps people at low levels a lot. I personally feel I have owed a lot. So in this situation, I cannot say I have integrated. When one day, I can help others, I think I have integrated.

Self-chosen Cultural Marginality

Self-chosen marginality is the term specially used by some Chinese researchers to describe a form of adaptation where immigrants freely move between the mainstream culture and their original culture. Conventionally, marginality refers to a state where immigrants fall through the cracks of mainstream culture and the original one. Different from the conventional thinking, the marginality of the participants indicated their acceptance of mainstream culture and the maintenance of Chinese culture, or a dual membership of both cultures.

This self-chosen marginality for these eight participants was more an attitude than perception. All the participants showed the self-chosen marginality in their adaptation with a slight difference to the weight each participant gave to either culture. In the case of Zhe, he did not have any problems with the mainstream culture, and had made progress in his professional development. However, at the depth of his feelings, he still had a sense that he was an outsider in Canada.

...I think partially I have integrated. The social principles, social norms, life styles, all of these I do not have any troubles. ... But as to the feeling of belongings, I do not think it is strong enough. I still do not have a complete feeling of belongings. Somehow I still have a feeling of outsider. Some such feelings. I have been in Canada for four years, but I still have some feeling of outsider. Not completely belong to.

He found his marginality was rooted in the education he received in China. Education was one of the important criteria in Canada's selective immigration system. However, a noticeable fact was that education was laden with culture and also a tool to pass on cultural traditions. As a consequence, the higher education a person had received in the home country, the harder it might be for this person to give up the original culture to integrate into mainstream culture. Thus, Zhe argued that integration, in some sense, was harder for the immigrants from the independent class,

I feel education must be, education essentially is a culture transfer process. The higher education you have received, the more you have inherited and been influenced by your original culture. ...these who received higher education in China would have sense of cultural collision. ... because of their education, they have more attachment to their culture heritage.

As for me, I have been deeply influenced by Chinese culture. I feel the influence is quite deep. But on the other hand, it depends on your attitudes. I like to keep an open attitude, not to admire other cultures blindly, not to stand opposite to it, or not exclude other cultures. I am trying not to regard two cultures are antipathetic to each other.

However, if immigrants would like to learn and accept the mainstream culture, and at the same time bring something useful from their original culture to the society, integration would become “constructive and positive” (Richard). This way, immigrants do not need to be in a quandary but gain advantage from both cultures and make cultural contributions to the society to which they belong. Richard expressed his opinion:

At this point, I feel that it is impossible to completely leave one’s own culture behind, because our case is a special one. For the past more than thirty years, we lived in a different culture. Leaving your past in a new environment means that you have nothing with you. So you cannot leave your past and your original culture behind. Now the problem is how you blend your old culture with the new culture. In fact, something from our original culture is very useful for the new culture here.

You should apply some outstanding features of your original culture to the life here. This is an aspect of your ability of integration. Never leave your own culture behind. This is constructive and positive integration.

Self- chosen marginality was Ren’s adaptation strategy because he strongly opposed assimilation and did not want to give up his Chinese identify and his own culture. At the same time, he appreciated the mainstream culture and tried to have an “in-depth understanding of the society.”

I know some people in U. S., I am not sure that it is out of their personality or they pretend to be, they could make a thorough change except their skin color.

But in my case, I do not think I can change, I might remain unchanged all my life. No matter what happens, I am a Chinese.

About culture, I feel everyone should keep his/her own tradition. In some sense, your own culture could be your advantage. ... I do not have any problems with the culture here. Strangely enough, the longer I have lived here, the more strong points I have discovered in the culture here. ...For many things, before we notice and find out about it, we cannot appreciate it.

Zhuo expressed similar attitudes. She learned a great deal of mainstream culture, and adjusted her behavior accordingly. It seemed that for her, to behave like a mainstream cultural member was not a strategy but what she was willing to do. However, she did not think that she was completely integrated into Canadian society. "I cannot say that I have completely integrated into Canadian society, but I feel very comfortable here. In addition, I feel that it is not hard for me if I want to do something here. So I feel that I am quite satisfied with the life here". The reason she perceived her integration this way was because she did not want to change some aspects of herself,

...but you cannot change yourself completely. Cannot change completely. For me, if you want me to involve Canadian politics, if you ask me to believe in church, I am not able to. ...because I was brought up without it. I cannot pick up now. This is something I cannot do.

...it is pretty hard for us to integrate into this society one hundred percent. Very hard. The previous concepts are deeply rooted. Not everything from past is bad.

So it depends on what the definition of integration is. If you want one hundred percent integration, I cannot do it. Because I lived in China for thirty years, I cannot simply erase the thirty years history. These thirty years are always there. So if you ask me to give up totally, and accept a completely new culture, it is not possible.

This self-chosen marginality makes integration a difficult process. From the participants' narrations, it seemed that the word integration implied a passive position which involved compromise and acceptance by society. In other words, one could not express a sense of dual loyalty. The discrepancy between conventional integration and the participants' self-chosen marginality became obvious especially when they talked about their duties and contributions to Canada.

Because this is my second motherland, so if the country needs me to protect her, I will go to protect her. Now that I have immigrated to this country, I have my duty and responsibility to protect her (Yong).

Learning and Changing

Speaking from her experience, Zhuo emphasized that integration was learning and de-learning. This kind of learning included, not only knowledge of Canada, but also everyday life – the “small things.” These “small things” explained by Zhuo, included courtesy, dress code, and “How do they deal with things? What is their life?” This way, “you have in-depth understanding of this society and know a lot in a very short period of time.” These “small things” in Zhuo's opinion, were in fact “related to integration, because local “people can form some expression from these small things.” So,

To adjust to this society, you get to know Canadian people, including Canadian families. So when I came here, I chose to live with Canadian families. This way you not only improve your English, but also get to know what they eat, what they like, what they wear, and what they use in details. Thus, you accept much Canadian culture unawares. I feel this is something cannot pass on in words. You can be aware until you live with them. How do they deal with things? What is their life? This way, you have in-depth understanding of this society and know a lot in a very short period of time (Zhuo).

You get to know what are the needs of people here. How people are doing things here? What is the culture here? You get to know this system, and you get to learn new knowledge. This way, you can develop. This is not my own thinking, many people are doing this and many immigrants hold this opinion (Richard).

Learning for adult immigrants required de-learning – “you get to change” (Yi).

Zhou noticed that many immigrants stayed outside the mainstream culture voluntarily because they did not put enough effort to change their incompatible habits.

If you get in touch with a foreigner, if I am going to her house, I must make a phone call to see if it is OK to go. If you go to her place without advanced notice, she will feel you are very rude. For this you must change, because this is Canadian custom.

It does not work if you do not pay attention to these tiny things. This is their code. ...It is like when you work, there are workplace regulations. You cannot do whatever you feel like. It does not work. They will feel you are strange. Certainly you might ask what are the reasons for this? The reason can be found in yourself.

The learning and de-learning could be a long and hard process. However immigrants should come to a realization that this was a process to empower themselves, because

“If you pay more attention to these aspects, you become good at these, then you have more potential to succeed in this society. This is what I think”.

I feel in this society, if you want to, if you like to learn, you can perfectly settle down. If you want to truly integrate into Canadian society, if you want to be qualified to comment Canadian society, until you understand some mini things and some concrete things, you begin to have a right to talk about and comment on these things. (Zhou)

Something Impossible for the First Immigrant Generation

Some participants felt that integration was something impossible for first generation immigrants. Yong commented that integration was hard because integration happened at an individual level. Not everyone from the mainstream culture welcomed immigrants from their heart, and some white people felt that they were superior and did not like other ethnic groups on the upper social ladder. Yong said,

...some white Canadian feel that they are superior. I have lived with many white Canadians. Although they are polite, you can feel that they think they are superior. ... All in all, white people make up, I guess, seventy percent of the upper social ladders.

So when you talk about integration, it is not that easy. I haven't tried to integrate into this society. But I feel it is not easy for a Chinese to integrate into this society, because it is not what you want. It depends on if Canadians accept your culture or not. If they do not accept, however you try, you can never integrate into this society. White people have their own social group, and Asians have their own, I feel integration is not possible in my entire life. Maybe my children will.

I don't want to make a special effort to integrate. I only want to live here happily. I don't have any conflicts with them. ... I do not think much how to integrate, I am not at an integrate age. My age goes beyond the integration age. If I came here as a child, I would try.

I have never thought to integrate. I want to live here happily. If they accept me, I feel I can integrate. Integration is not a bad choice. If they do not accept me, or they feel hard to accept me, then there is no need for me to make a special effort for it. It is not bad to keep my whole Chinese identity. I pay tax when I should, I do whatever I should. I feel natural and good.

Although integration had been an important endeavor since he landed in Canada, Richard also expressed that “integration cannot happen in our generation. Cannot.” It seemed that integration was a paradox – it was hard for immigrants to change completely, but they could not be totally accepted if they did not have a thorough change.

For us, we have a very strong culture background. Your language, happiness, angeriness, sadness and joyfulness are all built on a different culture. When we come here, if we want to get into their circle, if you do not make a complete change, I would say, it is hard for you to get in.

No matter how, you cannot get in. Then I often say, integration cannot happen in our generation. Cannot. For this generation, we just do our bit within our capacity, make contribution, and what you can create? You create a good condition for next generation. Then next generation will inherit something from you, a part of old culture, they are in the culture here, they can make good combination, and they can better integrate. Our generation is...transitional...generation of contribution. You do not have much enjoyment. What you can do is to make our contribution with our culture. Even though we suffer a lot, true successful persons are only in small numbers. I feel so.

Yi’s opinion was that the complete integration for first generation immigrants was difficult. For the second generation, because of the direct influence of the first generation, the complete integration was still problematic. So he affirmed that true integration could only happen in the third generation.

I feel it is hard for first generation immigrants to integrate into the host country, because the education they have received, and the original living environment are not same as that in Canada, sometimes very different. So I say it is hard for the first generation immigrants to integrate. From childhood, they have received education in different political settings. Certainly the length of their stay in Canada could influence them, but the mixture exists.

...the first generation would influence their children, and hope to keep their original culture. There would be a mix in the second and the third generation, but the element of host society will become a major part of this mix. I believe integration can happen completely in the third generation.

Summary and Implications

Immigrant integration is a complex issue. From the narrations of the participants, it seemed that integration, in some sense, was an inevitable need of independent immigrants because they were selected to work in Canada with or for native-born Canadians. This point justifies the opinion of Neuwirth (1999) who emphasizes the interrelation of social and economic integration. It is also evident that none of the participants would like to choose assimilation as the adaptation form because they wanted to keep their own culture. We might put it in another way that none of the participants would give up the Chinese culture.

If we use the expectations of the Canadian government to immigrants as the benchmark, we may say that every participant's adaptation strategy was integration, because none of them were on welfare, but trying hard to contribute to the society. If we apply Berry's (1997) acculturation model to the reality presented by the participants, we would conclude that all of them had perfectly integrated because they accepted the host society culture and at the same time kept the Chinese one.

However, from the analysis of data, a discrepancy existed between theory and reality, or to be accurate, the reality that participants constructed. First, the participants recognize that there are levels of integration. While all participants wanted to contribute to Canadian society, they did not want to abandon their Chinese culture. The participants

did not believe that their endeavors demonstrated total integration because they would not erase Chinese culture from their lives. They also felt that it was impossible for the first generation to integrate. Further, it seemed that as far as integration was concerned, there was a discrepancy in the perception between insider and outsider. The literature concerning integration and the Canadian government's expectations indicate that integration is when immigrants accept the host society culture and contribute to the society while maintaining their own culture. On the contrary, assimilation suggests immigrants adopt the mainstream culture and give up their own culture. From this point, it might be that the integration that the participants talked about was in fact assimilation.

Several questions remain unanswered. Why did the participants uniformly equate integration with assimilation? Did they have an incorrect conception or did their lived reality bring them to such a realization? Kim (1988) suggests that the immigrants' perceptions of the new environment at the initial phase tend to be overly simplistic, inaccurate, and unrealistic, but over time as immigrants learn more about the host culture, their perceptions become more refined and discriminating. Following Kim's (1988) observation, we might assume that Canada's integration in the real world of was actually assimilation, because some of the participants had been in Canada for more than ten years.

Another issue that the participants brought to our attention was the self-chosen marginality. The implied resistance to passively accept and be accepted, the sense of dual loyalty held by the participants and their aspiration to contribute to the world made the participants' self-chosen marginality different from integration perceived by researchers and the Canadian government. But this self-chosen marginality or the Chinese

cosmopolitanism justifies the observation and research conducted by Chinese researchers (Lee, 1994; Li, 1994; Tu, 1994; Wang, 1994).

We could also identify the participants' adaptation attitudes from Banks' (1991) ethnicity scales. However, the cosmopolitanism goes far beyond the vision of integrationists and the Canadian government which Banks illuminates within his sixth stage,

The individuals have clarified, reflective, and positive ethnic, national, and global identifications and the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities needed to function in ethnic cultures within their own nations as well as in cultures within other nations. These individuals have the ideal delicate balance of ethnic, national, and global identifications, commitments, literacy, and behaviors. They have internalized the universalistic ethical values and principles of humankind and have the skills, competencies, and commitments needed to act on these values (1991:66).

Adaptive Motivation

Motivation is an important affective factor of successful adaptation. It suggests the willingness or 'drive' of immigration and adaptation. Although these eight participants were admitted to Canada through the same selection criteria, their motivation to immigrate was very different. Five types of motivation emerged and were identified in the narrations. These motivations included; stability and a better life, freedom, multiculturalism in Canada, better professional development, and family responsibility.

Motivation One: Stability and a Better Life

To gain a stable, better life in Canada was an important motivation for most of the participants. This was especially the case for Zhe and Yi. Zhe immigrated to Canada from the United States. He had been in the United States for six years as a visiting researcher but did not have any sense of stability that was very important for his career development. So he immigrated to Canada from the United States in 1997. Zhe began his integration story from why he migrated to Canada:

...two factors affected my decision of immigration to Canada: one was Canada's natural and social conditions and the other was my personal condition and qualifications. ...Even though I had mixed information about Canada, at least one thing was certain that I could have a permanent resident status. This status has provided me many good conditions and reduced many troubles. I do not need to worry about my immigrant status any more. In the US, it was so frustrating to renew visa, to apply for visa.... I really appreciate that Canada has offered me this status, because I have gained stability so that I can make long-term plans. This is very important. No matter how good a place is, if you have no chance to stay, and if you have to struggle for staying, you waste a lot of time. Stability was my first expectation.

Yi studied and worked in Japan for three years in the same field. He gained a bachelor's degree in China and a master's degree in Japan. Since immigration to Japan was almost impossible, he decided to immigrate to Canada in 1998 with his wife. He illustrated his motivation to immigrate to Canada with a comparison between Canada and Japan, "the culture in Japan is stiff, and it is a country with a single nation. ...It seemed Canada was more peaceful, so I wanted to come here to have a look."

Hui treasured the stability of Canadian life and society mostly because of the great contrast between the life in China and the life in Canada. He came to Canada for his doctoral studies in 1990 when China was still under the shade of the political turbulence of the 1989 Tian'anmen incident. So the peaceful and steady life in Canada impressed him greatly. Even though he had planned to go back to China when he finished his study, he stayed because "I feel life here is comparatively steady."

Different from Zhe, Yi, and Yong whose decisions were based on information they acquired about Canada from direct or indirect sources, Richard's motivation to emigrate was from his own experience and observation. Before immigration, he had worked in Canada as a visiting professor for two years. He liked Canada as soon as he put his feet on the Canadian land,

I felt it was very good place when I came here for the first time, and I began to think of immigration. After a few years work back in China, I got another invitation to work here, and then I made up my mind and applied for immigration. I hoped that after I moved my family here, my wife and my daughter could have a happy life. They did not have many worries, or other troublesome things. They could have happier life. Also, the living condition was very good. There was a complete social service system. And life was very convenient, and living standard was higher. The natural environment was very good. Generally speaking, the life here was very good.

Motivation Two: Freedom

The love for freedom exists in human nature. It is especially true for the Chinese immigrants who came from a country with feudal traditions and a one party government. This may explain why Richard began his adaptation story with the topic of freedom, "From personal experience, Canada left me a deep impression. The deepest expression

was the freedom. The freedom environment.” Speaking of the freedom, the participants emphasized three freedoms - political, academic and residential. These freedoms might be taken for granted by the people from democratic countries, but were greatly appreciated by those who came from the non-democratic societies.

When Zhuo chose to obtain her master’s degree in Canada, one of the important reasons was “I hoped to study in Canada without any political interference. This way I could have greater career and academic development.” This was also one of the considerations when she made her decision to immigrate to Canada. She further explained:

...the time I left China, we had very limited freedom, and there were many political prohibitions in many fields. So many times, actually I felt, under many circumstances, it was hard to get things done. So much energy and time was wasted. These, I hoped, would change in this country. I felt that it did.

Hui came to Canada right after the 1989 Tian’anmen incident. Seeing a strong contrast between the political environments of China and Canada, Hui felt Canada a better place to work because in China “especially a few years ago, there was no environment for fair competition, and the corruption, I was not used to. I did not think I would have good opportunity for my academic and career development.” So he accepted the job offer from Canada after his graduation and applied for immigration.

Richard admired enormously the academic freedom in Canada that he had enjoyed when he was a visiting professor in Canada. He thought that he could have a faster professional movement if he moved to this place. He talked about his motivation of emigration:

The other was the good academic atmosphere. You could concentrate on your research. You were able to do the research you like. These closely connect with the academic freedom. ... Under such an environment, you know you are able to gain high efficiency in your work. You are able to make many achievements.”

There is a strict residential management system in China. So the residential freedom in Canada is new to most of the Chinese immigrants. Under the control of residential restriction in China for almost forty years, Zhe expressed his appreciation of the residential freedom of Canada. After he landed in Canada, Zhe moved freely from Toronto to Vancouver, then to Victoria,

At least compared to China, we do not have residential registration problem [laugh]...For example, at first I went to Toronto. It was so cold and I did not like the place, even though I had many connections there. ... Then I moved here. So I have certain degree of freedom. I am not sure if there is a specific policy about this freedom of residence. But the whole system of this country has offered you a free choice - where do you like to live, where do you want to work. There is a great difference between China and Canada in this respect. Anyway, in this country, there are no policies to constrain you no matter where you are, how long you want to stay in a place. I have felt that there is nothing in the policy to limit my choice, but support.

Motivation Three: Multiculturalism in Canada

Canadian multiculturalism as the guideline for the immigration and integration policies attracts thousands of immigrants and has laid a solid foundation for smoother immigrant integration. This view was shared among all the participants in this study.

Because of the multiculturalism, Ren explained,

...in this society, everyone is equal, the policy could not give a small group of people some privileges. Obviously Canadian society is a good one. It does not

have too serious racial discrimination. Certainly it might have in some degree, but not obvious. You do not feel stressful. So it is easy for people to adapt.

Multiculturalism is especially attractive to those participants who were sojourners in countries with ethnic ideology, such as Japan and Germany, or assimilation ideology, such as the United States. Yi immigrated to Canada from Japan. Although he completed his master's degree in Japan and worked there for more than three years, he did not like that country, "They look down upon other people, especially other Asians. ... It seemed Canada was more peaceful... It was a multicultural country and immigration country. I felt this knowledge was enough for me to make decision. "

Motivation Four: Better Professional Development

For reasons to be explored, Chinese people seem to put the spirit life and professional success before wealth and material enjoyment. So the better professional development in an industrial country became one of the most important motivations of the participants to immigrate to Canada. As Zhuo emphasized,

Certainly there is a great difference between the life here and the life in China. But for us this takes second place. Second place. Not the first thing important. This first thing important is not to seek the changes in living and material aspects, but new spiritual life environment, and new academic environment.

This motivation was also highlighted in the story of Zhe. In China, he was recognized as one of the pioneers in the research of mental health and social psychology. For better development in the field, he came to North America with a self-defined mission: "This field was new and weak in China. So, I would like to study systematically the methods here." Because of this mission, he declared,

simply a job is not what I come to the West, come to Canada for. What I want is to do something that fits into my field, fits into my capacity. This is one. If I cannot reach this goal, I still want to make my effort toward this direction. At least, I can learn and know what they are doing and how they do it.

To study administration in North America was what Yi had dreamed for a long time. At the time when he participated in this study, he had just completed the MBA program, and gained his second master's degree. So in his adaptation story, he recalled,

in Canada, I wanted to learn something North American. Also my English could be improved through my study. What I studied was MBA. It was what I liked long time ago but did not have chance to study. Coming to Canada provided such an opportunity. Moreover, modern administration began from North America. So it was a good opportunity to study in North America.

Hui did not go back to China when he finished his study because in Canada "I would have good opportunity for my academic and career development." For the same reason, Richard made his decision to immigrate to Canada. He was a university professor who had obtained his Ph. D. in mathematics in China. In his adaptation story, he emphasized,

People like us were not struggling at the bottom of the society before immigration, but had made big contributions to the society. The purpose we come over is to have greater and better development. We hope to contribute more to the world. The environment and conditions here are better, so we should make more contributions.

Motivation Five: Family Responsibility

China is a country that values reciprocal intergenerational caring relations. These relations are featured not only in the submission of children to the cultural norm

of filial piety, but also by the dedication of parents to the traditional ideal of common interests of the family. So the family responsibility became one of the most important motivations of the participants.

This motivation was the foremost for Yong when he considered immigration to Canada, because his parents were in North America. Talking about the reason of immigration, Yong said, "I immigrated to Canada because I wanted to be close to my parents. My parents are in America. It was hard to go to America. They are getting old. So I wanted to move closer to them so that I could take care of them when they become old."

One of the motivations that made Hui immigrate to Canada was for his daughter's sake. "The other reason was that my daughter had her education here. If she went back, her Chinese was not good enough to compete with other students. So finally we decided to stay in Canada." It seemed that the family interests, such as education of children and the better future of the family were embodied in the motivation of all of the married participants. Richard stated,

From family perspective, it was a good place for kids' education. ...it is a better place, after comparison, you want to come to work and to develop, for personal development, and for family and children's development. ...You create a good condition for next generation. Then next generation will inherit part of something from you, a part of old culture, they are in the culture here, they can make good combination, and they can better integrate. Our generation is...Yee, transitional...generation of contribution.

Taking good care of his family and his parents were big concerns for Zhe too. He was the only child of his elderly parents. As with many other Chinese people, every bit of Zhe's advancement added a great deal to his parents' self-pride. Simultaneously, Zhe's

motivation to achieve success in society was to improve his parents' future. During the inter/view, Zhe talked about taking care of his family. "I also have parents who need to be taken care of...I want to be able to take care of my parents."

Yi's case shared a great similarity with Zhe's. Taking care of his parents was the very reason that Yi immigrated to Canada and the same reason that he decided to return to China. He explained, "the most concern is the family, because I am the only one child in my family. My family has been supporting me greatly. Without my parents' support, I would not have had opportunity to see the outside world."

Summary and Implications

The participants immigrated to Canada with the belief that they could live a better and more stable life, enjoy academic, social, political and personal freedom, and be respected as equal members of society. They also hoped they could have better professional development, better academic environments, and easier access to information, and advanced technology in Canada. As a tradition, they wanted their family, especially their children and parents, to live in this beautiful place and share a good life with them.

The five motivations, especially expectations for a positive future, covered almost every important aspect of life and greatly influenced their adaptation in Canada. Discovering the participants' immigration motivations enables us to see how they envisioned their relationship with the host society. Kim (1988) comments, "Anticipatory desire reflects the internal willingness or commitment to learn about and participate in the host cultural environment. ... The more intense their adaptive motivation, the more they are likely to show enthusiasm and dedication in their effort to become functional in the

host society”(p.99). A further exploration of participants’ adaptation efforts clearly showed that there was a positive relationship between their motivation and their willingness to adapt. An interesting phenomenon need to be explored was that none of the participants included material gains in their motivation and expectation of immigration.

Adaptation Preparation

Preparation before immigration may be an important factor in determining readiness for adaptation (Berry & Sam, 1997; Kim, 1987). The process of both material and psychological preparation occurred at varying levels for the participants. While education, work experience, and language proficiency are regarded as important material preparation, all of the participants came to Canada through the selection criteria in which these three qualifications were given substantial weighting. It is assumed then, that the participants had achieved adequate preparation in these areas and, as such, were not included in the discussion. Therefore the participants’ comments focused on material preparations such as information gathering and financial preparedness. The psychological preparation included the collection and analysis of information about life, the job market conditions in Canada, and readiness for the possible difficulties they would encounter after they landed.

Generally speaking, the type and degree of the preparation among the participants were reflected in four different scenarios. These scenarios might be described as sufficient preparation, insufficient financial preparation, insufficient psychological preparation, and severely insufficient preparation.

Scenario One: Sufficient Preparation

Three participants, Da, Hui, and Yi were well prepared both materially and psychologically. Da came to Canada twice with sufficient funds – first from the Chinese government, then from a graduate scholarship. Therefore, his preparation either for the first visit or the second was focused on purposeful information gathering. His information gathering for the first visit was

I went to library before I came here, because I did not know Canada. I went to Beijing library about New Brunswick. Where was the province and where was the university? I got the information from the library. I searched information about my supervisor, and about the university. In 1984, information was not much, and not many people searched such information. As a university teacher, I had plenty of time. Whenever I did not teach, I went to the library. Basically the information about the university, and my supervisor, what research he had done, what publication he had. Before I came, my supervisor mailed me two books in this field. I did several months reading. ...

Although he had two years experience in Canada, Da did a lot of preparation for his second visit: “The second time I came to Canada, I went to Quebec, a French spoken place. Before I came, I learned French from a TV program for almost a year, and finished two textbooks.” Because of these preparations, he said that he had few adaptation problems.

Hui completed his doctoral studies in Canada and worked in the United States as a post doctoral researcher before his immigration to Canada. He applied for his landed immigrant status with a job offer from a Canadian research institute. He regarded his four years living in Canada and his work experience in North America as a good preparation

for adaptation. Therefore, he stated “In my case, it was comparative smooth, because I had a job and even though my wife did not have job, my salary was more than enough for living. I feel I am lucky and I did not have any bigger problems in my settlement.”

Yi had sojourned in Japan before his decision to move to Canada. This experience brought him familiarity of life in an industrialized country and a preparation for the worst. He knew that the Canadian job market was tough and some Canadian employers did not value foreign accreditation. So he came to Canada with enough funds for one year’s living expenses and alternative plans in case he could not find a job in Canada after arrival. Yi recalled that when he arrived in Canada, he brought

The first year’s living expenses. If we could not find a job in the first year, we were able to go on. I also prepared my English, but not much. ...For other aspects of life, because of my experience in Japan, I knew they would be quite different from things in China. The social service in Japan is better than Canada, so my transition did not take long. There was no such thing like not being accustomed to.

Because Canada did not weigh much about foreign accredits and working experience, or put it in another way, to have education, and experience in Canada is easier to find a job. ...That was why I prepared for study right after arrival.

Scenario Two: Insufficient Financial Preparation

Zhuo and Ren’s integration difficulties mainly stemmed from inadequate financial preparation. Both of them had good knowledge of the Canadian culture, people and society, and were majors in the English language and literature. Zhuo’s financial problem was due to the low income in China: “my biggest problem was my

financial situation. So I had a lot of worries about my tuition fee, how to find a job. Mainly these problems. I did not have problems with communication.”

Ren’s frustration came first from the fact that his short-term plan became a long term one because of the June 4th incident in Beijing, and later from the unexpected tough job market situation in Canada for social science graduates.

As a matter of fact, I did not prepare at all. I was sent here by the government to study, and I did not plan to stay long. On one hand I did not want to stay abroad; on the other hand the reality did not allow me to do so, because the government sent me here. My passport was only valid for two years.

Since my situation was different, my problem might not be the same as others’. I did not have problems with life and culture here; at least I did not have big problems, because I knew the life, culture and customs. I feel the biggest problem was job ...I would say if I had known...Yee, if I had known it was so hard to find a job in Canada, I would never have decided to immigrate.

Scenario Three: Insufficient Psychological Preparation

Richard and Zhe had adequate funds for living; however, both of them had a difficult time because of insufficient psychological preparation. Richard had thought that he was well prepared for the new life in Canada: two years Canadian working experience and a good knowledge of Canadian society and life; his professional expertise and academic reputation; and enough money for the family to live for two to three years if he could not find a job.

For the preparation made for coming to Canada, I feel that I was well prepared. You see, I had lived here for quite a while before immigration. So I had a good

knowledge of Canada. And before I moved my family here, my family was well built. The further preparation was to know the culture here, language proficiency, getting a small job, and financial preparations. I prepared if the worst thing happened, if I could not find a job, we still could have enough for two or three years living. With such a preparation, that is to say, I prepared two or three years for adjustment, for learning, and for future preparation. I called these years as an investment period. I prepared for the worst. This is my psychological preparation.

But after having settled down, Richard discovered that he was only partially correct – his preparation was good enough if he immigrated alone, but he had a family. He realized “Adjustment for single person should be easier. But the family, when they all come along, there would be many new problems. For these new problems, I did not have any psychological preparation at first.”

The family problem then was Richard’s first big settlement frustration “I did not realize the [family] movement would have caused a huge, huge impact to my family. Later, I realized there were many problems I had to face and to solve.” He had not anticipated nor prepared for his wife’s severe adaptation pain because he did not expect it would happen:

My wife had very good education in China, and she had a master’s degree. She had been advancing in her career. When she came here, and suddenly lost her job, then her original accreditation was not recognized, she felt at a loss. These who did not have working experience can never feel this feeling. She had been working for so many years, suddenly no job. It seemed that she became useless. She really suffers a lot from this feeling.

My wife did some preparations before coming, such as learning to drive and some small skills. She hoped she could [get a job] in no time.... This was only her plan.

There were many problems after she arrived. It was hard to adjust. Then she started from very beginning.

For my family, I could not say that my wife and my daughter are very happy. But these two years for them are a great change. I believe my wife has experienced more than I have. In some sense, she suffered more. It was a big, big transition for her. She has experienced many very unhappy things.

It seemed that psychological preparation would never be enough. As Richard observed, "There is a big difference between being a visitor and actually living here. As a visitor, the position is a standby. ...But when you live here, you have to consider long-term development. You get to see if you are really able to make a living here."

Zhe's disappointment was because of the great differences between Canada and the United States. At first, he thought that he was well prepared for the adaptation to life in Canada. He knew of Canada long before he moved here, even though the information he obtained was mixed with different opinions, both positive and negative. He categorized his knowledge about Canada into a subjective preparation of integration. For his objective preparation, he stated,

I had relatives and friends here to make some arrangements and help me when I arrived. ...I had some savings so I did not have a pressure that I had to find a job within a few days or within a few months. ...my other preparations like [were] my education, ...the familiarity of language and life in North America, and my working experience in North America...

He did not expect that a huge difference existed between America and Canada in the economic situation and service efficiency. Originally he thought that as close neighbors, Canada would not differ greatly from America, but

I did not feel good when I just arrived in 1997. There were several reasons, I feel. You know the economic situation then was bad, very bad, especially the first half of the year. It was about in June and July. Then, I felt really bad even though I came from the U.S. and had some psychological preparations. The situation, especially the economic situation, like employment, was far behind the U.S. and made me feel bad. Second, the social services, the whole operation, though similar to that in the U.S., the differences still existed, like banks, like other institutions compared to the U.S. were slower. Low efficiency, you can feel. I really felt it. Almost every friend of mine from the U. S. has such a feeling. So what I felt hard to adjust then was that economy was that slow, and the service operation system was less effective. These were hard for me to adjust. The biggest difficulties were these. People around me all noticed my frustrations.

Speaking from his experience and his psychological sufferings, Zhe summarized that the preparations would include education, the familiarity of language and life in North America, knowledge of the social system, and working experience in North America.” He commented, “there is a big difference between if you have prepared or not.”

Scenario Four: Severely Insufficient Preparation

Yong and his wife’s difficult adaptation was partially because their experiences included all of the negative factors: not enough money, little knowledge of Canada, and not enough psychological preparation. Canadian Immigration selected them because of their education, work experience, and age. These qualifications, according to Yong, were the sources of courage and confidence with which they came to Canada; however, they were unprepared for so many adjustments.

Yali: How much did you know about Canada before immigration?

Yong: I should say not much. I did not plan to come to this place. Then when I thought of coming, I simply came.

....

Yali: So even if you decided to come, you did not have any preparation?

Yong: No, because I thought I was young, and had strong ability to adapt. I did not expect to have difficulties and hardships. I should say I did not realize that I had not had enough preparation for difficulties until I came here.

....

Yali: You did not have any preparation at all?

Yong: We did not have a very long working history. I had worked for three years, and my wife over two years, less than three years. So we did not have much savings. We spent more, so not much left. We did not have much money when we came here. At that time, we thought that we could easily find a job. I heard that it was easy to find a job in Vancouver. So we did not bring much money, not mentioning the idea of borrowing money. We just brought a little bit money here. When I came here, I had one thousand US dollar, plus my father-in-law lent me two thousand, totaling three thousand.

....

Yong: I thought at least I had advantage of age. I was comparatively younger than other immigrants. I felt if I could not find a good job, I was strong and not afraid of any hardship, so at least I could find some manual work. I did not expect it was that hard.

Summary and Implications

The success of the participants' application for immigration indicates their satisfactory adaptation preparation in those aspects such as education, professional expertise and language proficiency. However, the adaptation stories of the participants suggest that most of them, in varying degrees, still experienced difficulties in their adaptation process because of insufficient preparations in other areas.

The most serious difficulty the participants experienced was insufficient financial preparation. Given China's low salary system, it appears difficult for Chinese immigrants, especially young immigrants, to acquire sufficient funding for their immigration venture. When considering the Independent Immigration point system, we find that the total points granted for work experience are 21. One year of experience achieves 15 points, two years 17 points, three years 19 points, and four years and over 21 points. The eligible ages for the independent group are 21 to 49 years old. A 21 year old with a university degree and one year experience might be an ideal, qualified landed immigrant. However, the question is – how much money is this immigrant able to bring to Canada to be financially secure if he or she does not acquire a job immediately? Yong with 90% of the work experience points and 100 % of the age points, was not able to prepare well financially for adaptation.

The psychological preparation was built on the participants' ability to collect and analyze information about Canada. Those who had previous experience in Canada or another country obviously had an advantage in psychological preparation. However, for those who did not have such experience or did not have accurate social and economic information, adaptation pain appeared to be unavoidable. How did the participants effectively distinguish the pieces of information that were accurate representations of life in Canada?

It seemed that it was not enough for immigrants to prepare themselves for the possible tough initial period of adaptation. An important psychological preparation for them was that they should consider their family members' psychological displacement.

Therefore, married immigrants had to walk an extra miles in their adaptation preparation or the whole course of adaptation.

The experience of the participants support the observations made by researchers (Berry & Sam, 1997; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kim, 1988) that preparation is an important factor in paving a way for smooth adaptation. However, preparation could be constrained by some objective factors, such as the situation of the home country, and the mixed information that the individuals receive about Canada. Moreover, in light of the reality that the only certainty in this changing world is uncertainty, it is difficult to ascertain what constitutes adequate preparation at any given time. As such, preparation remains a challenging issue for newcomers.

Expectations and the Reality

Every participant had positive expectations for their new life in Canada when they applied for immigration. Richard commented, “without expectation, there is no motivation.” There were immediate expectations, such as getting a job right after arrival, and long-term expectations, such as a better professional and career development. Of eight participants, six experienced a discrepancy between their expectations and the realities they had after they started their new life in Canada. These discrepancies were found in three aspects: the economic situation and job market, occupational needs, and the family members’ endurance of integration pain.

The Job Market and Economic Situation

Having lived and worked in the United States for more than five years, Zhe immigrated to Canada with a dream that he could make a long term plan for his

professional development. This was what he was not able to accomplish in the United States and so, he was very excited when his immigration application was approved in Canada:

I did not need to worry about my immigrant status any more. I really appreciated Canada could offer this status because I gained stability so that I could make long-term plans. This is very important.

His dream was based on his thought “Canada has a great similarity with the US. It would not be a big problem, I thought, for me to adapt. You see Canada basically is like America, right? ...I was very optimistic then.” But he had not realized the stability he was longing for was closely connected to the whole economic situation and development of Canada, and his social position in this country.

Quite unexpectedly, he had a difficult time after arrival, particularly in the psychological realm. He was shocked by the sharp contrast between America’s booming economic situation and rapid pace of life in every aspect, and Canada’s sluggish economy, and inefficient social services.

I felt really bad even though I came from the U.S. and had some psychological preparations. The situation, especially the economic situation, like employment, was far behind that in the U.S.. It made me feel bad. ... like banks, like other institutions, compared to the U.S. were slower in Canada. ...These were hard for me to adjust.

For Yong and his wife, the life in Canada would be as beautiful as Vancouver’s flower gardens, “... because I thought I was young, and had strong ability to adapt.” They made optimistic plans about their settlement in Canada, “I thought within three months or

less than three months my wife and I could find a job and had a steady income. We had our dreams ...”

When Yong and his wife arrived in Vancouver, it was a cheerful process at the beginning, even though they heard on the airplane some bad news about the economic situation in Canada. They traveled around the city and experienced a feeling of euphoria until they began to look for a job.

We were happy at first, because the natural environment was very impressive. We felt that we had made a right decision to choose Canada. We phoned my parents that we were happy. We were happy till we began to do job-hunting from the third week.

For survival, they devoted their time to searching the job market to find whatever jobs were available. During this period of time, they experienced some hardship that they had never imagined before the immigration. At first, life was really hard for the young couple, especially the wife who was not physically strong. He recalled,

I did not realize that I had not had enough preparation for the difficulties until I came here. ...I did not expect it was that hard.

It seemed if new immigrants did not have people network, or English was not good, the chance to find a good job is very small unless you had good luck. At that time, we were ready for any low-level jobs. My father said we might have to wash dishes, or restaurant delivery. But I was not able to drive then. So I was looking for other jobs, but still not easy to find. We went to many places, as far as Richmond. Even though we would like to take whatever job, nobody wanted us, because we just arrived, no working experience. The time we came to Canada was not a good season to find jobs. Every restaurant was slow, so really hard to find a job.

My wife went job hunting with me. She was ready to take whatever job came up. We were afraid we would use up our last penny. You know we did not have much money. Finally she found a job in a clothing factory. She knew nothing about sewing machines, and started to learn from very basics.

...to save money, she walked two hours to and from work. Her shoes were torn because of too much walking. This hardship is hard for people in China to imagine. It is hard for these who are applying immigration to imagine that they would have such a difficulty.

Although Yi assumed that “in North America, people are active and open” and “Canada is peaceful”, he insisted his wife leave their newborn daughter in China when they first traveled to Canada. His decision was rooted in the discrimination against Chinese he experienced in Japan as a sojourner. For the same reason, his expectation of life in Canada was not very high:

I did not think much. I thought if it was not good, I could always go back. So generally, I felt I was able to adjust. Provided that I could adjust to the life in Japan, there should be no problem for me to adjust to the life in Canada. So I did not think much, I did not have much expectation. I thought it would not be worse than Japan.

Before coming to Canada, Yi heard that “Canada did not weigh much about foreign accredits and working experience, or put it in another way, to have education, and experience in Canada was easier to find a job. ” So he “prepared for study right after arrival” and decided “Job hunting and going to university went simultaneously. Which opportunity was better, I would go with.” He obtained a Canadian master’s degree in business administration. However, three years later, there was still no job for him, so he could not have his parents live with him in Canada. Before he returned to China, he said,

“I did not have too high expectation, so there is nothing special I feel unsatisfied. The only thing is that the job hunting is more difficult than I expected.”

Occupational Needs

China had a completely state planned economy before its economic reform. Under that system, there was almost no such a thing as job market needs. When the participants gained their permanent resident status through Canadian immigration point system assessment which contained occupation needs, they believed that their skills and training were needed in Canada. However their belief was only partly true. It seemed that the job market for social science was limited.

Zhuo had been a secondary school English teacher in China and was a college professor in Canada at the time of the inter/view. She did not experience any discrepancy between her expectation before immigration and her life in Canada. However, she strongly supported and valued this study because most of her follow Chinese graduate students and professionals were not able to work with their trained skills, especially those who were majors in liberal arts and social science. With more and more Chinese independent immigrants coming, she hoped this study could make the issue an agenda item on the policy makers' table. She pointed it out:

For adjustment, the problem is many people have not done what they have been trained. Their training is absolutely different from their job. This is a problem. This is a problem, and I feel this is a big problem.

Actually this kind of research is more meaningful. These people, I know many people, they were university professors in China. They came here and got their masters in education, especially our education, very typical. We had twenty

people then, none of them could find a job. A large quantity of graduates from social science could not find a job. Then they went to restaurants, went to Fairway [a grocery store], and went to many kinds of places. They have stayed there for ten years, and still there. What problem does it indicate? Why? This is a critical issue of new immigrants. Very critical.

Many people have gone, why, because they could not find a job. If you say immigrants are all like us, it is not true. This is not correct. And not everyone can follow our path. This is a big problem. Why these people could not follow our path? Why do they end up at Fairway? This is worthwhile for research. This is an important issue. This is very valuable. This research would bring implications for government and new immigrants.

Ren had a good job and promising future in China when he was sent to Canada for government funded graduate studies on the eve of the Tian'anmen incident. Not long after his arrival, he was offered an opportunity to stay in Canada permanently because of the Canadian government's compassionate considerations to protect the Chinese scholars from political persecution. After a long inner struggle to stay or not to stay, he became a landed immigrant "with a mixed feeling, half hesitation, and half drifting along the tide. I did not feel excited to be able to immigrate...."

However, he did not expect that he would still be unable to find a job two years after he obtained his master's degree from a Canadian university. For quite a few years, he had various jobs, including a kitchen helper job, but none had any connection with what he had been trained either in China or in Canada. He recalled his frustration:

I would say if I had known... Yee, if I had known it was so hard to find a job in Canada, I would never have decided to immigrate. At very beginning, I felt how it could be possible that one could not find a job in Canada with a graduate degree. I had never expected this situation. I would have never known the fact before I

went through many difficulties to find a job. For a while, the situation seemed that I was unable to dismount from the tiger back. When you reached this stage, you felt hard to withdraw.

The Family Members' Endurance of Adaptation Pain

One of Richard's motivations for immigrating to Canada was the happier life his family would acquire because "for ... living and family, it is a better place". His expectation of family life are illuminated in the following passage.

I hoped after I moved my family here, my wife and my daughter could have a happier life. They would not have any worries, or other troublesome things. They could have happier life. Second, you see, my wife had a good job in China. I hope after a few years, she could have good adjustment and had a good development in the future. As for the expectation of my daughter, I hoped she would be a good student here, adjust to this society and become a Canadian, get a good education.

The reality after arrival partly met Richard's expectations because the adjustment of his daughter to Canadian life and school was amazingly fast, but his wife suffered a great deal of adaptation pain. She did not expect that she could not find a job with a master's degree, and had to live on her husband's small income. For the first time in her life as a professional, she did not have job and had to rely on her husband. The situation made her feel that she became useless after immigration. She was upset, had bitter argument with Richard, and wanted to go back to China.

From his wife's adaptation frustration, Richard realized that " ... Family experience is another story. For me, immigration is a good thing. But for my family, it is a big change." Speaking from his experience, Richard wanted to bring it to the attention of other immigrants,

Every family member has different degree of adjustment. Each one has different response. You cannot expect everyone to be the same. You cannot force others, when you feel good and successful, to share your feeling. You cannot expect others to feel happy too. The different response of family members, and the big emotional reflections to changes, for example the argument between husband and wife, are the hard part to deal with.

Summary and Implications

The participants experienced various discrepancies between their expectations of life in Canada and the realities they encountered after they landed. The direct source of their adaptation pain was found in Canada's sluggish economic development and limited job market. Therefore, there are discrepancies between the participants' conceptualization of "what ought to be", and the factual realization of "what is" in Canada.

Objectively speaking, the participants' conceptions, no matter how far from the Canadian reality, appeared to be reasonable. Given the fact that Canada is a developed industrial country and it admits thousands of skilled workers every year, it should not be a surprise that the participants had the illusion of a booming economy in Canada. The points given to the occupational needs on the selective scales of the immigration screening system further enhanced their misconception.

Several questions emerged from the participants' shared experiences. If we need skilled workers, why are there no jobs for them? If there are no jobs, why do we admit thousands of independent immigrants each year? If there are many job vacancies to be

filled and we have selected the skill workers from a large pool of applicants accordingly, why could they not fill these positions?

Factors That Aid Adaptation

The literature indicates (Argyle, 1979, 1980; Berry, 1980; Bochner & Orr, 1979; Bourhis, et al. 1997; Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986; Kim, 1988; Rao, et al. 1984) that there are many factors that would aid immigrant adaptation. The plural state ideology and policy, and the positive acculturation orientation of the host society members provide a favorable macro environment for adaptation. Such factors as high immigration motivation, sufficient preparation, higher education, professional expertise, and younger age form an advantaged microenvironment.

In this study, three factors which appeared to aid integration were identified. These included favorable state immigration and integration policies, the acceptance of host society members, and immigrant adaptation competence.

State Immigration and Integration Policies

Compared to the immigration and integration policies of other countries, Ren expressed his appreciation of Canadian policy. He felt that Canadian immigration policies lay a decisive foundation for immigrant integration.

State Policy actually is a very important factor. For example, policies in Germany and Japan do not allow immigrants to integrate. For such countries, no matter how you are willing to integrate, it is impossible.

...for me the policy environment is very important. Canada is good with integration policy. When policy is to your advantage, your potential can have a full play.

Hui recognized that his smooth transition to Canadian life was a result of favorable integration policies. He illustrated his points with a comparison between the racial discrimination a famous Chinese scholar suffered in the 1930s, and the change of Canadian immigration policies from the 1960s to a nondiscriminatory direction.

I feel that the policy certainly plays an important role. Since 1967, people of different colors have come to Canada and people's attitudes towards colored people change greatly. You know that in 1930's, many Chinese oversea students went back to China because they felt uncomfortable abroad. I have read Wen Yiduo's [a very famous scholar] memoir. He felt a very strong racial discrimination. He kept his hair very long [past his hips], because he did not want to go outside. He really did not like the racial discrimination attitude. But things changed dramatically in late 1960's. People have become very tolerant. When I came here, I did not feel any racial discrimination at all. I think it is because of policy.

Zhuo also believed that the government policies were important for effective integration. She pointed out that "Canada has done much in helping immigrants. I may say that not many countries in the world can do this much. ... I feel that the policies here are open and give people more freedom. So from this point, it forms a very good macro-environment. This is most important for us. Other things you have to take care yourself."

Richard held that the importance of the state immigration and integration policies were very apparent. Without a favorable state policy, he would not be living in Canada nor would he be participating in a discussion about integration. Canadian integration

policies provided immigrants with equal rights to enjoy the same benefits as native born Canadians.

Policy is a decisive factor in integration. ... If there were no immigration policy, we would not have come here. If there were no policy, but we are here, then it is smuggling [laugh]. So policy is the premise of integration. The policy creates an environment, and this environment enables people to survive and develop once they have emigrated here

The biggest help from government policy is that immigrants enjoy all the benefits and rights that local people have, for example medical insurance, the children benefits.

Ren elucidated that state policy may have influenced the acculturation orientation of the host society members. Thus, with the favorable policies, immigrants did not suffer serious discrimination:

You know in this society everyone is equal, and the policy could not give a small group of people some privileges. ... Certainly Canadian society is a good one. It does not have too serious racial discrimination. Certainly it might have in some degree, but not obvious, you do not feel stressed. So it is easy for people to adapt.

Canada has become a pluralistic society that opens to qualified people from all over the world since the 1960s. This is the very reason that two participants, Yi and Zhe, chose to immigrate to Canada from Japan and the United States respectively. All the participants seemed to enjoy the freedom to decide their adaptation orientation under the multicultural policy. "Canada is called mosaic. Many colors are put together to form a colored whole. It is all your personal interest and favorableness" (Da). Given the fact that the participants perceived integration differently and had their own way of adjusting to Canadian life, they were able to exercise their freedom in choosing a style of adaptation.

For instance, some expressed that they did not make a special effort to integrate (Zhe, Yong), while others integrated in a way suited to their liking (Da, Ren, Richard, Yi, Zhuo).

No matter what happens, I am Chinese. So for me the policy environment is very important. Canada is good with integration policy (Ren).

I feel on the whole Canadian immigration policy is good (Yi).

I feel the policies here are open and give people more freedom. So from this point, it forms a very good environment. This is most important for us (Zhuo).

What the participants appreciated was that the Canadian government not only made favorable immigration and integration policies for immigrants to have free choices, but also, it devoted a large sum of money to integration services.

Canada has done much in helping immigrants. I may say that not many countries in the world can do this much. It's so nice of Canada to offers free English lessons or alike. It is not easy. Really it is not easy. It is really not easy to have such a policy. Which other country in the world pays for babysitting or something alike? Immigrants enjoy these services for free. So it is not that easy. I feel Canada has done greatly, greatly in this aspect. It is really very, very good. It could not have done more. ...So I feel in this society, if you want to, if you like to learn, you can perfectly settle down (Zhuo).

Acceptance of Host Society Members

Yong argued that the policy directives were good, however, he cautioned that "Multiculturalism is our state policy not every individual's policy." In this case, "what many immigrants have encountered is not the macro social environment but the micro environment. ...different people have different attitudes." Yong referred to immigrant

adaptation at an individual level: “If someone likes to accept you, like the way they accept Chinese food, you can be easily and naturally accepted.”

In the study, every participant had gained help from native-born Canadians in the process of adaptation, and they established friendships with them. Da summarized his friendship with his supervisors in his graduate studies. “Canadian people are kind.” On the whole, the participants had positive opinions about the people with whom they interacted. The following quotes reveal that the friendly attitudes of host society members, together with the favorable policies, formed a good macro adaptation environment.

...what I feel impressed is Canadians are open, not conservative. They are able to or try to understand you through communication. They are not conservative, do not restrict your thoughts, and do not limit your behaviors. So Canada has already offered objective conditions for you to integrate into the society (Yong).

I feel in a society like Canada, as long as you keep striving for, keep trying, in many cases, things are much easier here than that in China. In fact, many people here are very warm-hearted. You can get much help. ...I should say at that time, many Canadian friends gave me a lot of spiritual and mental support (Zhuo).

Honestly speaking, I have been here for so many years, but I have never encountered any conflicts or unpleasant things with anyone. I have not met obvious racial discrimination, or any cultural conflicts. Maybe people in our group are nice; maybe because of the research and international academic exchange, they have been exposed to different cultures. I seldom feel that I have any trouble working with them (Hui).

I do not feel it is the biggest difficulty to adapt to the environment here, or to adapt to the people here, because people here are mild. Unlike people in other places, we would not have conflicts with them. Most of them are friendly. So it is not a big problem to adapt to the environment and the society, but a change of

oneself (Yong).

For this, I feel, in most cases, people here are pretty nice. No matter whether you are immigrants or visitors, people here are quite nice, at least on the surface. They would not let you feel embarrassed. When you have difficulties, most people like to offer their help. When you on the street, when you ask any one for help, you seldom get refusal (Richard).

Adaptation Competence

Ren asserted, "As long as immigrants are concerned, they should have integration competence. If you have strong competence, you can adapt everywhere. If you are not competent enough, you will feel inferior to others and become hard to adapt." When discussing adaptation competence, the participants emphasized education, motivation and willingness.

Education was a premise of adaptation because it was one of the decisive elements of the selective criteria for independent immigrants to gain an admission to Canada. The education received in Canada was necessary for employment and career development in North America. As far as social and cultural adaptation were concerned, formal learning and informal learning were equally important. Education alone was not enough for adaptation. In many cases, willingness to adapt was as important as education. Willingness was closely related to motivation. Some researchers believe that in many cases, no external pressures may be as strong in influencing immigrants' behaviors as self-motivation and willingness (Kim, 1988).

Education. Education may be an important feature in the adaptation process.

He shared that education, particularly the ability to speak English, assisted him in making many changes.

Education helps the process of integration. At least, I personally feel higher education helps. Certainly the degree of education affects integration. At least English skill, if you did not have such training, it would be very hard to integrate. So English is definitely related to education. Second, the professional training can enable you for further learning. It is related to your capacity of social adaptation, your ability of social interaction and so on.

Richard had a doctoral degree in mathematics. At the time when he participated in this study, he was near the completion of a doctoral degree in computer science. He had his own understanding of the importance of education. Education made independent immigrants “the best and brightest” among the applicants for immigration in the Canadian selective immigration policy. He called the education received before immigration “an accumulation in the past.” After immigration, education was still the better way to enable the independent immigrants to make greater contributions. He regarded it as “a new accumulation for the contribution in the new society.” So he highlighted the importance of education in adaptation:

Every one has different opinions, but the education I have received helps me a lot. Besides academic research, it enhances one’s capacity. It enables you to know yourself, to know your needs, ...to know one’s potential. The higher education one received really helps a great deal with integration.

New highly-educated immigrants have strong ability to learn new things, and adjust to many new things. The higher education immigrants have, the better Canada benefits from them.

In his struggle for adaptation, Yong felt that the education he received in China played an important role. When he participated in the inter/view, he was studying at a university. He chose to “come back to school again” because he did not want “to stay at low or non-skilled jobs.” He said “If someone wants to be a coolie with elementary education or secondary education, it is fine. For me, it is not what I want”. So education, especially higher education, was not only important to help him get rid of the low pay and unskilled jobs during the initial settlement period, but also important to bring him a better future. He concluded

I feel education I received in China played an important role. ... if there was no education, it would be hard to understand many things here. Or it is even hard for you to interact with people here. Especially language and cultural education, they are really important. It helps communication.

...The more education one has received, the solid foundation it would lay for more knowledge and more skillful in working place. I feel in Canada, even though everyone can survive, but higher education is a necessary basis for a better life.

In the eyes of both the Canadian government and immigration researchers, Ren had successfully integrated into Canadian society. For his success, Ren identified the higher education he received as an important factor, especially the education he received in Canada. He asserted “if you are not better educated, you can not reach the high tiers of society.” His experience indicated that adaptation, as a learning process should be a combination of learning at a university and from society.

I strongly believe that education plays an important role in self-development, and career. There is a correlation between the two. No matter you are a student or in some other professions, maybe I can put it this way, the higher education you have received, the higher your personal quality should be. I think this should be a fact.

Especially the education here. They not only teach you knowledge, more importantly, they teach you the methods to learn. Then you can apply these methods to every aspect of adaptation and integration. These methods make you capable to learn and accept new things.

...you can learn at university, and you can also learn in your working place and in the society. I feel you can learn more in a good working place. For example you have a contact with many people, you learn a lot, social skills, for instance.

Zhuo considered adaptation to be a multilevel learning process. The learning, as she insisted, should include formal learning and informal learning – learning from life and society.

Education definitely helps integration. ...education and being considered will make things easier. ... In terms of integration, formal learning is very important, informal learning is more important, in terms of integration, is more important. For many things, you cannot learn at school.

Yi held that education could raise one's cognitive capacity. So for more educated people, learning new things was easier and faster than those who were less educated. He illustrated his view with his own experience. Yi's second language was Japanese and even though there is no similarity between English and Japanese, his learning of English was much faster and easier than that of other people. He explained

Education could make integration easier, not only because you have more knowledge, but also because you feel easier to learn something new, for example English. So I think the more education the better.

In agreement with the other participants, Da regarded adaptation as a lengthy process of interaction with people from other cultures, more importantly, from the mainstream culture. If possible, immigrants should spend time getting to know or understand the music, sports, and history of Canada. This would help with adaptation and interaction, “when you are with Canadians, you can understand them and you have a common language with them”. But the important and immediate factors in adaptation in the situation of Canada were education and language skills.

Certainly it [education] has influence [on integration]. Without education, first of all, you cannot get a good job. No matter what job they have after they arrived, janitor or dishwasher, they would never feel satisfied with that job. They would feel dissatisfied with whole Canada. It is hard for them to integrate into this society. So I say, please do not come here if you do not have much education. Please do not come here if you do not have language skills.

Motivation and Willingness. The motivation and willingness to integrate were perceived as very important factors in immigrant adaptation, because adaptation was a process of deculturation and acculturation. So “Integration depends on the willingness of immigrants. ... if you do not want to integrate, no matter how high your degree is... I feel the biggest difficulty is ...a change of oneself” (Yong). “And I feel self-motivation should be placed at more important position” (Zhuo). “I feel that your attitude plays an important role” (Richard).

For Yi, willingness was as important a component as language skills in the adaptation competence.

The other factor is your willingness. Some people only stay with their own ethnic group after arrival. This way it is almost impossible to integrate into the host society. And also they would form some stereotype of the host society, and

certainly the host society will form certain stereotype of them. These mutual stereotypes eventually enlarge the gap between immigrants and host society and make integration impossible.

Hui insisted that willingness was even more important than education as far as immigrant adaptation was concerned. He used an example of his friend to support his argument:

I have not seen more education makes integration easier. I know a Chinese who is in ESL program. He seems to have integrated more than I do. Most of his friends are Canadians. I do not have as many Canadian friends as he does. So I feel more or less knowledge does not really affect integration. What I feel works here is attitude. Basically attitude is more important than knowledge in integration.

... I feel the important point is personal attitude, like the example I gave. He is only a bachelor and his wife does not have postsecondary education, but they both can speak very good English. So I think knowledge is important, but the attitude is more important. Are you willing to make friends with local people?

Summary and Implications

The government policy was seen to play a decisive role in immigrant adaptation. As indicated by participants, if there was no favorable immigration policy, the participants could not have come to Canada, and there would be no need to discuss adaptation. The simple fact was that the participants, as independent immigrants, had neither money to invest nor relatives living in Canada. In the adaptation process, the state policy was also important to create a favorable macro environment. This perception strongly supported the researchers' assertion that state immigration and integration policies can have a decisive impact on the adaptation of immigrants (Berry & Sam, 1997; Bonin, 1976; Bourhis et al., 1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994; Halli & Driedger, 1999; Harles, 1997).

There was no direct indication from the participants' stories that Canadians' attitudes towards immigrants were influenced by government policies. The participants suggested that almost every one had a positive experiences with friendly and supportive native-born Canadians. Historically, there were anti-Chinese legislations and racially discriminative immigration policies, several anti-Chinese riots in Vancouver, and the formation of the first anti-Chinese organization in Victoria (Wolf, 1988). From this information, we might speculate that even though people differ in their degree of tolerance, state policy could have had some positive influence on host members' attitudes towards immigrants, so that they did not openly show discrimination.

It seemed that all the participants regarded adaptation as a learning process. However, the participants had different opinions of the importance of the elements in this process. Most of the participants held that the higher education they received played an important role in adaptation, especially the education received in Canada. Some participants held that motivation and willingness were more important because adaptation was a process of deculturation and acculturation; delearning and learning. Willingness and motivation were necessary in this effort-demanding process. Therefore, they were at least as important as formal education.

Factors That Hinder Integration

The adaptation stories of the participants indicated that the number one factor that hindered their adaptation was insufficient language skills. The other factors included the ineffective integration services, the hidden white superior mentality, and the sluggish development of Canadian economy. In addition, several of the participants described that

some character traits that Chinese immigrants possess are incompatible with the mainstream culture. Researchers such as (Li, 1994; Sun, 1985; Wang, 1994) identified these incompatible characteristics as parts of an immigrant's Chineseness.

Insufficient Language Skills

It was a consensus among the participants that language ability was crucial for those who planned for further professional development. Zhe especially emphasized the ability to communicate in the way of the listener.

English is still my problem, as a matter of fact. English, I would say, might be my life long challenge [laugh]. I am not exaggerating. It is related to my integration, because we come here as adults. Due to our weak language training in the past, we have disadvantages in integration because of language. Even though I have been to Canada for so many years, language remains as a problem. For many things we cannot do, the first barrier is language.

... what you want to express or communicate is different from listeners' way of thinking. You know in my field, what we need is reflecting and thinking to find deep meanings. They are very subtle, and sophisticate, so I feel my English is always a problem....

Yong considered language proficiency as the biggest problem for new immigrants. The problem existed in understanding and communicating in the mainstream culture, but more importantly, in getting a job. Yong suggested that

Language barrier is the biggest problem for new immigrants. No matter how good your English was in China, it is not enough when you are in English spoken countries. When your English is not good enough, you cannot well express yourself. When you are not able to express well, no matter how high skill you have, nobody knows. I have noticed many immigrants who were engineers in China and had many achievements in their field, are unable to find a simple job,

because they could not express themselves well. The same problem exists in their interviews, even in their resume. They are not able to show their real levels.

Hui's experience and observation led him to a similar conclusion. Having been in Canada for over ten years, Hui said that his language proficiency remained a problem. He set himself a very high standard – to write and speak like a native speaker. For this, he decided to work hard continually.

...as a scientist, I am supposed to be a representative of our institution at international conferences, but my language ability would affect my function in this aspect. ... And I know at least I have to give more effort to my work. For example, I write and rewrite my papers many, many times, even so, I still have English double checked before I deliver them. I feel for science, accuracy is very important.

While he put more effort into learning English, Hui noticed that language skills were important to every immigrant. He shared his ideas concerning other Chinese immigrants and suggested that the state policies and host society members have become less and less racially discriminative, so immigrants did not need to crowd in Chinatowns. However, because of language barriers, some people had to stay there

Those who work in Chinatown and cannot speak English have to stay inside Chinatown all their life because they have not had much education. ...For example, I know an immigrant from China with only 10 years education. He has been in Canada for more than 10 years, but whenever he needs to communicate with others in English, he has to get help. Recently he needs to buy a car, but has to hire a translator first. People like this person can never integrate into this society because of less education even if they want to.

When Richard and his wife considered the specific problems in their adaptation and the barriers for their professional development, the foremost were less strong host

language skills and inadequate understanding of the mainstream culture.

The biggest problem, the biggest problem is still the language and cultural differences. This is the biggest problem, for me it is the biggest problem.

... before I felt my English was pretty good. I could understand others at international conference, I had some publication in English, and I could speak some.

... But as I have lived here longer, I feel it is not as simple as I thought. The language is related to everything. You should not only express yourself, but also understand others. You should understand others' feelings and thoughts, the deep thoughts. You should have a deeper understanding of others through every word and every action. To understand these, you have to know their culture. For culture, now I have realized, you cannot know it through one day or a short period of time.

...this is something I should deal with in my adjustment period. I take it as a big issue to deal with. I am earnestly dealing with this problem. To learn the language well, and to know the culture here are the two important things for me.

Although Yi had finished his master's degree at a Canadian university, he felt his English was not good enough and might be a barrier to finding a job in Canada. In accordance with the other participants, Yi regarded language as the biggest difficulty in adaptation, "because culture integration requires the language ability. Certainly language learning is not an easy thing. It is not something you can complete in a short time. Good language skills can speed integration into Canadian society. So if there is a difficulty, this difficulty is language."

The participants emphasized again and again that independent immigrants were admitted to Canada with their professional skills that were needed in the Canadian job

market. So supposedly, the job was there. The key issue in employment competition was their language proficiency.

Language barrier is the biggest problem for new immigrants. ... Because you have not told them who you really are, employers are unable to easily hire you (Yong).

I feel the important thing is language, then specific skills that should fit the market needs. If the language problem is solved, there should be no problem to find a job. ... Anyways, I feel language and professional skills are two basic things. I do not think other things are that important (Hui).

Language proficiency decides how fast you can find a job. Instead of using two years washing dishes in the restaurant, you should spend two years in China to master your English then come to Canada. Canadian government saves a big sum of money. And you play your role in this society right away (Da).

The issue is you can do nothing without language skills. For language, as an immigrant, you must master it within six months. If you are not able to, I suggest you should not come in the first place. If you use two years to learn a language, how can you survive in these two years? You cannot find a job (Da).

... language is one. [poor] Language hinders the communication and contact with others. It also prevents you from in-depth understanding of local culture. With the improvement of language skills and your willingness, you can quickly integrate into local society. [poor] language skill makes integration hard, because you are constrained to conduct any discussion on any issues (Yi).

Ineffective Integration Services

Most of the participants did not have the experience of visiting the integration services provided by the Canadian government. Those who had ever known or used

integration services felt disappointed at the government-funded programs. They were inefficient; and some of them lacked professional training and were not able to offer proper assistance. Therefore, the participants had a feeling that supporting those organizations with government funding was a waste of the tax payers' money.

Yong had visited an integration service when he had trouble finding a job. However, the only thing he learned from the visiting was that he had to rely on himself to overcome initial integration difficulties. "Do not expect too much of these services." He advised. What the immigrants should keep in mind was "self-reliance" and "God only helps those who help themselves."

We did not know which government agencies we should go to seek a help. At the airport we got to know a place called Zhong Qiao. We did not know where Zhong Qiao was or what kind of services they could offer. ...We finally found Zhong Qiao and participated in some activities there, but not helpful. The work efficiency was very low. They paid too much attention to the forms, but really did not offer much to new immigrants. ...Many of the workers there did not know the situation of job market; some of them immigrated to Canada not very long.

...they need help themselves, not mentioning to help others. They had a pretty small social network. So the job information they provided was the information you could get anywhere, and some jobs were already taken. They seldom had first hand information, but second or third hand. So when you followed their information, and went to apply for the job, the position had been filled for quite a while. They did not have first information, but old one, useless. So as an immigrant reception and settlement service, Zhong Qiao should have a big change in their work efficiency. Otherwise there is no reason for the existence of such a service. They failed to serve the immigrants. And also when I went to Zhong Qiao, few of the workers there could speak Mandarin. The situation might change

for better now. The working language then was Cantonese. The problem is that few and few immigrants came from Guangdong now. Most of the immigrants came from inland China. So at least they should increase Mandarin service.

To get the help from Zhong Qiao, I had to write a test. When passed, I could get into an employment training class. I felt strange. The training should open to all the new immigrants, because they had such a need, because they did not know the way things were here. But they only offer services to these whose English was good. Most of the new immigrants' English was not that good, so most of them could not get training. So, I feel you can only rely on yourself. There is no way you can rely on others. To get help from government agencies becomes possible only after you have worked for quite a while and become unemployed and to get your insurance. In most of the cases, you have to rely on yourself. Even if you can get help from government agencies, they are not working effectively as you thought. The Canadians are nice, but they are slow and inefficient. They did not help you much. In the employment training class, few got a job. The rate of success in job hunting was nearly zero.

When Yi came to Canada, he believed that "Job hunting and going to university went simultaneously. Which opportunity was better, I would go with". As soon as Yi and his wife unpacked, they began to look for integration services for job information. They found an organization in a church, and people there introduced them to several organizations.

The government assistance, maybe community, I could not remember quite clearly. They were supposed to help with employment. But they did not offer much help, only helped me with my resume. They did not have any job information.

They put Yi into a language program called LINK. But the LINK level was too low for him. He went straight to the top level and got almost full marks on the entrance

test. Finally, he stated that “I mainly learned by myself at home, watching TV news, listening to radio, reading and preparing TOEFL.”

Zhe doubted the feasibility of some of the government-funded programs.

According to his observations, these programs were actually a waste of taxpayers' money.

Some friends told me that government held many employment workshops. I told them, what was the use to attend these workshops? There were absolutely no jobs. If one hundred people attended these workshops, but only one found a job, majority still could not, what was the use? The economy should be the major concern. Economy is so slow, and no job opportunities. It does not make any sense to train people tricks, skills, how to interview, how to apply for job.... No job. It is nonsense.

The Hidden White Superior Mentality

Speaking from his experience, Yong pointed out that multiculturalism was a state policy but not every individual's policy. So acceptance was not always the case, “Some people would think immigrants are backward, less civilized. They would feel your interest conflicts with theirs.” On his part, he could not tolerate an unequal acceptance. “Many Canadians are very conservative and feel they are the masters of the society.” He shared that some white Canadians possessed a sense of superiority: “I have lived with many white Canadians. Though they are polite, you can feel they think they are superior.” He continued:

if they accept me, I feel I can integrate. Integration is not a bad choice. If they do not accept me, or they feel hard to accept me, then there is no need for me to make a special effort for it. I anticipate that my age, my color decides it is not easy for me to integrate into this society. From surface, Canadians do not judge people according to color, but from my experience, why people educated in Canada have

more job opportunities than others? Do they think university graduates from China are at low level? In fact, Chinese are stronger competitors. Chinese have learned more at university than people here, but why they cannot compete with the students here? Because people here hold that their system is better. People trained in their system are the right employees they want.

The white superiority mentality is not Yong's unique perspective or experience.

Hui also noticed the existence of white superiority mentality and believed that it was deeply rooted. His research group was very multicultural – it was comprised of scientists from all over the world. Although he had not encountered any prejudice, some of his friends suffered racial discrimination.

We can see this in the science world. Some people look themselves higher than, and superior to others. I have read an article saying that averagely Chinese's brain is only 85% of white people's. So, white people are clever than Chinese. ...they feel that their brains are bigger, so they are more clever.

I myself have not encountered any racial discrimination, but some of friends told me they did. A friend works for a company in charge of marketing. A white counterpart does the same job in his company gets salary 20% more than his.

And also I heard, but I am not sure if it is true, that there is a hidden quota of the composition of government that colored people cannot exceed 30 %. I am not sure the information is true or not. If it is true, the government should abandon this quota. ... It may be a rumor. But in our government, we really have majority are white and a very small number of Asians.

The Sluggish Development of the Canadian Economy

Some participants pointed out that the biggest factor that hindered integration was the sluggish development of the Canadian economy. As a consequence, many immigrants moved to the United States or sought jobs there. This phenomenon indicated that many

immigrants used Canada as a bridge that led them to the United States. Ren exclaimed, "If it is easy for people to make a living here, you do not need to keep them. They will stay. Immigration policy alone can not keep skilled workers."

Zhe suggested that it was unrealistic to emphasize immigrant integration without considering the relationship between economic development and adaptation.

The good scenario is Canada expectation is met, that is immigrants bring positive impact on Canada, at the same time, immigrants adjust well, integrate well, and play the role they are supposed to. But the first thing is good economic situation. When economic situation is bad, immigrants suffer most, no matter how capable they are. When even local people cannot find a job, how can you expect immigrants to get one? If they could not find a job, how could they settle down and integrate? How can they solve the problem of family and social support?

Therefore, "How to help immigrants, I would like to say, is to offer more employment opportunities." Zhe held that in order to develop, people had to survive first, "if government wants to help immigrants, it should first of all improve its economic situation. Otherwise the current approaches cannot solve the basic problems." He further explained the importance of economic development:

I feel, to be realistic, the very basic, the biggest, and headache problem is finding a job. To integrate, first of all, people need to survive. To survive, first of all, you need a job. To get a job, there should be a job offer. The job offer is based on the macro environment. If the economy situation is not good, when there are not jobs, what is use to let them learn so many skills? I feel this is a big problem.

...economy must have a big development so that people can survive. When your economic situation is a mess, but you continue to get more and more immigrants, then put them into training programs to teach them how to find a job...It is a self-contradicted situation.

Chineseness

The participants commented that some Chinese character traits prevented Chinese immigrants as a whole to adapt to Canadian society. According to the opinions of the participants, the Chineseness included inactiveness in information gathering, carelessness, unnecessary obedience, and complicated network or organizations based on the hometowns in China.

Liem (1980) and Triandis et al (1972) report similar findings on inactiveness in their study on Vietnamese who have been influenced by the Taoist motto "Do nothing and everything will be accomplished spontaneously." This doctrine leads to an attitude that taking initiatives is vain, and the active life is disdained. Zhuo addressed the existence of this inactiveness in some Chinese immigrant.

Recently, I had a talk with friends. Some of them came here for quite a long time, and some of them have just arrived. I told them that whatever situation you have encountered, you should keep in mind one thing that all the information is free. The key point is if you are willing to find it or not. Many people have been in Canada for over ten years, but they do not have any knowledge about Canadian tax regulations. They do not have any knowledge of about Canadian social system. They know nothing about Canada.

A lack of knowledge or lack of action might not be a problem for people in their home country. They may have many friends or family members on which to rely. However, when people immigrate to a new country with a different behavior code, it becomes a problem. If the immigrants did not pay enough to attention and make effort, then stereotypes about the immigrant group would be formed. Zhuo was anxious for the Chinese immigrants to improve,

... Chinese people themselves have some problems. Some Chinese set up some really bad images. They have not sensed these themselves. So the situation remains. These are personal problems. Something you held in China conflicts with things here. You cannot do that. Certainly when they come here, they feel a kind of limitation, because the society is totally different from the old one.

For this you must change, because this is Canadian custom. Our Chinese do not have such concept, no such concept. ... Sometimes the Chinese do whatever comes to their mind. They do not think that much. Then, people will feel Chinese are less educated, at least to be commented as the less educated. So for these tiny things, when you have a contact with local people, you have to pay attention. It does not work if you do not pay attention to these tiny things. This is their code. It is like when you work, there are workplace regulations. You cannot do whatever you feel like. It does not work. They will feel you are strange. Certainly you might ask what are the reasons for this? The reason can be found in yourself. I feel this way (Zhuo).

Obedience in the Chinese culture is a way to show respect. However, blind obedience limits people's ability to take initiative. The Chinese immigrants were born in a society with an obedience hierarchy – San Cong prescribes loyalty and obedience in relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. In addition, students must be obedient to teachers in the education environment. Coming from such a cultural tradition, some Chinese immigrants showed unnecessary obedience to authority. Hui was trying to bring the issue to the attention of independent immigrants, who were supposed to be innovative and creative,

Another thing I would like to share with others is to hold your back straight before white people. I feel before their professors, Chinese student are too, too... yes, too humble. They always listen to their professors, and dare not to have any initiatives. It is not good. Especially in research, if you do not have your own

ideas but follow the professor every small step, you will never do anything better. I feel that this point is very important. Obedience has its good side and bad side. The bad side is...No creative mind. Among Chinese, the creativity is somewhat weak (Hui).

The network built by immigrants from the same hometown or area might play an important role in the adjustment to racial separation. In a plural society like Canada, the complicated network within Chinese community, to some degree, hinders the communication between the Chinese immigrants and other members of the society.

Yong commented,

What makes things complicated is that Chinese people are in groups, the Taiwan group, the Guangdong group, the Mandarin spoken group, the dialect group, such as Taishan, Wenzhou, Chaozhou.... Many and complicated divisions. But the host society members are not so delicately grouped. I do not think there is a Scottish folk society [laugh]. I guess there is no. At most there might be a British folk society, if they want to form such a community. You go to Chinatown, then you see our Chinese, within Guangdong province, people from each city have their own society. You see Foshan branch, Taishan branch, Panyu branch, Chaozhou branch, and so on. It seems that Chinese societies are blossom everywhere in Vancouver, each with its label.

However, some of the traits found within one Chinese group might not be present in all Chinese individuals. Conversely, the integration process is not the same for all independent immigrants and they should not slot themselves into one group. The participants held that the host society may develop a stereotypic perception of Chinese traits which affects their general impression and understanding of Chinese immigrants as individuals and Chinese people as a whole. Therefore the host society's recognition of Chinese diversity may aid in the acceptance of Chinese immigrants from any class.

Summary and Implications

Theoretically, these independent immigrants should not have serious language problems, because everyone was selected through a strict screening system in which language proficiency was a key criterion. However, every participant did regard language proficiency as a serious factor that hindered adaptation. In contrast with the results of research which indicated that Chinese exhibited greater quantitative than verbal skills (Chiswick & Miller, 1992; Liu, 1986; Miller, 1992; Sue & Kirk, 1972; Tu, 1992; White & White, 1981), none of the participants showed great difficulty in every day communication or work with the English language. Some participants were fluent in more than two second languages, such as English, French, Japanese, and German.

What they hoped to gain was to write, speak, and think like native Canadians. This might explain why the participants considered integration to be possible only for second or third generation immigrants. Some of them speculated that an assimilation agenda may be embedded within Canada's integration policy. When an immigrant thinks like a native born member, is she or he still able to keep the original culture? If the participants' suggestions are accurate, then in order to be completely accepted by society, they must speak, write and think like a native Canadian. Consequently, it may be difficult to maintain optimism about the macro environment of adaptation.

From the participants' viewpoint, integration services must begin to make some fundamental changes for improvement. Although a great number of immigrants from Mandarin speaking places such as Taiwan and Mainland are coming to Canada each year, the government funded integration service workers could only offer service in Cantonese.

Many of these workers were not even able to speak English. Coming to a new place without effective assistance, necessary information or social networks, made adaptation a frustrating process.

As indicated in preceding section, most of the participants gained help from host members. However, some participants revealed the white superior mentality that prevented Chinese immigrants or other colored people from equal opportunities of employment or payment. This observation coincided with several national surveys which found that some native-born Canadian did not welcome immigrants and some gave preference to white immigrants (Berry et al., 1974; Bibby, 1987; Decima, 1979; Environics Surveys, 1985 & 1989; Fletcher, 1989; Globe & Mail & CBC News 1991; Leger Marketing, 2002). The sluggish development of Canadian economy might have enforced this white superior mentality because the native born wanted to keep immigrants from tough competition in the job market.

While the participants identified that education played an important role in adaptation, perhaps traditional Chinese concepts passed on through education somehow hindered the adaptation process. The Chineseness that the participants discussed was only partially reported in previous studies conducted by Kuo, et al. (1976), Li (1994), Liem (1980), Sun (1985), Triandis, et al. (1972), and Wang (1994). The participants' discussion focused on traits, such as inactiveness, carelessness, blind obedience, and a complicated social network. However, both participants and researchers commented that Chineseness constituted traits which were viewed negatively in western cultures (Liem, 1980; Triandis, et al., 1972), had negative impact on the image of Chinese immigrants as whole, and prolonged the immigrants' adaptation process.

The Adaptation Strategies

Almost all of the participants had some strategies to deal with the difficulties in their adaptation. Besides specific strategies for language and cultural problems, there were also other strategies used by the participants to gain psychological equilibrium, or long term professional and career development.

Strategies For Language and Cultural Problems

To live with native speakers and to use the second language as much as possible were the strategy used by Da, Zhuo and Yong. Da was especially successful as far as language skills were concerned. He had mastered both Canadian official languages – completed his master's degree in English, and doctoral studies in French. Among his fellow students from countries, such as Poland and Egypt, his language ability was pre-eminent.

Da had a very interesting point about the language problem of immigrants. He suggested that language was not somebody's personal problem, but every foreigner's problem. His experience was to learn a language by using and observing it. Da lived with six Canadian students who passed to him a great amount of knowledge about Canadian life and Western music. This was a perfect language environment for him because he was the only Chinese student at his university. For two years, he did not speak a word of Chinese.

For language, how could it be that I did not have any problems? ...Generally speaking, everyone would have some problems. All in all, you are using a different language.

...the course I took right after I came here was bio-chemistry. I had never touched the field. Then I had to use a dictionary. But even in Chinese, some term I still could not understand. Because I did not know any thing in this field, not mentioning the specific terms in this field. So I gave up the Chinese dictionary. Now I know what they are, their English name and their molecular formula, but do not ask me what Chinese name is. I do not know.

Zhuo came to Canada with a goal to get a master's degree in teaching English as a second language. To reach her goal, she chose to live with native speakers. This turned out to be a very useful preparation when she became a landed immigrant.

The situation after arrival depends on yourself, the subjective, internal, eager needs for integration. This is a motivation. Some people after arrival to Canada may have an opposite feeling, because their language ability and education level are low. Then they isolate themselves.

My situation was completely different. At that time, I wanted to adjust to this society as soon as possible. To adjust to this society, you get to know Canadian people, including Canadian families. So when I came here, I chose to live with Canadian families.

Hui held a senior position in scientific research, while Richard's goal was to be a university professor in Canada. Both of them worked very hard on their English. Beside their own efforts, one of their strategies to improve their English was to have native speakers, such as their colleagues or supervisor, double-check their work. This strategy made them know exactly where their problems were so that they could focus their effort accordingly.

I feel that my English is not good enough, especially my spoken English and written English. I still feel challenge now. Because in science, I need to write many papers, reports, comments... but I do not have a confidence in my English.

I do not feel that I can write like native people. So I already ask my colleagues to double-check my English (Hui).

I hope to find a professor position here. It has a high requirement to language proficiency. My present language ability cannot meet these requirements. ...this is something I should deal with in my adjustment period. I take it as a big issue to deal with. I am earnestly dealing with this problem (Richard).

To learn the language well, and to know the culture here are the two important things for me. And beside my work, I also need to learn something new. Because of these, I should put more effort than others. ...to overcome the language barriers, I watch TV quite often, and listen radio quite often. I try to participate in more activities. Social activities. ... to socialize myself. Try to attend meetings. To listen more. Through these, on one hand I can improve my language, on the other hand I get to know the culture and things here. I hope to participate more. I have tried very hard to do it, to overcome my difficulties (Richard).

My supervisor also helps me with my English. He often tells me what problem I have in my English, and where I should put more effort. He also suggests that I go to his office every week for one or two hours talk so that he can check up my English. He said he could correct my pronunciation and suggested me to find a tutor (Richard).

Strategies for Psychological Equilibrium

Because of the discrepancies between the reality of life after arrival in Canada and immigrants' expectations of the new life, and their social positions in Canada and China, some participants suffered a great deal of psychological stress. The strategies of the participants to deal with such an occurrence were to develop an awareness of their position on the integration hierarchy, a more realistic attitude, and to make regular adjustments to their plans.

Adaptation, according to Zhe, was a hierarchy with different tiers. If immigrants were at lower tier, but wanted to do something of the upper tier, they would inevitably have stress. So it was important for immigrants to know which level they were at and set realistic goals, then strive to reach the goals.

Since there are different levels, the expectations are important. Which level immigrants are at, you should have realistic expectations to them. ... This way, you get to know the exact direction of your progress. You do not suffer from unnecessary setbacks. You do not need to strive for something impossible.

Richard emphasized an accurate estimate of one's situation. Overestimation and underestimation would both affect one's direction of adaptation and psychological equilibrium. In addition, he suggested that individuals should not be influenced by other people's opinions.

How do you locate yourself in this society? If you are very easily satisfied, sometimes, that means you have not set your goals big or high enough. I do not care about how people feel. I just want to be realistic. People feel surprised that I was a professor but now choose to be a student. I do not care much. I did not set my expectations too high.

I set the low starting point with the hope that I can lay a good foundation and have a step-by-step advancement. This way, I have more satisfaction and less suffering. This subjective attitude makes my integration very positive. As for the objective factors, when you start from some lower integration level, you appear to be very capable. It is easy for you to make contributions to this society and offer help to others. This way, it is easier for people to accept you. So no matter subjectively or objectively, as long as you locate yourself properly and find a good starting point, the whole process becomes easier.

Zhe pointed out that it was not necessary for immigrants to feel frustrated that they were not the same as native-born Canadians in every aspect. It was unrealistic to set

very high goals. Adaptation takes time and it is not something one could accomplish in a day or two.

...it is impossible for you to be the same. It is not necessary to be the same. It is unrealistic. Basically, why do you want to do something impossible for you? If you really want to do something impossible, you get nothing but frustration ...

Before you even know how to make a living, you begin to search integration at top level. Aren't you looking for trouble? It will be a big problem, if you understand integration this way. If you have passed the first few levels, if you say my English is good enough, and you have more participation in Canadian social activities, at that moment, you might say the higher-level integration is your goal. You certainly can set the goal like that. The more you know where you are, the better.

It was also important for immigrants to design their position for the future once they arrived in Canada. According to Zhe's analysis of his experience and observations, immigrants in fact had two options if they were not lucky enough to get a job with their trained skills. One was to give up their area of expertise and accept whatever jobs were available. Hui regarded this option as flexible, because immigrants could either like the job or use it as a transition for better opportunity. The other option was to carefully design or adjust to a more realistic direction of the development. Zhe further analyzed,

You have options. One is to give up your past field, and do whatever available. Second is to step directly into your field. Certainly, it requires a piece of luck or some past factors that are to your advantage. Third is you have not given up, but you are not able to step directly into your field. Then you should find a place to gather more information, to refresh yourself, to upgrade yourself.

...design your own position in this society is important. How do you plan to locate yourself in this society, what position do you plan to have, I feel this is

more important than the effort to overcome other difficulties. Because how you locate yourself in this society decides what effort you should make.

Not only should one identify the role she or he could play in this society and what adaptation phase she or he is at, but also make changes in the objectives and plans according to her or his specific adaptation situation. An important issue for immigrants is that they should always know themselves. Richard's story illustrates in detail how his knowledge of himself was insufficient or inaccurate, and why he had to keep adjusting his course of adaptation:

There are some subjective influences affecting integration, for example, my language proficiency. Before, I felt my English was pretty good. I could understand others at the international conference; I had some publication in English; and I could speak some English.

But when I am here, I have noticed my English is very poor. What I understood before was surface meaning; even the surface meaning I did not 100 % understand. I still have a long way to go to understand the deep meaning or underline meaning of people's speech. My English was far from idiomatic. People could tell that I was a foreigner when I opened my mouth. They had to be very patient to listen to me.

Later, I have realized there is a big gap between what I was and what I thought about myself. Also my language proficiency is far from it should be. So subjectively, I did not have correct estimation of my ability, and this is part of the reason of my suffering.

When I have realized this point, I try hard to improve it, and slow down my plan of advancement. Thus my psychological state has been adjusted. Now I feel better. It is a matter of continuing study and gradually improving. This is important.

Strategies for Long Term Professional and Career Development

When the participants chose not to give up the areas in which they were trained, the rest of the things they did were an “accumulation of experiences” and an “investment” as termed by Ren and Richard. After twelve years accumulation, Ren succeeded in his career and finally find a job that fit into his area of training and expertise. Richard and Zhe went back to study at university and had already made great progress in their research fields – Richard had several of his research articles published in international journals, while Zhe established a research center.

Yong revealed that going back to school was one of the best strategies many independent immigrants obtained from their struggle for adaptation. This strategy was passed around among Chinese independent immigrants, “Then immigrants exchange information and experience to each other – your husband goes back to university? Your husband is learning computer science? OK, I will go to university and learn computer science” (Yong).

Ren shared his experience:

I advanced inch by inch. Now when I look back, I have again realized in this society, you have to accumulate your expertise, you have to build your career bit by bit. Even if you have a very high degree, you cannot start right away from top position, unless your field is hi-tech. Otherwise, you have to start from very beginning.

Yes, self-accumulation. That is to be realistic and start from very beginning, from now. In fact it is to cast away illusions. The illusions came from a lack of understanding of the society and the mechanism of the procedures. ... This is what I have learned from my experience and from this society.

He did not want to give up his research with which he had a lot of expertise that had accumulated in China and in America.

I did not like to get a job that was far from my social role and my expectation of life. So I did not want a job that did not require my skills or expertise in my field...simply a job is not what I come to the West, come to Canada for. What I want is to do something that fits into my field, fits into my capacity. This is one. If I cannot reach this goal, I still want to make my effort towards this direction. At least, I can learn and know what they are doing here and how they do it.

With this mindset, he decided on the direction of his future development, and began to take action. "So the job I wanted was a research job. Then I began to familiarize myself with the information regarding the area of social science in Canada." He went to a university, first to work, then to study. He eventually started an international research project between Canada and China, funded by the Canadian federal government.

Richard returned to university as well. His goal was to become a Canadian professor, so going back to study was his investment and commitment to this goal. From his two years of work experience in Canada prior to immigration, he realized that going back to university was an inevitable investment he must make in order to attain his goal.

... many immigrants choose to come back to university. Going back to university, in many aspects, is a good choice. Even if your level is very high, it does not hurt to study here for a few more years. In these years, you can learn something new and culture. There will be some new opportunities after your graduation. If you do have skills, when you get the new opportunity, people will see your capacity. This is a good method. When immigrants come, we should give them such advice: to get ready going back to university again. If you have some money, just to study for a year or two. Especially young immigrants, they will definitely benefit from it.

... this solution comes from thinking and experience after many people's struggle in job market. So I have realized that the education of new immigrants is very important. Very important. This study will influence their twenty or thirty year's development in the future. If they spend first few years to lay a good foundation for the future, their future will be smooth.

Summary and Implications

Facing many challenges, the participants basically adopted an active and rational attitude to tackle the difficulties they encountered in their adaptation process. In order to resolve problems with language proficiency, they chose to live with native speakers, attempted to use Canadian official languages as much as possible, and requested peer checking and editing to speed up the process.

For psychological equilibrium, they formulated realistic attitudes and goals for their professional development. These goals were based on their experiences and observations in the host country. It was also important for them to have suitable adaptation objectives at different tiers of the adaptation hierarchy, and to be flexible in the whole course of adaptation.

Their strategies for long-term development were an accumulation of experience and an investment toward the future. They became patient and were willing to tolerate temporary hardship. Those participants who did not have Canadian education went back to university for further education with confidence and optimism. Therefore, they did not mind starting over again in this new homeland.

Integration Needs

Few of the participants used integration services. However, it did not mean that the independent immigrants did not have adaptation needs. First and the foremost, they hoped the Canadian government would focus its effort to radically improve the economic situation. They felt that the slow economic development was a major factor that hindered their adaptation. For their immediate needs, the participants listed transitional services, a guide of occupational demands, immigrant education programs, and a special consideration for family reunification.

Transitional Services

The participants made several suggestions which would be valuable for newcomers to Canada. First they believed that the government should establish low rate, hotel like services. These facilities should include orientation information at the port of entry for new independent immigrants. Hui had helped many new immigrants. Some were his friends, and some were his friends' friends. He noticed that many independent immigrants did not have any relatives or friends in Canada. This made their initial settlement more difficult than other immigrant groups. When the independent immigrants arrived, they had no place to stay, and temporary residence such as hotels were very expensive. He hoped the government could help these immigrants.

I have seen that many of new immigrants cannot find a place to live when they arrived. They have to live in the hotels. Most of them relied on friends to help. I personally feel that Canadian government does not have special programs to help.

Finding a job in a new country was very difficult, but it was an immediate need of the independent immigrants. To help new immigrants, Yong suggested the government put effort into information dissemination. He explained:

We should not let new immigrants aimlessly run here and there like headless flies, but in vain. Some immigrants even cannot find simple, less skilled jobs. New immigrants are all eager to find a job. So some specific services should be offered. For instance, some new immigrants do not mind taking service jobs, why not provide information in this respect? ...

... there are some Chinese newspapers in Canada, like Vancouver. Why does not government spend a little bit money to provide information to them, and post jobs? The information as such for new immigrants is much more useful than giving so much money to Zhong Qiao each year.

Guidance of Occupational Demands

A guide of occupational demands and information of economic development trends was seen as another immigrant necessity. The guide would provide an accurate picture of the economy and it would help the prospective immigrants prepare themselves psychologically. The landed immigrants would be able to decide on the direction of their professional development based on fact, rather than misinformation. Zhe raised an issue of fairness in offering an occupational need guide to the independent immigrants. He asked the Canadian government to consider both the interests of Canadian citizens and of immigrants:

Highly educated immigrants have strong ability to learn new things, and adjust to new situations. The better the immigrants are educated, the more that Canada benefits from them.

...But on the other hand, is it good for new immigrants themselves? It remains a problem. Sometimes it seems not fair for them, because many people did not know the economic situation here. They knew Canada through some propaganda and immigration agencies. Some of them were pretty blind. So when they arrived, they discovered the reality was not the same as they heard. But they already quit their good jobs in China. The big problem is they could not have a better development in Canada. So immigration to them is rather a disaster.

After two or three years, they still could not find a job fit into their training. Then they begin to feel hard to adjust. We should have let them know the situation here, then they could see if they were able to adjust the life here. If not, they might not come in the first place.

As a matter of fact, Yong pointed out that a better dissemination of the economic development information, and the anticipation of the job market trends would eventually reduce the potential surplus of human capital in certain occupations. His argument was based on his observations:

Now the problem becomes almost all Chinese immigrants come back to universities to learn computer. When they graduate, there would be new problems. Can they all find a job after graduation? I doubt it.

The situation now is like that thousands of people and their horses are crossing a river through a single trunk of tree, and everyone has to push his/her way. Once the trunk is broken, every one would fall into the water.

A Regular Immigrant Educational Program

The participants revealed that many independent immigrants wasted years trying to start their career in Canada with the skills they had acquired in China. They finally found that it was necessary to go back to university for upgrading or learning new skills. Without education from North America nor Canadian experience, it was difficult for new

comers to find a job; therefore, the participants expressed an urgent need to establish a regular immigrant education program that would offer volunteer opportunities and co-op university programs.

Every year, we get a big number of independent immigrants coming to Canada but most of them have problems to find a job. ... employers here require Canadian working experience. These immigrants are newcomers, so where can they get Canadian experience? And there is almost no job in Canada, how they get experience? So this requirement only locks independent immigrants outside the job market (Richard).

... the government can organize immigrants, especially independent immigrants to do volunteer or co-op like university programs. This can help those who have adequate education and had working experience but do not have Canadian experience to find a job quickly. ... Independent immigrants are different from investors or entrepreneurs. They are supposed to work with their expertise. So volunteer or co-op jobs should target this group and it will help (Yi).

New immigrant education should become an educational program. Canada is an immigration country. Every year it has thousands of new immigrants coming. Most of the skilled immigrants are over thirty and many of high skilled immigrants are around forty. For the future of this country and at same time for the future of these skilled immigrants, Canada should add some special features to the traditional education system.... For the skilled immigrants, once selected, the government hopes they can contribute to the society, hopes they can make economic contributions, and hopes they can contribute in a Canadian way. If you do not provide some education, it is hard for them to make any contribution.... I would like to put it this way, if they have received some training in Canada, they can make greater contributions (Richard).

A Special Consideration for Family Reunification

Some participants expressed their frustration that they could not have their parents come to Canada for a visit. Because they were studying at university for their future professional development, they did not have full time employment. Without the proof of full time employment, even though they had money, their parents could not get a visa to visit them in Canada.

These participants had a mutual support relationship with their parents until they immigrated to Canada. They felt guilty leaving their parents unattended and hoped the government would give special consideration to those independent immigrants who were in the process of adaptation, but still had parents to take care of. Zhe was one of these participants.

Independent immigrants are important asset to the composition of Canadian population. They have strong integration competence. They are important for the social development because they are well educated and have professional skills. Canada in the long run, will benefit from these human resources. But the problem is after arrival, how fast, how deep these people can integrate into this society?

If they could not find their position in their field, if the whole social economic development is not good enough, and does not provide necessary conditions, you can not expect them to settle down in a short time. It might take two or three years for independent immigrants to find their positions, their roles. They need necessary services, such as family get-together to take care of each other. Many of them have to suffer the loss of previous social status; meanwhile their parents are left unattended. They are here without any social support. Their small core family is not enough. This is a problem. ... A too big price. So there are some complaints.

Summary and Implications

The preceding parts reveal that the participants did not really use the government funded integration services. They quickly discovered that the services did not have adequate language representation (i.e. Mandarin or English), and they did not have information about the job market. In addition, the participants' narrations contain a belief in self-reliance, such as "Your personal effort is very important" (Da), "I feel you can only rely on yourself. There is no way you can rely on others. ... In most of the cases, you have to rely on yourself (Yong)". However, not using integration services does not mean that independent immigrants did not have adaptation needs. The participants indicated that the obvious needs were there.

However, their needs were not exactly the same as those identified by ISS (1993), Neuwirth et al. (1989) and Nguyen (1987). For independent immigrants, transitional services are especially important. They are not like refugees who have government financial aid available to them nor were they family class immigrants who have relatives in Canada to take care of them. The participants suggested a hotel-type service with a general orientation to the job market and introduction to services for the general public. These transitional services would not only help the newcomers with their initial settlement, but would also give them a sense of belonging in their new home.

A guide of occupational needs seemed critical to adaptation. This information would enable immigrants to become well prepared before they land in Canada. For those who have already landed, the information would help them with the direction of their job search and future career plan. The dissemination of the information should also consider the community media which is often written in the immigrants' own languages.

In response to the Canadian experience and accreditation requirements of the job market, more and more independent immigrants went back to universities for re-education. This was the strategy used by the immigrants when they discovered that they had few options in the job market. As a result, the participants suggested that the Canadian government establish a regular immigrant education program with training, volunteer, and co-op opportunities. Given that Canada is a country where thousands of immigrants arrive each year, it would make sense to provide opportunities for accreditation and experience. These two requirements are critical in the eyes of many employers.

The government should give special consideration for family reunification in the near future. Because of the one child policy, cultural tradition, and China's unbalanced economic development, this need will become more apparent for immigrants from Mainland China. With half of their hearts left in China with their parents, Chinese immigrants' adaptation into Canadian society can be very difficult.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Overview of the Themes

The data reveals that each participant perceived the concept of integration differently. Basically, some participants regarded integration as imperative in order to acquire a job. They believed that integration allowed them to gain access and mobility in the job market. Others saw integration as a hierarchy. Immigrants should be realistic about their progress and learn to be satisfied with every step they take in the process. Integration was also seen as a contribution to the host society. Their determination to make contributions was their motivation to integrate. The participants' perception of integration also suggested a self-chosen marginality in which the participants held a dual loyalty to both China and Canada. All the participants unanimously considered integration as a long-term learning and changing process. As a result, more than half of the participants suggested that complete integration was something impossible for the first, even the second generation of new immigrants.

There is a noticeable discrepancy among adaptation theory, the Canadian governments' expectations, and the participants' perceptions, given that none of the participants considered she/he had integrated. Some of them even showed a certain degree of reluctance to integrate. However, their determination to contribute to Canada, their dual loyalty to both Canada and China, and their desire for an in-depth understanding of Western culture showed strong traits of integrity and integration.

Several factors might have contributed to such a discrepancy. First, theory and Canadian government expectations may not reflect the richness and complexity of the integration process experienced by the participants. Second, with a belief in cosmopolitanism, the participants might not identify with the government notion of integration to confine themselves to appreciation of the Canadian mainstream culture or the contribution to Canadian society alone. Third, the participants seemed to emphasize spiritual and cultural achievements more than material gains. For these goals, they were willing to spend a few years as an *investment* or *accumulation* period. And finally, the participants' lived reality of assimilation might have overshadowed the government's intention of integration. As indicated by one participant, multiculturalism was the state policy, but not every citizen's policy.

Motivation was crucial because it was directly related to participants' willingness to adapt. Their motivations came from different sources such as: stability and a better life, freedom, multiculturalism in Canada, better professional and career development, and family happiness. Considering the situation in Canada, we can see these motivations were not what researchers described as the "self-guiding propensity to imagine what does not yet exist" (Kim, 1988:99) but were what the participants could achieve in Canada. They were built on the participants' own observations and lived experiences. Therefore these motivations helped the newcomers surmount settlement hardships and also enabled them to strive for a better future.

The participants' adaptation stories indicate that pre-immigration preparation is an important factor for adaptation. In addition, financial and psychological preparation is necessary to facilitate the adaptation process. It seemed that psychological preparation, or

a psychological readiness, was especially important for independent immigrants, because new problems would continually emerge as they attempted to settle into Canadian society. This was especially true when the participants perceived integration as a hierarchy that contained different goals and problems at each tier.

According to these independent immigrants, expectation and motivation are two significant components in the willingness to adapt. Researchers agree that expectation and motivation may play a greater role than language capacity in the intercultural interaction (Taylor & Simard, 1975). For some participants, when reality falls short of their expectations, frustration arises. Kim (1988) observes, “the host environment serves as the foreground or social context in which strangers mobilize their resources and to which they strive to adapt” (p.128). The participants’ initial frustrations basically came from Canada’s sluggish economy and the inaccurate or out of date occupational information that Citizenship and Immigration Canada had provided them. In light of the white superiority mentality observed by many participants, it might be beneficial to acknowledge that the participants’ adaptation pain was possibly rooted in racial discrimination.

The results of the study indicate that Canada’s pluralistic immigration and integration policies, the acceptance of host society members, and adaptation competence were the factors that aided adaptation. From the participants’ points of view, Canada’s favorable policies provided them with the freedom to decide on their own adaptation forms and enabled the participants to live in Canada comfortably with equal rights to enjoy social benefits such as medical insurance. These results confirm the results of previous research which indicates that government policies, coupled with the acceptance

of host society members, provide a necessary and decisive adaptation environment for immigrants (Berry & Sam, 1997; Bonin, 1976; Bourhis et al., 1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994; Halli & Driedger, 1999; Harles, 1997; Kim, 1988).

Another factor that aided the participants' adaptation was their adaptation competence. Their flexible attitude towards the transition of their social role, the rational response to the reality, and thoughtfully planning for their future development were rooted in their education and willingness to adapt. This once again supports the assertion of both the Canadian government and the researchers that education plays an important part in the speed and pattern of adaptation, language learning, and other aspects of social integration (Advisory Committee, 1998; Foot, 1988; Hawkins, 1987; Kim, 1988; Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and immigration, BC, 1997; Pendakur & Mata, 1999; Rao, et al, 1984; Reitz, 1998; Stoffman, 1993).

Meanwhile, higher-level language proficiency, ineffective integration services, white superiority mentality, sluggish economic development, and Chineseness were identified as the factors that hindered adaptation. Language remained a problem for most participants. However, from their narrations, it seemed apparent that the participants' language problem did not stem from their language ability as suggested in the literature. The notion that Chinese immigrants generally have difficulties in the use of English language (Chiswick & Miller, 1992; Liu, 1986; Sue & Kirk, 1972; White & White, 1981) cannot always be applied, given that Da and Yi mastered three languages, and the problem diminished with the length of stay. The data suggests that their language problem did not exist in daily life communication, but only arose when it came to flawless and idiomatic academic information exchange and knowledge disseminations at

a high level. The difficulty also rose from in-depth conversations and discussions with local people. They perceived their problems as cultural ones – they need more time to immerse themselves into Western culture so as to move freely between two cultures. They need better knowledge of the host culture to gain freedom in communication.

The Chineseness that the participants discussed included carelessness, inactiveness, unnecessary obedience, and complicated social networks. These weaknesses prevented the Chinese immigrants from quickly familiarizing themselves with the Canadian social system, and presenting a complete list of their qualifications in resume writing and job interviews. The complicated social network made communication between the Chinese community and other cultural groups difficult. Some of the above observations, such as inactiveness and obedience have been discussed by Liem (1980) and Triandis, et al.(1972). However, up to the time of this report, no literature addressed other elements of Chineseness such as carelessness and complicated networks.

The participants in this study held an active and positive attitude towards the barriers in their adaptation process and applied various strategies. For instance, they chose to live with native speakers or seek help from peers to improve their language capacity, and to learn the mainstream culture. Other strategies included: realistic attitudes towards their adaptation situation, a flexibility in the adjustment to the changes of their social status, active and patient accumulation of efforts for career development, and proper preparation for professional development. Proper professional preparation, reeducation in particular, was especially seen as the remedy for their financial problems and slow professional development in Canada.

Discrimination against foreign qualifications and work experiences has long been the major source of adaptation pain for immigrants in general and independent immigrants in particular. The results of several studies reveal that employers tend to value educational qualifications completed in North America and Northern Europe. The laggard economic situation in Canada worsened the situation (Abbott, 1988; Alberta, The Task Force, 1992; Avery, 1995; Baker & Benjamin 1994; Economic Council of Canada, 1991; Ferguson, 1964; McDade, 1988; Ministry of Responsible for Multiculturalism, Immigration, and Human Rights, BC, 1995; Pendakur & Mata 1999; Shamsuddin, 1997; Thompson, 2000). In such a situation, some participants re-entered the university in order to gain a Canadian degree, and hopefully Canadian work experience. Researchers indicate that a successful education is the key to better integration and a harmonious societal life (Bonin, 1976; Foot, 1988; Hawkins, 1987; Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and immigration, BC, 1997, 1995). Hawkins (1987) adds that the key may be “to study the thresholds of success as vehicles for a greater willingness to make larger use of available educational opportunities” (p.22). Da, Hui, Ren, and Zhuo who received additional education in Canada and acquired a job along the lines of their training, suggested the evident advantages of an education received in Canada.

This study also confirmed the government’s assumption that independent immigrants are the group that has the least need of integration services. These participants seldom sought assistance from immigration integration services. However, this does not suggest that they did not have any adaptation needs. On the contrary, they had several unmet needs that were not reflected in the needs hierarchy composed by ISS (1993). The participants indicated that the existing integration services could not meet the

needs of independent immigrants. In this regard, some participants questioned the quality of integration services and the feasibility of some job training programs that took up a large part of the government's annual budget. They hoped that the government could arrange transitional services, and set up specific educational programs for independent immigrants with co-op and volunteer opportunities. Moreover, they wished the government could give them some special considerations so that their parents were able to join them in Canada.

They also hoped the government could find more alternative methods for information dissemination. A better dissemination of Canadian economic statistics from the government would be helpful not only for pre-immigration psychological preparation, but also for better career planning after immigration. As observed by the participants, without an adequate knowledge of economic development trends or macro job market information, most of the immigrants followed the trend in choosing disciplines when they re-entered university. The potential danger of this blindness would be that after two or three years, Canada might have too many computer programmers or MBAs waiting for jobs. Therefore, the participants called for the government to provide economic development and job market information, and to set up special programs such as co-op and volunteer opportunities to help independent immigrants and Canada in the long run.

The Participants' Views

In this study, the participants made several interesting and thought provoking points. One was that under a favorable policy environment, the acculturation orientations of host society members became the important factor of immigrant integration, because "multiculturalism is a state policy, not every individual's policy" (Yong).

The second was that there existed a hierarchy of integration. Immigrants should have good knowledge of their location at the specific levels and make their integration objectives accordingly. The integration pain partly came from the immigrants striving for higher-level objectives when they were actually situated at the lower level of the hierarchy. Therefore, for their psychological well being, immigrants should be realistic and know where they are and what they should achieve at certain levels of the integration hierarchy.

The third point made by participants is the relationship between adaptation and higher social status. Higher social status suggests that the bigger the contribution to the society, the more active integration is required in order to climb the social ladder. So, high expectations for future development made immigrants become highly motivated to attain their goals. Most of the independent immigrants were members of the educated elite in their country of origin. With this in mind, it is assumed that they possessed high expectations, and were a highly motivated immigrant group. Higher expectation required a lengthy and often difficult preparation period. They endured many temporary hardships, but in the long run, both the immigrants and Canada benefited.

The fourth observation made by the participants was that education became an immediate need for independent immigrants when they landed in Canada. According to the participants and the researcher's observation, this was, in fact, an adaptation strategy; especially for those who planned to have a faster and better career development in Canada, or those who could not find a job in their trained fields. They regarded their re-education at the university as "an investment" for their better future and their ideal life goal.

The independent immigrants in this study make a final point about the two-fold nature of education. Education was conventionally perceived as a key factor to help adaptation. However, its fundamental function as a culture transmitter may not be accurate. In fact, for some of the participants, the more educated they were in China, the harder it became to de-culturate and acculturate. In addition, because highly educated immigrants usually enjoyed high social status in the home country, they could easily feel the fall, or loss, in the new environment, and suffer from psychological imbalance.

Observations & Reflections

There were two things that captured the researcher's attention during the inter/views. One was that some participants used the term "foreigners" for white people, even though they lived in Canada for more than ten years and worked shoulder to shoulder with native-born Canadians. The other was that some participants declared again and again their Chinese identity in such a social setting of multiculturalism. Does the former suggest some conservativeness of the Chinese culture? Does the latter imply assimilation as a condition for complete acceptance in the real world? Or does it suggest the enhanced Chineseness because of racial discrimination revealed in Wang's (1994) research? Further research is necessary in order to address these questions.

There is no direct indication that state policy could influence the acculturation orientations of host society members. However, a contrast between the racial discriminative incidents against Chinese immigrants in history and the friendly interaction between the native-born Canadians and the participants suggests a correlation between changes in the policies and changes in the attitudes of the host society members.

It is noticeable that while the participants appreciated the kindness of Canadians, they also sensed, on occasion, a white superiority mentality.

The results also imply that favorable immigration and integration policies, a fair competition in the job market and acceptance of host society members are necessary adaptation conditions, but not sufficient conditions for the independent immigrants. For this group, integration is closely connected with economic development. When there are absolutely no jobs for skilled workers, adaptation becomes dismal. So, the most important factor for immigrant adaptation should be a radical change in Canada's economy or at least an accurate representation of the current economic situation. An improved economy would provide an essential adaptation condition for immigrants in general and independent immigrants in particular. This might also prevent highly skilled Canadian immigrants from moving to the United States to seek better opportunities.

Time, all participants agreed, was needed to master the language, to learn the culture, to change themselves, and to upgrade their knowledge or learn new skills. Time was especially necessary when the participants pursued something beyond material gain. During this period of investment or accumulation, patience was important and the participants acknowledged a "no pain, no gain" philosophy. The participants hoped the government could understand that "the higher the position, the longer the time. With a big vision, Canada should prepare for the next ten years, or twenty years, if she wants to develop" (Richard).

A notable phenomenon is that none of the participants included material gains in their motivations and expectations. Together with self-chosen marginality and

cosmopolitanism, these cultural traits should be explored in future study if we hope to gain a better understanding of the adaptation process of Chinese independent immigrants.

Implications

The connection among the different experiences affected by common structure and social forces could help readers to see the patterns in the experience. Meanwhile, the readers could connect their own experiences to those presented in the study. Implications of this study are the assumed connections between potential readers and the experiences of the participants. The other reason to use the word “implication” not “recommendation” is that the primary purpose of this research was an exploration of the integration experience rather than a study for evaluation purposes.

Implications for Policy Makers

This study suggests the appreciation of Canadian immigration and integration policies in general and the loyalty to their second home country of eight Chinese independent immigrants. It also reveals the seemingly inevitable hardships they encountered in the first few years of adaptation. Canada is a country of immigration. Adaptation pain could be inevitable in some specific situations. However, the government should take measures to prevent it from becoming the norm.

While the prospective immigrants prepare for their new life in Canada, the Canadian government should also have a certain degree of readiness to accept newcomers. It is necessary for the government to enhance its information dissemination in every way. For example, it could take advantage of the media written in various ethnic languages. In addition, proper supervision and auditing seems necessary for the existing integration

services to be effective. A big budget in various integration programs does not necessarily mean substantial help for immigrants.

Economic development should be a priority on the agenda of policy makers. People have to survive, in order to develop. The comments from the eight participants, most of whom are senior researchers, spanned several areas. They commented that the issue of credential recognition, complaints of immigrants taking jobs from local people, and even racial discrimination are rooted in the slow economic development of Canada. Therefore, more money should be spent in encouraging economic development.

In opposition to the assumption of the government that independent immigrants need the least of integration assistance, these participants reveal that they do need proper programs, such as transitional service, and co-op or volunteer programs. Given the reality of accreditation recognition, Canadian working experience problems, and higher expectations of independent immigrants, the government should consider establishing long-term educational programs to prepare highly skilled professionals for the future of Canada, as well as offering a macro guidance or anticipation on the disciplines needed. Research based on the human-capital perspective suggests that from an economic standpoint, Canada has under-invested in education (Reitz, 1998:114). The policy makers might be aware that dissatisfaction of skilled workers at low paying, non-skilled jobs would never lead to successful integration. It is doubtful that this was the original purpose of a selective immigration policy.

Implications for Host Society Members

The participants expressed their heart-felt appreciation for the help people, especially local people, had offered in their integration process, particularly the help they gained when they had difficulties. The accumulated appreciation for Canada and Canadians brought them a sense of belonging, a loyalty, and a determination to make greater contribution to their second home country and to the whole world. The experiences of the participants once again confirm the assertion of researchers (Berry, 1974, 1980, 1987, 1990, 1991; Berry & Sam, 1997; Kim, 1988; Bourhis, et al.1997; Boutang & Papademetriou, 1994) that the host society members play an important role in immigrant integration. The support of host society members to immigrant integration is emphasized when the government describes that immigrant integration is a two-way street (CIC, 1994).

However, there seemed an undercurrent of racial preference among some people, and the discrimination of foreign credentials and work experience. This was sensed not only by the immigrants, but also by researchers in the field (Reitz, 1998). While the immigrants are questioning the reason why their credentials are not recognized, the researchers point out “the growing nationalism in Canada in fact demanded that jobs requiring high skills be filled by Canadians and not by immigrants” (Pike, 1988 in Reitz, 1998:119).

Most Canadians are descendants of immigrants who traveled to this country with dreams, and expectations for a better life. Therefore, we should find ourselves working together to build a safe and comfortable environment, no matter what our skin color or place of origin may be. One member’s gain would be the gain of the whole, and one’s

failure would affect the goodness of Canada as a nation. Even though they are still called immigrants, they become member of this society once they land. With radical improvement of the Canadian economic situation, all of us would have the opportunity to develop to our potential. A mutual understanding and solidarity between native born and newcomers is what we need to build a better Canada.

Implications for Integration Service Providers

The important message from the data collected is that independent immigrants have integration needs and obviously the present integration services were not sufficient to meet their needs. It seemed that we need more professionals to work for immigrants, and to develop more service strategies. While immigrants are encouraged to actively gather information and use the public services, the integration services providers might want to find some effective and efficient ways to provide orientation information or guidance through various channels such as local newspapers, the broadcast system or the Internet in ethnic languages. Alternatively, it might be beneficial to have some form of government subsidized “user pay” services as a strategy to lessen the stress of insufficient funds.

Implications for Landed Immigrants

Many landed immigrants may share the experiences of participants in this study, or they may have gone through a more complex integration process than what has been explored. The meaning of this study for immigrants is “sharing”. What these eight participants would like to share are the following points: 1) immigrants must make changes in order to adapt to the host society; 2) it is important to know in which level one is situated in order to set up long-term goals and proper short-term objectives according

to specific integration situations; 3) immigrants should make an effort to build a social network to include people from both the same ethnic group and other ethnic groups; 4) this is an information era and immigrants should become active in information gathering; 5) formal education and re-education is important, but informal learning is equally important in the integration process.

Implications for Prospective Immigrants

This study might be important for prospective immigrants. The decision to immigrate should be built on a good knowledge of Canada and a thorough understanding of the society in every aspect, especially the economic situation and cultural differences. With this readiness, prospective immigrants could have themselves well prepared materially and psychologically. For prospective immigrants from oriental countries, language is vitally important. They might consider Da's suggestion that instead of spending two years washing dishes in a restaurant, prospective immigrants should spend two years mastering English or French in their home country before coming to Canada. Thus they could expect to play a role in society right away. Canada is a good country, but it is different from one's country of origin. While immigrants could get assistance in their integration, their personal effort is the thing that they can count on the most.

Limitations

Several limitations of the present study must be considered. The first one is that the selection of the participants suggested that the study could not reflect a holistic picture of the adaptation process of independent immigrants with all the adaptation scenarios. For example, the participants recruited in this study did not include independent immigrant who found jobs that fit into their training and expertise right after

landing, or those who stayed in low paying and less skilled jobs with master's and doctoral degrees.

Second, the social environment, one of the decisive factors, might be different in Victoria from other cities or towns in Canada. Unlike cities such as Calgary or Vancouver where immigrant populations are extensive and continue to grow, Victoria is not a city with a large immigrant population (Global and Mail, 2002. 3. 13:A6). The immigrant population in Victoria has only increased 2.5 percent, which is less significant than the other major cities.

Finally, because of the small Chinese immigrant population in Victoria, the participants may have been hesitant to share every aspect of their adaptation experience. For example, one participant who withdrew in the middle of the study did so because she was concerned about confidentiality and believed that she could be easily identified in a small city like Victoria. Therefore, this study might only cover the tip of the immigrant adaptation iceberg.

Future Directions

There is a significant gap in our knowledge concerning the integration process of immigrants, especially independent immigrants. More research is necessary to fill the existing gap. Even though this study has been conducted on a very modest scale, it allowed these eight independent immigrants to share their valuable experiences. Hopefully it will serve as a starting point for large-scale research leading to a more profound understanding of immigrant integration.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW TOPICS

BEFORE IMMIGRATION

- What was your career in China?
- Why did you immigrate to Canada?
- How much did you know about Canada?
- What were your expectations to the new life in Canada?
- What preparation did you do for settlement in Canada?

AFTER ARRIVAL

- How was your adjustment after arrival?
- What were the toughest difficulties?
- How did you overcome these difficulties?
- What kinds of help did you get and from whom (government agents, individuals, and organizations)?
- Did you benefit or suffer from the government policies then?
- Did local people's attitudes to you affect your integration process?
- Did education you received in China make your integration smoother than others? And how?
- How do you feel your current situation?
- Do you feel you are well or poorly integrated? How do you think so?
- Do you have some difficulties now? What are they?

REFLECTIONS

- How do you understand immigrant integration? (economic, political, social, and cultural)
- How do you feel the current Canadian immigrant integration policy?
- What are the important factors (subjective & objective) do you think bring positive influence on your integration process?
- What are the important factors (subjective & objective) do you think have hindered or may hinder your integration process?

RECOMMENDATIONS

- What recommendations would you like to make to the Government for immigrant integration?
- What do you think should be Canadian Government's priority programs for immigrant integration?
- What advice do you want to give to new immigrants or these who plan to come to Canada?

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW TOPICS (Chinese Version)

交谈话题

移民前

- 能告知您在中国的职业吗？
- 您为什么要移民加拿大呢？
- 您对加拿大了解多少呢？
- 您对来加后的新生活有什么期望呢？
- 您为在加安家落户都作了哪些准备呢？

来到之后

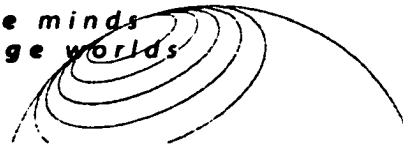
- 您抵达后适应情况如何？
- 最大的困难有哪些？
- 您是如何克服这些困难的？
- 您刚来是得到过哪些帮助？来自于那里（个人，政府，组织）？
- 国家政策在您安家落户及融入社会方面有些什么利弊？
- 本地人对您的态度呢？
- 您原来所受的教育是否令您的社会融合比别人容易一点儿呢？从哪些方面体现出来？
- 您对目前生活满意吗？
- 您认为您已经融进了加国的社会了吗？为什么？
- 您现在还有困难吗？都是什么困难呢？

思考

- 您对移民融入本地社会是怎么看的？（经济，政治，社会，文化）
- 您对加拿大的移民政策感觉如何？
- 您觉得有哪些因素（主观，客观）给您的社会融合带来了积极的影响？
- 您觉得有哪些因素（主观，客观）影响了（会影响）您的社会融合？

建议

- 关于移民融入本地社会的问题，您对政府有些什么希望和建议？
- 您认为政府帮助移民哪些方面应重点考虑（加强）？
- 作为一个已站住脚的先到者，您对新移民和打算移民的人有什么忠告？



UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA - HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

<u>PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR</u> Yali Li Graduate Student	<u>DEPARTMENT/SCHOOL</u> EPLS	<u>SUPERVISOR</u> Dr. Honore France and Dr. Yvonne Martin	
<u>CO-INVESTIGATOR(S):</u>			
<u>TITLE: Immigrant Integration - the Experience of Chinese Independent Immigrants</u>			
<u>PROJECT No.</u> 279-01	<u>START DATE</u> 10/5/2001	<u>END DATE</u> 10/4/2002	<u>APPROVAL</u> 10/5/2001

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 C**Letter of Contact to Possible Participants**

September 20, 2001

Dear _____

I am writing to you to invite your participation in my study on the integration of independent immigrants in Canada. This study is an inquiry into independent immigrants' understanding of immigrant adaptation, and the adaptation experience. The inquiry has two strands. The first focuses on the previous research on the different aspects of adaptation and the Government policy and legislation. The second strand will evolve from semi-structured interviews with Chinese Canadian who entered Canada as independent immigrants. By participating the study, they are giving voice to their lived experiences, reflections and perspectives of immigrant integration process. Literature review, document reading, and narratives from participants will provide the data for my Ph. D. dissertation.

You are invited because you are an immigrant who came to Canada through independent category and you may like to share your adaptation experience with me through in-depth conversations. Your participation of this study will involve two or three one-hour interviews. Your involvement is completely voluntary and you can decline to answer interview questions or withdraw from the study at any time without explanations. If you withdraw, I will return you all the interview data or follow your opinions to deal with your data.

The interview will be audio-taped and will be erased immediately after I have transcribed the interview. The transcripts will be returned to you to make possible corrections for accuracy, and the coded name will be used in the transcripts. The transcripts and your signed consent form will be stored separately in a locked filing cabinet at my home. The tape and the transcripts will be destroyed as soon as the study has been completed. I will not discuss your participation with other participants or with mutual friends and colleagues.

However, despite the coded name, if someone who knows your experience reads the dissertation, it is possible that s/he may identify you. Please sign the content form if you are willing to participate. Whether or not you choose to participate will have no bearing on my respect for you.

Please feel free to phone me at (250) 712-7787 or email me to yalili@uvic.ca if you need any further information. My supervisors at the University of Victoria are Dr. Honore France (250) 721-7858 and Dr. Yvonne Martin (250) 721-7813.

Sincerely yours,

Li, Yali

APPENDIX D

Consent Form for Participation in the Study Entitled, “Immigrant Integration – the Experience of Chinese Independent Immigrants ”

I understand that this research project is studying the experience of Chinese independent immigrants. I understand that I will be asked my experience, reflection, memories, perspectives and my feelings about the immigrant integration in Canada in semi-structured interviews prepared by Li Yali, a graduate student in the Faculty of Education, University of Victoria. I understand that the purpose of the research project is to gain the different perspectives of immigrant integration process in Canada.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without explanation. I understand that whether I choose to participate or not will have no effect upon my employment or advancement. I understand that should I withdraw from the study midstream, the tape and the transcripts will be returned to me, and any content of my interview will not be used in any form in the result of study unless I agree.

I understand that any data collected in the study will remain confidential; interview results will be locked in a locked filing cabinet of the researcher in her home. The researcher will transcribe the interview verbatim, and only the researcher and her supervisors will see the raw data. Furthermore, I understand that my name will not be attached to any published results.

I understand that my interview will be audio-taped and the tape will be erased immediately after the thoughts /feelings/experience that I talk about are transcribed into written form. I also understand that if I do not wish to have my interview taped, I can ask that the interview will then be documented with researcher’s handwriting. I also understand that the audiotape and the transcripts will be destroyed when the study has been completed.

I understand that I will be given a copy of the transcribed interview, and can make any change necessary to make the document reflect the thoughts/feelings/experience I was trying to communicate. I also understand that the result of the project will be in the form of Ph. D dissertation, the publication and presentation at scholarly meetings.

Date: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Supervisors: Dr. Honore France (250) 721- 7858; Dr. Yvonne Martin, (250) 721-7813
Address of Researcher: Yali Li, 38103-2373 Lam Circle, Victoria, B.C., Canada, V8N 6K8
Tel: (250) 721-3497 (H); 721-7787 (O). Email: yalili@uvic.ca