

# Vancouver Centre of Excellence



## Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

Working Paper Series

**No. 05-20**

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

**Shibao Guo and Don J. DeVoretz**

**October 2005 – Updated February 2006**

## **RIIM**

### Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

The Vancouver Centre is funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. We also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Metropolis partner agencies:

- Health Canada
- Human Resources Development Canada
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Department of the Solicitor General of Canada
- Status of Women Canada
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Correctional Service of Canada
- Immigration & Refugee Board

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information, contact the Co-directors of the Centre, Dr. Don DeVoretz, Department of Economics, SFU (e-mail: [devoretz@sfu.ca](mailto:devoretz@sfu.ca)) or Dr. Daniel Hiebert, Department of Geography, UBC (e-mail: [dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca](mailto:dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca)).

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

by

**Shibao Guo**

Faculty of Education  
University of Calgary

and

**Don J. DeVoretz**

Co-Director, RIIM  
Simon Fraser University  
[devoretz@sfu.ca](mailto:devoretz@sfu.ca)

Contact author (Shibao Guo)  
[shibao.guo@ucalgary.ca](mailto:shibao.guo@ucalgary.ca)

26 September 2005  
(Revised 4 February 2006)

The financial support of RIIM is noted with appreciation and we thank Bryan Yu, Yan Shi and Roman Deng for their imaginative research assistance along with the technical assistance of James Kwan suggested the logistic analysis contained in this study. Sydney Preston provided the copyediting and Tyson Wolmuth created the online questionnaire at [http://www.riim.metropolis.net/frameset\\_e.html](http://www.riim.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html).

**Abstract:** This is part of a large scale study entitled “The Chinese Leaver-Stayer Project,” which examines the underlying forces that influence the “move-stay” decision for Chinese immigrants after their arrival in Canada. This paper reports findings from the Vancouver portion of the study which examines the settlement and adaptation experience of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The study reveals that non-economic reasons, such as the environment, education and citizenship, were the primary motivations for Chinese immigrants to move to Canada. It is disturbing to report that even with this well-educated group, employment and language were the most frequently cited barriers facing their integration in Canada. Poor economic performances, the devaluation of both their acquired Chinese education qualifications and labour market experience fulfil the necessary conditions for this group to move on as predicted by the triangular model.

## **Introduction**

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

This survey based study is part of a large scale research project entitled "The Chinese Leaver-Stayer Project," which examines the underlying forces that influence the "move-stay" decision for Chinese immigrants after their arrival in Canada. The study is comprised of two stages. Stage one seeks to understand the settlement and adaptation experience of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Their responses will be compared with those of Chinese immigrants who returned "home" in stage two. The Canadian portion of the project surveyed immigrants in three cities: Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton using two distinct methodologies. First, we employed an online survey investigation complemented with in person questionnaires<sup>1</sup> This paper reports the findings from the Vancouver portion of the study. It is organized into four parts. The first part provides contextual information and a review of the literature on immigrant circulation. The second introduces our research methodology. Third, we report the findings of the study. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the results and their policy implications.

## **Canadian Immigration Policy and the Chinese**

Immigration has always played a central role in the history of Canada's nation building. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century immigration was used as a strategy to populate and develop Western Canada. It has also served the economic and demographic interests of Canada. In addition, immigration has functioned as

---

<sup>1</sup> The Web- based instrument can be found at [www.riim.metropolis.net/surveys/Chinesereturnees/](http://www.riim.metropolis.net/surveys/Chinesereturnees/) The in person interviews use an identical set of questions.

a means of social control. In deciding who are the most desirable and admissible, the state sets the parameters for the social, cultural and symbolic boundaries of the nation, as manifested in historically racist Canadian immigration policies. From Confederation to the 1960s, the selection of immigrants was based on their racial background. The British and Western Europeans were the most “desirable” citizens, the Asians the “unassimilable” and, therefore, denoted as “undesirable.”

The history of Chinese immigrants mirrored Canada’s immigration past. The first group of Chinese immigrants arrived on Canada’s west coast in 1858 in search of gold. They came as coolie workers and chain migrants predominantly from the southern Chinese coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. Chinese immigrants were used extensively during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) (Li 1998; Tan and Roy 1985). With the completion of the CPR, the Chinese were no longer welcome. In 1885, the government of Canada imposed a \$50 head tax on all incoming Chinese to control their entry. The head tax was increased to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903. When it was found that the tax was not effective in keeping the Chinese out of Canada, the Canadian federal government passed the restrictive Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which virtually prohibited all Chinese immigration into Canada until its repeal in 1947. Besides the head tax and the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, the Chinese also faced other kinds of discrimination. Since they were not allowed to vote, they were prohibited from entering certain professions such as law, medicine, or accounting (Li 1998; Tan and Roy 1985).

In the mid-1960s, Canada was still experiencing a great “postwar boom” (Whitaker 1991: 18). Skilled labour was required to help Canada build its expanding economy, but Europe as the traditional source of immigrants was unable to meet Canada’s manpower needs. Thus the Canadian government turned its immigrant recruitment efforts to the traditionally restricted areas – Asia. In 1967 a “point system” was introduced by the then Liberal government, which based the selection of immigrants on their “education, skills and resources” rather than on their racial and religious backgrounds (Ibid. 19). Whitaker affirms that this new system represented “an historic watershed,” and “it did establish at the level of formal principle that Canadian immigration policy is ‘colour blind’” (Ibid. 19). He further added that the “point system” was successful in reversing the pattern of immigration to Canada from Europe to Asia. By the mid-1970s there were more immigrants arriving from the Third World than from the developed world, the largest number coming from Asia, followed by the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa (Ibid. 19). Among the Asian group, many were from China. As Li (1998) points out, Canada admitted 30,546 Chinese immigrants between 1956 and 1967, increasing to 90,118 between 1968 and 1976 with the introduction of the point system. Many of the

Chinese immigrants who arrived after 1967 were urban and well-educated. They came predominantly from Hong Kong.

### *Chinese Emigration to Canada*

To understand the experience of Chinese immigrants, it is important to first and foremost examine the social and political contexts within which Chinese immigrants arrived. According to Li (1998), the majority of Chinese immigrants originated from three areas: Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China – the focus of this review.

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

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

émigrés in 1998, as the PRC became the top source region for immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1999) after 1998.

Taiwan is a unique case. The influx of emigrants from Taiwan has always been closely related to the island's political instability vis-à-vis mainland China (Tseng 2001). Tseng argues that two events in the 1970s caused the Taiwanese people to turn to emigration as a solution to their uncertain future. One early event was the withdrawal of the Republic of China from the United Nations and the concomitant acceptance of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the sole legitimate government in China. The other was the normalization of the relationship between the PRC and the United States in 1978. Now a concern arose that Taiwan might eventually be reclaimed by Communist China. In addition to this concern over political instability, emigration from Taiwan may also be understood "as a middle-class response to the problems resulting from the burgeoning export-oriented economy" (Tseng 2001: 34). In short, some Taiwanese were discontented with the quality of life on the island as a result of rapid industrialization. According to Kotkin (1993, cited in Tseng 2001), an estimated 50,000 Taiwanese emigrated between 1985 and 1991, with the United States, Australia, and Canada being the most popular destinations.

## Literature Review

### *A Triangular Model*

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

conditions between the entrepôt country and other possible destinations given their citizenship status. These theoretical arguments will later aid us to frame the survey questions and to analyze our findings.

A second theoretical framework derives from the discussion of transnationalism. As with the previous authors, migration in a transnational era is described as continuous rather than completed (Ley and Kobayashi 2005). Drawing from the experience of returned Hong Kong Chinese immigrants from Canada, Ley and Kobayashi argue that return migration represents one stop in a transnational sojourner's journey. It is undertaken strategically at different stages of the life cycle. The authors identify economic activity as the recurrent pull to Hong Kong and quality of life as attractions that draw the family back repeatedly to Canada. Strategic switching between the two identifies each of them to be separate stations within an extended but unified social field.

## **Research Methodology**

### ***Questionnaire Approach***

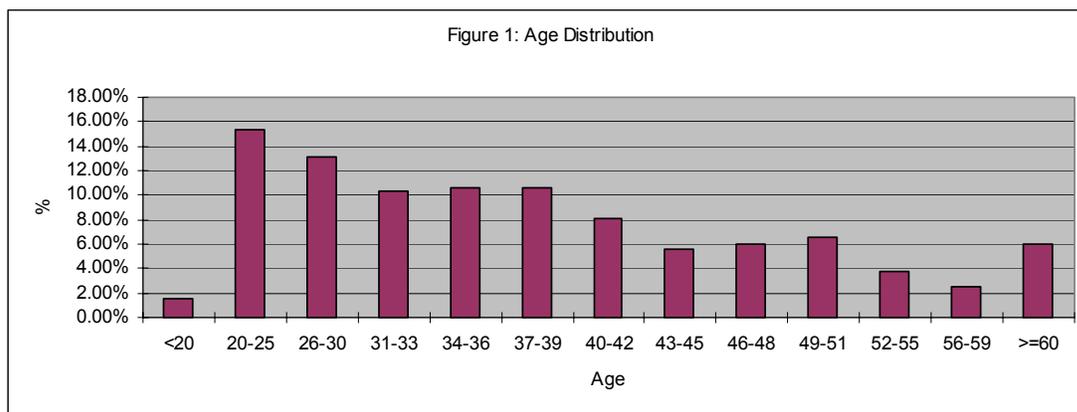
This research adopts a questionnaire approach. Earlier work by DeVoretz, Ma and Zhang (2002) and Ma and Tian (2006) on this topic clearly stated the limitations of an econometric analysis based solely on census data. Thus, the *raison d'être* for a Web-based questionnaire approach derives from its capability to explore in depth the motivations for staying or moving and to maximize the number of responses in a reasonably short time. There are four parts to the questionnaire: i) basic demographic information, ii) a description of the motivations for immigrating to Canada, iii) the Canadian experience of Chinese immigrants, and iv) concluding remarks.

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

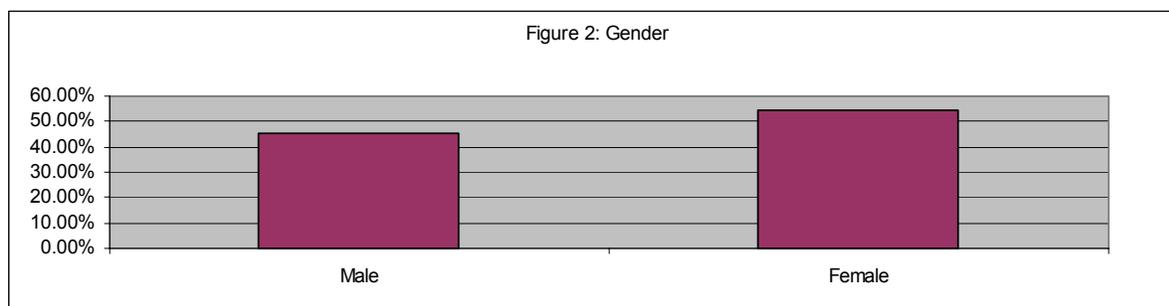
## Research Findings

### *Sample Design*

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



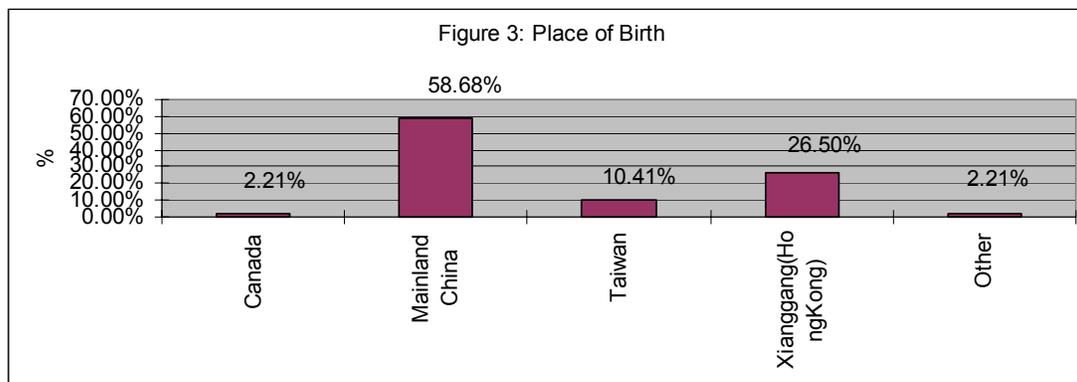
In addition, as Figure 2 demonstrates, over 55% of the sample was comprised of females and 45% males, which again mimics the gender distribution of Vancouver's Chinese labour force and fulfills our goal of emphasizing the economically active Chinese immigrant population.<sup>2</sup>



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

<sup>2</sup> See Canada, Landing Data Base 2001.

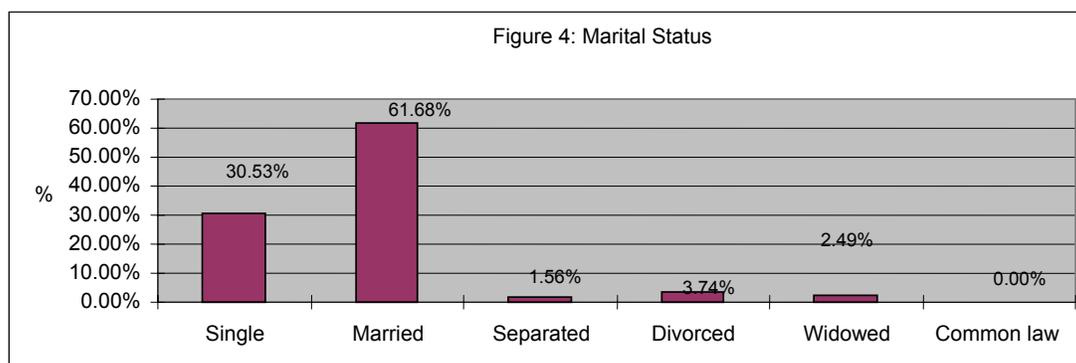
immigrant arrivals. Figure 3 demonstrates that this survey sample fulfills this goal since mainland China (PRC) arrivals represent 58% of the sample with Hong Kong (27%) and Taiwan (10.4%) providing another 33% by place of arrival.<sup>3</sup>



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

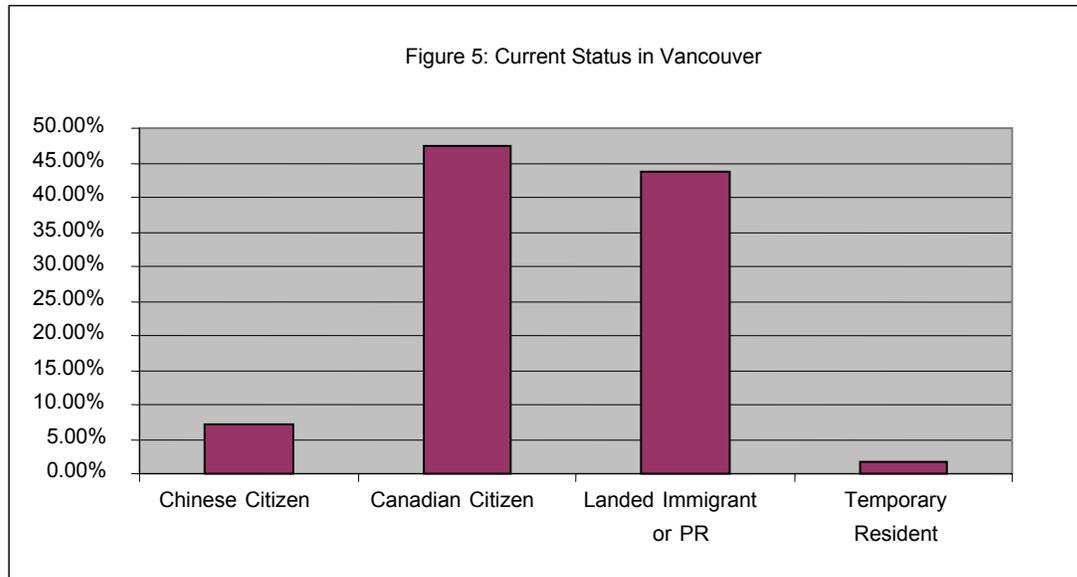
### *Sample Statistics*

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

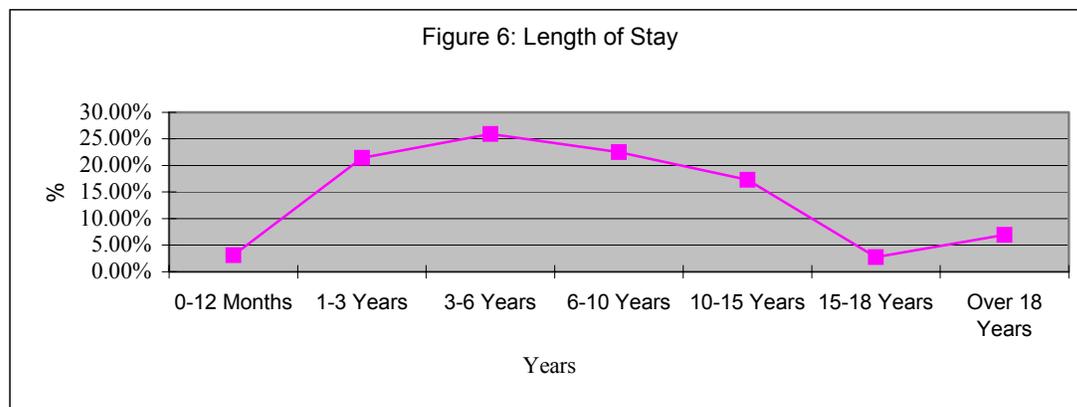


The majority of our survey population is married (62%) with permanent residence status in Canada since they are either Canadian citizens (48%) or landed immigrants (44%). These two characteristics, married with Canadian citizenship should positively influence the sampled households' economic outcomes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

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



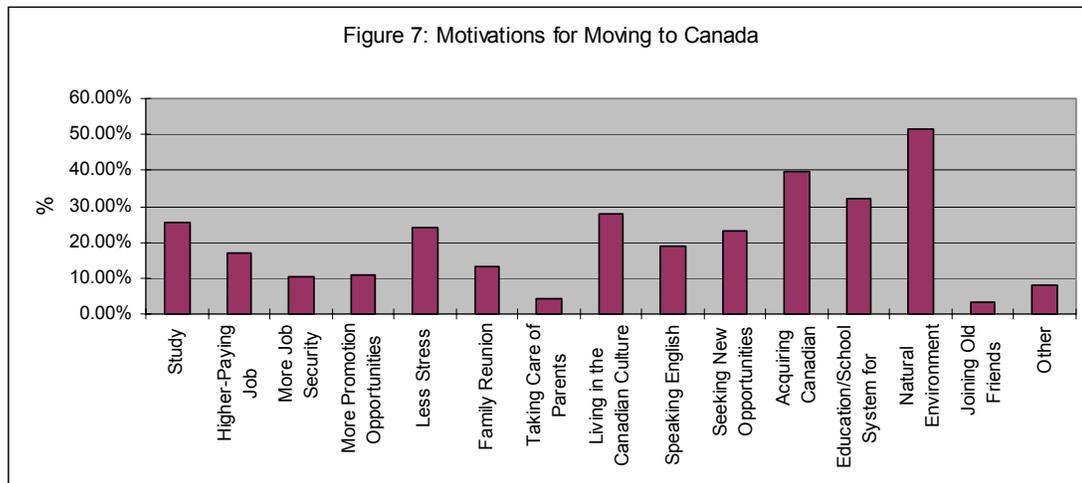
However, the length of time in residence in Canada (Figure 6) for our sampled population is on average short (7 years, 5 months) and this should hinder integration. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the Chinese immigrants sampled (75%) have been in residence greater than three years, which would explain this relatively high rate of early citizenship acquisition.<sup>4</sup>



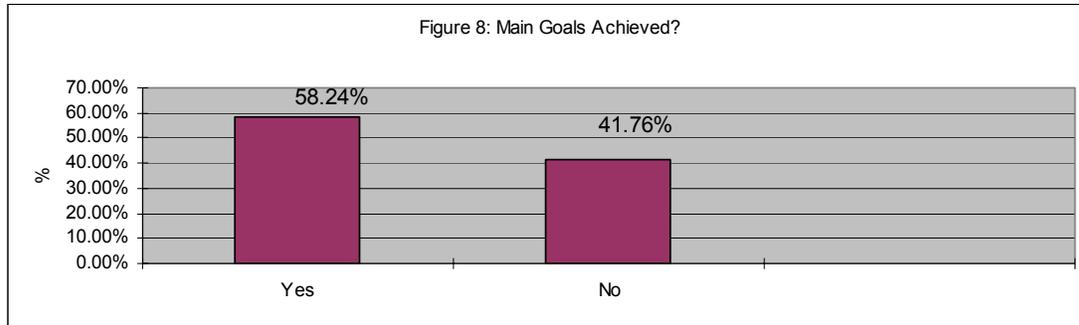
<sup>4</sup> Three years of continuous residence qualifies a permanent Canadian immigrant to apply for citizenship. In practice, citizenship acquisition requires at least four years in residence (DeVoretz and Pivnenko 2006)

### *Conditions Prior to and at Arrival in Canada*

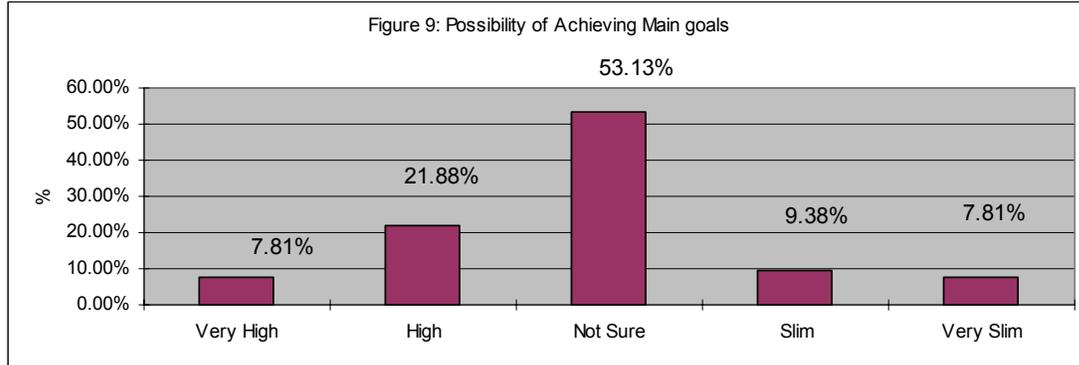
Why did this sampled Chinese group of immigrants move to Vancouver? Since our sampled group is young and married with permanent visa status we would anticipate that their motivations to move were long run and perhaps economic in nature. An inspection of Figure 7 indicates that, in fact, economic motivations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



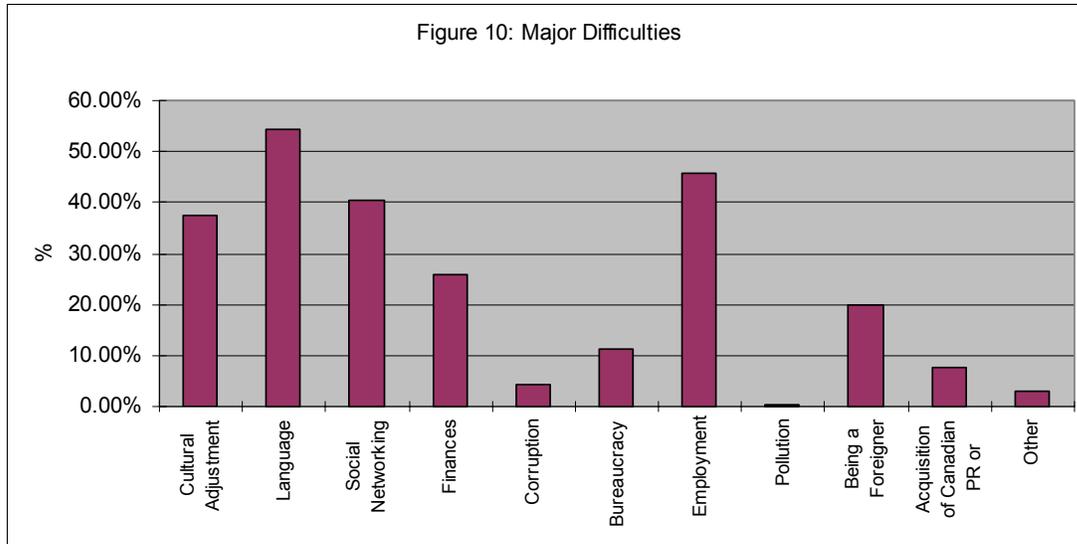
Given these motivations to move and remembering the average length of stay of this surveyed population was seven years, did these immigrants realize their defined goals?



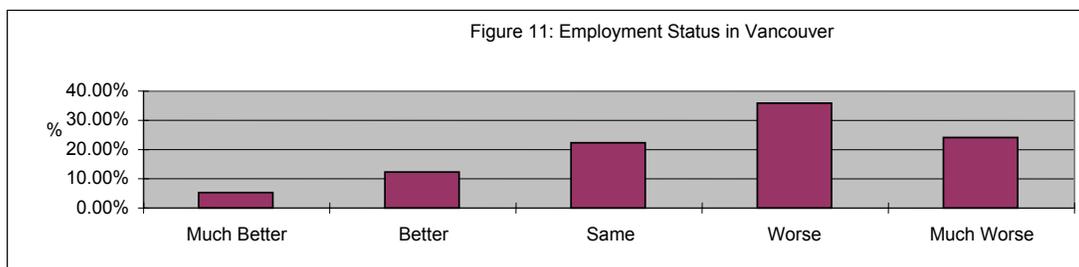
A majority (58.2%) did indicate in Figure 8 that they achieved their goals with only 42% indicating disappointment in not achieving their goals. Of those who did not achieve their goals there was less optimism with over 70% rating their chances of achieving their remaining goals as uncertain or slim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



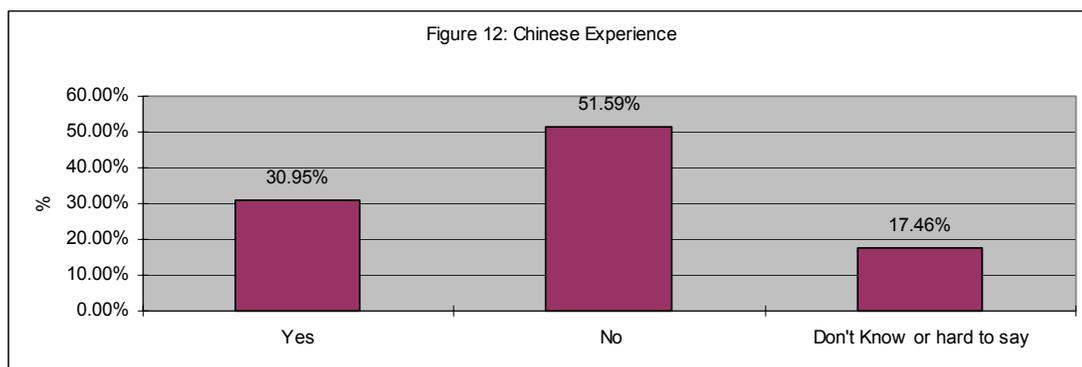
Given this uncertain status of achieving their goals it is not surprising that 74 percent of the surveyed population encountered difficulties after arrival (Figure 10) with language and employment being the most frequently cited barriers.



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



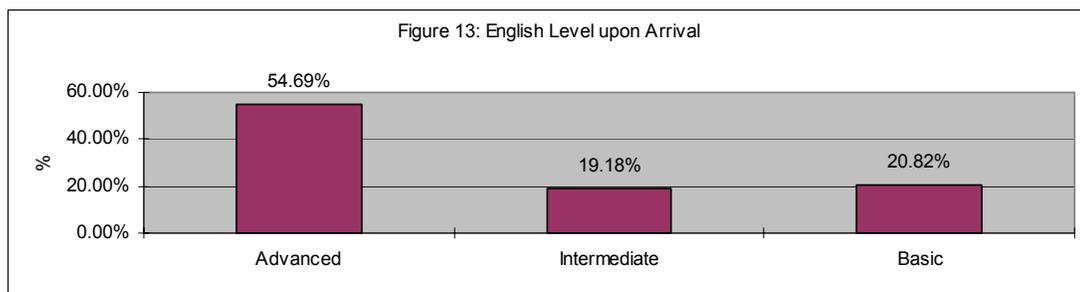
Over 60% of the Vancouver surveyed Chinese population indicated that their employment situation in Canada was worse than in China and only a minority (17%) perceived it as better (Figure 11). This finding is noteworthy since our data report that 72.54% have post-secondary education, among whom 26.76% have master's or doctoral degrees. Moreover, the majority felt that their Chinese experience was not helpful (Figure 12) in the Vancouver labour market.



**Table 1: Income Distribution in Vancouver (\$)**

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

These pessimistic responses are mirrored in their reported household incomes (Table 1) with over 60% of the surveyed households reporting earnings of less than \$31,000 with 44 percent reporting poverty level incomes of less than \$20,000.<sup>5</sup> Since the major difficulty cited in Figure 10 by the Chinese survey was language we also explore this impediment in detail below.



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

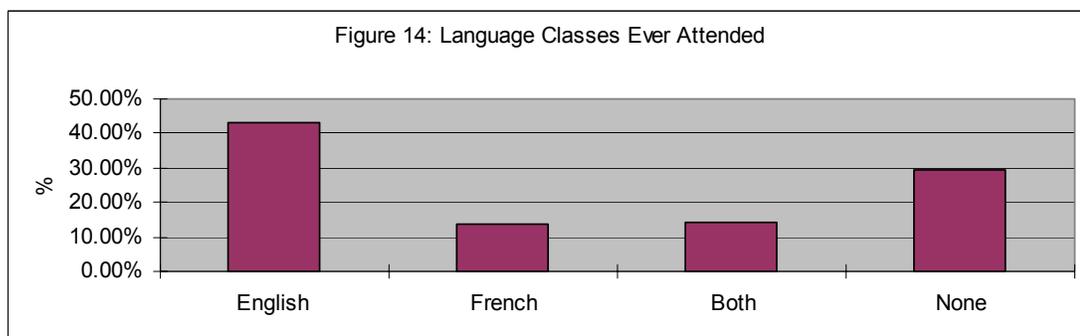
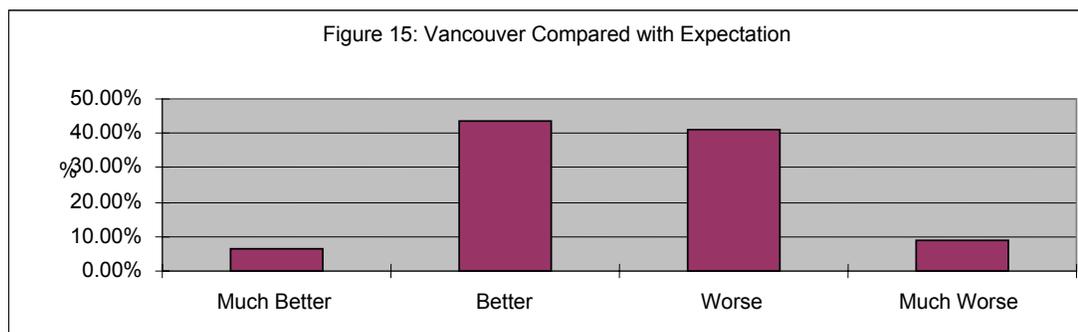


Figure 14 which notes the high number of Chinese students of English after arrival (70%) confirms our suspicions that their language skills were not as stated in Figure 13.

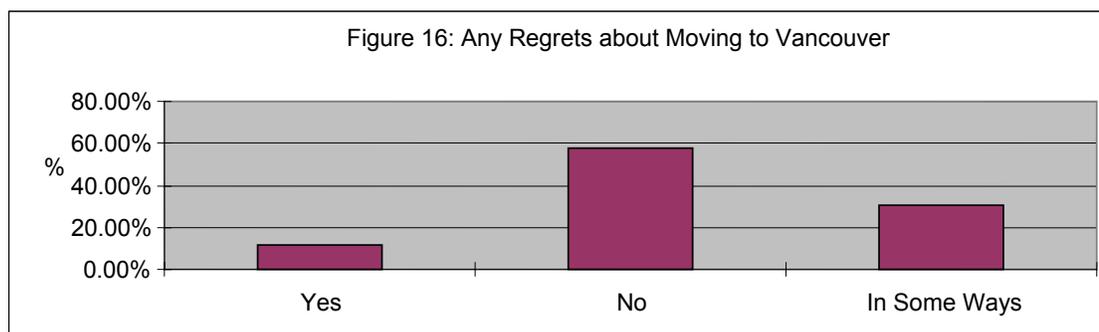
<sup>5</sup> These reported income levels of this highly skilled group is less than for refugees in Canada (DeVoretz and Pivnenko 2005).

### *Immigrant Assessment of Vancouver*

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



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



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

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

**Table 2:** Distribution of Organizations Visited in Vancouver

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

### *Logistic Regression Analysis*

In order to predict which groups of Vancouver resident Chinese are the most likely to leave Vancouver we offer a simulation exercise based on a logit analysis. The intuition at this point is to look at several questions which would indicate the subject's inherent willingness to stay or leave Vancouver. Next, we attempt through logit analysis to find what elements reported in the survey influence the respondents' answers to the question.<sup>6</sup> For example question 2.6, or: "*Did you achieve your main goals in Canada?*"

- a. *Yes*                      b. *No*                      c. *Don't know or hard to say*

allows an analysis of the determinants of the log odds of answering yes or no to this question.

We argue that the answer to question 2.6 takes the form of logistic function  $P(Y_i = 1 | X_i) = \frac{\exp(X_i\beta)}{1 + \exp(X_i\beta)}$  where  $P(Y_i = 1 | X_i)$  is a probability of observing a positive response from a sampled Chinese immigrant in Vancouver conditioned on a vector of explanatory variables  $X_i$ , which may influence the positive or negative answer. The independent variables that condition the log odds of answering yes or no are age, education (number of years of education), highest level of education (China or no China), number of years in Canada and the income level of the household. The vector of parameters was estimated by the Maximum Likelihood Method.

We report the results of the first stage of this analysis below in Table 3.

---

<sup>6</sup> We thank James Kwan for this insight.

**Table 3.** Logit analysis of Question 2.6

Variable	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
gender	-.0265758	.3430713	-0.08	0.938	-.6989831	.6458316
<b>ager</b>	<b>.0915444</b>	<b>.0227281</b>	<b>4.03</b>	<b>.0000</b>	<b>.0469982</b>	<b>1360906</b>
<b>marstc</b>	<b>-1.075407</b>	<b>.442433</b>	<b>-2.43</b>	<b>0.015</b>	<b>-1.94256</b>	<b>-.2082543</b>
educ	-.1298551	.1483841	-0.88	0.382	-.4206827	.1609725
<b>ecoun</b>	<b>-.9830421</b>	<b>.3580266</b>	<b>-2.75</b>	<b>0.006</b>	<b>-1.684761</b>	<b>-.2813229</b>
stay	-.0036086	.0058829	-0.61	0.540	-.0151388	.0079216
<b>incca</b>	<b>.0000398</b>	<b>9.69e-06</b>	<b>4.11</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>.0000208</b>	<b>.0000588</b>
_cons	-1.4748	1.052621	-1.40	0.161	-3.5379	.5882988

Notes: Number of observations = 203, Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = 0.2051

Age, marital status, educational location and household income all significantly conditioned the log odds of answering question 2.6 in the affirmative.<sup>7</sup> The older an immigrant (ager) and the greater his household income (incca) the greater the log odds of having achieved his goals whilst in Canada. The same is true for having a Canadian based education. On the other hand, if the individual was single the log odds of achieving his goal in Canada was lower.

We further explore the respondents answers to question 2.6 by analyzing through logistic analysis the answer to questions 2.6.2:

2.6.2 *If “no,” what is the possibility of achieving the main goals you set up for yourself for moving to Canada?*

With the following answers:

a. *Very high*      b. *High*      c. *Not sure*      d. *Slim*      e. *Very slim*

In this second stage for ease of analysis we regroup the answers to question 2.6.2 into three categories: (1) very high and high (2) not sure and (3) slim and very slim.<sup>8</sup> Now we perform a multinomial logit to determine which of above variables predict the log-odds of being in categories 1 to 3. In effect, this model attempts to predict which of these variables significantly influenced the log odds of those Chinese residents who did not realize their goals into staying (category 1) or leaving (category 3).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> If the null hypothesis is rejected then the coefficient is not equal to zero. For the coefficient to be significant than the z value should be greater than .85.

<sup>8</sup> This regrouping yielded sufficient cell sizes.

<sup>9</sup> The variables are defined in Appendix A

**Table 4.** Multinomial Logit Analysis of Questions 2.6.2

Prob.	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
<b>Panel A</b>						
gender	-.8146348	.5891944	-1.38	0.167	-1.969435	.340165
<b>ager</b>	-.0495149	.0449916	-1.10	0.271	-.1376968	.0386669
<b>marstc</b>	-.8659225	.5837881	-1.48	0.138	-2.010126	.2782811
educ	-.391581	.3036818	-1.29	0.197	-.9867864	.2036245
<b>ecoun</b>	.5143161	.6625057	0.78	0.438	-.7841712	1.812803
stay	-.0050016	.0079233	-0.63	0.528	-.0205309	.0105277
<b>incca</b>	<b>.0000462</b>	<b>.0000187</b>	<b>2.47</b>	<b>0.013</b>	<b>9.55e-06</b>	<b>.0000829</b>
_cons	3.617806	1.992609	1.82	0.069	-.287636	7.523249
<b>Panel B</b>						
gender	-1.186111	.7532696	-1.57	0.115	-2.662492	.2902706
<b>ager</b>	<b>.0841786</b>	<b>.0481696</b>	<b>1.75</b>	<b>0.081</b>	<b>-.010232</b>	<b>.1785892</b>
marstc	-.2980822	.4935453	-0.60	0.546	-1.265413	.6692489
educ	.035311	.2946566	0.12	0.905	-.5422053	.6128272
ecoun	-.8019126	.6916383	-1.16	0.246	-2.157499	.5536735
stay	-.0014764	.0037268	-0.40	0.692	-.0087808	.005828
incca	-.0000528	.0000446	-1.18	0.237	-.0001402	.0000347
_cons	-.1529204	2.594171	-0.06	0.953	-5.237402	4.931561

Notes: N=88 Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = 0.1757 with reference group as choice 2 or not sure

The majority of the variables reported in Table 4 are not significantly related to either being very optimistic about achieving their goals (Panel A) or very pessimistic about achieving their goals (Panel B). However, an increase in household income did significantly increase the log odds of stating that the log odds of being successful in the future were either very high or high. On the other hand, as the respondent aged the log odds of stating that the odds were slim grew significantly.

A second crucial question which could reveal the Chinese resident's intention to stay in Vancouver or leave is 3.11. This question states asks:

*“Compared with your situation in **China**, how would you describe your social life in **Canada**?”*

With the following possible answers:

- a. Much better      b. Better      c. Same      d. Worse      e. Much worse*

Which for purposes of our logit analysis were regrouped into three groups;

1. *Much Better/Better*

2. *Same*

3. *Worse/Much worse*

Table 5 panel A reports the significant effect (in bold) of variables collected from our Vancouver sample (N=203) on the log odds of being in category 2 (the same) versus 1 (Much better/better). The older (ager) the respondent the less likely would be the log odds that this person would report that he or she was much better or better off socially in Canada. If the respondent had a higher educational level (educ) which was obtained in Canada (ecoun) the log odds of being socially satisfied in Canada increased significantly. This was also true if the respondent was single (marstc).

**Table 5.** Multinomial Logit Analysis of Questions 3.11

Sstnca.	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
<b>Panel A. Comparison of category 2 to 1</b>						
2						
gender	.0094964	.3618503	0.03	0.979	-.6997171	.7187098
<b>ager</b>	<b>-.0492663</b>	<b>.0201535</b>	<b>-2.44</b>	<b>0.015</b>	<b>-.0887665</b>	<b>-.0097661</b>
<b>marstc</b>	<b>.2717483</b>	<b>.2658162</b>	<b>1.02</b>	<b>0.307</b>	<b>-.2492419</b>	<b>.7927385</b>
<b>educ</b>	<b>.3031285</b>	<b>.1535447</b>	<b>1.97</b>	<b>0.048</b>	<b>.0021864</b>	<b>.6040706</b>
<b>ecoun</b>	<b>.5431739</b>	<b>.3610247</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>0.132</b>	<b>-.1644214</b>	<b>1.250769</b>
stay	-.0042336	.00564	-0.75	0.453	-.0152878	.0068206
incca	-6.17e-07	9.23e-06	-0.07	0.947	-.0000187	.0000175
_cons	-.4858698	1.18561	-0.41	0.682	-2.809623	1.837883
<b>Panel B: Comparison of category 2 to 3</b>						
gender	-.1985158	.4321508	-0.46	0.646	-1.045516	.6484843
<b>ager</b>	<b>-.1121822</b>	<b>.0292965</b>	<b>-3.83</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>-.1696023</b>	<b>-.0547621</b>
<b>marstc</b>	<b>.5432876</b>	<b>.3374052</b>	<b>1.61</b>	<b>0.107</b>	<b>-.1180144</b>	<b>1.20459</b>
<b>educ</b>	<b>.2239037</b>	<b>.190089</b>	<b>1.18</b>	<b>0.239</b>	<b>-.1486639</b>	<b>.5964713</b>
<b>ecoun</b>	<b>.525899</b>	<b>.4407227</b>	<b>1.19</b>	<b>0.233</b>	<b>-.3379015</b>	<b>1.3897</b>
stay	-.0038618	.0060732	-0.64	0.525	-.015765	.0080414
incca	6.63e-06	.0000107	0.62	0.534	-.0000143	0000275
_cons	1.020565	1.358957	0.75	0.453	-1.642942	3.684073

Notes: N=203 Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = 0.08

An identical pattern of results are reported in Panel B. This indicates that the log odds of moving from being much worse (or worse) socially in Canada relative to an identical standing vis-à-vis China is significantly affected by the same variables of age, marital status and education.

In sum, this logit analysis of the answers to questions 2.6 and 2.6.2 indicates that the answers to our survey captured many of the salient features of why Vancouver Chinese residents circa 2005 felt they had achieved their goals or not. However, the factors that conditioned the likelihood of success in the future were not well reflected in the answers to question 2.6.2. In addition, the survey questions also rationalized the log odds of being more or less socially satisfied after moving from China to Canada.

### ***Suggestions from Immigrants***

Recognizing the fact that the previous sections had limited space for participants to express their opinions in detail, we included two open-ended questions in the questionnaire:

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

*2) Is there anything both the Canadian and Chinese governments could do in cooperation to better help Chinese immigrants?*

We received 145 entries to these open ended questions. Responses concerning what the Canadian government can do are organized into two major categories: pre-landing immigration and post-landing settlement actions. Many people suggested that immigrant settlement should start before immigrants landed in Canadian soil. One respondent said: “[The] Canadian government should go to China to let those who want to emigrate to Canada better understand Canada.” Another suggested to: “Hold classes in China to help immigrants adjust to the life in Canada.” Still another commented that Canada should: “Help immigrants to know the difference between the two countries from all aspects as early as possible.”

Some people feel misinformed about Canada before applying for immigration. Therefore, many of them suggested that the Canadian government: “Provide Chinese people a more realistic view of Canada.” “Canadian government should tell people in advance of all difficulties they may encounter in Canada in the near future and help them prepare for it.” And “Inform potential immigrants that their qualifications may not be recognized by Canadian society.”

A few respondents also commented on the application process. One respondent suggested to: “Speed up the processing time of immigration applications.” Another one said: “Improve immigration

*application and management*’ while others suggested to: “*Encourage international graduates to immigrate to Canada.*”

Suggestions concerning post-landing settlement are mainly concentrated in four areas: 1) employment, 2) the recognition of Chinese credentials and work experience, 3) provision of English training programs, and 4) settlement services. In particular, many people are concerned with their unemployment and underemployment situations. Some people suggested government intervention to: “*Provide more training and employment opportunities,*” or to: “*Fund immigrants to find a job or start own business.*”

Some respondents also made concrete suggestions, such as: “*Create and introduce more internship or co-op opportunities so that new immigrants can obtain their first North American experience to find a job they like,*” or: “*Help local companies to hire new immigrants by providing funding/incentive.*”

Many respondents attributed their unemployment and underemployment to non-recognition of Chinese credentials and work experience. Some commented that: “*Immigrants are underemployed because their educational levels are not recognized;*” or that: “*‘Canadian experience’ is a racist excuse,*” and “*The federal government needs to cooperate with professional associations (such as establishing committees) to keep immigrants [in Canada].*”

Furthermore, people made numerous comments about English programs. Many respondents feel that current English classes do not meet the needs of immigrant professionals and that wait time to enrol in Vancouver is long. Some people specifically commented on the Host Program and funding for community organizations. Sample comments include: “*Improve services for immigrants and provide help when there are difficulties,*” “*Need more programs like the Host Program,*” and “*Give more funds to organizations such as SUCCESS to help more immigrants systematically, provide permanent rather than temporary service.*”

Some respondents felt that cooperation between the Canadian and Chinese governments could help Chinese immigrants integrate and argued that “dual citizenship” or the emanation of visa would help the free flow of Chinese immigrants.

These suggestions, while often politically naïve, reveal the multidimensional nature of the challenges facing Chinese immigrants in Vancouver.

## Conclusions

The primary aim of this research project was to better understand what motivated Chinese immigrants resident in Vancouver circa 2004-05 to stay or move. In particular, we interviewed that portion of the Chinese Vancouver immigrant community that would be prone to move. Our Web-based survey, supplemented with in-person interviews, produced 322 respondents in the economically active group (20-60) who had higher levels of education and putatively good English language skills.<sup>10</sup> In addition, those surveyed were relatively recent arrivals (7 years in residence), predominantly from Mainland China, who were largely married with permanent residency status in Canada. Given this background to the survey population it is especially relevant to ask how well-integrated this most recent Chinese immigrant group felt in Vancouver with respect to several key measures. Did they achieve their original goals prior to moving and if not what were the perceived impediments?

This surveyed resident group definitely had a long-term time horizon if we reflect on their motivations to emigrate to Vancouver. They came to Canada to become Canadian citizens, enjoy the natural environment and educate their children. Superficially these motivations appear to reflect the traditional goals of Canada's past immigration flows whose intention was to remain permanently in Canada. However, there exists another interpretation that is more consistent with the work of DeVoretz, Ma and Zhang (2003), which suggests that these motivations are those of sojourner immigrants who, when faced with short-term economic exigencies, may later be tempted to leave Vancouver. The key sequence of events in the triangular migration model are the arrival of immigrants to an entrepôt country such as Canada who then begin to equip themselves with subsidized education and citizenship to hedge against future movement.

This interpretation mirrors the findings for the surveyed Vancouver Chinese immigrant group. The necessary conditions for the triangle model to hold (citizenship acquisition and human capital accumulation) are fulfilled by many of the Chinese residents in Vancouver. However, if these necessary conditions are supplemented by weak (strong) economic outcomes in Canada (China or the rest of the world) then later onward movement will occur to complete the triangle.

In fact, the reported poor employment prospects of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, the devaluation of both their acquired Chinese education and their labour market experience and finally their low incomes all fulfill the necessary conditions for this group to move on as predicted by the triangular model. Faced with these dire economic circumstances these surveyed Chinese immigrants

---

<sup>10</sup> The in-person interviews were conducted to provide an insight into the difficulties inherent in the Web-based survey and to supplant the small number of Cantonese speakers who responded to the Web-based survey in Vancouver.

in Vancouver did exactly what the triangular model would predict. They invested in themselves with subsidized public goods with 70% of the adults reporting further language training, acquiring citizenship and educating their children. Thus, this penultimate prediction of the triangular model of extensive human capital acquisition would suggest that our surveyed Chinese immigrants experienced deep dissatisfaction with Canada and planned to move on. In fact 50% of the respondents felt they were worse off in Vancouver than in China. Thus, we predict that both the necessary and sufficient conditions exist for a continued large-scale emigration of the post-998 Chinese immigrant arrivals from the PRC to Vancouver.

Key to this study is to understand what factors allowed these Chinese residents to realize their goals. An analysis of our econometric results indicates marital status, obtaining the last degree outside of China and having a high income all increased the respondent's likelihood of realizing their goals and being socially satisfied while in Vancouver.<sup>11</sup> This will presumably enhance the probability that this type of immigrants will stay in Vancouver. It is important to note that none of these conditioning factors except, possibly the educational location of their highest degree, is amenable to Canadian policy makers' actions.

Moreover, for those who have not achieved their goals and presumably would be likely to leave, only an increase in household income increases their log odds of feeling optimistic about achieving their goals in the near future. Again, this variable is not directly amenable to public policy action. However, government action to expedite credential recognition could increase both their employment prospects and their eventual income. Thus, there appear to be two indirect policy measures to stem the tide of pessimism of this group with respect to achieving their goals, and without credential recognition or local educational earned degrees we should expect a continued exodus of Vancouver Chinese immigrants from the resident population. .

However, it should be noted that they will leave with few regrets (17%) which is not inconsistent with an immigrant group who did not intend to stay but came to acquire human capital and citizenship to later move on.

---

<sup>11</sup> Being single reduced the log odds of realizing your goals while the opposite was true for your degree of social satisfaction in Canada.

### Appendix A Variable Definitions For Logit Analysis

Variable Name	Variable Definition	Operational Definition
Gender	Male or Female	Male=1 Female=2
Ager	Respondent's age	Age= Midpoint of interval
MARSTC	Marital Status	Single=1 Married=2 Separated=3 Divorced=4 Widowed=5 Common=6
EDUC	Respondent's Highest level	<high school =1 H.S.=2 Diploma=3 BA=4 MA=5 Ph.d=6
ECOUN	Location of Highest Degree	2=Canada 1=China 0=Other
Stay	Months since arrival	
Income	Income in intervals	Midpoint of interval
SSTNCA	Compared to China how is Your social life in Canada ?	Much Better=1 Better=1 Same=2, Worse=3 Much Worse=3

## References

- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 1998. The Economic Performance of Immigrants: Immigration Category Perspective. IMDB Profile Series.
- DeVoretz, D.J., and J. Ma. 2002. Triangular human capital flows between sending, entrepôt and the rest of the world regions. *Canadian Population Studies* 29 (1): 53-69.
- DeVoretz, D.J., Ma, J., and K. Zhang. 2003. Triangular human capital flows: Some empirical evidence from Hong Kong. In *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants*, ed. J.G. Reitz, 469-92. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California.
- DeVoretz, D.J., and K. Zhang. 2004. Citizenship, passports and the brain exchange triangle. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 6 (2): 199-212.
- DeVoretz, D.J., and S. Pivnenko. 2005. The economic experiences of refugees in Canada. In *Homeland Wanted: Interdisciplinary Perspective on Refugee Settlement in the West*, ed. P. Waxman and V. Colic-Peisker, Ch. 1. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- . 2006. The economics of Canadian citizenship. *Journal of Immigration and Integration*. Forthcoming.
- Knowles, V. 1997. *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Kotkin, J. 1993. *Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the Global Economy*. New York: Random House.
- Ley, D., and A. Kobayashi. 2005. Back in Hong Kong: Return migration or transnational sojourn? RIIM Working Paper Series No. 05-09. Vancouver Centre of Excellence.
- Li, P.S. 1998. *The Chinese in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Ma, Z. and Tian, Z. 2006. Explaining socio-economic well-being of immigrants and returned migrants: An econometric analysis of the Hong Kong and Canadian 2001 censuses. RIIM Working Paper Series No. 06-01. Vancouver Centre of Excellence.
- Statistics Canada. 2003. *2001 Census: Analysis Series*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Tan, J., and P.E. Roy. 1985. *The Chinese in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Tseng, Y.F. 2001. New patterns of Taiwanese emigration: Capital-linked migration and its importance for economic development. In *Understanding Modern Taiwan: Essays in Economics, Politics and Social Policy*, ed. C. Aspalter. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Wallis, D. 1998. Beijing makes it happen. *Vis-à-Vis* Fall: 4-8.
- Whitaker, R. 1991. *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Wong, S.L. 1992. *Emigration and stability in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong.

<b>No.</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
03-01	David Ley	Offsetting Immigration and Domestic Migration I Gateway Cities: Canadian and Australian Reflections on an 'American Dilemma'	01/03
03-02	Don DeVoretz and Kangqing Zhang	Citizenship, Passports and the Brain Exchange Triangle	01/03
03-03	Johanna L. Waters and Sin Yih Teo	Social and Cultural Impacts of Immigration: An Examination of the Concept of 'Social Cohesion' with Implications for British Columbia	01/03
03-04	June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, and Marela Dichupa	"Do you know your language?" How Teachers of Punjabi and Chinese Ancestries Construct their Family Languages in their Personal and Professional Lives	01/03
03-05	Daniel Hiebert, Jock Collins, and Paul Spoonley	Uneven Globalization: Neoliberal Regimes, Immigration, and Multiculturalism in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand	02/03
03-06	Daniel Hiebert	Are Immigrants Welcome? Introducing the Vancouver Community Studies Survey	03/03
03-07	Yan Shi	The Impact of Canada's Immigration Act on Chinese Independent Immigrants	04/03
03-08	Roger Andersson	Settlement Dispersal of Immigrants and Refugees in Europe: Policy and Outcomes	03/03
03-09	Daniel Hiebert and Ravi Pendakur	Who's Cooking? The Changing Ethnic Division of Labour in Canada, 1971-1996	03/03
03-10	Serviy Pivnenko and Don DeVoretz	Economic Performance of Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada and the United States	03/03
03-11	Don J. DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, Diane Coulombe	The Immigrant Triangle: Québec, Canada and the Rest of the World	05/03
03-12	David W. Edgington, Michael A. Goldberg, and Thomas A. Hutton	The Hong Kong Chinese in Vancouver	04/03
03-13	Margaret Walton-Roberts and Geraldine Pratt	Mobile Modernities: One South Asian Family Negotiates Immigration, Gender and Class	09/03
03-14	Leonie Sandercock	Rethinking Multiculturalism for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century	10/03
03-15	Daniel Hiebert and David Ley	Characteristics of Immigrant Transnationalism in Vancouver	10/03
03-16	Sin Yih Teo	Imagining Canada: The Cultural Logics of Migration Amongst PRC Immigrants	10/03
03-17	Daniel Hiebert, Lisa Oliver and Brian Klinkenberg	Immigration and Greater Vancouver: A 2001 Census Atlas (Online format only)	10/03
03-18	Geraldine Pratt (in collaboration with The Philippine Women Centre)	From Migrant to Immigrant: Domestic Workers Settle in Vancouver, Canada	11/03

<b>No.</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
03-19	Paul Spoonley	The Labour Market Incorporation of Immigrants in Post-Welfare New Zealand	11/03
03-20	Leonie Sandercock	Integrating Immigrants: The Challenge for Cities, City Governments, and the City-Building Professions	12/03
04-01	Rosa Sevy and John Torpey	Commemoration, Redress, and Reconciliation in the Integration of Immigrant Communities: The Cases of Japanese-Canadians and Japanese-Americans	02/04
04-02	Don DeVoretz and Sergiy Pivnenko	Immigrant Public Finance Transfers: A Comparative Analysis by City	02/04
04-03	Margaret Walton-Roberts	Regional Immigration and Dispersal: Lessons from Small- and Medium-sized Urban Centres in British Columbia	02/04
04-04	Don J. DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, and Morton Beiser	The Economic Experiences of Refugees in Canada	02/04
04-05	Isabel Dyck	Immigration, Place and Health: South Asian Women's Accounts of Health, Illness and Everyday Life	02/04
04-06	Kathy Sherrell, Jennifer Hyndman and Fisnik Preniqi	Sharing the Wealth, Spreading the "Burden"? The Settlement of Kosovar Refugees in Smaller B.C. Cities	02/04
04-07	Nicolas Marceau and Steeve Mongrain	Interjurisdictional Competition in Law Enforcement	03/04
04-08	Shibao Guo	Responding to the Changing Needs of the Chinese Community in Vancouver: The Contribution of SUCCESS (1973-1998)	04/04
04-09	Amanda Aizlewood and Ravi Pendakur	Ethnicity and Social Capital in Canada	04/04
04-10	Kathy Sherrell and Jennifer Hyndman	Global Minds, Local Bodies: Kosovar Transnational Connections Beyond British Columbia	05/04
04-11	Krishna Pendakur and Ravi Pendakur	Colour my World: Has the Minority-Majority Earnings Gap Changed over Time?	05/04
04-12	Leonie Sandercock with Leslie Dickout and Ranja Winkler	The Quest for an Inclusive City: An Exploration of Sri Lankan Tamil Experience of Integration in Toronto and Vancouver	05/04
04-13	Don DeVoretz	Immigration Policy: Methods of Economic Assessment	06/04
04-14	Min-Jung Kwak	An Exploration of the Korean-Canadian Community in Vancouver	07/04
04-15	Daniel Hiebert and Min-Jung Kwak	Transnational Economies of Export Education	07/04
04-16	Harald Bauder	Attitudes Towards Work: Ethnic Minorities and Immigrant Groups in Vancouver	07/04
04-17	Leslie Dickout	The Quest to Negotiate Equitable Civic Engagement: Response of Toronto's Sri Lankan Tamil Community to Social Development Planning in Canada's Largest Multicultural Metropolis	08/04



<b>No.</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
04-18	Zheng Wu and Christoph M. Schimmele	Immigrant Status and Unmet Health Care Needs in British Columbia	08/04
04-19	Jennifer Hyndman and Nadine Schuurman	Size Matters: Attracting new Immigrants to Canadian Cities	10/04
04-20	Heather A. Smith	The Evolving Relationship between Immigrant Settlement and Neighbourhood Disadvantage in Canadian Cities, 1991-2001	10/04
04-21	Don J. DeVoretz and Sergiy Pivnenko	The Economic Causes and Consequences of Canadian Citizenship	11/04
04-22	Kenny Zhang and Minghuan Li	To Stay or to Move? Chinese Migrant Workers in Cities	12/04
05-01	David Ley	Indicators of Entrepreneurial Success among Business Immigrants in Canada	01/05
05-02	Diane Dagenais and Patricia Lamarre	Representations of Language among Multilingual Youth in Two Canadian Cities	01/05
05-03	Kelleen Toohey and Natalia Gajdamaschko	Communities of Practice, Figured Worlds and Learning Initiative in the Second Language Education of Immigrant Students	01/05
05-04	Kelleen Toohey	Assigning Marginality: The Case of an “ESL/learning Disabled” Student	01/05
05-05	Loren B. Landau	Urbanization, Nativism, and the Rule of Law in South Africa’s ‘Forbidden’ Cities	01/05
05-06	Gillian Creese	Negotiating Belonging: Bordered Spaces and Imagined Communities in Vancouver, Canada	01/05
05-07	Don J. DeVoretz and Sergiy Pivnenko	Self-Selection, Immigrant Public Finance Performance and Canadian Citizenship	02/05
05-08	Shibao Guo and Don J. DeVoretz	The Changing Faces of Chinese Immigrants in Canada	02/05
05-09	David Ley and Audrey Kobayashi	Back in Hong Kong: Return Migration or Transnational Sojourn?	04/05
05-10	Krishna Pendakur and Ravi Pendakur	Ethnic Identity and the Labour Market	05/05
05-11	Krishna Pendakur	Visible Minorities in Canada’s Workplaces: A Perspective on the 2017 Projection	05/05
05-12	Krishna Pendakur	Visible Minorities and Aboriginals in Vancouver’s Labour Market	05/05

<b>No.</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
05-13	Harald Bauder	Immigrants' Attitudes towards Self-Employment: The Significance of Ethnic Origin, Rural and Urban Background and Labour Market Context	06/05
05-14	Daniel Hiebert	Migration and the Demographic Transformation of Canadian Cities: The Social Geography of Canada's Major Metropolitan Centres in 2017	06/05
05-15	Zheng Wu and Christoph M. Schimmele	Health Care Utilization of Later-Stage Immigrants in British Columbia	06/05
05-16	June Beynon, Linda Larocque, Roumiana Ilieva, and Diane Dagenais	A Sociocultural and Critical Analysis of Educational Policies and Programs for Minority Youth in British Columbia	06/05
05-S1	Jamie Doucette	An Annotated Bibliography of RIIM Publications Related to the Settlement Services Sector of Greater Vancouver, 1996-2004	06/05
05-17	Don J. DeVoretz and Florin P. Vadean	A Model of Foreign-Born Transfers: Evidence from Canadian Micro Data	08/05
05-18	David Ley	Post-Multiculturalism?	09/05
05-19	Chen Bo	A Model in Brain Drain and Circulation	10/05

**For information on papers previous to 2003, please see our Website**

**<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research/policy>**

**Back issues of working papers are available for \$5 from**

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: Immigration, WMX4653, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C, Canada V5A 1S6. Tel: (604) 291-4575 Fax: (604) 291-5336

E-mail: [riim@sfu.ca](mailto:riim@sfu.ca)

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/>