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FLOWS OF PEOPLE AND THE CANADA-CHINA RELATIONSHIP

Kenny Zhang

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The movement of people between Canada and China flows in two directions. China has become the leading source of immigrants to Canada, and one of the most important sources of students and tourists. At the same time, China has become a major magnet for Canadians (and other nationalities) in their search for better job opportunities and education.

The same economic forces that have transformed China's place in global production, trade and finance have also affected human resources. China is no longer an exporter of labour but has become a magnet in attracting foreign talent. The popular perception that immigrants to Canada who return to their native countries have "failed" or are "opportunists" is misguided.

The Chinese community in Canada has changed, is changing and will continue to change in many ways that will have profound impacts on Canada-China relations. What the Chinese Canadian community looks like today is as diversified within the group as the diversity in Canadian society as a whole. Chinese Canadians are more visible in certain locations, schools, occupations and industries. This poses new challenges for Canada and all Canadians in terms of understanding Chinese communities as part of Canada's multicultural society and not as a homogenous group.

Nor can Canada afford to ignore a growing body of Canadians, native-born or naturalized, who choose to live in China, an emerging global powerhouse. More fundamentally, Canadian communities in China can play an important role and potentially be of great benefit to Canada.

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

Canada must embrace a forward-looking China policy if it is to take advantage of its Canadian diaspora living in China and the growing number of talented individuals from China who choose to make Canada their home. Canada will increasingly have to compete with other nations to attract Chinese immigrants, and with China as a destination for workers and international students.

Of all the reasons for Canada to have a robust and forward-looking China policy, people-to-people linkages is arguably the most fundamental. Currently, the flow of people between Canada and China is unmatched by any other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) country.

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

RÉSUMÉ

La circulation des personnes entre le Canada et la Chine se fait dans les deux sens. La Chine est ainsi devenue la première source d'immigrants au Canada et l'une de ses principales sources de touristes et d'étudiants, tout en attirant un nombre grandissant de Canadiens (et de citoyens d'autres nationalités) en quête de meilleures perspectives d'emploi et d'éducation.

Or les forces économiques qui ont transformé le rôle de la Chine dans l'environnement mondial de la production, du commerce et des finances ont également agi sur les ressources humaines. C'est ainsi que la Chine n'est plus exportatrice de main-d'œuvre mais qu'elle attire plutôt des talents étrangers. De sorte que la perception selon laquelle les immigrants établis au Canada qui retournent dans leur pays natal ont « échoué » ou ont agi par « opportunisme » ne correspond pas à la réalité.

La communauté chinoise du Canada a changé et continuera de changer de multiples façons qui auront toutes une incidence profonde sur les relations canado-chinoises. Elle est aujourd'hui tout aussi diversifiée de l'intérieur que l'ensemble de la société canadienne. La visibilité des Canadiens chinois est particulièrement évidente dans certains lieux, établissements scolaires, emplois et industries, ce qui soulève pour le Canada et l'ensemble de sa population de nouveaux défis liés à la compréhension de la communauté chinoise comme élément de la société multiculturelle canadienne et non plus comme groupe homogène.

Le Canada ne peut non plus se permettre d'ignorer le nombre croissant de Canadiens de naissance ou naturalisés qui choisissent de vivre dans une Chine qui est aujourd'hui une puissance mondiale émergente, et d'autant moins que ces Canadiens peuvent jouer un rôle important et potentiellement très profitable au Canada.

La circulation des personnes entre les deux pays prendra de plus en plus la forme de déplacements bilatéraux de citoyens transnationaux qui entretiennent des liens personnels, commerciaux et affectifs des deux côtés du Pacifique. Et si de nombreux défis découlent de l'existence de diasporas au pays et à l'étranger, ce phénomène international de mobilité de la main-d'œuvre – surtout de travailleurs très doués et parfois de spécialistes réputés – ne fera que s'accroître. Sur le plan politique, l'enjeu consiste donc à privilégier une vision globale et multi-générationnelle des citoyens transnationaux plutôt qu'à considérer la mobilité internationale comme un problème.

D'où l'importance pour le Canada d'adopter à l'égard de la Chine une politique tournée vers l'avenir qui met à profit la diaspora canadienne en Chine tout autant que le nombre croissant de Chinois talentueux qui choisissent de s'établir au Canada. Car le Canada fera de plus en plus concurrence à d'autres pays désireux d'attirer des immigrants chinois, de même qu'avec la Chine elle-même en tant que destination de travailleurs et d'étudiants internationaux.

Des nombreuses raisons plaident en faveur d'une politique canadienne solide et prospective à l'égard de la Chine, dont la plus fondamentale réside sans doute dans les liens de personne à personne. À l'heure actuelle, la circulation des personnes entre le Canada et la Chine est en effet plus importante que pour tout autre pays de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE).

De ce point de vue, le capital humain canado-chinois est un pôle d'attraction indispensable aux relations entre Pékin et Ottawa. À l'heure où de nombreux pays cherchent à conclure des ententes de commerce et d'investissement avec la Chine, le Canada se donnerait un avantage clé en explorant les possibilités d'un accord relatif à ce capital humain. Un accord qui pourrait englober des questions comme la citoyenneté, les visas, l'éducation, la formation, les accréditations professionnelles, la sécurité sociale, la fiscalité et même l'extradition. Compte tenu des nombreux Canadiens et Chinois qui entretiennent des liens profonds de part et d'autre du Pacifique, ces questions bilatérales deviendront dans les prochaines années des enjeux d'une importance grandissante pour Pékin et Ottawa. Aussi devons-nous sans tarder envisager ces enjeux de façon globale afin de transformer tout problème qui pourrait en découler en avantage concurrentiel propice à l'approfondissement des relations canado-chinoises.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Kenny Zhang is a Senior Project Manager at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, which was created by an Act of Parliament in 1984, as an independent, not-for-profit think-tank on Canada's relations with Asia. The Foundation functions as a knowledge broker, bringing together people and knowledge to provide current and comprehensive research, analysis and information on Canada's transpacific relations. It promotes dialogue on economic, security, political and social issues, fostering informed decision-making in the Canadian public, private and non-governmental sectors. The Foundation also provides grants to support policy research and informed discussion on Canada's relations with Asia.

Mr. Zhang joined the Foundation in January 2003 and specializes in China and immigration topics. His main research interests include Canada-China trade and investment relations, economics of immigration of Canada with a focus on Canadians abroad. Mr. Zhang received his BA and MA degrees in economics from Fudan University, China and the Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands, respectively. Prior to joining the Foundation, he worked as associate research professor at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and senior researcher at the Centre of Excellence on Immigration Studies at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

Mr. Zhang is on the Board of Directors of Canada China Business Council (BC Chapter). He has been a member of Vancouver Mayor's Task Force on Immigration since 2005. He is also member on the Joint Federal Provincial Immigration Advisory Council and Immigrant Employment Council of British Columbia.

Mr. Zhang can be contacted by email: kenny.zhang@asiapacific.ca

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INTRODUCTION

The movement of people across international borders has significant implications for international relations. Today, the flow of people between Canada and China has become varied and complex, reflecting changing economic and social circumstances in the two economies and the evolving relationship between Canada and China.

China is a major source country for immigrants to Canada. The concentration of Chinese immigrants in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal has implications not only in terms of their settlement and integration but also for shaping foreign policy. Diaspora politics and transnational business networks have the potential to affect Canada-China relations in ways that are generally not well understood. Furthermore, a sizable community of Canadian citizens has moved to live in Greater China.¹ The push and pull factors of "Canadians Abroad," who number around 600,000 in Asia and about 2.8 million globally,² are also not well understood but have profound implications for citizenship, consular services, public finance, healthcare, border security, international business, research and innovation and more.

EMERGING TRENDS

1. Increasing the Flow of People from China to Canada

Immigrants

China has become the leading source country of newcomers to Canada since 1998. However, Chinese immigration to Canada dates back to 1788 when the first Chinese settled in Canada.³ The history of Chinese immigrants in Canada and their contribution to nation building is well documented.⁴ Over the last two decades, Canada has welcomed on average about 24,000 new immigrants from China each year, about 10 percent of the 220,000 new immigrants that arrive in Canada annually.⁵

Since 1989, the number of new immigrants from the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) each year has nearly tripled, growing from less than 10,000 a year to a peak of over 40,000 in 2005. Those numbers fell to about 30,000 annually in 2006 and 2007, but bounced back up again in 2008 with a year-on-year increase of 9 percent to 29,336 (see Figure 1).

Between 1998 and 2008, an estimated 363,760 Chinese nationals emigrated to Canada, accounting for 14 percent of all new immigrants.

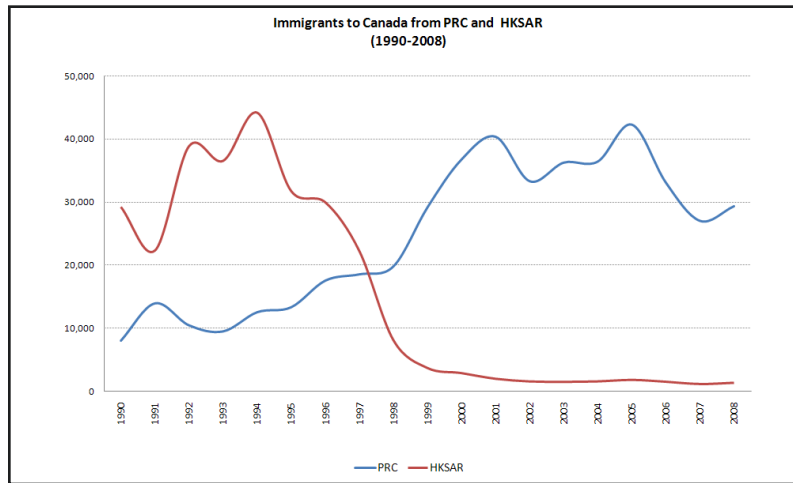
1 Greater China is a term used to refer to commercial ties and cultural interactions among ethnic Chinese. Usage of the term here includes only mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.

2 Don DeVoretz, "Canada's Secret Province: 2.8 Million Canadians Abroad," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Project Paper Series #09-5, October 29, 2009, http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/PP_09_5_DD_estimate_0.pdf (Accessed April 30, 2010).

3 CBC News Online, June 10, 2004.

4 Wai-man Lee, *Portraits of a Challenge: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Canadians* (Toronto: The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, 1984).

5 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview," Various years, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp> (Accessed September 22, 2009).

Figure 1

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview." Various years.

There was a small uptick in immigration from China following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 when the Canadian government granted all Chinese citizens in Canada landed immigrant status. Since then, the annual inflow of Chinese immigrants has enjoyed a steady increase. It further grew in the mid-1990s when the Canadian government started accepting applications from skilled workers in the PRC through its Point System.⁶

The terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 fundamentally changed immigration patterns to Canada. Just two months after the tragedy, Canada amended its Immigration Act to speed up the implementation of security measures, which in turn slowed down the processing of all new applications, including those from the PRC. As a result, the number of arrivals from China fell by 10-18 percent between 2002 and 2004.

Immigration from China reached a peak of 42,292 in 2005 after the Canadian government lowered the pass-mark in its Federal Skilled Worker program from 75 points to 67.⁷ Since 2005, however, a backlog of applications in the skilled worker category has developed and the number of immigrants has tapered off. This has also been due to increasing employment opportunities in China and ridiculously long waiting times. Many applicants, for example, have had to wait for as long as six years in China before they are told whether they qualify to move to Canada.

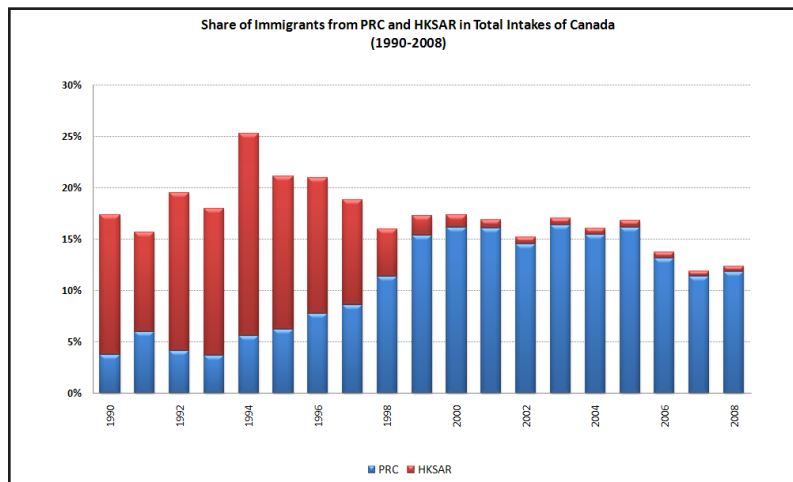
In 2008, Canada attempted to streamline its immigration system in order to process applicants faster. Some of the most notable reforms included eliminating Citizenship and Immigration Canada's obligation to process every application and granting the Minister of Immigration the power to issue instructions to immigration officers as to whether applications could be processed or not. The effects were dramatic: new arrivals from China surged 8.6 percent in 2008. (By contrast, the number of all immigrants to Canada that year rose a year-on-year 4.4 percent.)

⁶ A system introduced in 1967, the Point System is used to assess the eligibility of applications from skilled workers and professionals according to a set of criteria designed by the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism.

⁷ "New Point Qualification for Canada," Immigration and Visas International, September 18, 2003, <http://www.immigrationandvisas.com/canada/canadanew-passmark.htm> (Accessed April 23, 2010).

What is interesting to note is that immigration from Hong Kong and mainland China took on very different characteristics. Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of China on July 1, 1997 under the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Between 1984 and 2008, an average of 14,500 immigrants moved from Hong Kong to Canada each year for a total of 362,522 immigrants. Nearly 93 percent (335,646) of all Hong Kong immigrants emigrated to Canada between 1984 and 1997, while just 7 percent (26,876) arrived in the post-1997 period. In other words, the average number of Hong Kong residents who emigrated to Canada after 1997 dropped almost 90 percent (from 23,975 to 2,443).⁸ Overall, Chinese immigrants from the PRC and the HKSAR made up an average of 18 percent of Canada's total immigrant intake between 1998 and 2008.

Figure 2



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview." Various years.

Tourists

China is currently the ninth major source country of overnight travelers to Canada, up from fourteenth just eight years ago.

Trips to Canada from the PRC each year grew at an average rate of 11 percent year-on-year between 2000 and 2008, rising from a total of 74,000 to 159,000. (The exception was in 2003, when the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome or SARS curtailed much international travel.) In 2008, the 159,000 visitors from China represented 1 percent of all international arrivals in Canada from a list of 15 source countries, up from the 0.4 percent it recorded in 2000. China, along with India, posted double-digit annual growth in the number of travelers to Canada between 2000 and 2008, followed by Mexico, South Korea, Australia, Italy and France. By contrast, traditional sources of travelers to Canada, such as Japan, the US and some European countries, posted negative growth.

⁸ Ibid.

Figure 3

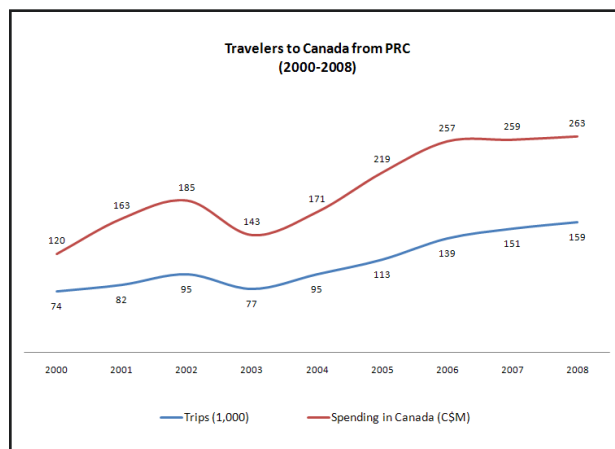
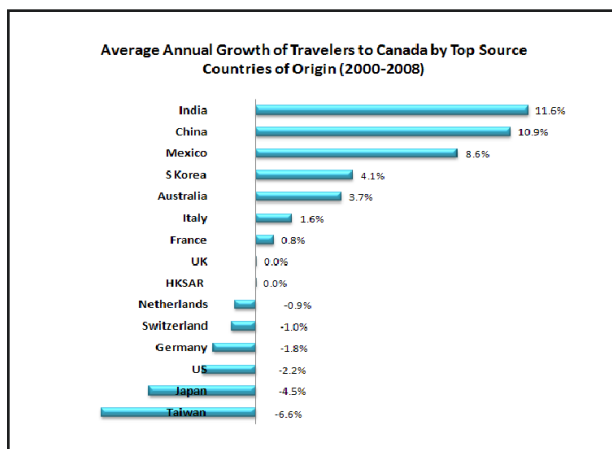


Figure 4

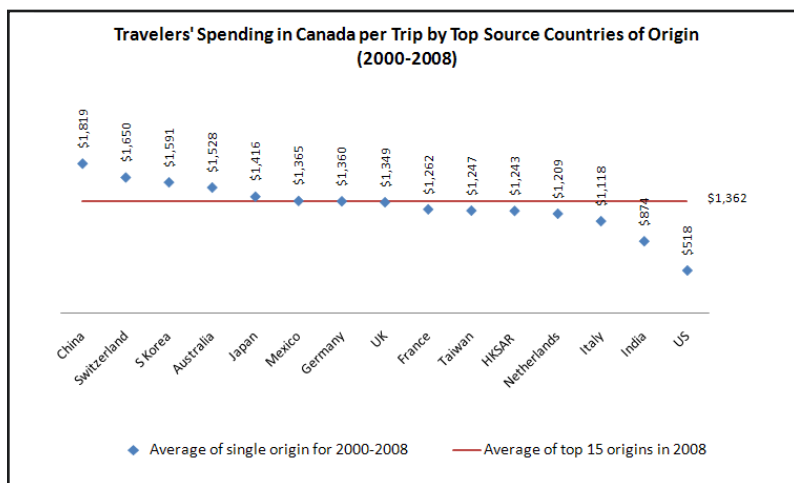


Source: Statistics Canada, "Travelers to Canada by Country of Origin, Top 15 Countries of Origin."

The number of arrivals from China has risen steadily, despite the fact that Canada just concluded an agreement with China for Approved Destination Status (ADS) in December 2009.⁹

From 2000 to 2008, Chinese travelers spent an average of \$1,819¹⁰ during the time they were in Canada, the highest among all travelers from the top 15 source countries. In 2008, the overall spending of Chinese travelers in Canada reached \$263 million, up from \$120 million in 2000. The total spending by Chinese travelers to Canada represented 2.3 percent of the total that travelers from the top 15 source countries spent in the country.

Figure 5



Source: Statistics Canada, "Travelers to Canada by Country of Origin, Top 15 Countries of Origin."

⁹ The ADS scheme is a bilateral tourism arrangement that facilitates travel by Chinese tour groups to other countries. In Dec, 2009 when Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited China for the first time, Beijing granted Canada as a newly ADS country for Chinese tourists. To date, China has granted 108 countries or regions ADS including the US and many EU and African countries.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise noted, all dollar amounts are assumed to be in Canadian dollars.

It is widely expected that the ADS will boost the number of visitors to Canada from China by up to 50 percent by 2015. This will translate into up to 50,000 more Chinese arrivals per year in Canada and add \$100 million a year in increased revenue for the Canadian tourism industry.¹¹

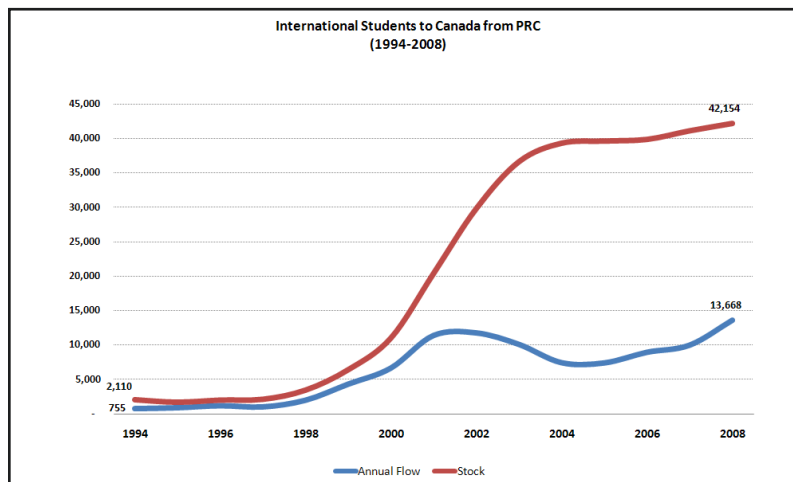
International Students

The number of Chinese students in Canada has grown significantly from just a few hundred a year in the mid-1990s to close to 10,000 a year in the last seven or eight years (see Figure 6). Currently, Chinese students represent 15 percent of Canada's annual intake of international students.

Since 2000, China has been the second largest source country of international students in Canada. In terms of the total number of international students studying in Canada, China has topped the list since 2001.

The stock of Chinese students in Canada has increased much faster than the flow. By December 2008, 42,154 Chinese students were studying in Canada, up from just a couple of thousand in the mid-1990s. Today, nearly one in four foreign students in Canada is from China.

Figure 6



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview." Various years.

Student entries from China increased at a clip of about 17 percent a year from 1999 to 2008, ranking China third among Canada's top source countries. The total number of students studying in Canada grew even faster – at about 27 percent a year, ranking China second on the list of countries (see Figures 7 and 8).

¹¹ K. Zhang, "Why Gaining the ADS Is Just the beginning?" China Business Magazine Vol. 13 (January 2010): 20-22.

Figure 7

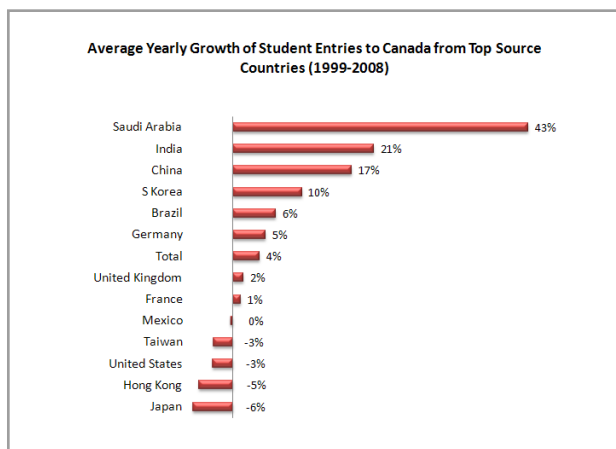
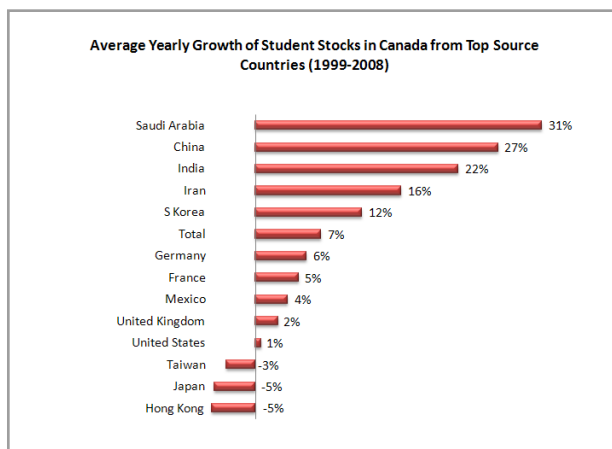


Figure 8



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview." Various years.

On September 17, 2008, Canada introduced a new Canadian Experience Class (CEC),¹² which should make Canada more competitive in attracting and retaining individuals with the skills the country needs.

Foreign Workers

Historically Canada has brought in temporary workers from countries such as the US, the Philippines, France, Australia and the United Kingdom. China has not been among the top ten. But in 2008, 2,321 Chinese workers entered Canada as foreign temporary workers, which drove up the total stock of temporary workers from the PRC in Canada to 8,534, putting China in the ninth spot. Temporary workers from China represent just 1.2 percent of the total number of workers Canada brought into the country in 2008. In terms of the total stock of temporary workers in Canada, less than four in 100 are from China.

¹² The Canadian Experience Class is a new avenue of immigration for certain temporary foreign workers and foreign student graduates with professional, managerial and skilled work experience. Unlike other programs, the Canadian Experience Class allows an applicant's experience in Canada to be considered a key selection factor when immigrating to Canada. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Canadian Experience Class Now Open for Business," News Release, September 5, 2008, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2008/2008-09-05c.asp> (Accessed September 23, 2009).

Table 1: Flows of People from China to Canada at the Turn of the 21st Century

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Immigrants											
Arrival	19,790	29,147	36,750	40,365	33,307	36,252	36,429	42,292	33,079	27,013	29,336
Share (%)	11.4	15.3	16.2	16.1	14.5	16.4	15.5	16.1	13.1	11.4	11.9
Rank	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tourists											
Visit (1,000)	n.a.	n.a.	74	82	95	77	95	113	139	151	159
Share of top 15 origins (%)	n.a.	n.a.	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.0
Rank	n.a.	n.a.	14	14	13	12	12	10	9	9	9
International Students											
Annual Entry	1,985	4,339	6,687	11,446	11,814	10,140	7,462	7,434	8,988	10,032	13,668
Share (%)	4.7	7.4	9.7	14.1	15.4	14.5	11.3	11.0	12.5	13.5	17.2
Rank	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Stock	3,505	6,465	11,055	20,415	29,807	36,611	39,296	39,592	39,843	41,087	42,154
Share (%)	4.1	6.6	9.7	14.9	19.8	22.9	23.8	23.7	23.4	23.3	23.7
Rank	7	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Foreign Workers											
Annual Entry	933	1,182	1,166	1,196	1,313	1,127	1,288	1,407	1,696	2,655	2,321
Share (%)	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.2
Rank	11	12	12	13	13	14	14	15	14	12	15
Stock	841	1,213	1,338	1,588	1,824	1,950	2,427	3,080	4,206	6,632	8,534
Share (%)	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.6	3.3	3.4
Rank	n.a.	14	14	14	13	13	13	13	13	13	9

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Facts and Figures 2008: Immigration Overview." Various years; Statistics Canada, "Travelers to Canada by Country of Origin, Top 15 Countries of Origin."

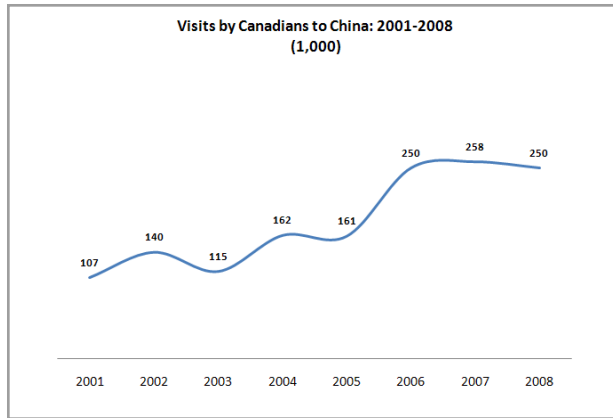
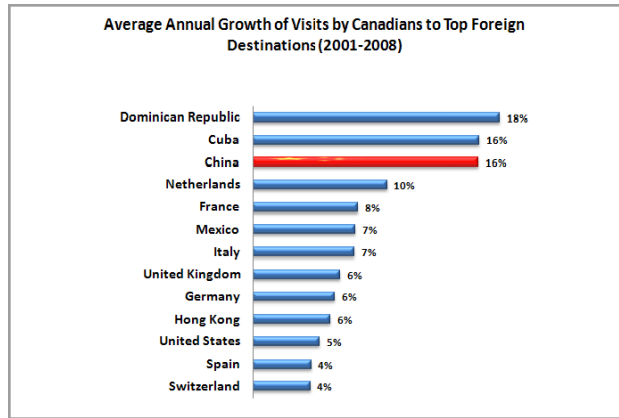
2. Changing the Direction of Mobility

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

Tourists

China also has become an appealing destination for Canadian tourists. In the last three years, Canadians have made over 250,000 visits a year to China. But the number of visits annually remains quite low – less than 1 percent of the total number of trips Canadians make abroad.

The 1 percent share of visits to China suggests there is potential for growth. In the last nine years, the number of Canadians visiting China grew by about 16 percent annually, the third fastest growth among all destinations and the fastest growth in Asia.

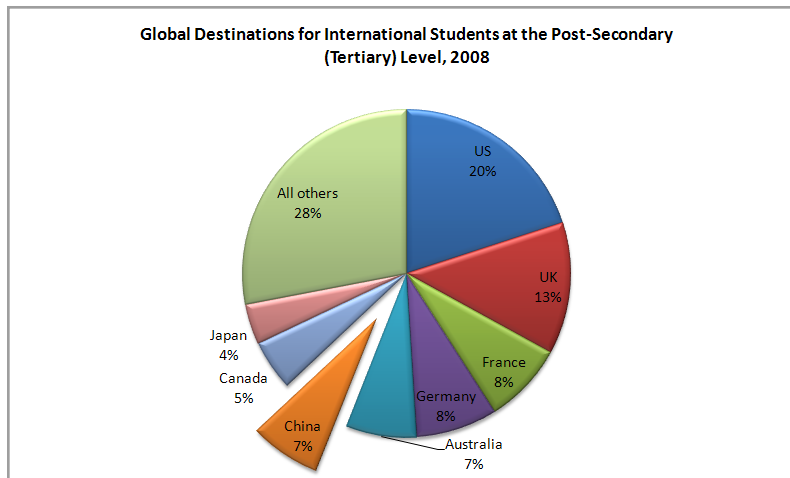
Figure 9**Figure 10**

Source: Statistics Canada, "Travel by Canadians to Foreign Countries, Top 15 Countries Visited."

International Students

The PRC has grown into a major destination for international students over the last decade. According to China's Ministry of Education, there were more than 223,499 international students attending 592 Chinese universities or other educational institutions from 189 countries and regions in 2008.¹³ That number represented a 14 percent increase over 2007.

China has surpassed Canada as one of the top destinations for post-secondary international students. In 2008, the US was the top destination for students globally and attracted 20 percent of all the international students studying overseas. China was the sixth most popular destination with 7 percent of all international students, while Canada attracted 5 percent.¹⁴

Figure 11

Source: Atlas of Student Mobility, "Global Destinations for International Students at the Post-Secondary (Tertiary) Level, 2001 and 2008."

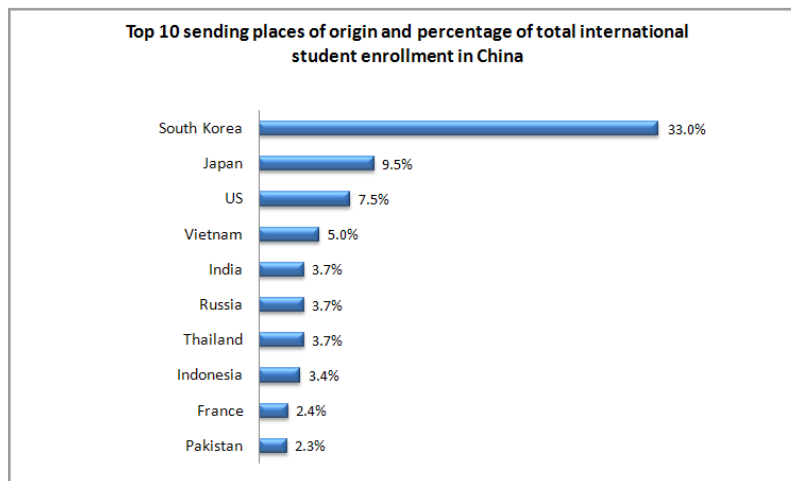
¹³ "2008 Niandu Lai Hua Liuxue Renshu Shouci Tupu 20 Wan," ("2008 School Year Sees the Number of Chinese Foreign Students Surpass 20,000 for the First Time,") Study in China, <http://www.studyinchina.net.cn/publish/portal19/tab787/info9970.htm> (Accessed on April 26, 2010).

¹⁴ "China, People's Republic (2008)," Atlas of Student Mobility, <http://www.atlas.iienetwork.org/page/48027/> (Accessed April 23, 2010).

The exact number of Canadian students in China is unknown because China only provides figures for the top ten countries of origin, and Canada is not on that list. By some estimates, however, the number of Canadian students in China does not exceed 5,000.

This is likely to change, however, for several reasons. China is actively promoting itself as a major destination for international students. The Chinese government through its scholarship program (CGSP) is increasing the funds it makes available to foreign students. In 2008, 13,516 international students, or 6 percent of all international students in China, received Chinese government scholarships to study in China, an increase of 33 percent over 2007.

Figure 12



Source: Atlas of Student Mobility, "China, People's Republic (2008)."

Foreign Workers

Two years ago, a Washington Post story reported that a growing number of the world's emigrants are heading East, rather than West, in search of better opportunities.¹⁵ Today, in the wake of the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression, "Go East" is a message that is gaining a lot of credibility among Asians and non-Asians in North America and Europe, who see brighter job prospects in a region that is expected to outperform the West economically. "If you're in London you're in the wrong place at the wrong time... You gotta move east."¹⁶

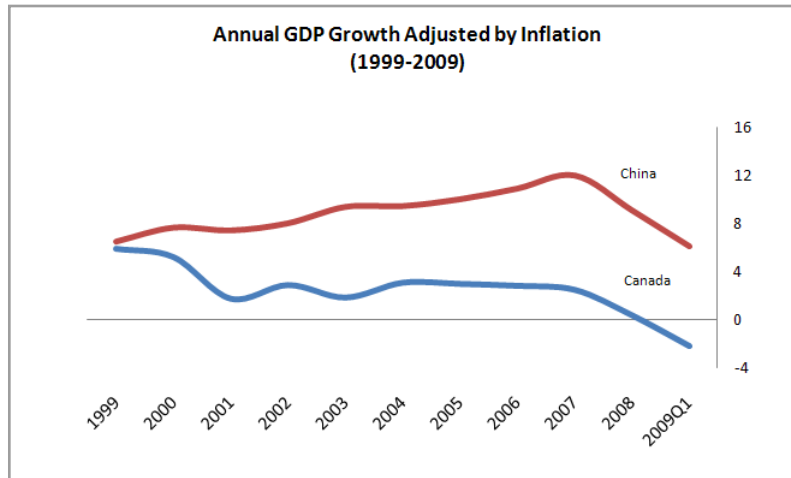
The gap between China and Canada's economic growth has only widened in the last ten years. While China has posted average growth rates of over 9 percent, Canada's economy has only grown an average of 3 percent a year over the same period. Canada's economy grew at 2.4 percent during the first quarter of 2009. By contrast, the Chinese economy grew at a rate of 6.1 percent.

15 Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Chasing the Chinese Dream," Washington Post, October 21, 2007, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/10/20/AR2007102000530.html> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

16 Eveline Danubrata, "Asians to Fill Talent Gap, Boost Innovation," Vancouver Sun, July 7, 2009, <http://www.vancouversun.com/business/asia-pacific/Asians+fill+talent+boost+innovation/1766289/story.html> (Accessed July 27, 2009); Hannah Seligson, "American Graduates Finding Jobs in China," New York Times, August 11, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/11/business/economy/11expats.html?_r=1 (Accessed August 31, 2009); "Fu Zhongguo Mi Zhi Jia Mei Wei Chengfeng," ("Going to China for Jobs Popular in Canada and the US.") World Journal, September 20, 2009, http://van.worldjournal.com/pages/full_van/push?article-%E8%B5%B4%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E8%A6%93%E8%81%B7+%E5%8A%A0%E7%BE%8E%E8%94%9A%E6%88%90%E9%A2%A8%20&id=3663168&instance=bcnews (Accessed September 22, 2009).

In Canada, the unemployment rate climbed to 8.4 percent in May 2009, its highest in 11 years. It is inevitable that more Canadian graduates will have to look for job opportunities elsewhere, including teaching English as a second language (ESL).¹⁷

Figure 13



Source: Trading Economics.

The Chinese economy is one of the most robust in the world, and brighter job prospects are attracting many people to move to the mainland.¹⁸

National, provincial and municipal governments are actively encouraging Chinese citizens who have trained overseas to return to China. In 2004, Beijing launched a "Green Card" system, for example, which allows qualified foreigners to work in China permanently.¹⁹ By the end of 2005, more than 90,000 foreign workers in China held work permits. That number doubled to 180,000 in 2006 and climbed to 210,000 in 2007.²⁰ In Shanghai, a popular destination for economic migrants, foreign workers with legal work permits numbered 68,648 by the end of November 2008, nearly 30 percent of all legal foreign workers in the country. The number has increased roughly 13 times since the work permit registration system was initiated in 1996. The top ten source countries, including Canada (the seventh largest), represent 80 percent of all the foreign workers currently in Shanghai.²¹

17 Nina Lex, "More Canadians Seek Work Teaching English Overseas," National Post, June 26, 2009, <http://www.nationalpost.com/news/canada/story.html?id=1736363> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

18 "Laowai Zai Zhongguo," ("Foreigners in China"), <http://view.news.qq.com/zt/2007/laowai/index.htm> (Accessed April 27, 2010)

19 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Waiyuoren Zai Zhongguo Yongjiu Juliu Shenpi Guanli Banfa," ("China's Permanent Resident Administrative Methods.") <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/pds/fw/lsw/fgzl/t267618.htm> (Accessed July 15, 2009).

20 Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of the People's Republic of China, "Tonji Gongbao," ("Statistical Communiqué.") Various years, circa 2007, <http://w1.mohrss.gov.cn/gb/zwxx/ghytj.htm> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

21 "Foreign Workers in Shanghai Increased 13 Times in 13 Years," Oriental Morning Post, December 31, 2008, http://www.lm.gov.cn/gb/employment/2008-12/30/content_2715111.htm (Accessed July 27, 2009).

Like many other nationals, Canadians are being lured by the economic opportunities available in Asia, particularly in China. Although the exact number and profile of Canadians working in China is unknown because there are no reliable statistics available, recent press reports and studies by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APF Canada) offer a few clues. For example, according to a Chinese survey in 2008,²² the composition of foreign workers in China has undergone a number of changes. Unlike in the past, younger people outnumber retirees, top-level talent has replaced mid-level talent and workers are staying longer. The survey also suggests that most foreign workers in China are highly skilled.

A report commissioned by the APF Canada²³ found that Canadians in China are made up mainly of three groups: employees of Canadian or multinational corporations; Canadian students and teachers; and Chinese-Canadians who return for business or other reasons.

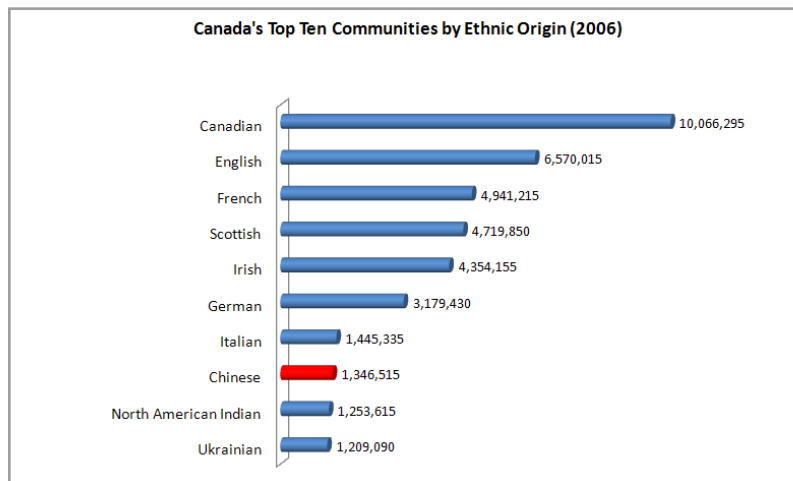
To sum up, China is no longer a country that just produces immigrants. It has become a magnet for professionals and students from around the world seeking better job opportunities and a good education. Perceptions several years ago that Chinese immigrants to Canada who return home have “failed” in some way is out of date.

3. Redefining the Diaspora

Canada's Chinese communities

The Canadian census (2006) reported that over 1.3 million people in Canada claim their ethnic origin to be Chinese.²⁴ This makes the Chinese community the eighth largest in Canada in terms of ethnic origin, and the largest of Asian origin. From a linguistic perspective, Chinese languages (including Cantonese, Mandarin and other dialects) are the third largest mother tongue group in the country, after English and French. Three percent of the population reported that their mother tongue was one of the Chinese languages.²⁵

Figure 14



Source: Statistics Canada, “Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007.”

22 “Zai Hua Waiguoren Fen Jiecheng Diaocha,” (“Survey of Stratifications of Foreigners in China.”) Xinhua, February 21, 2008, http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2008-02/21/content_7639618.htm (Accessed July 27, 2009).

23 “Canadians in Guangzhou and Xiamen,” Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Canadians Abroad Project, *Portrait Report*. (Forthcoming, 2010).

24 Statistics Canada, “2006 Census Data Products,” <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm> (Accessed July 27, 2009). Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural origin of the respondent's ancestors, as defined by the 2006 census. The 2006 census also reported 17,705 Taiwanese and 4,275 Tibetans.

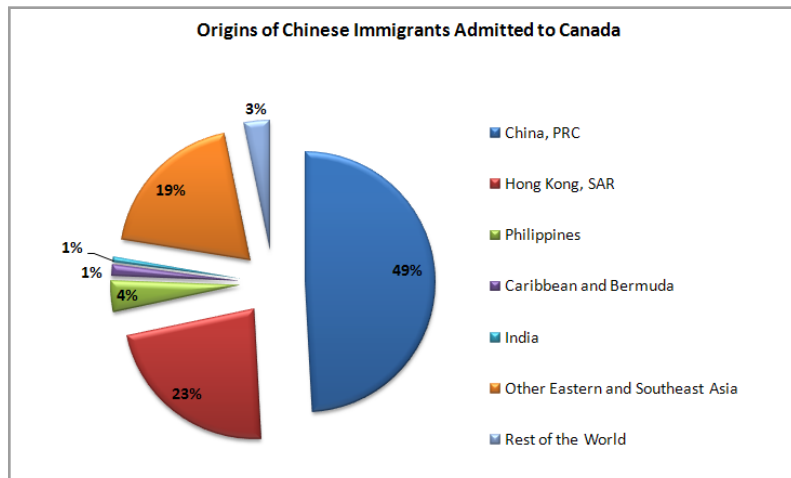
25 Ibid.

The Chinese community in Canada has changed, is changing and will continue changing in many ways that will ultimately have an impact on Canada-China relations. There is no longer a homogenous Chinese community in Canada. The community has become very heterogeneous despite common places of birth, mother tongues, educational background, citizenship and so on.

People of Chinese ethnic origin are not necessarily newcomers to Canada. Some of them were born in Canada and their families may have lived in Canada for more than two generations. Canadian-born Chinese (CBC) have become a significant phenomenon within the Chinese community. The 2006 Canadian census reported that 27.4 percent of respondents who claimed they were ethnic Chinese were born in Canada. Similarly, the census also reported that 14.3 percent were second generation and 2.3 percent were third generation or more. The majority, or 83.4 percent, however, was first generation Canadians.²⁶

According to the same census, nearly half of the Chinese immigrants had arrived in Canada from the PRC (49 percent), and 23 percent come from Hong Kong. Others came from the Caribbean and Bermuda, the Philippines, India and other countries in Asia.

Figure 15



Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

Ethnic Chinese groups may have achieved different skill levels in Canada's two official languages. The census found that nearly 86 percent had some knowledge of English, French or both. Only 14 percent claimed they had no knowledge of English or French.

They may also speak different dialects. Nearly one in five ethnic Chinese reported English or French as their mother tongue. Seventy-nine percent indicated neither English nor French was their mother tongue. One-third reported they spoke English or French most often at home, with about 60 percent saying they spoke other languages most often at home.

²⁶ Ibid. First generation refers to persons born outside of Canada. Second generation refers to persons born inside Canada with at least one parent born outside of Canada. Third generation refers to persons born inside Canada with both parents born inside Canada.

Among those whose mother tongues are non-official languages, the number of respondents with a Chinese language as their mother tongue grew from less than 100,000 in 1971 to nearly 900,000 in 2001 and over one million in 2006 (see Table 2). However, the respondents who reported a Chinese language as their mother tongue may actually speak different dialects. In the 2006 census, 'Chinese languages' were broken down into seven major languages: Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Taiwanese, Chaochow (Teochow), Fukien and Shanghainese, as well as a residual category (Chinese languages not otherwise specified).

Table 2: The Most Common Non-Official Mother Tongues, 1971, 2001 and 2006

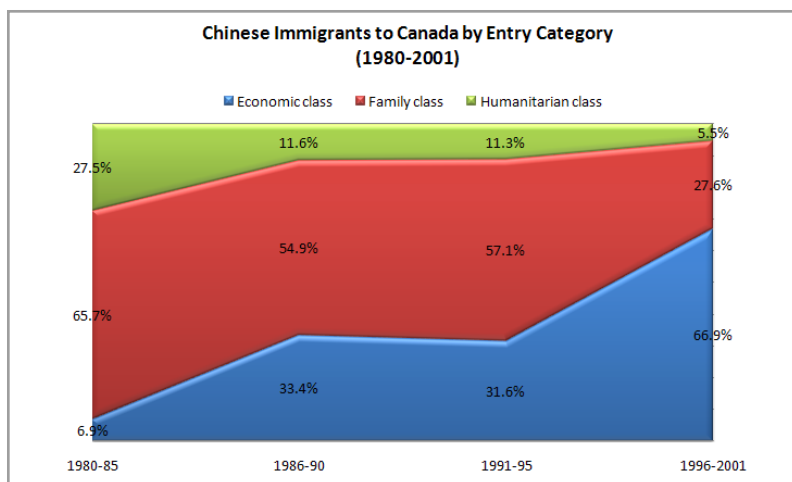
Mother tongues	1971			2001			2006		
	Number	Percentage of non-official mother tongues	Percentage of all mother tongues	Number	Percentage of non-official mother tongues	Percentage of all mother tongues	Number	Percentage of non-official mother tongues	Percentage of all mother tongues
Chinese	95,915	3.4	0.4	872,400	16.4	2.9	1,034,090	16.4	3.3
Italian	538,765	19.2	2.5	493,985	9.3	1.7	476,905	7.6	1.5
German	558,965	19.9	2.6	455,540	8.5	1.5	466,650	7.4	1.5
Punjabi	..	..	..	284,750	5.3	1	382,585	6.1	1.2
Spanish	23,950	0.9	0.1	260,785	4.9	0.9	362,120	5.8	1.2
Arabic	28,520	1.0	0.1	220,535	4.1	0.7	286,785	4.6	0.9
Tagalog	..	..	..	199,770	3.7	0.7	266,440	4.2	0.9
Portuguese	85,845	3.1	0.4	222,855	4.2	0.8	229,280	3.6	0.7
Polish	136,540	4.9	0.6	215,010	4.0	0.7	217,605	3.5	0.7
Urdu	..	..	..	86,810	1.6	0.3	156,415	2.5	0.5
Ukrainian	309,890	11	1.4	157,385	3	0.5	141,805	2.3	0.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Table 2: The Most Common Non-Official Mother Tongues, 1971, 2001 and 2006."

Chinese immigrants may also be admitted to Canada under different entry categories. Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act establishes three categories of permanent residents, which correspond to major program objectives. These are reuniting families, contributing to economic development and protecting refugees.²⁷

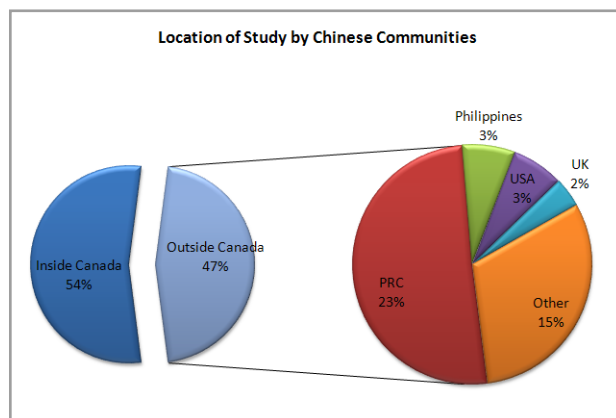
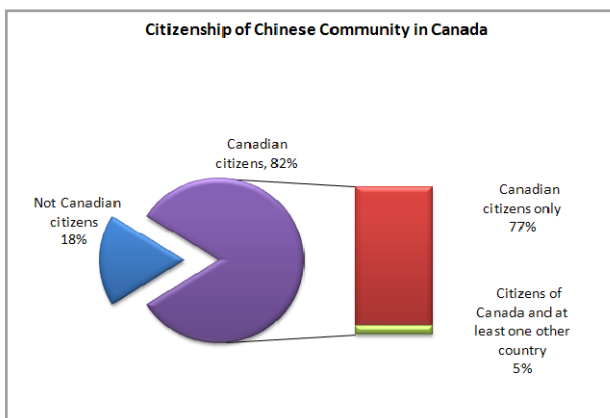
Currently, two-thirds of all immigrants to Canada from the PRC are admitted as economic immigrants, including skilled workers, professionals, investors and entrepreneurs. Nearly a quarter of immigrants from China are gaining entry as relatives of family members who already live in Canada. By contrast, only a small margin is being admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds. Less than 30 years ago, immigrants from the PRC were mainly relatives of people who had already emigrated to Canada, or about two-thirds of the total. The humanitarian category was the second largest group, or about a quarter of the total, while economic immigrants made up just 7 percent.

²⁷ These three broad categories include 1) economic class; 2) family class; and 3) humanitarian class. In the first category, skilled workers and professionals are admitted on the basis of skills, education, language ability and occupational background. Qualified immigrants must achieve a minimum score as required in the so-called Canadian Immigration Points System. Other groups of economic immigrants are selected with different criteria, including the amount of capital they have or if they bring entrepreneurial skills to start a business in Canada and either provide jobs for themselves or employ other Canadians. The second category includes immediate family members of Canadian citizens and landed immigrants. The third category includes refugees and all other groups that Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act designed to protect.

Figure 16

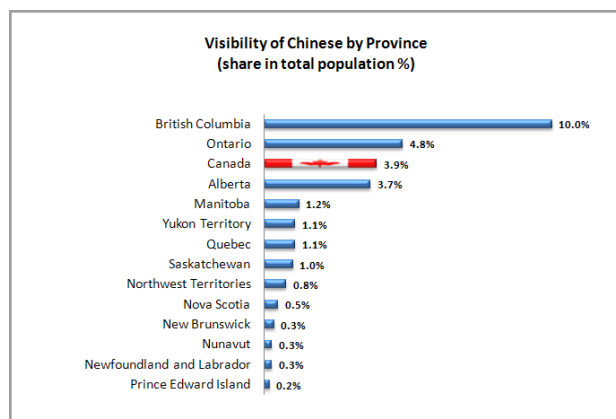
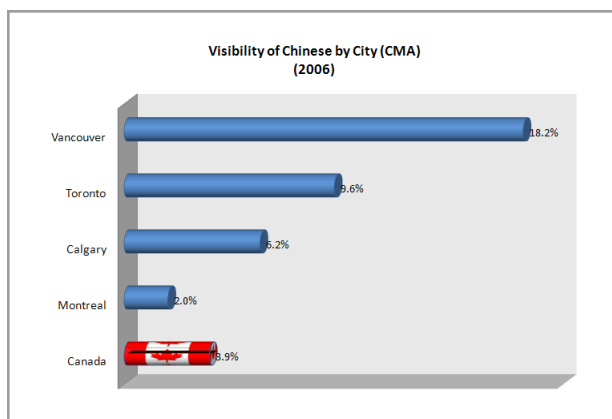
Source: Guo and DeVoretz, "The Changing Face of Chinese Immigrants in Canada."

Differences in educational background and citizenship status have all contributed to the diversity of Canada's Chinese community. The 2006 census reported that 55 percent of the ethnic Chinese population 15 years of age and over has a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree, compared to only 51 percent of all Canadians in the same age group. More significantly, nearly half of all Chinese, compared with 16 percent of all Canadians, received post-secondary education from outside Canada. In addition, 77 percent of the Chinese population holds Canadian citizenship only. Five percent possess both Canadian and at least one other citizenship, and another 18 percent had not yet become Canadian citizens.

Figure 17**Figure 18**

Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

The visibility of the Chinese community varies considerably from province to province, from city to city and from federal election district to federal election district. Ethnic Chinese are most visible in the provinces of British Columbia (10 percent), Ontario (5 percent) and Alberta (4 percent). In other parts of Canada, the odds of seeing a Chinese person are close to or less than one in a hundred. Chinese are concentrated in major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and more recently, Calgary. Their visibility varies from nearly one in five in the census metropolitan area (CMA) of Vancouver, to one in ten in Toronto (CMA), one in twenty in Calgary (CMA) and one in fifty in Montreal (CMA).

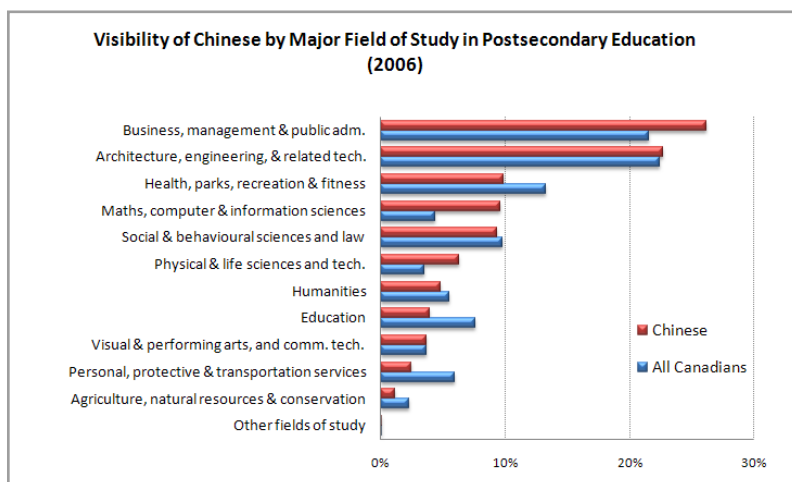
Figure 19**Figure 20**

Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

The ethnic Chinese vote is important in some ridings but overall has little impact on Canada's Parliament. The percentage of ethnic Chinese in federal election districts varies considerably from as high as 50 percent in Richmond, BC, to 4 percent in Calgary, to just 0.2 percent in parts of Prince Edward Island.²⁸

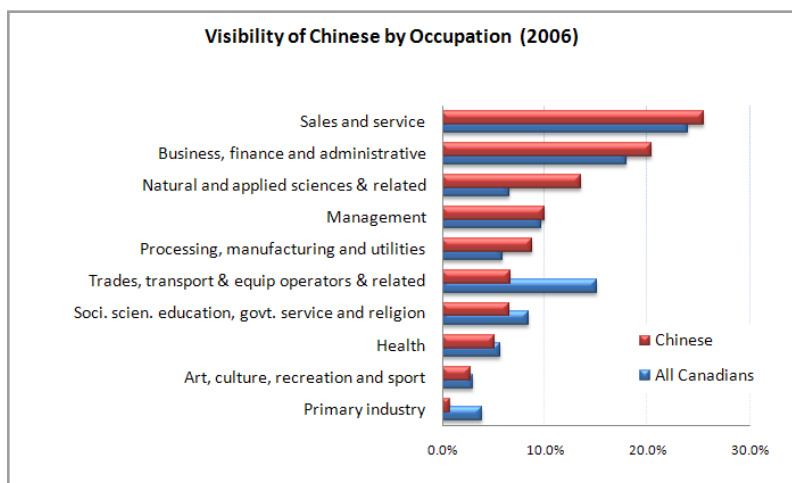
The visibility of ethnic Chinese also varies in schools and job markets. Like average Canadians, Chinese typically select four areas as their major fields of study in post-secondary education: business, management and public administration; architecture, engineering and related technologies; health, parks, recreation and fitness; and social and behavioral sciences and law. But Chinese students are more visible than average Canadians in three applied science and business related areas: mathematics, computer and information sciences; business, management and public administration; and physical and life sciences and technologies.

28 Statistics Canada, "Federal Electoral District (FED) Profile, 2006 Census," <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-595/p2c.cfm?TPL=INDX&LANG=E>, (Accessed April 26, 2010).

Figure 21

Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

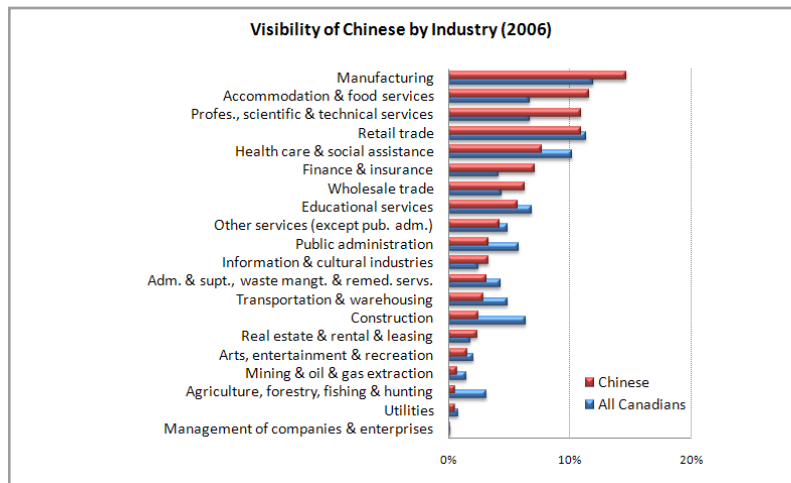
Chinese are more likely to work in occupations related to applied sciences and business, such as natural and applied sciences and related occupations; processing, manufacturing and utilities; business, finance and administrative occupations; and sales and service. Chinese are under-represented in certain fields, including equipment operators and related occupations, primary industry, education and government services.

Figure 22

Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

Perhaps not surprisingly, Chinese are more visible than average Canadians in accommodation and food services (restaurant jobs); professional, scientific and technical services (accountants and lawyers); finance and insurance (bank jobs); manufacturing (general labour); and wholesale trade (import and export). However, Chinese are less likely than average Canadians to work in construction, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; health care and social assistance and public administration.

Figure 23



Source: Statistics Canada, "Special Interest Profiles, 2006 Census – Catalogue No. 97-564-XWE2006007."

The image of Chinese Canadians today is vastly different than it was in the last two centuries when Chinese immigrants were stereotyped as railway coolies, laundrymen and waiters. Hollywood exaggerated the stereotype with movies about opium dens, celestials in pig-tails with knives hidden up their silk sleeves, slant-eyed beauties with bound feet and ancient love potions.²⁹ What the Chinese Canadian community looks like today is as diversified as Canadian society is as a whole.

Canadians in China

Canadians historically have traveled widely and today an estimated 2.8 million Canadians now live and work abroad.³⁰ There have always been large numbers of Canadians living outside the country for extended periods, especially in the US. There are also many Canadian expatriates working for multinational companies and international organizations around the world. More recently, there is evidence that many immigrants to Canada are returning to their countries of origin to pursue business and professional activities, especially in Greater China.

One of the prominent Canadian pioneers in China was Dr. Norman Bethune (1890-1939), whose spirit of service, courage and innovation continues to inspire Canada-China innovative partnerships today.³¹ Nowadays, Canada's Mark Rowswell, known in China as Dashan, has been described as "the most famous foreigner in China," where he has worked as a performer, television host and cultural ambassador for over 20 years. Although relatively unknown in the West, it is hard to find anyone in China who does not know of Dashan.³²

The APF Canada has classified Canadians living in China into the following groups:

- Owners or employees of Canadian or multinational businesses
- Chinese-Canadians returnees, including first and second-plus generations
- ESL teachers
- Students and others

29 Wai-man Lee, *Portraits of a Challenge: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Canadians* (Toronto: The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, 1984), 178.

30 Don DeVoretz, "Canada's Secret Province: 2.8 Million Canadians Abroad," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Project Paper Series #09-5, October 29, 2009, http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/PP_09_5_DD_estimate_0.pdf (Accessed April 30, 2010).

31 Government of Canada, "Norman Bethune (1890-1939)," http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/china-chine/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/bethune.aspx?lang=eng (Accessed April 26, 2010).

32 "Who Is Dashan?" <http://www.dashan.com/en/whois.htm> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

As China increasingly becomes a global economic powerhouse and the biggest recipient of foreign direct investment, more than 90 percent of the top 500 multinationals have set up in China, and 30 percent of those have established regional headquarters there.³³

Canadian businesses are active in China, and there are increasing numbers of native-born and naturalized Canadian executives, engineers and other professionals and specialists working in China.

Migration takes place in two directions, and return migration occurs naturally. A recent study by the OECD found that depending on the country of destination and the time frame, 20 percent to 50 percent of immigrants return home or move to a third country within five years of their arrival.³⁴

A recent report from Statistics Canada demonstrated that a significant number of male immigrants to Canada of working age, especially skilled workers and entrepreneurs, are highly mobile. This suggests that a substantial part of migration to Canada is temporary. The estimated out-migration rate 20 years after arrival is around 35 percent among young working age male immigrants. About six out of ten of those who leave do so within the first year of arrival, which suggests that many immigrants make their decisions within a relatively short period of time after arriving in Canada. Controlling for other characteristics, out-migration rates are higher among immigrants from source countries such as the US and HKSAR.³⁵

Despite these general conclusions, the return of Chinese Canadians to China remains under-documented. What we do know is that many are actually not returning to China forever, but are what we call transnational – often moving back and forth between the two countries at different periods in their life.

Transnational Parenting is not uncommon among young Chinese Canadian families. High child care costs, the lack of family support in Canada and a volatile job market have forced some families to send their children back to China so that grandparents or other relatives can look after them. A study in 2002 of Chinese immigrants in five prenatal programs discovered that 70 percent of the female respondents said they planned to send their children back to China to be raised by relatives.³⁶

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

Transnational entrepreneurship plays a key role in connecting Canada and China. A report commissioned by the APF Canada in 2008, revealed that foreign-educated Chinese transnational entrepreneurs (CTEs) make up a distinct segment of the immigrant community.³⁷ Key characteristics distinguish them from classic middlemen traders, returnee entrepreneurs or those who have returned to their home countries permanently. Instead, the characteristics of Canada-based CTEs include a greater likelihood of multinational experience; more established in their professions; more deeply entrenched in Canada; and a stronger desire to engage Canada in cross-border entrepreneurial endeavours. The same report also identified a variety of mechanisms used by transnational entrepreneurs to link Canada and China at the innovation level.

Transnational retirement allows senior Chinese Canadians to enjoy the pleasure of two homes. Like many Canadian snowbirds in the US, these senior citizens are moving across the Pacific as the seasons change.

33 "Multinational Corporations Make China Home," China Radio International, September 28, 2008, <http://english1.cri.cn/4026/2007/09/28/1361@278675.htm> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

34 "Top 10 Migration Issues of 2008 Issue #6 – Return Migration: Changing Directions?" Migration Policy Institute, December 2008, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=707> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

35 A. Aydemir and Chris Robinson, "Return and Onward Migration among Working Age Men," Analytical Studies – Research Paper Series, Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 11 F0019MIE, No. 273 (2006), <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2006273-eng.pdf> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

36 Marina Jimenez, "Child Care So Costly Immigrants Sending Babies Back to China," Globe and Mail, January 2, 2007, <http://www.chineseinvancover.ca/2007/01/transnational-parenting-separates-chinese-immigrants-kids/> (Accessed July 27, 2009); "Transnational Parenting Separates Chinese Immigrants, Kids," June 2, 2007, <http://www.chineseinvancover.ca/2007/01/transnational-parenting-separates-chinese-immigrants-kids/> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

37 Xiaohua Lin, J. Guan, and M. J. Nicholson, "Transnational Entrepreneurs as Agents of International Innovation Linkages," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, *Research Report*, December 19, 2008, <http://www.asiapacific.ca/files/Analysis/2008/ImmigEntrepreneurs.pdf> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

Canadian ESL teachers are another significant group of Canadians in China. They are in high demand not only because of the importance of learning English as a second language, but also because Chinese students seem to prefer “Canadian” English to British, Australian or American English. The success story of Dashan has also helped raise the profile of Canadian English in China.

Canadian communities in China also include students and groups that stay there for other reasons.

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

GROWING IMPACT

The increasing two-way flow of people between Canada and China and the changing face of Chinese communities in Canada and Canadian communities in China, have broad foreign policy implications.

Visas

On July 13, 2009, Canada’s decision to re-impose visa requirements on Mexican and Czech citizens³⁸ and the reaction to that decision from both countries offers a classic example of how visa measures controlling the flow of people can affect international relations.³⁹

Visa requirements are often seen as one of the most controversial issues in the Canada-China relationship. As noted by the Asia Pacific Trade Council of British Columbia

Canada’s immigration system, under Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), continues to function under an outdated paradigm that seeks to enforce the Immigration Act and its regulations rather than utilize the Act as a tool to facilitate the movement of persons. Service sectors, including education and tourism, are particularly impacted because they rely on the movement of people across borders to engage in commercial transactions.⁴⁰

The Council pointed out that there is a perception in China that Canada’s visa process is slow, expensive and opaque. The rejection rate is also believed to be quite high. This presents a major challenge.

As Tables 4 and 5 show, processing times for Canadian student visas and temporary worker visas in Beijing tend to be much slower than in the rest of the Asia Pacific region. However, processing times in Beijing for Canadian permanent visas are faster than other locations, except for applications for parents and grandparents applying for the family class visa.

38 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “Canada Imposes a Visa on Mexico,” News Release, July 13, 2009, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2009/2009-07-13.asp> (Accessed August 1, 2009); Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “Canada Imposes a Visa on the Czech Republic,” News Release, July 13, 2009, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2009/2009-07-13a.asp> (Accessed August 1, 2009).

39 Michael Valpy, “Czech Republic Recalls Ambassador over New Visa Requirements,” *Globe and Mail*, July 14, 2009, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/czech-republic-recalls-ambassador-over-new-canadian-visa-requirement/article1216887/> (Accessed July 27, 2009); Sheldon Alberts, “Mexico Retaliates in ‘Visa War’ with Canada,” *CanWest News Service*, July 16, 2009, <http://www.canada.com/news/Mexico+retaliates+visa+with+Canada/1797402/story.html> (Accessed Aug. 1, 2009).

40 “Report of the China/Hong Kong Market Advisory Group June 2006,” Asia Pacific Trade Council, June 2006, http://www.asiapacifictradecouncil.ca/pdf/china_report.pdf (Accessed July 27, 2009).

Table 4: Visa Processing Times: Temporary Visas (as of September 29, 2009)

Location of Visa Office	Percentage of Cases Processed at Canadian Visa Offices (%)			
	2 days or less	7 days or less	14 days or less	28 days or less
Visitor Visas				
All Region	55	74	85	94
Asia and Pacific	52	74	84	92
Beijing	53	81	88	94
Hong Kong	70	81	87	93
Student Visas				
All Region	15	27	43	65
Asia and Pacific	10	23	40	62
Beijing	1	1	8	27
Hong Kong	14	19	29	64
Temporary Worker Visas				
All Region	17	30	43	59
Asia and Pacific	5	13	26	44
Beijing	1	2	13	37
Hong Kong	2	2	3	6

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Applications Processed Outside of Canada – Applications for Temporary Residence."

Table 5: Visa Processing Times: Permanent Visas (as of September 29, 2009)

Application Class	Months Required to Finalize Applications (Month)			
	Beijing		Asia and Pacific	
	50% of cases finalized in:	80% of cases finalized in:	50% of cases finalized in:	80% of cases finalized in:
All applications for permanent residence excluding Federal Skilled Worker applications received after Feb. 26, 2008	8	27	13	55
Skilled worker applications received before Feb. 27, 2008 (Federal)*	29	43	59	72
Skilled workers (Quebec)	6	10	7	10
Entrepreneur class (Federal)	65	68	65	74
Self-Employed class (Federal)	59	64	66	70
Investors class (Federal)	27	30	28	34
Investors class (Quebec)	9	10	13	16
Provincial nominees	8	12	8	11
Family class: Spouses and partners	3	5	5	11
Family class: Dependent children	3	5	4	9
Family class: Parents and grandparents	24	26	16	23
Other members of the family class	1	1	6	23
Dependants of refugees	10	15	13	27

Note: *Skilled worker applications received after Feb. 26, 2008 (Federal) are not available.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Applications Processed Outside of Canada – All Applications for Permanent Residents Received."

Nevertheless, visa stories are not always negative. On July 30, 2009, Canada announced a new Transit Without Visa (TWV) program that makes it easier for international travellers on their way to and from the US to pass through Canadian airports. "Removing the requirement for a Canadian transit visa will make Canadian airports more attractive for international travellers going to and from the United States," Minister Kenney explained.⁴¹

In the meantime, in recognition of the importance of travel from China, a separate China Transit Trial has been put in place. This trial program will allow Chinese nationals holding valid US visas to travel to and from the US through Vancouver International Airport without obtaining a Canadian transit visa. To qualify, a person must travel on one of the pre-authorized air carriers in the TWV program and fly on direct, non-stop flights to Vancouver, originating from Beijing, the HKSAR, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Manila and Taipei. The trial will be in place for one year and then evaluated.

The TWV initiative is crucial for Canada, especially in the current economic downturn. As Trade Minister Stockwell Day pointed out: "We are embarked on a robust trade agenda to open doors for Canadian business in markets around the world. We are taking action here today to facilitate the flow of people and goods over the border so they can seek opportunities abroad and create jobs at home."⁴²

Similar efforts have been undertaken in other visa categories, too. This year Canada stepped up efforts to attract affluent Chinese investors. Canada aims to take in 2,055 immigrant investors this year, a number consistent with recent years. Of the 2,055 immigrant investors targeted, 1,000 are allotted to the Hong Kong office, where 90 percent of the cases processed are from southern China, and 80 percent to the Beijing office. The two offices alone will take up 52 percent of the total applicants.⁴³

Citizenship and Consular Issues

Citizenship and consular issues have become increasingly complex and important factors in Canada-China relations. Canada recognizes dual citizenship while China does not.⁴⁴ Under the Chinese Nationality Law, Hong Kong residents and former residents who are of Chinese descent and born on the mainland of China or in Hong Kong are Chinese citizens. They will not be entitled to consular protection in the HKSAR or the mainland, even though they hold foreign passports, including the Canadian passport. The estimated 150,000 to 250,000 Canadians residing in HKSAR therefore could be a huge challenge for Canada's consular service, which will have to navigate different classifications of citizenship including dual, de facto dual and non-dual citizenship.⁴⁵

Chinese Canadians who return to live in the PRC also face challenges if they choose to use their still-valid Chinese passports because China does not recognize dual citizenship. Nor will they be entitled to Canadian consular services. Under extreme circumstances this could cause tension between the two countries, such as in the case of Huseyin Celil, who was accused of being a terrorist by a Chinese court. In that case, Ottawa lodged a diplomatic protest because it argued Celil was a Canadian citizen.⁴⁶

41 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "New Program to Facilitate Travel through Canada and Encourage Business at Canadian Airports," *News Release*, July 30, 2009, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/releases/2009/2009-07-30.asp> (Accessed Aug 1, 2009).

42 Ibid.

43 "Canada Eyes Rich Chinese Immigrant Investors," *Chinese in Vancouver*, March 18, 2009, <http://www.chineseinvancouver.ca/2009/03/canada-eyes-rich-chinese-immigrant-investors/> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

44 Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Immigration Department, "Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China," http://www.immd.gov.hk/ehhtml/chnnationality_1.htm (Accessed September 24, 2009).

45 K. Zhang, "Canadians in Hong Kong SAR," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, *Canadians Abroad Project, Portrait Report*, September 2009, http://www.asiapacific.ca/files/canadiansabroad/Portrait_Report/Portrait_HK_V3-ed.pdf (Accessed October 4, 2009).

46 Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Statement by Minister MacKay on Huseyin Celil," *News Releases* No. 59, April 19, 2007, http://w01.international.gc.ca/minpub/publication.aspx?publication_id=385070&docnum=59&lang=eng (Accessed July 27, 2009); Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Minister MacKay Responds to Chinese Superior Court Rejection of Huseyin Celil Appeal," *News Releases* No. 91, July 10, 2007, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crt=sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crttr.mnthndVI=&nid=336959&crttr.dpt1D=&crttr.tp1D=&crttr.lc1D=&crttr.yrStrtVI=2008&crttr.kw=&crttr.dyStrtVI=26&crttr.aud1D=&crttr.mnthStrtVI=2&crttr.yrndVI=&crttr.dyndVI=> (Accessed July, 2009).

In addition to consular issues, recent changes in Canadian citizenship rules will have a profound impact on Canadian communities living in China and on those Canadians who are considering moving to China or other parts of the world. On April 17, 2009, Canada passed a new Citizenship Act that limits citizenship by descent to one generation living outside Canada.⁴⁷ The rule change is likely to create many stateless people if they are born in China to first-generation Canadians.

Rachel Chandler was born in Beijing on June 5, 2009 and is likely to become the first stateless child under the new Citizenship Act. Rachel no longer qualifies for Canadian citizenship or for Chinese citizenship. Her father is a Canadian who was born in Libya and her mother is Chinese. Her grandparents are naturalized Canadian citizens. Without citizenship documents, Rachel is legally invisible. She has no rights and no government is willing to protect her. She is not eligible to attend school. Her family cannot get health insurance since she does not officially exist and she will not be covered by state medicare in China. She cannot travel anywhere outside Beijing except by car, since proof of citizenship is required to board even domestic flights. In China, where child abduction is rampant, she legally does not exist and is therefore not traceable.

There are a number of other potential citizenship issues as well. When Ottawa granted the Dalai Lama honorary Canadian citizenship in June 2006, for example, the move caused serious tension between the two nations.

Chinese Fugitives

Another troublesome issue is Chinese fugitives living in Canada. China has repeatedly requested that Canada extradite Gao Shan,⁴⁸ Li Dongzhe and Li Donghu.⁴⁹ China's most-wanted fugitive in Canada is Lai Changxing, the alleged ringleader of a smuggling organization that evaded billions of dollars in taxes.

Lai fled to Canada in 1999, sought refugee status and has been fighting extradition ever since. After almost ten years in Canada, Lai was granted a work permit in January 2009. Beijing has repeatedly urged Ottawa to extradite him.⁵⁰ One problem is that Canada does not have an extradition agreement with China.

Delayed Approved Destination Status

Many believe that it is the Lai case that is stopping China from granting Canada ADS. That is a problem because China will become one of the world's top three markets for outbound tourists by 2020, according to the World Tourism Organization. Canada has a tremendous opportunity to attract a significant number of visitors from China. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Tourism Industry Association of Canada and Canada China Business Council (CCBC), all view the ADS issue as key to capitalizing potential benefits for the Canadian economy and have repeatedly urged the Canadian government to conclude negotiations on ADS with the Chinese government as soon as possible.

⁴⁷ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "New Citizenship Rules," <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/rules-citizenship.asp> (Accessed August 4, 2009).

⁴⁸ Former manager of a Bank of China branch in northeastern China, who is accused of embezzling \$150 million from the accounts of his customers.

⁴⁹ Two fugitive brothers accused of embezzling millions of dollars from the Bank of China.

⁵⁰ Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Canada, "Zhongguo Waijiaobu: Xiwang Jianada Jinkuai Jiang Lai Changxing Qianfanhui Zhongguo," ("China Foreign Affairs Department: Hopes Canada Will Quickly Repatriate Lai Changxing Back to China.") February 10, 2009, <http://www.chinaembassycanada.org/chn/zjgx/t536149.htm> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

Since 1999, the year Lai came to Canada, the Canadian Tourism Commission has been seeking ADS for Canada with China. As of May 13, 2009, there were 95 destinations that had been granted ADS and are listed on the website of China's National Tourism Administration. In January 2005, the then Liberal government of Paul Martin announced that it had reached an agreement with China on ADS,⁵¹ but it was never confirmed by Chinese tourist authorities, nor implemented. After years of endless talks, Ottawa lost patience and threatened to file a complaint with the World Trade Organization (WTO).⁵²

In December 2009, Prime Minister Harper's first trip to China secured the ADS, which Canada had been negotiating for such a designation with Beijing over the past nine years.

Full Apology for the Head Tax

From 1885-1923, only immigrants from China were subjected to a head tax. After decades of lobbying from Chinese communities in Canada, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, on June 22, 2006, apologized for the country's treatment of Chinese immigrants and offered them a redress package that included millions of dollars dedicated to anti-racism education. "On behalf of all Canadians and the government of Canada, we offer a full apology to Chinese-Canadians for the head tax and express our deepest sorrow for the subsequent exclusion of Chinese immigrants," Prime Minister Harper said.⁵³

The full apology is an important milestone in Canadian history for many reasons. It recognizes the contributions Chinese immigrants have made to nation building and it recognizes the historical injustices that have prevented many in the community from seeing themselves as full Canadians. "We have the collective responsibility to build a country based firmly on the notion of equality of opportunity, regardless of one's race or ethnic origin," Harper said.⁵⁴

The move was supported by all opposition parties in Canada, and welcomed by the Chinese Canadian and other ethnic communities. Even Beijing responded positively. "We welcome all efforts conducive to long-term survival and development of overseas Chinese, to help them to live in harmony with local people, and to integrate into the mainstream society," said the spokesperson of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁵

Passing Motion 291

The passage of Motion 291 is another example of how Chinese communities have had an impact on Canada's foreign policy.⁵⁶ On November 28, 2007, Canada's Parliament unanimously passed Motion 291 urging Japan to offer "formal and sincere" apologies to foreign women who had been forced into sexual servitude as "comfort women" during World War II. Researchers and historians estimate that as many as 200,000 women and girls were forced to become sex slaves for Japanese troops between 1937 and 1945. Most of the women came from countries invaded by Japan.

51 Industry Canada, "Canada Granted Approved Destination Status by Chinese Government," *News Releases*, January 21, 2005, <http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/ic1.nsf/eng/02331.html> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

52 Joanne Lee-Young, "Canada May Look to WTO to Gain Approved Destination Status in China," *Vancouver Sun*, January 7, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/vancouver/news/business/story.html?id=2c41099e-5eb0-4425-9e62-c53e132efab7&k=28213> (Accessed August 4, 2009).

53 Office of the Prime Minister of Canada, "Prime Minister Harper Offers Full Apology for the Chinese Head Tax," June 22, 2006, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1219> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

54 Ibid.

55 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "2006 Nian 6 Yue 27 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Mei Yu Zai Lixing Jizhewui Shang Da Jizhewen," ("June 27, 2006 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Jiang Yu Answers Reporters' Questions at Routine Press Conference.") June 27, 2006, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/pds/wjdt/fyrbt/t260229.htm> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

56 "News Release and Event," Canada ALPHA, <http://www.alpha-canada.org/index.htm> (Accessed April 26, 2010); "Motion 291 'Comfort Women'," November 28, 2007, <http://www.chineseinvancover.ca/2007/11/motion-291-comfort-women/> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

The motion passed by the House of Commons called on Japan to “take full responsibility for the involvement of the Japanese Imperial Forces in the system of forced prostitution, including through a formal and sincere apology to all of those who were victims.”⁵⁷ Chinese and other Asian communities living in Canada hailed the motion.

Political Participation

The growth of a middle class Chinese Canadian population has led to increased political participation. A number of influential politicians in Canada are of Chinese descent:⁵⁸

- Douglas Jung of Vancouver became the first Chinese Canadian Member of Parliament in 1957;
- Bob Wong became the first Chinese Canadian cabinet minister when he served in the Ontario Liberal government in the late 1980s;
- David Lam was appointed Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia in 1988;
- Vivienne Poy became the first Chinese Canadian Senator in 1998 and
- Adrienne Clarkson was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1999.

As voters, Chinese Canadians care what Canada does. They also care about relations between Canada and China. According to a Vancouver-based Chinese newspaper poll taken before the federal election in 2008, 42 percent of Chinese respondents picked Canada-China relations as the most influential issue in their choice of party, followed by reducing income taxes (19 percent of respondents) and healthcare (16 percent).⁵⁹

Pressure groups have also emerged, notably the Chinese Canadian National Council. The Toronto-based organization has spearheaded a campaign seeking redress from Ottawa for the Head Tax and the injustices that resulted from the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act.

Due to the diversity of the Chinese community the voices of these groups are mixed, especially when it comes to Sino-Canada relations. Chinese communities are often just as critical as other Canadians of China on issues such as human rights, democracy, the rule of law and the environment. But many Chinese Canadians also believe that a healthy Canada-China relationship would help address many of these issues more effectively. Canadian policy makers must be careful not to believe that anti-Beijing groups or pro-Beijing groups represent the sentiments of the entire Chinese-Canadian community.

The “413” Protest

On the afternoon of April 13, 2008, more than 6,000 pro-China demonstrators took to Parliament Hill to show their support for the Beijing government following China’s crackdown on Tibetan protests and ensuing calls for a boycott of the Beijing Summer Olympics.⁶⁰ The demonstrators sang patriotic songs and waved flags of Canada and China to show support for China and its right to rule Tibet.

57 “Canada MPs Demand Japan Apologize to WWII ‘Comfort Women,’” AFP, November 28, 2007, <http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5g2W6b2AKn18yWn-ZEnS9YdknaDBg> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

58 “In-depth: China - Chinese Immigration,” CBC, June 10, 2004, http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/china/chinese_immigration.html (Accessed July 27, 2009).

59 “Canada-China Relation Dominates Chinese Voters’ Mind: Poll,” Chinese in Vancouver, September 22, 2008, <http://www.chineseinvancouver.ca/2008/09/canada-china-relation-dominates-chinese-voters-mind-poll/> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

60 “Thousands Protest to Show Support for China,” CTV, April 13, 2008, http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20080413/OTT_chinese_protest_080413/20080413?hub=CTVNewsAt11 (Accessed April 27, 2010); Jack Jia, “Archive for Fenlei: Wotaihua 413 jihui,” (“Archive for Classification: Ottawa 413 Rally.”) <http://blog.jackjia.com/?cat=78> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

A Globe and Mail article commented on the protest

The community's response to the negative portrayals has been to counter them with an unprecedented show of pro-China demonstrations which have unfolded across the country in ethnic media, online chat forums and most notably, with a protest in Ottawa in April, during which thousands of flag-bearing Chinese Canadians marched on Parliament Hill to rally support for their homeland. Companion protests were held across the country in other major cities, including Montreal and Toronto. Some who attended the Saturday protest in Ottawa – which received little coverage in English language media, including this paper – put numbers of attendees at close to 10,000.⁶¹

As China moves closer to superpower status, its overseas community is proud of that success. There is also a view prevalent among many Chinese living in Canada that China's achievements are not given much credit. Many Chinese immigrants believe that in Canada, the outdated perception of China continues to be that it is a dictatorship with a poor human rights record.⁶²

Industrial Espionage

Accusations of industrial espionage have also soured Canada-China relations from time to time. In April 2006, just two months after the Conservative government was sworn into office, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, Peter Mackay, accused 1,000 Chinese spies of stealing industrial and high-technology secrets in Canada. "It's something that we want to signal we are prepared to address and continue to raise with the Chinese at the appropriate time," MacKay told CTV.⁶³

Coincidentally the accusation echoed similar claims made by two former Chinese officials who defected to Australia in February 2006.

China's Ambassador to Canada, Lu Shumin, retorted that Ottawa's accusation was baseless and not good for bilateral relations.⁶⁴ The incident unfortunately created a great deal of anxiety among the Chinese Canadian community, which felt as if it had come under suspicion.⁶⁵

61 Jessica Leeder, "Chinese-Canadian Diaspora Fostering Bond," *Globe and Mail*, March 31, 2009, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/archives/article704140.ece> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

62 Ibid.

63 "Government Vows to Curb Chinese Spying on Canada," *CanWest News Service*, April 16, 2006, <http://www.canada.com/montrealgazette/news/story.html?id=ca90416e-fe77-4b8d-ae59-a4e9f55b6441&k=26688> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

64 "Canada's Espionage Accusation Against China Baseless," *China Daily*, April 21, 2006, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-04/21/content_573700.htm (Accessed July 27, 2009).

65 "Jianada Zhongguo Jiandie Fengbo Kongzi Xueyuan Ye Cheng Jiandie Zuzhi," ("Canada-China Spy Storm, Confucius Institute Alleged Spy Organization.") *Singtao News*, June 19, 2007, http://www.stnn.cc:82/america/200706/t20070619_560041.html (Accessed August 5, 2009).

POLICY CHALLENGES

When Stephen Harper's Conservative government came into office in 2006, many people in Canada expected a new China policy that would take Sino-Canadian relations to a new level. But some China watchers in Canada believe that Ottawa actually does not have a China policy.⁶⁶

So far Canada has emphasized four foreign policy goals on China:⁶⁷

- To work with Beijing towards China's greater adherence to internationally accepted standards on human rights and the rule of law;
- To ensure that China's economic rise benefits Canada by increasing two-way trade and investment in goods and services;
- To work with China to advance shared interests such as health, the environment and regional peace and security and
- To position Canada as a preferred destination for Chinese immigrants, students and visitors.

Canada's four-pillar China policy appropriately reflects a multifaceted relationship between the two countries, and recognizes the importance of cooperation with China. But it has overlooked some of the complex trends that have emerged in the flow of people between the two countries. As a result, Harper's China policy faces a series of challenges.

Challenge 1: China as a Source and a Destination

It is easy for Canadians to see that China is a major source country for immigrants, students and visitors to Canada. While Canada is still in a position to promote itself as a preferred destination, the magnitude of China as a source country to Canada also needs to be better understood.

- China has become the leading source country of newcomers to Canada since 1998, particularly for economic migrants such as skilled workers and investors.
- China has become the second largest source country for annual arrivals of international students to Canada since 2000, and is currently the largest source of total student stock studying in Canada.
- China is currently the ninth major source country for overnight travelers to Canada with the highest average spending per trip in Canada of all international travelers.

In addition to the importance of China as a source of inflows to Canada, it is equally important to realize that China is becoming an economic magnet for human capital. Although China is not a country of immigration, it is increasingly being seen as one of the few economies in the world with brighter job prospects.

- China has issued increasing numbers of work permits to foreign workers. In Shanghai alone, the number of work permits issued has increased 13 times over the last 13 years, and Canada is the seventh largest sending country for foreign workers in Shanghai.
- Currently, China is the tenth most visited international destination by Canadians.
- China has surpassed Canada as the sixth major destination for international students at the post-secondary level, and is likely to attract more Canadian students in the future.

⁶⁶ "Canada's China Policy," Ottawa Citizen, August 26, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/topics/news/national/story.html?id=ae0a032b-7a10-484a-a839-440680e52617> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

⁶⁷ Government of Canada, "Canada-China," December 2009, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/china-chine/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/china_canada_chine.aspx?lang=eng&menu_id=14&menu=L (Accessed April 26, 2010).

Looking ahead, it is unrealistic to predict that the immigration flow from China to Canada will remain the same as it has in the last 10-15 years. This should not be regarded as less important for Canada, however, even if China is no longer the top source country of immigration.

In fact, many Chinese may still consider emigrating to Canada for lifestyle reasons rather than purely economic reasons.⁶⁸ Canada has to be prepared to leverage this new trend for Canada's economic and social benefit rather than just for the benefit of its labour market. With the possible conclusion of negotiations on ADS, more Chinese visitors are likely to come to Canada as tourists.

Furthermore, Canada is not only competing for international students with the US, UK, France, Germany and Australia but also has to compete with emerging education markets like China.

While China retains its importance as one of the major source countries for many types of human flows to Canada, perhaps more significant is that Beijing is increasingly seen as a destination for international human flows, including those from Canada. With efforts by Beijing to attract global talent and to promote Chinese culture and language globally, the interest in learning Chinese, visiting China and working and living there are on the rise for many Canadians with or without Chinese heritage.

Only if more Canadians understand the importance of China both as a source and a destination of flows of people between the two countries will policy be changed to reflect the importance of the two-way flow of people. Canada needs to position itself as a preferred destination for Chinese immigrants, students and visitors. Equally important, if not more so, is that Canada should also prepare more Canadians for "going east" to study and work. A broadened China policy could ensure that China's economic rise benefits Canada by increasing two-way trade and investment in goods and services, as well as by increasing two-way flows of people between the two countries.

Challenge 2: Chinese Communities in Canada

The importance of Chinese communities in Canada has been underestimated for a long time. As a country of immigrants, Canada has been accustomed to looking at immigrants from an economic perspective. Chinese immigrants, like all immigrants, have traditionally been seen as suppliers of needed manpower.

Too often when people try to measure the contribution of Chinese communities to Canada, they will talk about their higher unemployment numbers and lower earnings due to insufficient English-language skills or the fact that their foreign credentials are not recognized here. They also talk about the concentration of Chinese communities in cities like Vancouver and Toronto, or about the fact that they may not integrate fully into Canadian society.

When Beijing was gearing up for the 29th Summer Olympic Games, the first Olympic Games ever held in China, Chinese communities in Canada were questioned about their loyalty to Canada. According to a Vancouver Sun article

Members of Vancouver's large overseas Chinese community will face a complex set of dual loyalties during the Beijing Summer Games, rooted in a simple quandary: whether to cheer for Chinese or Canadian athletes, or both.⁶⁹

68 Erin Anderssen, "PEI's Big Immigration Boom," *Globe and Mail*, October 3, 2009, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/peis-big-immigration-boom/article1310394/> (Accessed October 3, 2009).

69 Joanne Lee-Young, "Chinese-Canadians Face a Test of Patriotism," *Vancouver Sun*, August 6, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/vancouver/news/westcoastnews/story.html?id=4b676251-297f-4212-9c3c-9dcba94ca3a&p=2> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

Questioning the loyalty of Chinese Canadians during such a major international sporting event is unjustified for a number of reasons. Firstly, about 27.4 percent of all ethnic Chinese in Canada were actually born in Canada and 16.6 percent are second generation or more. Their education, experience and the degree to which they are Canadian is likely no different than any other citizens born in Canada.

Secondly, 77 percent of all ethnic Chinese in Canada hold Canadian citizenship only. In other words, nearly half of all ethnic Chinese in Canada are naturalized citizens. Their Canadian identity and value have been created and shaped during the process of immigration and naturalization. Canadian citizenship to these individuals is a formal recognition that Canada has accepted them as Canadians. Naturalized Chinese Canadians should be treated equally with other naturalized citizens.

Thirdly, more than half of all Chinese immigrants in Canada come from countries other than the PRC. In other words, nearly half of all Chinese immigrants in Canada are likely to have nothing to do with the PRC in terms of their country of origin.

Finally, cheering for Chinese or Canadian athletes has nothing to do with one's loyalty. Similarly, when a Chinese team led by Canadian coach Dan Raphael defeated its opponents, including a Canadian team, and claimed the gold at the World's Women's Curling Championships in 2009,⁷⁰ should Canadians have questioned the Quebec native's loyalty to Canada? When Raphael brought his Chinese team to the Vancouver Winter Olympics in 2010, should this have been an issue in our minds?

Statistical evidence has demonstrated more meaningful measures with which to judge the loyalty to Canada of Chinese communities.⁷¹ According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, the majority of Canadians of Chinese origin feels a strong sense of belonging to Canada. In 2002, 76 percent of those who reported Chinese origins said they had a strong sense of belonging to Canada. At the same time, 58 percent said they had a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.

Canadians of Chinese origin are also active in Canadian society. For example, 64 percent of those who were eligible to vote reported doing so in the 2000 federal election, while 60 percent said they voted in the last provincial election. In addition, about 35 percent reported that they had participated in an organization such as a sports team or community association in the 12 months preceding the 2002 Ethnic Diversity survey.

At the same time, though, over one-third (34 percent) of Canadians of Chinese origin reported that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment based on their ethnicity, race, religion, language or accent in the past five years or since their arrival in Canada. A majority (63 percent) of those who had experienced discrimination said that they felt it was based on their race or skin colour, while 42 percent said that the discrimination took place at work or when applying for a job or promotion.

Major-General Victor G. Odlum (1880-1971), who during his career served as Canada's ambassador to China, once called for the day when Chinese Canadians would "not be distinguished from other Canadians." That wish remains as relevant today as it was during Odlum's lifetime.⁷²

70 "China Makes History – Claims Women's World Curling Gold," World Curling Federation, March 29, 2009, <http://www.worldcurling.org/2009-stories/2009-Mar29-WWCC-China-Gold.html> (Accessed April 26, 2010).

71 Colin Lindsay, "The Chinese Community in Canada," Statistics Canada – Catalogue No. 89-621-XIE, 2001, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2006001-eng.pdf> (Accessed July 27, 2009).

72 Wai-man Lee, *Portraits of a Challenge: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Canadians* (Toronto: The Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario, 1984), 169.

Challenge 3: Canadian Communities in China

Canadian communities in China are growing for many reasons. Although the exact number remains unknown, the best estimate puts the number of Canadians in China (Mainland and HKSAR) at 250,000-300,000, roughly the size of the population of Saskatoon or Windsor.⁷³

Canada cannot afford to ignore the fact that so many Canadians live in China. How Canada can turn its diaspora in China into an advantage remains a huge challenge.

First, how should Canadians living in China or other parts of the world be recognized as part of Canada rather than as foreigners who hold Canadian passports? Canadians have to change their mindset to accept the fact that the flow of people moves in two directions. Canada must learn to respect the fact that Canadians, native-born or naturalized, are more internationally mobile than ever before and many wish to live abroad. When they settle down in Beijing or in another city, Canada must learn to treat them the same as any other Canadian in terms of their rights and obligations.

Second, how should Canada encourage the political and civic participation of its citizens abroad? For one thing, Ottawa should consider changing the current election rule that does not allow overseas citizens to vote in Canadian elections after they have lived abroad for five years. Canada should also consider creating political mechanisms that would represent overseas citizens at the federal and provincial levels. This would significantly encourage political and civic participation by all Canadians, including citizens residing abroad. The views of Canadian communities in China should also be taken into account in Sino-Canadian policy making.

Third, how can Canada better communicate with its overseas communities? Canada must develop a consultation and communication process with Canadians living overseas to keep them involved and informed of any changes in citizenship laws or rules regulating their movement across borders, and to listen to their needs including those of consular protection and other services. This would also ensure that any risks associated with Canadians abroad are properly assessed and addressed.

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

Finally, in pursuing such policy agendas and addressing the new challenges, a major effort must be made to bring together interests from across a range of government departments and organizations (including those at the provincial level).

73 A rough estimate based on K. Zhang, "Canadians in Hong Kong SAR," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Canadians Abroad Project, *Portrait Report*, September 2009, http://www.asiapacific.ca/files/canadiansabroad/Portrait_Report/Portrait_HK_V3-ed.pdf (Accessed October 4, 2009) and Shibao Guo, "Canadians in Beijing," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Canadians Abroad Project, *Portrait Report*, August 2009, http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/Portrait_Report_Beijing.pdf (Accessed April 26, 2010).

CONCLUSION

The turn of the 21st century witnessed growing multi-stream flows of people from China to Canada. Greater freedom of movement in and out of China and the growing affluence of Chinese citizens is rapidly changing the pattern of flows of people and broadening them to include tourists, students and professional workers.

The flow of people between the two countries has also become a two-way flow. The same economic forces that have transformed China's place in global production, trade and finance have also affected human resources. China is no longer an exporter of labour but has become a magnet in attracting foreign talent. The popular perception that immigrants to Canada who return to their native countries have "failed" or are "opportunists" is misguided.

The Chinese community in Canada has changed, is changing and will continue to change in many aspects that will ultimately have profound impacts on Canada-China relations. What the Chinese Canadian community looks like today is as diversified within the group as the diversity in Canadian society as a whole. Chinese Canadians are more visible in certain locations, schools, occupations and industries. This poses new challenges for Canada and all Canadians in terms of understanding Chinese communities as part of Canada's multicultural society and not as a distinctive group.

Nor can Canada afford to ignore a growing body of Canadians, native-born or naturalized, who choose to live in China, an emerging global powerhouse. More fundamentally, Canadian communities in China can play an important role and potentially be of great benefit to Canada.

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

Of all the reasons for Canada to have a robust and forward-looking China policy, people-to-people linkages is arguably the most fundamental. Currently the flow of people between Canada and China is unmatched by any other OECD country.

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

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THE CIC CANADA-CHINA RELATIONS PROJECT

Bilateral relations between the governments of Canada and the People's Republic of China are a matter of strategic interest to Canada. Recent changes in the frequency of high-level visits, the effective style and content of bilateral communications and perspectives held about each country by various sectors of each other's society all suggest that the Canada-China relationship has changed significantly in recent years. Yet China remains vitally important to Canada for a variety of reasons and in a variety of sectors. Political and diplomatic cooperation on issues of direct bilateral concern and also on issues of global import remains critically important. Commercial and trade ties linking Canada with the world's third largest and fastest growing economy are of obvious importance. Cultural and civil society ties, including immigration patterns and the ancillary effects they generate, are also important. In these and other matters, the Canada-China relationship will likely grow in importance in the years to come. While the diversity of links between Canada and China militates in favour of giving due attention to a multiplicity of commercial, academic and civil society links, bilateral cooperation at the federal/central government level remains important.

In keeping with CIC objectives to advance research and dialogue on international affairs issues of importance and interest to Canadians, the CIC Canada-China Relations Project has focused on supporting research and analysis toward building a policy framework for Canada's relationship with China. The project's activities have been developed along three thematic areas that reflect issues of common concern: a) Chinese domestic institutional and normative contexts for engagement; b) Economic relations; c) Collaboration on global issues such as environment, health and security.

- a) Domestic Context for Engagement: The Canada-China relationship can be most effective when it is grounded on complementarity of interests, which in turn requires mutual understanding of domestic normative and institutional conditions in both countries. Canadian initiatives with China, ranging from WTO compliance and business regulation to human rights, can be effective only if they are designed and implemented in light of China's domestic conditions, ranging from popular norms to governmental structures and policy priorities. Similarly, China's success in nurturing productive relationships with Canada will require appreciation of Canadian domestic conditions. The papers for this thematic area were commissioned and directed by Professor Jeremy Paltiel of Carleton University.
- b) Economic Relations: Economic relations between Canada and China are critically important. Economic relations include bilateral trade and investment relations, and also extend to local effects of economic conditions and behaviour. In the trade area, Canada's strengths match up extremely well with China's needs. In trade and investment relations, efforts to promote normative and institutional accommodation in China for Canadian business objectives are consistent with Chinese development policies and also serve important Canadian interests in the areas of good governance. As well, national economic behavior by the two countries in response to changing economic conditions at the global, regional and local level have important effects on the Canada-China relationship. The papers for this thematic area were commissioned and directed by Yuen Pau Woo, President of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.
- c) Collaboration on Global Issues: The importance of China's responsible participation in systems for addressing global policy concerns in areas such as environment, health and security cannot be overstated. Yet China's participation in the global community can be distorted by its responses to apprehension and competition from other global actors, particularly the United States, the European Union and Japan. Canada has a significant role to play in supporting China's responsible participation, not only through direct bilateral programming but also through our capacity to deploy good offices, legitimation and other soft power resources both bilaterally and globally. The papers for this thematic area were commissioned and directed by Professor Brian Job of the University of British Columbia.

The papers here presented in connection with the CIC Canada-China Relations Project offer informed, nonpartisan recommendations for a variety of stakeholders in Canada, including the government and private and public sector institutions and individuals, with a view toward furthering the development of healthy long-term relations between Canada and China. While historical and current conditions may result in disagreement as to how best to manage the Canada-China relationship, China's importance to the world requires our attention. We hope that the papers presented here can further the process of understanding and effective engagement that will strengthen the foundation for productive relations for the long-term interests of both countries.

Dr. Pitman B. Potter

Chair

CIC China Working Group

The Canadian International Council (CIC) is a non-partisan, nationwide council established to strengthen Canada's role in international affairs. With local branches nationwide, the CIC seeks to advance research, discussion and debate on international issues by supporting a Canadian foreign policy network that crosses academic disciplines, policy areas and economic sectors.

The CIC features a privately funded fellowship program and a network of issue-specific Working Groups. The goal of the CIC Working Groups is to identify major issues and challenges in their respective areas of study and to suggest and outline the best possible solutions to Canada's strategic foreign policy position on those issues. The CIC aims to generate rigorous foreign policy research and advice.

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45 Willcocks Street, Box 210
Toronto Ontario M5S 1C7
TEL: 416-977-9000, 1-800-668-2442
FAX: 416-946-7319