

Trans-Pacific Mobilities

The Chinese and Canada

Edited by Lloyd L. Wong



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INTRODUCTION

Trans-Pacific Mobilities: The Chinese and Canada

Lloyd L. Wong

Although the Chinese have ventured over the South China Sea since the third century BC, very few chose to live abroad before the second millennium (Wang 2000, 1–2). However, with China's burgeoning maritime and commercial development in Southeast Asia, an overseas Chinese population began to develop by the twelfth century. In the 1560s, there was a significant Chinese community in Manila, and between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, migration from China headed directly to Southeast Asia (Lai 2006, 53). During the nineteenth century, Chinese peasants were part of an international labour migration that included Canada. By 1955, the overseas Chinese population had reached 11,454,000, a number that more than tripled to approximately 39,463,000 in 2009 (Li and Li 2013, 20). Moreover, assuming that the 2000–9 growth rate will remain steady, Li and Li (2013, 20) have projected that this population will increase to 52 million by 2030 and to 59 million by 2040. In 2009, almost all of the overseas Chinese lived in just twenty-three countries. During that year, Canada was home to 1,332,000 of them, making it the sixth most popular country for Chinese immigrants, after Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the United States, and Singapore. Among the non-Asian countries in which Chinese reside, it ranked number two after the United States and slightly ahead of Peru and Australia. Thus, Canada is a very important region for the Chinese overseas and for their transnational and mobility practices. Historically, the Chinese have been an integral component of Canadian society since 1867, the time of Confederation.

Chinese Migration to Canada

With the discovery of gold in California in the mid-nineteenth century a trans-Pacific imaginary emerged in southern China and trans-Pacific migration began in earnest. The Chinese have been coming to Canada since the mid-nineteenth century, a long period in Canadian history, given that the country itself is only about 150 years old. Ng (2006, 234) divides this

migration into five phases: a preliminary stage from 1858 to 1884; a restricted-entry era from 1885 to 1923; an exclusion period from 1923 to 1947; a renewed but limited immigration phase from 1947 to 1967; and a sustained and sizable immigration period from 1967 to the present. The first two stages entailed extensive labour migration, both pre-Confederation and shortly afterward, from Fujian, Guangdong, and the Pearl River Delta in southern China. During the first period, a few thousand Chinese miners joined the gold rush to British Columbia, hoping to make their fortune on Gold Mountain, as the province was nicknamed (Yu 2013). They were soon followed by a large cohort of low-wage contract labour that was hired to help construct the Canadian Pacific Railway as part of Canada's nation-building project. Though somewhat deterred by the federal government's imposition of a head tax, which increased from fifty dollars per head in 1886 to a hundred dollars in 1900 and to five hundred dollars in 1904, Chinese "coolie" emigration to Canada remained significant. During the 1880s, approximately twenty thousand Chinese men came to Canada to participate in the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, typically undertaking dangerous work for little pay. In total, it is estimated that about eighty-two thousand Chinese entered Canada from 1886 to 1923 (Ng 2006, 234).

In 1882, the United States implemented a Chinese Exclusion Act, a measure that Canada copied in 1923 when it passed its own Chinese Immigration Act. Known more popularly as the Chinese Exclusion Act, in reference to its American equivalent, this explicitly racist legislation created a period of stagnation for Chinese people who wished to enter Canada. Other forms of social and cultural immobility became realities for Chinese immigrants who already lived in the country. This era lasted until 1947, when the Chinese Immigration Act was rescinded.

The next period, from 1947 to 1967, was essentially one of family reunification, in which relatively few Chinese immigrants were reunited with spouses and children, whose migration route required them to come via Hong Kong. Li (1998, 95 and 97) estimates that 12,560 Chinese immigrants were admitted to Canada from 1949 to 1955, followed by 30,546 from 1956 to 1967. Thus, the total number during these eighteen years was about 43,000, for an average of just over 2,000 per year.

The current period of sustained and sizable immigration started with the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy in 1967. This too followed the lead of the United States, whose 1965 Hart-Celler Act erased the country-of-origin quota system and emphasized human capital along with family

reunification. During the early part of this era, significant numbers of middle-class Hong Kong Chinese came to Canada. Entering under what was then called the “Independent” class, they overshadowed the continuing labour migration of working-class Chinese, most of whom came under the “Family” reunification class. Although Chinese working- and middle-class immigration persists today, it is marked by two distinct developments. The first involved Chinese business immigrants who complemented the existing working- and middle-class migration. Noteworthy flows of Chinese entrepreneurs and capitalists began arriving in Canada during the early 1980s as part of the newly created Canadian Business Immigration Program. During the height of this program in the 1990s, the number of business immigrants, most of whom were Chinese, comprised approximately 10 percent of all immigrants to Canada. The second development was the dramatic shift in the regional origin of Chinese migrants to Canada: before 1997, they came largely from Hong Kong; after 1997, they came from the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Between 2000 and 2010, most of Canada’s immigrants came from the PRC, which sent approximately 30,000 to 40,000 people each year, whereas migrants from Hong Kong dwindled from approximately 3,000 in 2000 to fewer than 1,000 in 2009 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011, 27). Between 2010 to 2012, India and the Philippines matched or even slightly surpassed the PRC as a source of migrants to Canada, but the numbers of Chinese immigrants remain very substantial. Thus, in 2013 there were 34,126 immigrants from the PRC, 33,085 from India, and 29,539 from the Philippines, and these three countries alone have supplied approximately 40 percent of all migrants to Canada in recent years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2014).

Over the past 150 years, Chinese migration and immigration has affected Canadian society even though the number of Chinese in Canada, as a percentage of its total population, has never been very large. Throughout most of Canadian history, as Li (1998, 40) points out, the Chinese have comprised less than 1 percent of the population, and calculations from the 2011 census reveal that they make up slightly less than 4 percent. Nevertheless, recent decades have seen a significant increase in the concentration of Chinese in many metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary, and in many neighbourhoods in these cities. This volume will examine the migration and associated mobilities of the Chinese in Canada, as well as their presence in the country and their lived experiences. It will apply the theoretical lens of the new mobilities paradigm, which will be described later in this chapter.

A Brief Review of “The Chinese in Canada” Literature

Many scholarly books have been written about the Chinese in Canada, but none share this volume’s focus on mobilities. Most, including the following examples, are historically or situationally specific: Vancouver’s Chinatown (Anderson 1991); Chinese in Toronto (Arlene Chan 2011); Chinese in British Columbia (Morton 1974); Chinese restaurants in small towns (Cho 2010); the Chinese laundry (Hoe 2004); Chinese in Canada during the exclusion era (Mar 2010); and Chinese accessing citizenship (Roy 2008). In terms of general and broad scholarly books, three works stand out, all of which date from the 1980s. In *From China to Canada*, Con et al. (1982) use primary and secondary sources to provide a comprehensive and detailed historical account of the Chinese and their communities in Canada, spanning the mid-nineteenth-century beginnings of Chinese migration to the early 1980s. This work was followed by *Gold Mountain*, Anthony Chan’s (1983) much more succinct and less detailed socio-historical analysis. It examines the same period and focuses not only on the institutional racism endured by the Chinese but also on their accomplishments in occupational, social, cultural, and political endeavours. In 1988, Peter Li’s *The Chinese in Canada* provided a very comprehensive sociological analysis, and a second edition of the book appeared in 1998. It covered the history of the Chinese in Canada from the late nineteenth century to the 1990s, from the perspectives of institutional racism, social exclusion, and contemporary racial prejudice.

Some international literature examines the overseas Chinese, using the transnational migration and transnationalism perspective (Hsu 2000; Ling 2012; Ma and Cartier 2003; Pieke et al. 2004; Wong and Ho 2006; Yang 2013). Yang (2013) contends that Chinese migration to the United States has gradually shifted from sojourning (1848–1943), to settlement (since 1943), and to contemporary transnationalism (since the 1970s), with the latter two still occurring and overlapping to some degree. Arguably, this would apply to Canada as well.

Global Chinese Mobilities and Canada: Impact and Framework

Impact

The international migration of the Chinese has had a substantial impact on Canada. In 1871, shortly after Confederation, the Chinese constituted only 0.04 percent of its population. A hundred years later, in 1971, they comprised 0.6 percent, and by the turn of the twenty-first century they made up

4.5 percent. At that time, they numbered close to 1.4 million, the largest cohort of non-European ethnic origin in the country and the fifth largest ethnic origin other than English and French (Lindsay 2007). Thus, the last four decades have seen a tremendous demographic effect, as Chinese immigrants have outnumbered those from other ethnic groups. This phenomenon began in earnest during the mid- to late 1980s, with Hong Kong immigrants anticipating the 1997 return of the territory to the PRC; it then switched to large-scale immigration from the PRC itself. As noted above, among the non-Asian countries in which Chinese reside, Canada ranks second only to the United States and is slightly ahead of Peru and Australia. Like most other visible minorities, Chinese immigrants live primarily in the large urban centres, and thus their mobilities have had, and continue to have, the greatest impact in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, and Calgary. In fact, a local newspaper dubbed Vancouver as the most “Asian” city outside of Asia (*Vancouver Sun* 2014).

The social practices of mobility encompass various assemblages of humans, objects, technologies, and scripts (Elliott and Urry 2010), a fact that certainly applies to the Chinese in Canada. At their most essential level, mobilities involve the travel and migration of Chinese people across the key nodes of a diaspora that now numbers in the tens of millions (Elliott and Urry 2010, 17). However, mobilities are economic as well, such as the movement of capital in foreign direct investment, remittances, and international trade. For example, the avenues of capital include small players, such as the non-resident Chinese who have recently purchased Vancouver homes, creating negative public discourse and rhetoric about skyrocketing real estate prices and the decreasing quality of neighbourhoods. Avenues of capital also encompass big players, such as the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (the largest oil and gas company in China and one of the largest in the world), with its foreign direct investment and acquisition of Nexen, a Calgary-based oil company. A historical example of avenues of capital is the impact of Chinese migration on the Canadian economy and labour force during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this period, Chinese labourers and merchants contributed to Canadian state treasuries through various forms of import duties, fees, and taxes, many of which were iniquitous. The most blatant of these, the head tax, enabled the federal government to collect \$23 million between 1886 and 1923, which is the equivalent of \$1.2 billion in 2004 dollars (Wong and Ho 2006, 244). At another level, contemporary

Chinese immigrants have a broad labour impact that includes high-skilled workers in scientific and technical fields (Lindsay 2007, 15) as well as low-skilled workers who do janitorial and restaurant work. Thus, not all Chinese immigrants are highly skilled and highly educated, as approximately 30 percent have less than high school education, and 25 percent are at low income levels (Lindsay 2007, 14, 17).

These mobilities are also social. For instance, there are complex forms of social remittances and family relationships involving networks, many of which are transnational. As well, mobilities can be symbolic, encompassing information, ideas, and images, as in architectural and language mobilities. As an example of the latter, the Calgary Board of Education offers a bilingual Mandarin-English program for both Chinese and non-Chinese students. Mobilities are also cultural, with abundant examples, including health mobilities (such as acupuncture, herbal remedies, and alternative medicines) and culinary mobilities (dim sum, Beijing duck, and many others). Thus, Chinese mobilities are multi-faceted and entail far more than the geographical movement of bodies.

Framework

In 2000, sociologist John Urry argued in *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* that mobility is both a geographical and a social phenomenon. Subsequently, the social sciences developed the new mobilities paradigm in the early 2000s (Büscher and Urry 2009, 99; Cresswell 2006, 1; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006, 1; Sheller and Urry 2006, 208; Urry 2007, 6). This novel paradigm, which has advanced across the social sciences throughout the past decade, provides a rethinking of the social science research agendas that examine the movements of people, objects, and information in various complex and dynamic relationships (Elliott and Urry 2010, 15; Sheller 2011, 1). The genesis for the new paradigm involved the critique of traditional social science as being static, with its emphasis on sedentarist theories (Sheller and Urry 2006, 208). What do mobilities entail as a concept? Scholars who employ the paradigm have developed a wide range of conceptualizations at differing spheres of analysis and from the broad to the very specific. Speaking in general terms, Sheller (2011, 1, 212) notes that mobilities are “the combined movement of people, objects and information in all of their complex relational dynamics,” and she argues that in a broad-ranging generic sense, mobilities embrace physical movements as well as those of images and information. Cresswell (2010, 18) also very broadly states that

“mobility involves a fragile entanglement of physical movement, representations, and practices.” On the other hand, Urry (2007, 47) hypothesizes that five specific interdependent mobilities that produce social life are organized across distance, and form and reform its contours. These are the corporeal travel of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel (via the media), virtual travel, and communicative travel. For this volume, it will be useful to adopt a broad and expansive view of mobilities that allows the exploration of the various ways in which they are produced with respect to the Chinese in Canada. Thus, we use Suzan Ilcan’s (2013, 5) recent definition: “In broad terms, mobility refers to changes in the position or disposition of people, goods, and images in relation to belonging, place, space, and identity.” Regardless of how one defines mobilities, it is important to focus on how they are produced, as Cresswell (2006, 3) notes. He suggests that mobility must be interpreted as socially produced motion that can be understood through three relational moments. These are human mobilities, where mobility is a brute fact; representational mobilities, which are frequently ideological; and practised mobilities – experiential, embodied, and a way of being in the world. Mobility, when socially produced, becomes movement that is imbued with meaning for humans and has social, political, cultural, and economic signatures (Adey 2010, 13, 34). Given these multiple signatures, scholars can examine the various ways in which they are connected or aligned as assemblages. Thus, “constellations of mobility” is an important explanatory theoretical framework, which this book adopts. As Cresswell (2010, 18) puts it, “At any one time, then, there are pervading constellations of mobility – particular patterns of movement, representations of movement, and ways of practicing movement that make sense together.” Thus, the new mobilities paradigm encourages thinking about “crisscrossing mobilities” that further inform the interconnections between networks and spaces (Söderström and Crot 2010, 10) and the formation of constellations of mobility. Although the research on mobilities may reveal constellations, Sheller and Urry (2006, 210) argue that the mobilities paradigm does not insist on a grand new narrative of mobility, fluidity, or liquidity. Certainly, some scholars have suggested that it provides the opportunity to overcome the under-theorization of mobility that has characterized the social sciences because it offers a loose framework for scholars who seek to engage with mobility research and hence attempts at greater theorization (Söderström and Crot 2010, 17). This criticism regarding under-theorization may soon be dated, however, as recent works have begun a theorization of the conjunction and relationship of

mobilities with core areas such as inequality (Birtchnell and Caletrio 2014; Ohnmacht, Maksim, and Bergman 2009), critical theories (Söderström et al. 2013), and social action (Marchetti 2011).

The course taken in this volume is that bringing together studies of migration, immigration, citizenship, integration, and transnationalism with a new mobilities lens provides analytical synergy and that this approach is effective for the analysis of the Chinese in Canada. Back in the late 1990s, Winland (1998) described ethnic scholarship in Canada as being “landlocked” because it privileged bounded and essentialized notions of ethnicity and did not allow conceptual space for transnationalism. It should be noted that this also applied in the United States and Europe. With the introduction and growth of transnationalism and diasporic studies in the late 1990s and the 2000s, a conceptual space has been engendered in ethnic and immigrant scholarship. Hannam, Sheller, and Urry (2006, 10) point out that diasporas and transnational citizenship studies have “offered trenchant critiques of the bounded and static categories of nation, ethnicity, community, place and state within much social science.” In addition, they cite the crucial role that migration studies can play for the field of mobilities research. Other scholars, such as Faist (2013), have similarly highlighted the important relationship of the new mobilities paradigm with migration studies and sociology while noting both spatial and social mobilities and the emergence of transnational social space. Although there does appear to be a dialectical relationship between migration studies (including transnational and diasporic) and mobility studies, this is true only at the points where they converge. However, when there is no convergence, the reach of these two paradigms goes beyond each other. As Blunt (2007, 685) states,

And yet, mobilities research clearly extends far beyond the study of migration, just as the latter extends far beyond the conceptual and methodological concerns of the “new mobilities paradigm.” Although research on mobilities and migrations cannot be collapsed onto each other, there are many productive connections between them, particularly in terms of materiality, politics, and methodology.

Whereas migration studies examine the movement of people, most typically across borders, transnationalism and transnational studies work from the fact that it is not only people who move across borders but that human sociality also entails the movement and mobility of goods, economic capital, networks, images, and information. © name only a few. There multiple

mobilities and their interconnections augur well for an analysis of the Chinese in Canada, using the lens of the new mobilities paradigm while recognizing that it is integrally related to processes of migration, transnationalism, and diasporas.

Thus, the paradigm provides the primary theoretical framework for this volume. As mentioned earlier, our contention is that the mobilities turn and the new mobilities paradigm can be articulated and nuanced with ethnic, migration, transnationalism, and diaspora studies in connection with the Chinese in Canada. This volume will elaborate on forms of Chinese mobilities in terms of how they came about and/or what their consequences have been or will be for Canada. This includes issues related to ethnicity, temporary migration, immigration and transmigration, mobilities and immobilities, and transnational identities and practices.

What is also unique about this volume is precisely the use of the new mobilities paradigm and its convergence, in many respects, with the transnationalism paradigm. The latter arose during the 1990s, with the work of social anthropologists (Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1992, 1995), and was subsequently applied to the Canadian context (Goldring and Krishnamurti 2007; Satzewich and Wong 2006). These two paradigms are not mutually exclusive but, rather, have intersections in terms of many of the conceptualizations and tenets associated with each.

This volume allows for discussion of both macro- and micro-level influences on the practices of mobilities and transnationalism. It achieves this by bringing together analyses and findings by researchers who examine historical, contemporary, and emergent forms of Chinese mobilities that have significant implications for Canadian society. Over the past 150 years, Canada has been affected by many forms of Chinese mobilities that are geographic, social, economic, and symbolic. These multiple mobilities, and their interconnections and constellations, are grist for the new mobilities mill. The movement of the Chinese across spatial, social, and cultural settings does not occur independently of the political and economic structures that shape subjectivity, locality, and mobility (D'Andrea, Ciolfi, and Gray 2011). Hence, the politics of mobility, in terms of the social relations of production, is a central concern of many chapters in this volume. As revealed above, the greatest proportion of Chinese people who migrated to Canada would be perceived as engaging in “middling” forms of transnationalism. Only a few would be classed as transnational elites, and a slightly larger proportion would be considered as developing-world migrants. The concern for this volume is the everyday practices and geographic placement of the

Chinese in Canada, historically and in contemporary times, with the latter essentially confined to urban settings, which include many forms of transnational urbanism (Conrad and Latham 2005, 227). Most of the chapters are case studies that focus on the large cities of Western Canada (Vancouver, Calgary, and Victoria) and Ontario (Toronto and Ottawa) as well as on regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan. However, it should be noted that a few (Chapters 2, 14, and 16) do cite examples in, or include participants from, Montreal. Although the discussion of Montreal is limited, it should be noted that 90 percent of Canada's Chinese population resides in the country's six largest cities, inclusive of Montreal, whereas 84 percent lives in its five largest cities, exclusive of Montreal (Statistics Canada 2015). Thus, the limited inclusion of Montreal is not overly problematic, as its Chinese population comprises only 6 percent of the Canadian total. Further, no chapter in this volume focuses specifically on Chinese mobilities in the Atlantic provinces, but this exclusion is not very problematic either, as the Chinese population in the Maritimes comprises less than 1 percent of the 1.3 million Chinese in Canada (Statistics Canada 2015). Chinese mobilities that extend to Montreal and Halifax are nevertheless still captured in several chapters (Chapters 6, 7, and 9), where authors utilize national-level empirical data in a country-wide analysis.

What is of particular interest here is how specific forms of mobility have come to be associated with a distinctive subject position of being Chinese, even though this position includes Chinese tourists, temporary workers, students, immigrants, and native-born citizens. As Cresswell and Merriman (2011, 9) point out, particular means and styles of moving are associated with distinctive subject positions. This volume examines how various forms of Chinese mobilities play out, including human, cultural, social, economic, and symbolic mobilities. It is grounded in five thematic areas regarding Chinese mobilities in Canada, many of which overlap: these are historical mobilities; cultural and symbolic mobilities; highly skilled human capital mobilities; family and gendered mobilities; and transnational mobilities. Referred to as mobility constellations, these thematic areas are examined through a range of disciplinary conversations that include history, geography, sociology, and religion. The primary objective of the authors is to search for various ways to identify and to indicate the meaning and relevance of mobilities as they pertain to the Chinese in Canada, either directly or indirectly in terms of their life contexts and social relationships. In essence, this volume is about tracing the constellations of mobilities of the Chinese in Canada (Czizler, Kaufmann, and Kesselring 2008; Cresswell 2010).

Outline of the Volume

Cresswell's (2010) theoretical framework of the "constellations of mobility" is an approach that in a historical sense, connects movements while remaining attentive to their meaning, practice, and the ways in which they are inter-related. In this volume, the movements and migrations of the Chinese to and from Canada, and within Canada, are linked by showing the various constellations of mobility thematically in terms of interrelated substantive areas of investigation. Thus, the volume is divided into five parts, each one devoted to a constellation of mobility (historical, cultural and symbolic, highly skilled, family and gender, and transnational). The meaning and practices of mobility within and between the constellations vary according to history and situational contexts. Yet the contributors make connections to each other's work, and the book itself renders an overall chronicling or a general narrative of the extent and practices of Chinese mobilities in Canada. Inevitably, the politics of mobility emerge in many chapters, as the movement of the Chinese and their associated mobilities (economic, cultural, social) are regulated by state and/or organizational policies in both historical and geographic contexts.

Part 1: Historical Mobilities consists of two chapters that explore early Chinese movement to and settlement in Canada. Some workers returned to China, but many others remained, providing agricultural and other forms of manual labour. Systemic discrimination forced some of them out of the wage-labour sector and into non-competitive ethnic service sectors as entrepreneurs running vegetable gardens, restaurants, and laundries. However, Chinese activities in Canada were not just reactive during this time but also proactive, as they "brokered belonging" (Mar 2010).

In Chapter 1, Henry Yu and Stephanie Chan analyze historical Cantonese speaking Chinese migrants' journey across the Pacific Ocean, hence their use of the term "Cantonese Pacific," and how it fashioned movement into Canada. They turn to a case study of family networks in Saskatchewan, applying network analysis. Chapter 2, by David Chuenyan Lai, takes a more traditional transnationalism approach to examine various forms of mobility in early and contemporary Canadian Chinatowns.

Part 2: Cultural and Symbolic Mobilities rapidly shifts the focus to more contemporary mobilities, though some chapters in Parts 2 to 5 do discuss some important historical contexts that date back several decades. This constellation of cultural and symbolic mobilities goes well beyond the mere corporeal travel of people and demonstrates integrally related non-material mobilities such as belief systems and media content in terms of culture, symbols, and other abstract forms

Chapter 3, by Paul Crowe, leads off this constellation by examining the followers of Lü Dongbin, a Tang Dynasty scholar. He scrutinizes the cultural, spiritual, and symbolic mobilities, as well as material, personal, and collective mobilities of this group as it moves between Hong Kong and Vancouver. The chapter is also unique in its discussion of the author's role as investigator in the research process.

Chapter 4, by Shuyu Kong, is a case study of the Fairchild Media Group, who have a Canadian-based television channel that broadcasts in Cantonese. In 2007, over half (53 percent) of Chinese Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area watched Fairchild TV every week, and it was the number-one medium reaching this ethnic population (Ipsos Reid 2007). Kong analyzes Fairchild's flagship program *Mandarin Profile*, arguing that it arose from the convergence of media globalization, Chinese immigration to Canada, and Canadian multiculturalism. Her work illustrates the politics of mobility in establishing this constellation of culture and symbols that is associated with the movement of Chinese people, capital, and ideas in Canada.

In Chapter 5, Marcella Cassiano, Sara Dorow, and Heather Schmidt round out this constellation with a further analysis of media content. Scrutinizing newspaper representations of Chinese mobilities in Alberta, particularly of capital and temporary labour from China, they show powerful public discourses that racialize and demonize these Chinese mobilities as untrustworthy, predatory, and undemocratic.

Part 3: Highly Skilled Mobilities examines the recent influx of Chinese in Canada and the United States as these countries seek to acquire designer immigrants. A mobility-knowledge nexus typifies this constellation, as highly skilled immigrants are usually well educated. Unlike Part 1 of the book, which deals largely with the early migration of working-class Chinese, this part pertains to middle- and upper-middle-class migrations of highly skilled and highly educated Chinese workers over the past three to four decades. The migration of low-skilled Chinese labour to Canada does persist, consisting primarily of those who come in the family class or as refugees. Many Chinese immigrants to Canada experience class transference and are part of the country's fairly new and upwardly mobile Chinese middle class.

In Chapter 6, Eva Xiaoling Li and Peter Li examine the post-1997 shift from Hong Kong to the PRC as the major source of Chinese migration to Canada. They contextualize this change, which involves the highly educated, in light of economic globalization and the new mobilities paradigm. In discussing the earnings of highly skilled immigrants from the PRC, they challenge the classical approach to migration studies (which is premised on structural

equilibrium, individual rationality, and harmonious outcomes), suggesting that the theoretical notion of “middling” is more applicable here, as the PRC immigrants make about the same earnings as their less educated counterparts.

Chapter 7, by Lucia Lo, Shaolu Yu, and Wei Li, takes a broad perspective in an analysis of highly skilled migration flows from China to both Canada and the United States. Its detailed demographic data show that mobility is affected by numerous factors but that differing immigration admission/selection policies and economic structures affect Chinese social and occupational mobility in the two countries. The chapter provides a very interesting comparative analysis of the two countries and of two cities, Toronto and New York, in terms of the mobilities of highly skilled Chinese immigrants.

This chapter is a natural segue to Chapter 8, by Karl Froschauer and Lloyd Wong, which offers a more specific discussion in focusing on Chinese techno-immigrants, individuals who are trained in some aspect of the hi-tech industry. Using an interpretative framework of motility that encompasses the interdependent elements of immigrants’ access, competence, and appropriation (Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye 2004), it examines the production of techno-immigrant mobility in Calgary and Vancouver. Thus, not only mobility, but also motility, such as regional economic structures, stratified immigration policies, and forms of capital, help to determine techno-immigrant participation in Western Canada’s high-tech industry.

Finally, rounding out this constellation on highly skilled mobilities, Chapter 9, by Yixi Lu and Li Zong, examines Chinese international students in Canada. It shows that they comprise the largest international student group in the country and also the largest group seeking permanent residency. The chapter analyzes Canadian immigration policy and the steps that international students must take to obtain permanent resident status. The authors describe multiple issues of immobilities and obstacles, and make suggestions to improve the transition to permanent residency.

These four chapters are illustrative of a constellation of highly skilled Chinese mobilities in which people move to Canada for work and citizenship. Notwithstanding some barriers such as labour market discrimination and glass ceilings, their human capital is used and embodied in their occupational pursuits and mobilities in Canada.

Part 4: Family and Gendered Mobilities consists of three chapters. In Chapter 10, Eric Fong and Jenny Li employ quantitative empirical survey data to test the theoretical applicability of the new mobilities paradigm, the new economics of migration perspective, and the cumulative causation of

migration model in explaining the diaspora mobility patterns of Chinese families in Toronto. Their findings appear to contradict what the new mobilities paradigm would predict, as family dispersion is not common; hence, family ties are a form of immobility, at least in the sense of geographic and residential dispersion for Chinese family members. The authors also found that gender did not affect the dispersion of family members.

However, Guida Man and Elena Chou show in Chapter 11 that gender is of paramount importance in the mobilities and transnational strategies of immigrant women professionals. Using personal interview data, the authors argue that there are significant gender differences in productive and reproductive processes among Mainland Chinese immigrants in terms of child-care, citizenship, occupational mobility, and career development.

In Chapter 12, Sara Dorow demonstrates that both family and gender are significant. Using interviews with adoptees, who are Chinese girls (ages eight to teens), and parent questionnaires, she shows that China-Canada adoptive families negotiate left-behind cultural and familial worlds in relation to their local experiences and understandings of race, culture, and kinship. Thus, the mobilities of these adoptions have local moorings in both China and Canada, and these entanglements of mobility and locality dialectically shape the contours and limits of belonging. Implicated here are experiences of family and nation as well as the neighbourhood, city, and transnational space. In particular, the chapter brings out the materiality of mobilities in describing the objects in the homes of the adoptive families.

These three chapters are illustrative of a family and gender mobility constellation in the lives of Chinese families, immigrant women professionals, and Canadian families that have adopted girls from China. In all these cases, subjective and social positions of family and gender determine to some extent where people live, their role in the labour market, and their social reproduction. The gendered mobility in the case of adoptive families also links to the theme of the previous cultural and symbolic constellation, with its attendant mobile identities and objects that are illustrative of representational mobilities.

In Part 5: Transnational Mobilities, the emphasis is on transnationality and transnationalism. Although transnationalism is present in the other four constellations, it is not necessarily emphasized, with the exception of Chapter 2, which examines Canadian Chinatowns. This constellation begins with Chapter 13, in which Yan Zhang and Yan Guo look at how multilingual Chinese children engage in transcultural and transnational literacy practices and how they negotiate their transnational identities. The authors apply

several theoretical frameworks, including transculturation, transnationalism, and the new mobilities paradigm, to a variety of data that they collected in the school setting. Their findings challenge the dominant discourse of a fixed and hyphenated identity for immigrant children, and they suggest that teachers should be “open to unexpectedness,” acquiring positive attitudes regarding unpredictability in students’ transnational identities.

In Chapter 14, Shibao Guo explores the experiences of a double diaspora – individuals who migrated from China to Canada and subsequently returned to Beijing. Hence, the notion of the double diaspora encompasses a number of intertwined dualities, one of which is that of living in both Chinese and Canadian diasporas. In the PRC itself, these returnees are called “domestic overseas Chinese,” and only a few scholars, such as Peterson (2012), have discussed their incorporation into the PRC. Using notions of transnationalism and transnational mobility, Guo examines these Chinese migrants in terms of their reasons for mobility, their economic and social reintegration in China, their views regarding Canadian citizenship, and their ambiguities of home and homeland.

In Chapter 15, by Ho Hon Leung, the focus shifts to the transnational identities and practices associated with Pacific Mall, an ethnic shopping centre in the Greater Toronto Area. Using personal interviews and systematic observation of the mall’s design and structure, the author assesses the mobilities of capital, people, and commodities as well as the transnational flows of culture, including the media and language. In essence, he shows Pacific Mall as a social space of Chinese transnational mobilities and practices.

The volume concludes with Chapter 16, a thought-provoking essay by Kay Anderson, who discusses Chinatown as increasingly unmoored from Western points of reference, “racializations processes,” and ethnic enclave discourses. In describing Sydney’s Chinatown, she argues that transnational mobilities (people, goods, services, and practices) between Australia and Asia create a “syncretic” Chinatown. The chapter concludes with a description of an urban renewal project in Sydney’s Chinatown by comparing two public gardens at two points in time, 1988 and 2015, that reflect Australia’s changing relationship with China. Anderson supplements her discussion and analysis by making many comparisons to Vancouver’s Chinatown.

These four chapters are illustrative of transnational mobilities in which the concerns are related to various conceptualizations and types of transnationalism, such as consciousness and identity (Chapter 13), multiple transmigrations (Chapter 14), and cultural reproduction and (re)construction of place (Chapters 15 and 16). In these chapters, transnationalism is situated in a

global perspective, and as Anderson suggests in Chapter 16, the rise and worldwide influence of China during the last three decades has affected this constellation. Particularly illustrative of this global context is Chapter 14, on immigrants who returned to Beijing and are living in a double diaspora.

Conclusion

The five mobility constellations in this book are not mutually exclusive. In fact, most of the contributors have referred to each other's work, both within constellations and between them. Thus, the cases that make up the various constellations are thematically interconnected in multiple ways. For example, the early Cantonese Pacific migration to Canada (Chapter 1) was one of labour and entrepreneurial mobility and was part of a singular historical process of Chinese migrants and sojourners across the Pacific Ocean. It became part and parcel of other forms of mobility, such as economic, cultural (material and non-material), political, symbolic, and ideological mobilities. Thus, the early Canadian Chinatowns (Chapter 2), as a space and place where early Chinese lived, were embedded with these other types of mobilities that were part of transnational Chinese identities and practices. It can be argued that some of the contemporary Chinatowns and Chinese commercial developments in the larger cities of Canada, such as Pacific Mall in Toronto (Chapter 15), exhibit the same types of mobilities as the early Chinatowns, although the processes and means have changed with technological developments. In Chapter 2, David Lai discusses the importance of clan associations in early Chinatowns; correspondingly, Fong and Li show in Chapter 10 that family relationships determined contemporary Chinese residential patterns in large Canadian cities and that family members tended not to disperse throughout the country. Similarly, the barriers to occupational mobility that Chinese men encountered during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are not entirely dissimilar from those faced by Chinese immigrant women professionals in the present day (Chapter 11). What has been a particularly gendered mobility are recent instances in which Caucasian Canadians adopt young girls from the PRC along with their concomitant forms of cultural and symbolic mobilities (Chapter 12). Finally, transnationalism and transnational mobilities tie into all these mobility constellations and can again affect the very young, such as Chinese immigrant children in Canadian schools (Chapter 13). In addition, the process of transmigration has furthered transnationalism to include the return of Chinese immigrants to China to form a double diaspora (Chapter 14), which no doubt encompasses some individuals who originally went to Canada as international students (Chapter 9).

It goes without saying that the cases and situations covered in this book are but a few examples of trans-Pacific Chinese mobilities. There are numerous other instances that would fit into the five constellations employed here. And, of course, there are far more than five constellations, which future scholarship will undoubtedly explore. To extend the astronomy metaphor, it can be argued that the constellations elaborated on here are only a small fraction of the galaxy of Chinese mobilities as related to Canada and of the greater universe of Chinese mobilities globally. Thus, this volume does not attempt to circumscribe Chinese mobilities in Canada, serving instead as a springboard, or starting point, for a new way of analytically examining the phenomenon. By way of an example, the volume titled *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (Satzewich and Wong 2006) helped set the stage for a surge of literature in Canada that employed a transnationalism perspective to analyze ethnicity and immigration. Our hope for this volume is that a similar outcome follows and that future studies, not only of the Chinese in Canada but of other ethnic and immigrant groups as well, will see the value of the mobilities paradigm in mapping mobility constellations.

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