

STUDYING ABROAD AND MIGRATION MOTIVATIONS:
A CASE STUDY OF CHINESE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
SASKACHEWAN, CANADA

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By

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Chinese students

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ABSTRACT

Academic mobility and migration of knowledge workers are two concerns in international migration studies, so how academic mobility transforms into immigration has received much attention as well. There are two commonly held approaches to the explanation of immigration of international students: the classic “Push and Pull” theory and its derivative studies as well as Rational Choice Theory (RCT). However, both sets of theories have their drawbacks, that their analysis is either exclusion of the micro-level decision-making process or neglect of the macro-level social structure. In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data are collected, and Giddens’ structuration theory has been applied to mediate micro and macro level factors for constructing a framework to understand migration motivations of Chinese undergraduate students in Canada. The major conceptions and themes drawn upon from structuration theory include agency and structure, the effects of rules and resources within structures, the capacity and knowledgeability of agent, time-space context, and the theme of “duality of structure”. Because gender differences are significant in this study, two models are built for female and male students respectively. The practical aim of this study is to generate more policy interests in Canada in Chinese undergraduate students in order to make Canada the foremost destination for them not only for studying abroad but also for settlement.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents who give their endless and selfless love to me. My dear mom, a lovely lady with full of love to her child, I would like to dedicate my work to you and let you know your little girl has grown up; my strict dad, a serious man with full of wisdom, I hope you would say you are so proud of me.

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ACRONYMS

CIC — Citizenship and Immigration Canada

NCEE — National College Entrance Examination

RCT — Rational Choice Theory

SINP — Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program

SES — Socio-Economic Status

SK — Saskatchewan

USASK – University of Saskatchewan

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the context of the modern knowledge-based economy, it is a widely recognized that a highly educated workforce is a prerequisite for sustaining economic growth in modern industrial countries. At the same time, globalization also requires international or intercultural communication on technologies, linguistic knowledge, and cultural knowledge. Since the late 1990s, these demands have led to a considerable increase in international migration of highly skilled individuals and also encouraged the internationalization of educational courses and student mobility.

Today, highly skilled migrants have represented an increasingly large component of global migration streams. The total number of skilled migrants at any one time is unknown, but Stalker (2000) estimates that there are about 1.5 million professionals from developing countries in the developed industrial countries alone. Many migrant receiving countries seek highly skilled migrants on a temporary or permanent basis, supposedly to fill skilled labor shortages in order to ensure economic growth. Student mobility is a substantial form of potential skilled migration. Since internationalization of the higher education system is an inevitable result of a globalized knowledge-based economy, student mobility has been made easier in recent years by developments in communications, faster information flows, and foreign student recruitment policies in many host countries. Data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show that “the percentage of foreign students enrolled in

OECD campuses rose by 34.9% on average between 1998 and 2002” (Tremblay, 2005, p.197). Actually, data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) show that the population of foreign students in Canada has increased from 63,240 to 153,638 during Dec. 1995-Dec. 2004 (CIC, 2006b, p.89). For a long time, immigration legislations in most host countries did not provide preferred opportunities for foreign students settling in their host countries. However, from the late 1990s, economic growth and growing concerns about ageing populations in most developed industrial countries have led to worldwide competition for highly skilled workers, which has led to modification of their legislations to offer foreign students easier access to work and/or residence permits upon graduation. Examples of such policy changes are Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In the United States, despite the absence of immigration provisions that set a preferred recruitment path for foreign students to settle in the United States, the available data still suggest that among highly skilled immigrants, the people with prior student experience in the United States represent a significant contribution of the intake of foreign talent (Massey & Malone, 2002).

From the perspective of these host countries, student mobility appears as a potential source of qualified skilled workers for sustaining economic development. From the perspective of sending countries, students’ return is highly desired because of the demand for foreign educated talents who master the latest technologies or act as ambassadors to set up bridges between their home country and host country. However, much research has shown that many foreign students have initial or later

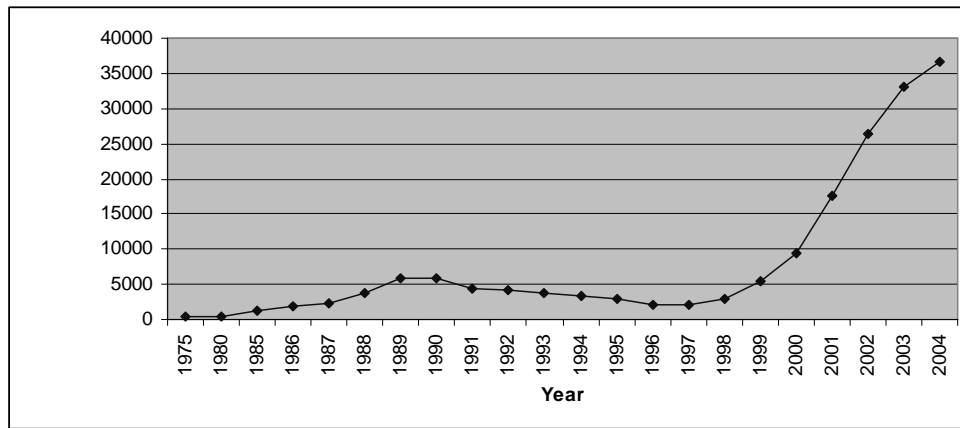
motivation to settle in their host countries (Massey & Malone, 2002; Finn, 2003; Zhang & Li, 2001; Gao & Liu, 1998; Australian DIMIA, 2004; European Commission, 2003). Therefore, student mobility and their migration motivations are the major concerns of this study.

Canada, as one of major host countries in the world, emphasizes recruiting highly skilled worker immigrants in order to keep pace with the globalized knowledge economy. From 1996-2005, the annual number of skilled workers accepted as immigrants¹ has increased from 34,553 to 47,889 (CIC, 2006b). Canada also has developed paths to attract foreign students and allow them to settle in the country either on a temporary or permanent basis. For permanent migration, Canada has a point system to recruit its qualified skilled worker immigrants, and the pass mark is currently set at 67. This system grants extra points to eligible former students by virtue of their greater adaptability to the Canadian labor market. Canada has also developed temporary work opportunities for foreign students during their study and upon their graduation. The graduating students holding a study permit may apply onshore to stay in the country to work for up to a year after graduation. Unlike other applicants without a Canadian degree, the job offer does not require confirmation by Human Resources Development Canada that the employment of a foreign worker will not impact adversely on the Canadian labor market. Even though Canadian immigration policies does not appear to target foreign students as potential immigrants, they do provide effective opportunities for recent graduates to gain job

¹ Only principal applicants, excluding spouses and dependants.

experience, and this is a crucial step toward their future application for permanent residence. Although migration motivations are formed as an individual decision-making process, Canadian immigration institutions do provide foreign students opportunities to immigrate to Canada upon their academic and work experiences.

Charts 1.1 Population of Chinese Students in Canada, 1975, 1980, 1985-2004.



Source: 1975, 1980, 1985-1995 data retrieved from Statistic Canada: International Student Participation in Canadian Education; 1996-2004 data retrieved from CBIE: The National Report on International Students in Canada.

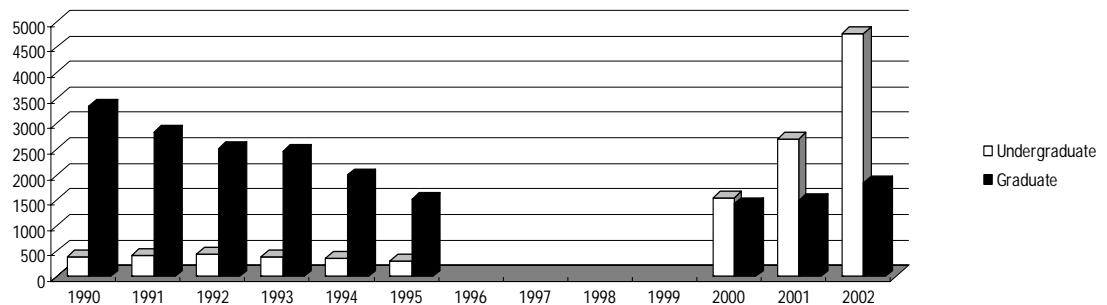
The Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) is one of the major sending countries. In 1978, the year of implementing the open-door policy in order to upgrade educational systems and obtain professional manpower, the Chinese government sent students and scholars abroad to earn degrees or conduct research (Pang and Appleton, 2004, p.46). Between 1979 and 1989, of about 80,000 Chinese students and scholars who came to Canada and other Western countries, only 26,000 returned to China (Orleans, 1989). Moreover, according to the PRC government, during 1987-1997, about 270,000 Chinese university students studied abroad, and only 90,000 of them returned to China (Zen, 1999). These official statistics may underestimate the actual number of

students who studied abroad, because the numbers do not include students sponsored by relatives and foreign institutions (Lin, 1994). The low rate of return shows that studying abroad has been a path for students from Mainland China to emigrate, and also these non-return students have been a major source of skilled workers from Mainland China to some host countries (Pang and Appleton, 2004). Canada is one of the major destinations Chinese students prefer to pursue foreign education and obtain immigration status. According to Chart 1.1, starting from 1980, the number of Chinese students in Canada increased steadily, and achieved the first pinnacle at 1990. After Tiananmen Square in 1989, many Chinese students and scholars tried to escape from the political stress in China, while Canada and many other western governments granted residence to Chinese students on humanitarian grounds. Chinese student stocks² in Canada increased dramatically in the late 1990s, and became the largest by the end of 2001. According to Chart 1.2, during the 1990s, the major group of the Chinese students in Canada is graduate students, but the picture has changed at the beginning of the new century. The number of Chinese students enrolling in undergraduate programs has surpassed by far the number of Chinese students at the graduate level. At the University of Saskatchewan, for example, there were only five Chinese students enrolled in the undergraduate program in 1995, but at the beginning of the 2005-2006 academic year, the number reached 318. Chinese undergraduate

² *Stocks* – The number of persons, identified as foreign students, present in the CIC system on a specific date in each year of observation. For the purposes of this study, the date chosen was December 1st. For a foreign student to be counted as present in the foreign student stock, he or she must have a valid student authorization on that date. In all cases, any foreign student who has been granted landed status on or before the observation date is excluded from the stock count from that date on.

students can differ from Chinese graduate students in many ways. They can differ in age, whether or not they are the only children in their families, and whether they are financially supported by parents or by themselves or Canadian institutions. Most of the previous research on academic mobility and skilled worker immigrants is concerned with foreign students as a general group, or foreign students at the graduate level, especially the doctoral level (Massey& Malone, 2002; Finn, 2003; Zhang & Li, 2001; Gao & Liu, 1998; Australian DIMIA, 2004; European Commission, 2003). Because of their unique characteristics and the considerable increase of Chinese undergraduate students in Canada, there should be a new concern for the study of Chinese student mobility and their migration motivations.

Chart 1.2 Population of Chinese students at Undergraduate and Graduate Levels in Canada, 1990-1995, 2000-2002.



Source: 1990-1995 data retrieved from Statistic Canada: International Student Participation in Canadian Education; 2000-2003 data retrieved from CBIE: The National Report on International Students in Canada.

1.2 Research Questions

According to the foregoing introduction of significant worldwide tendencies in the context of the globalized knowledge economy, the development of international migration has become a basic structural feature of industrialized countries. In most of

the developed countries, it is an evolution toward diverse multi-ethnic societies. Internationalization of education and immigration policy related to international students in host countries has been a visible strategy for recruiting potential qualified skilled worker immigrants. However, individual migration motivations can be expected to be the outcome of a complex combination of individual action and social structures in both host and home countries.

The migration decision-making process has been a major subject of expansive academic literature studying international migration. The microeconomic perspective focuses on individual decision-making behavior aimed at income maximization and the improvement of life chances (Arcinas, 1984). The macroeconomic perspective focuses on socio-spatial inequalities within global and national economies, and it takes international migration as the result of political and economic gaps between sending and receiving countries (Amin, 1974; Piore, 1979). These two approaches sustained an artificial separation between micro and macro scales of analysis, on agency and structural determinations in migration (Wood, 1982; Kearney, 1986). This is what Giddens (1985) calls the “phoney war” between micro and macro approaches in social science. In this study, some concepts of structuration theory have been applied to reconcile these two polarized perspectives and provide a relatively comprehensive framework for understanding the migration motivations of international students.

Chinese undergraduate student in Canada has been taken as the focus group for this thesis. Since their migration motivations are the outcome of a complex

combination of individual action and social structures, this study aims to contribute an comprehensive understanding of this complexity by employing a structuralist perspective on the relations between agency and structure to elaborate how different levels of factors impact individual migration motivations. Three levels of factors have been specified in this study: (1) macro-level structures - global contexts and regional structural contexts both in China and Canada; (2) micro-level structures - family background, social networks, and parental influences; and (3) micro-individualized factors – individual adjustment to Canadian society, knowledgeability of policies, academic and career aspirations, and culture-related unconsciousness. Following Giddens’ structuration theory, the major assumption in this research is that macro-level and micro-level structures affect individual motivation through influencing individualized factors, and individualized factors. These factors lead to individual motivation based on perception and knowledgeability of structures, or the individual reproduction of structures.

There are four sets of issues to be focused on in this research:

- 1 The “Pull and Push” model and Rational Choice Theory provide macro-level and micro-level perspectives respectively in understanding international migration. This research takes both perspectives into account and seeks to articulate them by employing Giddens’ structuration theory. Therefore, a comprehensive framework is built to explain how Chinese undergraduate students form their migration motivations.

- 2 Chapter 3 explores macro-level structures at the global level and at the regional levels of China and Canada based on Giddens' concepts of "rules" and "resources" to reveal how macro-level structures constrain and enable individual agents' migration motivations.
- 3 Chapter 4 elaborates how micro-level structures place impacts on agents' migration motivations. These structures includes family background, social networks and influences from others (especially from parents).
- 4 Chapter 5 identifies micro-individualized factors as agency, which induces migration motivations directly, and explores what kinds of agency may lead to immigration intention through perceiving and cognizing macro-level and micro-level structures.

From Giddens' structuration theory, we can draw upon conceptions of agency and structure, the effects of rules and resources within structures, the capacity and knowledgeability of agent, time-space context, and the theme of "duality of structure"³ to construct a framework to understand migration motivations of Chinese undergraduate students in Canada.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Structuration theory contributes an attempt to understand in the articulation of social structure and individual actions. This research aims to move beyond the current theoretical limitations to build a comprehensive model based on structuralist perspective and multi-level analysis to explain migration motivations of Chinese

³ The conceptions from Giddens' structuration theory are explained in Chapter 2.

undergraduate students in Canada.

Given the desirability of international students as potential qualified skilled worker immigrants in Canada and the high proportion of Chinese graduate students among international students, Chinese graduate students have received much more attention than those at the undergraduate level in international migration research and immigration policy considerations. Since 2000 in Canada, the number of Chinese undergraduate students has increased considerably and surpassed the number of Chinese graduate students greater and greater. Therefore, one aim of this study is to generate more policy interests in Canada in Chinese undergraduate students in order to make Canada the foremost destination for them not only for studying abroad but also for settlement. They have the potential to be active economic and cultural ambassadors between China and Canada, adaptable to Canada's social values and labor market.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Student Mobility and Migration

Due to the quickening of the pace of globalization, international migration is a topic that attracted much attention among social sciences researchers (Portes, 1978, 1995; Piore, 1979; Massey et al. 1993). Decision-making or origin of migration has received a big concern in this dynamic area (Wang, 1991, 1994; Ma, 1998, 2000; Sullivan & Gunasekaran, 1992; Razum, Sahin-Hodoglugil & Polit, 2005; Chaichian, 1998; Quinn & Rubb, 2005; Lee et al., 2005). The skilled worker immigrant from certain sending countries was taken as the focus group in most of the research, but researchers did not pay enough attention to international students as potential immigrant alone, even though some of them may include the international students who are eager to or have applied for permanent resident status (Pang & Appleton, 2004; Quinn & Rubb, 2005). In the context of internationalization of education systems in host countries, student mobility has increased dramatically, and meanwhile more and more foreign students have transformed to immigrants or have motivation to be immigrant (Massey & Malone, 2002; Finn, 2003; Zhang & Li, 2001; Gao & Liu, 1998; Australian DIMIA, 2004; European Commission, 2003). Therefore, questions such as who will be the potential immigrants in foreign students, and when and how they have immigration intention, can be new issues in studying decision-making of international migration (Tremblay, 2005).

Actually, several studies have been done on the migration of students from China.

The non-return of government-sending students may make up the majority of the highly skilled immigrants from the PRC at the very beginning (Zen, 1999; Pang & Appleton, 2004). In addition, the sequent Tiananmen Square in 1989 led to a flood of Chinese students going abroad, aiming to settle in host countries, as well as strong immigration intention of the Chinese students who were in host countries at that time (Zweig & Chen, 1995; Lin, 1994; Zhao, 1996; Chang & Deng, 1992). Along with further implementation of the “Open-door” policy and rapid economic development in China, the characteristics of Chinese students studying abroad have changed gradually. Although there are no official statistics in China to show the major tendencies of students studying abroad, we can still get relevant information from some host countries, such as Canada. It is not difficult to observe that most of the Chinese students in Canada at the graduate level are sponsored by Canadian institutions⁴, and most of the Chinese students at the undergraduate level are family sponsored. Even though the number of Chinese students in Canada increases annually, and Canada has relevant policies to encourage foreign students to settle down, it is still arbitrary to assume that most of them have initial migration motivations when they decide to study abroad, especially for the Chinese undergraduate students. Therefore, in this study, I take Chinese undergraduate students in Canada as a target group to examine their migration motivations. For the students who have initial motivations to immigrate, whether and how they can approach their aim are examined;

⁴ Some higher education institutions in Canada provide a variety of funding to help graduate students with outstanding academic performance, accomplish their graduate education. Most of funding is not limited to Canadian students, but is also provided to international students.

for those who did not have initial immigration intention, whether or not they have that intention during studying in Canada can be examined. Most importantly, the factors influencing their migration motivations need to be explored.

2.2 “Pull and Push” Theory

Student mobility and their migration are two interrelated forms of international migration. In the theoretical approaches to the origin of migration, There are two pillars on which earlier models were built. At the micro-level, individual migrants are taken as rational actors responding to economic disparities between their home and host countries (Arcinas, 1984). At the macro-level, the “Push-Pull” approach focuses on socio-spatial inequalities within global and national economies and takes migrants’ flow as the result of political and economic disparities between sending and receiving countries (Amin, 1974; Piore, 1979). Contemporary theoretical approaches have consequently begun to question these two pillars because of the complexities of the current reality, but few of them provide a comprehensive theoretical framework to understanding international migration. First, I will introduce “Push-Pull” theory and Rational Choice Theory, which represent macro-level and micro-level approaches respectively. Thus, Giddens’ Structuration Theory is introduced to provide a more comprehensive understanding in the relationship between agency and structure.

The “Pull and Push” model provides lists of two macro-level pressures leading to migration. One is “push factors” – economic, social, and political hardships in the poor or developing regions of the world. Another is “pull factors” – comparative advantages in the more advanced countries as causal variables determining the size

and directionality of immigrant flows (Oteiza, 1965; Portes, 1978; Bolaria, 1997). According to this theory, people move either because social and economic forces in the place of origin impel them to do so or because they are attracted to places of destination by one or some factors there.

On the surface, this model appears self-evident. Numbers of studies see lower income, poor living standards, and political instability in China as the push factors and economic resources and political freedom in the developed countries as the pull factor (Oteiza, 1968; Bolaria, 1997, Huang, 1988). Expansion of globalized knowledge economy makes few highly developed countries very attractive for students from developing countries because the technologies in these countries have been taken as the most advanced, and the diploma from these countries will be perceived as more competitive in labor market (Wardhaugh, 1987).

However, this approach is unable to explain the two principal differences in the origin of migration. First, it cannot explain differences in the size and directionality of migration flows. It means that the “Push-Pull” model is unable to explain why similar movements do not arise out of other equally less-developed countries or regions, and why there are different destination for out-migration of less-developed regions. Second, there are differences in propensities to migrate among individuals who may be within the same region and with similar socio-economic backgrounds. In other words, the “Push-Pull” model fails to explain why individuals within the same region and with similar socio-economic backgrounds make different decisions on migration and have different destinations as well. The first question concerns the complexity of

macro-level determinants of migration, and the second concerns the necessity of micro-level factors.

2.3 Rational Choice Theory (RCT)

Rational choice theory (RCT) represents a typical micro-level approach for understanding the individual decision-making process in international migration. It considers the research subjects as individual rather than one of the components of a group. Friedman and Hechter (1988) have provided a “skeleton” of rational choice arguments in sociological research. The basic assumption of rational choice models is that actors are considered to be purposive and intentional. These actors’ actions are aimed at their ends or goals, and they are also perceived to have given preferences, values or utilities, which have different priorities in forming their aspirations. Acting rationally, actors attempt to maximize the utility of their decisions based on costs, expected benefits, and the probability of success of various alternatives (Boudon, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1996).

RCT also recognizes that individual action is subject to two major constraints (Friedman and Hechter, 1988). The first set of constraints is the scarcity of resources. It means even though actors have same goal, their actions are diversified by their different endowed resources and different paths and/or abilities to access the resources. Additionally, sometimes, an actor may choose lower goals rather than seek her/his most valued ends because it is too difficult for her/him to have enough assisting resources to achieve the highest goal. The second set of constraints is social institutions, which may include norms, laws, agendas, rules, policies, and so on.

These institutional constraints provide both positive and negative sanctions on actor's actions, and they may encourage certain actions and discourage others.

Making rational choice also depends on the availability of information for the actors. It is impossible to assume that all the actors can have at least sufficient information to make the best choice among all the alternatives. Therefore, there is a growing recognition that the highly variable quality and quantity of available information has a profound effect on actors' choices.

Although RCT has been improved by recognizing different levels of constraints and emphasizing multilevel structure of explanation (Coleman, 1990; Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997), it still faces some critiques. Boudon (2003) indicates that the variation of actors' choices is based on their non-commonplace beliefs, and it is crucial to explain the beliefs upon what they rest. However, RCT fails to recognize the profound effects of actors' beliefs on their decision-making. Though we can assume that an actor holding a given belief based on a theory she/he endorses is a rational act, this rationality is "cognitive, not instrumental", and cognitive rationality "consists of preferring the theory that allows one to account for given phenomena in the most satisfying possible way (in accordance with certain criteria)" (Boudon, 2003: 8), that is to say, the actor endorses a theory, it is because he/she believes the theory to be true in his/her mind. Precisely, RCT is criticized as merely focusing on instrumental rationality in understanding an actor's decision-making process, or narrowing rationality to instrumental rationality.

In understanding international migration, RCT considers studying abroad and the

decision to migrate as rational actions based on instrumental extra benefits evaluation according to the costs or sacrifices vis-à-vis the benefits received because of migration. The sacrifices may include moving away from families and the pleasures of home and the problems in settling in alien place and adjusting into the new society. The individual, as a rational actor, has relatively high expectations on benefit returns, usually including economic and educational benefits, as well as learning a new language and culture through the movement. The material costs of migration are always calculated in the first place, and the sacrifices and efforts to adjust into new society are taken into account as investment as well. Therefore, in rational choice perspective, international migration is considered as a form of human capital investment (Yezer & Thurston, 1976).

RCT uses micro-level approach by recognizing that social processes are merely the aggregate of individual actions, and macro-level factors are only evaluated as costs or benefits in the individual decision-making process. On the empirical level, RCT studies consider both macro-level and micro-level factors in the same pool for individual calculating cost-benefit, but they fail to recognize the dialectic relationships between micro-level and macro-level determinants, or between agency and structure.

2.4 Structuration Approach

The “Push-Pull” model as a macro-level approach fails to recognize the complexity of the actor’s decision-making process of migration. Rational Choice Theory as a micro-level approach, because of its “methodological individualism”

(Goss & Lindquist 1995), is prone to reduce all levels of determinants to the individual level, and it also fails to recognize the factors that cannot be involved in instrumental rational calculation. To provide a solution of articulating micro and macro level determinants, Anthony Giddens' structuration theory is introduced here. Structuration theory explicitly addresses structure-agency duality and the dialectic relationships between agency and structure, and it is particularly useful for understanding international migration (Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Xiang, 2001).

The core of structuration theory centers on the concepts of structure, system, and the duality of structure (Layder, 1987). Structure, as Giddens defined, is "rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction; institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time and space" (Giddens, 1984b, p.127). "Rules" and "resources" consist in structures. Rules are defined as "techniques or generalizable procedures applies in the enactment/reproduction of social practices" (Giddens, 1984a, p.21). According to Giddens, there are two types of rules: semantic rules – the interpretive schemes through which individuals make sense of reality, which draw upon structures of signification; and moral rules – norms of social behavior, which draw upon structures of legitimation (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). Resources are the means by which individual actions are facilitated and constrained in structure. Giddens has classified resources into two categories, including the following: authoritative resources, which condition differential access to the social world and political power over other people; and allocative resources, which condition differential access to the material world and

entail powers of wealth and property (Goss & Lindquist, 1995).

Giddens calls for a reinterpretation of *structures* as both constraining and enabling, just as language restricts us in what we can say while actually enabling us to say something in the first place (Craib 1992). Structure and action are “mutually constituted through the transformative and replicative effects of social activity” (Layder et al., 1991, p.447). That is to say, individuals draw upon the rules and resources regularly and repeatedly in daily social practices and interactions, and meanwhile, these social practices are reinforced across time-space. Because structures operate at both micro-level and macro-level (Giddens, 1984a, p.141), actions and interactions of agents may be contextualized in from the “family room” to the global economy.

In structuration theory, structures are the “rules” and “resources” that actors draw upon in formulating their conduct, and that are “recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems” (Giddens, 1984b, p.12). Epistemologically, it seems that the concept of structure carries a deeper explanatory role than the concept of system. Giddens distinguishes social structure from the social system and defines structure as the rules and resources exploited by agents in producing and reproducing a social system over time. Social structures are formed by structured practices, and social systems are formed by the patterns of enacted conduct, the repeat forms of social action and interaction (Giddens, 1984a, p.131), and the “institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time” (Giddens, 1984b, p.127). Actually, the concept of “system” is

often an ambiguous element in structuration theory (Layder, 1987, p.33), therefore, based on the institutionalized feature of social system, in this research, I would like to work with the notions of “institutions” or “routines”, instead of “system”. In examining interaction practices, Giddens places special emphasis on the routine. Routines exhibit continuity of form over time and refer to social events that are typical, habitual, and taken for granted. Routines reinforce the various social structures from which the individual draws and in which the individual is positioned. Also, they allow individuals to maintain a foundational sense of ontological security (comfort, tension management, anxiety reduction, order), which serves as the basis for their motivations. When clusters of routines/practices become deeply sedimented in time/space as traditions, Giddens labels them “institutions” (Cohen, 1989; Giddens, 1976, 1979, 1984a), which are broadly defined as “practices which are deeply sedimented in time-space; that is, which are enduring and inclusive ‘laterally’ in the sense that they are widespread among the members of a community or society” (Giddens, 1979, p.80).

A fundamental theme of structuration theory is seeking to abandon the internal/external dualism of subjectivist and objectivist modes of theory and replace it with the notion of a “duality of structure”, which refers to “the essential recursiveness of social life as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and ‘exists’ in the generating moments of the constitutions” (Giddens, 1979, p.5). To effect this transition, Giddens points to the

intrinsic connection between human agency and power. Human agency cannot be defined only in terms of intentionality, but “an agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to ‘make a difference’. That is to exercise some sort of power” (Giddens, 1984b, p.14). Essentially, Giddens seeks to mediate the dichotomy between subject and object by assigning a prime role to the knowledgeability of actors in producing and reproducing their society, while acknowledging that they necessarily employ societal properties (rules and resources) in the process. The structures that produce an action are possibly reproduced in the performance of that action. The actions that disrupt the social orders, break conventions, or challenge established hierarchies are mediated by structural features which are reproduced by the action in a modified form. This connection between production and reproduction is what Giddens calls the “recursive character” of social life (Thompson, 1989). According to Giddens, daily practices are implicated in continuous process of structuration (Giddens, 1981). The adequate understanding of structurational processes entails in-depth involvement in the routinized daily interactions of knowledgeable agents in order to discover the conditions influencing the continuity or change of social structures (Heracleous and Hendry, 2000).

Giddens portrays individuals as knowledgeable agents reflexively monitoring their actions in practically conscious way. There are three levels of consciousness or social knowledge: the discursive consciousness, practical consciousness and unconsciousness activities. Discursive consciousness can be employed and communicated in a verbal explanation. For Giddens, “actors are not inherently

predisposed to sustained reasoning or existential reflection on the meaning of their conduct from moment to moment in everyday life” (Giddens, 1982, p.30), but as a result of reflexive monitoring or habitual examination of action and motivation, the individual is able to discursively account for and justify action (Giddens, 1990, p.31). When routines are disrupted or when actions are not routines to begin with, the individuals typically reflect on (rationalize) the actions in an overt strategic way (discursive consciousness). Practical consciousness is the knowledge of personal motivations and institutional rules and resources and can be exploited to provide rationale for action, but cannot be readily verbalized (Giddens, 1984a). The unconsciousness cannot be articulated to motivations, but it is the unconscious need for feelings of familiarity and practical mastery of the stable features of the social world. The discursive account is inevitably limited, because unconsciousness is always involved and effective social knowledge existing at the level of practical consciousness (Giddens, 1990, p.301). Social knowledge is always limited, and an individual’s action will almost always be affected by the simultaneous actions of others. As well, according to Giddens, individual interaction and social actions can influence the actions of others (Giddens, 1984a). In the course of interaction, knowledgeable agents simultaneously draw upon and reproduce rules and resources during recursive practices (Giddens, 1984a). For Giddens, the positioning of persons both constrains and enables their actions, but because there are differential distributions of knowledge and resources in social structures, individuals are not necessarily situated in equal ways within them. Some are situated more

advantageously than others (Poole et al., 1986, p.249). Moreover, in structuration theory, individuals are portrayed as being knowledgeable actors, but they are not necessarily fully aware of all the implications of their actions. Rather, there are unacknowledged conditions of their action and unintended consequences of it (Giddens, 1976, 1979, 1984b).

Giddens emphasizes time and space as context across the whole structuration process. According to him, the manner in which the spatially and temporally limited actions of everyday life (“agency”) are articulated to the extensive reach of social institutions (“structure”), thus:

“All social interaction is both contextual – ‘situated in time and space’ – and yet stretches across time-space ‘distance’. In social theory we have to try grasp how it comes about that the situated action which is the ‘materiality’ of all social life intersects with the form of institutions which span large ‘stretches’ of time-space” (Giddens, 1984b, p.127).

Interaction occurs in specific locales that provide a regional setting for interaction. All social action is contextual and is defined by a specific presence-availability by a specific “bundle” of allocative and authoritative resources. A given locale may be specified by the rules and resources involved in social action and interaction within it (Giddens, 1990: 301). Therefore, agency ultimately connects to social structures. Because structures operate at both micro-levels and macro-levels (Giddens, 1984a, p.141), actions and interactions of agents may be contextualized in from the “family room” to the global economy. Therefore, specifying the locales that “contain” particular dimensions of social life is crucial to an examination of structuration.

Giddens categorizes different levels of time. All given locales may be specified by the rules and resources involved in social action and interaction within it (Giddens,

1990, p.301). Social actions and interactions are also embedded in time, which Giddens (1984b) conceives at three levels: first is the *duree* of everyday life, or “reversible time” in the sense that its actions are repetitive and routine; second is the life span of individuals (*dasein*), a finite and irreversible time that progresses toward old age and death; third is the *longue duree*, or intergenerational time of institutions (p.35). The “duality of structure” implicates the articulation of these temporalities and the binding of the routine interaction of everyday life with the life-path, or “career” moves of the life cycle, and the policy making/planning strategies of institutions.

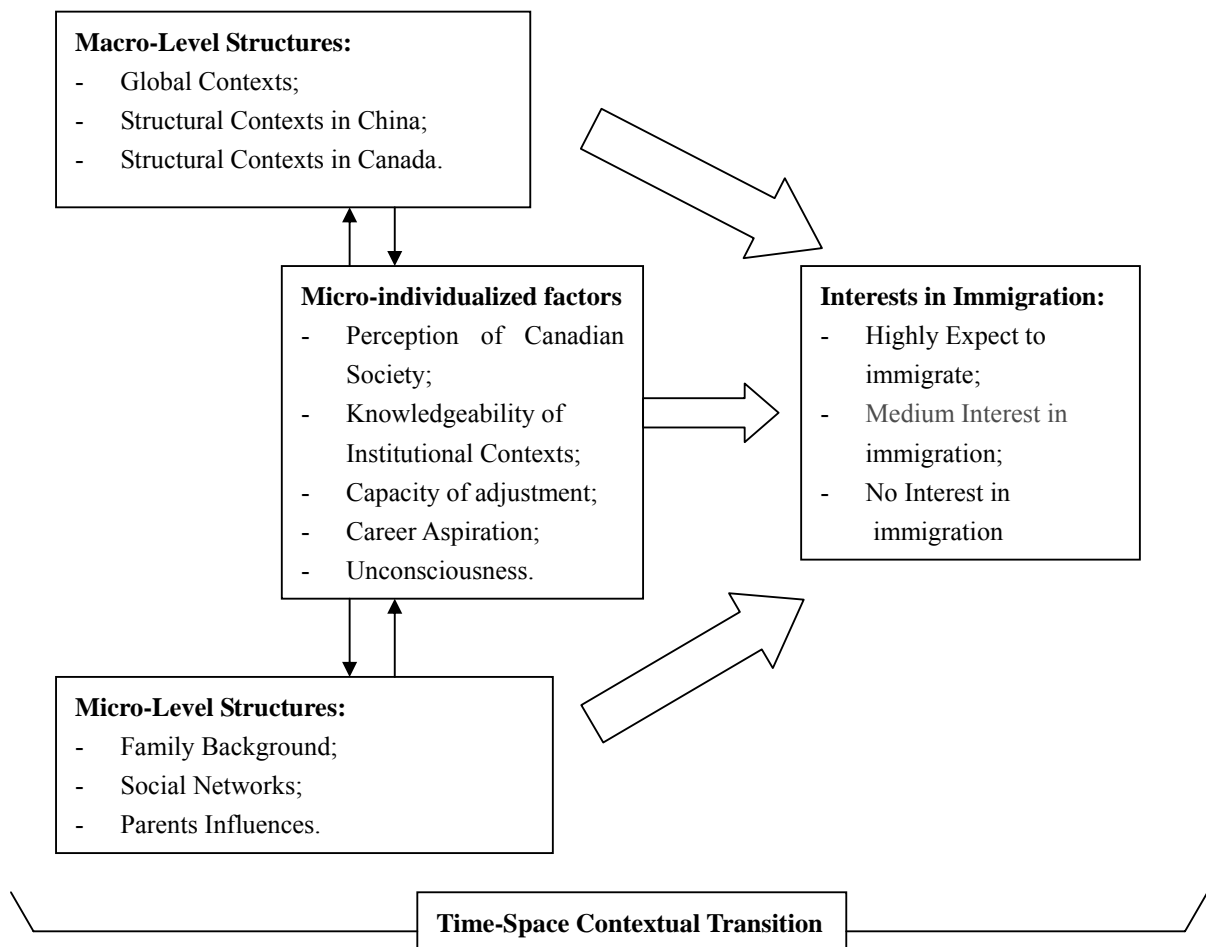
2.5 Theoretical Framework

Giddens’ structuration theory applied in this research responds for redeeming the weaknesses of the “Pull-Push” model and RCT on understanding individual migration motivations, which include the absence of micro-level factor concerns in the “Pull-Push model” and the indifference in differentiating macro and micro-level factors in RCT. The notion of “structures” has been divided into two levels, macro-level structures that mainly consist of global economy, market exchange, political organization and processes and educational institutions, and micro-level structures that are reified as the patterns of relationships in intimate groups (i.e. family), social networks, and community. Some macro-individualized factors as “agency” consisting of the capacity, knowledgeability and perception of agent may directly lead to the motivations or intentions of agent.

Based on conceptions of structures and agent, rules and resources, social knowledge and theme of “duality of structure” from Giddens’ structuration theory, the

hypothesized analytical framework is presented here. The skeleton of this study provides an initial theoretical understanding about Chinese students' migration motivations. Macro-level and micro-level structures may both constrain and enable Chinese students' migration motivations, and their perception, capacity, and knowledgeability may reproduce macro-level and micro level structures and lead to their migration motivations directly. All these practices and interactions are embedded into time-space context.

Figure 1: Hypothesized Analytical Framework for Migration Motivations of Chinese Students



2.6 Methodology

I will answer the research questions raised in Chapter 1 and examine the framework presented here by using two types of data: quantitative data based on the survey, and qualitative data based on unstructured interviews. That is to say, a combined quantitative and qualitative methodology will be used to apply Giddens' structuration theory into an empirical study. According to Giddens, two types of methodological "bracketing" or categories are possible in sociological empirical researches. First, there is the analysis of "strategic conduct", in which the focus is placed on the modes in which agents draw upon the structured properties in which social relations are constituted; more specially, it concentrates on how actors reflexively monitor what they do and how they draw upon rules and resources in the construction of social interaction. The second is institutional analysis, which focuses on the institutional orders determining the operation of rules and distribution of resources (Giddens, 1984a, p.327). This study is the empirical application of Giddens' structuration theory at the first level, which may involve ethnographic fieldwork to "provide a sophisticated account of individual motivations and to identify the bounds of knowledgeability of agents" (Goss & Lindquist, 1995, p.334). The Qualitative method is necessary for understanding reflexive monitoring of agents, but it is far from sufficient in providing a comprehensive framework to interpret individual motivations. For this purpose, quantitative analysis will be used to provide a fundamental framework.

All the Chinese undergraduate students, including the Chinese students at the English as Second Language program (ESL) at the University of Saskatchewan, are considered as research population. The total number is 358 (40 in the ESL program) during the survey period, September to December of 2005. The Chinese students in the ESL program are doing language preparation for their university education, and once they pass the highest level of ESL program, they can be enrolled into undergraduate programs at the University of Saskatchewan. Therefore, they are regarded as the Chinese students at the undergraduate level as well.

2.6.1 Data Types and Collections

Qualitative data were collected from 11 of Chinese undergraduate students (3 in the ESL program) at the University of Saskatchewan through unstructured interviews during summer and fall of 2005, which is a snowball⁵ sample. The qualitative research questions were worded on an open-ended basis to elicit the interviewees' personal stories. Their experiences of why and how they decided to study at the U of S, their living and studying in Saskatoon, and intention of immigration have been focused on during the interviews. Qualitative data provides further demonstration and explanation of the results of qualitative analysis through individual narratives as constructed agency, and also partially supports the questionnaire design. The initial analysis of qualitative data shows a variety of factors that are crucial for Chinese undergraduate students' decisions to study abroad and their migration motivations; based on that, the questionnaire can be designed to provide relatively comprehensive

⁵ A snowball sample is collected by a chain of references instead of simple random methodology.

information about the respondents. Before the universal survey was conducted, 6 of the Chinese undergraduate students have done pretests to examine the applicability of the questionnaire.

Quantitative data were collected from 183 of Chinese undergraduate students (20 at ESL program) at the University of Saskatchewan through the questionnaire survey. The sample proportion is 51 per cent. All the Chinese undergraduate students have been noticed to participate the survey through Email, poster propaganda in public, and “word of mouth”. At the beginning, the survey was conducted at one location for six days. More than 60 per cent of respondents came to the location to participate in the survey during this period of time. The rest of samples were collected through the snowball method.

2.6.2 Operation Definitions

Students’ “Interests in Immigration” factor has been taken as dependent variable in this study. “Degree of Familiarity with Immigration Policy,” “Perception of Experiences in Canada,” “Adjustment,” and “Academic and Career Aspiration” have been considered to be micro-individualized factors or agency, which are interrelated and interactive with structures. I differentiate between macro-level and micro-level structures. Macro-level structures include social stratification, socio-economic and education institutions, and policies implemented by governments relevant to international migration. “Family background,” “Social networks,” and “parental influences” are regarded as micro-level structures. As Giddens highlighted, all the practices and interactions are embedded into a certain Time-Space context, so the role

that “time-space” plays in the formation of individual migration motivations are elaborated. “Degree of Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test” has been taken as a basic measurement of “Knowledgeability of Immigration Policy”, because this Self-Assessment test is a well-known immigration test tool based on Canadian immigration policy. “Perception of Experiences in Canada” is an accumulative variable composed of “no experience of being discriminated in Canada,” “satisfaction with the study experiences at the U of S,” “satisfaction with the experiences in Canada,” and “likely to recommend Canada as study destination to others”. These subscale variables have three dimensions: “disagree,” “agree,” and “strongly agree.” The sum of codes has been calculated and re-categorized into three dimensions as “negative,” “positive,” and “very positive” in terms of lower sum, medium sum, and higher sum. The measurements of other factors will be introduced in the later statistics analysis.

2.6.3 Plan for Data Analysis

Quantitative Data Analysis:

Once all the completed questionnaires were in hand, the author developed numerical coding for the few questions where participants’ answers were not automatically amenable to statistical analysis (e.g. residential cities in China). Responses were computerized using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

Path analysis was designed, using the variables identified as theoretically linked with the dependent variable, so as to identify association among variables and their

causal relationships. Nominal regression, Crosstab analysis and computation of frequencies were used for the various scales analysis to examine and explain these associations.

Analyzing Qualitative Data:

The interviews were audio-taped voluntarily. After the interviews were transcribed, narrative theme analysis was used to find major themes and patterns in the interviews by looking for similarities and differences among them.

2.6.4 Brief Description of Data

In interviewees, there are 6 male students and 5 female students. 2 of them were at ESL level, 3 of them were registered in the first academic year, 2 of them were registered in the second, 2 of them were registered in the third and as well there were 2 registered in fourth academic year.

For quantitative data, some demographic characteristics of respondents are introduced here. In 183 respondents, there are 102 male students and 81 female students. Their ages concentrate between 18 to 25 years old, and only 16 respondents are above 25 years old. 80 per cent of them are the only-child of their parents, and only 9 of them are from rural areas of China.

Besides demographic characteristics, Table 2.1 also provides the percentage description of respondents' family background variables. Table 2.2 shows the percentage description of dependent variable "Interests in Immigration" and theoretically relevant variables, including the "Degree of Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test", "Perception of Experiences in Canada" and "Intention to be a Canadian Citizen".

Although these samples are only representative of the Chinese undergraduate students at the University of Saskatchewan, they still offer a perspective on Chinese students who pursue undergraduate study in Canada, especially for those who enroll in the public universities outside the three metropolis areas, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal.

Table 2.1: Percentage Distribution of Family Background and Personal Characteristics

Personal Characteristics	Distributions (%)	Family Background	Distributions (%)
AGE	N = 183	Father's Occupation	N = 179
18 – 21 years old	26.2	Business owner/Management	57.5
22 years old	26.8	Government/Military Section	20.1
23 years old	18.0	Professional	19.0
24 years old	9.8	Semi-skilled/Manual Labor	3.4
25 years old and older	19.1		
GENDER	N = 183	Mother's Occupation	N = 172
Male	55.7	Business owner/Management	23.8
Female	44.3	Government/Military Section	19.2
		Professional	37.2
Residential area in China	N = 158	Semi-skilled/Manual Labor	19.8
Rural Area	5.7		
Medium or Small Cities	74.7	Father's Monthly Income	N = 164
Municipalities	19.6	Lower (below 4,000/month)	36.6
		Medium (4,001 – 10,000/month)	37.8
If Only Child of Parents	N = 182	Upper (10,001/20,000/month)	25.6
Yes	79.8		
No	19.7	Mother's Monthly Income	N = 163
		Lower (below 4,000/month)	52.8
Register Year	N = 181	Medium (4,001 – 10,000/month)	32.5
Preparing for University (ESL)	11.0	Upper (10,001/20,000/month)	14.7
First Academic year	14.9		
Second Academic year	28.2	Household Financial Situation	N = 182
Third Academic Year	30.4	Adequate	25.8
Fourth or higher Academic Year	15.5	Comfortable	56.6
		Well-off/Wealthy	17.6
		Family Members as Temporary	
Length of Time in Canada	N = 183	Residents of North America	N = 183
1-12 months	18.0	No	72
13 – 24 months	13.7	Yes	28
25 – 36 months	17.5		
37 – 48 months	25.1	Family Members as Permanent	
More than 48 months	25.7	Residents of North America	N= 183
		No	77
		Yes	23

Table 2.2 Percentage Distribution of Dependent Variable and important correlated variables

Interests in Immigration (DV)	Distributions (%)	Degree of Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test	Distributions (%)
	N = 183		N = 181
No interest in Immigration	14.2	Never heard about it	38.1
Medium interest in Immigration	50.8	Never took it	43.6
Strongly Expect to Immigrate	34.4	Took the test	18.2
Parents' Attitudes On Children's Immigration	Distributions (%)	Perception of Experiences in Canada	Distributions (%)
	N = 181		N = 177
Opposing	13.3	Negative	21.5
Up to Children	17.7	Positive	66.7
Expecting	44.8	Strongly positive	11.9
Strongly Encouraging	24.3		
If Apply for Canadian Citizenship	Distributions (%)		
For Sure	20.3		
Very Likely	11.5		
Likely	42.3		
Unlikely	17.6		
For Sure not	8.2		

CHAPTER 3
MACRO-LEVEL STRUCTURE: CHINA AND CANADA IN
GLOBALIZATION

3.1 Global Knowledge Economy

Globalization is a process under the penetration of the capitalist mode of production on the world's scale and the proliferation of communication technology. The free movement of people across national boundaries has been a natural consequence of globalization, along with capital, technology, and services. According to Thurow (1999), in contemporary post-industrial society, wealth is no longer based on land nor on energy, but on knowledge or information, and the terms of "globalized knowledge economy" has been commonly used to represent that the knowledge-based economy has been indispensable in all kinds of societies in this world, and the advancing technology and highly skilled workers have been substantial productivities in all of the developed countries. Faith in the knowledge economy has derived from two related core assumptions: more highly skilled people are needed in the contemporary knowledge-based workforce, and investment in internationalization of education will lead to improved international economic competitiveness and economic growth (Riele & Crump, 2002).

Globalization and the knowledge economy are highly correlated processes in the contemporary world, and they create two forms of international migration. One is the cross-national flows of labor force with high skills, which have been intensified continuously since the 1990s because of the increasing global employment opportunities, as well as competition among developed countries for immigrants with

highly specialized human capital that are highly demanded in the information age and knowledge economy. The other one is international academic mobility. It has been widely perceived that the western developed countries possess the most advanced technology or dominant social cultures and values in the world, which make them become popular education destinations for students from developing regions, who desire to enhance their competitiveness in domestic or international labor markets. In the introduction, I have had the idea that international students studying in developed countries contribute significantly to the source of high-skilled immigrants. Additionally, there are more opportunities of getting employments and permanent resident status for graduates with western-education experiences compared to those just holding degrees or college certificates in developing countries (Zong, 1998; Bauder, 2003). Therefore, the transformation from international students to potential immigrants may happen when they have intention to immigrate during their studying abroad.

The predominant flowing direction in migrations, from developing regions to developed regions, has been criticized for resulting in intellectual exploitation of developing countries by developed countries, and structural inequality in world system (Portes, 1978; Wallerstein & Hopkins, 1977; Walton, 1976; Ouaked, 2002). According to the report of the roundtable on high-skilled Migration and Sending Countries Issues organized by Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of International Migration and the Migration Policy Group, if many of the students from developing countries opt to stay in their host countries, they bolster the knowledge

available to developing countries (Ouaked, 2002). The report also notices that some countries even end up in the business of exporting skilled labor to benefit their academic industry and to cultivate remittance and international connects (Ouaked, 2002). In this study, the migration motivations of the Chinese student has been viewed as a decision-making process through their individual preferences for better living and working conditions, which are constrained or motivated by this preexisting global structure, but we also expect to see some signs of “brain circulation” on these young Chinese students in Canada, which means some of them may contribute their knowledge to China or China and Canada both.

According the data analysis, Table 3.1 shows the percentage distribution of their choices of the destinations for studying abroad, and Table 3.2 shows the percentages of their reasons for choosing certain countries as their destination. Apparently, the data in Table 3.1 has echoed what most of the research has found: major advancing capitalist countries are the major receiving countries of immigrant and international students (Li, 2003; Castle & Miller, 1993). The proportions of choosing Canada, the United States, Australia/New Zealand as the first three ideal destinations for studying abroad, are all above 50 per cent.

Table 3.2 shows that five factors will be mainly considered when deciding where they pursue foreign education. “Whether an English Speaking Country” has been taken as the most considerable factor, as well as “Prestige of the Education” in that country, they both get about 25 per cent as the first considerable factors. However, “Whether an English speaking country” has been regarded as one of the three most

important factors for about 63 per cent of these Chinese students studying in Canada, which is the highest proportion among all the factors, followed by “Safety,” “Prestige of Education,” and “Living and Study costs.” The approximated 50 per cent accumulative proportion indicates that these three factors are all considered to be very important when deciding destination. “Safety” and “Living-Studying Costs” are more likely to be considered as the second or third important factors. There are also more than 40 per cent of these students reporting “Immigration” as one of the first three considerable factors, and it seems more likely to be the third most important factor. “If Difficult to Get Entry Visa” and “Having Social Networks” in certain country have been mentioned as well, but they are not as significantly important as the previous five factors.

Table 3.1: Percentage Distributions of Destinations by Priority

	Canada	the US	Europe	Australia/New Zealand
Considered as First Choice	48.10%	33.90%	12.60%	4.90%
Considered as Second Choice	38.80%	23.50%	16.40%	18.60%
Considered as Third Choice	12.60%	10.90%	36.10%	27.90%
Accumulation	99.50%	68.30%	65.10%	51.40%

Table 3.2: Percentage Distributions of Considered Factors when Choosing Destination by Priority

	English Speaking	Prestige of Degree	Safety	Immigration	Living and study costs	Know someone there
First Factor	25.10%	25.10%	14.80%	13.10%	8.70%	4.90%
Second Factor	23.00%	14.80%	16.90%	8.20%	20.20%	6.00%
Third Factor	14.80%	9.30%	18.00%	19.10%	17.50%	6.60%
Accumulation	62.90%	49.20%	49.70%	40.40%	46.40%	17.50%

The emphasis on English speaking countries and the prestige of education indicates that English as a common-used communicative tool plays an important role in economic globalization and has been recognized by most of these Chinese students and their parents. Therefore, in the context of knowledge-based economy, Chinese students and their parents take studying abroad as an investment to get human capital in virtue of their evaluation of educational qualities in these advancing capitalist countries.

All of the 11 interviewees mentioned about learning English to be one of the initial goals of studying abroad. One of them said:

“English is very important, no matter here or back to China. The first thing I have to do here is to learn English well... if I go back to China, at least, my English will be one of my advantages.”

When asking about why one would choose Canada to pursue an education, one of them described how he choose Canada as destination like this:

“Canada is relatively big, and has less population... People here are nicer than American, I never want to go to America. Consumption in Europe is too expensive, my father can't afford it. Australian education is not so good as here.”

The reasons for choosing Canada have implicated some global structures. English speaking country and prestige of education implicate the contemporary globalized knowledge economy. To some extent, living and study costs may reflect the different socio-economic structures in different developed regions, and the safety concerns also implicate some worldwide issues, such as terrorism or racism situation in certain countries. The immigration and visa concerns reflect the international migration tendency worldwide and the extents of immigration reception in different countries.

Conclusively, the global structural context has provided a capacious but fundamental setting for student mobility, though it is hard to say that it plays a determinant role on migrants' decision or motivations of migration.

3.2 Expansion of Higher Education and Labor Market in China

In China, economic reform and market-oriented education increase the demands for higher education expansion. In the fall of 1999, the Chinese government began a significant enrollment expansion and a further tuition increase. Enrollment expansion leads to increase of university/college graduates, and escalating tuition fees enhance student-parent expectation on returns to education. Students have to be confronted with the pressures from parents, society and themselves when their graduation is approaching. They expect jobs with high income and social status, corresponding with their higher education credentials and their investments in education.

The education reform in China has created much more opportunities for students to pursue higher education than ever before, but the economic increase has not prepared sufficient employment opportunities for increasing new graduates. The dramatic expansion of higher education enrollment since 1999 (from 1.08 million in fall of 1998 to 1.53 million in fall 1999, a 42% increase), and the national government plans to increase new enrollment by 12.5% in 2000 and to raise the gross enrollment ratio from 9% to 15% by the year 2010 (Tsang, 2000, p.21), is not only a response to the demands for high-skilled personnel of a rapidly growing economy, but it is also especially a strategy to induce additional private consumption on higher education and provide a boost to the rate of GDP growth, which has slowed down since the

onset of the Asian financial crisis in 1997. The problems have emerged since 2003, 4 years after rapid expansion of higher education and the tuition increase in 1999 (undergraduate programs are 4 years in most Chinese universities). Chinese college graduates have to face high unemployment rates (Wei, 2005; Bai, 2006), and as Hsiung (2005) notes that “In 2004, roughly 30% of 2003 Chinese college graduates remained unemployed even as the number of 2004 graduates was expected to increase by 32%”. According to a report published by the National Development and Reform Commission on April 27, 2006, the unemployment rate of new graduates may reach 40 per cent (Xinhua News Agency, 2006). The Chinese government admits that the national economy and labor market have not prepared sufficiently for absorbing the abrupt increase of new graduates. Through launching “Go West” project, the government also encourages graduates not to pack into well-developed cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, or Shenzhen, but go to less-developed regions to seek broader labor markets. However, for many graduates, if they work in less-developed regions in China, they may not have the income, living standards, career-developing need, and social prestige that they expected as returns to their education.

Since the domestic labor market cannot create sufficient employment opportunities for abruptly increasing new graduates, one of the direct consequences is the intense competition between new graduates who are holding credentials from institutions: a credential competition. A bachelor degree has more market value than a diploma from college, and the same level credential from a non-key university is less valuable than the one from a key university in the labor market, because key

universities are supposed to have higher quality of education and graduates. Moreover, this credential competition is also major-related, majors, such as computer science, engineering, foreign languages, and business are more popular in labor market than most of the other majors.

The contemporary education and employment condition in China have significantly impacted Chinese students-parents' decisions to pursue post-secondary education abroad. Table 3.3 shows that when asked about the first important reason for studying abroad, 20 per cent of Chinese students reported that it is too competitive to enter good universities in China, so they would rather study abroad for a better education. The importance of this reason is right behind the reason of "parents' wish" with the highest proportion of 24 per cent, and also there are also about 35 per cent of these Chinese students considering this reason to be one of the first three important reasons when deciding to study abroad.

Table 3.3: Percentage Distributions of Reasons for Studying Abroad by Priority

	Master foreign language	Independence	Parents' wish	Immigration	For Better Education	Expand my career	Get respect
First Reason	12.00%	16.40%	24%	9.80%	20%	10.40%	2.70%
Second Reason	27.90%	20.20%	10.40%	10.90%	7.70%	3.30%	3.30%
Third Reason	16.40%	14.20%	9.80%	17.50%	7.70%	5.50%	7.70%
Accumulation	56.30%	50.80%	44.20%	38.20%	35.10%	19.20%	13.70%

The **National College Entrance Examination (NCEE)**, known as *Gāokǎo*, is an academic examination held annually in Mainland China. This exam is always required for college admission and is almost the only criteria for high school students applying for universities or colleges. In my study, about 72 per cent of 183

respondents have never taken NCEE in China. About 52 per cent of them received the score above the cut-off line of universities, including 22 per cent above the cut-off line of key universities. 17.5 per cent of them got the scores above cut-off line of colleges, and 3.3 per cent failed in NCEE. All of 183 respondents have received at least secondary education. About 50 per cent of them report their highest domestic education is “some senior high or finish senior high school”, and another half report “some college/ university or finish college/university”. Actually, 16.4 per cent of them have finished college/university. As for their academic performance, about 67 per cent of whole respondents reported their academic performance in key senior-high school, and 50 per cent of them reported their academic performances were above or around average, 11.5 per cent reported “top 5%” (excellent), and only 5.5 per cent report “below average”. 22 per cent of them reported their academic performance in non-key senior-high school. 11 per cent of them did not report their academic performances in senior-high schools. About 21 per cent of whole respondents reported their academic performance in key universities, and only 12 per cent of them reported their academic performance in non-key universities. Generally, the domestic academic performances of this group of Chinese students, who are or will be in undergraduate programs at the University of Saskatchewan, are relatively diverse, and most of them are at an average level or above. Their own narratives can explain why these students with different education backgrounds choose the same direction to continue their education.

W: "I am a college graduate...I got a job through my father's relationship, but it is high pressure working in Shanghai, and my salary was low, and it was not easy to get promotion... so I wanted to change my job, but you know, it is really hard to find a good job if you only hold a college diploma, so I decided to have this big change, coming to Canada to study."

T: "I decided to study abroad during Grade 3 in senior high school. Because I am so good at math but so poor at other subjects, my teacher said this was not good for your NCEE, so my father said if so, you'd rather study abroad."

M: "I know I should go abroad soon or later, and my parents also hope me to finish undergraduate in China, but my score of NCEE was not good enough for me to get into a good university, so they let me study abroad a little bit earlier, so that I don't have to waste time in a second-class university in China."

Z1: "My parents considered studying in Canada may give me a good future, because if getting a second-class university's degree in China, it is still a problem to look for job after graduation...Here (Canada), will be very different, your future should be better and various... Probably, they decided to let me study abroad before my NCEE, because they knew I couldn't enter a key university, for sure, if I could, they would let me go to the university in China, but I did not make it."

Z2: "I decided to study abroad after I knew my score of NCEE, which is not high enough for to enter Jilin University (a key university in China), although I was accepted by a college, I did not want to go there actually...there were three ways for me to choose at that time, retaking UEE in the next year, entering that college, and studying abroad. After considering, my parents and I decided to study abroad."

D: "I took NCEE, but my score didn't achieve the admission line of Tsinghua University (one of the best universities in China), so my parents and I thought since I could not go into a very good university in China, I'd better study abroad."

S: "I studied abroad after I finished my undergraduate study. I am certainly going to get graduate education, because I feel there are too many undergraduate students in China, a Bachelor's Degree is not competitive. Most of my classmates looked for job after graduation, but it is very difficult, so I wanted to change my major. It should be easy to change major if I study abroad, and a foreign diploma should be more competitive, so I decided to study abroad...but I have to take undergraduate courses before I enter graduate program".

DJ: "I did not take NCEE... I prepared my materials for studying abroad since Grade 2 in senior high school... NCEE is too much competition for me, so we (parents and I) think studying abroad should be a good way for my future."

Conclusively, most of the students involved in my survey are neither elite nor poor academic performance students in China; most of them can receive a higher education in China, and some of them even have received higher education in China. This result is contradictory to a widely known explanation of the upsurge of Chinese students pursuing undergraduate study abroad since the end of the 1990s, which is the limited opportunity for Chinese high school students to receive higher education. Additionally, 95 per cent of my respondents and interviewees came to Canada after 1999; that is to say, they decided to study abroad on or after the time of higher education expansion. Therefore, it is hard to say that they chose to study abroad because of a lack of opportunity to receive a higher education in China.

The question of why this group of students gave up their higher education opportunities in China is easier to understand by taking returns to education into account. The decision of students and their parents to study abroad is based on an assumption that the higher education one received, or the better university in which one is matriculated by in China, the easier for her/him to find a job in the future; otherwise, studying abroad may redeem her/his lack of competitive domestic credentials. This assumption also reflects the credentialism in contemporary China caused by the expansion of higher education and relatively narrow and immature labor market. Therefore, many parents spend all the money they have saved for years to support their children, and some wealthy families also follow the fashion to send their children abroad. For a period of time, studying abroad was getting more and more popular and became a hot topic.

3.3 Increase of Personal Income in China

Table 3.4 and Table 3.5 show the per capita household (personal) income both in urban and rural areas estimated from the household survey data, as well as its classification into sources of income. These two tables confirmed the significant growth of average personal income in China after more than two decades of economic reform and opening-up, and they also provided data of average personal income levels during 1995-2002. The tables show that in 1995, the average personal incomes were about 5,700 yuan/year in urban areas and 2,300 yuan/year in rural areas; in 2002, those were about 9,700 yuan/year in urban areas and 3,300 yuan/year in rural areas.

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 also indicate the significant income gap between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, a number of studies have found that Chinese income inequality rose substantially from the beginning of the 1980s to present because of unequal economic developments between urban and rural areas and the widening rural-urban income gap (Wu & Perloff, 2004). Wu and Perloff (2004) found that “China’s dramatic economic growth—a five-fold increase in the economy and a four-fold increase in per capita income since the early 1980s—has disproportionately favored the urban areas and the rich” (p.1). The urban-rural income gap may explain why there are only 5.7 per cent of the respondents in this study from rural areas.

According to the calculation of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), “the middle income class in China accounted for 15 percent in 1999 and then it rose by 1 percent annually until it reached 19 percent in 2003” (People’s Daily, 2004). The

research department of BNP PARIBAS PEREGRINE defines China's "middle income class" like this: they are well-educated professionals and white-collars with a yearly earning of 25,000 to 30,000 yuan per capita, and the estimation of CASS shows that in China, 48.5 percent of urban residents hold 150,000 yuan to 300,000 yuan per household (People's Daily, 2004). In view of the fact that the majority of the rural population makes a poor income except a fraction of farmers with relatively higher incomes, it can be deduced that about 19 percent of the Chinese population are in the category of "middle income class".

According to the figures provided above, we will see that the general family economic situations of the respondents in this survey belong to or are above "middle income class", and if we take a glance at their parents' personal incomes, the percentages of the father's and mother's income above 25,000 *yuan/year* is 76%⁶ and 66%⁷ respectively. If we also take the tuition fee and living costs into account, we can know that studying abroad is still a luxury for most of the Chinese families. For most of the middle-income families, the parents may have to spend all of their savings to support their children's studying abroad, and for wealthy families, the cost of studying abroad is also considerable.

Conclusively, since the economic reform and opening-up started, policies adopted by the Chinese government have favored to foster middle and upper classes. The substantial financial capacity of families in middle or upper classes in China has become the precondition and indispensable resources for supporting these young

⁶ About 10% unreported.

⁷ About 10% unreported.

students pursuing undergraduate education in Canada.

Table 3.4: Per Capita Disposable Rural Income (Current Yuan per Year)

Sources	1995		2002		Annual Real Growth Rate
	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	
Individual wages	516.78	22.38	1,017.88	30.82	8.94
Net farm income	1,072.15	46.44	1,261.74	38.21	1.21
Net income from household non-farm activities	224.08	9.71	382.61	11.59	6.74
Property income	9.98	0.43	19.54	0.59	8.85
Rental value of owned housing	267.93	11.61	445.97	13.50	6.35
Net subsidies from the state and collective	-10.99	-0.48	-85.52	-2.59	32.56
Other income including private transfer	228.70	9.91	260.21	7.88	0.72
TOTAL	2,308.63	100.00	3,302.43	100.00	4.07
<i>Memo Item</i>					
<i>Receipt from enterprises</i>	<i>139.89</i>	<i>6.06</i>	<i>2.91</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>-43.13</i>

Note: The growth rate in "net subsidies" is actually the growth rate in net taxes since net subsidies are a negative amount.

Source: CASS (2004) Growth and Distribution of Household Income in China Between 1995 and 2002 at www.economics.ucr.edu/seminars/spring04/05-28-04AzizurKhan.pdf

Table 3.5: Per Capita Disposable Urban Income (Current Yuan per Year)

	Per Capita Disposable Urban Income (Current Yuan per Year)				Annual Real Growth Rate
	1995		2002		
	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	
Individual wages	3,497.77	61.30	5,814.74	59.54	5.99
Income of retired members	667.14	11.69	1,443.74	14.78	10.06
Individual enterprise	30.23	0.53	267.90	2.74	34.62
Income from property	72.28	1.27	53.92	0.55	-5.47
Housing subsidy in kind	555.66	9.74	183.09	1.87	-15.89
Other net subsidies	71.12	1.25	7.17	0.07	-28.98
Rental value of owned housing	650.12	11.39	1,723.52	17.65	13.30
Other income	161.87	2.84	271.81	2.78	6.15
TOTAL	5,706.19	100.00	9,765.90	100.00	6.44

Source: CASS (2004) Growth and Distribution of Household Income in China Between 1995 and 2002 at www.economics.ucr.edu/seminars/spring04/05-28-04AzizurKhan.pdf

3.4 The Study Abroad Agency⁸ and Government Policy on Studying Abroad and International Students

3.4.1 Government Policy on Studying Abroad and the Study Abroad Agency in China

In 1978, the Chinese government sent the first group of scholars to study in the U.S. In harmony with the socio-economic development, a management and implementation system has been set up in higher education institutions and science and technology research institutions, from the national to local levels, which is related to students and scholars' studying abroad. This system mainly consists of three complementary channels for students and scholars studying abroad, namely, state-funded, employer-funded, and self-funded. Actually, self-funded studying abroad also includes two channels, which are funded by overseas institutions and family or personal funds. In this study, I focus on the students who are sponsored by their family or themselves. The government policy on self-funded studying abroad is "encouraging studying abroad, encouraging coming back, and respecting individual aspiration"⁹ (Tao, 2005). There are some reasons for government encouraging students to study abroad. The influence of economic globalization, development of knowledge economy, and the challenges after joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) demand more and more talents with international level knowledge and cross-cultural perspectives for advancing China's competition in international society.

Under the conditions of supportive policy from government and increasing demands from the education market, the study abroad agency emerged as the times

⁸ Study abroad agency is a profit organization in China to provide services for studying broad.

⁹ Self-translated from <http://www.jyb.com.cn/GB/2005/09/28/zy/9-zb/1.htm>

require. During 1999-2002, studying abroad has become a hot topic and popular tendency, namely, the “study abroad craze”. Meanwhile, development of the study abroad agency in China has reached a peak during that period of time. The number of study abroad agencies granted by the Ministry of Education in the PRC has reached 270 till 2002, and most of them have cooperative relations with certain overseas institutions (Xu, 2003). Although there are problems existing in some study abroad agencies caused by lack of rigid legal regulation during that period, many students still achieved their goal of studying abroad through study abroad agencies. Since 2004, many study abroad agencies have allied and set up associations of study abroad service industries in order to regulate marketing operations, and the regulations in this new industry have been improved. The study abroad agency has become one of the most important resources for students-parents who plan to study abroad but without knowledge of how to apply for studying abroad. In my study, more than 70 per cent of these Chinese students have ever used study abroad agencies to achieve their goal of studying abroad, and 44 per cent of them heard of the University of Saskatchewan for the first time from study abroad agencies.

3.4.2 Government policy and Labor Market in China for Student Returnees

China’s rapidly expanding economy, coupled with various preferential policies that returnees enjoy, encourages students to pack their bags and head for home. In my study, 46 per cent of respondents consider China to be their first or second choice of the places they want to work at, including 16 per cent reporting China as the first choice, and 30 per cent reporting it as the second. Of this group of potential returnees,

60 per cent indicate that more and better career opportunities in China is a crucial reason for them to choose to return after finish education.

Haigui is a nickname for the Chinese students and scholars returned from overseas. The increasing demand of advanced technology and management in China has created a large number of career developing opportunities for *Haigui*. For a long time, a foreign degree gave a very competitive advantage in the labor market in China, but recently the increasing number of returned overseas students has diluted this advantage. Also, the academic quality of younger overseas Chinese students, who are family-funded holding only a Bachelor's degree, has been questioned because the public assumes that students must have failed in NCEE with a poor academic performance before they go abroad; meanwhile, more and more mass media reports about the problems of these younger students, and they have been given a negative impression by neglecting school work, spending most of their time and money on leisure, even committing suicide, using drugs, and so on. However, these problems have not been significantly found in my study.

Although overseas degrees have by no means guaranteed landing an ideal job in China, the overseas experience can still provide advantages in China's employment market. The fervor regarding attracting international investment since China's opening-up, increases the number of cross-national companies, joint and cooperative firms, and international organizations dramatically. These companies and organizations provide good chances for these young returnees because of their fluent English, multicultural values, and international perspectives. L responded like this,

when she was asked about her occupation aspirations:

“I would like to return...Cross-national companies should be the first choice in my mind. But I still hope I can get some work experiences in Canada, you know, since a foreign degree has not been so competitive right now, overseas work experience is more important when you look for jobs in China.”

L’s response also implicates the cool down of *Haigui* fervor. The employers have paid less attention to the gloss of a foreign degree, but more emphasize authentic ability. Work experience has been considered as a crucial criterion to evaluate personal capacity.

Furthermore, the Chinese government is formulating and carrying out a series of plans to attract more overseas students back to China to start their own business. According to Bolin Zhang, Minister of Personnel, who gave a speech on national conference on December 22, 2003, the Chinese Government "will speed up construction of industrial parks for the returned overseas students and support them to set up their own enterprises and run businesses,” and “to date, the Chinese Government has established more than 70 industrial parks for returned overseas students to start businesses. In these parks, returnees can easily get loans to start business” (People’s Daily, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising to see in my study that some potential returnees considered self-employed business as their career of choice in China. Furthermore, essentially, the policies attracting brain gain do not mainly target new graduated overseas students, but the successful overseas personnel who may have been permanent residents or citizens in developed countries already.

Conclusively, economic reform and open-door policies implemented by the Chinese government enable the cross-national migration rather than constrain, and

they lead to promising student flows from China to developed countries. The middle class is emerging in Chinese socialism market economy. The continuous increase of personal or household income has been the fundamental resources for parents supporting their children to study abroad. Educational policies as rules both enable and constrain students' educational practices. The National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) places constraints on the qualification of Chinese secondary school students entering higher education, although educational reform in China since 1999 has given more opportunities for students to get into higher education. At the same time, it constrains the returns on their education because of the limited domestic labor market vis-à-vis abruptly increasing new graduates. Therefore, in China, the students who possess resources for studying abroad are able to have chances receive better education in developed countries. Rapid economic development and government policies of encouraging overseas returnees are also attracting these Chinese students to return. Especially, the prosperity of foreign investments and international trades in China provide promising employment and career opportunities for these overseas Chinese students.

3.5 Internationalization of Higher Education and Recruitment of International Students in Canadian Universities

In a global economy, internationalization is an increasingly important component of the work in universities and other higher education providers. The working definition adopted here is as follows: internationalization of higher education is the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service function of the institution (Knight, 1994).

Enrolling foreign students has been one of the most visible institutional strategies used to help internationalize college and university campuses in Canada. In essence, this approach is a broadly based effort to internationalize the student body through recruitment of international students for both the undergraduate and graduate programs. The educational benefits from recruitment of international students have been found across the literature. In a report on international students in Canada, the Secretary of State of Canada referred to the enrichment of post-secondary education as one of the benefits of enrolling foreign students when it stated, “internationally, it is widely accepted that international students contribute considerable benefits to host countries” (Secretary of State of Canada, 1989, p.2). The Association of International Education Administration (AIEA) also made a similar statement in its 1995 research agenda: “Foreign student programs are known intuitively to contribute in some degree to an understanding of international forces and the global setting” (AIEA, 1995, p.7). In a survey, Knight conducted, the results showed that the respondents viewed foreign students as having the third strongest impact of internationalization on the university, behind organizational structures and Canadian student mobility (Knight, 2000, p.19). Besides the benefits for internationalized education, foreign students also bring economic benefits for Canadian economy. According to Statistics Canada, nationally, at the undergraduate level, average tuition fees for international students will be 12, 587 CAD, and it is more than twice of the fees Canadian students will pay (Statistics Canada, 2005). At the University of Saskatchewan for example, international student tuition for degree programs in U of S ranges from 379.60 CAD

to 592.80 CAD per credit unit, but for Canadian students, the tuition is from 146 CAD to 228 CAD per credit unit (USASK, 2006). Beyond tuition fees, according to the Asia Pacific Foundation, the average full-time international student in Canada spent at least 25,000 CAD a year in 2004, and they spend an estimated 3.8 billion CAD a year here, providing a significant boost to the Canadian economy (Leung, 2006). However, the Quality-Price ratio of internationalized higher education in Canada has been considered as high. One interviewee's narrative on how he chose Canada as destination can be a representative of the Chinese students from middle-class families:

“Going to America should be the best, but the tuition fees are high, and not easy to get visa. We (parents and I) also considered England, but I have some friends there, they told me that the tuition fees and living costs are too high to afford, so they have to do part-time job, made them very exhausted. We also heard that the higher education in Australia and New Zealand are not so good as Canada, so we decide to come to Canada.”

In order to achieve institutional goals for an increased international student population on campus, as well as to create a good network of international ties, some short and long term strategies have been developed by post-secondary education institutions across Canada. There are some effective strategies applied by the U of S to recruit undergraduate students from China. For example, the Language Center at the U of S offers an English as a Second Language (ESL) program to students who need further work in language skills. The program allows these ESL students to continue regular education at the U of S once their language skills become adequate. Therefore, the international students who are learning English in this ESL program have been considered as conditional students at the U of S; if they pass 50 level

courses successfully, they can be admitted by the U of S upon their application. This is a very attractive strategy for recruiting international students whose mother tongue is not English, because most of institutions providing ESL programs in Canada are private institutions with lesser reputations than public universities, or the language institutions without post-secondary programs. The U of S was one of the first public universities that set up a joint ESL-University program in Canada, and this program has become one of the most effective strategies for recruiting international students. As mentioned before, 64 per cent of respondents have been in or are in ESL programs at U of S. Some Chinese students transferred to the U of S from the language programs in metropolis areas because of this program, such as Z1:

“I heard from study abroad agents that this ESL program gives opportunities for qualified students getting into this university. Most ESL programs in Toronto cannot do it...Actually, I have some friends here, and they come here for this reason too”.

In this survey, when the respondents were asked about how they know about U of S for the first time, 44.5 percent of them reported study-abroad agencies in China, about 39 percent of them reported friends or relatives, and the third important way to hear about this university is the Internet with 11 per cent. Also, as mentioned previously, more than 70 per cent of respondents have used study-abroad agencies. It shows that the study-abroad agency, “word of mouth” from people who have had experiences here, and web-based information are three major information resources for Chinese students when choosing their desired educational institutions. However, it is still not easy to collect sufficient information when they decide to come to Saskatoon to pursue foreign education. In my survey, over 40 per cent of respondents

reports they know almost nothing or only a little about studying and living costs in Saskatoon before they came here, and 52 per cent of respondents reported they know almost nothing or only a little about academic programs at the U of S.

Although study-abroad agencies in China have been the most commonly used resource to get information on studying abroad, they are not perceived as the most reliable resource. On one hand, they are perceived to be focused on profits; on the other hand, the reputation of study-abroad agency in China has been corrupted because of illegal operations around 2000. Therefore, when students had an idea of a certain destination, social networks were taken as the most reliable resource to get more information about this destination, and the social networks may include anyone they can access who have ever been or are in the destinations they choose. Of 11 interviewees, 6 have mentioned that they chose Saskatoon as a destination because they or their parents know someone who has studied or worked in Saskatoon, and these people recommended the U of S. For those who do not have social networks as their reliable resource, web-based information provides them with some reliable information to some extent.

Conclusively, internationalization of education as a beneficial strategy for higher education in Canada does meet the needs of Chinese students who want to study abroad. However, the spatial distance still constrains Chinese students to get sufficient information about the place in which they will study and live; therefore, social networks play an important role as an informative resource.

3.6 Student Work Programs and Changing Immigration Policy in Canada

Canada is well known as an immigrant country because of its favorable immigration policies. As mentioned previously, around 40 per cent of respondents take immigration as one of the important motivations to study abroad, and they also consider it as one of the primary factors when deciding which country to study in. Therefore, Canadian immigration policies are not only structural impulse for immigration intention of Chinese students in Canada, but it is also a structural attraction for Chinese students flowing to Canada.

The development of a knowledge economy increased new jobs requiring considerable education and training, so immigration policies in Canada have had some new changes since the 1990s for filling the need of high skilled workers and reducing the number of immigrating manual laborers. The new concern of Canadians regarding immigration is on “economic benefits” and less on humanitarian issues or family reunification (Frideres, 1996, p.461, Li, 2003, p.49). Therefore, a greater proportion of immigrants who can immediately participate in Canadian society will be selected over those who require some capital investment before being able to participate and integrate. Moreover, if individuals possessing these skills have dependents, the dependents will also have to be evaluated according to their social capital. Considering the potential higher degree of integration into Canadian society of foreign students who graduated from Canadian institutions, the government may save the costs on training or education to recruit qualified immigrants if they take foreign students as potential immigrants. Furthermore, in 2004 Canada granted 56,

536 student visas. For the same year, Canada admitted 203,138 legal immigrants (CIC, 2005a). Although it is not clear how many of the visa students eventually may become legal immigrants, but one change has been made in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), that is to permit the intention to become a permanent resident, in recognition of the practical difficulty of insisting that an applicant have a single fixed intention regarding their stay in Canada (S.C. 2001, c. 27, s. 22.2). Therefore, Canadian immigration policy allows international students have immigration intentions while studying in Canada. The government of Canada also granted some programs helping foreign students get more work experience in Canada, so they can apply for permanent landed status based upon their capacity to integrate into Canadian society, especially the labor market.

There are three major ways for international students to get work experience in Canada, including off-campus work permit program, co-op work program, and post-graduation work employment program. The Off-Campus Work Permit Program was launched very recently. On April 27, 2006, Citizenship and Immigration Canada announced that foreign students could work off-campus if they meet certain eligibility requirements (CIC, 2006a). A foreign student who has studied full time at publicly funded post-secondary education institutional for at least six months and maintained satisfactory academic standing (as defined by the student's academic institution), can be eligible for a work permit under the Off-Campus Permit Program. My survey was finished before this program launched formally, but a relevant question was raised in the questionnaire, that is how likely they will look for an off-campus job if this

program can be granted. About 66 per cent of respondents claimed that they are very interested in looking for an off-campus job, and about 26 per cent of them claimed that they will try, but not very interested, and only 6.6 per cent said they did not have any interest in doing this. The results show the desire of Chinese students for getting work experience in Canada.

The second program related to foreign students' work in Canada is working under the co-op and internship programs. This program mainly targets the foreign students who are enrolled in the academic programs requiring work experience as part of the curriculum. They need to participate in co-op or internship program to get work permit before they commit to internships or other off-campus work required by academic programs. The post-graduation work program is designed to provide international students with Canadian work experience in their field of study upon their graduation. As CIC noted, "Since May 16, 2005, this program has allowed certain students to work for up to two years after their graduation. Previously, students were only allowed to work for one year" (CIC, 2005b). Further, "the work permit cannot be valid longer than the length of time the student studied" (CIC, 2005b).

The work experience in Canada is a crucial factor for international students applying for permanent landed status as skilled workers, especially for the majority of the Chinese undergraduate students without any work experience in China. According to my survey, only 8.7 per cent of respondents have more than one-year of work experience in China. The eligibility of applicants who wish to immigrate as skilled

workers is based on the point system, which was created in 1967 and still continues today. This point system or online self-assessment test provides all applicants with points based on their social and demographic profile (total maximum was 100) which includes factors such as education – up to 25 points, language – up to 24 points, work experience – up to 21 points, age – up to 10 points, arranged employment – up to 10, adaptation – up to 10 points (CIC). On September 18, 2003, Citizenship and Immigration Canada announced that the pass mark for those applying to immigrate to Canada as skilled workers (to all provinces except Quebec) had changed from 75 to 67 (CIC, 2003). According to this self-assessment test, “the applicants must have **at least one year** of full-time paid work experience, or the equivalent in part-time work, in an occupation listed in the National Occupational Classification (NOC) list” (CIC). Therefore, these work permit programs do provide opportunities for foreign students to get work experience and further settlement in Canada, and the foreign students who can get a job during study or upon graduation should be qualified to be immigrants in terms of their ability to integrate into the Canadian labor market.

In addition to encouraging immigrants with specific skills to come to Canada, particular programs have been developed such as Business Immigration, in order to promote the positive economic impact of immigration. The program seeks to promote economic development and employment by attracting people with venture capital, business acumen, and entrepreneurial skills, aside from developing new commercial opportunities. This Business Class Immigration program has three classes of business immigrants: investors, entrepreneurs, and self-employed persons (CIC). In this study,

more than 10 per cent of respondents reported to choose business class or family class program as the approach to immigrate. Actually, most of them who take family class program did not have family members in Canada, but they were from families with business background. In fact, it is their parents may want to immigrate as business class and the students can be the dependent applicants.

By late 1994, the government of Canada began to implement policy and organizational changes based upon the consultations. While the federal government continues to accept responsibility for immigration, it now believes that a new partnership – with provincial governments, industry, schoolboards, labor, community groups – is necessary so that new immigration programs reflect public interest and concerns expressed by other national, regional, and local stakeholders (Frideres, 1996, pp.458-459). Therefore, most provinces in Canada have an agreement with the federal government that allows them to play a more direct role in selecting immigrants who wish to settle in that province. If one wishes to immigrate to a certain province in Canada as a provincial nominee, she/he must first apply to the province where you wish to settle. The province will consider her/his application based on the provincial immigration needs and applicant's genuine intention to settle there. For example, The Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) is looking for immigrants who can help expand and diversify their growing economy. This program also provides immigration opportunities for foreign students upon their graduation or permanent full-time employment. According to their eligible criteria for the Foreign Student Post Graduation Work Permit Category, graduated foreign students working for a

Saskatchewan employer can apply for nomination and permanent landed status when they have graduated from a program of at least one academic year of full-time study in Saskatchewan and has received a certificate, diploma, or degree from a recognized Saskatchewan post-secondary educational institution (SINP). Also, they have worked for a Saskatchewan employer for a minimum of six months under a Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) post graduation work permit; meanwhile, they have a current permanent full-time job offer from their employer (SINP).

According to my survey, the skilled worker immigrant class is a well-known approach to apply for permanent landed status by Chinese undergraduate students, as well as graduate students I believe, since about 60 per cent of respondents acknowledge it as their choice. About 10 per cent of them choose business/family class immigration. The SINP is also chosen by 8.2 per cent of these Chinese undergraduate students, and some of them are preparing for or applying for participating in SINP. Although not all Chinese students have the intention to settle down in Canada, most of them still get information about immigration policies, and they will choose to leave or stay, or decide how to stay in virtue of their own conditions and criteria and opportunities provided by immigration policies.

Generally, although immigration policies as a rule in Canada do not particularly target international students as potential immigrants, there are still some policies offering them more chances to immigrate than those who have never studied in Canada. However, the constraints implicated in the policies make it more difficult to immigrate for some students than others; for example, the favored policies are

major-related based on what kind of talents they need, and work-experience-related based on how long they have ever worked, which is nearly a fatal constraint for these Chinese undergraduate students who lack of work experience. The alternatives may include getting a job upon graduation in Canada or in China, or getting part-time job during their studies according to newly launched Off-Campus Permit Program, which is a favored rule to enable international students to immigrate.

3.7 Labor Market Opportunities for International Graduates in Canada

Canadian immigration policies do gradually loosen restrictions on international students getting work experience in Canada. However, Off-Campus Work Permit Program implies another crucial problem for international students to work, that “a work permit authorizing you to work off campus does not guarantee that you will find a job. It is your responsibility to find a job” (CIC, 2006a). For most of the international students in Canada, it is still a big problem to find a job. L responded negative when she was asked that what she thought about Canadian employment market for international students:

“Poor, very poor. When you look for job, you can see most of them (employers) require work experiences. What we can do? Say off-campus jobs, they more focus on technical training, require practical skills, which are mainly taught by colleges... What we’ve learnt in universities more focus on theory, cannot be applicable immediately. I believe most of Chinese students want to immigrate, but still want to return after get immigrant status, they said (that) this is not my place, I don’t want to settle down here, but I want to fly back and forth freely as an immigrant...so this (immigrant status) seems more like a ‘backup’.”

W also complained about the unequal treatment to international students when looking for job.

“Without an immigrant status is a fatal disadvantage. Many jobs are only opened to Canadian citizens and immigrants, and even if the jobs are open to us, the employers still consider

Canadian citizen first, immigrant second, and international students last. That is to say, if they (citizens and immigrants) both are not qualified or they don't want the job, they will consider us...so you can see how much possible for us to get that job? ... If you want to get immigrant status, you need work experiences, but you cannot get it here...I know some students had the solution that after get Bachelor's Degree, go back to work for one or two years, and apply for Master program here, and then apply for immigrant status.”

The employment condition of international students in Canada has not received concerns in academic areas, but the quotations from my interviewees have shown the difficulties for international students in getting work experience, even though they receive legal status to look for off-campus jobs.

Besides the limited employment opportunities upon graduation, these Chinese students also have to consider moving to some metropolises to look for jobs, because there are more opportunities in Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary as well.

W: “For sure, I will go Calgary to look for job first, there are much more opportunities than here, and it is close to Saskatoon”.

L: “This is a very nice place, good for study, but if you want to expand your career, there won't be many opportunities here”.

In my survey, only 17.5 per cent of respondents take Saskatchewan as their first choice to work, but only 25 percent will “not take Saskatchewan as an option”. Most of them will choose Saskatchewan as an alternative, though not the first choice. However, Table 5.7 shows that there is significant correlation between “If look for job in Saskatchewan” and “Interest in immigration”. The value of Gamma, .361, indicates that those who are more likely to look for a job in Saskatchewan, will be more likely to immigrate. Of the respondents taking Saskatchewan as the first choice, 87.5 per cent claim that they strongly expect to immigrate or consider immigrating. It is not easy to find a single explanation for this, but for most of Chinese students, there are

less employment and career opportunities in Saskatchewan than in Alberta or Metropolis areas, but for those who choose to stay in Saskatchewan, taking Saskatchewan as their immigration destination is probably the major motivation to work here, and W agrees:

“It is not easy to find a job here, but I still want to try my best, because SINP may let me get immigrate status faster than federal policies, and also they don’t have so many Chinese landed here, so it should be much less competitive than in Toronto or Vancouver.”

The possibility of finding a job in Canada is also major-related. The students who majored in Information Technology (IT) or Business related will be more popular in the labor market, and they may find a job easier than those from other majors in Canada upon graduation. Actually, the flourish of IT and Business has created and continue creating numbers of employment opportunities around the world not only in Canada.

For most of Chinese students, the skilled worker immigration program is the most practicable approach to receive permanent landed status in Canada. Therefore, getting work experience and having a full-time job in Canada have been two crucial preconditions for them to have the motivation to stay. In other words, besides their own ability, whether or not they can be qualified to immigrate has largely depended on the employment opportunities provided for them by labor market in Canada.

3.8 Conclusion

According to Giddens, the rules and resources as properties of structures can both constrain and enable social practices and social interactions. The macro-level structures related to migration both in the sending country, China, and receiving country, Canada, have been discussed in this Chapter.

The policies of governments are mainly considered as rules. China's economic reform and open-door policies greatly enable Chinese students' cross-national migration whether for study or emigration, as well as their return whether as students still or as immigrants. Internationalization of the higher education in Canada mainly enables academic migration, and immigration policies both constrain and enable this temporary migration to be settlement. The rules are setting criteria to enable qualified agents practicing immigration and constrain unqualified agents doing so.

As reflexive agents, these Chinese students and their parents' reasons for choosing studying abroad and their considerations in the decision making process regarding destination, both implicate the development of the globalized knowledge economy and the gap between developing regions and developed regions. In China, the dilemma between the expansion of higher education and the lack of labor market absorbability of increasing new graduates, constrain the motivation of students pursuing a higher education in China, especially for those who suffered exam system and have better-off family background. Simultaneously, the Chinese government's encouragement of studying abroad and increasingly reinforced internationalization of higher education in Canada enable these students to study abroad alternatively. These two forces lead to a flow of students at undergraduate level, from China to Canada. When the Chinese undergraduate students in Canada face the choices on migration, the immigration policy in Canada and career opportunities both in Canada and China, as rules and resources in macro-level structures are major considerations for them. However, the policies and career opportunities will influence the students differently.

Individual students have to decide what rules and resources they can draw upon based on their own experience and condition to rationalize their migration motivations, to return or stay.

The macro-level structures, which constrain and enable students' studying abroad and migration motivations, have been explored in this chapter, but we also need to realize that the ways rules and resources constrain and enable practices and interactions are also the ways these knowledgeable agents respond to them. According to structuration theory, the knowledgeable ability of actors produces and reproduces their society, and there are three levels of consciousness in their social knowledge: discursive consciousness, practical consciousness, and unconsciousness. Thereinto, practical consciousness is the knowledge of personal motivations and institutional rules and resources and can be exploited to provide rationale for action. The influences from macro-level structures on Chinese students' decision to study abroad and their migration motivations elaborated in Chapter 3 shows that their social knowledge of institutional rules and resources (practical consciousness) plays a crucial role in their decision-making process and motivations.

CHAPTER 4

FAMILY BACKGROUND, PARENTAL INFLUENCE, SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND MIGRATION MOTIVATIONS

Chapter 3 has explored how macro-level structures constrain and enable Chinese undergraduate students' migration decisions (studying abroad) and intentions (immigration). In Chapter 4, I would like to give an initial test on hypothesized theoretical framework that has been provided, which is about the relationships among micro-level structures, micro-individualized factors, and Chinese undergraduate students' migration motivations, in order to provide a skeleton for the following two chapters.

4.1 Initial Framework of Relationships between Substantial Variables Related to Migration Motivations

Methodologically, I will use path analysis. "Interests in immigration" is the final endogenous variable. Other endogenous variables include "perception of experience in Canada" and "degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test" to indicate agent's perception and knowledgeability. Independent variables include "parents' Influences", "having family members as permanent residents in North America," "having family members as temporary residents in North America," "household financial situation," "time in Canada," and "register year". Gender as personal characteristic is taken as control variable.

Path Analysis Results:

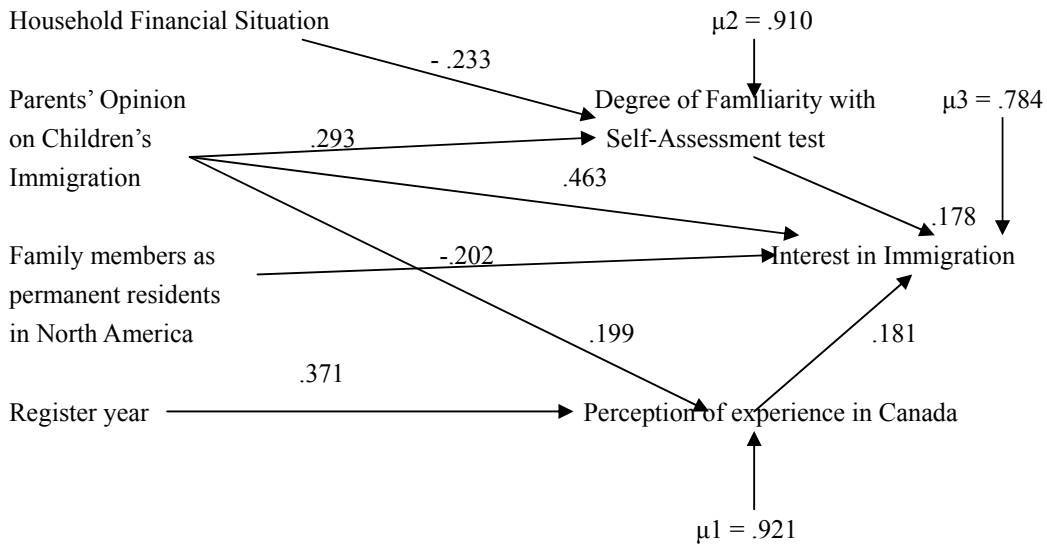
Final Endogenous Variable: “Interest in immigration”;

Other Endogenous Variable: “Degree of Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test”, “Perception of Experiences in Canada”;

Independent Variables: “Parent’s influences”, “If have family members as permanent residents in North America”, “If have family members as temporary residents in North America”, “Household financial situation”, “Time in Canada” and “Register year”;

Control Variable: Gender

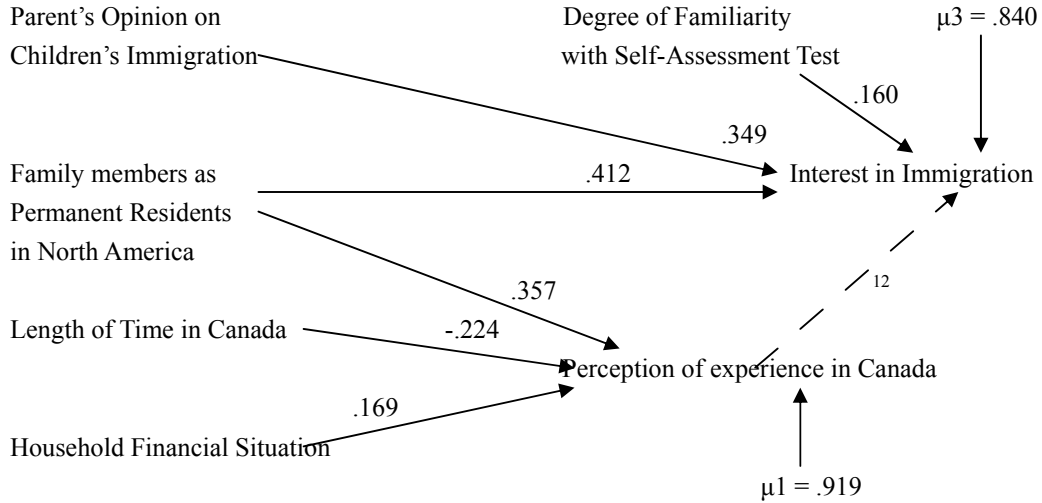
Figure 2¹⁰: Path Analysis Model for Females: Micro-level Social Structures, micro-individualized factors, and Interests in Immigration



Note: coefficient's significant is at .1 level; N = 78;
The non-significant correlations have been left out.

¹⁰ Appendix A shows the correlation coefficient matrix for this path analysis.

Figure 3¹¹: Path Analysis Model for Males: Micro-level Social Structures, Micro-individualized factors, and Interests in Immigration



Note: coefficient's significant is at .1 level; N = 94;
The non-significant correlations have been left out.

Findings and Discussions

Gender difference is a prevalent concern in sociological research, and it is not exceptional in this study. In both female and male models, there are three common variables which impact “interests in immigration” or migration motivations directly: “parents’ opinion on children’s migration”, “having family members as permanent residents in North America”, and “degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test”. However, a significant difference between females and males is whether perception of experiences in Canada plays a role in students’ immigration intention. In female’s model, their “perception of experiences in Canada” has similar influence as “degree

¹¹ Appendix B shows the correlation coefficient matrix for this path analysis.

¹² The arrow is added based on findings from Figure 5 in Chapter 5.

of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test” ($p_1 = .181$, $p_2 = .178$ in order), that is to say, the more positive perception of experiences and the more familiar with self-assessment test, the more likely they are to immigrate. In male’s model, there is no significant relationship between “perception of experiences in Canada” and their “interests in immigration”. Moreover, in female’s model, “household financial situation” and “register year” may not influence “interests in immigration” directly, but they place significant impacts on “degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test” and “perception of experience in Canada” respectively. In male’s model, “if having family members as permanent residents in North America,” “length of time in Canada,” and “household financial situation” have influences on “perception of experience in Canada”.

This framework echoes the hypothesized theoretical framework to some extents, and it also reminds us of some ideas for further explorations. First, gender differences should be an important concern when elaborating a variety of relationships. Second, why does “perception of experiences in Canada” play different role in female and male models? How do family background, parental influences, and social networks impact students’ migration motivations? Through what, time and household financial situation can impact immigration interests; is there any other factor, besides “perception of experience in Canada” and “degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test”? Are there factors influencing “perception of experiences in Canada” and “degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test”? In the following two chapters, I attempt to give answers to these questions step by step.

4.2 Family Background, Parental Influence, Social Networks, and Students' Migration

4.2.1 Literatures of Chinese Parental Involvement and Students' Decision-Making

A few studies have been done on the relationships between Chinese parents' involvement and adolescents' decision making (Ho, Sprinks, & Yeung, 1989; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991; Lin & Fu, 1990; Xia et al., 2004). Starting from Chinese traditions, researchers realized the value of children's obedience to their parents and discouraging children's disagreement and negotiation with their parents (Ho, Sprinks, & Yeung, 1989). In contemporary China, more concerns have focused on the development of Chinese adolescents' individual autonomy. As Feldman & Rosenthal (1991) noted, in comparison with Australian and American youth, Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong had expectations for independence at a later age, and put less emphasis on individualism. However, some studies had different results on Chinese adolescents in Mainland China and Taiwan, that Chinese parents appeared to be controlling, to encourage independence, and to emphasize achievement (Lin & Fu, 1990; Peterson et al., 2002). Lin and Fu explained their findings that "A distinction should be made between family interdependence and individual independence. Although Chinese people tend to value interdependence and minimize the development of individuality within families, individual independence is not necessarily discouraged" (Xu, Shen, Wan, Li, Mussen, & Cao, 1991, p.432).

Chinese parents' high involvement has been prominently presented in their high expectation on children's educational achievement (Hickey, 1998; Caplan, Choy &

Whitmore, 1991; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Lee & Rong, 1988). A few studies (Endo, 1980; Wong, 1990; Young, 1993; Chow, 2000) demonstrated that Asian parents have a significant influence and place considerable pressure on their children to achieve academic success. Wong (1990) also argued that children's lack of superior academic may lead to feelings of personal guilt that they are failing or are not living up to parental expectations. Most of these studies in links between parental influence and children's academic achievement focused on Chinese immigrant families; however, the explanations are all culture-related, and it is echoed by a high proportion of educational investment in families in contemporary China. The emphasis of educational achievement is based on the belief of academic success leading to economic success. Therefore, essentially, Chinese parents' involvements more focused on children's career-related choices.

In this study, studying abroad can be considered as an important academic and career-related decision for Chinese students, so the extents of parental involvement need to be examined, because the migration decision is a crucial choice in an individual's life-course. How parents involve into Chinese students' migration motivations is a concern in this study as well.

4.2.2 Literatures of Family Background, Social Networks, and Migration Motivations

Family background, according to Coleman (1988), is analytically separable into at least three distinct components: financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Financial capital is commonly measured by the family's wealth or income. Human capital, which constitutes the potential for a cognitive environment that is conducive

to children's learning, is usually measured by parents' education. Social capital is the least tangible as it exists only in the relationship among persons and is defined by its function, and usually is considered as social networks.

A few studies provided a new perspective on international migration; for example, the study conducted by Liang and Morooka (2004) used data from Chinese census and surveys to focus on socio-economic selectivity among immigrants from China to the US, in order to find out the people with what kinds of socio-economic background are more likely to emigrate from China. Systematic studies are still unable to provide an overall domestic profile of Chinese recent emigrants. However, Liang and Miao (2005) took international migration from China's Fujian province as a case, and they found that, the communities/regions benefited from China's market transition enjoy relatively high level of income, and have sent thousands of migrants abroad. There are multiple causations leading to migration motivations, but preferable socio-economic status (SES) is undoubtedly one of crucial preconditions when intending to migrate, which may include studying abroad and emigrating. In this study, the family socio-economic backgrounds of these Chinese undergraduate students are examined in order to find which students from are more likely to immigrate to Canada.

The relationship between the education and occupation of parents and the academic achievement and career-related choices of children has been given attention in sociological research (Chow, 2000, 2004; etc.). As argued, father and mother play different roles in children's decision-making process. The following data analysis will

show how parents' education and occupation influence students' decision to study abroad and migration motivations, as well as different impacts from father and mother separately.

According to Coleman's definition, the kinship-based social networks can be considered as a component of family background, but in this study I would like to separate social networks from the notion of family background, in order to highlight it as an important resource for students to make decisions and have motivations, and also to include the social networks built up based on other relationships other than kinships. Social networks represent a linkage between sending and receiving countries in the migration system, which can be defined as interpersonal interactions, that usually consist of relatives, friends, and other relationships created in the courses of social and economic activities, which act as the channel of information, influence, and resources flow. "Migrant networks" as the interpersonal interactions binding migrant and potential migrant, have played an important role in explaining perpetuity of international migration (Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995; Massey, 1994). The functions of migrant network may include providing information, social, and economic supports at the points of destination (Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995). As phrased by Portes (1995), "migration is defined as a network-creating process because it develops an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination." Consider the importance of social networks in international migration; it has to be explored in this study.

4.2.3 Family background, Parental Involvement, Social Networks, and Studying Abroad

Studying abroad can be considered as both an education choice and migration decision. The macro-level structural reasons for the decision of these young Chinese students to study in Canada have been explored in Chapter 3. Here, the questions of who they are and how they decide to study in Canada are two concerns in this section.

Most of the Chinese students pursuing undergraduate education in Canada have a favorable family background, especially in terms of wealth or income. Parental financial supports are the major financial resource for 92 per cent of all the respondents. 24.6 per cent of them will be funded by parents until they finish graduate education, and 21.3 per cent reported that parents would not stop financial support until they start working. The average expense (including tuition fee) of a Chinese undergraduate student at the U of S is around 25,000 CAD/year, which only well-off families can afford in China. According to my study, 74 per cent of the respondents reports their family's financial situation as "comfortable" or above, and rest of them reported "adequate". The average monthly incomes of father and mother are around 5,000 *yuan* and 4,000 *yuan* respectively. Possessing a car and the value of dwellings are two important criteria to judge a household is financial situation in contemporary China. In this survey, 47 per cent of the respondents reported their parents own at least one car, and 19 per cent of them reported their parents can use a car assigned by their work-unit (*gongzuodanwei*). 63 per cent of respondents reported that the market values of their household dwellings are above 400,000 *yuan* (amount to about 10,000 CND). According to the report of the National Bureau of Statistics of China, the

average GDP has achieved 1,703 USD in 2005, which amount to about 1200 *yuan*/month, therefore, the figures show that the family financial background of most of the respondents are much above the average in China.

Chinese parents usually place substantial influence on an adolescent's life-course choices, and pressure to pursue higher education abroad also presents. Chart 4.1 shows that 60.1 per cent of the respondents reported that it was their parents raising the idea of studying abroad first, and about 33 per cent responded that they personally raised this idea first. Chart 4.2 shows the percentage distribution of students' responses on the idea their parents raised. 55.4 per cent of them accepted this idea right away, and 32.3 per cent of them did not have strong opinion on this idea so they just followed their parents' arrangement. The resistant attitudes can be found in 12.3 per cent of them, some of them have agreed through persuasion, while still some of them never wanted to study abroad but still have to obey their parents' idea. Chart 4.3 shows the percentage distribution of parents' attitudes on the idea their children raised. Only 33.3 per cent of them reported that their parents both agreed right away, and fathers has a more supportive attitude than mother. About 47 per cent of respondents reported that their parents agreed through persuasion or sufficient consideration, and resistant attitudes cannot be found in the parents of this group of students. The results reconfirm that Chinese parents are highly involved into their children's life-course decisions. Although there are resistant attitudes among the students whose parents raised the idea first, there is no resistant attitude among the parents whose children first raised idea, that is to say, parents do not have to get their children's permission to

send them study abroad, but children need to get permission from their parents to decide if they can study abroad based on their own willingness, unless, they can be funded by themselves (it is difficult to find this case in Chinese undergraduate students studying abroad). Additionally, there is a high proportion of students that just followed their parents' idea without voicing their own opinion. However, it is interesting to find that half of the students reported pursuing independence as one of major reasons for studying abroad (Table 3.3). This finding echoes the statement of Xu and his colleges that “although Chinese people tend to value interdependence and minimize the development of individuality within families, individual independence is not necessarily discouraged” (Xu, Shen, Wan, Li, Mussen, & Cao, 1991, p.432). Chinese parents encourage and support their children to study abroad not only for better education but also to cultivate their independency.

Chart 4.1 Percentage Distributions of Who First Raised the Idea to Study Abroad

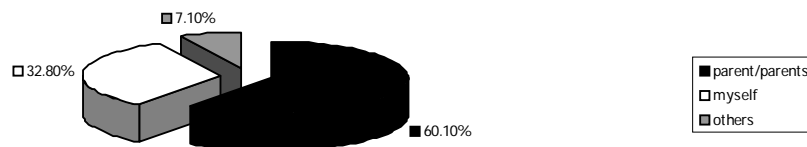


Chart 4.2 Percentage Distributions of Parents' Reaction when hearing of Children's Idea of Study Abroad

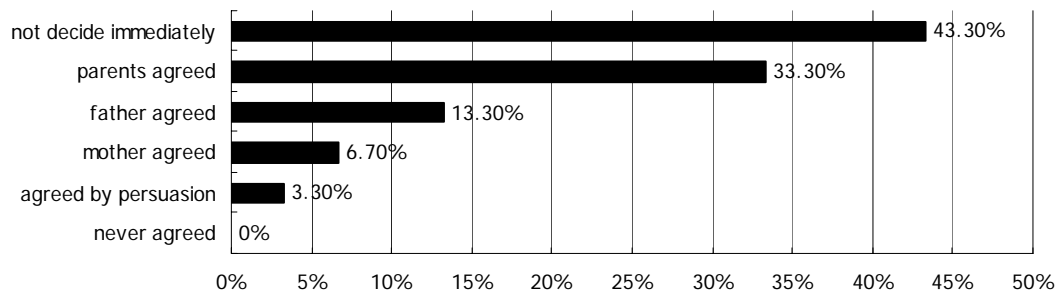
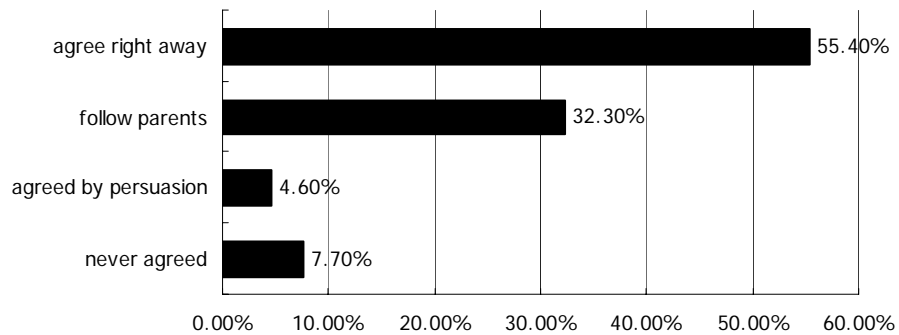


Chart 4.3 Percentage Distributions of Children’s Reaction when hearing of Parents’ Idea of Study Abroad



Agents, for Giddens, are knowledgeable and capable actors who reflexively monitor their actions. Agent can be individual or collective, and a collective agent should be voluntary to take the same action and to expect same outcome. However, it seems not the case for the student-parents connection in this study. During the decision-making process regarding studying abroad, parents’ final idea is decisive on children’s studying abroad, and even some parents make the decision without the agreement of their children. Furthermore, for the students who have aspiration to study abroad, they still need their parents’ agreement because parents are the sponsors. This phenomenon cannot be attributed to traditional obedience only, but also to an adolescent’s economic dependence on parents. In this sense, Chinese student has not yet been an independent individual agent in the decision-making process of studying abroad. Parents are decision makers, and students are the executor of this decision, no matter who first raises this idea. The two sides are both necessary and interdependent in the whole decision-making process, so I would like to call the two inseparable sides together as a “coupling agent”.

In the decision-making process of studying abroad, social networks mainly

play the role of information channels. As mentioned previously, about 39 percent of the respondents reported friends or relatives being the channel through which they heard about the U of S for the first time. Because of the relatively poor reputation of the study abroad agency in China, social networks have been taken as the most reliable resource to provide information for the students and their parents, because they can access the persons who have ever been or are in Saskatchewan. Of 11 interviewees, 6 have mentioned that they chose Saskatoon as destination because they or their parents knew someone who had studied or worked in Saskatoon, and they recommended the U of S. There are two kinds of social networks they can use. One can only provide informative supports, who are the persons have ever been in Saskatoon but returned already, and the other one can provide both informative and substantial supports, including information on housing arrangements, social networks reestablishment, adjustment help, etc., and these are the persons who are still in Saskatoon. However, not all of the social networks can provide sufficient help for newcomers. Actually, the major help newcomers can get is informative, because most of the social networks they have in Saskatoon are children of their parents' friends or their own friends or siblings, and most of them are in a similar age group as the newcomers. Furthermore, they are also students in the U of S, without as much ability to provide them with substantial supports. As S stated:

“We supposed she, the daughter of my father’s friend, can take care of me here, but actually, she didn’t help me much... I can understand that, she is busy on study, has to take care of herself, and she also has had her own friends here already... Stay abroad, you have to learn to be very independent.”

It is not difficult to see that if the social networks are elder family members, they can be more helpful, just like Q stated:

“My uncle’s family immigrated here a long time ago...they can give me a ride to the grocery, and I go to his place for dinner every weekend...yeah, they take care of me very well”.

However, this kind of statement is not commonly found in my interviewees.

4.2.4 Family background, Social Networks, Parental Involvement, and Migration Motivations

How family background and parental influence Chinese undergraduate students’ migration motivations is examined in this section. For understanding this issue comprehensively, personal characteristics are introduced as well in the nominal regression model as independent variables as well. Age, gender, length of time in Canada, residential area in China, and whether or not only-child in family are considered to be personal characteristic variables. Family background variables are composed of father and mother’s income, occupation, education, and household financial situation. Social network variables include family members in North America with temporary status and permanent status, and where boyfriends or girlfriends are. Parental influence is measured by parents’ attitudes on students’ migration. Interest in immigration is taken as dependent variable, and measured by three dimensions, including “strongly expect to immigrate”, “medium interest in immigration”, and “no interest in immigration”. Moreover, Crosstab analysis will be included in explanations to provide more details.

Family background and Migration Motivations

Table 4.1 consists of three similar models to separately examine how different factors place distinctive influences on the three dimensions of migration motivation. In Model I, “strongly expect to immigrate” and “medium interest in immigration” are compared with “no interest in immigration” respectively. The Nagelkerke R Square of .466 approximately indicates that we have explained 46.6% of Chinese undergraduate students’ interests in immigration, furthermore, the significance of Chi-square indicates an appropriate fit of the model to the data (sig. = .221). In Model II, “strongly expect to immigrate” and “medium interest in immigration” are combined to be “expect to immigrate”, which is compared with “no interest in immigration”. The Nagelkerke R Square of .432 is an approximate indication that we have explained 43.2% of students’ interests in immigration, and the significance of Chi-square indicates that an appropriate fit of the model to the data (sig. = .106). In Model III, “strongly expect immigrate” is compared to “medium interest in immigration”, 21.5% of their interests in immigration can be explained in this model in terms of the approximate indication of Nagelkerke R Square of .215, and also the significance of Chi-square shows that this is an appropriate fit model (sig. = .830).

Table 4.1: Logistic Regression Models Predicting Immigration Motivation of Chinese Undergraduate Student at U of S by Personal Characteristics, Family Background, and Social Networks

	MODEL I Strongly Expect to and Medium interest in Immigration (Reference: No Interests to Immigrate)		MODEL II Expect to Immigrate (Reference: No Interest in Immigration)		MODEL III Strongly Expect to Immigrate (Reference: Medium interest in Immigration)	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Predetermined Variables:						
Personal Background						
Female (Strongly Expect to (Medium interest in immigration)	2.274** (1.769*)	9.720 (5.866)	1.380*	3.977	.595	1.813
Age	2.146** (1.903**)	8.547 (6.706)	1.384**	3.990	.239	1.270
If only child of parents						
No	1.188 (.594)	3.282 (1.812)	.542	1.720	.735	2.086
Residential Area in China						
Rural	-2.397 (-2.569)	.091 (.077)	-2.381	.092	-.123	.884
Medium Cities	-.939 (-1.683)	.391 (.186)	-.712	.491	-.871	2.390
Length of Time in Canada						
1 year	5.168* (4.276)	175.569 (71.962)	3.159	23.537	.977	2.655
2 years	2.013 (1.776)	7.486 (5.904)	1.480	4.392	-.058	.944
3 years	-.035 (-.369)	.966 (.692)	-.252	.777	.334	1.397
4 years	-3.221** (-.3087*)	.040 (.064)	-2.209*	.110	-.184	.832
Age when came to Canada						
17-18 years old	10.374** (9.109**)	32006.16 (9038.63)				
19 years old	10.836*** (10.077***)	50798.28 (23781.8)				
20 years old	6.203** (4.815)	494.268 (123.364)				
21 years old	.871 (1.624)	2.390 (5.074)				
Register year	.177 (.210)	1.194 (1.234)	-.091	.913	.045	1.046

Family Background						
Family Financial Situation						
Adequate	.842 (2.462)	2.321 (11.731)	1.219	3.384	-.2.083**	.125
Comfortable	.666 (1.785)	1.946 (5.958)	.997	2.710	-.1.664**	.189
Father's Income	1.570 (1.764*)	4.804 (5.837)	.914	2.495	-.184	.832
Mother's Income	-.787 (-.930)	.455 (.395)	-.635	.530	.031	1.032
Father's Education						
Less than Post-Secondary	-.180 (.247)	.835 (1.280)	-.171	.843	-.799	.450
Mother's Education						
Less than Post-Secondary	1.049 (.905)	2.856 (2.471)	.833	2.302	.223	1.250
Father's Occupation						
Business Owner/Management	.210 (.686)	1.234 (1.986)	.322	1.380	-.636	.530
Government/Military Sector	2.765 (3.882**)	15.873 (48.537)	1.917	6.799	-1.214	.297
Mother's Occupation						
Business Owner/Management	-.904 (-.242)	.405 (.785)	-1.790	.167	-.364	.695
Government/Military Sector	-1.202 (-.977)	.300 (.377)	-1.322	.267	-.396	.673
Professionals	-3.394* (-2.609*)	.034 (.074)	-2.705*	.067	-.767	.464
Social Networks						
If have family members in North American as permanent residents						
Yes	2.924* (2.395)	18.615 (10.964)	1.225	3.404	.482	1.620
If have family members in North American as temporary residents						
Yes	.172 (-.172)	1.188 (.842)	.319	1.375	.494	1.639
Where is boyfriend/girlfriend						
In China/Other countries	-1.300 (-1.164)	.273 (.312)	-1.601*	.202	-.227	.797

Not have One	-1.239 (-.851)	.290 (.427)	-.863	.422	-.335	.715
	Nagelkerke R Square .466 N 129 Chi-square sig .221 * sig. beyond .10 ** sig. beyond .05 *** sig. beyond .001	Nagelkerke R Square .432 N 129 Chi-square sig .106 * sig. beyond .10 ** sig. beyond .05 *** sig. beyond .001	Nagelkerke R Square .215 N 111 Chi-square sig .830 * sig. beyond .10 ** sig. beyond .05 *** sig. beyond .001			

All coefficients are logits based on maximum likelihood estimations using Nominal logistic regression. The actual odds are listed in the second column (ExpB).

In the “Strongly Expect to/Medium interest in Immigration” category, numbers outside the parentheses are the parameter estimates for the “Strongly Expect to” category. Numbers in the parentheses are the parameter estimates for the “Medium interest in immigration” category.

The “Expect to Immigrate” and “Strongly Expect to Immigrate” categories use the similar model as “Strongly Expect to/Medium interest in Immigration” category, but taking “age when came to Canada” as covariate.

The “Expect to Immigrate” category is the combination of “Strongly expect to immigrate” and “Medium interest in immigration”

The reference category for the “Strongly Expect to/Medium interest in immigration” category is the “No interest in immigration”.

The reference category for the “Expect to Immigrate” category is the “No interest in immigration”.

The reference category for the “Strongly Expect to Immigrate” category is the “Medium interest in Immigration”.

In terms of personal characteristics, in Model I, the odds of female students who “strongly expect to immigrate” as compared to those having “no interest to immigrate” were over nine times than those for male students (Exp (B) = 9.720), and the odds of female students having “medium interest in immigration” as compared to having “no interest in immigration” were under six times than those for male students (Exp (B) = 5.866). The similar results can be found in Model II as well. That is to say, female students are more likely to immigrate than male students. Age has substantial impacts on Chinese students’ migration motivations. Getting older increases the odds of “strongly expect to immigrate” by over eight times (Exp (B) = 8.547), and

increases the odds of considering to immigrate by above six times (Exp (B) =6.706). “Length of time in Canada” and “age when came to Canada” as two time-related variables place impacts on migration motivations as well, which will be explored further in Chapter 5. Unexpectedly, the significant relationship between being only-child and students’ migration motivations cannot be found in this model.

In terms of family background, there is a significant relationship between father’s income and students’ migration motivation. Table 4.1 shows that one category¹³ more of father’s income will increase the odds of “medium interest in immigration” compared to “no interest in immigration” by 5.837 times, that is to say, the more father earns, the stronger interests of student in immigration. We also found that father working in “Government or Military Sector” have significant positive influences on students’ immigration intention. If father works in government or military sector, the odds of children “medium interest in immigration” compared to “no interest in immigration” will be much greater than their counterparts whose fathers working as professionals (Exp (B) = 48.537). Mother’s occupation also plays a role in students’ migration motivations. If mother is working as professionals, the odds of “strongly expect to immigrate” compared to “no interest in immigration” will be smaller than their counterparts whose mother working as semi-skilled or manual laborers¹⁴ (Exp (B) = .034). Moreover, there are similar results in mother’s

¹³ Category 1 is from less than 1,000yuan/month to 4,000yuan/month, category 2 is from 4001yuan/month to 10,000yuan/month, and category 3 is from 10,001yuan/month to above 20,000yuan/month.

¹⁴ There are only 6 cases in which the father’s occupations are semi-skilled/manual labors, so this category has been left-out in the fathers’ occupation categories.

occupation when comparing “medium interest in immigration” to “no interest in immigration” and comparing “expect to immigrate” to “no interest in immigration” (the odds are .074 and .067 in order). These odds show that a student whose mother works as professional may have weaker interest in immigration than those whose mother works as semi-skilled/manual laborer. The significant influence of “family financial situation” can be found only in the comparison between “strongly expect to immigrate” and “medium interest in immigration”, if students are from economically adequate or comfortable families, the odds of “strongly expect to immigrate” compared to “medium interest in immigration” were smaller than their counterparts who are from economically wealthy families, which are .125 and .189 times respectively. That is say, the students perceiving their family background as wealthy, are more likely to immigrate than those who have medium interest in immigration.

It is understandable that I did not find so many significant relationships between SES of parents and students’ migration motivations. As I previously introduced the general features of respondents’ family background, their family backgrounds are not so diverse as to influence students’ attitudes so differently (Table 2.1). However, we still get some interesting results to explain. First, we do find the different influences from fathers and mothers. Fathers’ socio-economic status may have a relatively positive influence on students’ intention to immigrate, but mothers’ may not, or even play a negative role. It may be a political reflection that fathers who work in government or military sectors may have positive influence on students’ immigration intentions. If introduce their positions into detail, we can see most of them are cadres

or military officers. Their children might indirectly perceive or be told about the socio-political problems in China, and have stronger interest in immigration. However, there is still a remaining question about why mothers work as professionals have a relatively negative influence on children's immigration intentions? According to the narratives of some interviewees, compared to fathers, mothers do not seem to be positive supporters of children's going abroad in Chinese families.

M: "my father supported my going abroad, my mother didn't have attitude on it, just follow my father's idea...my mother is a housewife...my father is very influential to me...I think I will immigrate if I am qualified."

Z: "actually, it is only my father insist on sending me out, all other family members opposed it, especially my grandmother, and my mother was upset about it too...my mother is doing business with my father...I don't think immigration is very important for me, but I think everything depends on your ability no matter where."

S: "once I call back home, my mother would ask 'when will you come back' or say 'come back soon, honey', but my father will say you should take care of your study first...my mother is a doctor...If I have important thing to say, I always talk about it to my father...why immigrate? No, my family is not here, I need to go back to take care of my parents."

We can see that mothers who work as professionals may have their own idea about children's migration, and incline to expect children return. Although fathers still have a substantial influence on children's career-related decision, the emotional influences from mothers cannot be ignored. Mothers who work as professionals should be much more independent than semi-skilled/manual labors and feel more stable in terms of socio-economic status than those work in business or government/military sectors. Therefore, they do not have to follow husband's way of thinking, they also do not experience as much economic/political pressure as to push their children to get away from it, so they may have negative attitudes about children

immigrating because of their nature as mothers. This issue of how parents' attitudes impact on children's own migration motivations will be discussed later.

Secondly, the perceived wealthy household financial situation has a positive influence on students' immigration intention. Although the significant difference can be found only in the comparison between "strongly expect to immigrate" and "medium interest in immigration", I still would like to accept this result to show slight difference between these two attitudes. The perceived household financial situation becomes a substantial factor for students to immigrate in this model. If we combine Crosstab analysis, in Table 4.2, we will find gender differences in relationships between family background and migration motivations. There is no significant relationship in the male's model, while in the female's model, if the female perceived their family's financial situation to be wealthy, the stronger they want to immigrate ($G = .121$). This result echoes Figure 2 and 3, as we find that there is no correlation between the perceived household financial situation and interests in immigration in the male's model, while in the female's model, although there is no direct relationship between them, they are correlated through familiarity of certain immigration policies.

Table 4.2: Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Family Background, Social Networks by Gender *

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate
Household Financial Situation								
Adequate	N = 22	0	72.7	27.3	N = 25	8.0	44.0	48.0
Comfortable	N = 43	14.0	48.8	37.2	N = 59	18.6	59.3	22.0
Well-off/Wealthy	N = 16	18.8	25.0	38.3	N = 16	18.8	37.5	43.8
Chi-square		9.883**				7.418		
GAMMA		.121				-.173		
Family Members as Permanent Residents in North America								
No	N = 59	8.5	52.5	39.0	N = 81	19.8	56.8	23.5
Yes	N = 22	18.2	45.5	36.4	N = 20	5.0	30.0	65.0
Chi-square		1.547				13.047***		
GAMMA		-.138				.669		
Family Members as Temporary Residents in North America								
No	N = 56	10.7	51.8	38.3	N = 75	17.3	58.7	24.0
Yes	N = 25	12.0	48.0	40.0	N = 26	15.4	30.8	53.8
Chi-square		.103				8.390**		
GAMMA		.024				.394**		
Where boyfriend/girlfriend is								
In China/Other Countries								
	N = 13	15.4	53.8	30.8	N = 16	25.0	43.8	31.3
Do not have one								
	N = 33	12.1	48.5	39.4	N = 40	22.5	57.5	20.0
In Canada								
	N = 34	8.8	52.9	38.2	N = 44	9.1	47.7	43.2
Chi-square		.677				.134		
Linear-by-Linear		.352				3.899**		
GAMMA		.086				.311**		
Pearson's R		.067				.198**		

* If not be noticed particularly, signs of significant levels in the crosstabs are always:
 *** significant beyond .001; ** significant beyond .05; * significant beyond .10.

Conclusively, although family backgrounds of these Chinese undergraduate students are not very diverse because their households at least belong to the middle class in China, we do find some distinctions among them. The father's income as a traditional measurement of family SES does play a positive role in students' interests in immigration as expected, and those whose fathers are government cadres or military officers are also more likely to immigrate to Canada; this may be related to their perception of the political situation in China through their fathers directly or indirectly. Compared to fathers, mothers seem not as likely as fathers to play a positive role in children's immigration intention, especially the mothers who work as professionals. Mothers are more likely to keep their children around unless they feel that it will bring a negative influence on their children's career. Gender differences in these Chinese undergraduate students are confirmed by both the initial framework and Crosstab analysis, that interests in immigration of girls seem more sensitive to family wealth than boys.

Parental Influences on Children's Interests in Immigration

It is not strongly expected that parents will be involved into children's migration motivations greatly. However, we do find a high correlation between parental attitudes on children's immigration and children's migration motivations. According to the models provided by Figure 2 and 3, in the female's model, the correlation coefficient between parental attitudes on children's immigration and their own interests is the highest one among all the factors, which is .463. In the male's model, the correlation coefficient between these two variables is .349. It seems that the

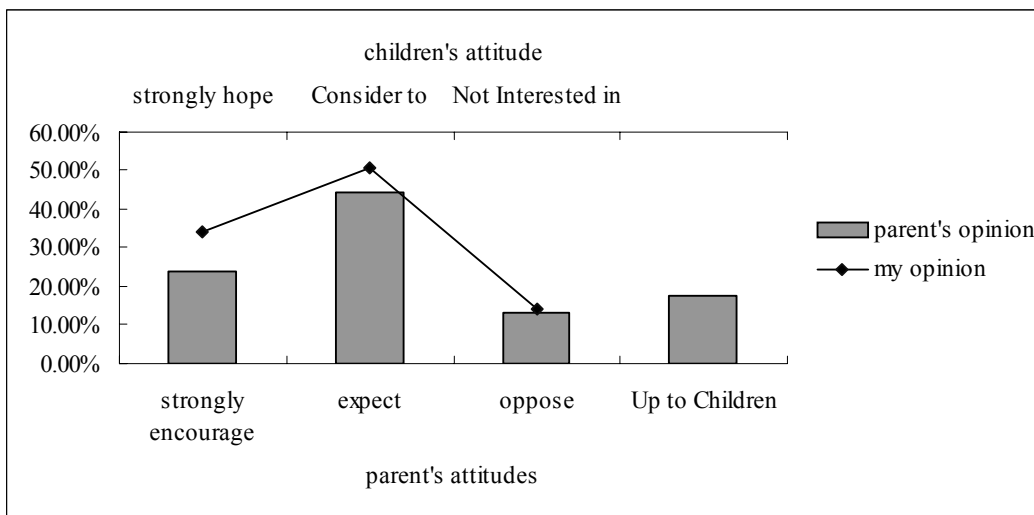
influence from parents are slightly stronger on girls' immigration intention than boys', and Table 4.3 echoes this idea as well (G in the female model is .630; G in the male model is .537). Conclusively, it is true to say that parents' attitudes still place a significant impact on children's interests in immigration.

Chart 4.4 presents the percentage distributions of parental attitudes and students' own interests in immigration separately. It shows that students have slightly more interests in immigration than their parents expect, and we also found that about 20 per cent of parents took it as their children's independent decision. Compared to the high parental involvement into the decision to study abroad, on the issue of immigration, Chinese parents place looser constraints on children. Essentially, with the weakening tendency of students' reliance on their parent, especially in terms of financial and emotional supports, they tend to make decisions independently. The choice to immigrate is a life-course decision related to career development, and once these students start their career, they will be more and more financially independent. Therefore, parents' ideas are only taken as an important consideration for student's formation of migration motivations. In this case, parents have become "others" who place significant influences on agents' motivations, and students are transforming from one side of "coupling agent" to "individual agent".

Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of Interests in Immigration by Parental Influences, Previous Immigration Motivation, Homesick, and If Want to Be Canadian Citizen by Gender

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate
Parents' Attitudes on Children's Immigration								
Not Expect	N = 10	20.0	70.0	10.0	N = 14	7.1	78.6	14.3
Up to Children's ideas	N = 13	30.8	3.8	15.4	N = 19	52.6	42.1	5.3
Expect	N = 58	5.2	46.6	48.3	N = 67	9.0	47.8	43.3
Chi-square		13.416***				28.343***		
GAMMA		.630***				.537***		
Immigration Motivation Before came to Canada								
No	N = 43	14.0	53.5	32.6	N = 69	11.6	59.4	29.0
Yes	N = 38	7.9	47.4	44.7	N = 32	28.1	34.4	37.5
Chi-square		1.598				6.713**		
Phi		.140				-.258**		
Have Homesick								
Often/Very Often	N = 10	30.0	30.0	40.0	N = 5	20.0	40.0	40.0
Sometimes	N = 23	4.3	69.6	26.1	N = 29	13.8	58.6	27.6
Rarely	N = 48	10.4	45.8	43.8	N = 65	16.9	49.2	33.8
Chi-square		8.143*				.987		
GAMMA		.201				.028		
Want to be Canadian Citizen								
Unlikely	N = 21	14.3	61.9	23.8	N = 26	11.5	65.4	23.1
Likely	N = 33	12.1	57.6	30.3	N = 44	25.0	50.0	25.0
Very Likely	N = 27	7.4	33.3	59.3	N = 31	9.7	41.9	48.4
Chi-square		7.795*				8.621*		
Gamma		.391**				.240*		

Chart 4.4 Parents' Attitudes on Children's immigration and Children's Interests in Immigration



Social Networks and Student's Migration Motivations

Family members in North America and boyfriend/girlfriend in Canada have been taken as two important social networks for student's migration motivations. I am using North America as the territory of their kinships' residence, because these students are not the migrants who achieve mobility through social networks. Additionally, the social contexts in North America are not so different; therefore, social networks may play a role primarily in informative and emotional supports in similar social context, rather than provide substantial helps with the issue of migration. It is understandable to find that having family member(s) in North America as permanent residents shows more odds to "strongly expect to immigrate" (Exp (B) = 18.615). It is also expected that having a boyfriend or girlfriend in Canada gives about 4 times greater odds to "expect to immigrate" (Exp (B) = 4.950). According to the framework provided by Figure 2 and 3, in the male's model, having family member(s) in North America as permanent residents is highly correlated to their immigration intention in a positive

way, and the correlation coefficient is .412 even higher than that of parents' attitudes on children's immigration. In the female's model, having family member(s) in North America as permanent residents in North America may have a negative correlation with interests in immigration, and the coefficient is -.202. When combining Crosstab analysis, Table 4.2 shows that in the female's model, there is no significant relationship between "if having family member(s) in North America as permanent or temporary residents" and the "interests in immigration", but there are significant relationships between both permanent and temporary residents connections and interests in immigration in the male's model ($G = .669^{***}$; $G = .394^{**}$ in order). Therefore, we may infer that compared to girls, boys' interests in immigration more depend on if there are social networking resources they can use.

Furthermore, in Table 4.1, we find that having a boyfriend/girlfriend in Canada may lead to more interests in immigration than having boyfriend/girlfriend in China. If we refer to the crosstab analysis, in Table 4.2, we will see a significant linear association actually only happening in the boys' model, that having a girlfriend in Canada will give more interest in immigration. Again, boys show more concerns about social networks than girls in immigration issues. Actually, for boys, having a girlfriend in Canada may not only give emotional support. If a boy and his girlfriend are common-law partners and the girl has certain educational or working background, it will add scores when applying for the Skilled Worker according to the Self-Assessment Test (CIC).

4.3 Conclusion

First, through exploring the family backgrounds of these Chinese undergraduate students, and how they decide to study in Canada, we note that studying abroad is a determinant prelude for future immigration, and the favored family financial backgrounds are the precondition or necessary resources for studying abroad and furthermore for immigration, although we have not discovered too many significant associations between family financial background and students' migration motivations because of their less-diversified financial backgrounds.

However, through exploring the impacts on the migration motivations of Chinese undergraduate students from their family background, social networks, and parental influences, we still get some interesting findings. Family background and social networks as micro-level structures both constrain and enable students' migration motivations, which has been demonstrated in this chapter. A favorable household financial background will be an important resource in the formation of students' migration motivations, especially for girls, and boys are more likely to use kinship as social networking resources. Both kinships in Canada and the US are inclusive in this connection because of their similar socio-cultural environments. Compared to mothers, fathers are more likely to be the impetus on students' immigration intention, especially if their occupations are government cadres or military officers who are more sensitive to social/political stability situation in China, and this finding may implicate the impacts of macro-level social structure in China as well. Mothers expect more emotional returns from children, and they are more likely not to keep children

far away from them. However, according to Table 2.1, mothers' SES in average are relatively lower than fathers; there are 36.6 per cent of fathers earning lower incomes compared to 52 per cent of mothers, and compared to 3.4 per cent in the father group, about 20 per cent of mothers engage in semi-skilled or manual works. Because of their secondary economic status in the household, some mothers have to follow the fathers' expectations on children.

Parents' high involvement into children's studying abroad decision shows that the actual agent during the studying abroad decision-making process is not students alone, but parents and students together. If parents and students are both voluntarily joining the decision-making process of studying abroad with the same aim, we may call them the collective agent, but it is interesting to find that sometimes, parents are the ones who make the final decision, while children are only executors. Therefore, the notion of "coupling agent" was brought out to distinguish this case with "individual agent" or "collective agent". Parental influences on students' migration motivations are still existing but weaker. For most of the parents, one of the important reasons to send children out is to cultivate their independence and autonomy. Therefore, to some extent, they would like to provide free space for children to make a decision by themselves, but most of them still try to express their suggestions or attitudes on their children's life course decisions, such as immigration. However, on the other side, the students also tend to be more independent from their parents when they begin to think about where they start their own career and life. Precisely, across time and space, from making the decision to study abroad to having migration motivations during

studying abroad, the role of these Chinese undergraduate students is being transformed from “executor” of “coupling agent” to “individual agent”.

Conclusively, a favorable family socioeconomic background has been taken as crucial resource for the decision to study abroad for all Chinese undergraduate students in Canada, but the gender differences appear in the formation of their migration motivations. Girls are more sensitive to how much financial support they can get from parents, rather than resources from social networks (kinships), but boys are opposite. Parents, giving the most intimate interpersonal relationship these Chinese students possess, place significant influences on students’ decisions and motivations through a high degree of involvement based on their socioeconomic experiences and emotions.

A family’s socioeconomic background and social networks play an important role on migration motivations, which shows that these students perceive and draw upon these micro-level structures at the level of practical consciousness, but this is different from the relatively consistent tendencies caused by macro-level structures in Chapter 3. Students’ migration motivations are diversified by the different resources they have, and how to draw upon these resources is also diversified mainly by gender differences. Students’ migration motivations are influenced by the different resources they have. After students reflecting on their situation, they are able to discursively account for and rationalize their motivations, which can be seen as a kind of discursive consciousness. The differences between boys and girls may be caused by their different routines based upon their socialization process. The three levels of

consciousness in social knowledge are explored much further in Chapter 5 along with further gender differences.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE, TIME-SPACE CONTEXT, AND MIGRATION MOTIVATIONS

Based on the hypothesized framework provided in Figure 1, how macro-level and micro-level structures (including “rules” and “resources” in social structures and policies as well as family background and social networks) constrain or enable Chinese students’ migration motivations have been explored in Chapter 3 and 4, as well as how agents reflect on these structures. Thus, this chapter will focus on how Chinese students’ reflection or reproduction of structures impact their migration motivations. According to Giddens’ “duality of structures,” knowledgeable agents produce and reproduce structures by using their social knowledge, and there are three levels of consciousnesses in social knowledge: discursive consciousness, practical consciousness and unconsciousness, which have been defined in Chapter 2. Thereinto, practical consciousness is the knowledge of personal motivations and institutional rules and resources and can be exploited to provide rationale for action. The influences from macro-level structures on Chinese students’ decision to study abroad and migration motivations elaborated in Chapter 3 shows that their social knowledge of institutional rules and resources (practical consciousness) plays a crucial role in their decision-making process and motivations. However, although all the practices and interactions are embedded into the same macro-level structures, they are still diversified by different micro-level structures (e.g. family background, social networks, and parental influences) and different ways to draw upon rules and

resources based on their own micro-structural background, which is mainly a combination of practical consciousness and discursive consciousness, introduced in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 will explore these three levels of consciousness further and attempt to find out why students draw upon rules and resources in such different ways, and maybe unconsciousness can contribute in some ways as an explanation.

The reified indicators of social knowledge in this chapter include students' perceptions of experiences in Canada, degree of adjustment, knowledgeability of immigration policies, career aspiration, and culture-related unconsciousness. Furthermore, the production and reproduction processes are situated into certain time-space context; therefore, how time-space contextual factors impact students' migration motivations has been explored in the end of this chapter.

Methodologically, I will use path analysis to explain how social knowledge impacts female and male students' migration motivation in different ways. Crosstab analysis and qualitative analysis will be used in non-linear associations and further explanations.

5.1 Path Analysis on Adaptation, Perception of Experience in Canada and Migration Motivations

It should be reasonable to assume that the successful adaptation into a new social context may have a positive effect on the perception of experience in this social context, and moreover, it may make international visitors or immigrants more likely to stay. Many studies have been done on understanding how and to what extent international visitors and immigrants adapt to the cross-cultural environment they face in North America (e.g. Dato-on, 2000; Fathi, 1973; Kim, 1980; Sethi and Giglio,

1988). The conceptualization of adaptation or adjustment to a new cultural environment as a formal phenomenon in social studies can be traced back at least to the turn of last century (Padilla, 1980) and has been variously labeled as acculturation (e.g. Dato-on, 2000), cross-cultural adaptation (e.g. Shah, 1991), and cross-cultural adjustment (e.g. Jou and Fukada, 1996; Takeuchi et al., 2002). A prevalently cited definition of acculturation is offered by Kim (1988), that: “the process of change over time that takes places within individuals who have completed...[a] socialization process in one culture and then come into continuous, prolonged, first-hand contact with a new and unfamiliar culture” (pp.37-38). Accordingly, we can consider individuals as engaging in acculturation activities for a prolonged period of time after their arrival, during which time they might use a variety of strategies. According to Berry (1991), individual pre-existing cultural identity and the nature of one’s relationship with the new cultural context are two important factors affecting the degree to which one strives to preserve one’s cultural beliefs and customs and whether one seeks relations with other groups in a new society. For example, Taft (1977) notes that all people hold certain universal needs as humans that need to be met, including reduction of uncertainty about roles and relationships with others, so to reestablish personal relationships in new environment should always be an effective strategy for adaptation. Moreover, as Laroche and his colleagues (1997) suggest, there are a number of different activities in which one might engage to assuage, or avoid dealing with such uncertainty, including pursuit of host-country language fluency, interaction with public aspects of the host society, and use of host-country

media.

In this study, some variables are chosen to measure the degree of adjustment of these Chinese undergraduate students. In the category of “set up personal relationships,” I have the variables of “have friends in Canada” (Chinese, Canadian (dummy), other nationals (dummy)) and “degree of difficulty to make friends in Canada” (Chinese (dummy), Canadian (dummy), other nationals (dummy)). The category of “social activities” comprises the variables of “attend leisure activities” and “involve into volunteer or religious activities.” “English use after class” measures “efforts on language fluency,” “average of grade” measures academic performance, and “if have financial troubles,” “if have academic troubles” and “if homesick” are categorized as “difficulties to adapt” factors. “Register year” is included in this model as one measurement of time.

Path Analysis Results:

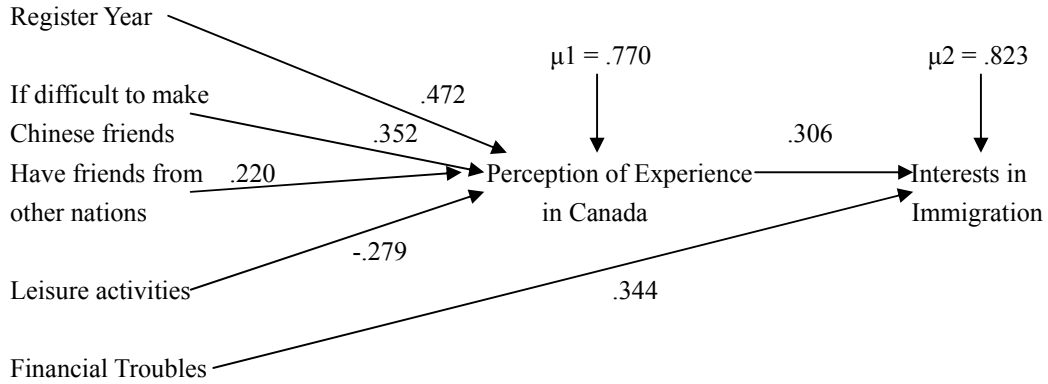
Final Endogenous Variable: “Interests in immigration”

Other Endogenous Variable: “Perception of experience in Canada”

Independent Variables: “Build up personal relationships” category; “Social activities” category; “Efforts on language fluency”; “academic performance”; “difficulties to adapt” category; and time.

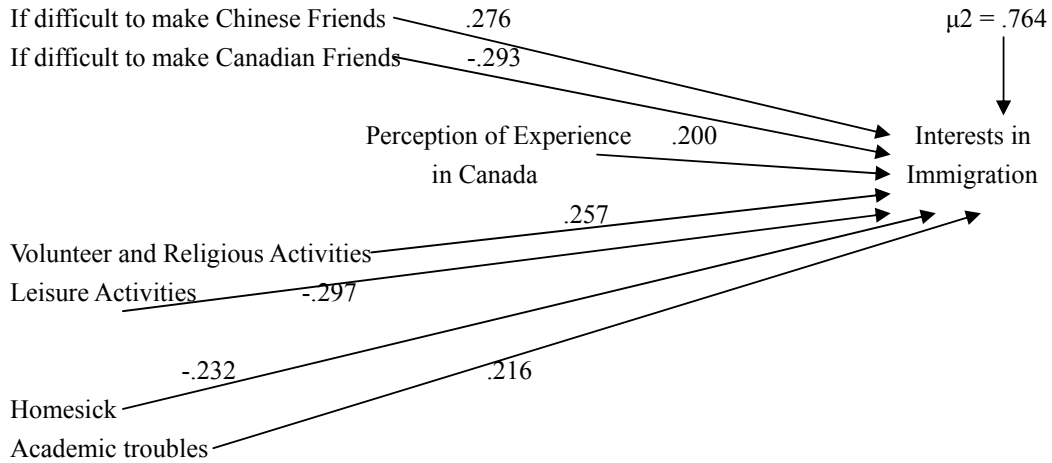
Control Variable: “Gender”

Figure 4¹⁵: Path Analysis Model for Female: Perception, Adaptation and Migration Motivations



Note: Coefficient's significant is at .1 level; N = 61;
The non-significant correlations have been left out.

Figure 5¹⁶: Path Analysis Model for Male: Perception, Adaptation and Migration Motivations



Note: Coefficient's significant is at .1 level; N = 70;
The non-significant correlations have been left out.

¹⁵ Appendix C shows the correlation coefficient matrix for this path analysis.

¹⁶ Appendix D shows the correlation coefficient matrix for this path analysis.

Findings and Discussions

The distinctions between the boy's model and girl's model are significant. For girls, how they perceive their experiences in Canada play a prominent role when they think about whether to immigrate, and the coefficient ($p = .306$) shows that the more positive they perceive their experience, the more likely they are to immigrate. It is interesting to find that the more they had financial troubles, the stronger interests in immigration ($p = .344$). Table 5.2 echoes this results, however, if we also take into account of the relationship between household financial situation and their interests in immigration, the result is not expected to be one-way. According to Table 5.1, we can see there is no significant difference in family financial background between girls and boys. When looking into details, Table 5.2 shows that first, different than girls, there are no significant associations in the boys' model; second, all the female students who reported no interests in immigration have rarely faced financial trouble, and at the same time, they perceived their household financial situations as comfortable or well-off/wealthy. However, Table 5.2 also shows that in the girl's model, about 56 per cent of students who perceived their household financial situation as well-off/wealthy reported a strong expectation to immigrate, and the highest proportion of choosing "medium interest in immigration" are occupied by the students with adequate and comfortable financial backgrounds. Conclusively, we need further studies to understand these results, but for this study, we can know at least that compared to the boy's model, more sensitivity to the family financial situation can be found significantly in the girl's model.

Furthermore, the higher “register year,” not “difficult to make Chinese friends,” and “have some international friends” all positively affect girls’ perception of experience in Canada. Register year, as a measurement of time, is discussed in Section 5.5. It is understandable to find that ease in making new friends in Canada may lead to a better perception of experiences, and would lead to more interest in settling down in the future. Attending more leisure activities (such as going to bar, playing sports, and going to the theater) after class may have a negative influence on perception of experiences in Canada. This result is not easily to be explained here. Further study is necessary, and there might be medium factors between the two.

In the boy’s model, there are some adaptation factors impacting their migration motivations directly, and the positive impacts are from not being “difficult to make Chinese friends,” participating in more “volunteer or religious activities”, having a positive “perception of experiences in Canada” and being bothered often by “academic troubles.” The first three findings are easily to be understood in terms of previous literatures on acculturation. The final one shows that the students who were more bothered by academic troubles may have more interests in immigration. If we try to understand further through Crosstab analysis from Table 5.2, we can see that there is no significant relationship between facing academic troubles and interests in immigration either in the boy’s or girl’s model. Taking “average of all courses” into account, there is no significant relationship between two variables either (Table 5.2). That is to say, at least, we did not find a positive casual relationship between “academic achievement” and “interests in immigration,” and probably, there is no

direct association between the two. According to their narratives, an “average doesn’t mean so much if you look for job, but if you want to be graduate student, it is very important.” Therefore, we can see that average might be important for some students who want to immigrate through academic occupations, for them, immigration will be a long term goal, and they do not have to think about it so much at the undergraduate level. For the students planning to work upon graduation, their averages do not necessarily need to be high, and this group may take immigration as their goal in the near future, and think about it more.

The negative influences are from often attending “leisure activities,” often being “homesick,” and being not “difficult to make Canadian friends.” Again, we need further study on the negative association with “leisure activities.” The negative influence from “homesick” is reasonably significant in this model. The more often they are homesick, the less they are interested in staying away from home ($p = -.232$). It is unexpected that not “difficult to make Canadian friends” plays a negative role in immigration intention. Taking “if have Canadian friends” into account, according to Table 5.3, there is no significant relationship between “if have Canadian friends” and “if difficult to make Canadian friends.” Furthermore, Table 5.4 shows that there is no relationships between “if difficult to make Canadian friends” and “interests in immigration,” but only in the boy’s model, there is a linear association between “if have Canadian friends” and “interests in immigration.” The boy who has Canadian friends may be more likely to immigrate. That is to say, having Canadian friends does not necessarily mean that one finds it easy to make Canadian friends, but I believe

that those who claimed they have Canadian friends may have put an effort in making Canadian friends as a way to adjust into Canadian society, and they may be more intent to immigrate in the future.

Comparing the girl's model and boy's model, the most remarkable difference is that in the girl's model, the perception of experiences in Canada becomes a medium that is influencing immigration intention and is influenced by some adaptation factors; in the boy's model, the perception of experiences in Canada influences immigration intention as one of the adaptation factors. In addition, in the girl's model, only friends and time are two important positive factors impacting their perceptions of experiences, and there is no assured direct association between adaptation factors and immigration intention except for "perception of experiences." In the boy's model, a variety of adaptation factors play significant roles in their immigration intention directly, and even "perception of experiences in Canada" can be regarded as measurement of adaptation.

Table 5.1: Percentage Distributions of Gender Differences by Family Background

	Gender Differences on Family Background		
	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
Father's Occupation	N = 78	N = 101	N = 179
Business owner/Management	56.4	58.4	57.5
Government/Military Section	19.2	20.8	20.1
Professional	23.1	15.8	19.0
Semi-skilled/Manual Labor	1.3	5.0	3.4
	Phi = .131, X2 = 3.064		
Mother's Occupation	N = 76	N = 96	N = 172
Business owner/Management	15.8	30.2	23.8
Government/Military Section	19.7	18.8	19.2
Professional	47.4	29.2	37.2
Semi-skilled/Manual Labor	17.1	21.9	19.8
	Phi = .215** X2 = 7.986**		
Father's Monthly Income	N = 75	N = 89	N = 164
Lower	30.0	33.7	36.6
Medium	34.7	40.4	37.8
Upper	25.3	25.8	25.6
	Phi = .070 X2 = .805		
Mother's Monthly Income	N = 75	N = 88	N = 163
Lower	60.0	46.6	52.8
Medium	24.0	39.8	32.5
Upper	16.0	13.6	14.7
	Phi = .169* X2 = 4.632*		
Household Financial Situation	N = 81	N = 101	N = 182
Adequate	27.2	24.8	25.8
Comfortable	53.1	59.4	56.6
Well-off/Wealthy	19.8	15.8	17.6
	Phi = .067 X2 = .809		

Table 5.2 Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Troubles and Academic Achievement by Gender

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in Immigration	Strongly Expect to	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in Immigration	Strongly Expect to
Financial Troubles								
Rarely	N = 48	18.8	50.0	31.3	N = 63	19.0	55.6	25.4
Sometimes	N = 25	0	44.0	56.0	N = 31	16.1	41.9	41.9
Often	N = 8	0	75.0	25.0	N = 6	0	50.0	50.0
Chi-square		10.387**				4.368		
GAMMA		.349**				.296		
Academic Troubles								
Rarely	N = 21	14.3	47.6	38.1	N = 37	18.9	51.4	29.7
Sometimes	N = 36	11.1	50.0	78.9	N = 40	12.5	52.5	35.0
Often	N = 24	8.3	54.2	37.5	N = 22	18.2	50.0	31.8
Chi-square		.464				.746		
GAMMA		.032				.047		
Average of All Courses								
A level	N = 17	0	70.6	29.4	N = 10	0	50.0	50.0
B level	N = 40	15.0	45.0	40.0	N = 45	15.6	55.6	28.9
C level and below	N = 14	21.4	50.0	28.6	N = 33	12.1	54.5	33.3
Chi-square		5.283				2.745		
GAMMA		-.131				-.086		
Household Financial Situation								
Adequate	N = 22	0	72.7	27.3	N = 25	8.0	44.0	48.0
Comfortable	N = 43	14.0	48.8	37.2	N = 59	18.6	59.3	22.0
Well-off/Wealthy	N = 16	18.8	25.0	56.3	N = 16	18.8	37.5	43.8
Chi-square		9.883**				7.418		
GAMMA		.121				-.173		

Table 5.3 Crosstab of If Have Canadian Friends by If Difficult to Make Canadian Friends

	If have Canadian Friends			
	Female		Male	
	None	Yes	None	Yes
If Difficult to make friends				
with Canadians	N = 15	N = 58	N = 25	N = 62
Difficult	46.7	51.7	56.0	53.2
Not Difficult	53.3	48.3	44.0	46.8
	Phi = -.041		Phi = .025	

Table 5.4 Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Having and Making Canadian Friends by Gender

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to Immigrate
If have Canadian Friends								
None	N = 37	13.5	51.4	35.1	N = 46	21.7	50.0	28.3
Yes	N = 37	10.8	51.4	37.8	N = 40	7.5	52.5	40.0
Linear-by-Linear Association		.125				3.145*		
Pearson's R		.041				.192*		
GAMMA		.069				.319*		
If Difficult to make friends with Canadians								
Difficult	N = 64	12.5	51.6	35.9	N = 71	24.1	48.3	27.6
Not Difficult	N = 16	6.3	50.0	43.8	N = 29	14.1	52.1	33.8
Chi-square		.659				1.532		
GAMMA		.188				-.193		

Based on the discussions above, I would like to add a connection between “perception of experience in Canada” and “interests in immigration” to Figure 3, even though the function of “perception of experience in Canada” in the boy’s model is smaller than that in the girl’s model. Conclusively, in this study, “perception of experience in Canada” can be considered as an important measurement of “adaptation.” For girls, it is the prominent adaptation factor mediating other adaptation factors and immigration intention, and for boys, it is just one of the adaptation factors, and this influences their immigration intention.

According to the findings above, we can conclude that the immigration intention motivated by girls is more based on their feelings or perceptions about this immigration destination, and for boys, they have migration motivations more based on their capacity to adjust to this environment. Girls are concerned more about if the new environment can make them feel adaptable, especially with friends emotional support, and boys are more likely to find a way to be adaptable in new environment, according a girl’s narrative:

“If to immigrate...it depends...just see if I can adapt well in Canada. I heard that not every immigrants can lead a good life, it is really a tough time for new immigrants especially when they just settled down.”

A boy has different perspective:

“I have done some volunteer works...and I still want to find more, no matter on-campus or off-campus...I think it is good for adapting into this society...I think maybe I can try to do something in CSAA, thus, I can know more Chinese people here.”

Besides adaptation factors, Figure 2 also shows that in the girls model, “parental attitudes on children’s immigration” also plays a positive role in “perception of

experience in Canada” and “interests in immigration,” as well as another medium variable “degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test”. In the boys’ model, the variable, which plays positive roles in both “perception of experience in Canada” and “interests in immigration,” is “having family members as permanent residents in North America.” Therefore, again, we can conclude that girls are more family-concerned, considering the substantial influence from parents and their sensitivity to household financial situations; boys are more social-network-concerned, as having kinships in similar contexts to provide economic, informative, or emotional support can lead to a relatively positive perception of their experiences and immigration intention.

Conclusively, during the formation process of migration motivations, girls’ feelings of comfort and stability about new environments contribute more to their immigration intention than that of boys, while for boys, strategies to adjust into new environments successfully contribute more to their immigration intention than girls’. The conclusion, that girls are more family-concerned and boys are more social-network-concerned, implies that girls have a relatively stronger reliance on parents than boys, which may be caused by subconscious roots in their socialization in the Chinese cultural context. Based on Giddens’ three levels of consciousnesses in social knowledge, when the sedimented patterns of actions (routines) followed before has been disrupted to some extent in new circumstance, boys seem more likely to reflect their actions in a strategic way (discursive consciousness), while girls are more likely to maximize the maintenance of previous routines to meet the needs for

feelings of familiarity and practical mastery of the stable features of the social world (unconsciousness).

5.2 Knowledgeability of Immigration Policy and Family Background

In Section 3.6, the immigration policies related to Chinese students have been introduced, as well as how students know about and draw upon these policies. Moreover, Figures 2 and 3 show that a substantially positive relationships between “degree of familiarity with Self-assessment test” and “interest in immigration” can be found in both the girl’s and boy’s models. That is to say, taking self-assessment test as an indicator, we can conclude that the more knowledge about immigration policies they have, the more likely to immigrate. In this chapter, I attempt to give an answer to whether or not family background and social networks can play a role in their knowledgeability of immigration policies.

Methodologically, Crosstab analysis is used to understand how and whether or not family background plays a role in students’ knowledgeability of two major immigration policies relevant to them.

Firstly, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there are three major immigration categories: skilled worker class, business class, and family class. According to Table 5.5, the father and mother’s incomes have a significant influence on students choosing immigration category. Taking father’s income as an example: the percentage of those choosing business/family class as an immigration category has increased from 4.3 per cent of lower income level (below 4,000 *yuan*) to 25.0 per cent of upper income level (above 10,001 *yuan*).

Table 5.5: Percentage Distributions of Knowing About Two Immigration Policies by Family Background and Social Networks

	Know about Immigration Policies						
	Immigration Approaches			Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test			
	Total Number	Skilled Worker	Business/Family	Total Number	Never heard	Never took	Have taken
Household Financial Situation							
Adequate	N = 38	81.6	8.4	N = 47	34.0	36.2	29.8
Comfortable	N = 80	87.5	12.5	N = 101	35.6	48.5	15.8
Wealthy	N = 23	91.3	8.7	N = 32	50.0	40.6	9.4
		X2 = 1.313			X2 = 7.875*		
		Phi = .097			G = -.228**		
Father's Monthly Income							
Low	N = 47	95.7	4.3	N = 84	34.5	41.7	23.8
Medium	N = 48	83.3	16.7	N = 53	37.7	47.2	15.1
Upper	N = 32	75.0	25.0	N = 24	45.8	54.2	0
		X2 = 7.129 **			X2 = 1.829		
		Phi = .237			G = -.039		
Mother's Monthly Income							
Low	N = 65	87.7	12.3	N = 84	34.5	41.7	23.8
Medium	N = 43	90.7	9.3	N = 53	37.7	47.2	15.1
Upper	N = 19	68.4	31.6	N = 24	45.8	54.2	0
		X2 = 5.757*			X2 = 7.671*		
		Phi = .213			G = -.220**		
Family Members as Permanent Residents in North America							
No	N = 105	87.6	12.4	N = 139	41.7	41.7	16.5
Yes	N = 36	83.3	16.7	N = 42	26.2	50.0	23.8
		X2 = .422			X2 = 3.481		
		Phi = .055			G = .268*		
Father's Occupation							
Business Owner/management	N = 83	83.1	16.9	N = 101	35.6	46.5	17.8
Government/Military Section	N = 26	92.3	7.7	N = 36	50.0	41.7	8.3
Professionals	N = 26	88.5	11.5	N = 24	35.3	38.2	26.5
Semi-skilled/manual labor	N = 3	100.0	0	N = 6	16.7	33.3	50.0
		X2 = 2.068			X2 = 9.275		
		Phi = .122			Phi = .229		

Table 5.5 also shows that family background plays a role on the degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test, a tool based on a “point system” for potential applicants making a self-evaluation. The students who are in an adequate household financial situation may be more likely to take this test, and the students with a comfortable and wealthy household financial background may be less likely to take it or have no idea about it. There is no significant association between father’s income level and degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test, and one can see a similar tendency in a mother’s income level. The relatively negative influence on the degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test from family financial background may reveal that the students with more favored family backgrounds do not have to seek immigrant information by themselves, and also implies that the targets of the Self-Assessment Test are the applicants in the skilled-worker category but not business or family category. As this student said:

“For sure, I want to immigrate...I don’t know too much about how to immigrate...You can’t know about it so much by yourself, find a lawyer to do it for you, isn’t it the way?”

Conclusively, according to Figure 1, if the degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test can represent the knowledgeability of immigration policies related to the skilled-worker category, we do find that the more they know about this immigration policy, the more they are likely to immigrate. However, a more favored family financial background may provide other approaches for students to immigrate, such as business or family immigration category, and there are financial resources as well for them to get more information with higher quality.

As for SINP, in Table 5.6 there is no significant association between the degree of familiarity with SINP and the intention of working in Saskatchewan in the girl's model, but we do find there is a certain association between them in the boy's model ($G = .426^{***}$). It is uncertain that whether their intention to work in Saskatchewan lead to more interests in knowing about SINP, or their familiarity of SINP will lead to intention to work in Saskatchewan. However, since SINP is a provincial policy to attract immigrants and we do find there is a significant positive association between an intention to work in SK and a boy's interests in immigration (Table 5.7), I would like to quote a student's words to explain it:

"I will consider to immigrate through SINP. Surely, the precondition is finding a full-time job here...I think I will look for job here first, because it is only one year to get immigrant status through SINP, much shorter than federal policies. If I can't find a job here, I will try other cities."

Therefore, SINP provides another approach for the students at the University of Saskatchewan who want to immigrate as skilled workers.

Gender differences are found in the relationship between family background, kinship-based social networks and familiarity of immigration policies. According to Table 5.8, for girls, a higher paternal income implicating a wealthier family financial background can be a significant impetus for them to immigrate through the business/family approach, but this connection cannot be found in boys' model. The boys who have family member(s) as Permanent residents in North America are more familiar with the Self-Assessment Test. It indicates that having kinship-based social networks in a similar context may provide more informative resources for them to know more about immigration policies. This result again echoes the conclusion that

girls are more family-concerned, and boys are more social-network-concerned during formation process of migration motivations.

Table 5.6: Percentage Distributions of Familiarity of SINP By Whether Want to Work in SK

	Familiarity of SINP									
	Female					Male				
	Total Number	Know Nothing	Know a little	Know some parts	Know much	Total Number	Know Nothing	Know a little	Know some parts	Know much
Whether want to work in SK										
Never want to	N = 18	72.2	22.2	75.6	0	N = 27	77.8	18.5	3.7	0
Will consider to work in SK	N = 51	58.8	29.4	39.8	2.0	N = 53	60.4	32.1	5.7	1.9
SK is the first choice	N = 11	63.6	27.3	0	9.1	N = 21	42.9	33.3	14.3	9.5
Chi-square			4.332					9.923		
GAMMA			.147					.426***		

Table 5.7: Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Whether want to work in SK

Interests in Immigration	Whether want to work in SK		
	Will consider to work in		
	Never want to	SK	SK is the first choice
	N = 46	N = 104	N = 32
No interest in Immigration	30.4	7.7	12.5
Medium Interest in Immigration	50.0	54.8	40.6
Strongly Expect to Immigrate	19.6	37.5	46.9
	G = 361; X2 = 17.261***		

Table 5.8: Percentage Distribution of Immigration Policies by Family Background and by Gender

	Have Family Members as Permanent Residents in North America					
	Female			Male		
	No	Yes		No	Yes	
Familiarity of Self-assessment Test	N = 22	N = 58		N = 20	N = 81	
Never heard about it	37.9	36.4		15.0	44.4	
Never took it	43.1	45.5		55.0	40.7	
Have ever taken it	19.0	18.2		30.0	14.8	
Chi-square	.036**			6.425**		
GAMMA	.012			.504		
	Father's Monthly Income					
	Female			Male		
	Lower	Medium	Upper	Lower	Medium	Upper
Immigration Approaches	N= 23	N = 19	N = 15	N = 24	N = 29	N = 17
Skilled Worker Class	95.7	89.5	66.7	95.8	79.3	82.4
Business/Family Class	4.3	10.5	33.3	4.2	20.7	17.6
Chi-square	6.613**			3.135		
GAMMA	.671**			.390		

Conclusively, immigration policies as macro-level structures can both constrain and enable the immigration intention of these Chinese students, and family socioeconomic background and kinship-related social networks as micro-level structures can also provide rules and resources for them to reflect on and make strategies for their migration motivations. Moreover, these students' knowledgeability on immigration policies can both reflect on and motivate their migration motivations. The whole process of drawing upon rules and resources in both macro-level and micro-level structures based on the conditions individual students possessed can be basically considered to be an implication of the level of practical consciousness in social knowledge, because rules and resources here are exploited intentionally to provide rationale for their migration motivations. However, how to draw upon these

rules and resources in their own cases has to be reflected by their discursive consciousness.

Table 5.9: Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Study or Career Aspiration by Gender

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	Strongly Expect to Immigrate	Medium Interest in immigration	No Interest in Immigration	Total Number	Strongly Expect to Immigrate	Medium Interest in immigration	No Interest in Immigration
What To Do After Graduation								
Graduate study at U of S	N = 17	17.6	70.6	11.8	N = 25	48.0	28.0	24.0
Look for job	N = 40	37.5	47.5	15.0	N = 42	31.0	57.1	11.9
Graduate study at other University in Canada	N = 12	50.0	41.7	8.3	N = 15	20.0	80.0	0
Change study destination or Major	N = 12	58.3	41.7	0	N = 16	18.8	43.8	37.5
Chi-square			7.353				16.848***	
GAMMA			-.370				.234	
Look for an Off-campus Job								
Very Interested	N = 56	48.2	48.2	3.6	N = 65	44.6	46.2	9.2
Will try but not that interested	N = 23	17.4	60.9	21.7	N = 24	8.3	75.0	16.7
Not interested at all	N = 2	0	0	100	N = 10	10.0	30.0	60.0
Chi-square			25.811***				26.511***	
GAMMA			.692				.664	
What Job Wanted								
Professional	N = 21	52.4	42.9	4.8	N = 18	38.9	N = 44.4	N = 16.7
Management	N = 30	33.3	53.3	13.3	N = 39	30.8	N = 46.2	N = 23.1
Skilled/semi-skilled worker	N = 22	36.4	59.1	4.5	N = 28	35.7	N = 57.1	N = 7.1
Self-employed	N = 7	14.3	42.9	42.9	N = 15	20.0	N = 60.0	N = 20.0
Chi-square			11.963*				4.386	
Phi			.327*				.209	
Where to Go for Job								
Saskatoon	N = 16	43.8	50.0	6.3	N = 24	33.3	45.8	20.8
Big Cities in Canada	N = 44	45.5	45.5	9.1	N = 42	40.5	54.8	4.8
US or other	N = 7	42.9	57.1	0	N = 19	31.6	52.6	15.8
China	N = 14	7.1	64.3	28.6	N = 16	6.3	50.0	43.8
X2			10.231				15.324**	
Gamma			.346				.259*	

5.3 Career Aspiration and Migration Motivations

What and where careers are to be developed are life course choices. There is no reason to suspect an association between these students' career aspiration and their interests in immigration.

In this study, Table 5.9 shows that both the girl's and boy's models show significant positive associations between interests in looking for an off-campus job and interests in immigration (girls: $G = .692$; X^2 sig. at $.001$; boys: $G = .664$; X^2 sig. at $.001$). That is to say, the greater interests in looking for off-campus jobs shows greater interest in immigration.

Nevertheless, only in the girls' model, a significant association can be found between what kinds of job they expected and interests in immigration. To engage in professional or managerial occupations leads to greater interest in immigration, while to own self-employed business may lead to returns. Only for boys, what to do upon graduation and where to work have significant impacts on their interests in immigration. The students who plan to change study destinations or majors are at least likely to immigrate, and the students who want to get a job or pursue graduate education in Canada, especially in the University of Saskatchewan, are more likely to immigrate. As for where to work, only the boy's model shows significant association between working destination and migration motivations. Table 5.9 shows that those who choose Canada as working destination are more likely to stay, while those who choose to work in China or other countries have less interests in settling down in Canada. It seems that boys are more likely to set up a relationship between where to

work and where to settle down.

The associations between “look for off-campus job” and “interests in immigration” are commonly significant in both the boy’s and girl’s models. Only in the boy’s model, “what to do upon graduation” and “where to work” are significantly associated with their migration motivations. These two variables can implicate migration, and may also reveal their career-oriented migration motivation. For girls, “occupations wanted” has significant association with their interests in immigration. Professional and managerial occupations are ideal careers for most girls, and that is why there is a high proportion of 56% of girls majoring in commerce and economics in my study. It is no doubt that for girls, these jobs are more stable and decent in Canada than in China, but if they want to open their own business, it will be much more difficult in Canada where there is a lack of financial and social networks supports. However, for boys, the stability seems not to be as much of a big problem as girls perceive. If the career aspiration is not related to migration, they seem not likely to relate it to their migration motivations.

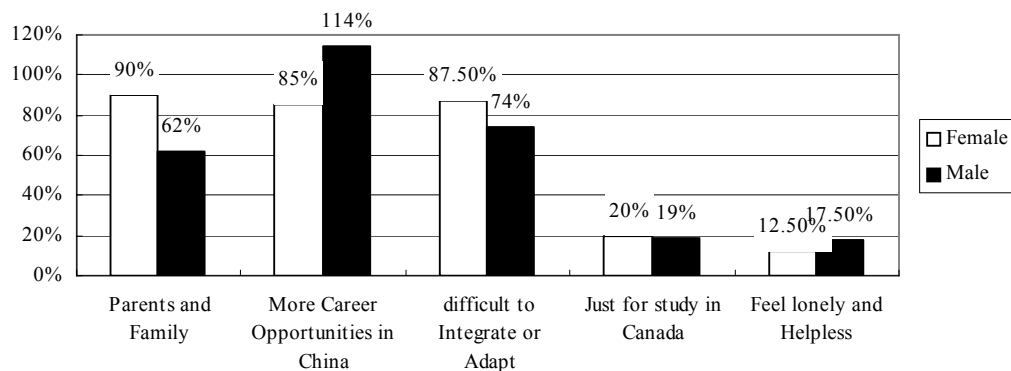
Girl’s inclination of stability on career choices leads to their stronger willingness to immigrate than boys, because compared to China, Canada can provide more stable working environment. Boys’ career-oriented motivation on migration makes them disconnect the relationship between career choice and immigration, but they set up the relationship between work destination and migration. That is to say, the priority is to find out the best place for career development, and the decision to immigrate depends on if Canada is an ideal working destination. It is interesting to find that girls

and boys both attempt to rationalize their migration motivations and use strategies to achieve their career aspiration (discursive consciousness) based on rules and resources they can draw upon (practical consciousness), but from different perspectives on rationality. They both follow their unconsciousness rooting in routines or socialized gender differences to build up their own rationality.

5.4 Culture-Related Unconsciousness and Migration Motivations

Giddens’ three levels of consciousnesses in social knowledge have been introduced in Chapter 3 and applied in Chapter 4 and 5. Unconsciousness, as one level of consciousnesses in social knowledge, cannot be articulated to motivations, so it is not emphasized as much as discursive and practical consciousnesses. However, it always plays a role in an agent’s actions and motivations. For Giddens, the unconsciousness is the unconscious need for feelings of familiarity and practical mastery of the stable features of the social world. This notion can provide a reasonable interpretation for gender differences in this study. Because it is an unconsciousness embedded into Chinese cultural context, I call it “culture-related unconsciousness”.

Chart 5.1 Percentage Distributions of Reasons for Returning to China to Work by Gender



Many discussions have been on the reasons for immigration. In this section, discussion focuses on the reasons for returning China to work. Chart 5.1 shows that on the issue of why students return China to work, the remarkable distinctions between girls and boys appear in the reasons of “mutual needs of family and Children” and “more career opportunities in China”. For boys, all¹⁷ the boys chose “more career development opportunities in China” as their reason to return, and only 85 per cent of girls chose it as the reason for return. Meanwhile, 90 per cent of girls consider their family needs them or they consider family to be an important reason for return, but for boys, only 62 per cent of them chose this as a reason, which is much smaller. Moreover, girls reported a substantially higher percentage of difficulty in adaptation as reason for return than boys did.

Again, we can see boys’ migration motivations as being more career-oriented, which means that no matter what career they want to develop in the future, the priority is to choose an ideal destination to develop it. For girls, career is important, but maybe only as important as family, or even less than family:

“I am very traditional...I am concerned about my family very much...sometime, I even think study abroad is good for me though, I still feel sorry to family...I cannot be there if they need me...immigration is good for career especially when you become immigrant and return China to work or open business, but I cannot leave my parents in China, then I have to get them to Canada, but I believe they won’t leave the place they stay for several decades...my root is in China, and I go back especially for my family...my grandparents are older and older, I was not beside them on their birthday for many years...”

¹⁷ “More career opportunities in China” is the variable combining “more job opportunities in China” and “more social networks to help job opportunities in China,” so a percentage higher than 100% appears in the Chart.

Another girl said:

“If I can be immigrant, it would be great...Canada is a good place to live, people are nice, society is stable...if I can immigrate, my parents can come too, the environment here would be good for their health.”

It does not mean that family is not important for boys, but it may be less important than their career. Actually, they would like to consider their academic and career achievement as their returns to their parents:

“My father told me “your success would be the best returns for us...don’t be worried about us, we can take care of ourselves, what you need to do is just to cope for career achievement”...I know I should do that...to immigrate to Canada should be good for my career, but the work opportunities are poor for us, so stay or return, just depends on where I can develop my career well”

Therefore, even though they are a young generation living in a rapid modernizing era of China, the strong connection with parents or family has been embedded into their brain along with their socialization process. Family, a word that is the “root” of most Chinese people, and parents, the most intimate interpersonal relationship for an individual Chinese person, impacts their migration motivations at a subconscious level. Girls are socialized to be more emotional to care about their own feelings and express concerns about parents or family, while boys are more educated to show their filial piety by career achievement to honor and support their family. We cannot consider the culture-related impacts on these Chinese students as rationalized action based on drawing upon rules and resources intentionally, so Giddens’ notion of “unconsciousness” as one of three levels in social knowledge can indicate this stable consciousness formed in the socialization process in a Chinese cultural context.

5.5 Time-Space Context and Migration Motivations

In Giddens' view, "All social interaction is both contextual—'situated' in time and space—and yet stretches across time-space 'distances'" (Giddens, 1984b, p.127), and "...the fundamental question of social theory...is to explicate how the limitations of individual 'presence' are transcended by the 'stretching' of social relations across time and space (Giddens, 1984a, p.35).

First, as there is a spatial transition from China to Canada, the continuity of the motivations before and during studying abroad needs to be examined. According to Table 4.3, there is a significant association between boys' immigration intention before studying abroad and their current migration motivations, but it does not show continuity. In the group who reported not having immigration intentions before studying abroad, 88.4 per cent have considered immigration or strongly expected to immigrate during studying abroad. In the group who reported an immigration intention before studying abroad, about 28 per cent of them changed their mind and intend to return. Additionally, we did not find a significant association in the girl's model. That is to say, in this group of Chinese undergraduate students, motivation continuity on migration cannot be found when the spatial context has changed.

I chose "length of time in Canada" as the stretched time-space context. Age, the age when they came to Canada, and register year are the points of time in the "time-space" context. Time variables are independent variables. "Interests in immigration" is dependent variable, as well as "perception of experiences in Canada" and "degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test" which are associated with "Interests in Immigration."

Through Crosstab analysis, Table 5.10 shows that in the boys model, the older when they came to Canada and the older they are currently, the more interests they have in immigration. Moreover, the higher academic year they register, the more likely they are to immigrate. There is no significant association between time and interests in immigration in the girl's model.

Although the association between length of time in Canada and interests in immigration has not been found in this Crosstab analysis, we do find the significant associations in logistic regression analysis. According to Table 4.1, the odds of students who stayed in Canada for around one year "strongly expecting to immigrate" as compared to those have "no interests in immigration" were much greater than those for students who have been in Canada for five years or above. However, there is no significance found in the comparison between having "medium interest in immigration" and "no interest in immigration". Furthermore, the odds of students who stayed in Canada for around 4 years having "medium interest in immigration" as compared to having "no interest in immigration" were .040 times as those for students who have been Canada for five years or above, and similar result can be found in the comparison between "medium interest in immigration" and "no interest in immigration". In terms of the results above, we may infer that the students who arrived here around one year may have more interests in or think more about immigration, and the students have stayed here for around 4 years were least thinking about immigration, and students staying for more than 4 years would like to consider more about immigration.

Table 5.10: Percentage Distributions of Interests in Immigration by Time by Gender

	Interests in Immigration							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to	Total Number	No Interest in Immigration	Medium Interest in immigration	Strongly Expect to
Length of Time in Canada								
1 – 12 months	N = 19	5.3	57.9	36.8	N = 14	21.4	42.9	35.7
13 – 24 months	N = 10	0	30.0	70.0	N = 15	26.7	46.7	26.7
24 – 36 months	N = 12	25.0	50.0	25.0	N = 20	15.0	45.0	40.0
36 – 48 months	N = 25	20.0	52.0	28.0	N = 20	10.0	65.0	25.0
More than 48 months	N = 15	0	53.3	46.7	N = 32	15.6	53.1	31.3
Chi-square			12.453				3.731	
GAMMA			-.042				.025	
Age								
18 – 21 years old	N = 25	16.0	40.0	44.0	N = 23	30.4	34.8	34.8
22 years old	N = 22	29.1	45.5	45.5	N = 27	22.2	55.6	22.2
23 – 24 years old	N = 19	5.3	68.4	26.3	N = 31	6.5	67.7	25.8
Older than 25	N = 15	13.3	53.3	33.3	N = 20	10.0	40.0	50.0
Chi-square			4.470				12.259**	
GAMMA			-.103				.243**	
Register Year								
Preparing for University								
(ESL)	N = 8	0	50.0	50.0	N = 12	50.0	25.0	25.0
Junior Grades (1-2)	N = 39	15.4	46.2	38.5	N = 39	12.8	56.4	30.8
Senior Grades (3-4)	N = 34	8.8	55.9	35.3	N = 48	12.5	54.2	33.3
Chi-square			2.397				10.675**	
GAMMA			-.084				.206	
Age When Came to Canada								
17 – 18 years old	N = 23	17.4	43.5	39.1	N = 21	19.0	52.4	28.6
19 years old	N = 21	4.8	61.9	33.3	N = 28	14.3	57.1	28.6
20 years old	N = 9	0	33.3	66.7	N = 17	29.4	23.5	47.1
21 years old	N = 9	22.2	44.4	33.3	N = 20	20.0	75.0	5.0
22 and older	N = 19	10.5	57.9	31.6	N = 15	0	40.0	60.0
X2			7.456				19.411**	
Gamma			-.005				.119	

To provide an explanation, I also combine the results found in Table 5.11, which shows high correlation between “Length of time in Canada” and “Register year.” For the students who have been in Canada around one or two years, they are most likely to be ESL or first year students. Their fever to immigrate may be regarded as an irrational aspiration when they realized they have opportunity to immigrate to Canada upon graduation. For the students who have stayed for 3-4 years, they may know more about the practical problems of immigration as international students; it is not easy to get work experience, and the intent to immigrate may be lesser. Additionally, they are most likely to be in second or third academic year, so academic performance garners more concerns than immigration. As for the student staying for more than 4 years, the majority of them registered at their third/fourth academic year, they are confronted with the choice to return or stay, and most of them are trying to look for a job in Canada, so both in the girl’s and boy’s model, more than half of them would rather have “medium interest in immigration”. 46.7 per cent of girls and 31.3 per cent of boys who have stay in Canada more than 4 years, strongly expect to immigrate, and only few of boys have “no interest in immigration” to show their decision to return (Table 5.10). Therefore, a durable time has been transformed into points of time, and their interests in immigration can be considered as situated in certain time-space context.

In Table 5.12, according to Chi-square significance, there is only one significant association between time and students’ perceptions of experiences in Canada. That is only for boys, the older they are when they came to Canada, the more positive they

perceive their experiences in Canada. However, Figures 2 and 3 show a significant positive impact on perception of experiences from a higher register year in the girl's model ($p = .371$), and a negative impact from longer time staying in Canada in the boy's model ($p = -.224$). The boy's model in Table 5.12 echoes the findings from path analysis, that the proportions of negative report is ascending with the increase of the length of time boys staying in Canada, and there is a declining tendency to report strongly positive perception with the longer time they stay. Therefore, probably, the continuous acknowledging process and the maturity of worldviews may provide boys with more rational perceptions of their experiences in certain contexts.

It is interesting to find that in Table 5.13, the significant associations between time and the degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test can be found only in the girl's model. The longer the girls stay in Canada, the older they are currently, and the higher grades they registered, the more familiar with the Self-Assessment Test. For boys, it seems that they would like to know about immigration policies whenever they want to.

Table 5.11: Percentage Distributions of Length of Time in Canada by Register Year

Register Year	Length of Time in Canada				
	1 – 12 months N = 33	13 – 24 months N = 25	25 – 36 months N = 32	36 – 48 months N = 45	More than 48 Months N = 46
Preparing for University (ESL)	36.4	20.0	6.3	2.2	0
First Academic Year	21.2	24.0	18.8	8.9	8.7
Second Academic Year	24.2	28.0	37.5	31.1	21.7
Third Academic Year	18.2	16.0	25.0	42.2	39.1
Fourth Academic Year	0	12.0	12.5	15.6	30.4

G = 497; X² = 55.720***

Table 5.12: Percentage Distributions of Perception of Experience in Canada by Time by Gender

	Perception of Experience							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	Negative	Relatively Positive	Strongly Positive	Total Number	Negative	Relatively Positive	Strongly Positive
Length of Time in Canada								
1 – 12 months	N = 19	21.1	73.7	35.3	N = 14	0	71.4	28.6
13 – 24 months	N = 10	20.0	60.0	2.0	N = 14	14.3	64.3	21.4
24 – 36 months	N = 12	16.7	75.0	8.3	N = 20	25.0	65.0	10.0
36 – 48 months	N = 24	29.2	70.8	0	N = 19	36.8	47.4	15.8
More than 48 months	N = 15	13.3	66.7	20.0	N = 30	23.3	70.0	6.7
Chi-square		7.508				10.629		
GAMMA		.053				-.303***		
Age								
18 – 21 years old	N = 25	20.0	76.0	4.0	N = 21	19.0	71.4	9.5
22 years old	N = 22	31.8	59.1	9.1	N = 26	26.9	61.5	11.5
23 – 24 years old	N = 19	21.1	68.4	10.5	N = 30	23.3	63.3	13.3
Older than 25	N = 14	7.1	78.6	14.3	N = 20	15.0	60.0	25.0
Chi-square		4.349				3.179		
GAMMA		.200				.148		
Register Year								
Preparing for University								
(ESL)	N = 8	25.0	75.0	0	N = 11	9.1	63.6	27.3
Junior Grades (1-2)	N = 38	28.9	65.8	5.3	N = 38	23.7	63.2	13.2
Senior Grades (3-4)	N = 34	11.8	73.5	14.7	N = 47	23.4	66.0	10.6
Chi-square		5.344				2.784		
GAMMA		.435**				-.183		
Age When Came to Canada								
17 – 18 years old	N = 23	21.7	69.6	8.7	N = 18	16.7	72.2	11.1
19 years old	N = 21	33.3	66.7	0	N = 28	35.7	60.7	3.6
20 years old	N = 9	22.2	66.7	11.1	N = 17	23.5	76.5	0
21 years old	N = 9	11.1	55.6	33.3	N = 19	15.8	63.2	21.1
22 and older	N = 18	11.1	82.3	5.6	N = 15	6.7	46.7	46.7
X2		11.850				22.263***		
Gamma		.188				.355***		

Table 5.13: Percentage Distributions of Familiarity with Self-Assessment Test by Time by Gender

	Familiarity with Self-assessment Test							
	Female				Male			
	Total Number	Never heard about it	Never took it	Have ever taken it	Total Number	Never heard about it	Never took it	Have taken it
Length of Time in Canada								
1 – 12 months	N = 19	36.8	42.1	21.1	N = 14	28.6	35.7	35.7
13 – 24 months	N = 10	40.0	60.0	0	N = 15	46.7	53.3	0
24 – 36 months	N = 12	33.3	66.7	0	N = 20	25.0	55.0	20.0
36 – 48 months	N = 24	54.2	29.2	16.7	N = 20	35.0	50.0	15.0
More than 48	N = 15	13.3	40.0	46.7	N = 32	50.0	31.3	18.8
Chi-square		17.928**				10.497		
GAMMA		.177				-.131		
Age								
18 – 21 years old	N = 25	52.0	44.0	4.0	N = 23	47.8	43.5	8.7
22 years old	N = 21	38.1	33.3	28.6	N = 27	29.6	59.3	11.1
23 – 24 years old	N = 19	31.6	57.9	10.5	N = 31	38.7	41.9	19.4
Older than 25	N = 15	20.0	40.0	40.0	N = 20	40.0	25.0	35.0
Chi-square		12.524*				9.317		
GAMMA		.353***				.157		
Register Year								
Preparing for University (ESL)	N = 8	25.0	50.0	25.0	N = 12	41.7	33.3	25.0
Junior Grades (1-2)	N = 38	50.0	44.7	5.3	N = 39	33.3	48.7	17.9
Senior Grades (3-4)	N = 34	26.5	41.2	32.4	N = 48	41.7	43.8	14.6
Chi-square		10.359**				1.556		
GAMMA		.303*				-.106		
Age When Came to Canada								
17 – 18 years old	N = 23	52.2	30.4	17.4	N = 21	38.1	47.6	14.3
19 years old	N = 20	30.0	55.0	15.0	N = 28	35.7	57.1	7.1
20 years old	N = 9	44.4	55.6	11.1	N = 17	47.1	41.2	11.8
21 years old	N = 9	26.3	36.8	0	N = 20	40.0	30.0	30.0
22 and older	N = 19	26.3	36.8	36.8	N = 15	33.3	33.3	33.3
X2		10.160				8.965		
Gamma		.218				.107		

Therefore, time variables do impact boys and girls differently on their migration motivations, and Figures 6 and 7 presented here show that how these impacts work in the boy's and girl's models respectively. Because "perception of experiences in Canada" and "degree of familiarity with Self-Assessment Test" as two variables correlated with migration motivations are inclusive here, we need to combine Figures 2 and 3 and Tables 5.10, 5.12, and 5.13 to provide a relatively comprehensive perspective. For boys, a suitable time-space context and their familiarity with immigration policy will impact their immigration intentions substantially. Their perception of experiences may play a role here, but it is not as substantial as in the girl's model. For girls, "familiarity with immigration policy" and "perception of their experiences in Canada" place substantial influences on their migration motivation, and time variables have no direct influence on it; however, they may play a role through their direct impacts on both "familiarity with immigration policy" and "perception of their experiences in Canada".

Conclusively, for boys, "time-space" is not only the context in which their actions are situated, but also it is one of the major considerations for them to make an important decision, such as immigration. However, for girls, across time and space, their migration motivations are formed with their accumulative social knowledge at both the practical consciousness level (familiarity with immigration policy) and unconsciousness level (perception of experiences in Canada).

Figure 6: Female Model: Perception, Knowledgeability and Migration Motivations in Time-Space Context

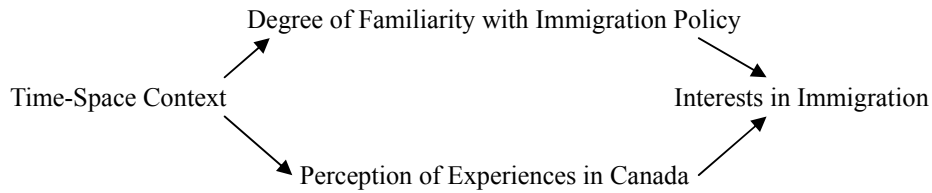
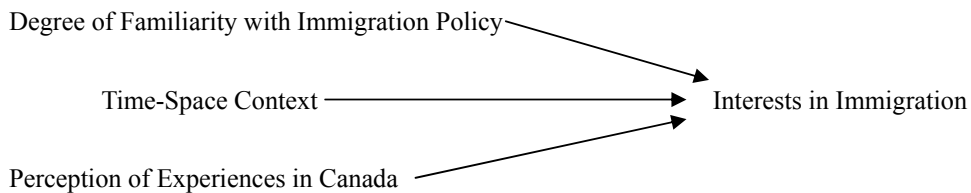


Figure 7: Males Model: Perception, Knowledgeability and Migration Motivations in Time-Space Context



5.5 Conclusion

The conclusion of Chapter 5 attempts to examine and rebuild the framework of how micro-level structures and micro-individualized factors influence these Chinese undergraduate students' migration motivations. The results based on path analysis and Crosstab analysis in Chapter 4 and 5 will be integrated into the framework presented here.

Because we do find remarkable differences between girls and boys to form their migration motivations, two models will be provided for girls and boys respectively. In the girl's model, parents' attitudes on children's immigration, household financial situation, perception of experience in Canada, familiarity of immigration policy, what job they expect, and culture-related unconsciousness should be six major factors impacting their interests in immigration directly. Among them, parents' attitudes,

family financial situation, and culture-related unconsciousness are three family-related factors playing predominant roles in their migration motivations. Perception of experiences in Canada as a measurement of adjustment will be a crucial factor as well when they think about if they should immigrate or not. What to do in future may affect their interests in immigration. The girls who hope to be professional or managerial personnel are more likely to immigrate to Canada, because professional or managerial occupations are more decent and relatively stable jobs in Canada, while in reformed China, those are the competitive and unstable occupations for girls. Their knowledge about immigration policies should be strongly associated with time; the longer they stay, the higher the academic year they registered, the older they are, the more they will know about immigration policies. Furthermore, they may have stronger tendency to immigrate. Although time-space context does not place direct influences on girls' migration motivations, besides through familiarity with immigration policy, it may also impact their interests in immigration through their perception of experiences in Canada to some extent. The higher the emic year they registered, the more positive perception they will have, and the higher academic year also implies that they will stay longer in Canada, that is to say, a durable time may play a role on how girls perceive their experiences in certain environments. Furthermore, there is a certain relationship between parental involvement and girls' perception of experiences in Canada, and also family financial background has placed some impact on their knowledgeability of immigration policy.

Figure 8: Female Model: Micro-level structures, Micro-individualized factors and Migration Motivations

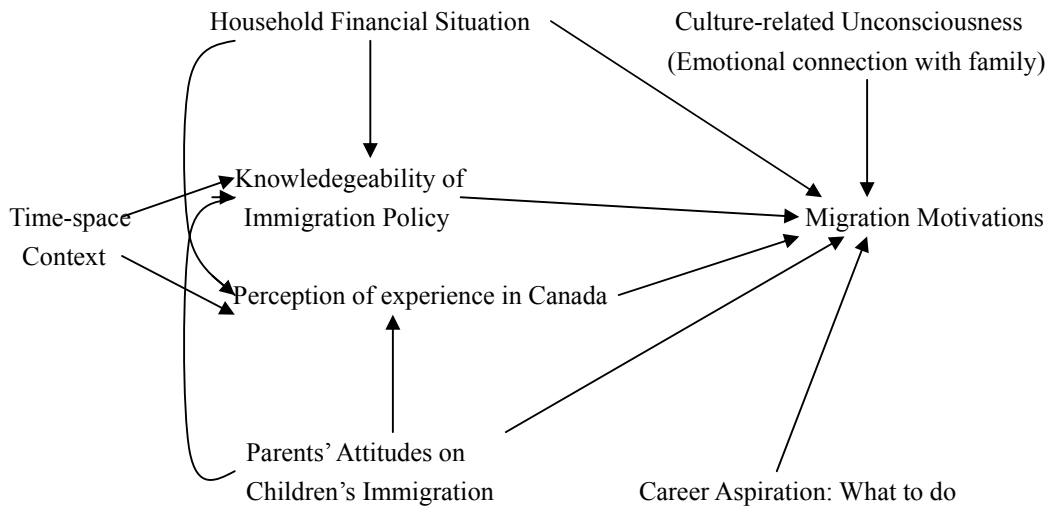
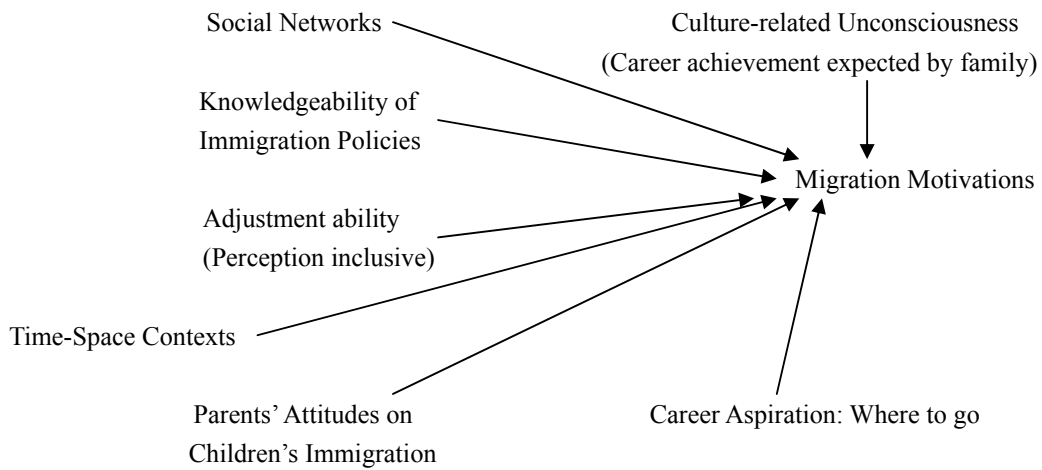


Figure 9: Male Model: Micro-level structures, Micro-individualized factors, and Migration Motivations



In the boy's model, parents' attitudes on children's immigration, where to work or study, family members as social network resources, knowledgeability of immigration policies, time-space context, adaptation (perception of experiences is inclusive), and culture-related unconsciousness are seven major factors impacting on the formation process of boys' migration motivations. Parents' attitudes on children's immigration and knowledgeability of immigration policies are two similarly important factors as in the girl's model. Different than girls' concerns on what to do, where to go is more crucial for boys to decide whether or not to immigrate. No matter what they do in the future, they would like to find a place providing sufficient resources (employment or business opportunities and social networks) for their career development, and they might want to settle down. Social networks rather than family financial situations may provide major resources for boys, and the capacity and strategies to adjust into new environments will be more important for boys to have immigration intention. Perception of experience is only one of the measurements of adjustment, which has smaller influence on migration motivations than some capacity and strategies factors, such as making new friends, as well as attending volunteer and religious activities. Moreover, boys are more likely to form migration motivation based on suitable time-space context, such as approaching graduation, and if they are old enough or mature enough to apply for immigrant status.

Generally, for girls, emotional factors related to family and their experiences will be crucial considerations when they think about immigration, while boys' migration motivations are more career-oriented, for example, whether the destination

is suitable for career developing, whether they are qualified to or need to have immigrant status for their career, and whether they have the capacity to adjust into a new environment.

Besides their different ways in adjusting into new circumstances and drawing upon rules and resources, girls and boys have different considerations on returning to China. Girls are more concerned about parents or family, while boys are more concerned about their career development. To show concerns about parents or family is the way for girls to embody their filial piety, and it also implies that they are more emotionally connected with family. For boys, success on academic performance and career is the way to show their filial piety, which may include honoring their family and supporting their parents in the future. These differences are formed by their socialization in the Chinese cultural context. In a Chinese family, the son, as successor, is always educated to bear the obligations to support parents and honor the family through achievements, but parental expectations on daughters are more emotional responses. In contemporary China, this consciousness is diluted by emphasis on gender equality, but it is still embedded into people's daily practices and interactions at least at unconscious level.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

With the emergence of the globalization of the knowledge economy and labor market, the significant benefits of migration of skilled workers has been realized by many developed countries, and the internationalization of higher education has been emphasized as well. The unbalanced development of the knowledge economy between developed countries and developing countries essentially led to the flourish of academic mobility and migration of knowledge workers. Since academic mobility and migration of knowledge workers are two concerns in international migration studies, how academic mobility transforms into immigration in this region has received much attention as well. The results of this study contribute to the understanding of this migration transformation, and they attempt to develop a framework of how their migration motivations formed while studying abroad.

Theoretically, the classic “Push and Pull” theory and its derivative studies as well as Rational Choice Theory (RCT) have provided prolific understanding of international migration. However, both of these sets of theories have their drawbacks, that their analysis is either exclusion of the micro-level decision-making process or neglect of the macro-level social structure. In this study, Giddens’ structuration theory has been applied to mediate micro and macro level factors in the formation process of international students’ migration motivations.

The framework has been built based on results of the survey by application of some conceptions of Giddens’ structuration theory to understand the migration

motivations of Chinese undergraduate students in Canada. Because gender differences are significant in this study, two models are made for female and male students separately.

Both in the female and male models, the factors implicating macro-level social structures are the same items. Based on structuration theory, the migration motivations of these Chinese undergraduate students are enabled or constrained by similar rules and resources in macro-level structures. The broader labor market in China may be the attractive factor for the return of Chinese students, but along with more and more Chinese students' return, "*Haigui*" is not so competitive as before. Moreover, the favored policies mainly target the returnees with high skills or wealthy financial backgrounds, so some Chinese undergraduate students would rather stay abroad longer to get more experience, and getting permanent resident status is a strategy to stay longer and to have a backup when returning to China in the future. Additionally, the instability of social and political situations in China is still a consideration for students and their parents. If students are qualified to be immigration applicants in terms of Canadian immigration policies, the policies will enable their immigration intention, but otherwise, they will constrain students' immigration intention. In micro-level structures, parental influences strongly impact both females and males; however, if compared to the intensity of parental influences in the decision-making process of studying abroad, it has been weakened along with their increasing independent consciousness. In the decision-making process of studying abroad, the student and his/her parents together, as "coupling agent," are

both indispensable and interdependent, but in the formation process of migration motivations, students have been more independent from parents emotionally and expected to be independent financially upon graduation and migration. Therefore, these Chinese students are transforming from a part of “coupling agent” to “individual agent” during studying abroad, and their parents are becoming influential “others” in an intimate relationship.

Girls and boys are different in how they draw upon the rules and resources at micro-level structures. Girls are more dependent on family financial resources, while boys prefer to use kinship connections as social network resources rather than seek resources directly from their family. In micro-individualized factors, some emotional factors are impacting girls more than boys, such as how they feel about their experiences in Canada and if they have strong emotional connections with family especially parents. Boys may be more goal-oriented when they decide to immigrate or not, in thinking of factors such as where they can get sufficient social networking supports, how they can adjust into this environment successfully by using strategies, and where they can develop their career, including where to study for better future. Therefore, the gender differences are not in the degree of their adjustment into new environments, but how they adjust into new environment.

The gender differences implicate Giddens’ “duality of structures.” Both girls and boys are practicing and interacting in similar structures, but they perceive and draw upon the rules and resources in different ways, that can be regarded as the reproduction of structures at a micro-agent level. Based on structuration theory, the

knowledgeable agent produces and reproduces structures through social knowledge, and Giddens differentiate three levels of consciousness in social knowledge:

Figure 10: Framework of Migration Motivations of Chinese Female Students

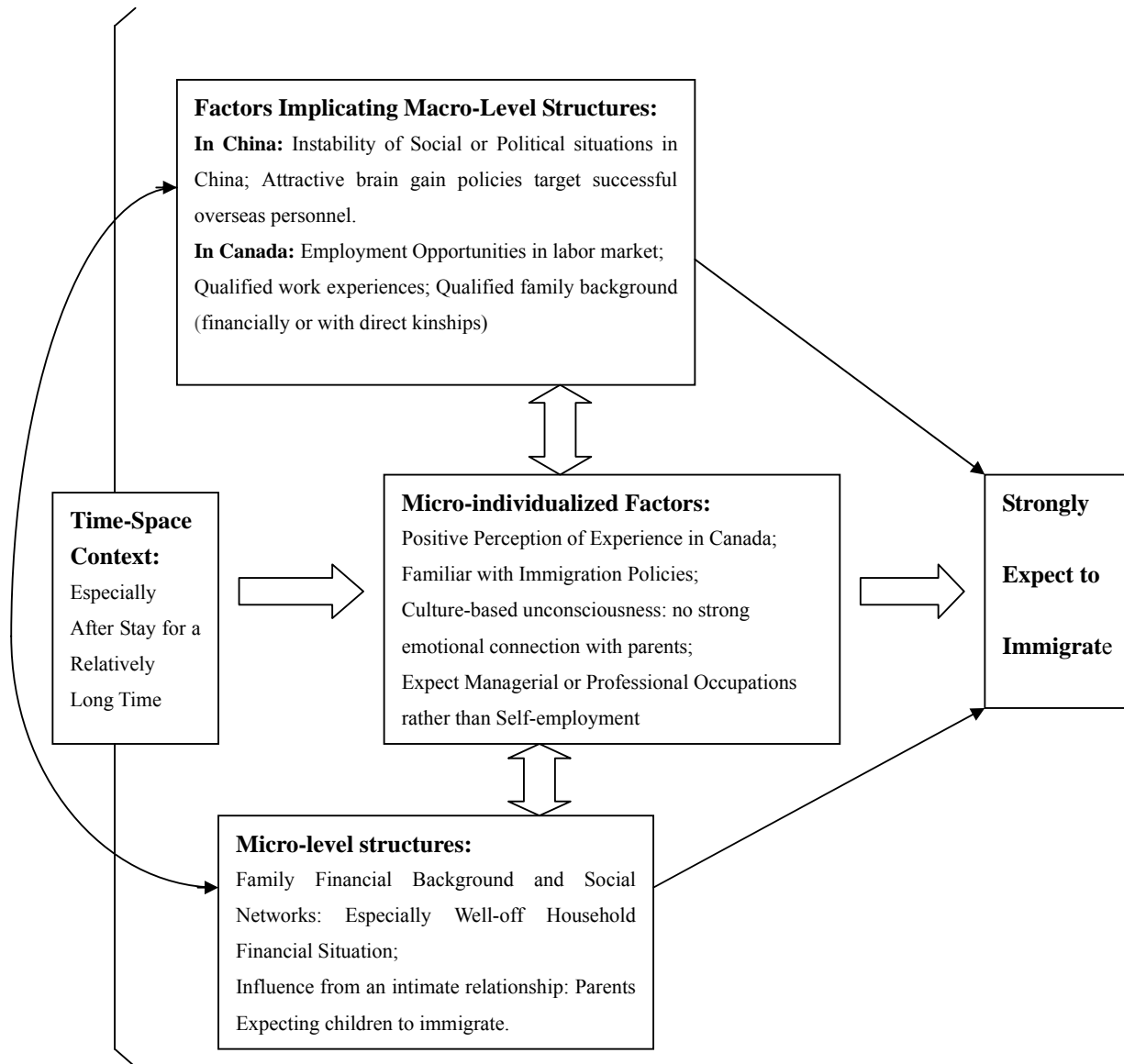
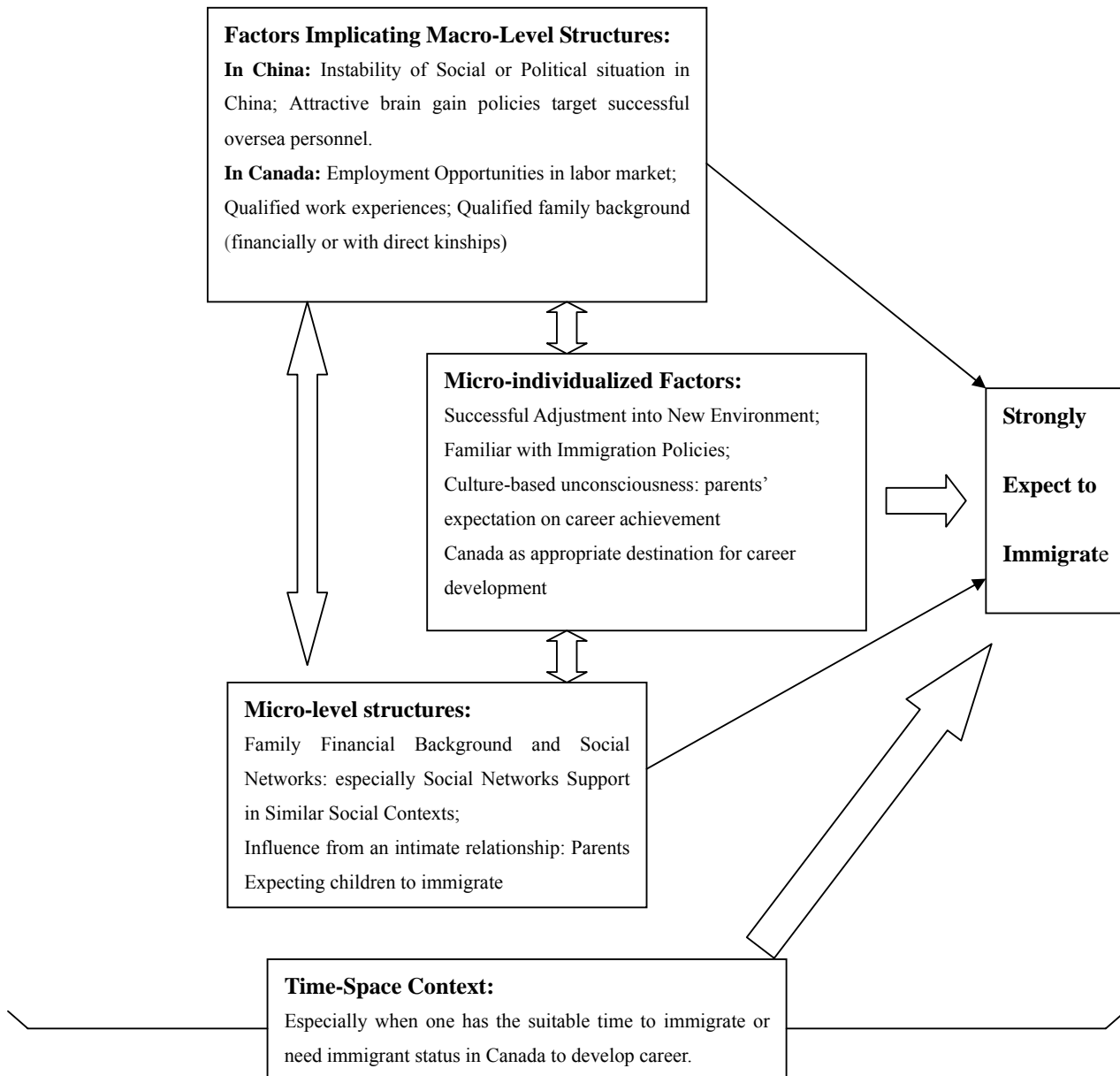


Figure 11: Framework of Migration Motivations of Chinese Male Students



discursive consciousness, practical consciousness, and unconsciousness. Most of the gender differences found in this study are rooted at unconsciousness level, but unconsciousness contributes more in girls' migration motivations than boys', because of girls' stronger emotional connection with family and more need for feelings of comfort and stability shown in their perceptions of experiences and adjustment process, while for boys, discursive consciousness contributes more in the formation of their migration motivations, based on their uses of strategies and career-oriented migration. However, the practical consciousness is important for both of them because they both attempt to draw upon a rationale for actions provided by rules and resources. Essentially, for both boys or girls, the formation of migration motivation is a process of social knowledge reflecting structures, and three levels of consciousness are all implicated in this process, although they are different in their levels of contribution.

The whole framework also implicates Giddens' "duality of structure" at the micro-agent level; both macro-level and micro-level structures can enable and constrain an agent's migration motivations by providing practical consciousness in social knowledge, and micro-individualized factors will lead to an agent's motivation through reproducing macro-level and micro-level structures by using discursive consciousness and implicating unconsciousness. Also, macro-level social structures and micro-level social factors are interrelated reciprocally.

Although according to Giddens, the practices and interactions of boys and girls are situated into the time-space context and stretch across time-space "distances"

(Giddens, 1984b, p.127). Time-space contextual factors still affect girls' and boys' migration motivations in different way. For girls, time-space contextual factors do not impact their migration motivations directly, but indirectly through their perceptions of experiences in Canada and knowledgeability of immigration policy. Girls' migration motivations more depend on their perceptions of experiences and familiarity of immigration policy. Additionally, their perceptions have to be formed within a durable time, and as well their degree of familiarity with immigration policies is increasing with longer time they stay in Canada. Therefore, for girls, time-space contextual factors are not explicit factors to impact their migration motivation directly, but they impact it implicitly during a process. For boys, time-space contextual factors impact their migration motivation directly. Additionally, boys are more goal-oriented on migration, so when is appropriate to achieve goals should be their concern.

The framework has provided the major factors leading to strong immigration intentions of Chinese undergraduate students. It is noticeable that there is a considerable group, about half of the respondents, reporting that they might immigrate to Canada, that is to say, half of the students have the intention to immigrate, but they still have to wait for sufficient conditions to make the final decision. Actually, the crucial factors based on survey have been listed in the framework, but it does not mean that all the factors on the list are necessary for each student who has the intention to immigrate, so they need to consider which factors are dominant for them to make the final decision, and that is why these Chinese students will have diverse reasons and choices on migration.

The high proportion of the “medium interest in immigration” group also implicates a change in potential Chinese immigrants. Although China is still a developing country with numbers of institutional and social problems in its society, its rapid economic development and opening market have created and are creating flourishing career opportunities day and night, especially for highly skilled workers, which make China become an attractive region in the world. Therefore, for most of the Chinese undergraduate students, returning China is still a positive choice, and it is also not surprising to see that 26 per cent of respondents report no interest in applying for citizenship even assuming they had immigrant status.

There are some limitations in this study. It takes Chinese undergraduate students at the University of Saskatchewan as a case to understand their migration motivations. Inevitably, it is difficult to generalize the conclusions of the entire Chinese undergraduate student population across Canada. However, it still contributes a relatively comprehensive framework for further studies at expansive level, in order to better understand their formation process of migration motivations, which is different than Chinese graduate students. It is hard to avoid another limitation in this study either, which is the instability of Chinese undergraduate students on their migration motivations during studying abroad. Therefore, in this study, time-space contextual factors are crucial in providing an understanding of their changing migration motivations in different time-space contexts. However, a larger sample size may contribute better understanding, and it can be assumed that the students who approach graduation may have more stable intentions on whether or not to immigrate.

Through this study, I would like to suggest that if these Chinese undergraduate students make a decision to immigrate to Canada, they would be confident in their adaptation into this society. First, they are not pushed out because of very poor conditions in China, so they may be more likely to make a decision on migration based on their willingness. Second, in terms of adaptation for girls, they want to stay mainly because they perceive Canada to be a good place to work and live based on their experience; for boys, they want to stay mainly because they perceive Canada as appropriate destination for their career development. Furthermore, most of them are between 18 and 25 years old, which are ages in which one forms independent worldviews and values. Accepting western education during this period should have a positive influence on their adaptation in Canadian society.

Therefore, this study is not only an empirical application of and examination of Giddens' Structuration Theory, but it also aims to generate more policy interests in Canada in international undergraduate students. They are not only beneficial for the internationalization of higher education or the stakeholders of the knowledge economy, but more importantly, they are also well-qualified potential immigrants in Canada.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Coefficient Correlations of the variables in Figure 2(a,b)

Model 2		Register year	Household financial situation	Parents' Opinion on Children' immigration	Familiarity Degree of Self-Assessment Test	Perception of experiences in Canada	If have family member as Temporary residents in NA	Length of Time in Canada	If have family members as Permanent Residents in NA
Correlations	Register year	1.000	-.087	.174	.150	-.303	-.125	-.115	-.592
	Household financial situation	-.087	1.000	-.148	-.034	.001	.217	.127	.070
	Parents' Opinion on Children' immigration	.174	-.148	1.000	-.010	-.174	-.310	-.078	-.077
	Familiarity Degree of Self-Assessment Test	.150	-.034	-.010	1.000	.017	.070	-.518	-.109
	Perception of experiences in Canada	-.303	.001	-.174	.017	1.000	-.155	-.109	.164
	If have family member as Temporary residents in NA	-.125	.217	-.310	.070	-.155	1.000	.010	-.028
	Length of Time in Canada	-.115	.127	-.078	-.518	-.109	.010	1.000	.178
	If have family members as Permanent Residents in NA	-.592	.070	-.077	-.109	.164	-.028	.178	1.000

- a. Selecting only cases for which sex = female
- b. Dependent Variable: Interests in Immigration

Appendix B: Coefficient Correlations of the Variables in Figure 3 (a,b)

Model 1		Register year	Household financial situation	Parents' Opinion on Children' immigration	Familiarity Degree of Self-Assessment Test	Perception of experiences in Canada	If have family member as Temporary residents in NA	Length of Time in Canada	If have family members as Permanent Residents in NA
Correlations	Register year	1.000	-.032	-.082	.006	.079	.049	-.395	-.041
	Household financial situation	-.032	1.000	.062	.137	-.188	.063	-.020	.038
	Parents' Opinion on Children' immigration	-.082	.062	1.000	.125	-.055	-.013	-.095	-.092
	Familiarity Degree of Self-Assessment Test	.006	.137	.125	1.000	-.089	.086	.050	-.192
	Perception of experiences in Canada	.079	-.188	-.055	-.089	1.000	.104	.200	-.201
	If have family member as Temporary residents in NA	.049	.063	-.013	.086	.104	1.000	.194	-.788
	Length of Time in Canada	-.395	-.020	-.095	.050	.200	.194	1.000	-.080
	If have family members as Permanent Residents in NA	-.041	.038	-.092	-.192	-.201	-.788	-.080	1.000

- a. Selecting only cases for which sex = male
- b. Dependent Variable: opinion on immigration

Appendix C: Coefficient Correlations of the Variables in Figure 4 (a,b)

Correlations	Have Chinese friends	Have Canadian friends	Homesick	Financial troubles	Register year	Volunteer & religious	Have friends from other countries	Make Chinese friends	English Use after class	Make Canadian friends	perception of experience in Canada	Make friends from other countries	Academic trouble	Leisure activities
Average of all courses	.085	.124	.195	-.005	-.164	-.215	.136	.108	.284	-.129	.216	-.096	-.240	-.234
Have Chinese friends	1.000	.230	-.039	-.064	.056	.021	.130	.054	.072	-.185	-.214	-.231	-.119	-.310
Have Canadian friends	.230	1.000	-.136	-.111	-.035	-.010	-.065	.040	-.016	-.035	-.111	-.374	-.070	-.341
Homesick	-.039	-.136	1.000	.167	.015	.152	.075	.213	.071	.193	.076	.080	-.262	.013
Financial troubles	-.064	-.111	.167	1.000	.052	-.007	.176	.188	-.155	-.121	.133	-.051	-.484	.033
Register year	.056	-.035	.015	.052	1.000	.070	.206	.434	-.087	-.086	-.481	-.123	-.208	-.257
volunteer & religious	.021	-.010	.152	-.007	.070	1.000	-.089	.111	-.229	.187	-.061	.018	-.020	-.162
Have friends from other countries	.130	-.065	.075	.176	.206	-.089	1.000	.248	.098	-.229	-.241	-.240	-.215	-.298
Make Chinese friends	.054	.040	.213	.188	.434	.111	.248	1.000	.015	-.099	-.361	-.209	-.327	-.292
English Use after class	.072	-.016	.071	-.155	-.087	-.229	.098	.015	1.000	-.242	.008	-.131	.193	-.233
Make Canadian friends	-.185	-.035	.193	-.121	-.086	.187	-.229	-.099	-.242	1.000	.101	-.183	.088	.394
Perception of experience in Canada	-.214	-.111	.076	.133	-.481	-.061	-.241	-.361	.008	.101	1.000	.118	.010	.255
Make friends from other countries	-.231	-.374	.080	-.051	-.123	.018	-.240	-.209	-.131	-.183	.118	1.000	.209	.205
Academic trouble	-.119	-.070	-.262	-.484	-.208	-.020	-.215	-.327	.193	.088	.010	.209	1.000	.179
Leisure activities	-.310	-.341	.013	.033	-.257	-.162	-.298	-.292	-.233	.394	.255	.205	.179	1.000

a. Selecting only cases for which sex = female, b. Dependent Variable: opinion on immigration

Appendix D: Coefficient Correlations of the Variables in Figure 5 (a, b)

Correlations	Average of all courses	Have friends from other countries	make Chinese friends	Homesick	Leisure activities	English Use after class	Financial troubles	Perception of experience in Canada	Have Chinese friends	Register year	Volunteer & religious	Make Canadian friends	Academic trouble	Have Canadian friends	Make friends from other countries
Average of all courses	1.000	-.001	-.027	.079	.176	.035	-.106	.161	-.049	.189	.149	.218	-.102	-.174	-.027
Have friends from other countries	-.001	1.000	.104	-.084	-.117	-.074	.015	-.027	-.240	-.046	.113	-.082	-.120	-.204	-.212
make Chinese friends	-.027	.104	1.000	-.166	-.154	.036	.144	-.002	-.027	.075	.014	-.028	-.059	.147	-.286
Homesick	.079	-.084	-.166	1.000	.195	-.041	.018	.134	.095	.187	-.044	.046	-.038	-.255	.266
Leisure activities	.176	-.117	-.154	.195	1.000	.041	.002	.026	.068	.071	-.235	.232	-.161	-.167	.083
English Use after class	.035	-.074	.036	-.041	.041	1.000	-.274	.196	.229	-.011	-.126	-.015	.147	-.250	-.203
Financial troubles	-.106	.015	.144	.018	.002	-.274	1.000	.014	-.139	-.013	-.066	.086	-.354	.239	-.038
Perception of experience in Canada	.161	-.027	-.002	.134	.026	.196	.014	1.000	-.018	.155	-.002	.026	.160	-.041	-.101
Have Chinese friends	-.049	-.240	-.027	.095	.068	.229	-.139	-.018	1.000	.116	-.176	.126	.124	-.055	-.016
Register year	.189	-.046	.075	.187	.071	-.011	-.013	.155	.116	1.000	.019	-.091	.123	-.057	.077
volunteer & religious	.149	.113	.014	-.044	-.235	-.126	-.066	-.002	-.176	.019	1.000	-.030	-.048	-.237	-.131
Make Canadian friends	.218	-.082	-.028	.046	.232	-.015	.086	.026	.126	-.091	-.030	1.000	.101	.083	-.412
Academic trouble	-.102	-.120	-.059	-.038	-.161	.147	-.354	.160	.124	.123	-.048	.101	1.000	.133	.002
Have Canadian friends	-.174	-.204	.147	-.255	-.167	-.250	.239	-.041	-.055	-.057	-.237	.083	.133	1.000	-.019
make friends from other countries	-.027	-.212	-.286	.266	.083	-.203	-.038	-.101	-.016	.077	-.131	-.412	.002	-.019	1.000

- a. Selecting only cases for which sex = male
 b. Dependent Variable: Interests in immigration

Appendix E: Questionnaire

A Survey of Chinese Students in the University of Saskatchewan, Canada, 2005

Dear Participant:

We are M.A. students in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan. As a part of our thesis research, we are now conducting a survey on Chinese students in the University of Saskatchewan. We are particularly interested in the factors that contributed to your decision to study abroad and the factors that contribute to your future plans. Your participation is important and will help us to understand how Chinese students establish themselves and achieve their goals in a structurally and culturally different society.

The questionnaire takes about 30 minutes to complete and your participation is voluntary. The survey is anonymous, so you can be assured that all information obtained from you will be used for statistical purposes only and your identity will not be known to anyone. In any future presentation or publication, only aggregate data will be reported. The data will be stored by the research supervisor for a minimum of five years after the completion of the study. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject participating in a study of this nature, you may call the Office of Research Services at the University of Saskatchewan at (306) 966-2084. For more information on the study itself or the results of the study, you can contact us or our supervisor Dr. Li Zong. The following are our mailing addresses and telephone numbers.

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Please complete the enclosed questionnaire. Completion of the survey will constitute your informed consent for participation in this research. You are free to withdraw from the study at anytime and if you do withdraw, your data will be destroyed. Please do not write your name or address. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated!

此调查以保护个人隐私为原则，仅为研究所用，不须署名，请认真填写。如有问题，请及时与研究员沟通。谢谢合作！ Please **circle** or **write down** your answer appropriately.

SECTION A: EXPERIENCES BEFORE COMING TO CANADA

A1. Who first raised the idea of studying abroad [是谁最先提出的出国这个想法]?

1. Father (Go to A3 and Skip A2)
2. Mother (Go to A3 and Skip A2)
3. Parents together (Go to A3 and Skip A2)
4. Myself (Go to A2)
5. My boyfriend/girlfriend/marital partner (Go to A2)
6. Others _____ (Go to A2)

A2. If your answer for Question A1 is your parents, or one of your parents, how was your first reaction when you heard this idea [如果是你父母先提出的这个想法，你的第一反应是什么]?

1. I agreed right away when I first heard the idea [我马上就同意了].
2. I was opposed at first, but then agreed with their persuasion [我最初反对，但经过劝服后我同意了].
3. I didn't agree right away, and even at the time I left for Canada I still felt as if I were forced to go abroad. [我没有马上同意，直到出发来加拿大之前我也不是很心甘情愿].
4. I didn't think about it much, or I couldn't decide at that time, so just followed my parents' idea. [我也没多想，或者我当时也不好决定，就按父母的想法做了].

A3. If your answer for Question A1 is **not** your parents, how was your parents' first reaction when they heard this idea? [如果不是你父母先提出的这个想法，他们听到这个想法时的第一反应是什么]

1. They both agreed right away when they first heard the idea [他们马上就同意了].
2. Only my father agreed right away when he first heard the idea [仅仅是我爸马上同意了].
3. Only my mother agreed right away when she first heard the idea [仅仅是我妈马上同意了].
4. They couldn't decide at first, but they agreed after consideration [最初决定不下来，但是经过考虑还是同意了].
5. They both opposed at first, but then agreed after consideration [最初都反对，但是后来经过考虑还是同意了].
6. They both opposed at first, and even at the time I left for Canada they still couldn't completely agree to let me go. [最初都反对，直到出发来加拿大之前他们也没完全同意].

A4. What were the major considerations you and/or your family had for letting you study abroad? Please pick **three** most important ones, and **rank** them.

1. There is too much competition to enter prestigious universities in China through University Entrance Examination [高考].
2. Studying abroad is my parents' long-time wish for me [父母长久以来对我的期望] and I am carrying it out.
3. Studying abroad can help me master a foreign language.
4. Studying abroad means more freedom and being more independent.
5. Studying abroad gives me the opportunity to immigrate in the future.
6. I was not satisfied with my working situation at that time, so I wanted to expand my career through studying abroad.
7. Studying abroad helps me get respect and recognition from others.
8. Studying abroad allows me to reunite with my relatives/marital partner/boyfriend/girlfriend.
9. Other _____

The first most important reason is: _____;

The second most important reason is: _____; The third most important reason is: _____

A5. When did you start preparing for studying abroad [什么时候开始为出国作准备]?

1. In Junior high school /Technical school [初中/技校]
2. During the first or second year at Senior high school/Secondary Specialized [高中/中专一、二年级]
3. During the third year at Senior high school/Secondary Specialized [高中/中专三年级]
4. After taking the University Entrance Examination but before entering any university or Higher Specialized school [高考以后，入大学以前] in China
5. During or just after undergraduate study or Higher Specialized School [大本、大专在学期间或大学刚刚毕业]
6. During or just after graduate study [国内研究生在学期间或研究生刚刚毕业]
7. During work [工作阶段]

A6. In deciding to study abroad, please name your top three countries of choice in order: #1 ____; #2 ____; #3 ____.

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Canada | 3. Europe | 5. Some Asian Countries |
| 2. The United States | 4. Australia/New Zealand | 6. Other, specify _____ |

A7. What factors did you or your family consider when choosing the country for studying abroad? [选择留学国家时你或你家人都考虑了哪些因素] Please pick **three** most important ones, and **rank** them.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Immigration country | 4. Chances of getting a student visa | 7. Living and study costs |
| 2. English-speaking country | 5. The prestige of that country's degree [学位] | 8. Others, specify _____ |
| 3. Reputation as a safe country | 6. Knowing someone lived or studied (living or studying) in that country | |

The first most important factor is: _____;

The second most important factor is: _____; The third most important factor is: _____

A8. If your first choice is not Canada in Question A6, which of the following is the most important factor that made you give up your initial country of choice? [请选最重要的一个]

1. Does not apply (My first choice is Canada in Question A6)
2. Non-immigration country or not easy to immigrate
3. More difficult to get a student visa in comparison to Canada
4. Higher living and study costs in comparison to Canada
5. Lower prestige of that country's degree [学位] in comparison to Canada
6. Non-English speaking country
7. Not knowing anyone lived or studied (living or studying) in that country
8. Poorer safety in comparison to Canada
9. Other, specify _____

A9. From where is the first time that you or your parents heard or learned about the *University of Saskatchewan*?

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. A teacher/friend/relative in China | 3. Study-abroad agency [中介公司] | 5. The Internet |
| 2. A teacher/friend/relative in Canada | 4. Education Fair | 6. Other _____ |

A10. By what means [通过什么渠道] did you apply for ESL program(s) or University(ies) before coming to Canada?

1. Mainly through a study-abroad agency [中介公司]
2. Mainly by myself or/and my parents

A11. By what means [通过什么渠道] did you apply for a student visa from the Canadian Embassy?

1. Mainly through a study-abroad agency. [中介公司]
2. Mainly by myself or/and my parents

A12. If you have ever used a study-abroad agency, how much did you or your family pay to the agency?

Approximately _____ yuan.

A13. If you have ever used a study-abroad agency, why did you do so? Please **circle** the most important reason.

1. My parents and I didn't know much about how to apply for studying abroad.
2. I had some knowledge of how to apply for studying abroad, but my English was not good enough to prepare all the materials.
3. I had some knowledge of how to apply for studying abroad, but my parents and I thought that it would be easier to get offers from ESL programs or Universities abroad through an agency.
4. I had some knowledge of how to apply for studying abroad, but my parents and I thought that it would be easier to get a visa through an agency.

A14. If you have ever used a study-abroad agency, how did you feel about the money you paid to the agency?

1. I didn't care about how much I paid, as long as they could arrange for me to study abroad.
2. I felt they made much more money than they deserved.
3. I felt the price was reasonable.
4. Other, specify _____

A15. Have you ever attended any English training program (e.g. New Oriental [新东方], etc) in China to prepare for **studying abroad** before you came to Canada [是否为出国而参加过英语培训]?

1. Yes, and how much did you spend on those program(s)? Approximately [大概] _____ yuan.
2. No

A16. Please indicate your **highest score** if you have taken any English proficiency test(s) [出国英语测试] **in China**.

1. TOEFL score: _____
2. IELTS score: _____
3. Other, name of the test: _____ and score: _____
4. Never take any English proficiency tests in China

A17. How much in total did you spend on the English exam(s) **in China**? Approximately [大概] _____ yuan.

A18. Please indicate your **highest score** if you have taken any English proficiency test(s) **in Canada**.

1. TOEFL score: _____
2. IELTS score: _____
3. Other, name of the exam: _____ and score: _____
4. Never take any English proficiency tests in Canada

A19. What is the **highest** level of education that you completed **in China**? [你在国内最高受教育程度] (Please circle)

1. Some or completed Junior high school /Technical [初中 / 技校]
2. Some Secondary Specialized [中专未毕业]
3. Completed Secondary Specialized [中专毕业]
4. Some Senior high school [高中未毕业]
5. Completed Senior high school/ [高中毕业]
6. Some Higher Specialized [大专未毕业]
7. Completed Higher Specialized or Certificate [大专毕业]
8. Some University [本科未毕业]
9. Completed University or Bachelor Degree [本科毕业]
10. Some graduate study [研究生未毕业]
11. Completed Master program or got Master Degree [研究生毕业]
12. Other (please specify _____)

A20. How was your academic standing in your class in China [你在国内班里成绩排名]? Please fill "x" in [].

	Not Apply	Top 5%	Not in top 5% But above average	Around Average	Below Average
a. Key-point high school/ Secondary Specialized [重点高中/重点中专]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. Non-key-point high school/ Secondary Specialized [非重点高中/中专]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. Key-point University/ Higher Specialized[重点高等院校]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. Non-key-point University/ Higher Specialized[非重点高等院校]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

A21. How was your final score on the University Entrance Examination [高考成绩]? 请尽量估计

1. I did not take the University Entrance Examination [高考] in China.
2. My score was above the cut-off line of key-point universities [达到重点大学本科录取线].
3. My score was above the cut-off line of non-key-point universities, but below the cut-off line of key-point universities [达到非重点大学本科录取分数线].
4. My score was above the cut-off line of higher specialized institutions, but below the cut-off line of non-key-point universities. [达到大专录取分数线].
5. My score was below all cut-off lines above. [没有达到大学或大专录取分数线]

SECTION B: EXPERIENCES IN CANADA

- B1. How old were you when you first came to study in Canada? _____
- B2. How long have you been in Canada? ____ year(s) _____ month(s)
- B3. How long have your parents supported you for your living expenses and study [生活和学习] in Canada?
_____years _____months.
- B4. How long do your parents plan to financially support your stay in Canada?
1. My parents will not financially support me to finish my undergraduate study.
 2. My parents will be my major financial source until I finish my undergraduate study.
 3. My parents will still be my major financial source if I want to complete my graduate education.
 4. My parents will still be my major financial source until I have a full-time job.
 5. My parents will still be my major financial source until I have my own family.
- B5. Do you own a car currently in Saskatoon? 1. Yes 2. No
- B6. About how much have you spent in an **average month** on each of the following in Canadian dollars?
1. Rent, mortgage, or residence payment. _____ Canadian dollars
 2. Clothing. _____ Canadian dollars
 3. Transportation. _____ Canadian dollars
 4. Leisure [休闲娱乐] _____ Canadian dollars
- B7. What are your financial sources right now? Please select as many as apply to you [可多选]and rank them if you have more than one.
1. From parents
 2. From marital partner/boyfriend/girlfriend
 3. From relatives
 4. Scholarship from the U of S
 5. Your own savings in China
 6. Earnings from work on-campus in Canada
 7. Earnings from work off-campus in Canada
 8. Funding from organizations or companies in China
- The first most important one _____;
The second most important one _____; The third most important one _____.
- B8. Have you ever lived with a host family [接待家庭]? 1. Yes (Go to B9) 2. No (Go to B11)
- B9. Have you moved out already or are you planning to move out from your host family [接待家庭]?
1. Yes (Go to B10) 2. No (Go to B11)
- B10. Why did you move out or why are you planning to move out from your host family? (可多选)
1. I don't like the food or not enough food
 2. I feel lonely at host family
 3. Host family didn't treat me well
 4. The costs are too high
 5. The location is too far from school
 6. I want to live with my friends
 7. Other, please specify _____
- B11. Among the people you know in Saskatoon, regardless of their age or nationality,
how many of them do you feel comfortable sharing your personal thoughts and feelings? _____

B12. During **last year**, how often did you engage in the following activities in Canada, on average? Please fill an “x” in the [].

	None	1-5 times	6-11times	1-3 times/month	1-6 times /week	almost everyday
a. Volunteer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Religious activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Play sports/fitness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Go to bar/pub	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Go for movies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Chinese restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Other restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Smoke cigarette	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Drink beer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B13. During **last year**, how often do you engage in the following activities in Canada?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3.Sometimes	4. Often	5. Very often
a. Watching English programs or shows on TV	1	2	3	4	5
b. Reading English newspapers or magazines	1	2	3	4	5
c. Speaking English after school	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing email in English	1	2	3	4	5
e. Visiting English websites	1	2	3	4	5
f. Answering or asking questions in English in class	1	2	3	4	5
g. Attending parties and social gatherings where there are many Canadians present	1	2	3	4	5

B14. Since being in Canada, how do you feel about the following adjustments?

	1. Not difficult	2. Somewhat difficult	3. Very difficult
a. Making friends with Chinese students	1	2	3
b. Making friends with other international students	1	2	3
c. Making friends with Canadian students	1	2	3
d. Understanding content/information presented in courses	1	2	3

B15. During the **past 6 months** in Canada, how often did the following matters bother [烦恼] you?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3.Sometimes	4. Often	5. Very often
a. Financial troubles	1	2	3	4	5
b. Academic performance or grades at school	1	2	3	4	5
c. Problems in getting along with others	1	2	3	4	5
d. Feelings of being homesick	1	2	3	4	5
e. Legal troubles [法律纠纷]	1	2	3	4	5
f. Health concerns (e.g. headache, lack of energy or sleep, etc)	1	2	3	4	5
g. Personal problems with my boy/girl friend or marital partner [个人感情问题]	1	2	3	4	5

B16. If you undergo the following difficulties, do you think you can get some help from your parents?

	1. Cannot get any help	2. Can get some help	3. Can get full help
a. Financial troubles	1	2	3
b. Academic performance or grades at school	1	2	3
c. Problems in getting along with others	1	2	3
d. Feelings of being homesick	1	2	3
e. Legal troubles [法律纠纷]	1	2	3
f. Personal problems with my boy/girl friend or marital partner [个人感情问题]	1	2	3

B17. On average, how often do you communicate with your parents?

1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. 2-3 times a month
4. Once a month
5. Less than once a month

B18. If you have some friends you can count on [信得过的朋友] in Saskatoon, how many of them are from China? ____; how many of them are local Canadians? ____

B19. Do you have a boy/girlfriend or marital partner? 1. Yes (Go to B20) 2. No (Go to B22)

B20. Where is your boy/girlfriend or marital partner right now?

1. In China
2. In Canada
3. In other countries except China and Canada

B21. What is the nationality [国籍] of your boy/girlfriend or marital partner? _____

B22. Whom do you prefer to live with as your roommates/housemates in Canada?

1. Chinese
2. Canadian
3. People from other countries

B23. How many times have you gone back to China since you first came to Canada? _____ times

B24. How many trips have you taken within Canada during last year? _____ times

B25. Have you decided your major? 1. Yes, specify _____. 2. No

B26. Did your parents expect you to major in a specific subject?

1. Yes, they strongly expected me to major in: _____
2. Yes, they suggested me to major in: _____
3. No, they let me decide it.
4. I am not sure about their expectations.

B27. Have you ever attended the ESL program at the U of S? 1. Yes. (Go to B28) 2. No (Go to B30)

B28. If you have attended the ESL at the U of S, what level were you in when you first entered the program? ____
(From B29 to B41 are the questions only for undergraduate students)

B29. Please indicate if you have repeated any level at ESL and specify the number of times you have repeated it.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. I never repeat any level | 4. Level 30, ____ times | 7. Level 50, ____ times |
| 2. Level 10, ____ times | 5. Level 40, ____ times | |
| 3. Level 20, ____ times | 6. Level 45, ____ times | |

B30. In what year are you currently registered? 1. 1st 2. 2nd 3. 3rd 4. 4th

B31. What type of program are you currently pursuing at the undergraduate level?

1. 3-year program
2. 4-year program
3. 4-year + minor program
4. 4-year honours program
5. Double honours program
6. Other, please specify _____

B32. How many credits have you obtained at the U of S (excluding transferred credits)? _____

B33. How many credits did you transfer from other universities? _____

- B34. Please list all the colleges you have registered for starting with the most recent [从你现在所注册的学院开始列举]:
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
- B35. Please list all the majors you have taken starting with the most recent [从你现在所注册的专业开始列举]:
 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
- B36. What is your overall average based on all the courses you have taken at the U of S? (请尽量估计)
 1. 90% or above
 2. 80% to 89%
 3. 70% to 79%
 4. 60% to 69%
 5. 50% to 59%
 6. Under 50%
- B37. How was your class attendance for the last school year (8 months) at the U of S?
 1. I have never missed classes
 2. I have missed classes 1-7 times in total
 3. I have missed classes at least once every month
 4. I have missed classes too many times to count
- B38. Have you had any full-time employment (including paid internship positions) in Canada?
 1. Never 2. Yes, but for less than 6 months 3. Yes, but for 6 months or more than 6 months
- B39. What kinds of part-time employment have you had on campus since you've been in Canada (可多选)?
 1. I have never worked part-time on campus
 2. Lab assistant/tutor
 3. Research assistant
 4. Teaching assistant
 5. Positions in library
 6. Positions in on-campus stores
 7. Interpreter/translator
 8. Other, please specify _____
- B40. What kinds of part-time employment have you had off campus since you've been in Canada (可多选)?
 1. I have never worked part-time off campus
 2. Newspaper delivery
 3. Chinese restaurants or stores
 4. Non-Chinese restaurants, stores, bars, pubs, etc.
 5. Baby-sitter
 6. Self-employment (own your own business)
 7. other, please specify _____
- B41. If you did or will work before finishing your undergraduate study in Canada, why did or will you do so?
 The first important reasons is _____; the second important reason is _____.
1. I will not work before finishing my undergraduate study in Canada.
 2. To pay most of my tuition
 3. To pay some of my tuition
 4. To pay most of my basic living expenses [基础生活费]
 5. To pay some of my basic living expenses [基础生活费]
 6. To make some pocket money [零花钱]
 7. To gain some work experience
 8. Other, specify _____

SECTION C: ASPIRATIONS

C1. What is the highest education level you want to achieve? (请尽量估计)

1. Bachelor's degree
2. Master's degree
3. Ph. D

C2. Which of the following are you most likely to do after finishing your undergraduate program?

My first choice is ____; My second choice is ____.

1. Study in a different subject at the undergraduate level
2. Pursue graduate studies at the U of S.
3. Pursue graduate studies at another Canadian university.
4. Pursue graduate studies at an institution outside Canada.
5. Hunt for a job, or self-employment.

C3. Where would you like to work after finishing your education?

My first choice is ____; My second choice is ____.

1. In Saskatoon or some other small or medium sized city in Canada (Go to C5)
2. In some big cities in Canada (Go to C5)
3. In the United States (Go to C5)
4. In China (Go to C4)
5. In other countries except Canada, the US, and China (Go to C5)

C4. Why would you like to work in China? Please pick the **3** most important reasons and **rank** them.

1. I have difficulty in adapting to the living conditions (e.g., food, weather, etc.) in Canada.
2. I feel difficult to integrate [融入] into the Canadian society.
3. I feel very lonely and helpless here.
4. I feel it's too difficult to communicate with others in English
5. I just want to gain some studying experience in Canada and would never want to work here.
6. I feel there are more career opportunities in China than in Canada
7. My parents want me to go back.
8. I want to be with my family (e.g., parents, marital partner, boyfriend, girlfriend, etc)
9. I have more people who can help me with my career development in China than in Canada.
10. Other, specify _____

The first most important reason is _____

The second most important reason is _____

The third most important reason is _____

C5. If you may go back to China to work someday, in which situation are you most likely to do so?

1. After I get my Bachelor's degree [本科学位]
2. After I get my Master's degree [硕士学位]
3. After I get my Ph. D degree [博士学位]
4. After I get some work experience in Canada
5. After I get my immigration status [移民身份] or citizenship [公民身份] in Canada
6. I never want to go back to China to work
7. Other _____

C6. What do your parents expect you to do after you finish your undergraduate program in Canada?

1. They expect me to study in a different subject at the undergraduate level
2. They expect me to pursue graduate studies in Canada
3. They expect me to pursue graduate studies at an institution outside Canada
4. They expect me to get a job in Canada
5. They expect me to get a job in China
6. They never mentioned anything regarding this matter.
7. Other, specify _____

- C7. What kind of job are you most likely to apply for after completing your education?
1. Professional (teacher, doctor, engineer, lawyer, accountant, etc)
 2. Managerial in business [企业管理]
 3. Administration [行政管理]
 4. Technical/trades (skilled) [技术员, 科研人员, 贸易销售人员, 等]
 5. White collar (semi-skilled) [秘书, 办事员, 图书管理员, 等]
 6. Self-employed [自己开公司]
 7. Other, specify _____
- C8. Did you have any paid employment [带薪水的工作] in China?
1. Never
 2. Yes, but it was less than a year
 3. Yes, but it was a year or more than a year
- C9. When did you first start thinking about applying for immigrant status in Canada [加拿大移民]?
1. Never thought about it
 2. Before I came to Canada
 3. During ESL
 4. During university in Canada
- C10. Have you heard that there will be a new policy for foreign students called “the off-campus work program” that will allow “foreign students at public post-secondary institutions to work off-campus while completing their studies,” according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada?
1. Yes
 2. No
- C11. If the new policy mentioned above is passed, how likely will you look for an off-campus job?
1. I am very interested in looking for an off-campus job.
 2. I think I will try but am not very interested in it.
 3. I am not interested in it at all.
- C12. If you apply for immigrant status [移民身份] in Canada, which approach are you most likely to take?
1. Skilled worker class immigration [技术移民]
 2. Business class immigration (Investors, Entrepreneurs, Self-employed persons) [投资移民]
 3. Family class immigration [家庭移民]
 4. Provincial nomination program [省内移民提名项目]
 5. I know little about this
- C13. Are you familiar with the “Skilled Worker Self-Assessment” test [技术移民自测], which gives you an idea of whether or not you will qualify for an immigrant status as a skilled worker?
1. I have never heard about the test.
 2. I have heard about the test, but never taken it.
 3. I took the test, but I did not meet the 67 pass mark [技术移民分数线]
 4. I took the test and my score was equal to or above the 67 pass mark. [技术移民分数线]
- C14. Are you familiar with The Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) [萨省移民提名项目] ?
1. I know nothing about it.
 2. I know a little about it.
 3. I know some parts of it, but not enough at all.
 4. I know much about it, because I am collecting immigration information for preparation.
 5. I know much about it, because I am applying for the permanent landed status through this program.
- C15. How much do you want to work in Saskatchewan after finishing your education?
1. Saskatchewan is my first choice for employment.
 2. My first choice is not Saskatchewan, but I will still look for jobs in Saskatchewan.
 3. I will not look for jobs in Saskatchewan at all.

C16. Which of the following statements best describes your own opinion about immigrating to Canada?

1. I strongly hope to obtain immigrant status in Canada.
2. I might apply for immigrant status in Canada.
3. I am not interested at all in obtaining immigrant status in Canada.
4. I have never thought about it

C17. Which of the following statements best describes your parents' opinion about you immigrating to Canada?

1. They strongly encourage me to immigrate to Canada
2. They expect me to immigrate to Canada, but they will still respect whatever decision I make.
3. They don't want me to immigrate to Canada, but they will still respect whatever decision I make
4. They show strong objection about me immigrating to Canada
5. They don't have a clear opinion, and it's all up to me to decide about my immigration to Canada
6. They have never talked to me about it

C18. If you become an immigrant of Canada, how likely will you apply for Canadian citizenship [公民]?

1. For sure
2. Very likely
3. Likely
4. Unlikely
5. For sure not

C19. Please rate the following statements using:

	1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Agree	4. Strongly agree
a. I have been treated fairly in class by my instructors.	1	2	3	4
b. I have not experienced any form of racism or discrimination as an international student in Canada.	1	2	3	4
c. I am satisfied with the decision to attend the U of S	1	2	3	4
d. I am satisfied with the decision to study in Canada				
e. Based on my experiences, I would recommend that other Chinese students study in Canada	1	2	3	4

C20. How well did you know the following information before coming to Canada?

	1. Almost nothing	2. A little	3. Some	4. A lot
a. Academic programs offered by the U of S	1	2	3	4
b. Tuition for international students at the U of S	1	2	3	4
c. Living cost in Saskatoon	1	2	3	4

Section D: Please Tell Us about Yourself

D1. How old were you on September 1, 2005? _____

D2. Gender: 1. Male 2. Female

D3. Are you the only child of your parents? [独生子女] 1. Yes. 2. No.

D4. What type of area did you live in for the longest time before you came to Canada?

1. Rural [农村地区]
2. Urban [城/镇], please specify the name of the city _____

D5. Do you have any family members or relatives who have ever stayed or studied in Canada or the United States for more than one year? 1. Yes, specify _____ 2. No

D6. Do you have any family members or relatives who have permanent residence status [移民身份] or citizenship [公民身份] in Canada or the United States? 1. Yes, specify _____ 2. No

D7. What is your marital status?

1. Single, never married
2. Married
3. Common-law (living with my partner) [同居]
4. Separated/Divorced
5. Other _____

- D8. What is your parents' marital status?
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---|
| 1. Married | 3. Divorced | 5. Other _____ (Never married/Don't know) |
| 2. Separated | 4. Widowed | |

- D9. What are your parents' current occupations [父母职业]? If he/she is retired or passed-away, please "x" the last job he/she had.

	Father	Mother
1. Business owner or private entrepreneur [个体户, 私营企业家]	[]	[]
2. Company manager, director or supervisor [公司管理人员—经理, 厂长, 主管]	[]	[]
3. High-ranking cadre [高干]	[]	[]
4. Middle-ranking cadre [中层干部]	[]	[]
5. Government functionary [机关职员]	[]	[]
6. Worker/staff in commerce or the service sector (restaurant, hotel, store, travel agency, etc.) [商业或服务部门员工]	[]	[]
7. Clerk (office worker, secretary, bookkeeper, etc.) [办事员, 秘书, 记账员]	[]	[]
8. Scientific research personnel [科研人员]	[]	[]
9. Professional (doctor, engineer, lawyer, accountant, etc.) [专业人士: 医生, 工程师, 律师, 会计师, 等]	[]	[]
10. Technician [技术员]	[]	[]
11. Junior or senior high school teacher [初, 高中老师]	[]	[]
12. Primary or kindergarten teacher [小学或幼儿园老师]	[]	[]
13. College or university teacher [高等院校老师]	[]	[]
14. Military personnel: soldier [士兵]	[]	[]
15. Military personnel: officer [军官]	[]	[]
16. Unskilled factory worker [工厂非技术工人]	[]	[]
17. Skilled factory worker [工厂技术工人]	[]	[]
18. Nurse [护士]	[]	[]
19. Peasant [农民]	[]	[]
20. Unemployed [失业或下岗]	[]	[]
21. Other (please specify) [其它]	_____	_____

- D10. What's the **highest** level of your parents' education [父母教育程度]? Please put an "x" in the [].

	Father	Mother
1. No schooling	[]	[]
2. Elementary school [小学]	[]	[]
3. Junior high school/Technical school [初中/技校]	[]	[]
4. Senior high school/Secondary Specialized [高中/中专]	[]	[]
5. Higher specialized [大专]	[]	[]
6. University/College [本科]	[]	[]
7. Graduate institution [研究生]	[]	[]
8. Other (please specify) [其它]:	_____	_____

- D11. In comparison with other people of your own age in China, your family's financial situation [家庭经济状况] is:

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Wealthy [非常富有] | 2. Well-off [一般富有] | 3. Comfortable [中上等生活水平] |
| 4. Adequate [中等生活水平] | 5. Difficult [中下等生活水平] | 6. Poor [底层生活水平] |

- D12. Do your parents often use a car as transportation? [可多选]

1. No, my parents do not own a car [私家车] in China
2. Yes, my parents own at least one car [私家车] in China
3. Yes, at least one of my parents can use a car which belongs to his/her work unit [公家车]

D13. In which of the following groups is your parents' average monthly income [月收入] from all sources in recent 5 years? [请尽量估计]

		Father	Mother
1. Less than 1,000	yuan	[]	[]
2. 1,001 – 2,000	yuan	[]	[]
3. 2,001 – 4,000	yuan	[]	[]
4. 4,001 – 6,000	yuan	[]	[]
5. 6,001 – 8,000	yuan	[]	[]
6. 8,001 – 10,000	yuan	[]	[]
7. 10,001 – 15,000	yuan	[]	[]
8. 15,001 – 20,000	yuan	[]	[]
9. Above 20,000	yuan	[]	[]

D14. What is the current market value of all the dwellings [总共有房产] belonging to you and your parents? [请尽量估计]

1. Less than 400,000 yuan [少于 40 万人民币]
2. 400,001 – 700,000 yuan [40 万-70 万人民币]
3. 700,001 – 1,000,000 yuan [70 万-100 万人民币]
4. 1,000,001 – 5,000,000 yuan [100 万- 500 万人民币]
5. 5,000,001 – 10,000,000 yuan [500 万- 1000 万人民币]
6. More than 10,000,000 yuan [多于 1000 万人民币]

B29. Please circle what you are most likely to do after finishing your ESL program (**the question only for ESL students**):

1. Enter the undergraduate program at the U of S
 2. Enter the graduate program at the U of S
 3. Enter the undergraduate program in another institution in Canada.
 4. Enter the graduate program in another institution in Canada.
 5. Pursue undergraduate studies in countries outside Canada.
 6. Pursue graduate studies in countries outside Canada.
 7. Go back to China
 8. Look for a job in Canada
- Other _____

Thank you for participating in this survey! Please return the questionnaire to the researcher.

万分感谢!