

DIGITAL VISUALIZATION OF TRANSNATIONALISM: MAPPING HISTORICAL
MIGRATION OF HONG KONG MIGRANTS IN CANADA DURING THE HANDOVER OF
HONG KONG PERIOD

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Humanities Computing
University of Alberta

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Abstract

Human migration is a global phenomenon driven by two factors: individual needs or desires, and changes in the economics and politics in the society from which the migration stems. Human migration usually involves people crossing international borders, but the impact is often felt locally, in the economy, and in social, political, and cultural spheres. During the 1980s and 90s, Hong Kong Chinese went through a mass migration wave to western countries. The migration was strongest during the period of the handover of Hong Kong, and a primary destination was Canada. The purpose of this research is to map a migration wave from Hong Kong to Canada and back to Hong Kong during two crucial periods: 1984, when the handover decision was made; and 1997, the lead-up to when Britain handed political control of Hong Kong to China. The other purpose of this research is to gain insight into the factors that reflect these migration trends. The project involves digital technology, specifically a quantum geographic information system (QGIS), to capture the nodal Hong Kong migrant patterns in Canada by destination, gender, age group, and immigration class. The thesis will address neo-institutionalism; social identity; transnationalism; sense of place; the strong relationship between transnational space, changing institutions, cultural identity values and conflicts; and the transition of the affective sense of place that impacts the motivations and practices of Hong Kong Chinese migrants. This study is part of a body of research on transnational migration that crosses national borders, and uses large-scale data to visualize the relationship networks between the place of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada), and spatial distribution of immigration into Canada.

Acknowledgements

Without the support of many people, this thesis would not have access to a success.

I would first like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Maureen Engel of the Department of Humanities Computing at the University of Alberta, who steered me in the right the direction when I encountered a trouble or had a question and who gave me lots of useful comments on my research and writing. Her guidance and supervision helped me how to pursue an academic career and be a good digital humanist.

I would also like to thank Dr. Jennifer Hsu of the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta as the second reader of this thesis, and I am grateful for her very valuable comments on this thesis.

I would also like to acknowledge one of my committee members Dr. Harvey Quamen of the Department of English and Film Studies and the Department of Humanities Computing at the University of Alberta, who served as the arm's-length examiner for my thesis defense.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents, Debby Waldman of the Student Success Center, and my friends, especially Rachel Osolen and Yilin Zheng, for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement during the process of writing this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

Acronyms

Alta.

B.C.

Man.

Nfld.

N.S.

N.W.T.

Ont.

P.E.I.

Que.

Sask.

Definition

Alberta

British Columbia

Manitoba

Newfoundland

Nova Scotia

North West Territories

Ontario

Prince Edward Island

Quebec.

Saskatchewan

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Context and Statement

Human migration has occurred since ancient times. People have moved from one place to another, transforming themselves from natives in one place to aliens in another, from established citizens to new settlers. Sometimes migrants intended to settle only temporarily, other times they were moving internally, within their own country, but to a different region. Human movement can involve individuals, families, or large groups of people. The movement always marks a turning point in the development of a society. Migrants retain and reconstruct their identities and practices. Skeldon (1994) uses two words to define the movement of people experiencing transnational migration. One is “diaspora,” a form of exile, which refers to religious or national groups and involves a dispersal due to an historic migration out of a homeland. The other term is “sojourners,” used to describe people who are only temporarily away from their homelands and who continuously think of returning. This thesis will use the word “diaspora” to describe Hong Kong migrants who decided to become permanent residents in other countries and formed a Chinese community in those receiving countries. The word “sojourners” will be used to describe those Hong Kong Chinese with foreign passports who continuously thought of returning to Hong Kong during the handover period.

People witness and experience large-scale transnational movements during the periods of social transformation. This thesis will explore the extent to which people perceive the trends of culture, history, space, self, and the symbolic life of two or more social worlds that transcends the national boundaries (Li, Jowett, Findlay, and Skeldon, 1994). Human migration continue to be an important issue that influences human society and transforms communities of origin and destination. In turn a population’s mobility is also driven largely by relationships between individual and social transitions. The complexity of human migration is that human actions and behaviors are not only being “structured” but are also “structuring”. In short, both are changing each other (Giddens, 1984). Migrants’ beliefs, identities, and behaviors are being “structured”: formed and reformed across changing time and space. Meanwhile, as a group, they are producing and reproducing their collective beliefs and social systems, which is a form of “structuring”. It is

well known that human migration from one place to another is no longer a one-way passage (Preston, Kobayashi, and Man, 2004). In terms of Hong Kong Chinese migration waves, recent research (for example, Kobayashi and Preston, 2007; Salaff and Greve, 2001) has already used a psychological perspective to focus on different spheres of transnational practices of international migration (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007). Kobayashi and Preston and Salaff and Greve have examined how a person's life course, "a series of stages and transitions in life which are culturally and institutionally framed from birth to death" (Heinz and Kruger, 2001, p.33), structures his or her transnational migration. These researchers have also studied the way in which migrants choose a dynamic set of transnational practices including "migration and relocation that separate and reunite them in diverse configurations" (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007) through their lives. The complexity of Hong Kong migrants' practices and motivations throughout the process of transnational migration can be studied based on historical and institutional patterns (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010) and based on the role that cultural identity plays for Hong Kong Chinese (Sussman, 2011), as well as the nature of Chinese society (Skeldon, 1994). In a conclusion, that transition of life experiences triggers their decisions to migrate.

The thesis argues that a combination of macro level factors (geo-political, economic, social) and micro level factors (family ties, identities, sense of place, personal connections) contributed to the patterns of Hong Kong migration; the maps and visualization, along with interview data from other researchers and newspapers, visualizes the trends of migration process and the driving forces that were responsible for these trends.

The study is designed to help readers better understand the factors that influenced Hong Kong migrants and the decision-making that took place as they chose to immigrate first to Canada and then back to Hong Kong. The goal of the present study is to visualize human migration using a case study of Hong Kong migration to Canada during the handover, especially between 1984 and 1997. In 1984, the British government agreed to return Hong Kong to China. The lead-up to and actual handover took place in 1997. The study will rely on large-scale data and use a digital approach to investigate the spatial distribution of migration. The goal is to contribute to figuring out the migration experience of Hong Kong Chinese, and the factors that reflect these trends in migrations waves. Two main factors influenced the Hong Kong migrants' behaviors. The macro level factors are social, cultural and historical experiences. Micro level

factors arise from each migrants' individual experience. This study will use Hong Kong migration to show the visualization of human movements, the creation and transition of kinship networks, and clarify the meanings of place.

The study uses a quantum geographic information system (QGIS). QGIS technology is a technological application software that supports data viewing, editing, and analysis. Applying QGIS technology makes it possible to capture the nodal Hong Kong migrant patterns in Canada by gender, age group, and immigration class, and thus gain insight into the strong relationships between transnational space, cultural values, and identity complexity, as well as the transition of the affective sense of place. To visualize the relationship networks between the spaces of Hong Kong and Canada, one should use large-scale data to look at the spatial distribution of migration from Hong Kong to Canada.

Researchers (for example, Kobayashi and Preston, 2007; Ley and Kobayashi, 2005;...) have examined various crucial dimensions of Hong Kong's development, including Hong Kong Chinese political and institutional anxieties about being governed by Communist China, the domestic immigration policies implemented by the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR), the booming property market, the changing Asian economy. Researchers have also studied the way in which the new China created economic opportunities and affected the quality of daily life in Hong Kong during the transition process when Hong Kong was handed over to China. These studies also looked at the implications for the international community, and the transitional factors associated with the trends of migration from Hong Kong to Canada. Though this study focuses on Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong in Canada, the original contribution of an investigation of human migration at this level is that it will lead to a more complete understanding of the impacts of various factors such as transnational space, institutions, cognitive meanings, the complexity of social and ethnic identities, and the transition of an affective sense of place, based on the migration process of different categories of people according to gender, age group, and immigration class.

1.2 Historical Background of Migration from Hong Kong

1.2.1 A Tradition of Immigration within Hong Kong

Wickberg (1994, p. 68) writes that "the Chinese are among the world's great migration peoples." Indeed, one of the characteristics of the formation of the nation of China is mobility.

The phenomenon of immigration from other places into Hong Kong and emigration out of Hong Kong is not new for this island, and Hong Kong has had a tradition of immigration since the mid-19th century, which means that Hong Kong is a mobile society in space (Skeldon, 1994).

From 1841 to 1984, the British officials became the colonial administrators of Hong Kong. Hong Kong was first occupied and controlled by the British in 1841 after the First Opium War (also as known as the Anglo-Chinese War), when the Chinese government signed the Nanking Treaty. The treaty granted the British Hong Kong and five ports in China. In May of 1841, the Chinese population of Hong Kong was only 7,450 according to the statistics published by British administrators (Bridgman, 1841). By March of 1842, the numbers had nearly doubled to an estimated 12,361 (Carr, 1842). By late 1851, the population had increased to 32,983 (Bonham, 1852). The rapid growth resulted from migration from mainland China, mainly from Guangdong province. Most of these emigrants were craftsmen, petty dealers, famers, or vagrants. Emigrants also included outlaws and people who provided service for British armies (Xu, 1993). Starting out as a fishing village, Hong Kong later became an important economic port for the opium trade in the mid-19th century, and evolved into an international financial center connecting China with Southeast Asia. Also, China had experienced a period of continuous wars, enduring impoverishment, and long-standing depression in its modern history. The residents principally from the coastal areas of southern China preferred to immigrate into Hong Kong rather than live through wars. Skeldon (1994, p. 22) points out that “Hong Kong is very much the product of migration and may therefore have a substantial population that has only superficial roots in the territory.” In other words, only a small percentage of the total population is native to Hong Kong.

During the World War II, between 1939 and 1945, Hong Kong’s population grew rapidly as a result of migration from mainland China. The Chinese were fleeing because the Japanese army had occupied their country. As a result, the economy of mainland China collapsed, leading to high unemployment and social unrest. Hong Kong accepted thousands of refugees. However, Hong Kong also suffered the economic recession and social unrest during the war. Many of the Chinese who had come from the mainland returned to their own country because they had family in China during the war. Others returned after, once the Japanese had surrendered. This is a good illustration of the backwards-and-forwards migration between Hong Kong and China and how Hong Kong’s population is affected by China’s political, economic, and social circumstances. In this context, self-motivation and the global phenomenon mainly result in the fluctuations of

population of Hong Kong. Between 1945 and 1949, there was a civil war between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party (Kuo Min Tang). Again, thousands of refugees emigrated from mainland China to Hong Kong. When Communist China was founded in 1949, the international trade between Southeast Asia and China ceased. This had a great impact on the change in Hong Kong's economy. Hong Kong became a manufacturing city instead of the port city for the trade. Hong Kong did not have the human resources to supply the new manufacturing economy. The new manufacturing economy attracted skills and resources from mainland China. This was necessary, because Hong Kong did not have the human resources to supply the necessary workforce. The influx of people from mainland China once again increased Hong Kong's population. This is a good illustration of how Hong Kong's economic needs affect its relationship with China and the size of its population.

During the late 1970s, Hong Kong experienced a last great wave of migration due to Chinese economic reform. Chinese economic reform, which was introduced in 1978 by "reformists" (Dahlman and Aubert, 2001) in the Communist Party of China under Deng Xiaoping, was known as "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" (Dahlman and Aubert, 2001). During the 1970s, Deng Xiaoping initiated an ambitious program of economic reforms aimed at rapid urbanization and economic growth in China so that there was an increase in the demand for labor in cities and restrictions on migration were reduced. These restrictions primarily affected internal migration, but Deng's program also opened up the border between Hong Kong and China, as he was looking forward to the lead-up to the handover of Hong Kong, and wanted to ensure that mainland Chinese had a foothold in Hong Kong's economy. Because of Deng's program, a large number of mainland Chinese moved to Hong Kong. Hong Kong has been renowned as a great trade and financial center in East Asia; it is like a bridge linking the West to China. And also, Chinese people found it could be easier to move internally due to the policies. Hong Kong's population reached nearly five million by 1981. After that, both British and Chinese authorities controlled the numbers of immigrants to around 27,000 per year in Hong Kong. Most of these immigrants were dependents of people already in Hong Kong (Skeldon, 1994). In 1991, statistics (Supplementary Enquiry and General Household Survey 1991) showed that around 310,000 Chinese children had parents who lived in Hong Kong. These children remained in China with other relatives, but eventually they, too, moved to Hong Kong.

Because Hong Kong has a tradition of immigration, it is reasonable to think that there is a clearly established trend of a backwards-and-forwards migration between Hong Kong and China. As Skeldon (1994, p. 23) writes, “Hong Kong, with its tradition of immigration, might thus be expected to have a population more susceptible to further migration than an area with a long-established and fairly stable population.”

1.2.2 A Tradition of Emigration: Mass Migration Waves from Hong Kong

The term “emigration” is defined as the practice and behavior of officially applying to leave one’s original place of residence to other boundaries of the receiving places (Baker, 1994). Human migration is a global phenomenon driven by individual needs and desires, and changes in a society’s economics and politics. The nature of migration in Hong Kong and the British colonization of Hong Kong led to Chinese people emigrating overseas in the early stage of British colonization. The strongest waves of emigration occurred between 1868-1939, when more than six million Chinese left Hong Kong (Skeldon, 1994). Those emigrants used Hong Kong’s geographical advantages as one of the most critical foreign ports in East Asia and became the “old” overseas Chinese.

The first emigrants out of China, in the late 1800s, were mostly men, uneducated, and unskilled laborers. Most went to the UK. Because they did not have marketable skills, they did what came naturally: they cooked, and opened Chinese restaurants. And then as their predecessors, many migrants who left China in the mid-1900s traveled abroad and were continuing the Chinese business that had been established during the post-World War I period (Baker, 1994; Akilli, 2003). Eventually their wives and children joined them and helped run the family businesses.

There is a close relationship between international immigration politics and the direction of waves of immigration. After the 1950s, the number of migrants from Hong Kong to Britain decreased: there was a recession in the UK, and the Chinese restaurant business was not growing. Also, the UK imposed restrictions on immigration. At the same time, other western countries including Australia, Canada, the United States, and New Zealand, began to abandon racial restrictions as a policy in their immigration regulations. The new immigration policies also resulted in a change in direction of the flow of migration. Hence, “new” overseas Chinese began to move to North America and Australia due to friendly immigration policies.

With the rapid development of the global economy, Hong Kong, as a developed region in East Asia, experienced a mass migration wave during the sovereignty transfer period of 1984-1997 as a result of the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed in 1984. Both the PRC and UK governments agreed to return Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty. What intensified the emigration wave to the western world were the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 in Beijing. The protests were also known as the June Fourth Incident or the 89 Democracy Movement. The protests were triggered by some liberal reformers and led by the university students in Beijing calling for “government accountability, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the restoration of workers’ control over industry” (Nathan, 2010). In order to crack down on an anti-government march and maintain political stability, which was growing increasingly difficult with students gathered in Tiananmen Square, the Chinese Communist Party authority resolved to use force. In the aftermath of the crackdown (Skeldon, 1994), the use of force led to casualties. The PRC government arrested several key protesters and supporters. Even though Tiananmen Square took place in mainland China, it had repercussions in Hong Kong: it confirmed the fears that many Hong Kong Chinese had about coming under mainland China’s rule, and resulted in yet another instance of Hong Kong Chinese migrating to the West. Tiananmen Square, combined with the impending handover of Hong Kong, led to a mass migration to the West in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At the beginning of the handover during the early 1980s, Deng Xiaoping put forward the “One Country, Two Systems” formula for the reunification of Hong Kong with the PRC. Before the handover, Hong Kong and China had different political and economic systems. Hong Kong had its own capitalist economic and political systems under the British rule, while China followed socialist economic and political systems. Under the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, the Chinese government pledged to allow Hong Kong to retain its own economic, social, and political systems. Hong Kong became a SAR of the PRC with a high degree of autonomy over its internal affairs except for several important issues such as the right to vote, foreign affairs, and military operations, which would be under Chinese control. It is not surprising that many Hong Kong citizens feared sovereignty: they did not trust the Chinese government, and they understood that the “One Country, Two Systems” policy still meant that China would control over their lives.

It is estimated that the population of Hong Kong emigrants moving overseas increased from 20,000 per annum in the early 1980s to more than 60,000 by 1990 (Skeldon, 1994). During that

time the increase in Hong Kong's population was around 700,000. The figures rose steadily until the handover ceremony of Hong Kong in 1997 approached. Between one-third and one-quarter of the total numbers of Hong Kong migrants were elite in terms of education, skills, wealth, and could be classified as "professional, technical, administrative and managerial" workers (Skeldon, 1994, p. 31). The majority were working age and owned substantial property. The migrants had sufficient capability to immigrate into destination countries, and even the Central People's Government in Hong Kong encouraged other countries to provide visas or passports for Hong Kong Chinese.

Skeldon (1994) explains that Hong Kong Chinese were not sure about the political stability of their "new" country and whether democracy could be achieved. In short, they did not actually know what was their motivation for migrating. Skeldon (1994) calls this "ante-facto rationalization":

In the analysis of migration-related data, one of the major problems that researchers have to face in trying to explain why people move is post-facto rationalization; that is, people justify their migration on the basis of what has occurred since their movement, and it is extremely difficult to discern either what their reasoning or what their situation was during the lead-up to their decision to migrate. In examining the migration from Hong Kong, researchers face a very different phenomenon: ante-facto rationalization. (p. 3)

1.2.3 Hong Kong Migration to Canada

The history of immigration to Canada goes back to even before the Dominion of Canada was founded in 1867, and early immigrants to Canada came mostly from Europe such as France, Britain, Ireland, and Scotland. The incorporation of immigrants into Canada contributed significantly to Canada's economy and culture and as such has played an important role in enriching the country's multicultural identity. Indeed, multiculturalism has become a major characteristic of contemporary Canadian society.

The first Chinese settled in Canada in the mid-1800s, lured by the Gold Rush. The next wave came in the late 1800s to build railroads. These early immigrants came primarily from the Guangdong Province in south China (Library and Archives Canada, 2009). They were Cantonese speakers, and they did not speak English and were not highly educated. The number of Chinese in Canada remained relatively small throughout the first part of the 20th century, in large part

because of racist immigration policies. Before the pre-World War I period, most immigrants were selected depending on race and their close ties to northern Europe. The Chinese Immigration Act, or Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 restricted the number of immigrants who could settle in Canada (Johnson and Lary, 1994). This act applied to all the Chinese immigrants that they could not come to Canada even with British passport. However, after World War II, several things happened to make it easier for Chinese immigrants to come to Canada. One was improvements in transportation, both by sea and air. The other was that in 1947, the Government of Canada repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, in recognition of the contributions that Chinese Canadians made during World War II. This also benefitted Canada's labor market: new jobs were being created in the area of technology, and immigrants were needed to fill them and keep the economy growing. The new immigration policies that welcomed the working class of migrants played a leading role in efforts to absorb Chinese migrants comfortably into Canadian society. From the mid-1950s to 1960s, the total number of immigrants of Chinese origin was more than 20,000 and around 66% of those immigrants were from Hong Kong (Huang, 1996). However, according to the statistics, the number of immigrants from Asia to Canada was only about 3,000 per year during that period. The Hong Kong immigrants made significant, positive contributions to Canadian society. In January 1962, Canada passed a new immigration act that virtually eliminated racial discrimination. In this way, Canada opened its doors to immigrants from regions other than Europe and welcomed non-whites come in the country (McIntyre, 2001). The new act was followed by the Points System legislations of 1967 that aimed to remove all discrimination and prejudice against immigrants. This legislation remains the basis of Canadian immigration law today. It classified immigrants based on three categories, and also took into consideration language level and working skills (McIntyre, 2001). The categories were:

...economic immigrants selected for the contributions they could make to the Canadian economy through a points system; dependants or family class immigrants joining relatives already in Canada and sponsored by them; and refugees taken into Canada on humanitarian grounds. (Johnson and Lary, 1994, p. 88)

The Point Systems legislation increased the annual number of Hong Kong immigrants to more than 10,000 between 1973 and 1976 (Huang, 1996), after which there was a drop-off until the mid-1980s.

The greatest wave of migration from Hong Kong to Canada occurred between the mid-1980s and late 1990s, during the handover-of-Hong-Kong period. During that period, Hong Kong citizens could not imagine the future of Hong Kong, and many decided to leave and settle in other places. Canada became the most attractive destination due to its multicultural identity and fairly open immigration policies. Canada received more than half of the total emigrants from Hong Kong, an estimated 314,792 people from 1984 to 1996 (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). Since the late 1990s, the total number of Hong Kong immigrants to Canada has been more than double that of the second most popular destination, the United States.

Some Hong Kong Canadians returned to Hong Kong and settled in the territory during this period, but the census data on the pattern of return migration is limited. According to the estimation of return migration to Hong Kong that was reported by Fong (2012, p. 31), roughly 14.7 percent of Hong Kong Chinese who arrived in Canada between 1981 and 1990 eventually returned to Hong Kong. The number of Hong Kong Chinese who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1995 and eventually returned to Hong Kong is much higher: 27.2 percent. The thesis will not focus on these particular instances because information about these time periods is limited. When “return migration” is mentioned in this thesis, it refers to the broader concept.

1.3 The Role of Digital Mapping in the Study of Hong Kong Migration

One approach to interpreting the motivation for migration is to map the migration waves using computational tools, which can reflect an individual’s personality and world-view (Fielding, 1992) from a different angle. This case study adopts QGIS software to visualize the patterns of Hong Kong migration to Canada. Bearman, Jones, Andre, Cachinho, and DeMers (2016) explain the meaning of the spatial data and the basic level of developing understanding offered by data in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology:

1. ability to identify, evaluate and justify the methods of spatial analysis used;
2. capacity to reason spatially and understand the processes and effects of inter-scaling, from local to global;
3. consider the links between physical and human processes;

4. capability to move beyond Euclidean space to model phenomenological types of spaces, for example: time-space and mental-maps;
5. awareness of causal dynamics, conscious of system processes, interactions and trends; and
6. able to see and understand the interconnections between the different types of factors and realms; physical/human; culture/nature; society/space; and local/global. (p. 5-6)

Digital mapping has been a critical catalyst contributing to “the spatial turn in the humanities and to a renewed interest in mapping cultural and historical phenomena” (Harris, Bergeron, and Rouse, 2011, p. 238). Research into human migration has traditionally relied upon interviews and researching narratives of transnational migrants. Historical and geographical mapping of population movement is relative new and has been slow to catch on.

Digital mapping can connect the huge volumes of data about space, place and time. Mapping can be used to create a dataset of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada. That dataset can be divided into categories such as gender, age group, and immigration class, to provide a virtual view of the migration waves of Hong Kong Chinese. This data then generates a history of the spatial distribution of population density of the migrants at different periods in time, including how that density changed throughout the handover period. The function of digital mapping in population migration research is to produce maps that represent the waves of population movements. The maps of the Hong Kong migration waves help us visualize these particular moments in history. They provide narrative explanations about the process of transnational migration from Hong Kong to Canada that enable us to better understand the patterns that evolved during the handover. Creating digital maps makes it easier to reveal spatial and social perspectives, because these perspectives are presented visually instead of only in text.

Digital mapping is a way of archiving. In this case, QGIS helps to digitally map the spatial distribution of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada by class, gender, and place during the handover period, showing the way in which data changed and what phenomena can be concluded by that data. The digital maps can be preserved as a collection of stories and memories of Hong Kong migration extracted from historical data. This visual presentation makes it possible for researchers to easily access information on the maps.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework for the research in order to place the research within the existing literature. The chapter will show the strong relationship between spatial turning, transnationalism, identity complexity, and transition of the sense of place by place-based metaphor in the case of Hong Kong migration to Canada during the period of the handover of Hong Kong. By clarifying these theories, this chapter also helps to construct the maps that based on these criteria. Chapter 3 addresses the methodology for the study and details the data collection and management, the use of software technology, and the process of the research design of visualization. It also examines the design's problems, solutions, and shortcomings. Chapter 4 draws conclusions about the contributions that visualization contributes to the results and findings– the interrelationships between individual motivations, transnational space of origin and destination, social and cultural identities, and transition of the senses of place. Finally, Chapter 5 brings together the first four chapters and summarizes the research findings. Chapter 5 also highlights the contributions to this field, and the challenges and opportunities, and provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an integrated theoretical framework that employs several popular theories to analyze the practices and motivations of Hong Kong migration to Canada during the period of the handover of Hong Kong to China between 1984 and 1997. The theories will help to figure out the process of Hong Kong migration throughout migrants' lives and the different factors that reflect the migration trends. The theories are used to identify the historical movements of the Hong Kong migrants in Canada.

The study uses the quantum geographic information system (QGIS) technology, a digital technology approach, to capture the nodal Hong Kong distribution of the Hong Kong migrants in Canada according to gender, age group, and immigration class, and explores the strong relationships between the place of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada), the complexity of the social identity, and the transition of the affective sense of place. The study also uses large-scale data to visualize the relationship networks between Hong Kong and Canada, and spatial distribution of immigration into Canada. As observed, there is an increasing awareness on this issue, resembling some movement disorders. Understanding the traditional definition of the concepts, an interpretation of transnational space as a migrant and as a social category is being addressed.

This chapter provides the historical backgrounds, an overview of the Hong Kong migration and its characteristics, and Hong Kong's global movements from the previous research. It also relates the theoretical approaches for analyzing the different aspects of the transnational practices, including economic, political, educational, cultural backgrounds, and the complexity of their characteristics. It also identifies the migration performance on the individual motivations in relation to migration, how the structures at different levels affect migration, and the cultural change patterns.

The transnational practices throughout the process of Hong Kong migration to Canada are highlighted in this chapter. To look at the activities and behaviors of Hong Kong migration over the handover, the theoretical framework employs the popular theories that are used in the

previous literature including neo-institutional (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010) and socio-structural background, diaspora and transnationalism, the complex of ethnic identities, the lens of social and cultural profiles rooted in the structures and cognitive meanings, and a place-based values. This chapter explains the theories and identifies their relationship to each other as detailed below.

2.2 Background of the Study

Human migration that crosses the national borders is a global phenomenon, which remains a compelling issue. The impact of human migration is often felt locally and globally, in the arenas of economics, politics, culture, and society. This paper focuses on Hong Kong migration to Canada after many Hong Kong Chinese conducted a mass migration in the late 20th century as part of Britain's reversion of Hong Kong to China and the 1989 crackdown of Tiananmen Square. Several researchers (Kobayashi and Preston 2007; Ley and Kobayashi 2005; ...) studied Hong Kong's historical emigration and return migration during the handover period, and examined the complex causes that triggered the Hong Kong Chinese's migration.

At the initial stages of the research, the historical background of Hong Kong migration is presented along with the related theories. Regarding the history of Hong Kong migration, the researchers have discussed the patterns of migration from the regional and international perspectives. Skeldon (1994) points out that Hong Kong has a tradition of immigration from mainland China and emigration overseas, which showed that Hong Kong Chinese are susceptible to further migration. Some researchers have noted the specific historical-political situations in their studies (Sussman 2011; Fong 2012; Chan 2014). For example, they mainly focused on the historical events, specifically during Britain's 1997 handover of the political control of Hong Kong to China, and the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. Aside from the historical events, researchers also identified the role of the foreign immigration policy (Johnson and Lary, 1994), the global socio-economic modernization, and idiosyncratic cultural relations (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010) in the migration process from Hong Kong to the Western countries. In return migration, what the researchers argued most were the ethnic identities and the nature of the Chinese society, the socio-structural networks, and the advanced economic and societal changes both in Canada and Hong Kong after the British returned Hong Kong to the Chinese sovereignty (Chan, 2014; Ley and Kobayashi, 2005; Li, 2005).

Kobayashi and Preston (2007) note that the decisions that resulted from the various crucial dimensions of the transnational migration can affect the process of assimilation and separation of migrants from Hong Kong to Canada. To uncover underlying conditions of the migration process and investigate the Hong Kong migration activities, most researchers (Johnson, 1994; Lary and Luck, 1994; Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010) focus on the constitutive ideas of the relationship between the spatial mobility and the emergence of a significant transnational community of migrants from Hong Kong to Canada. These involve the transnational space, the complexity of social and cultural identities, affective sense of place, the creation of kinship networks, and the relationships between them. This study reviews the framework concepts that are based on the traditional perspectives. The distinct aspects in the Hong Kong international migration from the previous research shows the globalization and migration shifts in population transition and the reconstruction of Chinese diaspora communities in Canada (Li, 2005).

The present study noted that human migration cannot be simply considered as time-space that is related to the number of people migrating from one place to another in a certain period. The nature of transnational migration is rooted in the time-space transition, and the sense of place relating to family strategies and individual ties with others in a community or society.

A transnational migration is a systematical framework of social practices that involve the transition of politics, economy, society, and cultural and individual practices that may influence and also be influenced by the social change in the spatial transition over a period. Based on the maps that display the changes in the data, examining each of the frameworks is essential to better understand the process of Hong Kong migration to Canada, the factors that influenced Hong Kong migrants, and the decision-making that took place as they chose to immigrate first to Canada and then back to Hong Kong during the handover. This study identifies each stage of the population movements to gain a better perspective of the factors that lead to those phenomena.

2.3 Intellectual Context

2.3.1 The Process of Selecting a Theory

Several theoretical perspectives have been used over the years to explain the fusion of “here” and “there” in the definition of the meanings of migration (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). Many observed that many factors contributed to the Hong Kong migration. The norms, behaviors, and attitudes of the migrants have changed over time affecting the migration process. In the case of

migration from Hong Kong to Canada in the late 20th century, researchers established social and cultural structures at the different migration levels, but these have changed over time.

The theory presented by Salaff, Wong and Greve (2010) involves the history of the Hong Kong migration and how the relationship networks change within the neo-institutional framework. This theory raises some questions such as: “With regard to migration to Canada, what were the migration trends of Hong Kong movers (who planned to leave) and stayers (who were committed to stay) in the late twentieth century? How does a specific historical moment in each stage lead to a specific migration trend? What are the relationships between the migration movement trends and changes in the politics, economics, and culture in the original place (Hong Kong and also People’s Republic China) and destination (Canada)?” Skeldon’s argument (1994) of the construction of Chinese communities overseas raised the question on how the immigrants adjusted to life overseas while integrating into the receiving society and the effect of immigrants’ experiences on their life after migration to Canada. In Sussman’s theory (2011) of return migration and identity, with Kobayashi, Preston and Murnaghan’s theory (2011) of transnationalism, it claimed that the migration process can be viewed as a research question: “To what extent do the changing trends of social and ethnic identities, transnational spaces, and the affective sense of place impact on the practices of migration?” Meanwhile, in Chan’s discussion (2014) of assimilation and heterogeneity of immigrants in Canada assumed that the outcomes of assimilation and heterogeneity of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada reflect those migration movement trends as cited in the questions. Using the approach that would be further elaborated in detail in the following chapters, another question emerges: “How the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada were distributed by destination, gender, age group and immigration class during that period?” Such questions are crucial as the basic criteria of the map construction, including the division of immigration stages, data selection, and the classification of the data that would be mapped.

In developing the theoretical framework, this chapter attempts to integrate these basic theories and questions into a complete intellectual context. The intellectual context has four main fundamental theories:

(1) neo-institutionalism, which deals how the social structures affect migration and the institutions shape the migrants’ behaviors;

- (2) the complexity of social identities that capture the ongoing psychological experience of the Hong Kong migrants;
- (3) transnationalism that investigates the transnational activities such as long-distance movement and interaction between the two separate spaces of the Hong Kong migration from local and global perspectives; and
- (4) the sense of place that forms a feeling or perception of places of both the origin and destination held by the migrants.

After analyzing these theories separately, identifying the notable relationships among these concepts gives a more intuitive way to relate the convergent features of these theories.

2.3.2 Analysis of the Concepts and Theories

This section discusses the neo-institutionalism, identity, transnationalism, and a sense of place theories, which are integrated in the theoretical framework. In analyzing each theory, each has a corresponding literature review of the key concepts' definitions done by other researchers, linking the theories to the practices of the Hong Kong migrants into Canada, how they helped to create and understand the maps, the hypothesis, and prediction for Hong Kong migration behaviors, and motivations within a theoretical framework.\

2.3.2.1 Neo-institutional Theory

Defining neo-institutional theory

The neo-institutional theory or new institutional theory, compared to the “old” institutional theory, which was focused on the study of political and formal institutions of states and governments, refers to the individual’s behaviors within a community or organization that is influenced by the wide social forces such as the rules of politics, economics, and culture. Fromm (1941) distinguishes two different concepts of freedom. He emphasizes that once the individuals have a complete freedom, they would start complying with or failing to fulfill the social obligation and overcoming fears that people may have during this period. Under this circumstance, institutions can come in two ways based on the individual’s actions: (1) “freedom from” (negative freedom), which refers to emancipation from restrictions in the society, and the individual’s obedience to the restrictions such as the institutions to maximize benefits or minimize its negative effects; (2) “freedom to” (positive freedom), which means the individuals

are left with feelings of hopelessness under the restrictions and think the form of replacement of the old order including how to act. Each institution is established and operated in a wider environment that contains other institutions and influenced by that. This is commonly known as institutional peer pressure. To survive within the changing institutions, the organizations have to establish some additional measures, such as economic success, regulations, and even legitimacy.

The current research deals with the effect of the new institutionalism on human behavior by norms, rules, regulations, and other frameworks within the discourse. Salaff, Wong, and Greve (2010, p. 5) note that the institutional perspective involves the “institutions to give stability and meaning to social life, and persist over time, in formal and informal, public and private forms,” which are established on Scott’s definition. He asserts that

institutions are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated actives and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships. Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change process, both incremental and discontinuous. (1995, p. 33; 2001, p. 48)

Salaff, Wong, and Greve classify those institutional perspectives into three broad mechanisms: (1) large-scale structures, often with regulative powers; (2) social and professional relationships situated in regulations and other organizations; and (3) individuals’ personalization of cultural-cognitive norms. The intuitions’ categories classify the various opportunities and limitations for the behaviors of the diverse people from the different backgrounds. They also stratify the institutional groups based on the different levels of the social institutional positions. Those factors are the motivations for people to consider a realization of their decisions. The concept of Salaff, Wong, and Greve is essential in the present study, as it sets up a basic and comprehensive frame for identifying up to what extent the transformations and changes in institutions and individual practices are interrelated.

Schmidt (2008) defines neo-institutionalism as “discursive institutionalism (DI),” which is distinct from “rational choice institutionalism (RI),” “historical institutionalism (HI),” and “sociological institutionalism (SI).” Schmidt (2010) also defines RI, HI, and SI:

RI focuses on rational actors who pursue their preferences following a ‘logic of calculation’ within political institutions, defined as structures of incentives; HI details the development of political institutions, described as regularized patterns and routinized practices subject to a ‘logic of path-dependence’; and SI concentrates on social agents who act according to a ‘logic of appropriateness’ within political institutions, defined as socially constituted and culturally framed rules and norms. (p. 2)

He argues that “DI is a distinctive approach that contributes to our understanding of political action in ways that the older three institutionalisms cannot” (p. 305). The emphasis of Schmidt’s perspective is more on the ideas of “subjective” content in neo-institutionalism. The argument provides insights into the reconfiguration of the political life and values, and the dynamics of change in the cultural frames and the historical paths. Essentially, the ideas of constituting political change in the institutional context involve showing how it can influence the behavior of the individuals and their cognitive conceptions.

The definition of Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers, and Vaara (2015) is slightly different from the previous concepts that focuses more on the interactive process of communication. To explain the macro-level features of the institutions, the researchers concentrated on the individual’s practices and cognitive representations that are built in the social interaction. They integrated the recognition of the institutional roles within the organizations. This concept was also cited in the research of Searle (1995) and Diehl and McFarland (2010), noting that “besides the brute material ‘facts’ or physical bodies inhabiting the world of organizations, most of social reality is defined by established rules and conventions that govern collective thoughts, intentions, and behaviors” (p. 10). What they propose is a hypothesis about how the individuals’ actions impact the sociology of the institutions.

The studies about the institutions, rooted in the analysis of the factors that have impacted on the human behavior, are deeply embedded in the political, economic, social, and cultural environments.

Linking neo-institutional theory to the Hong Kong migration

To shape the Hong Kong migrants’ diverse practices and life experiences, one needs to have access to its institutional backgrounds. Since from the start, Hong Kong had been closely related to mainland China and the Western countries. A fundamental shift of Hong Kong’s institutions

that formed its basic social, economic, political, and cultural structures has occurred since Britain's colonial establishment in the region in January 1841 which occurred during the two wars of aggression against China (First and Second Opium Wars, 1839-1842 and 1856-1860).

After making Hong Kong as its colony, Britain introduced "financial, educational, legal, and other formal social organizations" (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010, p. 18) into the Pearl River Delta of Hong Kong, establishing a new institutional environment. Since then, Hong Kong became one of the biggest foreign ports in East Asia to trade with the West. With the decades of the uninterrupted war in China since the First World War and the prosperity of Hong Kong at that time, it brought an increasing population across the border, which structured the original populace of Hong Kong. After the Chinese Civil War from 1927 to 1949 and the Korean War where Chinese Communist Party participated in when the PRC was established, China had a terrible political relationship with the West and there was no economic connection with the outside world. This led "the conditions for Hong Kong's economy and society to develop apart from its hinterland, and eventually for a sense of identity to emerge among its populace" (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010; Ku, 2004). The development of the labor-intensive industries progressed in Hong Kong among the Western markets (Wong, 1988), and brought Hong Kong's society profound changes to create new and better infrastructure, including improving the social and civil service, public housing, security, medical services, and compulsory education (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). In the era of new manufacturing economy, the practices of Hong Kong Chinese formed different career positions that shaped the concept of class.

In 1984, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration meant that the decision of Hong Kong reunification with the PRC would take effect on 1 July 1997. In economic structure and perspective, Hong Kong enhanced its interaction with mainland China. When China adopted reforms and opened up to the outside world in 1978, Chinese government made an ambitious program that aimed at rapid urbanization and economic growth in China. As a result, the industries in Hong Kong were transferred to Guangdong Province with the creation of the Shengzhen Special Economic Zone (SEZ), allowing the Hong Kong manufacturers to move their factories to Guangdong for cheaper lands and low-paid labor (Smart, 2002). Also, there have been densely populated areas in the southern coastal China, and the Pearl River Delta has become one of the most important economic regions of China ever since. In turn, the economic growth brought about long-term changes to the Hong Kong's society, especially during the

transfer of surplus labor out of Hong Kong. The transfer of labor-intensive industry to China had a significant effect on Hong Kong society, promoting the middle class as an economic force in Hong Kong's economic growth (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). This has also contributed to promote higher education in Hong Kong to meet the needs for professionals in all industries. Despite the women's social status had been raised by being the chance to study and earn for a living, they still get lower income and status compared to men. Most women are asked to play a household role within the family based on the Chinese tradition. Also, the societal revolution brought the split of the social class and the change of economic status of each class, and the growing inequality between the rich and poor. This involved the emergence of immigrants from mainland China as a new phenomenon in Hong Kong.

At the political level, Deng Xiaoping, a Chinese revolutionary and statesman, promoted the "One Country, Two Systems" policy for reunifying Hong Kong with the PRC. Before Hong Kong was handed over to China, it was a part of British colony with completely different capitalist political systems and ideologies, while China has the socialist economic and political systems. To settle the Hong Kong question, the policy allowed the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of Hong Kong to keep its capitalist system unchanged, ensuring Hong Kong to retain a high degree of autonomy over its internal affairs such as legal and civil infrastructure, law system, citizen's freedom, and so on for 50 years until 2047. Following the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998 and the SAR restructuring of Hong Kong's political system, the control of political power in Hong Kong transferred to the Chinese regime. The reconfiguration of political and social lives brought by the changing economic conditions had an impact on the reformation of the Hong Kong cultural terms.

The Hong Kong culture became unstructured as the time went by. The complexity of the local Hong Kong-British culture and identity that shaped during the colonial period, and the national Chinese culture led to two completely different reactions of Hong Kong Chinese's attitudes brought by the reversion to China – support or opposition. Salaff, Wong, and Greve (2010) describes how the cultural differences between Hong Kong and mainland China contributed to the self-identify of the Hong Kongers:

Hong Kongers became self-identified as a people with strongly differentiated culture based on resources that money can buy...most Hong Kongers, having grown up in Hong Kong, had seen a rapid improvement of the living standard based on provision of public goods

education, public housing, mass transit (Ma, 2007). A sense of belonging developed. (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010, p. 26)

The complex features of the culture were identified by the roles of the following categories: (1) schools as an institutional system; (2) public housing; (3) public transit as a geographical and cultural unifier; (4) ability of migration that is rooted in Hong Kong tradition; (5) consumerism that is shaped by class, and (6) freedom of expression in the media.

Direction of the neo-institutional theory to the study

The neo-institutional theory gives an overview of the Hong Kong migration flows that are built on its institutions. For the map constructions, the neo-institutional theory is helpful in understanding the categories of the Hong Kong migrants in the different class backgrounds and stages during that time as classified in the maps. This theory provides the guidelines for analyzing the migration trends that are displayed in the maps, which can be analyzed in the four aspects: (1) the historical perspectives of how the city of Hong Kong became a mobile society and the changes in political structures that affected the population movements; (2) the global economic institutions that gave rise to the population movements among countries; (3) wider structures that led people to follow their social networks and choose where to live; and (4) Chinese family structures that made Hong Kong migrants follow their family ties.

Overlapping both the regional and global frameworks, Hong Kong has formed a special social institution, resulting in mixed views about emigration from Hong Kong to Canada and the return migration to Hong Kong.

Compared to the Hong Kong “stayers” who were committed to stay, the behaviors of the Hong Kong migrants to Canada under the social institution transformation during the handover was “freedom to”. Those people were more likely to fail to fulfill their social obligation such as observing new laws and disciplines enforced by the Chinese government to the community, and then determined to emigrate out of Hong Kong. The study explores the institutional structures in relation to the following aspects: the social changes that are different with the city’s tradition in itself, the political structures, the economic developments, the social fields, and the Chinese family structures. The changing but unstable institutional Hong Kong structures during the handover period provide ideas for the map construction. As previously stated, the categories of the intuitions were classified into the various opportunities and limitations for the behaviors of

diverse Hong Kong people. These involved the different class backgrounds, which can be applied to divide the stages of Hong Kong migration to Canada based on the periods of the changing social structures, and to develop the maps by distinct social relationship groups and gender preferences among the social relationships and Chinese family structures. These factors are used to figure out to identify what extend does the neo-institutionalism affect the behaviors of the people from two different categories. Looking at the density of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada within the different stages of the migration during the period that showed in the maps, it can be easily identified which period had much more effect on the migration trends and how the institutional structures impacted the Hong Kong migrants' decisions and practices.

On the other hand, the neo-institutionalism is a bird's eye view of the field, but does not come close to the social and cognitive contexts underlying the wider instrumental beliefs and practices. This theory only focuses on the wide structures of economics and politics in the society, failing to investigate the detailed relation between the individual and the environment. In the Hong Kong migration case, for instance, when it involves the rules of a social field, it is unable to explain the rationalized beliefs and practices why and how the migrants connected their social relations in the migration process. Therefore, the analysis of social identity should be put into the field of this study.

The analysis of neo-institutional theory with the Hong Kong migration case in the following chapters shows a complete framework on the individual's activities within the institutions during migration.

2.3.2.2 Social Identity Theory

Defining social identity theory

In the social identity theory, except for identifying someone or something from a group of people or things, the identity can be considered as personal and a social characteristic that can distinguish an individual from others. The term of "social identity theory" was first proposed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and 1980s (Turner and Reynolds, 2010). It refers to the intergroup relations and social conflict (Turner and Oaks, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) differentiated personal and social identity, which is the basis for making a distinction between the interpersonal relationship and intergroup relation. According to Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, personal identity is:

...literally a question of life and death, as the correct answer to determines which types of changes a person can undergo without ceasing to exist. Personal identity theory is the philosophical confrontation with the most ultimate questions of our own existence: who are we, and is there a life after death?...

The goal of personal identity is to consider the individual self as the same rather than any other person in time and space. While the term “social identity” consists of an individual’s unique and common characteristics compared to other members of the society such as gender, location, history, language, relationship ties, occupations and hobbies, political or ideological allies, race, ethnicity, and religious beliefs.

On the contrary, Tajfel initially stressed that the social identity theory is rooted in the relationship between the group membership and self-esteem that people recognize themselves as being part of the self in a group (Rodriguez, 2015). Turner and Oakes (1986) define social identity as “a person’s self-concept based upon their group memberships together with their emotional, evaluative and other psychological correlates” (p. 240). Hornsey’s (2008) definition focuses on the group’s paradigm, noting that the “given social identity theory’s credentials as a theory with a strong focus on how the social context affects intergroup relations, it seems paradoxical that ideas were framed by an experimental paradigm in which context was stripped away altogether: the ‘minimal group paradigm’” (p. 205). Burke and Stets (2009) suggest “the idea of identities relative to the key concepts of structural symbolic interaction – such as self, language, and interaction...The focus of identity is on how individuals’ construct actions and how these actions are coordinated with others to achieve individual and collective goals in interaction” (p. 34). If an individual of one group interacts with the members of another group, one would be a representative of one group of people rather than a single individual. Turner and Oakes (1986) assume that the interaction and comparison between in-groups and out-groups motivates the actions of the individuals to seek positive social identities and goals. If people are not satisfied with the current social identity, they could choose to leave this group or find a way to seek positive social identity. In their views of social identity term, the social identity can explain interpersonal and intergroup behavior from a cognitive aspect.

If an individual is too enthusiastic over his group, considers that group as better than the others and experiences the differentiations between distinct groups when seeking the positive social identity and self-esteem, then it would be easy to cause social prejudice and conflict

between groups. Also, Turner (1985) notes the limited scope of the social identity theory as introduced by Tajfel and developed the self-categorization theory as follows:

The self-categorization theory explains group phenomena in terms of the structure and functioning of the social self-concept (the system of cognitive representations of self based upon comparisons with other people and relevant to social interaction). The basic ideas are as follows. Cognitive representations of the self take the form (inter alia) of 'self-categorizations': a self-categorization is a cognitive grouping of the self as identical (similar, equivalent, interchangeable) to some class of stimuli in contrast to some other class of stimuli. Self-categorizations exist at different levels of abstraction being related by class inclusion... In the social self-concept there are three important levels of abstraction: self-categorization as a human being (the superordinate category) based on differentiations between species, in-group-out-group categorizations (the self as a social category) based on differentiations between groups of people (class, race, nationality, occupation, etc.) and personal self-categorizations (the subordinate level) based on differentiations between oneself as a unique individual and other (relevant) in-group members. (p. 241)

When people undertake self-categorization, they would add themselves into the in-group categorization automatically and give themselves in-group characteristics, which involve the processes of self-category and self-concept formation.

A research field that applies the social identity theory explains the collective actions or behaviors of a group, especially in a group conflict. From an individual's perspective, social identity reflects the wider context where people act. The main contribution of this theory is its impact on the unsatisfied feeling from the relative deprivation of the social environment. This makes the social identity as a critical intermediate variable. The social identity theory explores the social attitudes and behaviors of Hong Kong migrants during the handover from the perspective of the social psychology.

Linking social identity theory to the Hong Kong migration

With regard to the Hong Kong migration to Canada during the handover, the study redefines ethnicity and identity of the Chinese diaspora. The social identity profile of the individuals was inferred from the multiple domains, including the "thinking styles and decisions, and their activities and behaviors" (Sussman, 2011, p. 132). It is essential to relate the formation of Hong

Kong Chinese social identity especially their cultural identity within a social context, and ethnic group construction into the study of the Hong Kong migration case. The complexity of Hong Kong people's Chinese identity began in 1841 when the British took over Hong Kong, which was the initial process of developing the Hong Kong identity.

The origin of Hong Kong identity was rooted in its own historical and geographical backgrounds, and the Chinese traditional culture. Diamond (1999) notes "culture (and identity) was first and foremost a consequence of geographic location, climate, and natural resources" (Sussman, 2011, p. 12). The Chinese often believe that human beings are shaped by their lands surrounding them. Hong Kong is geographically separated from mainland China, which is surrounded by the South China Sea and situated at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta. The geographic feature comes as Hong Kong's deep natural harbor. With a humid but warm subtropical monsoon climate, Hong Kong had become a livable city. Its geographic location, climate, sea and natural harbor "has shaped the way Hong Kongers traditionally and currently craft a living as fishermen, boat workers, international global port employees; the way Hong Kong interacts with a continuous flow of seaborne invaders, travelers, traders, and immigrants; the way Hong Kong protects itself from typhoons and creates its neighborhoods; and the way in which Hong Kongers create an identity" (Sussman, 2010, p. 12). Its relationship and interaction with China also shaped Hong Kong's culture and identity. Since the traditional Hong Kong people were Cantonese immigrants from southern China's province of Guangdong, which is adjacent to Hong Kong, these indigents brought the Chinese core values and identities to Hong Kong. The ethnic identity emerging from the social identity theory shows the strength of Hong Kong immigrants' sense of belongingness to their Chinese ethnic community (Sussman, 2011). Sussman (2010) summed up that the collection of Chinese core values is "a collectivist approach to life [that]...emphasizes loyalty to and the well-being of family and friends." These comprise three categories of values: (1) relationship ties with the family, which refers to the individual behavior that depends on his family and family groups; (2) "nonfamilial interpersonal relationships," which means a preference for maintaining harmony and avoiding conflicts; and (3) a "pragmatic approach to learning coupled with social discipline". Guangdong immigrants brought with "cognitive style," commonly known as a Chinese traditional style of thoughts. This is a way of interpreting the behaviors of other people within the groups, which is not an isolated

behavior, but the intentions of the action to pursue harmonious goals. The Chinese traditional identities and values are rooted in the nature of Chinese society in Confucian and Taoist percepts.

Since Hong Kong was occupied by the United Kingdom after the Opium War in 1840, Hong Kong's culture and identity became different from the traditional Chinese cultural and social identities. To maintain the colonial rule in Hong Kong, the British had used all possible means to rid any Chinese cultural and social identity in the community. They brought with them "values, social and behavioral structures, communication styles, and cognitive preferences common to British and northern European culture" (Sussman, 2010, p. 16), which led to a lack of Chinese traditional identity and Hong Kong people's indifferent to the mainstream values. The Chinese people focus more on the social relationships with others, collectives or "we-ness" and harmonious goals, while Western values are concentrated on the self-conception, individual life's goals and egalitarian style. In relation to the collision and amalgam between the Chinese and the Western cultures, Hong Kong formed a multicultural concept and experienced pressure for the cultural selection as a result of distinct behaviors, value tropism, morals, and political attitudes (Liu, 2010).

The Hong Konger's identity dilemma came from the collision between Chinese traditional culture and Western culture, and also the wide migration from mainland China at different time periods, especially before and after the PRC foundation in 1949. Because of the political issues and ideological opposition with the mainland China, the Hong Kong authorities implemented a strict entry regime for the foreigners and provided education programs of the British culture and values. Also, with the decision of Britain's 1997 handover of Hong Kong to China, the Hong Kong Chinese developed a new identity, which is *Xianggang ren* 香港人 (Hong Kong Chinese) identity that was more like a core Chinese identity surrounded by Western identities (Sussman, 2010). It was not China's national identity, but a sense of being native that Hong Kong is Hong Kongers' homeland. As the 1997 handover approached, along with the launching of "One Country, Two Systems" program, the motivation of Chinese government to keep a sense of belonging among Hong Kongers, national identity, intense sympathy of Chinese and ethnic cultural identity became more apparent for the part of reunification with China (Liu, 2010). S. L. Wong (1999) suggests that Hong Kong identities are part of both collective experiences within the Chinese traditional identity and the individual preferences of the Western values.

Direction of social identity theory to the study

The study of the social identity of Hong Kong Chinese inherently possesses the capability to help explain Hong Kong people's practice and motivation of migration. For the map constructions, the social identity theory integrates why and how the diverse categories of age groups and gender difference are classified in the maps. This theory provides guidelines for analyzing the complexity of social identity that had emotional and psychological impacts on Hong Kong migrants, and how their social identity of an in-group (us) made them different from others in the receiving country.

In social identity theory, the need to establish one's migration practices and experiences is viewed as the predicted motivation to drive self-concept and related decisions, which is an ongoing progress of the individual's identification, integration, and differentiation in the Hong Kong migration case.

The complexity of the social identity of the Hong Kong migrants is based from the Chinese traditional cultures and ancient philosophies such as Confucianism and Daoism. The related principles provided the basic direction for the motivation and practice of the Hong Kong migration. The cultural conflicts between Chinese traditional cultures and Western values of Canada have a significant impact on the goal settings and practices of the different kinds of migrants. These involved the age groups and gender differences within a family as regard to their traditional concept of familial structure, and their mix of ethnic identity that would give them different concepts about the emigration to Canada and the return migration. In a Chinese family, there is no doubt that the old is more influenced by Chinese traditional cultures than the young, and the males are more likely to control the whole family business than females. The social identity theory helps to construct the maps based on the category of age group and gender, which can be identified directly as to what extent did social identity have an effect on the activities and practices of Hong Kong migrants. This can be done by comparing the variation of number of Hong Kong immigrants' population and analyzing the difference between them in every period. When the details of the age group and gender of the Hong Kong migrants are mapped, it is easier to analyze the impact of Hong Kong's special identity on the migrants' motivations, preferences, and practices in their migration to Canada.

Social identity theory can not fully explain how different migrants reacted in real life during the migration process. It can explain the person's self-concept based on their group memberships,

such as the groups of migrants who were mainly affected by Chinese traditional identities, the groups of migrants who were mainly affected by Western identities, and the groups of migrants who were affected by the both identities. Therefore, the analysis of interviews from individuals and sense of place should be put into the field of this study.

The interpretation of the Hong Kong identity is both critical for studying the characteristics and practices of Hong Kong migration overseas, and understanding the complexity and interrelationships between Hong Kong migration waves with the maps being showed below and their complex identity.

2.3.2.3 Transnationalism Theory

Defining transnationalism theory

In post-modernism, Randolph Bourne proposed the term “transnationalism theory.” He was an American scholar in the field of the Latin immigrants in the U.S. in the early 20th century. Bourne (1916) described the concept of transnationalism as “a new way of thinking about relationships between cultures.” The term “transnational” has already been widely used by modern economists. It was used “to describe corporations that have major financial operations in more than one country and a significant organizational presence in several countries simultaneously” (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc, 1992). Since 1960s, the notion of “transnational” was accepted in the research of social sciences and cultural studies to investigate the transnational phenomenon. But when many researchers became interested on identifying the transnational economy and culture, few researches have been conducted regarding transnational migration. Until the early 1990s, several anthropologists such as Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc introduced the transnational concept into the migration studies.

Transnationalism is a topic that is gaining popularity in the social science as it focuses on the complex factors in transnational lives (Kwak, 2002; Chiang, 2004; Huang and Yeoh, 2005; Waters, 2005). The notion of transnationalism is related to “distinct types of actives and communities that illustrate transnational interests and allegiances” (Ben-Rafael and Sternberg, 2009). Basch et al. (1994) defined transnationalism as “a process by which migrants that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement, through their daily life activities created social fields – the social networks of people in similar positions that resemble each other

– that cross national boundaries.” They stress that transnationalism expresses the multi-stranded social relations based on the immigrants’ daily existence. They also note that transnationalism is a process of migration construction and the way of sustaining those multi-stranded social relations between the places of origin and destination through “multiple overlapping familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political practices that transcend borders” (p. 684). In the issue of globalization, many migrants are called transnational migrants. Even though they live in a country where they immigrate to, they still maintain to have multi-stranded social relations with the country of origin. Blanc, Basch and Schiller labeled those people as “transmigrants”, whose daily existence relies on the multiple and regular interrelations that span national borders. “Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously” (Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 1-2).

Schiller et al. discussed that the basis of transnational social relations is the transnational family relationships that can organize transnational enterprises and transform the “character of local religious and cultural forms through their continuous back-and-forth exchanges” (Portes, 2001, p. 187), which facilitate the progress of the transnational business and the service industry. The network system that contains information communication, and interpersonal social contacts and social capital promotes the flow of people, ideas, and goods among regions. It also supports for economic, political, and cultural practices of migrants. The three primary factors that lead to the practice of transnational lives even though they already settled in other countries:

- (1) a global restructuring of capital based on changing forms of capital accumulation has lead to deteriorating social and economic conditions in both labor sending and labor receiving countries with no location a secure terrain of settlement;
 - (2) racism in both the U.S. and Europe contributes to the economic and political insecurity of the newcomers and their descendants;
 - and (3) the nation building projects of both home and host society build political loyalties among immigrants to each nation-state in which they maintain social ties.
- (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc, 1995, p. 50)

The creation of the social fields that cross national borders influences the actions and strategies of the migrants.

However, Portes (2001) notes some issues on transnationalism, emphasizing the significance of immigrant transnationalism such as the future growth of the transnational activities, the

alteration of the process of immigrants' integration into the receiving country, the development of the sending countries, and the interpretation of the continuum of the transnationalism throughout the migrants' transnational practice. He proposed that "transnational activities would be those initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors, by they organized groups or networks of individuals across national borders" (p. 186). Also, Faist (2010) described transnationalism as "...migrants' durable ties across countries – and...capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organizations".

The theory of Schiller's, Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt (1999), and Levitt (2001) identify the factors that influence the transnational practices. This involves the developed countries' expansion of demand for labor as a result of the reconstruction of global economy and the society led by global spread of capitalism, and the historical background of migration and the way of acceptance by receiving countries, and the intervention of the sending country.

Transnationalism theory analyzes the migrants' transnational practices between the countries of origin and destination. The migrants' transnational practice has an impact on the migrants themselves, including the sending and also receiving countries. Most researches focus on the transnational relations between the immigrants and their country of origin. But, there is a lack of the study of immigrants' political, economic or social participation in receiving country in this field.

Linking transnationalism theory to the Hong Kong migration

To align with the Hong Kong migration, the term of transnationalism is defined as a social phenomenon that "evolves as family members making decision about migration and relocation that separate and reunite them in diverse configurations" (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007). It is considered as a dynamic set of practices designed as a life course with "a series of stages and transitions in life which are culturally and institutionally framed from birth to death" (Heinz and Kruger, 2001).

The major focus of transnationalism is on the transnational diaspora and sojourners, which are commonly used to identify the migration activities of the Hong Kong Chinese in general. Skeldon (1994) defined diaspora as "the dispersal of the Jews from their homeland" (p. 5). Later, he uses the term diaspora to describe the immigrant groups that had been created as part of the historical migration from a homeland as in the case of an exile. Faist (2010) notes that diaspora

“has been often used to denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland” (p. 9). Initially, ‘diaspora’ refers to the dispersal of the Jews (Skeldon, 1994). The diaspora Jews mostly were driven from their homeland and occupied the majority of the receiving country. But in the case of the dispersal of the Hong Kong immigrants, Hong Kong Chinese had only accounted for a tiny minority of the nation of Canada. Similar to the Jews, the Hong Kong migrants also suffered political instability and discrimination before they moved.

This study defines the term diaspora to reflect a phenomenon of “ante-facto rationalization” that Hong Kong migrants found difficultly in discerning their situation in their quest to migrate (Skeldon, 1994). The idea of “sojourn” that rooted in the Chinese society contains Confucian and Taoist percepts. It is used to describe the Hong Kong Chinese who migrated overseas. Skeldon (1994) defined “sojourners” in the study of emigration from China as the “migrants who were only temporarily away from their homeland and who continuously thought of returning to China (p. 5-6).” A Chinese migrant may take the Confucian and Taoist percepts away even if he goes to a far place permanently.

In China all social mechanisms have worked toward a single aim: the inculcation of Confucian values from childhood, the severe social condemnation of deviant behavior, the stress on individual responsibility to a family that included ancestors as well as posterity, the lack of physical mobility and the resulting attachment to a man’s native community... (Yang, 1966, p. x)

When the Hong Kong migrants leave their homeland, they become temporary absentees. Similar to the Chinese migrants, many Hong Kong emigrants are like exiles and/or pioneers living far from their homeland.

Based on the previous definitions, the Hong Kong migrants can be considered as a part of Chinese transmigrants or Chinese diasporas. In 2003, Liu introduced the Chinese Diaspora, defining it as an immigrant group that maintains the multiple relations with the place of destination and origin (or even their ancestors’ homeland) in the process of transnational activities. The social fields that emerge from the diaspora are across geographical, cultural, and political boundaries. As transnational migrants, the Hong Kong Chinese transmigrants can speak two or more languages, have kinship ties and social networks, can do business in two or more countries, and make a living through the continuous cross-border interactions (Liu, 2003).

The Chinese transnational social space is not only limited to a geographical sense, which is a multi-level – social and cultural implication – value-space based on the interior relationships among the different places (Liu, 2003). The movement of Hong Kong transnational migrants is an organized activity of the transnational flow that migrants reside, act in the social networks, and do business under different economic and political circumstances worldwide, which are mainly forced by economic and political conditions as influenced by some institutions. Transnationalism involves the place reconstruction (Al-Ali and koser, 2002). Li (2005) examined the potential reconfiguration of the Chinese community in Canada, which reshapes “the demographic composition of the Chinese community in Canada and identifying the formation of diaspora communities,” as part of the shifting economic and political conditions in the place of origin. And also, Skeldon (1994) cited that a mobility of business makes a person to commute or circulate over a long distance with the place of residence in Canada. In the process of transnational migration, Hong Kong Chinese migrants always maximize their social capital gains through their remote interactions with the place of origin and destination (Wu, 2000).

Also, the Chinese Diaspora is part of the Chinese migrants’ transnational activities that contain a sense of mobility. Not every migrant has the opportunity to experience a transnational practice, but some may settle into returning to their homeland or becoming a citizen of the receiving country. With this, an increasing number of Hong Kong Chinese migrants are seen who choose to become transnational migrants.

Direction of transnationalism theory to the study

Transnationalism theory helps to understand how the Hong Kong Chinese diaspora is integrated into the place of destination (Canada) and the migrants’ return migration to Hong Kong or transnational sojourn. It also helps to analyze the connection of political, economic, social, and institutional factors in promoting Hong Kong’s transnational activities between the two places during the handover. For the map constructions, transnationalism theory can be helpful in understanding the why and how of the class categories and the gendered approaches that can be applied in the maps.

Based on Hong Kong migrants’ transnational activities and practices, different categories of migrants’ choices and decisions were affected by the changes during the transnational migration. The objective of this study can be classified by class, such as gendered approaches to the family

and other immigration class, including business class, skilled workers dependants, and retired workers. Both males and females have different responsibilities to their families, especially those who are raised in a Chinese patriarchal family structure, gendered approaches therefore should be considered in the strategy of transnational practice of the Hong Kong case. More importantly, the class identifies what the Hong Kong migrants needs for the development of the migrants' career before and during their transnational practice. Transnationalism theory helps to construct the maps through the visualization of the immigration class in studying the Hong Kong migration in each stage of Hong Kong migration to Canada during the handover. It is critical in identifying the phenomenon of why and how does each specific period leads to a particular trend of the transnational migration practices between the place of origin and destination. Comparing the data variation of the stages between each other can provide different directions and trends of transnational practice by the different class of migrants.

Transnationalism theory is limited in analyzing the practices of Hong Kong migrants in the transnational migration. Transnationalism can only show the phenomenon of transnational activities and practices of Hong Kong Chinese diasporas between the two places, and explain how the wider contexts influenced their practices. But there were various variables among migrants, such as place of destination, gender, age, class, and economic and political affiliation, affecting different individuals' behaviors and practices according to specific contexts within the places of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (different cities and towns in Canada). Therefore, transnationalism theory will integrate with remaining three other theories to explain the transbordered relations of individuals, diasporas, places, identities, and institutions in the practices of transnational migration. In turn, the driving forces that led to these practices of transnational migration will be analyzed.

Transnationalism theory provides the concept of the practice of migrants that cross the national border. This contributes to the analysis of Hong Kong migrants' interplay between the two places, and their changing activities under the circumstance of the changing economic, political, and social institutions, and the deepening globalization.

2.3.2.4 Sense of Place

Defining sense of place

The concept of place remains one of the basic categories of spatial (geographical) pattern. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* defines the term ‘place’ “as a portion of geographic space that serves as a setting for social relations and the creation of identity.” Tuan (1980) proposes that the existence of a place as a part of the large and undifferentiated space held by human beings. Johnston (2006) claims that a place is more than a geographic entity, which relates to the social relations and collective meaning. There are three main elements of a place as described by Agnew, Shelley, and Pringle (1987). It is a “locale, the settings in which social relations are constituted; location, the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction as defined by social and economic processes operating at a wider scale; and sense of place, the local structure of feeling” (p. 27). The sense of place shapes the way people respond to the place and in turn it reshapes the place to fit those precognitions (Cross, 2001).

Watson (2012) defines the sense of place as “those things that add up to a feeling that a community is a special place, distinct from anywhere else.” The basis of sense of place is a feeling or perception of a place held by people that is derived from the natural and cultural environments, which contains the characteristics that make a place special or unique and the people’s feeling and identity of that place. Lippard (1997) proposes that “a ‘sense of place’ is often used as though it were only applicable to small towns or to ‘nature’, but urban and industrial environments are also places (and nature) formed differently, more likely to spawn the multiple selves that ease (and are often the result of) cross-cultural communications” (p. 10). Many researchers suggest that a sense of place refers to the meaning of a place that includes cultural, social, and environmental contestations and generate belongingness to that place (Johnson, Halfacre, and Hurley, 2009; Graham, Mason, and Newman, 2009).

If a place can bring people to have a strong sense of experience in that space, they would have an attachment to that place. No matter what and where, such as a room, house, community, urban space, or even a region and country, the sense of place can be generated as long as there are people living in a location for an extended period (Tuan 1980). Meanwhile, in the human’s lifespan, the people’s awareness and experience of a place, their social relations, and the transition of the community have an influence on their sense of place. In turn, this can reshape the people’s lifestyles and their attitudes towards life. Some researchers (Kobayashi, Preston, and

Murnaghan, 2011) argued how a local sense of belonging shapes the spatial and emotional geographies. Hence, the concept of sense of place draws out two major sub-concepts: “place attachment” and “place identity.” Tuan (1974) identifies the two dimensions of the sense of place in general, including “rootedness” and “place identity.” Rootedness is an emotional attachment and belongs to the psychological perspective based on the human engagement for its existence, commonly known as place attachment. Place identity refers to the construction and interpretation of self that expresses the ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values and goals, and behavioral tendencies and skills (Proshansky, 1978). In terms of the relationships among the sense of place, place attachment, and place identity, Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) considered both place attachment and place identity as the sub-conceptions that emerged from the sense of place. Lalli (1992) notes that the place attachment is part of place identity, while Vaske and Kobrin (2001) oppose that view. In summary, however, both the concepts of place attachment and place identity are related and overlapped of each other. Both of them have a critical impact on the construction of the sense of place.

The sense of place can be applied to study the practices or actions of an individual or groups. The value of place relates to the individual’s experience of a place that leads to the different approaches to the decision-making process (Schroeder, 2013).

Linking the sense of place to the Hong Kong migration

The sense of place links the social and emotional terms. The transnational migration reflects the dynamic sense of place through linking two or more places and migrants sustain the social, economic, and political ties of the place of origin and destination, which redefine the meanings attached to home and destination (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011).

In the Hong Kong migration case, the affective sense of place emerged from their transnational experience of migration, but the emotional experiences of the place vary according to the family position in the life course (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011). The distinct place of destination in Canada where different genders, age groups, and classes of immigrants may have different emotional sense of belongingness to both the places of origin and destination. For example, several migrants chose to settle in a different place of based on their decision-making or preference. The children or teenagers may return to their home or parents’ countries of origin once or twice a year during the holidays (Levitt, 2000), while the adults and the older

people, as children's parents and grandparents, maintain to have strong ties in their transnational places (Faist, 1999). Also, it seems that the male who has a lot at stake in supporting family economy is more likely to be a "pioneer" or an "astronaut" (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010), which means, for example, the husbands work in Hong Kong and return periodically while their wives and children live abroad (Ng, 1996). The transnational migrants' emotional experiences alter their identities, behaviors, and practices during the migration. So the sense of place is always constructed based on the individual's or groups' practices and life situation transitions under the spatial structure and restructure. In general, the places can have different emotional meanings for the transnational migrants living in different landscapes and those migrants' settling in a new place involves a redefinition of the places of origin and destination (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011). Hence, the affective sense of place exposes emotional attachment of the self with places and decision-making steps during the process of transnational migration.

Although the research in the sense of place provides multilevel theoretical perspectives in terms of the different changing spaces, the notion should still be reconsidered in the study of Hong Kong migration to the different cities and towns in Canada as a result of their different natural, social, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds.

Direction of sense of place to the study

In the Hong Kong migration to Canada case, the study investigates the changing place attachment and place identity of Hong Kong immigrants to both places of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada). For the map constructions, theory of sense of place can be helpful in understanding the how of the place matters preference and practice from different categories of Hong Kong migrants in the maps. This theory integrates different patterns into the study of redefining the meanings attached to the homeland and destination. It contributes to an analysis of how the meanings of place affected migrants' feelings and behaviors of where they would like to settle.

The predicted motivation is to gain insight into the affective sense of place to the Hong Kong migrants from the different categories, and the treatments to the two different places and their strategies during the migration experience.

In this study, the practice of the Hong Kong migrants' settling in the different destinations of Canada involves the redefinition of the place. The theory of sense of place contributes to the patterns of place attachment and place affiliation with the place of destination at different stages of life cycle during the Hong Kong migration experience. The maps that are applied in this study would be designed according to the place of destination such as the provinces, territories, cities, and towns. Integrated to the study of diverse patterns include gendered approaches, family strategies, immigration class, natural and social environments, and the constructions of Chinese organizations and communities. By comparing the different populations of the Hong Kong immigrants in each specific place in Canada and the variation of the population in that place at the different stages of the whole migration period, it can be easily identified the trends of their decision making and redefinition of the place of origin and destination.

Sense of place theory gives guidelines for understanding the stronger meanings and definitions of the place given by the society and the special meanings to Hong Kong migrants, which influenced migrants' practices during the migration process. On the other hand, the theory can not explain the changes in economics and politics in a specific place that might affected Hong Kong migrants' sense of place to the origin or destination. Also, sense of place theory can not explain the specific groups of migrants' feeling about the local familial lifestyle because the migrants by different genders and age groups varies their response to the place affiliation. Therefore, data visualization and neo-institutionalism will be used to fit into this study.

The theory of sense of place gives a direction of how to integrate many variables as cited in this chapter into the maps based on the Hong Kong migration case study so that it can be visually presented and easily understood.

2.4 Summary and Conclusion

This section presented different theories. In a wider sense, all those theories – neo-institutional theory, social identity theory, transnationalism theory, and sense of place – are rooted in the social sciences field. The transnational migration is an important issue of human society, which is a global phenomenon with the transitions of policy, economy, culture, society, and individual perspectives. The four mainstream theories can be applied to analyze the motivations and actions of the Hong Kong transnational migrants during the period of Britain's handover of Hong Kong to China. The neo-institutional theory reflects that the behaviors and

actions of the individuals are influenced by wide social forces, especially the social, economic, political, and cultural structures. The individuals always have two different ways facing the changing institutions. One is obedience to the institutions to maximize benefits or minimize its negative effects, and the other is thinking and acting the form of replacement of the old order. The social identity theory presents the identities of the migrants and assumes a self-concept view, linking the thinking style of individuals within a group or community and their actions of the transnational migration. Transnationalism theory considers transnational ties, such as familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, cultural, and political relations, which lead to the practices of the transnational migration or transnational lives. This focuses on the community construction of Hong Kong transnational migrants or the Hong Kong Chinese Diaspora. The notion of sense of place emerged from the people's living in a place for an extended length of time, relates the geographical context with the emotional norm in the human movement, which refers to the place attachment and place identity to the places of origin and settlement from different categories of migrants' perspectives.

The study of institutions is a broad social background for establishing the framework of Hong Kong migrants' actions in the transnational migration practice. While the theories want to capture the migrants' level of integration in the host context, Binasisa (2013) points out that transnationalism seems to disrupt the process of integration with the transnational practice. But the transnationalism highlights the network of spaces and periods that maintain the transnational migrants' connections between the places of origin and settlement. The human activities and practices emerge from the connections that give rise to the complexity of the social and ethnic identities in the process of transnational migration. Transnationalism involves not only the reform of social identities, but also the reconstruction of place that influences the changes in emotional meanings of place. Binasisa (2013) cites that "place and identity emerge as points of intersectionality where the negotiated nature of transnationalism and integration processes is revealed" (p. 885). Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan (2011) highlight the interconnection of transnationalism and the effect of place in the Hong Kong migration:

The emergence of a significant transnational community of immigrants from Hong Kong to Canada, and their Canadian-born children, during the 1980s and 1990s can be understood through the experience of the affect of place, which gives meaning to the emotional experiences of community members. (p. 871)

Also, how the people use places for their own identity provides several principles of identity such as differentiation of ourselves from others based on the places where people are living in, the consciousness of life continuity, self-esteem, and individual identity of the regions (Gustafson, 2001).

The direction of theories is to explore the motivations, actions, and practices of Hong Kong transnational migrants to Canada during the handover between 1984 and 1997. The empirical adoption of the theoretical framework is discussed in the following chapters, which will help us figure out how to construct and understand the maps. There are two main limitations related to the theoretical framework: one is the primary concern given to the migrants' practice and motivation, which narrows down the scope. Another is a lack of smaller segments of theories due to the length of this paper (e.g. there should be more specific definition and stating the place attachment and place identity).

Chapter 3

Methodology and Data Analysis

3.1 Visualization Design

This chapter presented the epistemological rationale detailing the methods and techniques used in the fieldwork. The methods and the data visualization employed in the fieldwork are discussed at length.

The study adopted a quantum geographic information system (QGIS), a digital technology approach, to capture the nodal Hong Kong migrant patterns in Canada by destination, gender, age group and immigration class, and gain insights into how data can be acquired from different formats, and visualize through the spatial distribution of migration. A collection of large-scale data was used for this digital humanities project. QGIS is previously known as Quantum GIS, which focuses on the computer technological skills. Bearman, Jones, Andre, Cachinho, and DeMers (2016) show the great contributions that GIS technology brings to today's digital humanities research, noting "GIS has reached a new phase in its technological development, and we are now able to move on from the purely technical point of view (of being limited by what GIS software can do) and continue to develop the critical spatial thinking aspect of geography within the framework that GIS provides us with." (p. 12)

It is an important step for moving from current GIS representation to critical spatial thinking.

This research mapped the spatial distribution of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada mainly by gender and destination in the different periods: 1984 to 1986, 1987 to 1989, 1990 to 1994, and 1995 to 1997 based on the events that occurred in the different times during the handover of Hong Kong period. With the limitation of data released, the patterns of age group and class were displayed as graphic chart formations.

In mapping the historical migration of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada during Britain's handover of Hong Kong to China, technical skills were applied to get the critical spatial thinking and comparison of the practices and motivations in the different periods. Also, the samples of interviews collected by the previous researchers were evaluated in the following chapter to better understand the data visualization of Hong Kong migration to Canada.

3.1.1 Data Collection and Selection

This case study mainly conducted digital mapping on the Hong Kong immigration in Canada. For this study, Canada was used as a representative country for the Hong Kong migration, which was the first systematic study in the field. The Hong Kong migrants have become the biggest diaspora community in ethnic Chinese (*hua ren* 华人) diaspora overseas. The Hong Kong Chinese had migrated from Hong Kong to Canada in the past century, and they had been the most popular immigrant community in Canada. Based on Sussman (2011) study, more than 80% of the total number of Hong Kong immigrants transferred into Canada, Australia, and the United States. Canada accounted for the highest volume of Hong Kong immigrants of about 185,000, while the U.S. received 92,000 and Australia had 75,000 Hong Kong immigrants during the initial period from 1987 to 1993. Based on the Hong Kong government's survey of returnees, 35% of Hong Kong migrants had settled in Canada and 24% had immigrated into Australia or New Zealand, while only 12% had lived in the UK and 11% migrants returned from the U.S. (Sussman, 2011). Sussman (2011, p. 25) states that "an example of the outcome of behaviors and values model is found in a study of immigrants from the Netherlands to Canada compared with those who immigrated to Australia and the United States that they were far more likely to identify themselves as Canadian and with an integrative acculturation strategy" (p. 25). So as a nation of immigrants, Canada is a typical country for the researchers to study the phenomenon of the Hong Kong migration.

There were the limitations of the data in this study. The statistics of Hong Kong migration to Canada and the secondary interview data could be gathered while the statistical data of return migration could not be gathered. The statistical data of Hong Kong migration to Canada is the most principal part in the map constructions, which can help to visualize spatial distribution of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada and the trends of migration process during each stage of the handover period. But there was a shortcoming that the statistical data on return migration could not be collected. It was difficult to count the population of whom returned to Hong Kong during the handover because some returned to Hong Kong with other countries' passports and the intention of return-migrants was improbable to ensure. Also, the government of Hong Kong did not count the population number in specific region of Hong Kong where they had resettled. Therefore, the return migration was unable to be mapped. Even though, the paper still referred to this phenomenon because it was critical to the study of Hong Kong's transnational migration.

The maps can only show the facts of spatial distributions of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, it does not tell us why these distributions happened. So the interview data, integrating with the related theories, is used to strongly explain these spatial patterns, trends, and behaviors of Hong Kong migration to Canada.

For the statistical data, the QGIS project mainly extracted the data from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) immigration statistics archives website (http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/202/301/immigration_statistics-ef/index.html). The two main categories for immigrants' data selection were the country of birth and country of last permanent residence. This project chose the category of country of last permanent residence for mapping the Hong Kong immigration in Canada. The reason was explained in the previous chapters, where the significant proportion of the Hong Kong population migrated from mainland China, particularly Guangdong province. There were few Hong Kong Chinese originally from Hong Kong or born in Hong Kong. The choice of the last permanent residence figures would be best fit for the project.

CIC provided the statistical information about Canada's annual immigration that comprised the data from 1966 to 2012. But some data was missing or could not be released by the CIC. Each immigration overview covered data that have more than 100 pages, including the different categories of statistical tables that were supplemented by charts and graphs. Not all the immigration statistics would be visualized in the project, but were used as a reference. The principal statistics that were selected and used in the design of data visualization involved the permanent residents, along with the top 10 countries of last permanent residence, country of last permanent residence by age group and gender, country of last permanent residence by year of landing, country of last permanent residence by province or territory, country of last permanent residence by class, and the city of intended destination by selected country of last permanent residence.

With the limited data on the Hong Kong migration to Canada, secondary interview materials by previous researchers were employed to better understand the Hong Kong migration waves in the maps. Those follow-up discussions with the respondents were an archive of the narratives about their migration decisions and practices, which focused mainly on the different stages at the handover of Hong Kong to China. The interviews were conducted by the previous researchers who investigated the Hong Kong immigrants with emphasis on the different classes and genders

in Canada, such as Lam (1994), Li, Jowett, and Findlay (1995), Kobayashi and Preston (2007), Salaff, Wong, and Greve (2010), and Sussman (2011). The main source of information focused on the participants who migrated from Hong Kong to Canada, involving the seniors, adults of different genders, and teenagers. This study selected the representative groups from the most common interviews. It showed the migrants' social and emotional bonds during the handover period and highlighted the maps showing these phenomena from the perspective of the individuals.

In the following sections, the process of QGIS digital visualization of data was explained while the outcomes of those immigration data were highlighted. A detailed data analysis was conducted after designing and creating the maps.

3.1.2 Creation of Data Visualization

This section discussed the creation of QGIS maps representing the Hong Kong immigrants that were distributed in Canada by different categories. The data used in each period included an average of all the values in the covered period. For example, if there were X immigrants that landed in 1994, Y immigrants that landed in 1995, and Z immigrants that landed in 1996, letters X, Y, and Z represented the total number of the immigrants population of that year. The calculation then would be $(X+Y+Z)/3$ and that figure would be applied into the attributes table to represent the average immigrants transferring in Canada from 1994 to 1996.

The first process created the population densities of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada by gender. At this stage, all the data sets were extracted from the other sources before doing the digital mapping and building layers instead of finding the data out of the QGIS software application at each step. In the gender mapping process, there was a layer of polygon of the population density of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada to be developed based on the basemap.

The selected basemap in this study was OpenStreetMap (OSM), which is under the OpenLayers Plugin. OpenStreetMap is “a data repository for geographic reference data, provides both map services and data...uses a more abstract and scalable schema than most data providers” (Mearns, 2015). Applying the OSM data schema into the practice of mapping allowed any kind of data to maintain their clarity, which was well established for adding the keys to the database schema. After importing the basemap, building polygons of the population density of Hong

Kong immigrants in 12 provinces and territories of Canada was a critical step for mapping the population density in each region and making comparisons between them. When the whole layer scale dependency, such as the vector layer that contains all polygons of provinces and territories, was prepared to add features, then the layer could own its attributes and could be defined based on the geometric characteristics of a specific region. After drawing each polygon of the province or territory, the attribute table could be added with columns such as id, province, and the population of Hong Kong immigrants by gender or difference between male and female in a certain province according to CIC census data (Figure 1). The layer style was configured through

	id	Province	Difference
0	1	Nfld	4.00
1	2	N.B.	13.50
2	3	N.S.	110.00
3	4	Que	534.50
4	5	Ont	7911.50
5	6	Man	93.50
6	7	Sask	67.50
7	8	Alta	1060.50
8	9	B.C.	6465.50
9	10	Yukon	1.00
10	11	N.W.T.	3.50
11	12	P.E.I.	7.50

Figure 1 The Attribute Table

the style tab in the layer properties dialog (Mearns, 2015). The graduated style types that are applied to the quantitative data provided the different visual styles according to the statistics that is summarized and calculated in the attribute table. This could perfectly display as to what extent the population of Hong Kong immigrants was distributed in different regions. For example, Figure 2 shows the symbol, values, and legend of a specific polygon layer. The color that tends to be yellow represents the fewer immigrants, while the color that leans towards blue means more immigrants who are living in a certain region. In this sample, what the viewer can find directly is that Ontario and British Columbia are the two most popular provinces that immigrants prefer to stay and followed by Alberta and Quebec.

Also, the similar steps were conducted to create the points of the cities as intended destination in distinct period as what has been made in the process of making the population density of immigrants by province and territory. Similarly, each color represents the range of the

immigrants' population. To be more accessible to do the research for this study, publishing the results as a web application by using the qgis2leaf technology could provide a more intuitive and

Symbol ▼	Values	Legend
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1.00 - 10.00	1 - 10
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	10.00 - 50.00	10 - 50
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	50.00 - 100.00	50 - 100
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	100.00 - 500.00	100 - 500
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	500.00 - 1000.00	500 - 1000
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1000.00 - 1500.00	1000 - 1500
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1500.00 - 2000.00	1500 - 2000
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	2000.00 - 5000.00	2000 - 5000

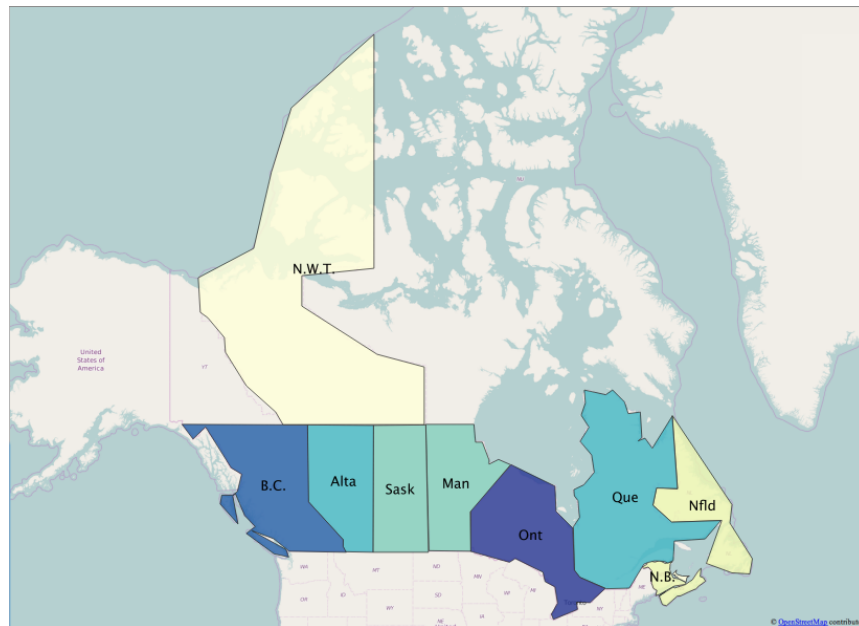
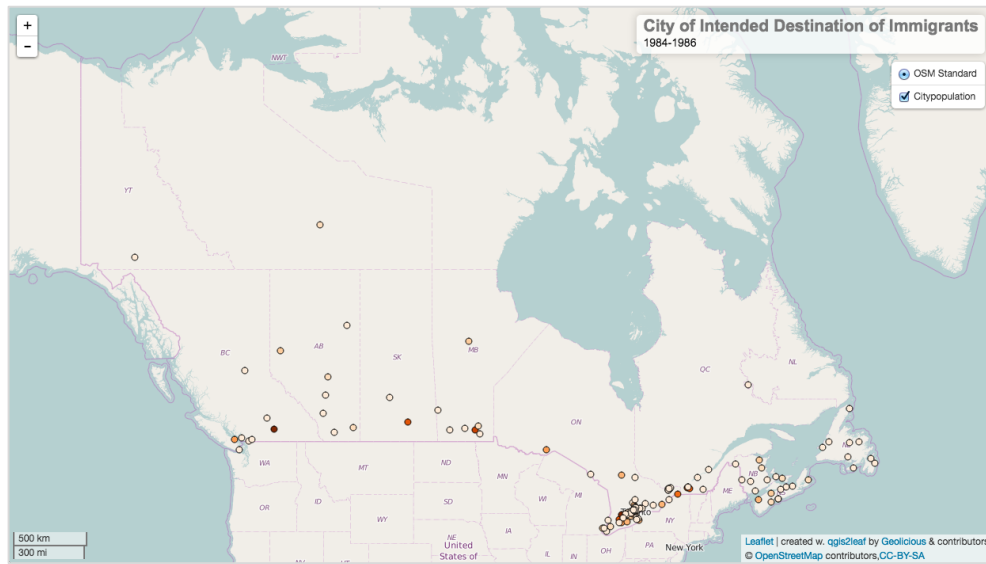


Figure 2 The Symbol, Value, and Legend of Immigrants Population by Province or Territory

convenient approach to know the specific data. Mearn (2015) demonstrates that “qgis2leaf allows us to export our QGIS map to web map formats (JavaScript, HTML, and CSS) using the Leaflet map API. Leaflet is a very lightweight, extensible, and responsive (and trendy) web mapping interface.” Figure 3 highlights an example of the qgis2leaf for the population density of

Hong Kong immigrants by the intended city as destination between 1984 and 1986, which is more intuitive and convenient for the viewer and researcher getting the source data. The viewer can click on the “+” button to zoom in to know the specific destination and also click on the circle dot to get more detail in the information such as id, name of city, and the exact number of population. Comparing the data among the different periods is critical to visualize the variation



(a) Overall View of City of Intended Destination of Immigrants in Canada



(b) Zoom in of the Province of Alberta

Figure 3 Example of the Population Density of Hong Kong Immigrants by Intended City

of Hong Kong migrants' practices and motivations. Thus this project also calculated the different values of males and females within a certain period. The calculation involved subtracting the number of females from the number of males. According to the exported picture as figure 4 shows, the negative (-) means fewer women than men while positive (+) means more women than men. However, the maps still have deficiencies, which would be mentioned in the final

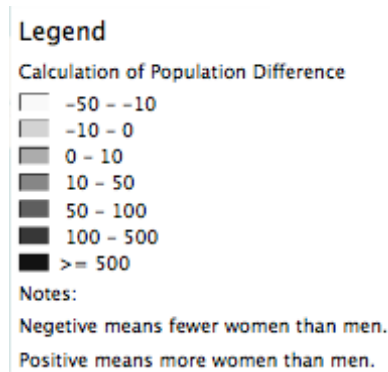


Figure 4 Legend of Variation of Immigrants Population by Gender

section of this chapter. The results of the distribution of immigrants in Canada by age and class would be displayed by graphs and charts because of the lack of data source.

3.2 Data Outcomes and Analysis

This section displayed the data outcomes and analyzed the QGIS technical application. The key outcome information described the distributions and changes of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada by destination, gender, age group, and class during the 1997 handover. These changes were related to the practices, behaviors, and motivations of the Hong Kong migrants in their process of transnational migration between Hong Kong and Canada. The QGIS outcomes were listed below.

The different theories provided the criteria for constructing and identifying the maps. According to the data extracted from the database, the changes of Hong Kong immigrant population in Canada by calendar year provided the guidelines for the classification in different periods of the maps construction during the whole handover period. As shown in the following maps, the whole time period was divided into four periods such as 1984-1986, 1987-1989, 1990-1994, and 1995-1997. Along with the neo-institutionalism theory, the changing institutional structures in China provided specific guidelines for the classification in different periods of the

maps during the handover. Looking back at China's history, it can be seen that it had witnessed big changes in the 1980s and 1990s, especially the shifts in global and nation-state institutions, and the political and economic structures. The place is critical to goal setting for the Hong Kong migrants, including their decision-making on the specific destination to Canada and the redefinition process of the two places crossing national borders. The population of Hong Kong immigrants classified by provinces or territories and the different cities or towns should be made visible to the viewer. Based on the previous statements of social identity, transnationalism theory, and the existing data, gendered approach was mainly applied to the map constructions.

In the maps below, all the figures were divided into four time periods based on the data changes about the Hong Kong migrant population and institutional structures according to literature review. Figures 5, 6, and 7 visualize the gendered approaches in the Hong Kong migration case, which are divided into males and females to figure out the gender difference within the study of Hong Kong migration to Canada. Figures 8 and 9 represent the place method by cities and towns of Canada where Hong Kong immigrants preferred to settle during the handover. With the whole mapping, the place played an important role on how Hong Kong Canadian new comers redefined the place of their origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada). Figure 10 shows the different categories of migrants by class and age group. Regarding the theories of social identity and transnationalism, the comparison of the population in each stage can find different people's preference in migration to Canada, and conclude that how these factors affected the different kinds of Hong Kong people's motivations and behaviors in migration to Canada.

Figure 5 represents the average number of population of Hong Kong male immigrants in Canada within the different time periods. The maps show the levels of population density in the different provinces and territories of Canada from 1984 to 1997. Each map displays the average number of the Hong Kong immigrants moving to the different provinces and territories in each time period. The legend defines the distinct ranges of the immigrants' population that are represented by the 10 different shades of color. The color that tends to be yellow represents the fewer immigrants, while the color leaning towards blue means more immigrants living in a certain region. The color variations show the important things about the changes in Hong Kong immigrant population in Canada in each time period. In general, the population of Hong Kong male immigrants in Canada highlights an increase in the early handover period and a decrease in

the late 1990s. From 1984 to 1986, it shows a small population of the new comers from Hong Kong to Canada followed by the period from 1987 to 1989 that displays a rapid increase in the immigrant population, particularly in Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta. Between 1990 and 1994, the male immigrant population was still vast and had a modest increase in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. Even so, the declining rate of the Hong Kong male immigrant population in Canada was in sight. Most of the provinces in the last period experienced a reduction in the population of Hong Kong male migrants to Canada, except in British Columbia that had a small growth. The Quebec data experienced the highest decline in that population of that province. All maps show the common characteristics that Ontario accounted for the largest population of Hong Kong immigrants between 1984 and 1997, followed by the British Columbia. Also, Quebec and Alberta occupied the most of the immigrants' population during that period. On the contrary, Yukon, North West Territories, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland had few number of Hong Kong immigrants at that time. The population figures for Ontario rose from under 2,000 number of population between 1984 and 1986 to almost 8,000 between 1995 and 1997. The population figures of British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta separately climbed from under 1,000 and under 500 of both Quebec and Alberta's immigrants' population to almost 5,000 and almost 2,000 of Quebec and Alberta, respectively.

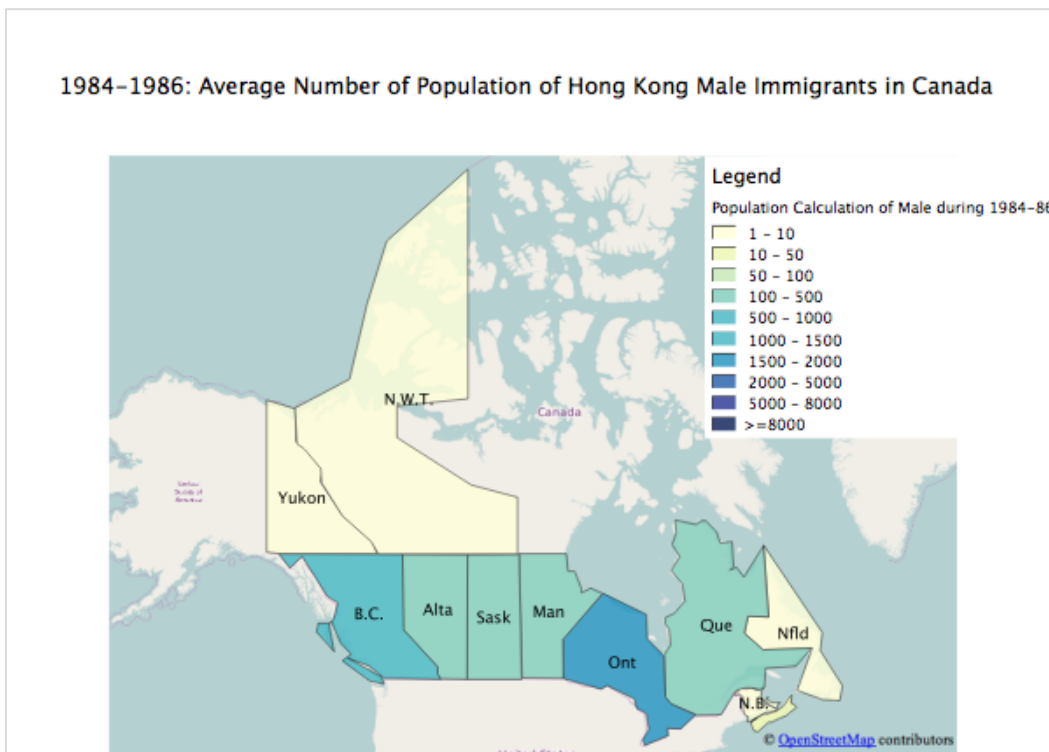
Figure 6 shows the population of the Hong Kong female immigrants in Canada among the different time periods. The lighter and more lilac in color means the smaller number of female immigrant population, while the darker and more like green represents more population as shown. The maps illustrate the similar trends among men.

Both male and female migrants from Hong Kong were found to migrate to Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec, which all are situated in the south of the country with large populations generally and are more prosperous than the northern regions such as Yukon and North West Territories. The population of immigrants there always maintained a very low density and has severe climate condition in winter brought by high latitudes. It can be predicted that the natural circumstance, economic structure, and social relationships led to a steady growth of immigrant population in the provinces. Even though the population of immigrants went down in most regions of the last period, those cited provinces still received large number of immigrants, especially in Ontario and British Columbia. Because of the infrastructures and industries in

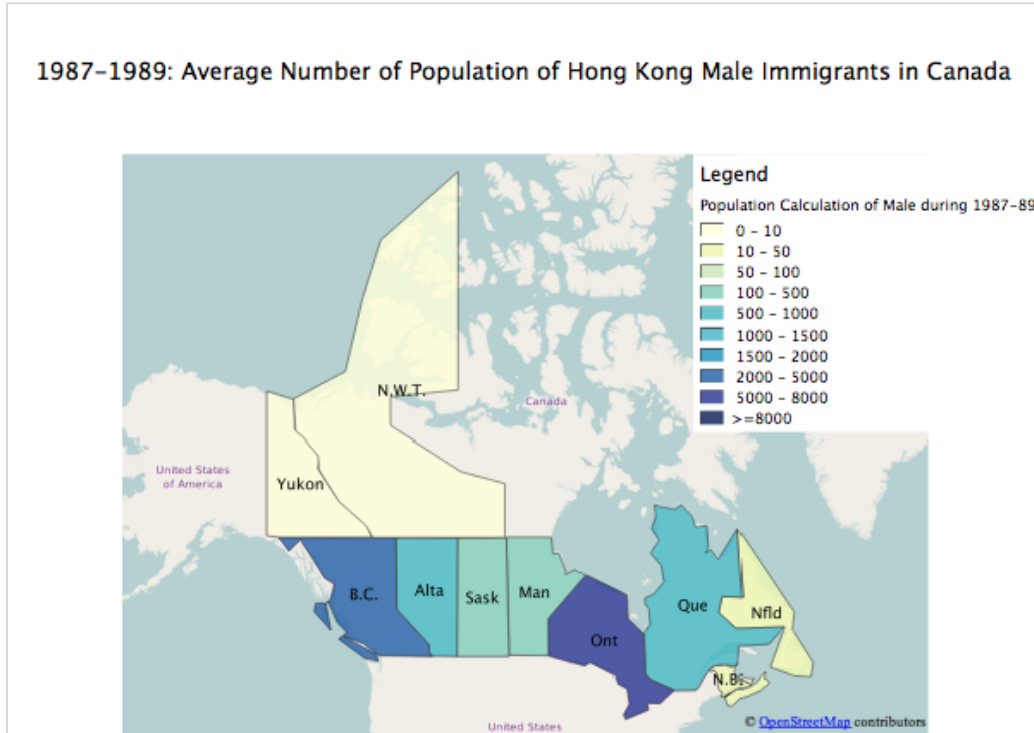
Ontario, and the capital city Ottawa and economic center in Toronto, Canada, the Hong Kong Chinese would like to live near the place, which is like a center as the Hong Kong. Also, it is known that British Columbia has a temperate marine climate, which is more suitable and livable for the Hong Kong Chinese because they were accustomed to living in a warmer place like Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Chinese migrants are more likely to follow where others that they know settle in and what others do. Others went to the provinces and territories that were more popular for their predecessors at the very beginning of the migration period and also chose to go to the regions first.



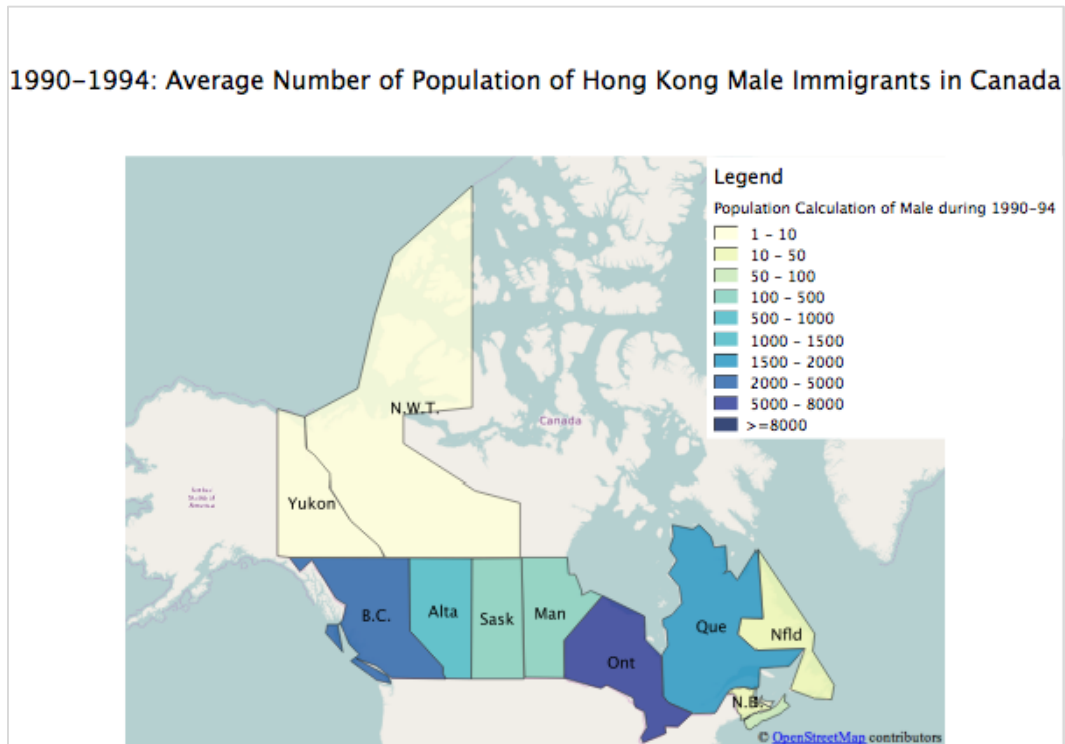
(Legend: number 0 to more than 8,000)



(a) 1984-1986: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada

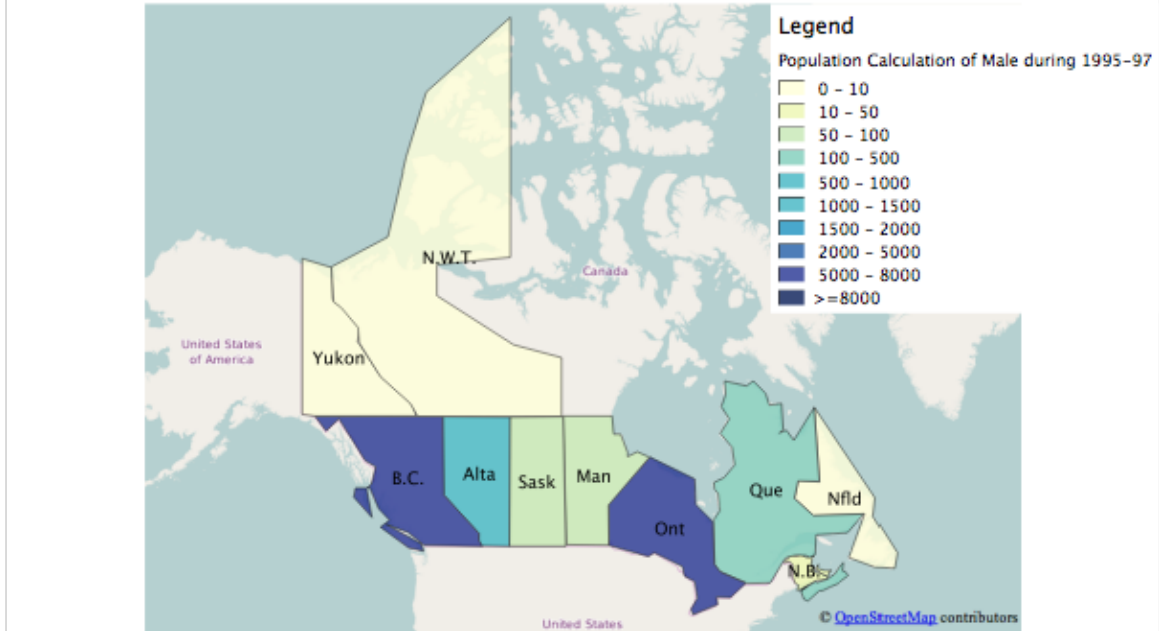


(b) 1987-1989: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada



(c) 1990-1994: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada

1995–1997: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada

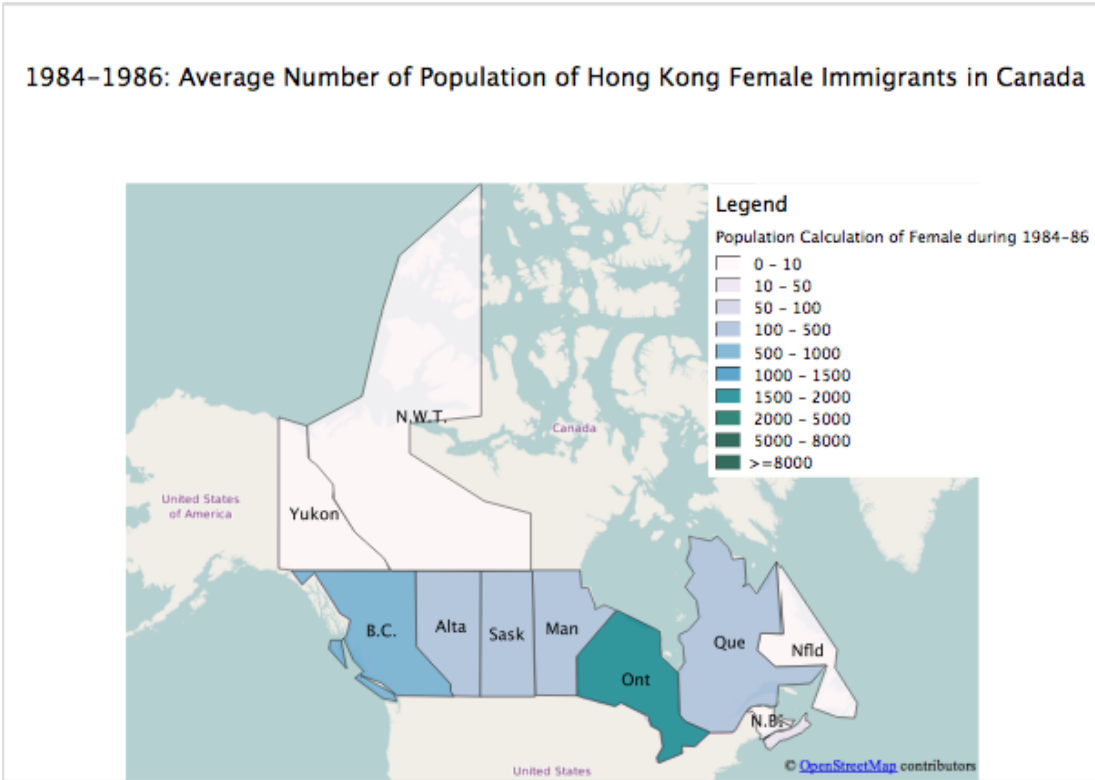


(d) 1995-1997: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada

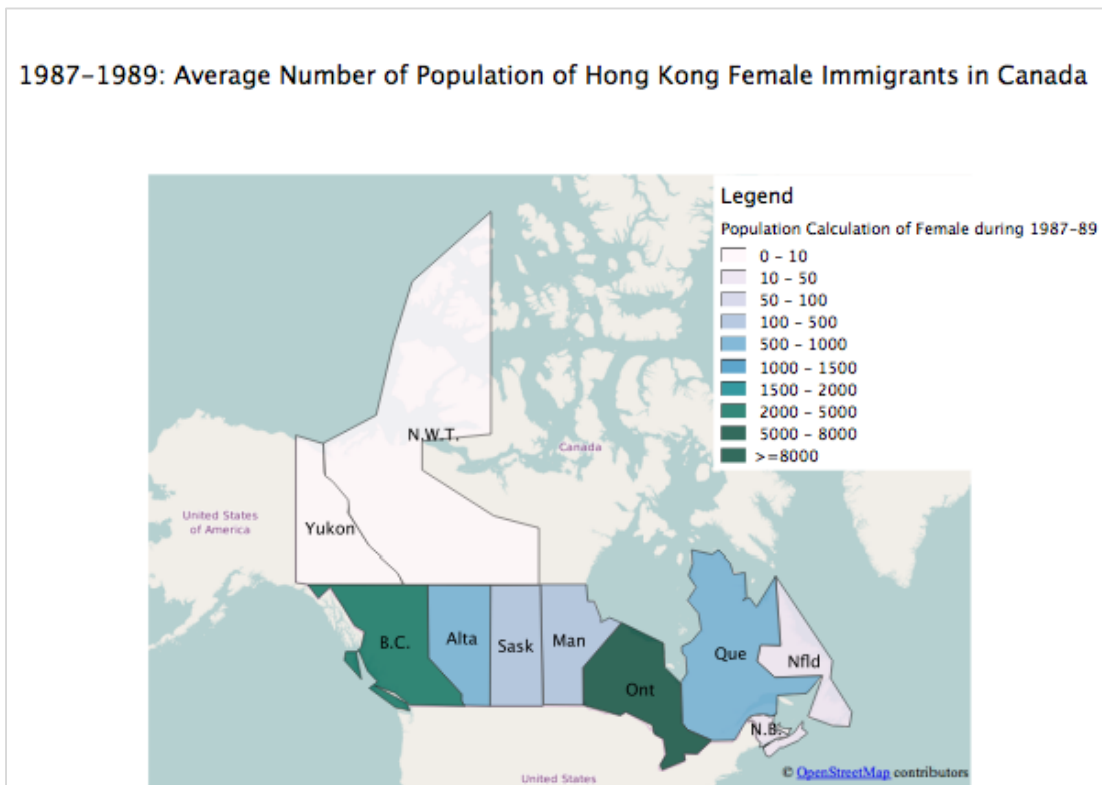
Figure 5 Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Male Immigrants in Canada (Per Year), 1984-1997



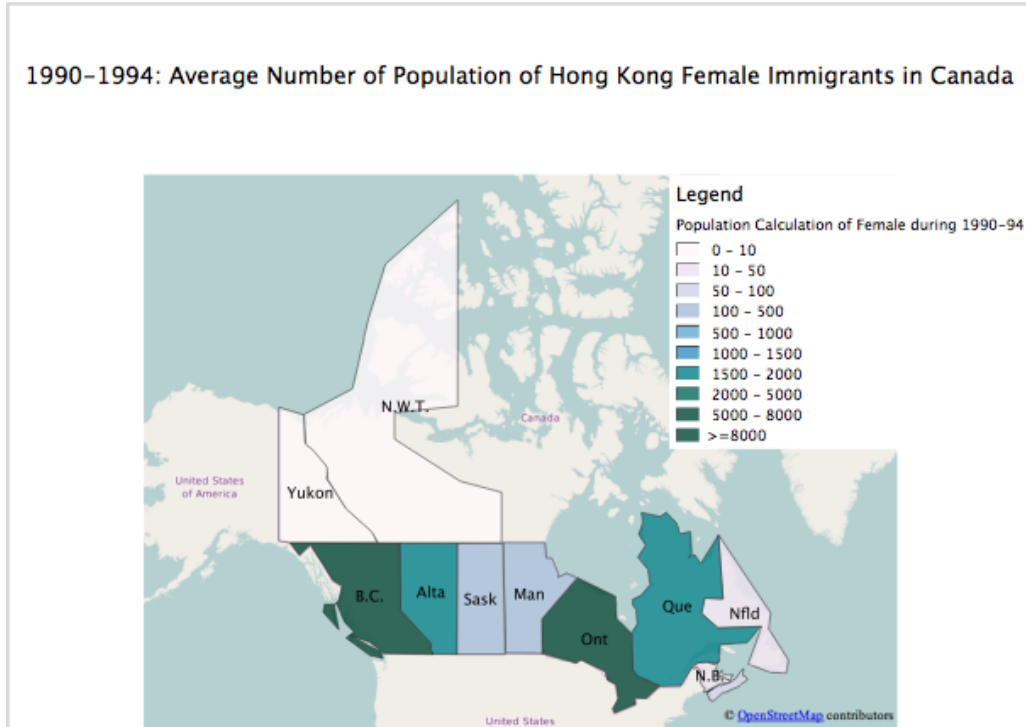
(Legend: number 0 to more than 8,000)



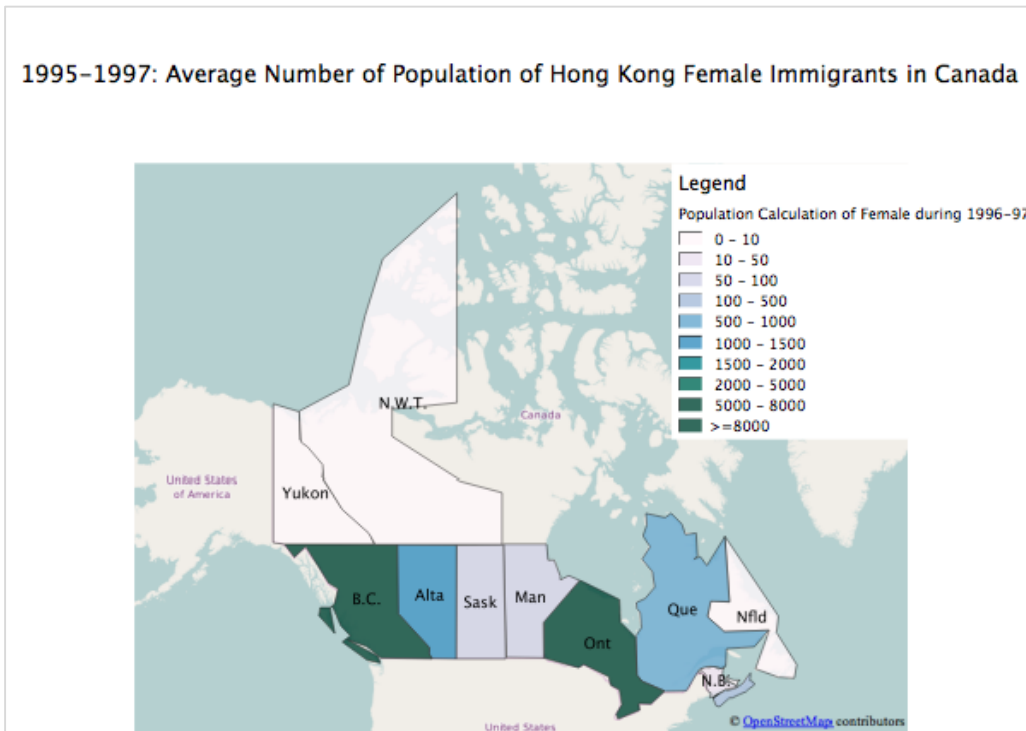
(a) 1984-1986: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Female Immigrants in Canada



(b) 1987-1989: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Female Immigrants in Canada



(c) 1990-1994: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Female Immigrants in Canada



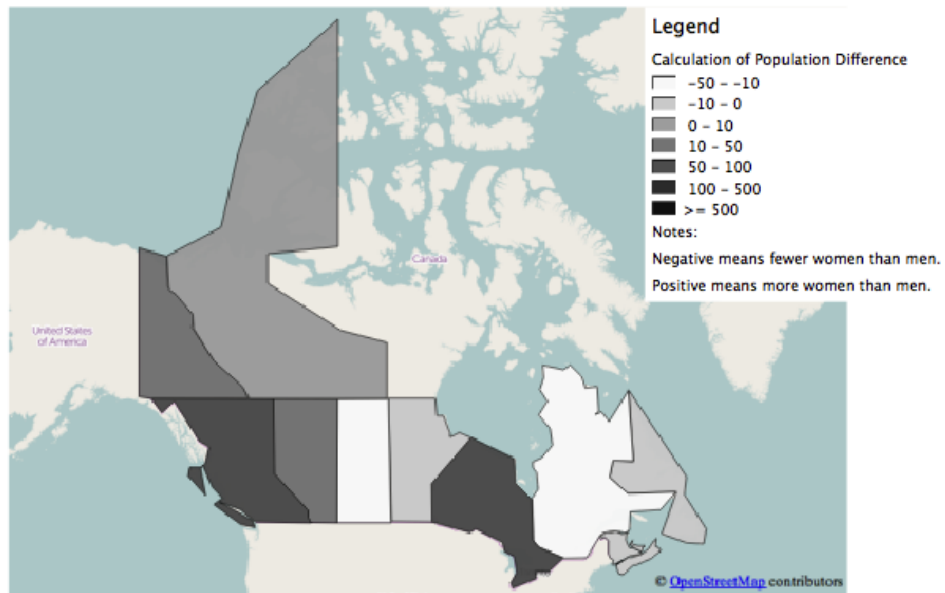
(d) 1995-1997: Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Female Immigrants in Canada

Figure 6 Average Number of Population of Hong Kong Female Immigrants in Canada (Per Year), 1984-1997

Figure 7 compares the population of male and female Hong Kong immigrants in 12 provinces and territories in Canada for 14 years from 1984 to 1997. All of the maps show an upward trend of the female immigrants landing in Canada. From 1984 to 1986, there were only five provinces and territories such as British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, North West Territories, and Yukon having more female immigrants than male immigrants. Since the second period of 1987 and 1989, the population difference of female and male immigrants in Canada had been increased, especially in Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta. These three provinces accounted for the large proportion of the population of female immigrants and had a large gap in population between male and female during the whole period. Between 1995 and 1997, the maps illustrate the nine provinces and territories that had more female immigrants than male immigrants.

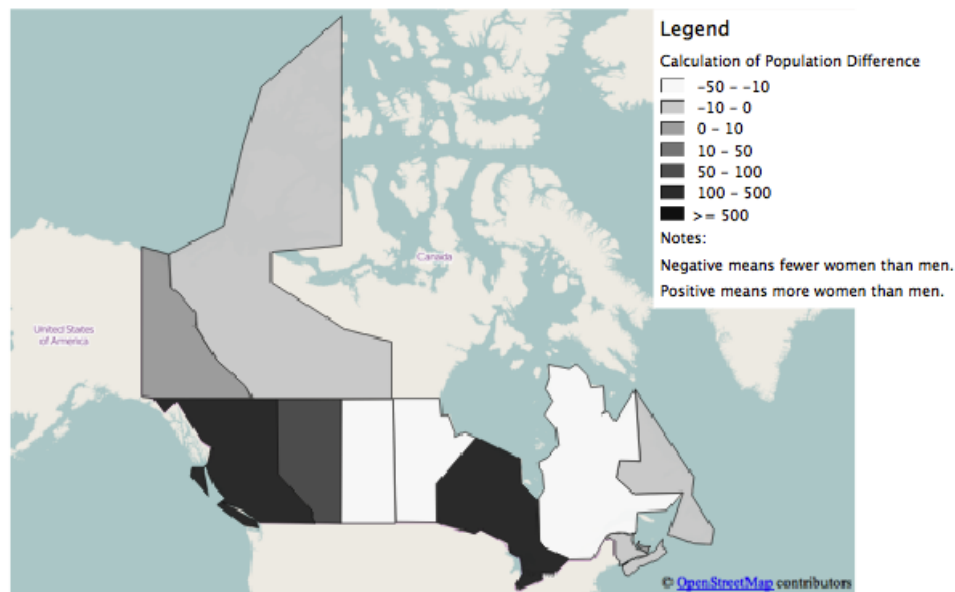
The Hong Kong female immigrants were more likely to immigrate to Canada compared to the male counterparts during the period of handover of Hong Kong to China. As the gender contributes to a unique way to the functioning of the Chinese family, how a woman plays a role in a Chinese family structure is crucial to explain why many women were immigrating, including the difference of responsibility in a family and the distinct social identities between the genders. The female immigrants accounted for the major immigrants' population as the time went by, which is an essential issue for understanding why more Hong Kong females would like to settle in most regions of Canada than males. As previously noted, there was an increasing gap between the population of male and female immigrants in provinces and territories where has prosperous economies and warmer climate conditions, not only due to the large Hong Kong immigrant populations, but also because of the high population of female immigrants.

1984-1986: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants



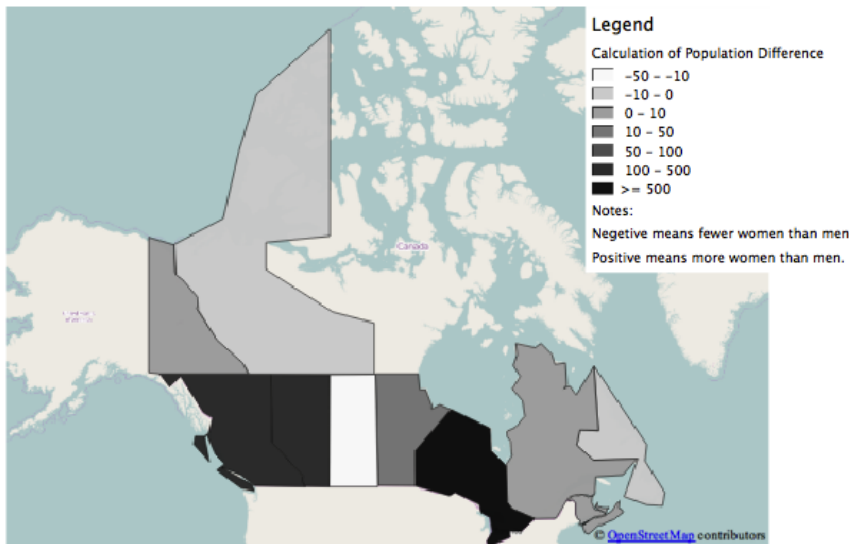
(a) 1984-1987: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants

1987-1989: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants



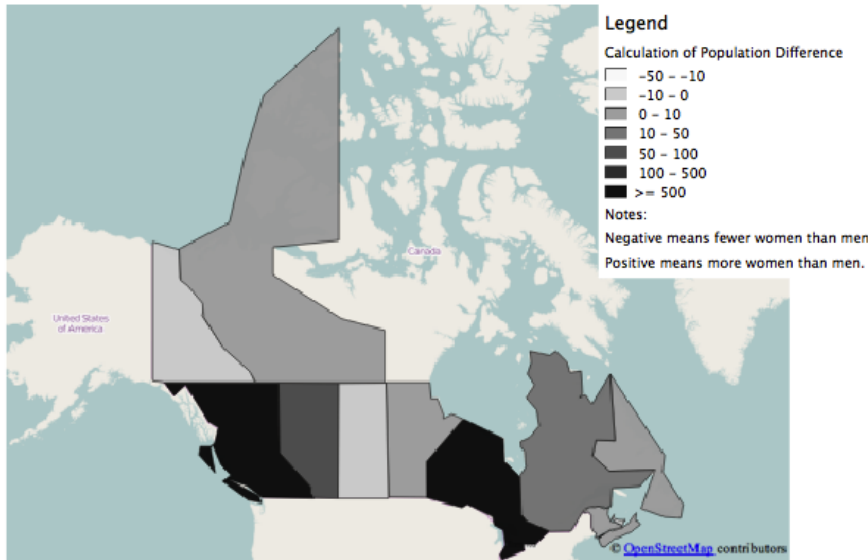
(b) 1987-1989: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants

1990–1994: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants



(c) 1990-1994: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants

1995–1997: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants



(d) 1995-1997: The Difference between Male and Female Immigrants

Figure 7 The Difference between the Male and Female Hong Kong Immigrants in Canada by Each Time Period

Figures 8 and 9 display the distribution of the cities as intended destinations where Hong Kong immigrants landed between 1984 and 1997. Many of the labels of the city names overlapped each other because of the densely cities around the area such as Southern Ontario and Southern British Columbia. To make the maps more readable, only the cities where more than 20 populations of Hong Kong immigrants settle in were shown in Figure 9. Also, the maps show that there had been increasing cities receiving Hong Kong immigrants and the figures increased from 1990 to 1994. From 1995 to 1997, that figures experienced a plunge, except for Vancouver, where the population number of Hong Kong immigrants peaked at more than 10,000.

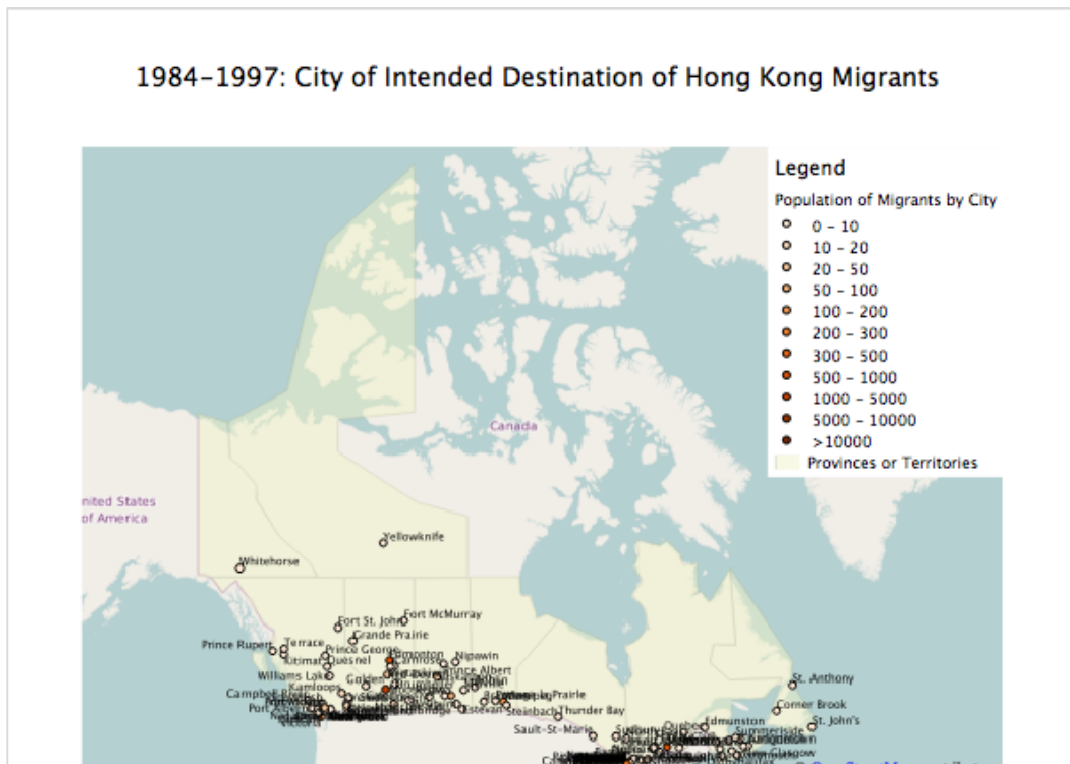


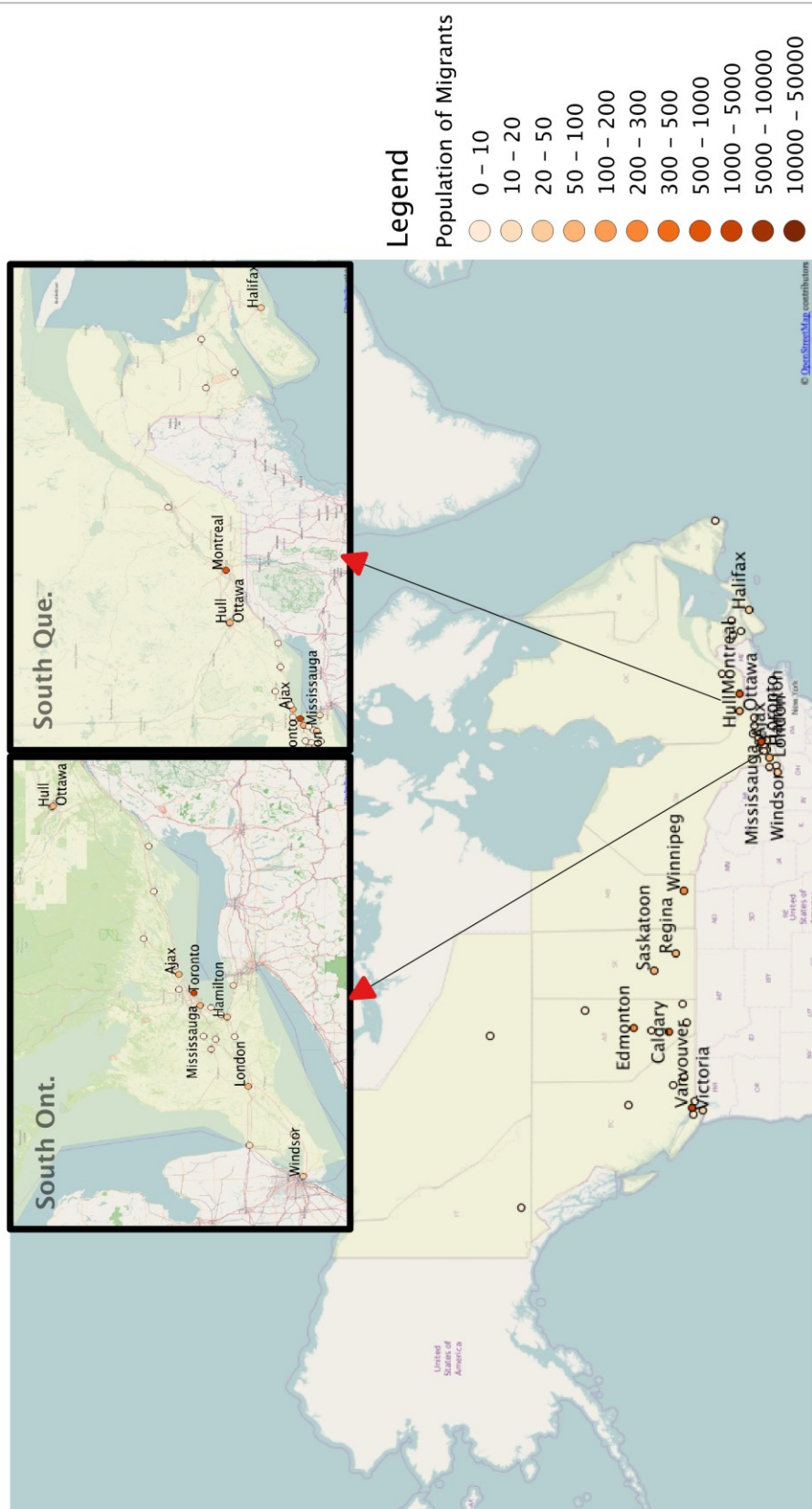
Figure 8 City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants in Canada

Based on the maps, it can be viewed that the Hong Kong immigrants tended to settle in southern areas of Canada, particularly in the cities and towns in the south of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, and Quebec. Some capital cities like Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Edmonton, and Calgary, also attracted more immigrants. Other small towns also had huge number of immigrants. Hong Kong immigrants were more likely to choose larger cities than small towns and the places surrounded by urban agglomeration area such as Southern British

Columbia, Southern Ontario, mid Alberta, and Southern Quebec. Among those areas, people choose to live in the bigger cities. In Southern Ontario, the cities like Toronto, Mississauga, Hamilton, Markham, and Richmond Hill attracted many Hong Kong immigrants. Also, a great deal of Hong Kong immigrants worked and lived in the cities like Vancouver and Victoria in Southern British Columbia, Calgary, Edmonton, and Red Deer in mid Alberta, and Montreal and Ottawa in Southern Quebec. The preference for specific place is important for the understanding of Hong Kong migrants' decisions and behaviors. For example, their sense of place for Hong Kong and big city like Toronto would have similarity of the social environment and economic, institutional, and political structures. In general, the most popular cities are located in the southern side of nation representing the population, economics, and the political center of Canada. Also, the southern side of Canada has warmer climate than the northern side. That is why the population density of the southern side is generally larger than the Northern side.

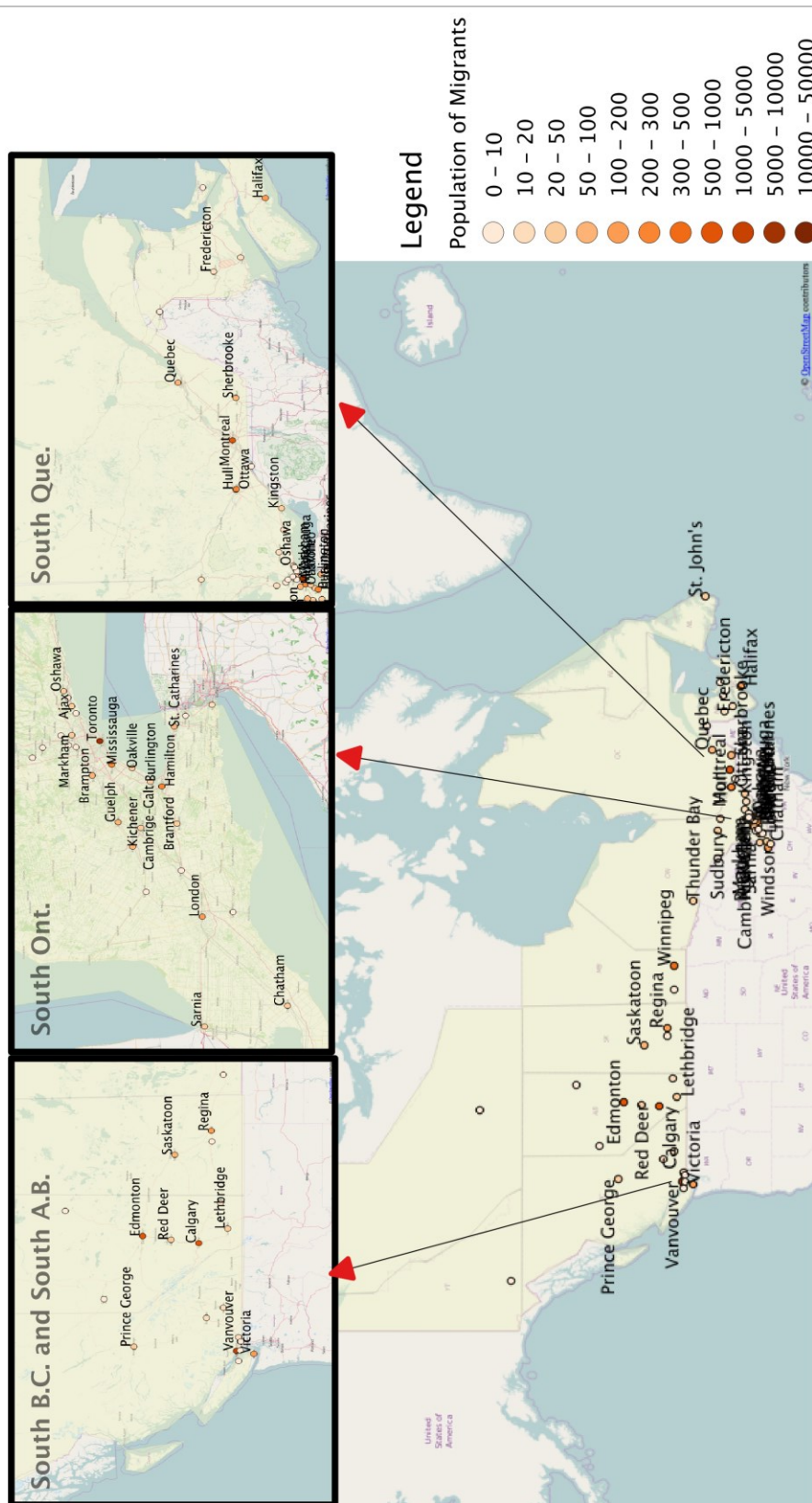
As the time went by, many new comers chose to move to these cities following their predecessors based on their family structure and social relationships. But the population that declined between 1995 and 1997 in most cities raises the comparison of changes in those patterns. Only few cities such as Toronto, Markham, Mississauga, and Vancouver still attracted very high or higher population of Hong Kong immigrants than the previous stages in the same period. It provided guidelines for understanding why cities and towns in the maps showed these trends and what the maps wanted to express in each stage during the whole handover period.

1984–1986: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants



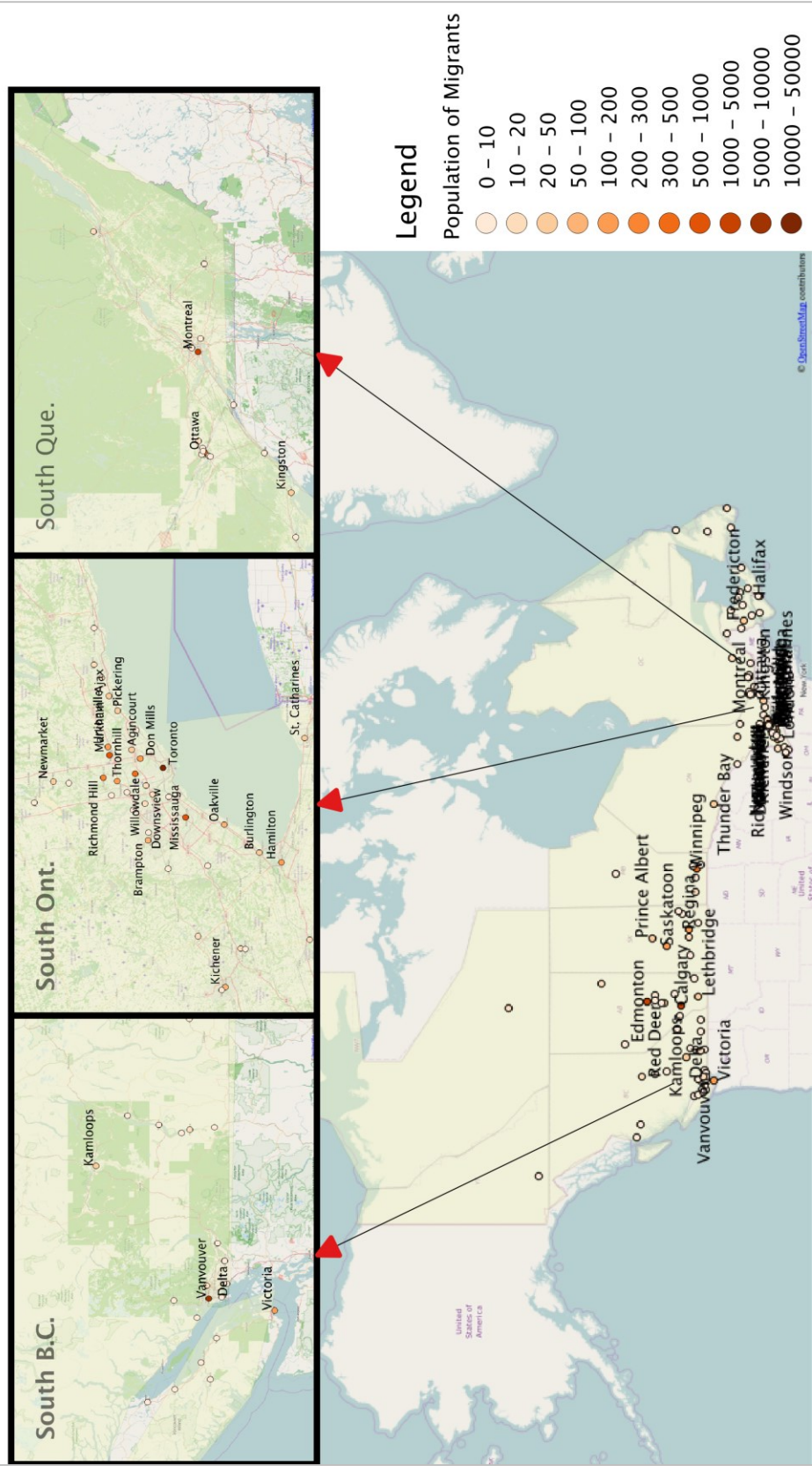
(a) 1984-1986: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants

1987 – 1989: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants



(b) 1987-1989: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants

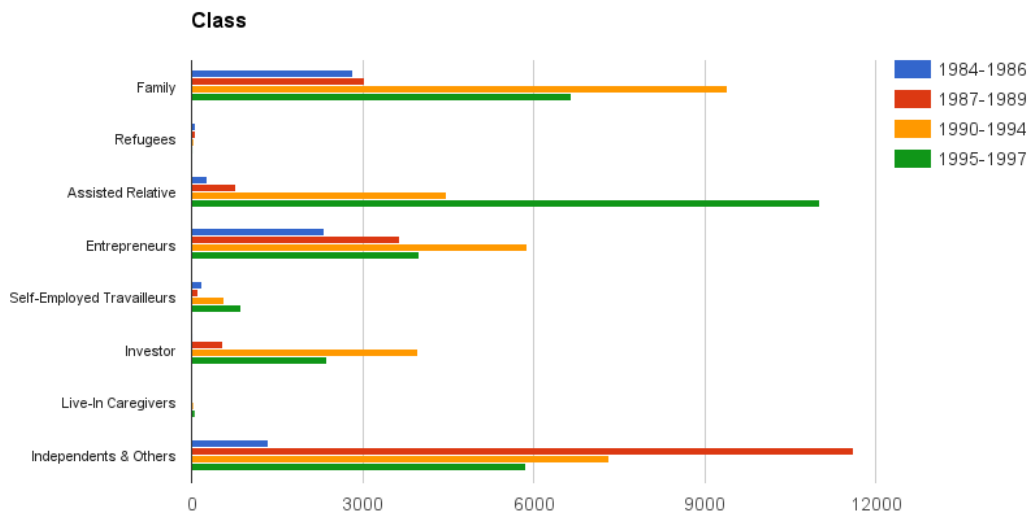
1990-1994: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants



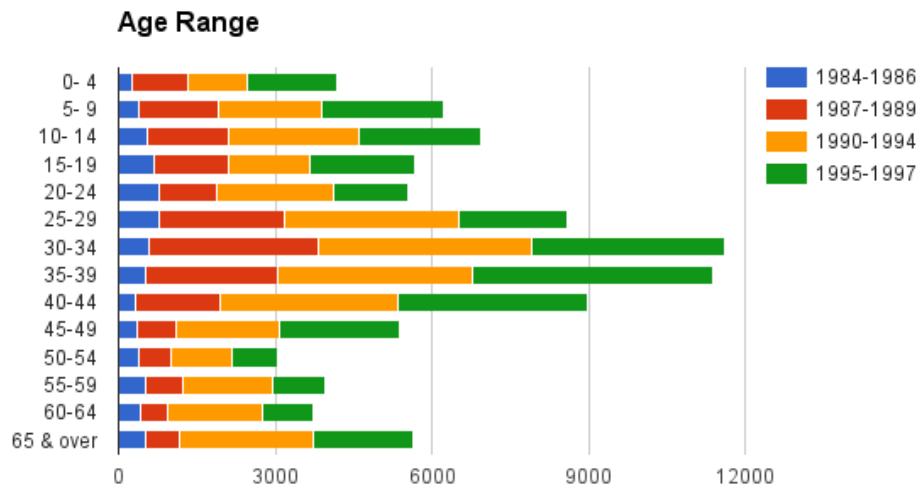
(c) 1990-1994: City of Intended Destination of Hong Kong Migrants

Due to the lack of data sources, CIC only had data on the immigrants by class and age within a nationwide scale instead of the specific provinces and territories. Thus, the data was represented through the charts (Figure 10). The charts show the figures for the Hong Kong Chinese immigration in Canada by class and age between 1984 and 1997.

In the first chart, the figures of immigration class in family, assisted relatives, entrepreneurs, and independents and others are seen, which stood out as significant in the whole period and highlighted dramatic changes over 14 years. But the immigration class in refugees, self-employed travailleurs, and live-in caregivers did not occupy a large number of Hong Kong immigrants in the whole period. First, the figures for the class in family were on a dramatic rise between 1990 and 1994. There were less than 3,000 cases before 1990, but until 1994, it became more than 9,000 cases. From 1995 to 1997, the figure dropped to around 7,000. Second, the class in assisted relative saw the fastest increase. It climbed from around 300 immigrants between 1984 and 1986 to more than 11,000 immigrants between 1995 and 1997. Third, the situations of immigration class in entrepreneur and investor were quite similar to that of family, but not as dramatic and many. In these two cases, the number of class in entrepreneur was always more than that in the investor. Those figures show that the number of immigrants among the immigration class in entrepreneurs and investors peaked between 1990 and 1994. Finally, the figures for independents and others saw a different scene where the number of immigrants by independents and others rose with a great momentum to more than 11,000 cases between 1987 and 1989.



(a) Patterns of Hong Kong Chinese Immigration in Canada by Class



(b) Patterns of Hong Kong Chinese Immigration in Canada by Age

Figure 10 Patterns of Hong Kong Chinese Immigration in Canada by Class and Age, 1984-1997

The second chart shows the Hong Kong immigrants' pattern in Canada by age group. As what the former maps displayed, most of the figures highlight the increases in the population of the immigrants by age group. Between 1995 and 1997, the figures dropped substantially. Among them, the immigrants between 30 and 40 years old had occupied the largest amount of Hong Kong immigrants until the period from 1995 to 1997, followed by the immigrants in the age group from 35 to 39 years old and between 40 and 44 years old. The population of immigrants in those two age groups continued their upward trends until the last time period when they transferred the sovereignty of Hong Kong to China.

In summary, based on the maps and charts, the population of the Hong Kong immigrants that landed in Canada by different categories such as destination, gender, class, and age group, underwent many changes across the 14 years during the handover of Hong Kong. From all the maps and charts, it can be viewed that between 1995 and 1997 fewer Hong Kong migrants immigrated into Canada, except for Vancouver in British Columbia, where migrants were still more likely to settle in and the class of assisted relative who occupied the vast majority of the immigrants. This phenomenon could be analyzed through the patterns based on the theoretical concepts stated in the previous chapter. The situation was changing over time, including the transformation of the institutional structures, their complexity of social and cultural identity in different societies, their different strategies during the transnational practice, and the sense of place of the original home and new destination.

3.3 Design Limitations and the Solutions

The creation of the data visualization was limited by a number of factors that needed to be evaluated. First, there was no doubt that the return migration from Canada to Hong Kong occurred during the handover of Hong Kong period according to the previous research. But it was inaccessible to create the maps that related to the return migration due to the very limited amount of data, and the official immigration department of Hong Kong cannot accurately count how many migrants had returned or worked in Hong Kong. It was improbable to ensure the practice and behavior of migration would match the intention (Sussman, 2011). But some researchers, such as Ley and Kobayashi (2005), calculated that between 500,000 and 700,000 Hong Kong overseas migrants had returned by the mide-1990s. One thing could be estimated

that “most returnees were young adults (aged 20 to 29) or middle-aged (aged 30 to 39); very few were children or retirees” (Sussman, 2011, p. 33).

Second, the study included the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada between 1984 and 1997. But the data of 1997 from CIC were not released to the public without any reason. The published data of facts and figures in 1998 summarizes the immigration information in 1997. After comparing the figures from 1995 to 1996, it could be estimated that the specific figures by gender, class, and age group were similar to that of 1995 and 1996. So the three-year average of population of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada could also be used to represent the last stage of the handover of Hong Kong.

Finally, the maps still had deficiencies. The polygons and points in the maps were drawn manually. These still were inaccurate compared with those maps created by the computational tools. But the created maps and charts were enough for data visualization to have an access to the practice of Hong Kong immigration in Canada during Britain’s handover of Hong Kong to China.

Despite the limitations and problems of the outlined design and throughout the thesis, the methodology allowed the main research’s objectives to be realized.

3.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter drew attention to the role of the theoretical methods in data visualization and the constructions of digital maps to gain insights into the diverse spatial patterns of Hong Kong migration to Canada by the different time periods, gendered approach, age group, and class over the handover of Hong Kong.

The data was selected and extracted from the CIC immigration statistics’ archived website. The representation of the Hong Kong migration was created by QGIS technology, which applied the different layers onto the basemap. According to the neo-institutionalism theory and the display of existing data, the maps were divided into the different ways of visualization based on the four time periods, including 1984-1986, 1987-1989, 1990-1994, and 1995-1997 when defining and sorting periods during the whole migration process. The place played an important role in the Hong Kong migrants’ decision making, which also influenced their sense of place and redefinition of the place of both the origin and destination. The maps were constructed by the classification of the provinces and territories, and cities and towns in the nation of Canada. The theories of social identity and transnationalism gave ideas for map constructions by highlighting

how the migrants by different categories, including gender difference within a family, and age group and class thought about their behaviors and practices of migration to Canada. The four types of maps during each period therefore were constructed such as the average number of population of Hong Kong male immigrants in Canada, average number of population of Hong Kong female immigrants in Canada, the difference between the population of male and female Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, and the city of intended destination of Hong Kong migrants in Canada. Also, the two charts show the patterns of the Hong Kong Chinese immigration in Canada by class and age in 1984-1997 that were created due to the lack of data in these two categories. All the maps and charts show the similar trends, which presented a rapid increase before the period between 1995 and 1997 while it experienced a drop in Hong Kong immigrant population in that period, except for Vancouver in British Columbia and the class of the assisted relative.

In turn, the data visualization in the maps also provided guidelines for the analysis of what the QGIS software application had made and how the theoretical concepts could be applied to understand the facts and phenomena that the maps displayed.

Chapter 4

Results and Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed the factors that reflect the trends of Hong Kong migration waves to Canada based on the facts displayed on the maps during the Britain's handover of Hong Kong to China between 1984 and 1997. This chapter also listed the practices and experiences of Hong Kong migrants within their transnational migration between Hong Kong and Canada.

Based on the created data visualization, Hong Kong experienced a mass human migration from Hong Kong to Canada, undergoing several changes during the handover. As presented in the maps and charts, the handover period was divided into four time periods with different major events in every period. The period from 1984 to 1986 was the start of the migration from Hong Kong to Canada, followed by the period between 1987 and 1989 where the population of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada had gradually increased. From 1990 to 1994, many of the Hong Kong Chinese immigrated to Canada recording an immigrant upsurge in the Hong Kong migration history. But a decline in the Hong Kong population that emigrated to Canada was seen between 1995 and 1997. The return migration phenomenon from Canada to Hong Kong also occurred during this period.

There were four main aspects used as guidelines for the Hong Kong migration behaviors. These highlighted the motivations of the Hong Kong migrants moving to Canada and the return migration to Hong Kong. These four principle factors were neo-institutional structures, social identity participation in sojourner adjustment and adaptation to new cultures and return migration, transnational migration practices between the place of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada), and place identity and place attachment across the life cycle. Integrating those theoretical concepts, the following sections explored the findings and the aspects that concluded the maps in detail.

The neo-institutional theory focused on analyzing the individual and the institutional environment that surround the individual, which gave guidelines for understanding the various changes in politics, economics, social fields, and family structures in a society in each stage of the handover. This theory helped to understand how the macro level factors led to the practice of

Hong Kong's transnational migration. However, the factors that contributed to Hong Kong migration and return migration were not only embodied within the changes in one place, they were rooted within the broader geo-political and global dynamics. Therefore, the various relationships in the migration process that cross borders, such as the trans-bordered relations of individuals, diasporas, places, identities, and situations are analyzed to better understand the multiple relations that forced the practices in transnational migration. Also, different people had different decision-making during the handover period, which was affected by the personal perspectives (micro level factors). What comes of various personal perspectives were their emotional and psychological patterns, including their complexity of identities and different affective sense of place. Some migrants mainly had Chinese tradition identity or Western identity that was created after the Britain's colonization, and some had the mixed identities. These different identities impacted migrants' decision on whether to move or not. Different identities resulted in different senses of place.

4.2 Neo-institutional Structures: Guidelines for Hong Kong Migration Activities and Behaviors

As shown in the maps, they were divided into the different stages during the handover period. The neo-institutional theory helped in understanding the different social changes such as the tradition of the space and place, political structures, economic development, social fields, and Chinese family structures in various time stages during the handover. Based on the maps, the classifications by gender, the social relationship and Chinese family structure explained why the population changes and gaps between males and females.

According to the statement of Fromm (1941) that was mentioned in the chapter 2, the action of Hong Kong migrants to the changes in social institutions during the handover was "freedom to", which means some Hong Kong Chinese were left with feelings of hopelessness under the new rules of China and determined to emigrate overseas. The institutions could also be considered as a body of normative and binding rules, which reduced the uncertainty of an individual action. Hence, the institutional structures highlighted those who decided to emigrate and who were eligible to emigrate (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). Salaff, Wong, and Greve (2010, p. 6) claim that several factors that should be considered as large-scale institutional

structures such as “international market relations, state border controls, the spread of the British empire, professional regulations imposed on immigrants’ right to work, and political shifts in the relationship between the state and its citizens.” In the relationship between individuals and institutions, the large-scale institutions, including political, social, economic, and cultural aspects that form a context of strategy for individuals influence the individual’s activities and those that follow the proper logical conditions.

From a historical perspective, Hong Kong is a spatially mobile society with a tradition of immigration and emigration overseas. Since the Britain controlled Hong Kong in the 1840s, Hong Kong had received a massive number of migrants from mainland China, and then some of them emigrated to Southeast Asia and overseas. During Britain’s handover of Hong Kong’s political control to China, many in Hong Kong Chinese return-migrated to mainland China and some of the Hong Kong Chinese moved overseas. But the Hong Kong government did not have any restrictions on the population outflow. One important characteristic in the Hong Kong society was the population mobility, especially during and after the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. The Hong Kong colonial government even encouraged its residents to emigrate other Western countries. It was stated that the Western countries could protect Hong Kong people’s way of life that gave them a new sense of belonging based on their adaptation to the Western institutions, capitalist political and cultural systems, and ideology that were similar to what the British colonial regime had built during the colonial period.

Based on the statistics, the maps and charts were generally classified by the four time periods, which were important guidelines for finding out what occurred at the different time points during that whole handover period. The most notable were the biggest changes in the institutional structures such as the changing political structures in Hong Kong that influenced the Hong Kong citizens to the migration from Hong Kong to the Western countries, especially in Canada. China has insisted on the One-China policy, which means that Hong Kong definitely belongs to the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The reunification of Hong Kong stabilized East Asia’s regional security for China. In the 1980s, China took back sovereignty over Hong Kong under the conditions of cultural need and political and economic maturity. In 1984, the governments of China and the UK signed a joint declaration stating Hong Kong’s reunification with the PRC would go into effect on July 1, 1997. Several years of painstaking negotiations followed to ensure smooth political transitions until 1997. Between 1984 and 1997, this was the

period of Hong Kong migration to Canada as cited in the case study. During this time, as viewed from the maps, it shows the population of Hong Kong male/female immigrants in Canada. The population of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada witnessed a rapid growth from 1987 to 1989. Despite the immigrant population growth moderated from 1990 to 1994, still the total amount was at high level. According to the historical events, some Hong Kong citizens feared about the future of Hong Kong and decided to emigrate because of the possible political and social unrest when the Hong Kong handover ceremony approached. This was in relation to the Communist Party's war against the bourgeois liberalism in 1986, the Tiananmen Square Protests in 1989, and the demise of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in 1991. The decision of Hong Kong's handover to China and Tiananmen Square protests led to a migration flow from Hong Kong to other countries, while the demise of the Communist Party of Soviet Union ignited the climax of emigration because most of migrants had a negative image of Chinese communist regimes with the failure case in the Soviet Union. The political upset, like the Tiananmen Square protests, occurred in mainland China, which was a stressful event for the forecast of the future in Hong Kong. As a result, many Hong Kong citizens thought it was best to emigrate out of Hong Kong to get a positive freedom. Also, some Western researchers thought that the "One Country, Two Systems" policy with no change for 50 years would be difficult to enforce and there would be instability between the states with different social systems. Based on these remarks, the Hong Kong Chinese did not trust the Chinese government and that policy still meant that China would control over their lives. Some were afraid that Hong Kong would become like Shanghai that in the late 1940s, and one respondent in the previous interviews (Lam, 1994) said:

Why fifty years? The future of Hong Kong under communist rule is destined to be a disaster. No sane person should have faith in the promises. Mao made the same pledge to Shanghai in 1949 but it lasted for just three months. My parents escaped to Hong Kong giving up everything. Now the British government has abandoned Hong Kong and look what happened on June 4, 1989. Shouldn't we leave before it is too late? (p. 166)

There were aggravating fears of political unrest, social uncertainty, and economic recession in the Hong Kong society. Hence, some of the Hong Kong Chinese were obedient to the "political reforms" implemented by the Hong Kong administration to maximize benefits of self-prevention and trusted the ability of Hong Kong's institutions that would withstand the change of reversion.

But others left Hong Kong and moved to Canada for a “safety” reasons and its friendly immigration policies. One respondent explained:

As a social worker in Hong Kong, I became the principal applicant in successfully bringing the entire family here. My husband returned to Hong Kong to continue his job in the hospital. You know, he couldn't get any points with his profession for immigration. He of course is not happy about the points system. What can we do? I told him that, for the sake of the family, we have to leave and once we get the Canadian citizenship and passport, we will be home-free. Then, we can decide to remain here in Toronto or return to Hong Kong. At least, by doing so, we have an alternative. We won't be caught unprepared. When China turns Hong Kong into a living hell, as Canadian citizens we'll be protected by Canada. This is what we call insurance. (Lam, 1994, p. 167)

As observed, the population increase in the Hong Kong migrants to Canada began to slowdown in the 1990s and the number decreased rapidly in the mid-1990s. With the new run of economic growth introduced by Deng Xiaoping's famous Southern Tour of China in 1992, as a result of the 1989 disturbance in Beijing, along with the successful practice of “One Country, Two Systems” program, China has experienced economic development.

With the increasing development of the economic globalization and international markets, the global economic institutions gave rise to the population movement among countries (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). As one of the developed regions in East Asia, Hong Kong has been internationalized as a place where capital, trades, and transportation integrated the region with the West economically and socially (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). Social connections between global areas and a shared membership in the British Empire made it possible for the Hong Kong Chinese to live elsewhere. In early 1990s, there was a positive economic and financial trend in the Asia-Pacific region. In Figure 10, it shows the class of entrepreneurs and investors accounted for the majority of people who chose to migrate to Canada, especially from 1990 to 1994. With the fierce international marketing competition, a big consortium always has multiple choices to the destination and industry as investment to expand their capacity to dominate global markets and reduce risks in their investments, and so do finance and business groups in Hong Kong. According to the estimated data released by South China Morning Post (SCMP) in 1984, the Hong Kong people's annual direct investment abroad reached USD\$ 3 billion. Except for the class of entrepreneurs and investors, the class of family also occupied a large number of the total

population of immigrants in Canada, especially from 1990 to 1994, which had the most population during that period. To facilitate the investment overseas and keep the business free from investment restrictions in Canada, some entrepreneurs let their family members immigrated into Canada for foreign assets management. For example, the eldest son of Li Ka-shing who was a famous business magnate, investor, and philanthropist of Hong Kong, Cheung Kong, immigrated in Vancouver as a CEO of Concord Adex Pacific Group Inc.

Social fields, which mean social wider structures that connect people in their social networks, influenced the activities and strategies of migrants. Many skilled professionals such as industrial and commercial administrative personnel, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and social workers migrated to Canada to seek out more suitable and better opportunities for themselves bringing their degrees and experiences earned in Western countries. Based on the maps of the average number of population of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada and the intended destination of Hong Kong migrants, the Hong Kong migrants chose the places where their predecessors had already settled as their predecessors could give the new comers tips where to live best and choose for their life and career development. The Hong Kong migrants abroad had established the structure of social relations that transcended the nation-state borders between their homeland and Canada, which was based on their class and organizational memberships. They settled in places where they had had many compatriots such as British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, and Quebec rather than Yukon and Northwest Territories. Those areas have ever since attracted most of the Hong Kong new immigrants during the handover. Social fields provided a way of assimilation as the incorporation of Hong Kong immigrants into the local social networks that across all institutional boundaries (Alba and Nee, 2003). In the field of social relationships, workers in different career positions could build work and life from those who were socially similar to them when they settled in new places of Canada. A respondent claimed that he relied on his network to get the work:

I usually follow my group. When they tell me the place, then I go. I also find projects by going to a certain teahouse in the morning, where people look for workers. (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010, p. 211)

To attract of the Canada's economy and society, the government of Canada encouraged the inflow of investment from the class of business immigrants by implementing the reforms in the immigration and investment policies. As charts show, independents, including middle-class

people, self-employers, entrepreneurs, and investors, and business immigrants occupied a big chunk of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada during the handover. Except for the global institutions, the fear of losing autonomy under the communist's rule led those people to follow their social fields in Canada. The provinces or territories that most of the Hong Kong migrants chose to settle in, as seen in the maps, were the major economic provinces. These included British Columbia and Alberta that had been dominated by the resource industries such as forestry, mining, and oil. Compared to southern Ontario and Western Quebec, many skilled workers were engaged in manufacturing. However, even though the Hong Kong migrants had been filtering into Canada, settling in large numbers in the cities like Vancouver, Toronto, Calgary, and Edmonton, such popular trends did not last so long. The maps display that there were fewer population of the Hong Kong migrants moving to Canada during 1995-1997 compared to the early mid-1990s. The reason was most likely because of the unclear forecast of their economic development. Not all the independents, professionals, and entrepreneurs could integrate their careers into Canada successfully. Some experienced negative practices due to lack of local conditions and bridging networks in Canada, which made them return-migrate to Hong Kong or live an astronaut way of life between Hong Kong and Canada. This was discussed in detail in the section 4 of this chapter.

Other categories, as the maps show, that accounted for a large number of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada during the handover were family and assisted relative. The Chinese family is an institution that prompts migration (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010). In a traditional Chinese family, there is a kinship structure, which is patrilineally and hierarchically organized. The women play an essential household role in the family. As the Chinese tradition suggests, the wives have a sense of obligations to the husband's household and need to take care of the household benefits after marriage. Not surprisingly, the female immigrants in Canada were higher compared to the male immigrants as time went on, especially in the last two periods from 1990 to 1997. The female immigrants occupied the majority of immigrants in most of the provinces and territories in Canada. This shows the behavior of Hong Kong married female migrants following their husbands in their own social fields, except for receiving skilled employment, business, and investment immigrants. Canada's immigration policy also welcomed family and relatives' reunion immigrants, which offered facilities for Hong Kong families migration. The family ideologies focused on the long-term improvement of the families and the

children's contributions to the family like in the case of Li Ka-shing's. The women in the Chinese extended families paid more attention to the welfare of children (Hardie, 1994), the whole family therefore was more likely to send their children to study abroad. Canada became one of the top choices. A male respondent who came up with the idea of emigrating to Canada said:

I thought that if we emigrated, our daughter could then live together with us, and the whole family could have a better environment too. It would also be for our sons' education. The issue of 1997 had not yet arisen. (Salaff, Wong, and Greve, 2010, p. 62)

The population number of Hong Kong immigrants whose age ranges are from 25 to 50 had the most number of people that migrated to Canada to start their new careers. The other population of immigrants whose age ranges from 5 to over 20, as the chart represented, was also part of the group of people who migrated from Hong Kong to Canada. With the economic development in Hong Kong and the transfer of labor-intensive industry to the mainland, China needed higher educational levels. Since Hong Kong only had few universities and colleges, many children and teenagers were sent to Canada to get high quality of education. Many thought although it was difficult to find a suitable job in Canada, it would be more competitive compared with others who are educated in Hong Kong once they come back to their homeland. A huge proportion of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada got student visas during the handover (Huang, 1996). Above all, the Chinese family structures worked at their migration projects.

4.3 Social Identity Participation in Hong Kong Chinese Immigrant or Sojourner Adjustment to New Cultures and Transnational Migration

The social identity theory provides the basic principles, including the Chinese traditional cultures and ancient philosophies, for helping to understand the decisions made by Hong Kong migrants from the different categories of age groups and gender during handover period as maps and charts show. The types of culture and value have different, but significant impacts on people from different age groups and genders. Such principles help to understand why there were large gaps between the population of male and female immigrants, why there were the different

populations between the Hong Kong migrants from the different age groups, and how they thought about their migration to Canada in a cultural way.

As explained in the previous chapters, identity refers to both the cognition of an individual's unique characteristics and others' roles in the society and the dynamic process of identification, integration, and differentiation. This involved an ongoing progress of re-evaluating an individual's sense of belongingness. In the case of the Hong Kong migration to Canada, the social identity theory and the self-categorization statements were used to explain the individual experience in the immigration adaptation, transnational practice, and return migration. The social identity overlaps with the personal identity. As a subset of the social identity, the cultural identity is critical in the next discussion that "links an individual to a membership group that encompasses emotional ties, frameworks of thinking, and ways of behaving" (Sussman, 2011, p. 52). Sussman (2011) proposes four identities shifts in cultural identity that influence the practice of migrants' adaptation to the new cultures and return migration: (1) additive identity, (2) subtractive identity, (3) global identity, and (4) affirmative identity. Those social identities are rooted in the Chinese traditional cultures and ancient philosophies that contain Confucianism and Daoism. Both the Confucian and Taoist principles develop the culture of collectivism, moderation, harmony, loyalty, rite, and flexibility, which support the guidelines for the goal setting and activities of the Hong Kong emigration to Canada and return migration.

There were a large number of Hong Kong migrants who migrated to the Western countries, especially like Canada where its citizens originally were from Europe, which have gone a long way to explain why it would happen during the handover period. Except for the obvious phenomenon represented by the maps and charts, the people from the classes in the family and assisted relative accounted for the large proportion of Hong Kong migrants, and the reason could be traced back to the Hong Kong's history of British colonization.

Prior to the British colonizing Hong Kong, the collective identities and relationship ties that rooted in the traditional Chinese culture strongly influenced on the motivations and activities of the Hong Kong emigration to Canada. The family and friendship ties were essential to the Chinese people. A male respondent described the reason he immigrated to Canada as follow:

We immigrated because of relatives, on both my mother's and my father's sides of the family. My mother applied for immigration because her family is here. My family told me only two months before immigrating... (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 161)

After colonizing Hong Kong, the variegated roots of the complex identities had long been an issue to most of the Hong Kong Chinese. When it came to the state affairs such as the Diaoyutai (Senkaku) incident and Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, the Hong Kong Chinese would consider Hong Kong as a part of China. The other social institutions involved were the historical origins in Hong Kong, capitalist system implemented in Hong Kong compared to the mainland's communist system, the issue of democracy and human rights, and the high-speed development of economy. They would like to distinguish these apart from China, developing distinct identities such as British-Hong Kong identity or Hong Konger identity. A female respondent with age 28 responded her complexity of identity as:

I think it's a combination with Chinese and British. Because when we are born, you might realize that our nationality is British project. Because we were brought up in the time when Hong Kong is still under the sovereignty of British government, so there is lot of influence on the cultural side, because we are so used to the Western culture and then so we have build up a very unique identity. We just count ourselves as Hong Kong, Hong Kongers. [I: So Hong Kongers, you see Hong Kongers as a combination of Chinese and British?] Chinese and British, yeah, right. It's like a mix. (Sussman, 2011, p. 97)

Although there were several people considering them as Chinese or Hong Kong-Chinese, most regarded them as Hong Kongers because of the British colony before the handover period. The complexity of social and ethnic identity led to a low level of trust and confidence in the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) before 1997, so many Hong Kong Chinese tended to migrate overseas. There were about 29.3% of Hong Kong Chinese who planned to emigrate in 1990 (Zheng and Huang, 2002).

The mix of identity was easier for the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada to adjust their behavior and social thought in the Western countries. The successful social identity transformations in Canada let them adapt to the new place. Canada was the first county in the world that had a policy of multiculturalism at the federal level. This was a big step for encouraging the people in other ethnic and racial groups to enter the mainstream society and achieve the cultural pluralism. The multicultural practice in Canada led to the formation of the Hong Kong Chinese cosmopolitanism known as *chonggen* (重根) in Chinese, which had multiple roots where they had settled. With the Hong Kong Chinese's ability to settle in two different places simultaneously (Sussman, 2000), they were more likely to immigrate to a new

place successfully and find an identity that “best suits the familial goals of economic and educational success” (Sussman, 2011, p. 54). The additive identity and subtractive identity shifts resulted from the complex, flexible, and practical Hong Kong identity (Sussman, 2011) that influence the critical thinking and behavior of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, which facilitated their adjustments and adaptations to the new destination. The migrants in the young age groups seemed to get much influence from these two identity shifts as they were less affected by the Chinese core identities when they grew up under the British colonization. Compared with the migrants in the old age groups, the population of migrants in young age groups covered a large portion of the Hong Kong immigrant groups. The additive identity shift describes a transition in identity that adapts to the host culture attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, while the subtractive identity shift refers to a transition in identity away from one’s home culture values, interpretation of others’ behavior, and self-definition (Sussman, 2011). The “additive” Hong Kong immigrants overlapped the Canadian identities in their Chinese identities. A male respondent who immigrated to Canada aged 23 explained his additive identity shift:

I still think... may be just... Chinese Canadian something like that. Because I don’t think I am one hundred percent Canadian because I am not really... I only have a Canadian passport, but the culture... I didn’t join the community as much as other people. Because I know some of my friends who really enjoy being Canadian and then speak English day to day, and to meet some Canadian friends, but I am not that... so I can say I am a Chinese Canadian. (Sussman, 2011, p. 114)

The shift of subtractive identity reduced the cognition of Chinese traditional identity and enabled the Hong Kong immigrants to adapt the new Canadian culture. The two identity shifts carried out a sharp contrast between the Chinese core values and Western values of Canada. The life in Canada was less stressful compared to Hong Kong, which made some Hong Kong immigrants feel more comfortable to the Canadian society. A female immigrant aged 33 years old was impressed by the social liberalism in Canada:

But afterward, when we have our baby, we think about the education and how the culture would shape the child. And that’s something we are very concern. Well, it’s very liberal; everybody places out their opinion, and everybody fights for equality, fight for their human rights to pretty much extreme case. Something we cannot go through is that we have a moral thinking and we don’t think these voices should be dominant in the society... but we

witnessed some voices coming out [in Hong Kong], voicing for those minority groups. But it's still a long way when it reaches the American standard. (Sussman, 2011, p. 102-103)

Another reason why there were many female immigrants and those who are in the class of independents immigrating into Canada was the work environment in Hong Kong and Canada that was extremely different. Canada has an easy workplace environment while in Hong Kong. Overtime and extended work hours were common based on the distinct cultural identities and values. As cited in the previous chapters, patrilineal and hierarchical organization was followed in the Chinese traditional culture, or the father-son dyad. The Chinese people always pursue harmonious goals. The Hong Kong Chinese who were also influenced by Chinese core values preferred to obey their supervisor as subordinates and work long hours, six days a week, and more than 10 hours a day without any question to avoid conflicts with their boss. In contrast, the Western style of work in Canada was different showing equality between the supervisors and the employees. There was more respect and direct but relaxed communications between the two parties. The working hours consisted of five days a week and less than 10 hours of work daily. A female immigrant in Canada had a positive recognition to the work styles in Hong Kong and Canada in the following excerpt:

Canadian work style is that they are very friendly; they are more relaxed. People do things, I think, step by step, open to discussion... the Hong Kong style is very stringent, very strict, I think very political, I think very fast, very efficient, multitask. You have to like ten people's work at one time. Very demanding, very performance-based. (Sussman, 2011, p. 217)

A male respondent described the status differences between supervisor and employee in Hong Kong and Canada as follows:

The Chinese people in Hong Kong, they still have the vertical; if you are in a different level, then the higher level always have the right. They (the subordinates) are just too obedient. They will rank people. You can't see it in Canada or in the States. They treat everybody fair. I don't care whether you are a manager or you are just a guy working as an electrician, they treat everybody fair. After tax income is more or less the same. But over here, if you are a manager, or if you are a clerical clerk, the salary difference may be 20 times. (Sussman, 2011, p. 221)

Some Hong Kong Chinese found it was unbearable in the Hong Kong work environments so they had decided to migrate to Canada. The women workers in Hong Kong were more likely

treated as subordinates to their husbands in a family or supervisors in a company. This was because of a patrilineal culture in the Chinese society rather than the Canadian society of feminism. It resulted in the influx of more female emigration from Hong Kong to Canada as shown in the maps.

From 1995 to 1997, the population growth of immigrants of both genders gradually decreased. The total number was much fewer than the previous periods. The maps show that there were less Hong Kong citizens who emigrated and some of the Hong Kong Canadians who had immigrated into Canada started returning to Hong Kong. Regarding the practices and experiences of return migration from Canada to Hong Kong, the factors in the multidimensional nature of Hong Kong identity affected the repatriation. Most of migrants were “reluctant exiles”, or the “Hong Kong people are being driven from their homeland and settling overseas by force of circumstance rather than by willing choice” (Skeldon, 1994, p. 3). The Hong Kong migrants with little sense of rootedness were determined to return-migrate to Hong Kong. Based on the data presented in the maps and charts, there was gender and age difference in Hong Kong immigration to Canada. The female migrants were more likely to feel at home in the Canadian society offering a quality of life than in Hong Kong. While the male migrants tended to have global or intercultural identities and have cultural attachment to both their homeland (Hong Kong) and the destination (Canada). This brought them the chance to live as transnational migrants for career and life satisfaction and feel at home anywhere. Details could be found in Section 4. The seniors who were over 50 years old accounted for the least number of the population during the handover period. This shows that the Chinese traditional identity has much more impacts on the elders and they would like to stay in Hong Kong as their homeland to maintain their sense of Chinese identity. They did not like moving to other places to spend their life predominantly because of the immigration adjustment brought by the social identity transitions. Most Chinese old people preferred to be ‘stayers’ (stay where they are) instead of ‘movers’ (move to other places out of their homeland). The reasons why like those people wanted to connect with Hong Kong as their homeland more frequently or return-migrate to their roots were their adaptation to traditional Chinese culture and identity, and their ties of kinship and relationship in Hong Kong. This could be considered as an affirmative identity (Sussman, 2011), which strengthened a sense of self-esteem and belongingness, and recognition of their home country identity.

Although Hong Kong was influenced by the British culture of equality and individualism in the relationships, there existed the hierarchical relationships and familial lifestyle rooted in traditional Chinese culture within a Chinese family such as parent-child dyad, older brother-younger brother dyad, and husband-wife dyad. Because some male migrants still preferred to live in Hong Kong for career satisfaction and support his family in Canada, many families were apart throughout the year except the holidays. When Hong Kong Chinese felt that they were far away from those ties of kinship and relationship in their homeland, they would have experienced a sense of loneliness and helplessness. A female respondent depicted her feelings in Canada:

Initially, our lives were hard here. We didn't have any friends. We have a relative here but he works everyday. We settled everything along... So I disliked the place first time I came here. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 160)

Eventually, some female immigrants in Canada chose to return to Hong Kong to preserve their spouse relationships. A female respondent described the reason for their return migration as follows:

My relationship with my husband is quite difficult to adjust. We separate for a long time that he lives his own life and I live with my own life. When I come back, I am not so happy because he usually goes out mostly of the time... but after it I just back, then it's okay. (Sussman, 2011, p. 200)

Similar to the change in the spouse relationship, the parent-child relationship was also changed during migration. Meanwhile, some Hong Kong immigrants found it was difficult for them to accept the Western cultures and values. In some Chinese families, the Hong Kong Chinese focused on their children's academic performance for better and higher paid jobs in the future, while the Canadians hoped their children could develop all-round abilities and live independently. Several Hong Kong immigrants were worried that the Western culture and being open-minded that were different from the Chinese core values might affect the mindset of their children. A father complained being incompetent in handling his children:

Only a year after we came to Toronto, I have seen dramatic changes in his [the son, aged 15] behavior. He doesn't listen to what I say anymore. I don't know how to mete out appropriate sanctions. Moral persuasion and reasoning are to no avail. I told him that, as long as he is my son and lives under my roof, he has to listen to me and I consider it is good for him. For example, I told him not to hang around in shopping malls and Chinatown with Vietnamese

gangs; he said that I am prejudiced and a racist. He said it is too bad if I don't like it and he can move out and report me to the police for not supporting him. (Lam, 1994, p. 174)

A young adult who immigrated to Canada as a teenager also made a decision to return to Hong Kong due to Chinese traditional familial lifestyle:

I finish my degree and that when I have to make another big decision. Whether I want to work in Canada or in Hong Kong. And that decision I have, actually my parents kinds of helped me. I was thinking about going to Hong Kong for the reason that now I finish my degree, basically complete my mission to Canada. And my parents in Hong Kong and I want to spend more time with parents. So I decided to come back to Hong Kong... My dad helped me because he actually got me a job. (Sussman, 2011, p.203-204)

Also, the conflicts in the cultural tradition, values, and identities between the Hong Kong migrants and the white society in Canada resulted in their uncomfortably fitting into the new destination. The Hong Kong immigrants, for instance, preferred to live together within a community, which only used shop signs in Chinese, and made decorations and celebrate in public spaces during the Lunar New Year. This raised negative emotions from the local Canadians and several white people excluded the Hong Kong Chinese. In the late 1980s, the newspaper Vancouver Sun, posted the articles frequently about an assault of the Hong Kong immigrants.

It should not be ignored that social identity of the Hong Kong Chinese affected the decision making in their choice to migrate or not.

4.4 Transnational Migration Practices between the Place of Origin and Destination

Transnationalism theory changes the relationships between the migrants and places to understand what types of the Hong Kong migrants would participate in the transnational migration, and why they experienced this way between the place of origin and destination. It also argues the Chinese diaspora in Canada. As displayed in the maps and charts, there is a difference in the migrant population in different class of migrants and gender. Transnationalism mainly focuses on a class of migrants or the type of Chinese diaspora to gain insights into the Hong Kong migrants' transnational migration practices.

As the previous sections cited, it could be learned that the transnational migration decisions occurred around the key points of life-course transition, involving political, economic, social, and cultural institutions. The people who chose to be transnational migrants had to leave behind their family members in the place of origin or destination (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007). The objective of this transnationalism study focused on the family and the different classes of migrants. The transnational activities focus strongly on the ties of kinship and friendship instead of the political or economic ties (Preston, Kobayashi, and Man, 2006). This type of migration has the characteristics of a cross-border in nature, internationalism, and flexibility. The Hong Kong migrants to Canada experienced three general modes of practices during their migration over the handover such as *luodi shenggen* 落地生根 (people who ‘accommodate, or sink roots in the host country’); *yelou guigen* 叶落归根 (‘fallen leaves return to the roots, or immigrants’ desire to return to China but may only be buried there’) (Wang, 1991); and *huaqiao* 华侨 (Chinese sojourners that maintain their Chinese identity and values and yearn to return home). The Hong Kong transnational migrants were more like *huaqiao*.

As the maps showed, the population growth of the Hong Kong migrants, especially the males, had a trend of rapid decrease since the 1990s. The phenomenon was very distinct compared to the early Hong Kong handover period that concluded the preference of the Hong Kong Chinese to migrate to Canada due to the changing environment during that period. During the late part of the Hong Kong handover, there were less number of population of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada, and the Hong Kong Chinese seemed to like staying in Hong Kong or act like an “astronaut” that travel across two countries between Hong Kong and Canada. According to transnationalism theory, the very important and structural environment for the practice of the Hong Kong transnational migration is the deepening of the economic globalization and improvement of transportation and technical communication in the late 20th century. This contributed to the changing forms of production factors such as resource, labor, information, and capital accumulation, and the increasing phenomenon of population movement. Also, both the government of the PRC and Hong Kong SAR welcomed Hong Kong Chinese sojourners back to their homeland for their contributions to the local development, and they provided support in the political, economic, and cultural aspects for the convenience of the sojourners. Without the high-speed development of the global economy and technology and the

Chinese government's policy, the population movements of the Hong Kong migrants might not happen very frequently due to the lack of hardware conditions.

The immigration class in the entrepreneurs, the investors, the independents, and others accounted for the large number of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada during the mid-period of the Hong Kong handover from 1987 to 1994. In particular, the population of independents and others from 1987 to 1994 peaked at 12,000, which sought better careers and high incomes in the new place. Several Hong Kong immigrants continued their previous jobs, most of them worked on real estate, finance and insurance, construction, electric devices, manufacturing, and business services. Some of them succeeded in their chosen fields. Except for the previous example of Li Ka-shing, Stanley Ho Hung Sun let his family immigrated to Toronto in 1988 and made 45 million Canadian dollars investment in a fashion company. Cheng Yu-tung, another Hong Kong billionaire, bought a real property in Toronto for 10 million Canadian dollars in 1985. Five years later, the residential buildings had more than 1,000 apartments built.

The successful practitioners were in the minority, but many immigrants also failed in their careers in Canada. These cases were influenced both by the external factors and personal issues. These factors also contributed to the practice of the transnational migration. First, the language issue was closely related to the level of employment. For the non-native speakers, it was required that they should be proficient in English skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing so that can live in English-speaking countries without any trouble. However, even though Hong Kong was colonized by the British, English was sole official language until 1974. The pronunciations and words used were different from the local Canadians and most of Hong Kong Chinese could not speak English as fluent as Mandarin or Cantonese. The migrants both young and adults had an age range from 25 to 44 who were more likely to immigrate into Canada as they can easily adjust to the new language environment than other age groups. Some migrants had more difficulties than the Canadians did in finding jobs, which was assumed the downside trend of emigration. Second, even though some entrepreneurs, self-employed people, and investors succeed in their businesses, the business immigration program in Canada had several requirements that those immigrants in this category needed to fulfill the terms and conditions, such as contributing to the country's economy and creating jobs for the local people. Otherwise, the immigrants who failed to fulfill the requirements would be deported from Canada. Not all of the Hong Kong migrants were specialized in the field of investment. Their businesses in Hong

Kong could not guarantee the business milieu in Canada (Smart, 1994) due to the different labor environments, high costs in pollution controls, and other social institutions, along with their lack of background and experiences regarding the Canada's market and local work relations in their social fields and economic opportunities. Some lost their careers and investment. Others returned to Hong Kong as return-migrants, while others still stayed in Canada to avoid being deported. That is why there were a large number of Hong Kong migrants in family class immigrating into Canada in the later part of the handover period from 1990 to 1997. To keep their permanent resident status, the Hong Kong migrants, especially the male migrants, would rather to live an astronaut way of transnational migration, one working in Hong Kong while their families remained living abroad to support the family's life in Canada. Third, there were limited job opportunities available in Canada than that in Hong Kong. Also, many Hong Kong migrants were unfamiliar with the local work environments, and suffered serious underutilization and status dislocation, switching from high-income jobs as supervisors, administrative positions, and managers in Hong Kong to low-paid jobs as technicians, operators and waiters or waitresses in Canada. According to the data, many of Hong Kong immigrants experienced a decline in income. The largest income group plunged to less than HK \$ 399,999 after landing in Canada, where they earned much more from their pre-migration careers (Johnson, 1994). Also, the economic recession in Canada led to rising unemployment. A survey conducted by the Chinese Information and Community Services (CICS) of Scarborough in 1992 noted that the unemployment rate of the immigrants landing in the recent 3 years was 23.8%, which was a random sample of 400 households based on the Chinese family migrants of Toronto by telephone interviews (Lau, 1992). A male respondent described the feelings of those Hong Kong migrants:

It is very hard for the Hong Kong immigrants to find jobs here. Some of my friends are business class immigrants. The vast majority of them lost their money in their investments here and had to close their businesses down. Other independent immigrants were professionals prior to their arrival. Once they came here, they were unable to re-enter their original occupations... As a result, some of my friends gradually returned to Hong Kong in the past two years... (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 166)

A women respondent talked about their experience of being part of the astronaut families:

... My husband can't come here frequently, so I have to go there. He has already obtained his citizenship... In many astronaut families, husbands want to obtain citizenship as soon as

possible. Once they get it, they leave Canada in one or one and a half years. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 160)

According to the maps, the number of the male migrants was more than that of female migrants in the early period of the handover. But the number of the female immigrants had exceeded the number of the male immigrants in most provinces of Canada since the 1990s, especially in British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, and Quebec. These facts raised the new issue that women and men seek different desires for their familial considerations, thus gendered approaches to transnationalism need to be understood. Hence, the transnational ties were a significant aspect of the daily life in Hong Kong transnational migration, and the differences in the nature of transnational ties between men and women were principally from the gendered nature of family separation (Preston, Kobayashi, and Man, 2006; Chiang, 2004; Ong, 1999; Waters, 2002; Willis and Yeoh, 2002). Based on the Chinese tradition, male immigrants paid more attention to the economic and political issues for further family interests and security, while female immigrants strongly focused on family considerations such as education and assimilation of their second generation and family life. For the Hong Kong male immigrants, because of the political issues in the place of origin, they tend to migrate to Canada to get Canadian citizenship as soon as possible to avoid political disturbances. But the employment environment and their financial pressure for supporting their family's high cost of living expenses in Canada forced them to become transnational migrants between Hong Kong and Canada. A male respondent cited the role of local regulations played in finding jobs:

I've no Canadian experience but I can do the job. There're lots of local regulations, and I know them. But they don't believe it. It's always, 'You need Canadian experience,' so the problem is getting the first job. (Salaff, Wong, Greve, 2010, p. 91-92)

But the people who were not too young also encountered the problems when they attempted to find a job as what the respondent claimed:

Why should they hire someone like me who costs 1.5 times as much as young people? They want to hire cheaply, and don't think they need experienced people. (Salaff, Wong, Greve, 2010, p. 92)

Facing those situations, another respondent complained about their transnational experience:

If Canada is better than Hong Kong, they wouldn't return to Hong Kong. They do so to make a living. Who would want to have their family separated? I don't think there's anyone

who wants to have their family separated. They did so because of circumstances. It's because they couldn't find work here, and the pay is very low. They need to make a living. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 160)

Except for preserving the Canadian citizenship status, many female immigrants left their careers in Hong Kong to reside in Canada as “astronaut” wives for the sake of their children who studied in Canada due to the high quality of education and the future economic opportunities. As showed in the maps, the female immigrants were more likely to live in Canada compared to the male immigrants, especially in places where the former immigrants either their husband or children had settled in. A female respondent expressed her motivation of immigration to Canada:

I have to follow my children. My husband has been an astronaut since day one. My oldest son has returned to Hong Kong and works there. Now, I still have two children studying here. I don't know if they will return to Hong Kong. If they return to Hong Kong, there's no reason for me to stay alone. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 158)

Also, there were several women complaining about their family life disrupted by the transnational migration practice that they and their husbands were separated in two places.

Another crucial factor that led to the practice of transnational lives was the issue of racism and discrimination in Canada that contributed to the insecurity and unsafe environment for the new immigrants and their descendants. In 1980s, a flood of Hong Kong immigrants came into Canada, which raised the tension among the whites. Even though there was a policy of multiculturalism in Canada, some white people were afraid that those Asian immigrants would threaten their daily life and status. The issue of racial discrimination mainly existed in the employment prospects. Statistics had shown that the employment ratio of Chinese immigrants with higher-level education and more work experience compared with whites were less than that of the white people, especially in the management department (Li, 1997). According to a survey conducted by an information consultancy company in 1990, 25% of the manufacturing organizations, 40% of the professional organizations, and 59% of the service industries admitted that they had a phenomenon of anti-Chinese discrimination in the aspect of employment. There was up to 63% of Chinese organizations felt racial discrimination from mainstream society (Global and Mail, 1994). The Vancouver Sun (1994) pointed out that if the Hong Kong migrant found a job in a Canadian company, they would be rejected on the pretext of having poor English. A respondent shared his experience of being employed in Canada:

But regarding employment, I think the employer would tend to employ a Canadian instead of a Hong Kongnese if both have the same qualifications... In Hong Kong, color or ethnicity is not a factor for the employer to choose an applicant. If we have the same qualification, we'll have a better chance to land a job. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 161)

Another respondent also described his feeling as a "second-class citizen":

If I have to live abroad, I may feel that I am a second-class citizen... Here in Hong Kong you have a better status, everybody is equal. Actually, you are even superior to some other people here... It's not the same abroad. Sometimes I hear people who have been abroad say how they have been trampled upon or rejected at work, even though they work very hard... I don't like this feeling. (Li, Jowett, Findlay, and Skeldon, 1995, p. 348)

The transnational relations definitely provided a way for migrants to regain the status in the sending country. The Hong Kong transnational migrants would feel comfortable in their homeland and return to Hong Kong for work to avoid being "second place" in receiving country, which made the concept of "here" and "there" did not matter where they were.

The different aspects of the factors that contributed to the practice of the Hong Kong transnational migration included the deepening of globalization, the changing economic, political and social institutions, gendered practices in familial patterns, and racism in the receiving country. But the transnational migration facilitated such transnational contacts between the place of origin and destination.

4.5 Constructing a Sense of Home, place Affiliation Across the Life Course within the Hong Kong Migration Practices

The maps show that the Hong Kong migrants were distributed in the different provinces and territories, and cities and towns during different time stages of the handover period. Sense of place theory provides a direction for understanding why these migrants made the choices of settling in the different places. In this section, integrating the study of diverse patterns included the gendered approaches, family strategies, class, natural and social environments, and the constructions of the Chinese organizations and communities into the data visualization on the maps. This helped to understand the dynamic nature of the places and its meanings based on different spaces that compared Hong Kong with Canada.

In the Hong Kong migration, the sense of place changed over the process of life cycle and the place mobility. The dynamic nature of the places and its meanings altered the ethnic identities and the individual's place attachment to the place of origin and destination during the emotional experience of the place. As the context for socialization, the places provided milieu "where people learn who and what they are and how to act" (Jowett, Findly, and Skeldon, 1995; Marsella, De Vos, and Hsu, 1985). For the Hong Kong transnational migrants in Canada, their experience of settling in Canada involved the redefinition of the place, which was not abandoning the place attachment to Hong Kong, but connecting the places within a transnational context (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011). The contributions of the sense of place consisted mostly of the patterns of place affiliation with the place of destination at the different stages of the life cycle during the migration experience.

As seen in the maps, majority of the Hong Kong newcomers preferred to settle in the metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, and Mississauga. According to the maps and charts, although the number of arrivals had declined since the colony's handover to China in mid 1990s and a part of Hong Kong emigrants did return to Hong Kong, there were still many determining factors to stay in Canada. When they saw the downside trend of the immigrant population growth in most of the cities and towns of Canada at the last period of the handover, the cities like Vancouver, Markham, and Richmond Hill experienced a gradual increase of the immigrants over the period. Still, the Hong Kong immigrants kept in touch with their families and friends in Hong Kong and kept themselves informed about Hong Kong through social media in China. Their affective sense of place in Canada had promoted or reduced their place affiliation with the Canadian society in their practice and experience of migration to Canada. The sense of "home" linked the place identity and place attachment with the physical geographic settings that connect with family, housing and neighborhoods, and the construction of ethnic community (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011).

The family-related response to the place affiliation was different by age, gender, and immigrants' feelings in relation to the local familial lifestyle. The results and findings of the chart suggested that the older migrants who were over 50 were less likely to affiliate themselves with Canada and tend to travel back more or return-migrate to Hong Kong because of their previous experience in their homeland. The younger counterparts, especially those from 25 to 40

years old, had the highest number of the Hong Kong immigrants in Canada. This showed they were more likely to have a sense of home in Canada based on their high level of fitness in a new place and their new relationships with others, including kinship ties, local ties to friends and social fields in the employment-related needs. A mother respondent described her children's preference to come here (Canada):

My children wanted to come here. They said that Canadian education was good. After we arrived, my younger sons went to the Grade 9 class and the eldest son studied at the university. Now, my younger sons are all university students. My eldest son has already graduated and is working now. They had visited the country and liked the place before we immigrated to Canada. We have relatives here as well. So they all like the place. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 159)

Also, the previous sections in this chapter declared that female migrants were more likely to feel at home than the males in the Canadian society due to their familial. A female respondent talked about how the wives' feelings changed during their experience in Canada:

... On the other hand, wives suffer so much in the first one and a half years. They hate the place. But after two years or so, when they have adapted to local life and have obtained citizenship, they don't want to leave the country despite their husbands' request. (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007, p. 160)

Comparing with the urban lifestyle in Hong Kong, many Hong Kong immigrants preferred to stay in Canada because of the country's beautiful and natural surroundings, fresh air, and the relaxed suburban residential lifestyle. The elders aging between 50 and 65 were the least of the total population of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada over the period, while the immigrants over 65 tend to be residents of this nation. Many migrants had depressed lifestyles and fast pace of life in Hong Kong, which made them felt pressured to spend their daily life in that situation. So the seniors who had retired would like to find a place to live a more leisurely life. Canada became a very desirable place to live because of its healthy environment and a leisurely pace of living, especially for those who had already made an economic success in Hong Kong. It was like that living in a comfortable and secure environment could be seen as a place of security for the family. A respondent pointed out the desire for living in "natural" suburban residential environment:

If people have ample financial resources, they will be happy in Canada. To them, the air is fresh and the houses are huge. They will be very relaxed. This country is a comfortable place to live if one can overcome economic hardships... We enjoy the quiet, peaceful, and comfortable living environment of Canada. It's impossible to have both money and good living environment. (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011, p. 878)

Based on the maps, the Hong Kong immigrants also made different choices of cities for settling according to their motivations within Canada. Most of the Hong Kong migrants chose to migrate to the regions where has most large cities in Canada, such as South British Columbia, South Ontario, and Southwest Quebec. These regions are all located in the southern part of the nation where the climate is warmer than the northern part of Canada, especially the temperate marine climate in Vancouver. The cities and towns in these areas, including Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Montreal, Mississauga, Richmond Hill, and Markham, have many industries, population, and market demands enabling the working immigrants to get good job opportunities. Also, there are world-renowned universities such as the University of Toronto, University of British Columbia, University of Alberta, McGill University, University of Ottawa, etc., offering high quality education that is attractive to the young teenagers. As expected, skilled workers and investors were more likely to choose the Canadian economy and trade center. The seniors preferred a place for retirement where those who could not withstand the bad weather and inconvenient infrastructure compared with that in Hong Kong were eager to pursue a more developed and warmer place within the country. As a psychologist Edward Shen who earned a PhD at Simon Fraser University said:

Most Hong Kong people know that there is no big money to be made in Canada, even less so in Vancouver. Vancouver in many people's eyes is a place for retirement of rich people, as they find the living standard in Vancouver very high. Which is true. People who want to make money choose Toronto over Vancouver. (The Vancouver Sun, 2013)

Even though many places saw a decrease of the Hong Kong immigrants in the late handover period, the three main regions of the country still had a high immigrant population density according to the maps of city of intended destination of Hong Kong migrants. After living in Canada for several years, many had the benefits of a relaxed familial lifestyle for the whole family and promoted the place affiliation with the local place. A female respondent shared her views about the positive changes in her relationship with others in family:

Especially when my husband was jobless, we have all the time staying together. We go together to pick up the kids, and sometimes we go to market together, even though he also has his own time around the computer. But still we have a lot of time staying with the family. (Sussman, 2011, p. 201)

Although the majority of Hong Kong immigrants were satisfied with suburban lifestyle in Canada, some still experienced a reductive place affiliation across the life cycle there after moving between the place of origin and destination. As seen, the young people were more prone to having a place attachment to a new location due to their adaptability for the new things. In the case of Hong Kong, the population of the young people between 15 and 25 did not occupy a high proportion of immigrants, and it experienced a decline during the last period. A respondent who is a younger generation described his sense of places:

Personally I like Hong Kong, and I like it for its lively atmosphere, and that's something money can't buy. I like the fact that when I walk on the street, there will be another like four hundred crushing me. Like, I like that kind of like feeling, where there is a lot of people around me... as to like Toronto, I'll just be living on the street all alone and there's like nothing going on. (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011, p. 881)

The pattern of housing and neighborhoods was another significant affective site. Even the cities like Montreal in Quebec, where the first language is French, was considered a key place in Canada. The maps show that the immigrant population in Quebec accounted for the least proportion compared to the other main regions of Canada and reduced drastically over the period. It can be concluded that the Hong Kong immigrants were eager to settle in a place of Canada where they did not have to be anxious about the language issue and sense of culture. Many Hong Kong people are familiar with English, but the French-only ambience in Quebec deterred most of them to settle there. The immigrants were more likely to plan their settlement in a place based on their neighborhoods. In the previous migration projects, many Hong Kong immigrants chose places like Vancouver, Richmond, Toronto, Markham, and Richmond Hill. These were the areas surrounded by the mass population of Hong Kong Chinese. The people could still speak Chinese, experienced the Hong Kong Chinese culture, and continued the Chinese lifestyle. The life was quite similar to Hong Kong, except the natural surroundings. A female respondent shared her similar experience in Toronto:

Even though I have been an immigrant in Canada for three years, I don't really feel that I have immigrated. We are still living in the original Hong Kong style of living... There have been few changes to my life in Canada. The only changes are a bigger house, fresh air, driving, and snow shoveling. (Kobayashi, Preston, and Murnaghan, 2011, p. 883)

Many Hong Kong immigrants had an affective sense of belonging in Canada that shaped their social environment and living experience in Hong Kong.

Also, as growing the number of Hong Kong Chinese immigrants increased in Canada, there came many Chinese organizations and communities being established as the Chinese people always put a high value on their relationship, and the construction of Chinese groups and ethnic communities for the redefinition of a place. The mobility of Hong Kong transnational migration enhanced the place affiliation with the distinct regional lifestyle during the handover period because of the diversity of the Chinese organizations and communities. These groups and ethnic communities were derived from the previous Hong Kong Chinese societies like Chinatown, *Huiguan* 会馆 or structural unity, and shaped the Hong Kong Chinese cultural environments for their social support and protection in Canada. The cities in Canada that had high population density of the Hong Kong immigrants were more likely to have those Chinese organizations and ethnic communities such as the Chinatown in Vancouver, which is Canada's largest Chinatown with a high concentration of ethnic Chinese residents. The great diversity present in Hong Kong Chinese communities provided adaptive functions that met the demands of new immigrants and helped to restructure and prompt their sense of place in a new territory. These housed the traditional associations, social service clubs, Chinese human rights organizations, modern society communities, and religious organizations. First, the traditional associations known as *Huiguan* that included a typical "district" association in a provincial or country level and kinship associations provided the protection and financial help for the Chinese immigrants like an umbrella in a local place (Wickberg, 1994). Second, the social service clubs like the Chinese Cultural Center in Vancouver and S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Social Service Center promoted the retention and sharing of the Chinese culture (including versions of the Hong Kong television shows, Chinese newspapers...) and the integration of the immigrants into the mainstream society (the services in settlement, employment, language training...), which shaped their senses of place identity and place attachment to the Canadian society. Third, the Chinese human rights

organizations (e.g. *hongmen* bodies 洪门会, a fraternal political organization) protected the rights of the Chinese to get equal treatment. Fourth, the modern society communities focused mainly on the establishment of social and commercial relationships, which were more convenient for the immigrants who ran the business. Finally, the religious organizations such as Buddhism, Taoism and Zion gave spiritual comfort to the immigrants' hearts. Those various adaptive organizations and communities eroded the place differences and the particularity of place relations between Hong Kong and Canada, giving Hong Kong immigrants the experience of being "at home" and the attachments to the particular communities in Canada.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Thesis Summary

Mapping historical migration of Hong Kong migrants in Canada has not previously been addressed in the context of Hong Kong transnational migration overseas during the period of Britain's handover of Hong Kong to China from 1984 to 1997. This study was aimed at exploring the different aspects of motivations and practices in Hong Kong's transnational experience. This thesis looked at the different ways of life-course transitions to provide insights into the practices and behaviors of Hong Kong migrants' lives throughout the process of transnational migration to Canada. The trends in migration waves at both macro and micro levels were showed by taking into account various factors, such as individual needs or desires, and changes in the economics and politics in the society from which the migration stems. To investigate these factors, the study used a quantum geographic information system (QGIS) to visualize the transnational migration between the spaces of Hong Kong and Canada, and evaluated the complex set of relationships between Hong Kong migration, transnational space, institutions, the complexity of social identities, and the transition of an affective sense of place.

The first chapter introduced present research around the tradition and background of Hong Kong migration. In Chapter 2 the theoretical framework was explored on the basis of the previous research and explained how these basic criteria helped to construct the maps. It elaborated how this study used four objectives to explore the main themes in visualizing and understanding the maps and charts: (1) first objective is looking at how social and institutional structures underline the behaviors of migrants, (2) second objective is exploring how the complexity of social identities play the role in the ongoing psychological experience of migrants, (3) third objective is investigating the transnational trends in the study of Hong Kong migration from local and global perspectives, and (4) fourth objective is determining the sense of place between the place of origin and destination that were held by the migrants.

In chapter 3 the methodology for the study was addressed, which applied QGIS technology and charts to capture the nodal Hong Kong migrant patterns in Canada by destination, gender, age group, and immigration class. The methodology helped to explain how data was visualized

into a variety of formats and how the GIS representation contributed to a critical spatial thinking. This chapter also outlined the data outcomes and results of Hong Kong migration to Canada by destination and gender, and displayed the patterns of age group and immigration class in charts because the lack of data source was unable to construct a map. The visualization of data, combined with theoretical concepts, represented the trends of population growth of Hong Kong migrants in Canada and the differences between distinct categories within four time periods during handover. These time periods included: (1) 1984-1986, (2) 1987-1989, (3) 1990-1994 and (4) 1995-1997. The limitations and solutions of the data design were also addressed in the end of this chapter.

Chapter 4 drew conclusions from the research and data explored in the previous chapters to reveal the motivations of Hong Kong migrants throughout the process of migration to Canada and back to Hong Kong. It was concluded that the younger generation and women were more likely to immigrate to Canada. While the men, which included independents and investors, and the older generation tended to live in what is referred to as the “astronaut” way, one traveled across two countries to earn money while his families living in the destinations, or became the returnees. The motivations of Hong Kong migration were stimulated by four main themes that will be discussed below.

For the first theme, the transformation of neo-institutional structures that influenced the trends of Hong Kong migration waves was evaluated. Neo-institutionalism theory was used to look at the historical perspectives of the immigration and emigration tradition of Hong Kong, and the changing political structures in both Hong Kong and Canada, the global institutions including economic globalization and international markets, and the kinship between these people as well as other social relationship structures where examined. Secondly, social identity in relation to Hong Kong migrants’ adjustment to new cultures and return migration was used, which explained the migrants’ experience and practice in their transnational movement. The complex ties to traditional Chinese culture and western capitalist culture adapted from the British during the colonization of China created the dynamic identity of the Hong Kong Chinese. It was in part this multidimensional nature of the Hong Kong identity that affected the motivations and activities of the migration. The third theme focused on various factors which had an impact on the development of transnationalism that rooted in Hong Kong transnational migration, such as the deepening of globalization, the changing economic, political and social institutions, the

different kinds of immigration classes, and gendered practices in familial patterns. Transnationalism theory illustrated the transnational connections between Hong Kong and Canada. Last but not least, the dynamic nature of place and its affective meanings constructed a place affiliation through migrants' lives throughout the process of Hong Kong migration was examined. The theory of sense of place linked the place identity and place attachment with physical geographic settings that connected with family-related responses, housing and neighborhoods, and the construction of ethnic Chinese community within Canadian society. These four main patterns were seen as incentives to conduct Hong Kong migration to Canada and to promote the return migration.

5.2 Empirical Findings

As previously stated, this thesis has investigated various factors that impacted on the motivations and practices of Hong Kong migrants during the period of Britain's handover of Hong Kong to China between 1984 and 1997. This section will synthesize the key findings of this study to answer what factors impact on the motivations of Hong Kong transnational migration to Canada and return migration during the handover period. It was found that neo-institutional structures and social identity was part of the sojourner adaptation to new cultures. Transnationalism and sense of place are also key concepts explored in this study that explain the motivations of Hong Kong migrants which determined their emigration to Canada.

The neo-institutional structures played a role in the practice of Hong Kong migration to Canada. This study explored how wide social forces drove the Hong Kong migration to Canada what is termed as "institutional peer pressure". The historical events of the time and the traditional institutional backgrounds of Hong Kong provided guidelines for Hong Kong migration behaviors. After signing of the joint declaration on the decision of Hong Kong reunification with PRC, along with the profound influences of several political events afterwards, Hong Kong Chinese began to fear about the changing political structures and Hong Kong's future development. Furthermore, global institutions such as the economic globalization, global social networks, and international markets gave rise to backwards-and-forwards migration between the place of origin (Hong Kong) and destination (Canada). Along with these macro level factors, the Chinese family ideology that focuses on the long-term betterment of the family as a patrilineal institution also played a role in the Hong Kong migration to Canada.

It was also identified that social identity, which is rooted in Chinese traditional cultures focused on ties of kinship and friendship, strongly impacted on the lives and decisions of the Chinese people. In the Hong Kong case, people were more likely to make decisions based on collectivism or collective identity. The mix of Chinese traditional identity, British identity, and the shifts of additive identity and subtractive identity throughout the migration made it easier for Hong Kong migrants to adjust to their new place in Canada. With the complex identity of Hong Kong migrants in mind, it was also found empirically that Hong Kong migrants could be considered as “reluctant exiles” (Skeldon, 1994) who were more likely to go back to Hong Kong with a global or intercultural identity and an affirmative identity.

This thesis redefined the experience of migration as a transnational movement. Hong Kong migrants redeclared their status but did not break ties to their place of origin, which means the transnational migration focuses strongly on the ties of family and friendship (Preston, Kobayashi, and Man, 2006). The connections that were fostered by various factors were discussed. The development of global economy, technology and transportation made it possible for transnational migration of the Hong Kong Chinese. Except in the case of successful entrepreneurs that did the transnational business crossing national boards, many migrants lived an “astronaut” life in Hong Kong to support their family in Canada. This was due both to external factors and personal factors such as language issues, the strict requirements of the Canadian immigration program, and limited job opportunities in Canada. There were also culturally different considerations for the family that lead to new roles for women and men in transnational migration. For instance it was show that female immigrants always tended to settle in Canada to preserve citizenship status. The impact of issues of racism and discrimination, as well as the changing economic, political and social institutions in Canadian society should also be considered in the examination of transnational lives.

The sense of place was shown to also play a critical role for Hong Kong migrants as they lived their transnational connections across space and time. The dynamic affective sense of place influenced the destination of cities selection and the level of place affiliation between the place of origin and destination. The impact of physical settings responded by family, housing and neighborhoods paired with the construction of a Chinese ethnic community had an effect on Hong Kong migrants’ decisions on whether to settle in Canada or not.

5.3 Contributions of the Study

Taking into account the complexities around the Hong Kong migration during the handover period, this thesis contributed heavily towards an under-researched area of study in the synthesization of various dimensions of the practice of Hong Kong migrants' assimilation and heterogeneity in Canada. It was reiterated that transnational migration along with the concepts of neo-institutionalism, identities, and space and place are interrelated. The findings applied a digital technology tool, QGIS, and integrated with related theories to reveal the trends of Hong Kong transnational migration to Canada during the 1997 handover period. This study can be seen as an expansion in the field of research around migration trends under a topic that has been scarcely covered before.

The case of Hong Kong migration to Canada during the handover period is an important addition to the study of transnational migration crossing international borders. As an important immigration group in Canadian history, this study provided insights into the transnational socio-cultural connections between the place of origin and destination, as well as the impact of institutions, transnationalism, identities, places, and experiences have had on the life cycle of Hong Kong migrants.

Furthermore, the use of QGIS in this study was an effective tool to map the data collected, and gave a compelling digital visualization of transnational migration.

5.4 Future Directions

This study identified a number of factors important to the motivations and activities of Hong Kong migration to Canada and raised several problems that would benefit from more research, such as a more thorough data collection with detailed analysis. This larger data set could create a more detailed map for visual analysis. With a larger data collection there would also be more room for a more intimate and deeper look at the concepts and theories around this topic.

It would also be of benefit to include interview samplings that could be focused more towards the motivation and practice of the Hong Kong migration to Canada expanding on the data already collected in this study. A deeper focus around the discussion of categorizing the different aspects of migrants' practice during migration in future research would benefit this topic. There needs to be more work on the four dimensions of this study – institutions, social

identity, transnationalism and the sense of place – with a focus on the impact of the migrants' decisions during the process of migration that would shed more light on the concepts around the topic of the Hong Kong migration during the handover period.

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