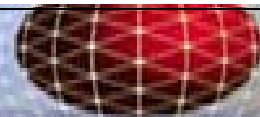


Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada

# Research Reports



## **A Limited Engagement: Mainland Returnees from Canada**

**By David Zweig**

**Chair Professor, Division of Social Science  
Director, Center on China's Transnational Relations  
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology**

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## Executive Summary<sup>1</sup>

International student exchanges and overseas education can play an important role in building bridges between countries. By living and studying abroad, citizens of one country can learn to understand another culture and develop favourable views of their host country and its people. If they return home, they may rely on ties established during their time overseas to make a living; increased trade may result.<sup>2</sup> If they are academics or researchers, scholarly exchanges may follow their paths. And even if they stay in their host country, they may engage their home country in some meaningful manner, strengthening ties between their home and host country.

This report looks at how mainland Chinese who went to Canada to study facilitate exchanges between China and Canada. It does not study mainlanders who migrated to Canada and then subsequently, for whatever reason, returned to China, but only those who went abroad to study.<sup>3</sup> We wish to assess how these returnees feel about Canada in general and about their educational and work experience in Canada in specific. Do academic flows into Canada and the subsequent “reverse brain drain” back to China enhance Canada’s “soft power?” Positive feelings could translate into more frequent interactions, while negative feelings could lead to fewer interactions. What factors explain the positive or negative view? Do they recommend others to go to Canada and if so, why?

Second, how extensive are interactions between returnees and Canada? What are the characteristics of the returnees who interact more with Canada and why? What are the patterns of exchanges? What resources are transferred? Do those who do not return also serve as bridges across the Pacific?

Third, how important is the Canadian experience to a returnee’s life? How much do students benefit from this experience? If the perception in China is that a Canadian degree is not helpful, students will hesitate to come and Canada will have difficulty commercializing its academic institutions. To attract more Chinese students, Canada must prepare them for careers in China, as much as in Canada, because in 2007, over 40,000 mainland students worldwide returned to China in search of a job. So, we ask: does overseas study enhance a Chinese youths’ job opportunities after they return, or do returnees from Canada confront a more serious unemployment problem than returnees from other countries?

Where possible we present our findings from a comparative perspective. In 2007, we completed a similar study of returnees from Japan that drew on a list of 7,000 returnees from Japan which was collected in a similar manner as the Canadian data, making the two data sets somewhat comparable.

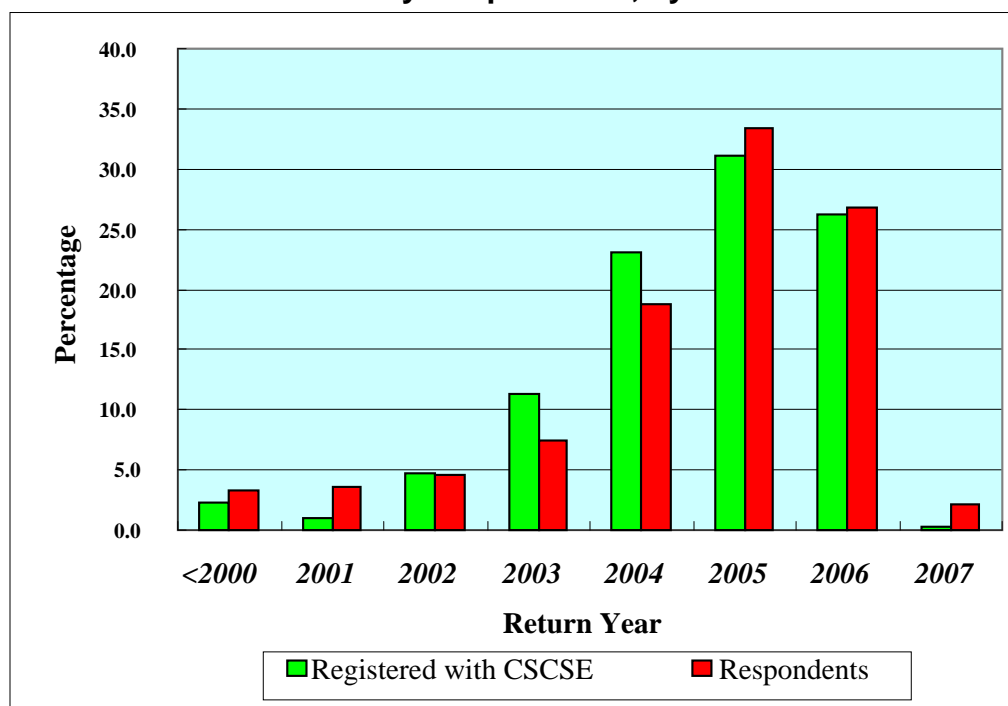
## Research Design and the Data Set

Information for this study comes predominantly from a survey in summer 2007 by the Chinese Service Center for Scholarly Exchange—(中国留学服务中心) hereafter CSCSE -- under the Ministry of Education. Students who wish to validate their overseas education -- a step demanded by many potential employers in China -- approach the CSCSE office in Beijing, or its local branches, to register their degree. Once the CSCSE checks with their overseas university, it issues a certificate. Drawing on a list of 2,233 returnees from Canada who had registered with the CSCSE, a team from the CSCSE successfully contacted 1,215 of them by phone. The total number of returnees to Canada in 2006 was 2,996 (table 1), which suggests that the CSCSE had the addresses of most returnees from Canada. Most agreed to fill out a questionnaire, and from those who agreed, 529 (45%) mailed back the completed survey. The return rate, where the

CSCSE found half of the people who registered with them and then received questionnaires returned them, yields a rather reliable sample. And it mirrors the results in our survey of returnees from Japan, where the number of registrants was approximately 6,806, the CSCSE found 3,003 people and received 1,478 completed questionnaires.

Nevertheless, the data set has some biases. Most people -- 80% -- returned from Canada after 2003 (figure 1), which afforded them little time to re-establish themselves in China and set up independent contacts with Canada. Many were recent college graduates who, as employees of companies in China, have no authority to build their own links with Canada.

**Figure 1. Percent of Returnees from Canada Registered with CSCSE and our Survey Respondents, by Year<sup>4</sup>**



Second, business ties between returnees and their host country depend on entrepreneurs who set up their own companies back in China.<sup>5</sup> But entrepreneurs need not verify their academic degree, as they are their own bosses. As a result, our data set includes only 35 people who set up their own companies. Also, our sample does not have many people who returned to China as employees of multinational or Canadian companies, who then jumped ship and set up their own firm. Yet, I did interview some such people in Shanghai in 2004.

As a result of these biases, I cannot draw on the characteristics of this group to generalize to the population of returnees from Canada. However, I can say something about relationships among factors within this group -- who likes Canada and why; why people feel the way they do about their Canadian experience; who is most likely to establish and maintain linkages with Canada; the job search experience of returnees from Canada; who among academics are most interactive and how these all reflect on their feelings and ties to Canada.

The study also relies on a web-based survey of mainland academics holding academic posts in Canada which assessed the level of interaction between mainland academics who remain in Canada and their colleagues on the mainland. To comprise this list, we went onto university web-sites and invited those teaching at Canadian universities who

had a “*pinyin*” name to fill in a questionnaire posted on a web-site at The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. We sent several hundred emails and received 60 responses for a response rate of about 12-15%.

Finally, I also draw on in-depth interviews with people who have remained in Canada, as well as people who have returned to China from Canada. In Vancouver, I carried out two focus group discussions in April 2008 with mainlanders who have remained in Canada. I have also interviewed mainlanders in Toronto who stayed on and academics and businessmen in Beijing and Shanghai who returned to China from Canada.

## Context of the Study

As the context of overseas study from China shifts, so does the type of people who are returning to China. Since 1999, the number of Chinese students going abroad has leaped. While in 1995-1999, the number going abroad hovered around 22,000, in 2002-2005, the yearly average was 117,000.<sup>6</sup> The type of students has changed as well: no longer is it just the highly talented who go abroad, but now many students who cannot get into good Chinese universities go abroad hoping to enhance their competitiveness at home. China's new middle class can afford to send its children overseas, even at the undergraduate level, so the number of self-financed students has gone up as well.

With the number of students going abroad increasing, so has the number of students coming to Canada. The number of students going to Canada almost doubled from 2000 to 2001, peaking in 2002 (table 1).

**Table 1. The Flow of Mainland Students to and from Canada<sup>7</sup>**

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006
New Overseas Students	---	1298	2901	4393	8111	7319	4589	3905	5529
Returnees	---	455	591	841	784	1344	1906	2884	2996
Total Flow	1003	1753	3492	5234	8895	8663	6495	6789	8525
Chinese Students in Canada (at year end)	2160	3003	5313	8,866	16,194	29,804	32,487	33,508	36,041

**Source:** CIC, *Facts and Figures 2006*,  
at <http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/resources/statistics/facts2006/temporary/10.asp>

Second, the number of returnees to China has risen concomitantly. While the yearly average of returnees from 1996 to 1999 was about 7500/year, in 2003-04 it was 22,000/year; in 2005, the number reached 35,000, and in 2006 surpassed 40,000. Returnees from Canada more than doubled from 2003 to 2005 (table 1).

With more, lower quality students going abroad, the increased reverse flow brings lower quality students back to China. Their average age has also dropped as has the level of academic training gained overseas. In the 1980s, most returnees were Visiting Scholars or had received foreign Ph.D.s; today the largest number of returnees has received an MA. While most returnees in the 1980s and 1990s moved to academic or research institutes, today most returnees seek jobs in industry or the service sector. Thus 72% of all returnees

registered with the CSCSE had received an MA degree, 19% were undergraduates and Ph.D.s made up only 9% of the total population of returnees from abroad who had registered their degrees (table 2).

**Table 2. Overseas Degrees Authenticated by Ministry of Education in China**

Level of Academic Training	% of total	Top 4 Countries Issuing Degrees			
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Ph.D.	9 %	Japan	USA.	Germany	n. a.
MAs	72 %	UK	Japan	Australia	USA.
Undergrads	19 %	Russia	Japan	UK	n. a.

**Note:** This breakdown is based on the total number of degrees that have been authenticated by the Service Center for Scholarly Exchange between 1991 and 2005. The total number of authenticated degrees is 44,565.

**Source:** Chinese Service Center for Scholarly Exchange, Ministry of Education, Beijing.

Among the 529 returnees from Canada, 33.6% had only an undergraduate degree, many more than the total population of registered returnees, and much higher than our returnees from Japan. MA degrees comprised 52.2%, again different from the total registrants with the CSCSE, and only 9.1% had Ph.D.s, the same as the registrants with the CSCSE. But in contrast, 45% of returnees from Japan who registered with the CSCSE had Ph.D.s, which may explain why returnees from Japan have closer ties to Japan, their host country than returnees from Canada, why they are older, in possession of their own technology, and therefore, more capable of establishing sustainable and useful linkages. Still, Japanese Ph.D.s are hands-on, relatively short-term degrees, where students focus on their supervisor's area of research, rather than developing scientific inquiry, which is more often the goal of Western Ph.D.s.

Also, the number of students to go to, and return from, Canada falls well short of Japan, the US, Britain, or Australia, the top four top countries where registered returnees had studied (table 2). Canada reportedly recently dropped from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> country of choice for Chinese students, a troubling shift for a country with an excellent educational system that could be marketed to students from abroad.

## Definitions

Whom do we include as "returnees" and what do we mean by "interactions?" The definition of a "returnee" has changed over time. In the early 1990s, anyone who had gone abroad to study or do research for six months was a "returnee." By the late 1990s, one year was a minimum, but studies began to focus on degree candidates. Today, analysts include people who have received an overseas degree, a one-year diploma, a post-doctoral fellowship, or were involved in some type of training or collaborative research that ran one year or longer. Also, this study excluded returnees who migrated to Canada over the past two decades but, for various reasons, chose to return. It is necessary to limit the definition so that when we compare across countries, we are not comparing apples and oranges.

Interactions come in many forms. But our definition, and the way in which we count the total number of interactions, is based on the empirical definition used in the survey. Table 11 lists most of the ways in which academics can interact with others in their field. For those engaged in business, interactions would be measured by business trips back to Canada or the share of their sales that goes to Canada.

**Table 3. Highest Degree and Area of Specialization**

Highest Degree of Education						
Area of Study	Community College	Bachelor	Master	PhD	Total	Percent
Medical Science	1	1	2	3	7	1.3
Industrial & Applied Science	6	27	54	18	105	19.9
Law	0	0	5	0	5	1.0
Natural Science	0	7	14	15	36	6.8
Business	14	110	140	3	267	50.5
Social Science	0	10	29	5	44	8.3
Humanities & Arts	3	6	16	2	27	5.1
Other	3	14	15	2	34	7.2
No response	0	3	1	0	4	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>27 (5.1%)</b>	<b>178 (33.6%)</b>	<b>276 (52.2%)</b>	<b>48 (9.1%)</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>101.1</b>

## Who are our Respondents?

Table 4 presents many characteristics of returnees in our data set. Males comprise 50.3%; the returnees' average age is 30.2; people employed in academia compose 16.5% of the sample, with people in the workforce totaling 74.5%. Among this latter group, 35 had started their own company. English language skills are quite strong, with 71.5% reporting "excellent" English language skills, while 23.8% report "good" skills.

**Table 4. Characteristics of the Respondents**

<b>Male (%)</b>	50.3	<b>English Level</b>	
<b>Age (years)</b>	30.2	Excellent	71.5
<b>Married (%)</b>	47.0	Good	23.8
<b>Working Field</b>		Average or Poor	4.8
Academics	16.4	<b>Format of Exchange</b>	
In the work force	71.5	Government sponsored	7.0
Other	12.1	Self-sponsored	93.0
<b>Party Member (%)</b>	18.7		

**N=529**

The majority of returnees came from middle ranking cadre families or from the intelligentsia, while the parents of 11.7% are the children of the emerging middle class, in that their families owned their own business (table 5). This reflects the changing nature of the overseas students and the returnees.

**Table 5. Family Background**

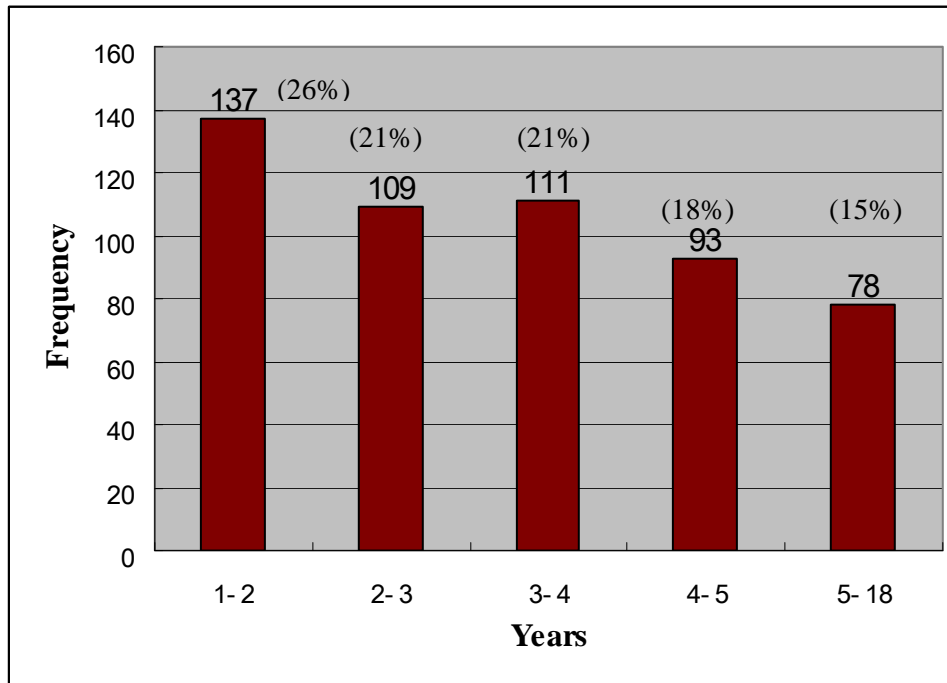
<b>Family Background</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
High Level Cadre	14	2.7
Middle Ranking Cadre	160	30.3
Worker	68	12.9
Peasant	21	4.0
Intelligentsia	169	32.0
Self-employed or private entrepreneur	62	11.7
Army	9	1.7
Other	19	3.6
No response	7	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Most people in our data set are recent returnees (figure 2), with 53.3% reporting that they had just graduated from college, while 11.7% had been “simple workers” (*putong gongren*) in Canada. Their incomes on the eve of returning reflect the fact that most of them were recent graduates. Over 45% were earning less than CDN\$10,000/year and almost 70% were earning under CDN\$20,000/year (table 6). Such an income in Canada would place a family of four under the poverty line. Also, with 13.8% not reporting their income, almost 60% earned under CDN\$10,000 in their last year in Canada. These are not well established business people or academics who left behind a good life in Canada to return to China.

Similarly, since the majority (357/529 or 67%) had lived in Canada for 4 years or less (figure 2), there is little reason to expect that they had developed strong ties to Canada.

**Table 6. Canadian Income in their Last Year before Returning**

<b>Yearly Income (CDN\$)</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<10k	241	45.6
10-15k	76	14.4
15-20k	51	9.6
20-25k	21	4.0
25-35k	25	4.7
35-50k	18	3.4
50-60k	10	1.9
60-80k	4	0.8
>80k	10	1.9
No Response	73	13.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Figure 2. Years Living in Canada**

The source of funding for their study overseas could influence the quality of their experience in Canada (table 7). It also raises the issue of whether Canada should fund more or less Chinese students to come to study. Chinese who received financial support from the Japanese government or institutions had a much more positive view of Japan, and their educational experience there, than those who relied on their own efforts or the help of their parents. Might this be true for Canada as well? Yet, 33% of returnees from Japan had a free ride from some organization in Japan, almost twice as many as the 18% who received full funding in Canada. With 60% of Chinese students in Canada relying on their own funds, on family assistance, or some combination of the two, their experience of overseas study (and of their host country) could be very different from students in Japan. We also anticipate that students who received financial support from their parents were quite anxious to find a job soon after returning, as they needed to pay back the family.

**Table 7. Source of Financial Support for Studies in Canada**

Source	Frequency	%
China—full	12	2.3
Canada—full	95	18.0
Canada—partial	82	15.5
All from parents	158	29.9
By oneself	25	4.7
By oneself, with parents	130	24.6
Other	25	4.7
No response	2	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>100.0</b>



The majority (50.5%) studied business administration (table 3), with engineering and applied sciences second (19.9 %). With these two degrees, one could compete for jobs back in China.<sup>8</sup> Over 33% received only an undergraduate degree, reflecting a new phenomenon of the past five years, but such a degree may not enhance their job prospects in China very significantly. So, many mainlanders going abroad in the past five years seek Master's degrees, as employers do not want to hire people who only have undergraduate degrees. Employers also want work experience abroad, something this cohort appears to lack.

The biggest difference between the Canadian and Japanese samples is that 13% of returnees from Japan had studied medicine as compared to 1.3% in Canada. Many Chinese are recruited to Japan to study medicine but are unable to practice there once they graduate. On the other hand, 50.5% of Chinese in Canada were studying business, double the 24% who were studying business in Japan.

We compared the 35 people who started their own company in China to the rest of the respondents (table 8). Entrepreneurs are more likely to be men and married. More were engineers (29.4% vs. 20.0%) or scientists (11.8% vs. 6.9%), and twice as many had Ph.D.s. They were twice as likely to have been academics before returning (34.3% vs. 17.4%), but they also had good jobs or ran their own companies—note their higher income in Canada—before returning to China. Somewhat surprisingly, CCP membership, family background, yearly income after returning (many failed in these efforts, hence a low income relative to middle or higher level managers in companies in China), were not important.

**Table 8. Comparing People Who Founded Their Own Enterprises with the Total Sample of Returnees from Canada**

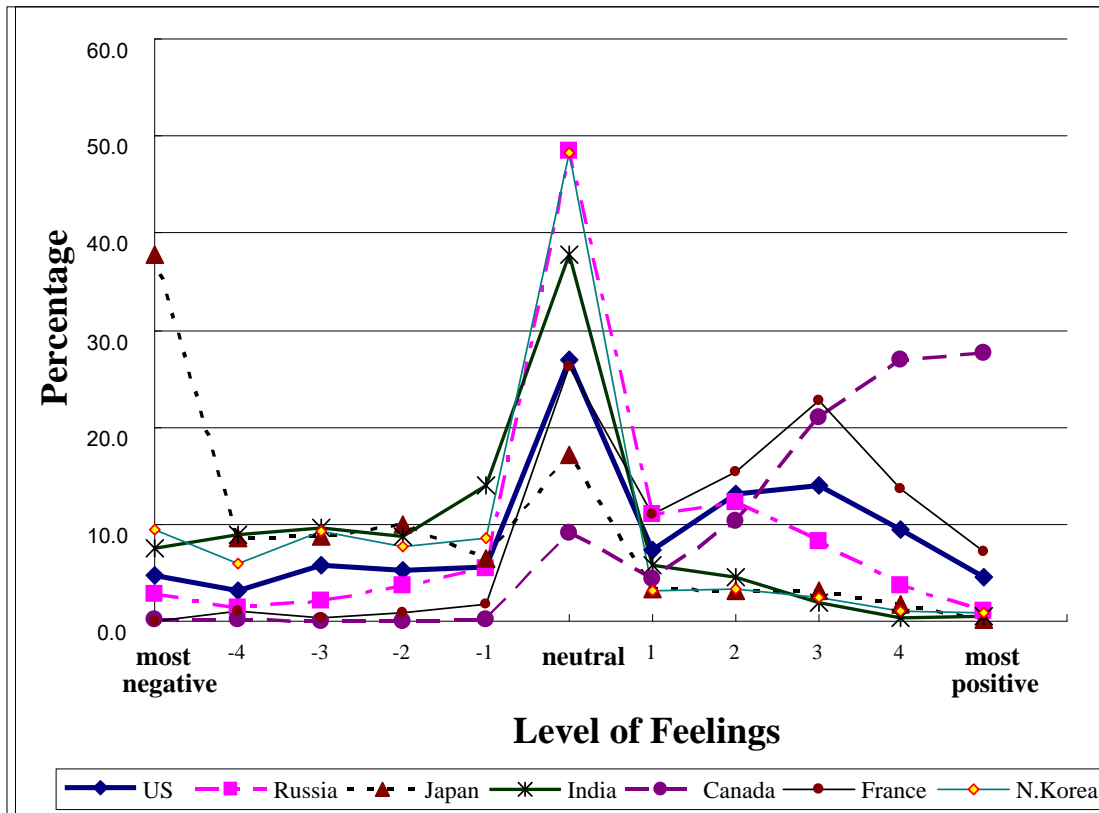
<b>Variables</b>	<b>Entrepreneurs</b>	<b>Total Sample</b>	<b>P-value</b>
<b>Male (%)</b>	82.9	50.3	0.00***
<b>Age (years)</b>	33.3	30.2	----
<b>Married (%)</b>	62.9	47.6	0.06*
<b>Ph.D.</b>	17.1	9.1	
<b>Major in Canada (%)</b>			0.33
Engineer	29.4	20.0	
Natural Science	11.8	6.9	
<b>Occupation before Returning (%)</b>			0.01***
Academic	34.3	17.4	
Business	34.3	29.3	
Fresh Graduate	31.4	53.3	
<b>Yearly Income in Canada (in CDN)</b>			0.00***
< 10k	33.3	52.9	
10 -20k	15.2	27.9	
> 20k	51.5	19.3	
<b>N= 35</b>			

**Note:** Except for "Age," we did a chi-square test between all categorical variables and the variable "has entrepreneur experience or not;" \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## Feelings about Canada

Our survey discovered a huge wellspring of very positive feelings towards Canada. No returnees expressed any negative feelings towards Canada, while only 10% were even neutral (figure 3). Canada is the only country in the figure where the percentage of supporters continues to increase as the feelings get very positive. On the other hand, over 80% of returnees from Canada express negative feelings towards Japan with almost 40% holding a -5. And, if one considers “0” as a neutral score, then only 11% has a positive view of Japan.

**Figure 3. Attitudes of Returnees from Canada toward 7 Countries**



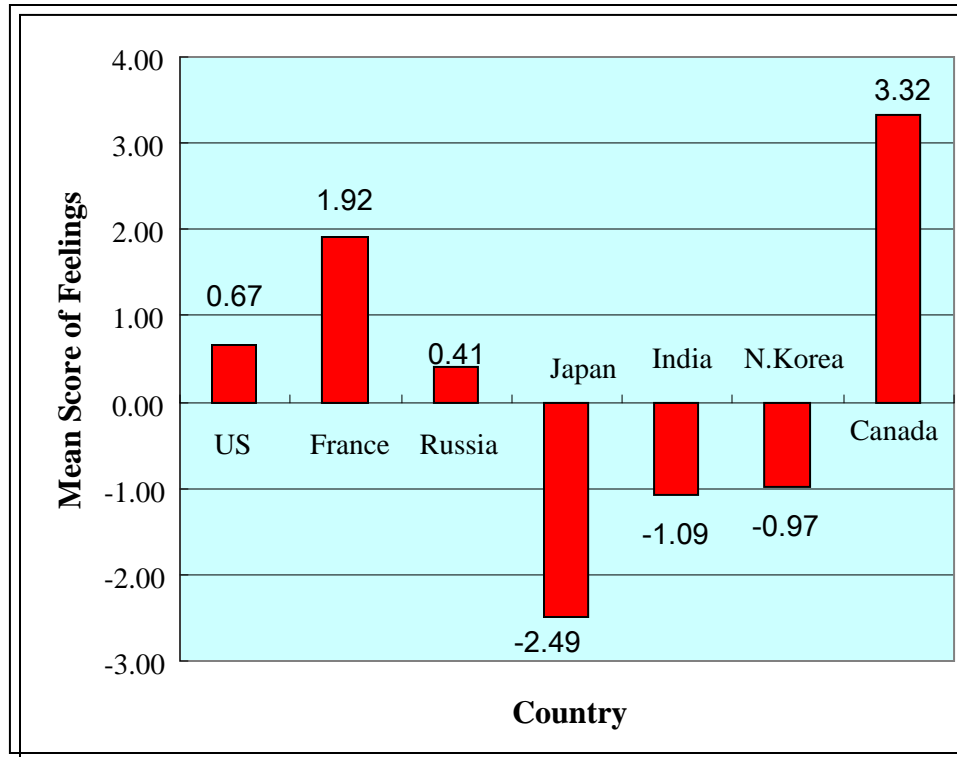


Figure 4 shows the mean level of affect among our respondents to the 7 countries. For Japan, India and North Korea, negative feelings predominate. Feelings for Russia and the USA are similar, perhaps reflecting the anti-Americanism that exists in Canada. France scores highly—it came in 2nd among returnees from Japan as well—largely because it rarely criticizes China, Chinese people value French culture, and perhaps because France favours lifting the UN arms embargo.

Of 529 people who responded to the question, 31.6% said that what they had learned in Canada was “quite helpful” to their current work in China, while another 45% said it was “important. Only 22% said that it had not been very important or not important at all (3.8%). Thus, 23% would “not recommend” others to go to Canada, 65.6% would “recommend” that others go to Canada, and 9.5% would “strongly recommend” such a course of action.

Who recommends others to go to Canada? Statistical analysis shows that (1) men recommended others to go more than woman; (2) those with a free ride courtesy of Canada; and (3) people whose job search was relatively short. The latter finding reflects a key reason these young people go to Canada—to enhance their human capital and job opportunities once back in China. And what determines their positive view of their experience in Canada? Again, statistics show that people over age 38 feel much more positively about their Canadian experience, as do students of Social Science—perhaps it gave them a sense of freedom unavailable in China. Those with good English felt positively about their experience, while living longer in Canada made people more positive about that experience.

### **Finding a Job on Returning to China**

Since those who found jobs quickly recommended others go to Canada, the job search experience is important to our analysis. So what do we know about the job search? First, over 72% of returnees found a job in three months, the cutoff point the ILO uses to define “unemployed” (table 9).

**Table 9. Time Used Finding a Job**

<b>Time used</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Arranged before Returning	133	25.7
Less than 3 months	243	47.0
More than 3 months	141	27.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>517</b>	<b>100.0</b>

To understand the time spent looking for a job, we performed a multiple regression, using time spent as the outcome and numerous factors as our possible explanations. Our results are interesting, both for what factors were important and which were not. Good English brought no advantage, probably because many college graduates in China have good English and returnees from the US, Australia, England, New Zealand and other English speaking countries all have the same competitive skills. This is different from returnees from Japan, for whom Japanese language is a great asset. Second, work experience is very important—it is *the most significant variable in the model* ( $p < .000$ )—so having had a job in Canada significantly increases the odds of finding a job in less than three months back in China.

As for the returnees' perceptions about the difficulty of finding a job, multivariate analysis shows again that those who had Canadian work experience did not see their job search experience as too difficult ( $p < .09$ ). Similarly, people who felt content with their current job ( $p < .00$ ), married people ( $p < .05$ ), and those who studied engineering ( $p < .05$ ), all felt that the job search had not been too difficult. On the other hand, those students who had funded their study in Canada on their own experienced the greatest difficulty getting a job after returning (even though the amount of time they spent was not significantly greater).

As for job satisfaction, people who received full support from the Canadian government felt satisfied with their job, as did engineers and people who had found their job in less than three months. CCP members also were satisfied as were those making over 50,000 RMB/year (over 4,000 RMB/month).

Finally, does their reason for returning to China reflect in some way upon Canada and their experience there? Not necessarily (table 10). The most common reason for returning was to take care of one's parents, which says nothing about Canada, except that their parents may not have wanted to retire in the Great White North (table 8). One colleague in Hong Kong had moved his parents to Alberta where he was teaching, but feeling isolated from their friends in China, they moved back. So he relocated to Hong Kong to be near them. No other study I have done of returnees over 15 years has yielded this as the primary reason for returning. Yet in this survey, it is a far stronger reason than any other.

The second reason—difficulty getting into mainstream Canadian society--reflects social difficulties faced by Chinese in Canada. Thus, a Business Ph.D. from York University who had a good job in a Toronto consulting firm returned to China, perceiving a "glass ceiling" in his company; unable to talk football with the guys, he felt he could never crack the top echelon of the firm. Yet, he also felt that he could use his Canadian experience to do a lot of consulting with Chinese firms in China on cross – cultural communication. The fourth reason reflects dissatisfaction with their social status in Canada, but may reflect difference in the status of academics in Canada versus China. Finally, the third reason suggests that people were doing well in Canada; they simply thought they could do even better in China.

**Table 10. Top Four Reasons for Returning to China**

<b>First 4 out of 14 reasons for returning to China</b>	<b>First reason</b>	<b>Second reason</b>	<b>Third reason</b>
1. Can take care of parents better	21.4	24.0	13.6
2. Hard to get into mainstream society in Canada	14.0	12.3	15.3
3. I can develop well in Canada, but will do better in China	15.7	7.0	4.0
4. Can attain higher social status in China	9.3	13.2	14.0
5. Other reasons	39.6	43.5	53.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Note:** We asked respondents to select three choices from a list of approximately 10 options and to list their first, second and third reason. Then we calculated the top four choices.

### Linkages to Canada: Bridging the Academy

Overall, the 91 returned academics actively interacted with Canada through various modes (table 11). Over 65% had one or more interactions with Canadian academics or academic institutions since returning to China; 43% had helped Canadian academics do research in China; 33% had been involved in at least one research project with a Canadian academic (probably their PhD supervisor); 37% had presented a paper back in Canada; 30% had joined a Canadian academic association; and, 18% had edited a book with a Canadian scholar. Also, 13% had consulted at least once for a Canadian firm investing in China, a rather high percentage relative to returnees from Japan. Of the 75 people who had overseas research projects, about 30% (21/75) carry out half or more of their projects with colleagues in Canada. Hence, this cohort remains rather connected with their Canadian professors, colleagues and professional associations. Still, 35% have no relations with Canadian academics since returning, and over half had two or less interactions.

**Table 11. Level of Interaction for Returned Academics**

<b>Mode of Interaction</b>	<b>None</b>	<b>Once</b>	<b>Twice</b>	<b>3 Times or more</b>	<b>N</b>
Attend Seminars in Canada	71 (78.0)	12 (13.2)	7 (7.79)	1 (1.1)	91 (100)
Taught Canadians in China	82 (92.1)	5 (5.6)	1 (1.1)	1 (1.1)	89 (100)
Edited book with Canadian Scholar	70 (76.9)	15 (16.5)	2 (2.2)	4 (4.4)	91 (100)
Carried out a research project with a Canadian academic	55 (66.3)	18 (21.7)	8 (9.6)	2 (2.4)	83 (100)
Assisted Canadians to conduct research in China	52 (58.4)	21 (23.6)	10 (11.2)	6 (6.8)	89 (100)
Gave academic paper in Canada	57 (62.6)	13 (14.3)	7 (7.7)	14 (15.4)	91 (100)
Consulted for Canadian firm or Canadian Joint Venture in China	78 (87.6)	4 (4.5)	2 (2.3)	5 (5.7)	89 (100)

Joined Canadian Academic Association	63 (70.8)	24 (27)	2 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	89 (100)
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**Note:** Numbers in parentheses are row percentage.

What explains individual levels of interaction? Academic rank is correlated with the number of interactions (table 12). The majority of people with no interactions were Lecturers, while Full Professors dominate the people with more than 4 interactions. The score in the parenthesis is the mean number of interactions for each cohort, and here Full Professors average many more interactions.

**Table 12. Academic Interactions with Canada, by position in China**

Number of Interactions	Lecturer	Associate Prof.	Full Prof.
0-3	20 (87%)	9 (60%)	6 (33%)
4-6	2 (9%)	2 (13%)	6 (33%)
7-10	0 (0%)	4 (27%)	3 (17%)
>11	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	3 (17%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>23 (100%)</b>	<b>15 (100%)</b>	<b>18 (100%)</b>

Our multiple regression analysis explaining academic interactions found three significant influences: age ( $p < 0.05$ ), having a Ph.D. ( $p < 0.075$ ), and being a Full Professor ( $p < 0.005$ ). For age, the younger academics are, the more likely they are to interact--suggesting that physical energy rather than academic seniority is important. Feelings towards Canada were unimportant, because since everyone liked Canada, it did not influence interactions.

When compared to our Japanese study, several factors that affected returnees from Japan did not affect returnees from Canada. These include: (1) year they returned to China, (2) length of time in the host country (Canada), (3) gender, and (4) field of study overseas. But the number of returned academics from Canada was much smaller than the number from Japan, so statistical analysis yielded fewer statistically significant results. Nevertheless, overall number of interactions per returnee from Canada is about half the level of the academic returnees from Japan for all academic ranks (table 13), suggesting a more limited engagement than for returnees from Japan.

**Table 13. Mean Number of Interactions for Academics of Different Levels, Canada versus Japan**

	Lecturer	Associate Professor	Full Professor
<b>Japan</b>	5.0	7.4	10.6
<b>Canada</b>	2.3	3.4	6.2

But such a finding should not be surprising: geographic distance, the large number of Chinese postdoctoral fellows in Japan, Japan's acute interest in gaining access to Chinese research, as well as large-scale Japanese outsourcing to China, creates many more academic exchanges between Japan and China as compared to Canada and China (Zweig and Han, 2007).

Why are returned Chinese academics interested in working with Canadian academics? The drivers for this exchange are new information, new research methodologies, and excellent colleagues (table 14). Financial support is also important, as research monies are rather limited in China.

**Table 14. Why Returned Academics Collaborate with Canadian Scholars**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Adjusted Score</b>
1. Research collaborators are excellent	223
2. I want new research information from Canada	110
3. I want to learn research methodologies from Canada	96
4. Communication is convenient	82
5. I want to get research grants	76
6. I want to build my social network	75
7. I study Canada so I need to collaborate with Canadian scholars	32
8. I want to attract Canadian students to China	17
9. I want to visit Canada	10

**Note:** For items respondents selected as “First”, we multiplied the number of respondents selecting that reason by 5; the “second reason” was multiplied by 3, and the 3rd reason was multiplied by 1. We then summed up the total for each item to rate its importance.

### **Linkages to Canada: The Business Connection**

Respondents in the work force in China interact with Canada for several reasons. Among these respondents, 11.4% (42/367) work in a company where the founder studied in Canada. Broken down by employment status, 4/17 (24%) entrepreneurs do business with Canada, as do 9/25 (36%) high-level managers, 25/105 (24%) middle-level managers, and 63/228 (28%) regular employees. And while there is no statistically significant relationship between a returnee’s status in a firm and the firm’s involvement in Sino-Canadian trade, the fact that 28% of “employees” who returned from Canada are working for companies doing some trade with Canada is significant. While they are not the driving force behind these companies’ interest in Canada’s market, given that the number of firms in China exporting to Canada must be well below 26%, this over-involvement in Sino-Canadian trade is probably due to their Canadian experience. And that is positive.

On the other hand, because very few of our returnees held any important business posts in Canada before returning to China, one might have anticipated even weaker ties between them and their former host country of Canada. Of 374 people currently working in China, only 24% had held a job in Canada before returning—the rest were fresh college graduates, who, as students, were unlikely to have built a business network to turn to once they returned to China. In fact, only 6 returnees had run their own company in Canada, 1 had been a senior manager in a company, and 20 had been middle managers in Canada. This is hardly the seedlings of transnational entrepreneurs.

Back in China, they project a similar profile. Of the 378 respondents who reported their job status in the Chinese economy, 60.5% were basic employees, 28% were middle

managers, 6.6% were senior managers, and 17 (4.5%) ran their own companies. Also, only 6.1% of employees work for companies with Canadian capital in them<sup>9</sup>. Why? First, there are not that many Canadian firms in China. Second, unlike returnees from Japan, of whom 25% were working for Japanese companies, returnees from Canada can work in any foreign firm where English is the working language. Therefore, their return need not benefit Canadian firms, while Japanese firms need to hire returnees from Japan.

## **The Role of Chinese Academics who have Stayed in Canada**

Another group of Chinese students who can facilitate flows between China and Canada are Chinese scholars who remained in Canada.<sup>10</sup> Are they “linkage agents” between Canada and China? If so, why, and if not, why not? Is there more that Canada could do to facilitate such exchanges? According to Chen and Wellman (2007), over 40% of Chinese Canadians who run their own businesses, including former mainlanders, Hong Kongers and Taiwanese, are “transnational entrepreneurs” who utilize ethnic networks and links to overseas suppliers or markets to support their businesses. But what about mainland academics with degrees from Canadian or American universities who still work in Canada? As outlined in the paper’s methodology section, by contacting academics in Canada with *pinyin* (Chinese Romanization) names, and asking them to fill out a web-based questionnaire, we received data on 60 academics.

These academics are committed to their jobs and lives in Canada. Only 11% reported trying to find a job on the mainland, but 26% said that they would return to mainland if they could get a job in a top university or company. Still, 70% of mainlanders currently teaching in Canadian universities would not return to China, even if a very good job beckoned. Nevertheless, as with mainlanders in the US (Zweig, Chung and Han, 2008) and Hong Kong (Han and Zweig, 2005), a joint position in Canada and the mainland is extremely enticing.<sup>11</sup> Of the 60 respondents, 90% would like such a joint position, while only 8% would not. In this way, they can maintain their Canadian lifestyle, keep their children in school in Canada, yet have access to research opportunities, social status, and other benefits of being a returned scholar on the mainland.

Still, their level of interactions were not so extensive. Almost half have no collaborative projects at all with the mainland, while another 15% “have almost no projects” on the mainland (table 15). Only 13% have all, most, or half of their projects on the mainland. This finding stands in sharp contrast to mainlanders in Hong Kong, who are deeply engaged with the mainland. But even relative to mainland academics in the US, our Canadian pool is not so active (table 16).



**Table 15. Collaborative Projects by Mainland Academics in Canada with Scholars or Organizations on the Mainland**

	Number	Percentage
1. almost all are on the mainland	2	3%
2. most of them are on the mainland	1	1%
3. about half of them are on the mainland	6	10%
4. some of them are on the mainland	13	21%
5. almost no projects are on the mainland	9	15%
6. No collaborative projects on the mainland	27	45%
7. Unanswered	2	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 16. Interacting with the Mainland: Canada, US and Hong Kong**

Modes of Interaction	% of the Group		
	Canada	US	HK
1. Collaborative research projects with mainland scholars	15	44	66
2. Run seminars or mini-courses in China	18	49	67
3. Train mainland students	12	30	63
4. Give academic papers in the mainland	n. a.	17	38
5. Publish Academic paper on the mainland	7	n. a.	n. a.
6. Edit a book with a mainland scholar	5	14	16
7. Attend special meetings for Overseas Scholars	7	n. a.	n. a.
8. Consult with companies in the mainland	3	5	5
9. Have a company that works with China	3	n. a.	n. a.
10. Visit family regularly	27	79	61
11. Unanswered	3	n. a.	n. a.
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>98</b>

Why such limited interactions? Several academics in the Vancouver focus groups raised issues of trust; one reported that twice colleagues on the mainland had listed him as Co-Director of a research project, but once the money was secured, he was not invited to participate in the project. In his view "it seems natural to collaborate with friends, between friends, but only with friends. You can only collaborate with people you trust." An engineer who designed advanced medical equipment said that his firm's equipment was too sophisticated--China lacked technicians who could run the equipment. Also, developing new equipment takes time, but mainland firms are interested only in quick profits. Finally, a specialist on melanoma said that Chinese, with their skin pigmentation, rarely fall prey to this disease, so there had been little research on this form of cancer in China. Recently he discovered a team of scientists at Nanjing Medical College who were doing such research with whom he has begun to collaborate. But mainlanders in the US face similar problems, so what issues raised in the focus group seem more unique to Canada?.

The designer of medical equipment received funding from Industry Canada to promote exports to China, but a Canadian company must supply the other half. Yet no Canadian firm had shown any interest in the project Another professor claimed that Canadian universities were too conservative. When he helped a delegation from the University of

Petroleum, which was looking for a partnership, visit UBC, the university administration was uninterested because U of P was only ranked 15<sup>th</sup> among academic institutions in China; they reportedly only wanted one of the top five universities as their collaborating institutions. Still, despite presenting a variety of problems, all the mainland academics interviewed in Vancouver had overcome those problems and established ties with the PRC.<sup>12</sup>

Our web-based survey asked why mainland scholars in Canada worked with mainland academics or educational/research institutions. The most important two reasons are somewhat “selfless,” suggesting a strong sense of patriotism among this group (table 17).

**Table 17. Why Collaborate with the Mainland: Canadian Academics**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Adjusted Score</b>
1. To promote the quality of research in China.	124
2. To make China stronger.	66
3. To establish personal relationships.	62
4. The quality of collaborators is excellent.	44
5. To attract good Chinese graduate students to Canada.	38
6. The costs of research are cheaper.	20
7. I study China so I need to collaborate with the mainland.	13
8. To be more visible in the mainland.	9
9. To gain access to research money.	4

**Note:** For the 9 items that were selected as the “First reason,” we multiplied the number of respondents by 5; we multiply the number of people selecting the “Second reason” by 3, and the third reason is multiplied by 1. We then sum the total for each item to rate the importance for each response.

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We can compare the results of similar surveys in the US and Hong Kong by comparing tables 17 and 18. But because we calculated the findings differently, we cannot combine the two tables. Still, “helping to improve the quality of research on the mainland” is the dominant reason for mainland academics in Hong Kong, the US, and in Canada for establishing academic links with the mainland.<sup>13</sup> In Canada and the US, making China stronger is the second most important motivation, while in Hong Kong, many respondents were academics who did research on China, so they naturally collaborated with colleagues and institutes in the PRC. For Hong Kong and Canada, the quality of the collaborators in the mainland is also an attraction, as is the quality of the graduate students that can be recruited from China through collaborative research projects. One colleague in Vancouver had reported having excellent post-docs whom he could train before they returned to China, thereby becoming important mainland collaborators.

**Table 18. Why Collaborate with the Mainland: US and Hong Kong Academics**

Reasons for cooperation	U. S. (%)		Hong Kong (%)	
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
Costs are cheaper	3	4	4	7
Quality of collaborators	3	2	8	14
I Study China	6	1	27	2
Attract graduate students	4	13	8	17
Promote the research quality on the Mainland*	40	13	22	17
Establishing personal relationships	4	9	6	12
Make China stronger	7	14	6	10
Access research money	0	4	0	10
Visibility on the mainland	2	2	2	5

**Note:** \*The Hong Kong interviews in 2001-2 did not include this question. So the number of Hong Kong responses is 70. For the US survey, we contacted 756 scholars and received 94 responses.

Despite the discussion of problems, there is no shortage of important transnational projects by mainland academics who remained in Canada. One of the participants of the focus group described a well funded project, called the “111 Project,” which links two teams, comprising seven Chinese academics in Canada and seven academics in the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS). The Chinese leader of the project is a vice-president of CAS. The theme is process engineering and is highly innovative and experimental. Funds are set at \$2 million/year for three years. The program has been so successful that the Chinese Ministry of Education has extended it to 40 universities in China. And while initially only mainland Chinese working overseas could form the “Western team,” the project now includes non-Chinese from overseas universities as well.

One association of mainland academics in Canada, which is actively involved in China, is situated in southern Ontario, and is comprised of approximately 100 mainland academics. The group has extensive interactions with Mianyang City, in Sichuan Province, and each summer sends numerous scientists there to help the city’s industrial and scientific development. They focus on just one city which in turn gives them privileges and opportunities that would otherwise not be available.

## Policy Considerations for Canada

What type of policy recommendations emerge from this study?

First, Canadian institutions—the federal and provincial governments, as well as universities—spent a great deal of tax payers’ money to attract Chinese students to Canada. As we can see below, 18% of our returnees received full Canadian support; yet they returned to China. In some ways, that may be a positive event, as returnees build Sino-Canadian ties, especially if they maintain strong ties with Canada. Moreover, it remains unclear if Canadian institutions bring Chinese to Canada with the intent of having them stay or return. Returnees may enhance Canada’s soft power in China. Recent reports from the US suggest that many foreigners trained in the US and needed by the US to drive its software industry, are returning to their home countries (AP, 2007). But if Chinese students in Canada return, is it a benefit or loss to Canada?

Table 19 below suggests that this money is indeed money well spent. First, the source of financial support appears to affect the level of satisfaction with their Canadian exchange experience ( $p < .004$ ). Students fully funded by Canada comprise 18% of our sample, but they compose 23.6% of people who were “very content” with their experience. Similarly, partly Canadian funded students are also disproportionately represented in the “very content” group, while those who paid their own way or had help from parents were most likely to be “not content” with their Canadian experience.

How about their feelings towards Canada—does financial aid win their hearts? Among Chinese returnees from Japan, those who received funds from Japanese organizations felt more positively towards Japan than those who did not get help (Zweig and Han, 2007). But in our group, having Canadian government funding did not affect people’s feelings towards Canada. In fact, 66% of the people who paid their own way “loved” Canada, as compared to 60% who got a free ride courtesy of the Canada. So, money can’t buy everybody’s love.

**Table 19. Satisfaction with Canadian Exchange Experience, by Source of Financial Support**

Source of Funding for Canadian Studies	Attitude to their Canadian Experience			Total
	Very Content	Content	Not Content	
<b>All from Parents</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>155</b>
row %	28.39	65.81	5.81	100
column %	25.29	<u>33.12</u>	25.71	<u>29.98</u>
<b>Canada-Full</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>93</b>
row %	44.09	48.39	7.53	100
column %	<u>23.56</u>	14.61	20	<u>17.99</u>
<b>Canada-Part</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>82</b>
row %	43.9	51.22	4.88	100
column %	<u>20.69</u>	13.64	<u>11.43</u>	<u>15.86</u>
<b>China-Full</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>
row %	41.67	58.33	0	100
column %	2.87	2.27	0	2.32
<b>By Oneself</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>25</b>
row %	32	52	16	100
column %	4.6	4.22	<u>11.43</u>	<u>4.84</u>
<b>With Parents</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>126</b>
row %	21.43	70.63	7.94	100
column %	<u>15.52</u>	28.9	<u>28.57</u>	<u>24.37</u>
<b>Other</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>24</b>
row %	54.17	41.67	4.17	100
column %	7.47	3.25	2.86	4.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>517</b>
row %	33.66	59.57	6.77	100
column %	100	100	100	100

**Note: Pearson chi-squared = 28.9141, P < 0.004**

Several other factors show the benefits of Canadian funding (table 20). Of great relevance to this study, Canadian funded students were far more likely to revisit Canada, indicating established ties between the two countries. Those who received Canadian funding interacted more with Canada after returning than people who had not received any Canadian funding. And though the relationship for this variable and support of funding is not statistically significant, those with Canadian funding are represented much more in the cohort with 4-10 interactions. These are important returns for Canadian investment in this relationship.

Once they returned to China, their salaries were much higher—49% made over 8,000 RMB/mo--suggesting that they are part of China's middle or dominant social class and good partners for future Sino-Canadian ties. They also had much less difficulty finding a job, but this may be because they had good jobs or positions before they left China. In fact, they were better connected back in China—34.7% of CCP members had full support from Canada, while another 24.4% had partial support, well above the 18.7% of the total number of respondents who were CCP members. Thus, people with Canadian support returned because, although they felt that they were doing quite well in Canada, they thought they could do even better, or get higher social status, in China. They had less difficulty breaking into mainstream Canadian society, and were more involved in Sino-Canadian trade. Again Canadian money well spent.

**Table 20. Relationship between Selected Variables and Source of Financial Support**

<b>Selected Variables</b>	<b>Canada Full</b>	<b>Canada Partial</b>	<b>No Canadian Support</b>	<b>Total Row Percentage</b>	<b>P-value</b>
<b>1. The first reason for returning</b>					<b>.001</b>
a) I can develop very well in Canada, but will do better in China	20.0	22.0	13.1	15.7	
b) Hard to get into mainstream of Canadian society	9.5	14.6	15.1	14.0	
c) Can take care of parents better	9.5	15.9	25.9	21.4	
d) Can achieve higher social status in China	16.8	9.8	7.1	9.3	
e) Other reasons	44.2	37.8	38.9	39.6	
<b>2. Degree of Difficulty Finding a Job</b>					<b>.000</b>
Very Easy	56.4	30.4	27.8	33.0	
Easy	20.5	18.8	18.8	19.1	
Average	16.7	33.3	36.9	33.0	
Hard	3.9	11.6	10.9	9.9	
Very Hard	2.6	5.8	5.6	5.1	
<b>3. Time used for find a job</b>					<b>.006</b>
< 3 months	85.9	72.5	69.3	72.7	
> 3 months	14.1	27.5	30.7	27.3	
<b>4. Last year's total income in China (RMB)</b>					<b>.006</b>
< 50k	6.4	23.5	21.1	18.8	
50 - 100k	44.7	42.0	46.1	45.2	
100 -200k	31.9	21.0	17.3	20.6	
> 200k	17.0	13.6	15.5	15.5	

<b>Selected Variables</b>	<b>Canada Full</b>	<b>Canada Partial</b>	<b>No Canadian Support</b>	<b>Total Row Percentage</b>	<b>P-value</b>
<b>5. Total income of the last year in Canada (Canadian Dollar)</b>					<b>.000</b>
<10k	7.1	50.6	68.9	54.0	
10-20k	31.0	21.5	11.7	17.0	
>20k	61.9	27.9	19.4	28.9	
<b>6. English Level</b>					<b>.064</b>
Good	97.9	98.8	93.8	95.3	
Poor	2.1	1.2	6.3	4.7	
<b>7. Party Member</b>	<b>34.7</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>.000</b>
<b>8. Revisited Canada</b>					<b>.001</b>
Once or above	24.2	14.8	10.0	13.3	
Never	75.8	85.2	90.0	86.7	
<b>9. Academic Interaction Score</b>					<b>.114</b>
<3	52.8	73.3	85.7	68.4	
4_6	<b>22.2</b>	13.3	10.7	16.5	
7_10	<b>19.4</b>	6.7	0.0	10.1	
>11	5.6	6.7	3.6	5.1	
<b>10. Exports products to Canada</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>.496</b>

Returnees support Sino-Canadian trade, with 26% of those working in Chinese firms involved in some way with Canada. And while they may not be drivers of this trade, they are more familiar with Canada than people who have not studied there, so they are likely to decrease the transaction costs of doing business with Canada, facilitating Sino-Canadian exchanges.

Also, Chinese who did not return have recently become much more active in facilitating Sino-Canadian exchanges. This increase may reflect efforts by the Chinese government to promote such exchanges under their “serve the nation” policy, rather than result from Canadian efforts (Zweig, Chung and Han, 2008). Several professors in Vancouver had recently become much more involved with mainland researchers in projects funded by the Chinese government. These projects also bring excellent students and post-doctoral fellows to Canada from China, who upon returning to China will build links and opportunities for their professors in Canada.

Yet, members of the mainland academic community in Vancouver felt that the Canadian government was not fully taking advantage of their skills. For many years, Hong Kong was Canada’s gateway to China—one mainlander said that in the late 1990s, he was told to learn Cantonese if he wanted to help Canadians do business with China. This mistaken view, he claims, has been slow to change. Today Canadians can go directly to China, making mainlanders in Canada—as well as those who return—important agents for establishing links. In particular, the federal government might tap into the mainland community in Vancouver and establish an advisory board of mainlanders in Canada to suggest bilateral projects deserving of funding.

Helping returning MA or MBA students get internships in Canadian companies before they go home could also be helpful. Our findings confirm that working in Canada before returning facilitates the job search in China. Therefore, internships are important, as is the

2005 Canadian government decision to allow Chinese students to work off campus, before graduation.

In retrospect, the links between the returnees and Canada facilitated by the Chinese students are substantial. Academic exchanges are at a meaningful level, with over 34% of academic returnees involved in some collaborative research project. Of great benefit to Canadian academia is that 42% of returnees have helped Canadian academics do research in China—in many cases, these could be their thesis supervisors or former colleagues. Returnees also help Canadian business, as 12% of our sample consulted for Canadian-invested firms who are considering doing business in China. Yet the total number of interactions per academic is only half what it is from Japan.

In terms of Sino-Canadian trade, approximately 25% of the returnees in the Chinese work force work in companies that carry out trade with Canada. While these returnees are too young, too inexperienced, and too junior to drive this trade, they are well positioned to play a role in Sino-Canadian trade. They do not visit Canada much, but if they stay with these companies, more opportunities may emerge. Still, very few of them work for companies with Canadian foreign investment, a situation quite different from the returnees from Japan, where 25% of returnees work for Japanese-invested companies. The limited role that Canadian firms play in the China market overall limits the opportunities returnees from Canada can play in mediating Sino-Canadian exchanges. Yet, if there were more business between the two countries, or more Canadian firms invested in China, these young returnees could play an even greater role.

Canadian universities have an excellent reputation in China upon which Canada could build. Chinese who studied in Canada succeed in finding jobs after they return, particularly if they have work experience. Yet Canada is not anywhere near as successful as Britain or Australia in bringing Chinese students to their universities. Canada needs to market its academic opportunities more aggressively in the mainland. But in the Canadian institutional configuration, that job would fall to the Department of Human Resources and Social Development, which may not be well equipped to carry out this task. With no national-level Ministry of Education marketing Canadian academia, the task falls to the provinces and individual universities, placing Canada at a severe disadvantage in this global competition. This weakness exists even though federal and provincial governments have “determined international educational marketing as a key strategic priority”.<sup>14</sup> So, Canada must contemplate revamping its bureaucracy to create a more focused, and senior, China education group to bring in top students. Perhaps the first step is to establish a task force to address this issue.

Finally, Canadian consulates must be engaged in China with the returnee community. With so much good will among returnees, Canadian consulates should be able to network effectively with them. When I contacted them, the consulates did know high profile returnees working in Beijing and Shanghai, but a more systematic effort could yield better results. Canada should create “Returnees from Canada” associations in major cities in China as foci for activities that would maintain links between students who studied in Canada and Canada itself.

Canada faces a challenge getting people it has educated to stay in Canada. Salaries in China may not immediately be significantly better than salaries in Canada. According to Li, salaries of mainlanders educated in Canada average about CDN\$50,000/year (Li 2006), equivalent to about 8,000 RMB per month, using purchasing power parity (PPP). Nevertheless, many of our returnees said that they returned because opportunities in

China were greater than in Canada. Having sunk funds into educating this cohort, Canadians should consider how to keep them in Canada, so they can establish ties with the mainland, or how to maintain strong ties with them once they return to China.

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## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> See Chen 2007.

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent study of this population and what drives people to stay and return see Li 2009 and Devoretz 2006.

<sup>4</sup> This figure shows the year of return from Canada of returnees who registered with the CSCSE and the year that the returnees who responded to our questionnaire returned. It shows that the 25% of the total population of returnees from Canada who registered with the CSCSE—and filled out our survey—our respondents, reflect well the yearly distribution of the overall returnees from Canada.

<sup>5</sup> A survey of 100 returned and 100 local entrepreneurs in 2004 showed that transnational linkages were very important explanations for returnees' business success. See Vanhonacker, Zweig and Cheung (2006), Zweig, Cheung and Han (2006) and Chen (2007).

<sup>6</sup> *Zhongguo tongji nianjian, 2006* (China Statistical Yearbook, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> We used data on the total stock of foreign students from China in Canada at the end of the year and the total flow (inbound and outbound) of Chinese students to calculate the inflow and outflow for each year.

<sup>8</sup> Several mainlanders I met in Canada in summer 2007 were working in the tourist industry, hoping to gain skills that they could use back in China. Their stated goal was to study in Canada and return.

<sup>9</sup> These firms may or may not overlap with firms founded by returnees from Canada.

<sup>10</sup> For a study of the role of overseas students in helping China develop, see Zweig, Chung and Han, 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Zweig supervised similar web-based surveys of mainlanders academics in the US and Hong Kong to which the Canadian academics of mainland origin can be compared.

<sup>12</sup> But if they did not have some ties, they would not have been invited by the Chinese Consulate to the focus group meeting.

<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, I had not included this reason in the original list used for interviews in Hong Kong. But, when I asked a senior colleague at my home university to comment on my questionnaire, he insisted very strongly that I needed to include this option, as it was his primary reason for working with mainland colleagues.

<sup>14</sup> Roopa Desai Trilokekar and Glen A. Jones, "*Internationalizing Canada's Universities*", *International Higher Education*, No. 46, (Winter 2007): 12 -14.