



# Flexible citizens? Transnationalism and citizenship amongst economic immigrants in Vancouver

JOHANNA WATERS

Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2 Canada (jlwaters@interchange.ubc.ca)

*This paper contributes to current theoretical debates surrounding concepts of transnationalism and citizenship through an in-depth, qualitative analysis of 'astronaut families' and 'satellite kids' in Vancouver, Canada. Specifically, it asks whether the emergence of these ostensibly transnational households amongst Hong Kong and Taiwanese groups indicates a form of 'instrumental citizenship' (Ip, Inglis and Wu 1997). The circumstances surrounding these family arrangements indeed point to a strategic use of migration, wherein one or both adults planned prior to emigration that they would return, imminently, to the country of origin to work, optimising financial opportunities. The children would remain in Vancouver to obtain an education, during which time the family would be able to acquire Canadian citizenship. Such depictions of a strategising, 'hypermobile' (Skeldon 1995) Chinese cohort fail, however, to capture an important aspect of the transnational experience, wherein research participants clearly undergo settlement over time and, for want of a better term, a degree of acculturation. This paper suggests that the 'mobility' of the Chinese diaspora has been often over emphasised in recent accounts of contemporary migration patterns, too hastily rejecting outright traditional conceptions of immigrant settlement experience.*

*Cette dissertation contribue aux débats théoriques actuels concernant les concepts de transnationalisme et de citoyenneté par le biais d'une analyse qualitative en profondeur des « familles astronautes » et « enfants satellites » à Vancouver, Canada. Elle cherche à savoir en particulier si l'émergence de ces foyers ostensiblement transnationaux parmi les groupes de Hong Kong et Taiwan montre une certaine forme de « citoyenneté instrumentale » (Ip, Inglis et Wu 1997). Les circonstances enveloppant ces arrangements familiaux indiquent en effet une utilisation stratégique de la migration, dans laquelle un ou deux adultes ont projeté avant l'émigration de revenir très rapidement dans leur pays d'origine pour y travailler, optimisant les opportunités financières. Les enfants resteraient à Vancouver pour y acquérir une éducation, durant laquelle la famille pourrait obtenir la citoyenneté canadienne. Toutefois, de telles représentations d'une cohorte chinoise « hyper mobile » et calculatrice (Skeldon 1995) ignorent un aspect important de l'expérience transnationale, à savoir qu'à la longue, les participants de l'étude manifestent clairement un établissement, et, par manque de mot meilleur, un certain degré d'acculturation. Cette dissertation suggère que la « mobilité » de cette diaspora chinoise a été souvent exagérée dans des comptes-rendus récents de schéma migratoire qui rejettent trop vite et définitivement les conceptions traditionnelles d'établissement des immigrants.*

## Introduction

In November 1999, during an interview at a public high school in a suburb of Vancouver, Vice Principal Mrs. Palmer<sup>1</sup> noted that she frequently has difficulty contacting the parents of some of her students. Very often, she revealed, it will turn out that the reason these parents are 'never home' is that they are residing overseas.

It has come to our attention that some parents are gone for the whole year... In order for students to register at our school they need a parent physically present with them. But after the student is registered sometimes the parents just disappear.

She estimated there to be some thirty children attending the school whose parents are absent for most of the time, although there could be more, she admitted, as '[T]hey really only come to light when there is a difficulty and we are trying to make contact with the home.' In the previous two years, she had encountered two 'fake parents'. In one case, a male student had brought a family friend posing as his father, and in the other case the student

brought a woman who he said was his mother... She looked familiar. I asked her if she had been in before and she said that she had, with another student! She let the cat out of the bag there! And it turned out that she was the housekeeper for another student, because he didn't want to acknowledge that his parents weren't here.

Other schools within Greater Vancouver have reported similar experiences of 'satellite kids.' Anecdotal evidence has suggested that most are between 15 and 17 years old and live with a sibling in a house purchased by their parents. Most came to Vancouver from Hong Kong or Taiwan during the 1990s, a decade when an unprecedented number of business and professional families left East Asia for Canada. Their parents subsequently returned to the country of origin to work, sending money to Canada to support their children and visiting Vancouver perhaps once or twice during the year.

1 All names have been changed to preserve the anonymity of participants.

A related circumstance, well known amongst these immigrant communities, is the 'astronaut family'. In this situation, it is the man of the household (the 'astronaut') who returns shortly after immigration to Asia to work, leaving his spouse (the 'astronaut wife') and children to undergo the often-difficult process of settlement in Canada in his absence. He will spend up to six months at a time away from his family, returning periodically for rest and recuperation in Vancouver.

For these families, immigration to Canada has not involved the severance of ties with the old country. Rather, East Asia has provided the ongoing place of financial capital generation, breaking unexpectedly with historical precedent.<sup>2</sup> Yet when asked, most family members expressed the desire to become Canadian citizens (some had already achieved this). This paper examines the implications of the continuation of such significant overseas ties for the notion and practice of citizenship in Canada. In so doing, it brings together and illuminates a number of current and important debates around issues of immigration, transnationalism, migrant identities and citizenship.

It is now a well-established fact of contemporary migration that many immigrants actively maintain deep social, economic and emotional ties with their countries of origin, even after the acquisition of a new citizenship. These ties have been widely observed for a number of different immigrant groups, in particular with reference to the United States, and have been conceptualised as 'transnationalism' (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994). Whilst these practices are frequently thought to empower the individuals concerned by presenting them with the advantages of two national systems simultaneously, some commentators have suggested that they may, at the same time, undermine the sovereignty of the nation-state. More specifically, it has been argued that transnational practices are incompatible with an important traditional component of citizenship involving loyalty to and identification with *one* country (Bloemraad 2000).

A now-extensive literature on new global diasporas has highlighted the various transnational

2 Since the nineteenth century, the adult members of Chinese families—especially males—have emigrated to Canada to better their financial circumstances, leaving their children behind in Asia and sending regular remittances.

configurations of contemporary Chinese populations. At the wealthier end of the spectrum, this has involved the ability to maximise capital accumulation through family dispersal, and frequently incorporates the acquisition of multiple passports (Ong 1999). The astronaut and satellite circumstances have been linked to such migration strategies (Skeldon 1995; Ong 1999).

In this paper, I examine the experiences of astronaut families and satellite kids in Vancouver, and ask whether their explicitly transnational practices may be incompatible with the traditional component of citizenship incorporating 'identity' and 'participation', ostensibly transforming citizenship through their lifestyle behaviour. I ask whether we are observing a move away from a spatially rigid conception of citizenship<sup>3</sup> towards a new, 'flexible' definition that allows citizens to retain a geographically hybrid identity as well as a physically mobile existence. I employ the term 'flexible citizenship' after Aihwa Ong (1999), and evaluate the extent to which this may be considered an accurate depiction of contemporary immigrant experiences.

In what follows, I provide a review of current theoretical debates about the impact of recent immigration on conceptions of citizenship in Western liberal democratic states. I then outline a literature pertaining to the peculiar migration practices of the 'new Chinese diaspora' and suggest why these practices have evoked concerns about the meaning of citizenship. I then give details about the Canadian context in which these issues have been raised before presenting my empirical findings, based on interviews with 'transnational' families in Vancouver. Finally, I re-evaluate the 'flexible citizen' debate in the light of these findings.

## Transnational Mobility and Identity

Citizenship in Western liberal democracies has traditionally been conceptualised as comprising of at least four discrete dimensions: legal status and rights as well as identity and participation (Bloemraad 2000). Yet during the postwar period, and especially since the 1960s, debate has centred overwhelmingly on the *possession of rights*, not

least the rights of minority groups to maintain their distinctive cultures (Soysal 1994; Joppke 1999). Arguing this point, Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (1994) cite T. H. Marshall's (1949) highly influential explication of citizenship, identifying a 'passive' emphasis on entitlements and a notable absence of notions of *national* identity and participation. The omission has implications now, as global population movements sustain and intensify cultural and social pluralism without a sense of citizen 'responsibilities' and 'virtues' toward the nation-state.

This debate about citizenship has arisen as a direct response to the increasing numbers of immigrants from 'less traditional' (i.e., non-European) source countries acquiring citizenship in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the United States. They are appearing, so the general argument goes, to eschew the classic assimilationist model (Gordon 1964) that has guided political thinking in these states about immigration matters—the assumption that immigrants will become increasingly integrated over time into the host society, having relinquished their old identity in favour of a new chosen national citizenship. In fact, many are maintaining dual or multiple national loyalties. A burgeoning social-science literature documenting 'transnational' processes (e.g., Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999; Vertovec 1999) and a revived interest in the notion of 'diaspora' (Hall 1990; Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997) attest to the manifold ways in which contemporary immigrants tend to 'forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton 1994, 7).<sup>4</sup> Utilising technological advances in transportation and telecommunications to maintain these relations, they are able to reap the benefits of two national systems, in addition to challenging the 'spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious or cultural homogeneous' notions underpinning the nation-state (Appadurai 1996, 48).

Several new theoretical models attempt to capture the complexity of de facto changes in national

3 Since the French Revolution, citizenship has often represented an exclusive relationship between citizens and national territory.

4 Activities include, for example, the sending of remittances, gifts and correspondence, property ownership, political activity, emotional family work and daily telephone contact (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997).

citizenship, incorporating both emergent affective attachments and new legal definitions. Yasemin Soysal's (1994) theory of 'postnational citizenship', Rainer Baubock's (1994) 'transnational citizenship' and Kymlicka's (1995) 'multicultural citizenship' provide three sophisticated examples of this turn in political theory. Dual nationality is now observed in practice by over 70 countries (Levitt 2001), whilst some states are also extending citizenship rights to nonresident populations and, notably, their descendants (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999). Others have implemented policies that explicitly seek to secure new human capital through immigration and the creation of citizens. In various ways, many states have co-opted and encouraged a more flexible understanding of national citizenship. For some observers, this has raised concerns about the consequent *meaning* of citizenship and the integrity of national civic traditions (Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Foner 2001).

In Canada, the implementation of the Business Immigration Program in the late 1970s sought to attract immigrants for the wealth that they would bring into the country. Yet this policy may also have contributed directly to the weakening of national solidarity through the *commodification* of citizenship in what is effectively a business contract between the immigrant and the state (Mitchell 1993; Smart 1994; Tseng 1997; Ip, Inglis and Wu 1997; Ley 2000). '[I]mmigration visas', writes Yen-Fen Tseng (1997, 281), 'are ever more available to people who have financial resources and are willing to invest in host countries. Foreign residency is becoming a marketable item with price tags', fostering an inevitable 'disjuncture between legal citizenship and personal identity' for some new residents (Ip, Inglis and Wu 1997, 363).<sup>5</sup> Below, I examine the motives and practices of immigrants who entered Canada under the auspices of the Business Immigration Program during the 1980s and 1990s.

5 In Australia, for example, concerns have focused on the 'return migration' of investors after citizenship has been acquired (Mak 1997). Ronald Skeldon (1994) considers the rates of return migration of Hong Kong immigrants from Canada and Australia, giving a figure of 12 percent of those who emigrated between 1982 and 1992.

## The New Chinese Diaspora, Transnationalism and Citizenship

The mobility of the Chinese diaspora... manifests a wildness, danger and unpredictability that challenges and undermines modern imperial regimes of truth and power... By means of strategies of transnational mobility, Chinese have eluded, taken tactical advantage of,... redefined and overcome the disciplinings of modern regimes of colonial empires, postcolonial nation-states and international capitalism. (Ong and Nonini 1997, 19–20)

In Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, the debate about the nature of citizenship has been influenced by the immigration of wealthy entrepreneurs from Hong Kong and Taiwan from the late 1980s onwards. They pose quite significant challenges, it has been claimed, to the cultural and economic hegemony of an older, more established elite of European origin (Mitchell 1993; Ley 1995). Unlike their Chinese predecessors, who have been actively excluded from political participation at various points in the history of these host countries,<sup>6</sup> these new immigrants are welcomed and encouraged under the Business Immigration Program to settle and become new citizens. Yet the image of unassimilable sojourners has remained potent. The large literature documenting the success of Chinese overseas entrepreneurs is dominated by metaphors of mobility and cultural hybridity. Conceptions of migrants as global citizens and 'cosmopolitan capitalists' (Hamilton 1999) abound, describing those who occupy 'diasporic, deterritorialized and hybrid subject positions' whilst positioned at the 'marginal spaces of the nation' (Mitchell 1997a, 533). Epitomised by Wei Li's (1998) account of the 'Chinese ethnoburb', depictions of contemporary Chinese settlement further emphasise a transnational dynamic involving strong ties to the global economy and a continually mobile population replenished by ongoing immigration. As is usually the case, the mobility of

6 Historically characterised as 'sojourners' (Wang 2000) well into the twentieth century, Chinese immigrants have been denied access to full citizenship rights within a number of nation-states and have consequently retained close ties with their places of origin out of necessity (Anderson 1991; Li 1998). Financial remittances to family members back home have played an important role in the history of Chinese overseas.

this ethnic group is conceived as economically empowering, and citizenship is seen as having been acquired for purely 'strategic' ends. Ong's (1999, 3) theory of 'flexible citizenship', for example, refers to the 'Chinese flexible subject'—the contemporary figure of the wealthy multiple-passport holder who is able to 'thrive' in 'conditions of political insecurity, as well as the turbulence of global trade'. All of these descriptions are characterised by the absence of reference to permanent settlement or immigrant acculturation to local/national influences. The 'astronaut' arrangement is one of several strategies documented in Ong's (1999) account of the flexible Chinese subject.

This literature also places a notable emphasis on capital accumulation. Chinese migrants are ostensibly obsessed with acquiring wealth, although this is not simply confined to monetary wealth. As Ong (1999) and Mitchell (1993) have both observed, the concept of '*cultural capital*', developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984; see also 1986) in his explication of class structure in twentieth-century French society, has found new salience in illuminating contemporary economic processes, in particular the business practices of overseas Chinese entrepreneurs. The spread of a global business culture has necessitated the acquisition of very specific kinds of proficiency through self-conscious cultural capital accumulation. Katharyne Mitchell (1997a, 551) describes this process as 'self-fashioning', where certain family members are schooled in the 'language of the global economic subject'. Ong (1999, 17–18) similarly observes for a Hong Kong business elite that '[They] are not merely engaged in profit-making; they are also acquiring a range of symbolic capitals that will facilitate their positioning, economic negotiation and cultural acceptance in different geographical sites'.

In Ong's own account and in many others that have focused on the success of Chinese business, the family unit is crucial. The successful dispersal of family members as part of the strategy of capital accumulation relies upon long-established notions of familial loyalty, including a sense of filial piety and an acceptance of a patriarchal structure, to ensure that discipline is maintained across the globe. It also, however, relies on a very traditional household division of labour: it is invariably the male 'head' of the family who retains his high-flying career in Asia, and the female spouse who

relinquishes her own employment to take care of the children in Canada. The children, in turn, are the focus for the accumulation of cultural capital. These gender and generational distinctions are significant, as they indicate the highly differentiated experiences of mobility, settlement and citizenship *within* the household,<sup>7</sup> obscured by literature that focuses on the family *as a unit*. Emphasis on the functional efficiency of the family unit also underestimates the ways in which individual, personal experience may undermine overall 'cultural capital' objectives. This will be considered in the discussion of the empirical material below.

### **The Price of Citizenship in Vancouver: Canada's Business Immigration Program**

In Canada, the historical pattern of immigration from Europe was substantially transformed after 1967 with the introduction of a 'point system'. In 1978, an 'entrepreneur' category of immigration was added through the Business Immigration Program, and the program was subsequently expanded in 1986 to include the additional category of 'investor'. The Entrepreneur Program 'seeks to attract experienced persons that will own and actively manage businesses in Canada that will contribute to the economy and create jobs. Entrepreneurs must demonstrate business experience, a minimum net worth of Cdn \$300,000 and are subject to conditions upon arrival in Canada' (CIC 2002). At the same time 'the Immigrant Investor Program seeks to attract experienced persons and capital to Canada. Investors must demonstrate business experience, a minimum net worth of Cdn \$800,000 and make an investment of Cdn \$400,000' (CIC 2002). Assuming these criteria are met and the status of permanent resident is granted, immigrants can apply to be Canadian citizens after three years of living in Canada, although up to half of this may be spent in travel overseas.

During the 1990s, 'economic' immigrants from Hong Kong and, later, Taiwan dominated migration to Vancouver. Many of them applied under the Business Immigration Program. Of the total number of immigrants to Vancouver in 1995, for

<sup>7</sup> See Waters (2002) for a full discussion of the gender implications of the astronaut arrangement.

example, Hong Kong accounted for 29.9 percent and Taiwan 13.6 percent. Sixty-one percent of all migration to Vancouver for that year was classified as 'economic', requiring the demonstration of sufficient wealth and/or skills by a principal applicant. Importantly, the specifications of the Business Immigration Program omit reference to the 'qualities and attitudes of its citizens' or 'their sense of identity' (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, 352–353), as well as any requirement of longer-term residence or commitment from the applicant. Yet the result has been the creation of a significant number of new Canadian citizens. What are the implications, then, of this policy for the meaning of citizenship in contemporary Canadian society? How do these new citizens perceive their citizenship? All evidence from existing literature would seem to point to a purely instrumental notion of Canadianness amongst the recent economic immigrants. I will now examine this proposition, through examples drawn from research in Vancouver.

## Transnational Families and Flexible Citizenship

Astronaut families and satellite kids are an exemplary expression of transnationalism within con-



**Figure 1**  
Map of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (G.V.R.D.) and British Columbia within Canada (inset)

temporary Canadian society. As many of these family members were already Canadian citizens, and all had the intentions of applying, on the surface they appeared to typify the notion of 'flexible citizenship'. In Vancouver, the astronaut arrangement has been most commonly observed amongst families who immigrated from Hong Kong or Taiwan during the 1990s, the majority under the Business Immigration Program as either investors or entrepreneurs. Between 1999 and 2000, I conducted in-depth interviews with members of 42 families from Hong Kong or Taiwan, all but one having immigrated since 1990 and all currently residing in the Greater Vancouver area (see Figure 1). My interviews focused on two types of account—that of the spouse who remained behind in Vancouver, in the case of the astronaut family, and that of the satellite children, when both adult members had returned to Asia to work.

It is impossible to access all persons in Vancouver conforming to these definitions, as, in many cases, their circumstances are kept deliberately secret, sometimes because of a concern about the status of their citizenship application and sometimes because of fears about personal security. It was necessary to rely on a snowball sampling technique, utilising several different 'starting points'. Participants were assured of their anonymity, and pseudonyms have been used throughout this paper, although each pseudonym is consistently attached to the same person. Most interviews were carried out in participants' homes, although some were held at schools, community centres and coffee shops at their request. A small number of interviews with women were carried out in Mandarin or Cantonese with the help of a translator, whilst all interviews with children were conducted in English. In what follows, I introduce various aspects of the experiences of individuals through their own testimonies.

Emma has been in Vancouver for five years, having emigrated from Hong Kong with her husband and two children (aged 8 and 11 at that time). Her husband kept his business in Hong Kong, spending two months away and two months in Vancouver. He also invested in the American stock market. When asked how she felt when he left for Hong Kong, she replied:

It was difficult for me the first time . . . Every time he left I felt very depressed and I cried a lot. In Hong

Kong we had been married for over twenty years and he never left us. So I rely on him very much.

Emma's experience was quite typical of the astronaut circumstance. After establishing a house in Vancouver, the husband would return to the country of origin on business (sometimes within a few weeks of immigrating), sending money to his family in Canada on a regular basis and visiting several times a year for variable periods of time. Jill's husband, for example, typically worked in Hong Kong for two months and then spent ten days in Vancouver. He was a marketing manager in Hong Kong. Through an arrangement worked out with his business partners, Sylvie's husband was able to spend six months of the year in Vancouver and the rest in Hong Kong. When initially apart, they would speak daily, and she 'longed' for his return. For all of the women, the telephone provided a crucial means by which ties between the husband's life in Asia and the life of the family in Vancouver were maintained. Hannah said:

The kids also talk to Dad over the phone... [They] can draw some pictures and fax to their Dad.

Even from a distance, the husband provided a significant source of initial emotional support for the astronaut wives.

Most of the women did not work and so were totally dependent on their husband's overseas income. All of the participants had made at least one trip back to Asia with their children since the astronaut arrangement was initiated, and most made several trips throughout the year. Some had been visited in Vancouver by relatives. At first glance, the astronaut family embodied transnationalism par excellence.

I also conducted in-depth interviews with 15 'satellite kids'. Before coming to Canada five years ago, 18-year-old Claire had already lived in Cuba and Singapore. Her parents were in Hong Kong; her father continued with his business, and her mother returned after she had acquired Canadian citizenship. Claire said:

When we immigrate here, we [Claire and her brother] know that after we get [the] Canadian passport... my parents move back to Hong Kong... I knew that a long time ago.

Dawn's parents returned to Hong Kong when she was only 12 and her brother was 13. After eight years in Vancouver, Dawn's brother returned to Hong Kong to seek work. She wanted to return, too, but her parents insisted that she must stay 'for my education'. Missing her parents greatly, she spoke to them four times a week, and they sent her a weekly allowance of 150 dollars. Edward experienced the transnational family from the age of 15, when he emigrated from Hong Kong with his mother and younger sister. His father continued to work in Hong Kong. That was in 1993. He had last seen his mother four months before the interview; usually she stayed away for two months, spending time with her husband in Hong Kong, before returning to Vancouver. When asked what his mother had done to prepare him for when she first left, he replied:

Nothing. She just left the money and then said 'Okay then, now I go back to Hong Kong. You just go and buy food or whatever.'

Outlining her notion of 'flexible citizenship', Ong (1999, 19) writes:

Among transnational Chinese subjects, those most able to benefit from their participation in global capitalism celebrate flexibility and mobility [including] such figures as the multiple-passport holder... the 'astronaut', shuttling across borders on business; [and] 'parachute [satellite] kids', who can be dropped off in another country by parents on the trans-Pacific business commute... Under transnationality... flexibility, migration and relocations, instead of being coerced or resisted, have become practices to strive for, rather than stability.

In reality, is it so easy to remain footloose, or is their sense of citizenship more rooted in place?

The remainder of the paper examines the reasons participants gave for the kind of transnational citizenship they encountered—why they sought immigration, and why they chose to separate the family in this way. Through a discussion of some of their experiences of life in Vancouver, I propose that whilst the image of the flexible citizen contains a certain degree of truth, it is nevertheless far too simplistic. It inadequately accounts for the importance of place and settlement, which are, I argue, a fundamental aspect of these outwardly

transient circumstances. I begin, however, with a discussion of the ways in which strategy and flexibility did indeed underlie the migration *intentions* of these families, even though we will see later how these intentions were, in many ways, transformed.

### Astronaut Families: 'Strategy' or 'Syndrome'?

Conflicting local media interpretations have presented the astronaut circumstance in two general ways. On the one hand, it has been perceived as a 'syndrome' (Skeldon 1995) of contemporary migration and global political and economic uncertainty. Some newspaper reports have been sympathetic to the difficulties that such family separation can entail (Hanna 1992) and the reluctance with which many families left their country of origin.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, and much more critically, it has also been conceived as a calculated strategy whereby wealthy immigrant families maintain substantial (undeclared) overseas assets whilst at the same time enjoying the rewards of Canadian citizenship, such as health and education (Yaffe 1994a, b). Is there accuracy in the portrayal of these families as 'unscrupulous immigrants... bent on taking advantage of the Canadian immigration program' (Smart 1994, 117)?

In his research into the migration experiences of business immigrants to Canada during the 1990s, David Ley (1999, 2000) has found that a substantial number have, in fact, faced unforeseen financial consequences—most notably business failure, unemployment and the underemployment of skilled workers—and, often, significant emotional strain. Explanations of the astronaut phenomenon within the academic literature to date have generally pointed to these findings, preferring the former interpretation of the 'astronaut syndrome' to the latter of 'unscrupulous immigrant' (Lam 1994; Smart 1994; Ley 1999).

Yet the picture that emerged through detailed interviews with astronaut families did, in fact, suggest a large degree of strategising underpinning migration decisions. In the vast majority of cases (25 out of 28), families had discussed and planned the astronaut arrangement *before* immigration, having sought and gathered information about the 'economic reality' in Canada well in advance

(Waters 2000). Lisa's husband, for example, stayed in Vancouver for only one week before returning to Taiwan. For them, this was a strategy that allowed the family to maintain a sufficient income (and standard of living) at the same time as they acquired the security of a Canadian passport. They had discussed the situation at length before emigration and had both agreed that suitable employment in Vancouver could not be found. In the same way, Joan explained how her family had visited Vancouver several times prior to their emigration with the objective of gathering relevant information on the economic situation. Fiona's perception of the situation for immigrants seeking work in Vancouver was remarkably common:

If we do want to find a job here, I think most people can, but probably just a very low-end job. Probably they'll just get seven or eight dollars an hour, but in comparison to the salary in Taiwan it's... very low... Probably... we can survive here. But it won't be enough for us. People in Taiwan have a lot of savings. We feel comfortable to have a lot of savings, but we don't here... We just feel comfortable if one of the spouses can have a better job, so we can make more choices.

The importance of maintaining savings for the future is an example of the strategy underpinning the astronaut situation. Many of these families intended to maintain this transnational arrangement until the man retires, when he will join his family in Canada or they will return to Hong Kong/Taiwan. Clearly, these responses from 'business' migrants raise some important questions about the success of the Business Immigration Program (Ley 2000) and the economic participation of these new citizens in Canadian society.

When participants were asked about their reasons for immigration, 'financial betterment' was not given as one of them, whilst in nearly every case they stressed the security that an additional passport would provide their family. Fear of China was widespread:

I'm not really confident in the leadership of the Chinese government because they change, on and off. They often change their mind. They don't have the definite laws or rules to govern the place... If I immigrate then they [the children] have choices to stay in Hong Kong later or in Canada, but if I didn't do that they've got no choice. No citizenship. (Sylvie)

8 See Skeldon's (1994) accounts of these 'reluctant exiles'.

I think a lot of Taiwanese, they want to come because [of the] passport, because we worry about China. So my husband say, 'First you want to get a second passport and then maybe we can go back to Taiwan'. (Rose)

When Rose emigrated in 1996 with her two young children, a Canadian passport was her explicit objective. She was willing to endure the separation involved in the astronaut situation to this end.

## Migration Strategies and Cultural Capital

Participants also sought other benefits of Canadian citizenship, in particular the considerable incentive provided by a North American education for their children. In discussing the mobility of the contemporary Chinese diaspora, several authors have suggested the importance of cultural or symbolic capital acquisition in the cultivation of the 'cosmopolitan capitalist' (Mitchell 1993; Ong 1999). As Ong (1999, 95) writes, 'For many ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, both the well-off and the not-so-rich, strategies of accumulation begin with the acquisition of a Western education.' In Mitchell's (1997c) account of Hong Kong businesspersons in Canada, command of the English language is deemed crucial in the constitution of what she terms the 'cultural citizen'.

The strategy of cultural capital accumulation is reflected in a growing presence of children from Asia in Vancouver's high schools. Here, one principal suggests three reasons for this trend:

To learn the world language of the future, which is English. It is clear that that is going to be the language of commerce for the future... for the European Union and certainly for trade with Asia in Canada. Secondly, many of them come from families who have a business and they want their children to have at least reasonable English so they can... help with the export-import part of the business... And then thirdly, prestige. If they can get a degree from a Canadian university, then that will go a long way. To say, 'My son has a degree from the University of Toronto or U.B.C.'... A foreign university, right? North America.

In his response, he clearly indicates the combination of cultural and financial considerations, replicating the picture of the powerful, geographically

flexible Chinese family with an eye to the global scope of future family-business activities and a flexible conception of citizenship.

Parents described some of the reasons why education was such an important factor in their decision to emigrate. They feared the competitive, 'cutthroat' environment of schools in Hong Kong and Taiwan and the pressure on their children to succeed. Several suggested that their children had, in fact, failed at one stage in their schooling and had been forced to move to North America to continue with their education. One participant, Gavin, described his belief that a North American system will cultivate greater innovation in his children, whilst also stressing the importance of English as national boundaries are increasingly attenuated. He said:

The world changes so fast and we must keep our flexible attitude... We must do something to prepare for the future.

The symbolic and practical importance of the English language was often at the centre of concerns about education. Hannah had discussed these issues with her daughter:

I just told her that English is very important... Even if your Chinese standard is very high, but your English standard is low, you won't be able to get a good job in the future.

More generally, parents referred to greater opportunities for creative thinking and a wider range of academic subjects and extracurricular activities in Canada compared to a more rigid system of rote learning in East Asia.

The 'satellite kids' reflected upon the importance that parents attached to their education at some length. Very often, the reasons for their present circumstances centred on the educational opportunities available in Canada. Paul's education occasioned the migration of his family:

Paul: Two and a half years ago, then I wasn't doing too good in Hong Kong in grade nine... so I can't get into grade ten... 'cos Hong Kong has a different system than here. You have to pass an exam to get into grade ten, so my mum decided to send me to Canada... because it's easier... to get in university and more opportunities.'

JW: Is it [emigration] very common...?

Paul: Oh yeah. It's really common, like, once they can't get into Hong Kong grade eleven... They just come here... It's like a way to solve a problem.

Dawn explained why she and her brother had come to Vancouver:

They [parents] told us that it's because good for study. Yeah, right, because they want us to learn English instead of staying in Hong Kong.... I just want to graduate and go back... My mum wants me to stay and get a better education.

Yet interviews with children, school staff and counsellors suggested that the acquisition of 'cultural capital' was not always as straightforward as literature on the subject would suggest. It is to this observation that I now turn.

### Creating the 'Cultural Citizen': Educational Strategies and Satellite Kids

For Mitchell (1997c, 550), becoming the 'cultural citizen' in Vancouver is part of a process of capital accumulation by a Hong Kong business elite. She discusses the creation of the strategic 'middleman' (Mitchell 1997a)—the positioning of Hong Kong entrepreneurs as 'cultural bridges', 'celebrated for their ability to further Vancouver's integration into networks of the global economy'. In reality, the children that occupy these positions—those for whom migration is intimately connected to parental aspirations regarding their education and future careers—often desire a different set of goals as a consequence of their experiences of settlement.<sup>9</sup> Rogelia Pe-pua and colleagues (1998, 292) observed the process of 'acculturation' amongst satellite children in Australia as 'they begin to accept values and norms which may chal-

<sup>9</sup> The key proponent of 'cultural capital', Bourdieu (1986, 244) writes: '[I]t [cultural capital] is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital... implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor... [I]t cannot be done at second hand'. This depiction does not easily fit with the images of mobility dominating the literature on the transnational household.

lenge the traditional Chinese values of their parents'. In my interviews, I found similar evidence for cultural change that was often inconsistent with the theory of 'cultural capital' accumulation (Ong 1999).

In Rod's description of the differences between Canada and Taiwan, he stressed his preference for a Canadian 'way of life'. He said:

Taiwan and Canada, there is a big difference. Canada is pretty slow. Everything is very... relaxed and slow. But in Taiwan every second is like war... You have to fight for every second... If you do something too slow, probably other people might take your job away.

This notion of 'slowness' vis-à-vis the fast pace of Taiwan and Hong Kong was pervasive in interviews, as students began to favour the more relaxed atmosphere of Vancouver:

Frank: If I can stay here that will be good... I'm already used to the lifestyle here, but my parents don't like me that way.

JW: Why?

Frank: They think I am too slow... It's like, outside of Canada, you know, everything is like... a Pentium 3. To be here is like a Pentium 1.

Frank described Vancouver as 'a wonderful place'. His parents are apparently aware, however, that their son's 'education' in Vancouver includes the cultivation of certain less desirable traits, such as a 'laid-back' attitude to work and life. Paul discussed his own ideas regarding his education and future career path, which diverged quite significantly from those of his mother:

When I first came here and I first decided that I want to take, like, drama, music or design, she's kind of, like, against it, right? Because in Chinese culture the parents always want their children to take science or business or... to have a good career. They don't like their children to take, like, art, to become an artist or whatever...

... I think most of my Hong Kong friends, they'll all be studying science, doctor, business. Actually I don't think that's what they want to take... 'cos I talk to lots of my friends: 'I take it because my parents

want me to take it'. Like, they'll probably get a good job but it's not what they want to do.<sup>10</sup>

He contrasted this attitude with that of his 'Caucasian friends' who 'do what they want'. Reflecting on what success means to him, he said:

I think if I can find a job that I enjoy, the pay is not, like, a really big thing... Well, I care, of course, but it's not the main issue. I want to have a job I like... reach all the goals I set and stuff. I want to be happy, right?

As seems to be the case for several of these participants, the 'satellite' experience has involved a sense of personal transformation, perhaps related to a newly emerging sense of citizenship, although clearly divorced from the sense of strategy underpinning the initiation of these circumstances.

### The Expanding Horizons of the Astronaut Wives

Theories of flexible citizenship do not account for the settlement and adjustment of the astronaut wives—in some ways paralleling the experiences of the teenagers—as they have actively laid down roots, made friends and broadened their own horizons. In so doing, they have lived out a much richer conception of the Canadian citizen than the selection criteria of the Business Immigration Program demands—or expects (Ley 2000).

With few exceptions, the astronaut wives were economically independent prior to migration, many sustaining a demanding career and working long hours. In Vancouver, the vast majority of women were unemployed, initially resulting in feelings of isolation in the home. The experience of boredom was commonly articulated, sometimes associated with a deeper sense of loneliness. In short, the women had moved from a situation of fast and frantic activity to having too much time on their hands and the general feeling that their days were empty and lacked meaning beyond the ultimate goal of *the passport*.

The negative experiences of women have been detailed elsewhere, as has how, over time, these

circumstances were generally transformed into something far more liberating (Waters 2002). Here, I want to emphasise the ways in which they challenged the portrayal of the transnational flexible citizen through expending significant effort toward integration into, as *they* saw it, 'Canadian society'.

Charlotte described the changes her life had undergone following immigration:

In Hong Kong I worked full time... and I have two kids at primary school ages... Here, for the first two years I am a full time home-maker, and this year I am only working casually. My two boys [are] in the senior secondary school already. So the stages of parenting and the stages of marriage and the stages of family are not the same... And you will change. When my kids become more independent... and they will have their own friends, their sports and other pursuits, I have more time and energy for myself... In Hong Kong life is really hectic... I rarely had [a] genuine... social life of my own... Moving here I have a car of my own—that's important... That gives me more freedom to do whatever I like... Maybe go for a walk, some exercise, to go to some parent group or volunteer group, or even shopping or day-dreaming... I have more space and time for myself when moving here.

Like most of the women, Fiona found the first year of separation from her husband difficult:

But after a while... I have a lot of things to do, and I want to learn more about a lot of things... And especially recently, I just feel quite busy.

Rose echoed this sentiment, claiming: 'I don't have time to think about [being] lonely!'

More generally, participants indicated a strong desire to broaden their horizons and accumulate knowledge and skills for themselves, apparently unconnected to any sense of 'strategic' economic or career advancement. Claire arrived from Taiwan in 1992 and decided to master English. Having attended some classes, she was dissatisfied with her progress and so began to swim at her local pool, where she met 'retired people' who were 'more willing to... help you.' In the sauna, men would

chat... and of course men like to talk about politicians, you know, current issues... And so that's the way [I learned English]. It takes me years, you know...

10 More research is needed to explore how immigrants' experience of schooling directs their future plans and their sense of Canada and a Canadian identity.

...I chose to go back to school—back to...college as a part-time student. I learn my ceramic there and my stone sculpture, meet different people from different kind of field, and I was so happy. And suddenly I found...I can really improve my English. So I gained more confidence...It's been almost eight years, and I had to push myself.

She also desired to learn more about 'Canadian culture' (her words) and history:

I think one thing [that] helped me a lot is reading. Yeah, I read...basically every day. For the first two or three years I still read Chinese books, but after that I throw [them] all...aside and I think I should read some English books. So I start on the children's book and then getting more and more until I think, you know, I should learn more about Western history, so in that way I can understand more Western values...three or four hours when the kids go to school! I am just sitting here after the breakfast [studying].

Most participants regularly attended an English, class and all expressed an active interest in learning the language. Attending classes was a major way in which women gained confidence while expanding their social networks. Many became particularly adept at integrating childcare and personal activities, as Lisa testifies:

About 8.35 I pick up my son to go to school and...I have English classes at nine o'clock...everyday, Monday to Friday, nine to eleven o'clock. After eleven o'clock sometimes I go to the library...to study my English. I learn painting now...one time a week.

While her son was at one of his many extra-school activities, she said,

I stay there...I read my English...I wish I could improve my English.

After he went to bed, she often had her own homework to complete.

For Hannah, the goal of social integration in her local community was actively and determinedly sought. She undertook to teach Mandarin to her daughter's Euro-Canadian classmates:

I taught them once a week, for one hour...how to write the Chinese characters...how to pronounce Mandarin...I told them some Chinese stories...The class lasted for about six months...

...I felt very happy. That is one of the channels that I came to know more about the Caucasian families...because the mums...they invited me to go to their homes...[W]e went out together to skate...some activities.

Yet having spent some time in Edmonton before coming to Vancouver, she perceived an insurmountable barrier to integration:

When we moved to Vancouver, the Chinese group is much larger...so it seems that in Vancouver it is harder to integrate with the Caucasian groups...I tried—I attended a course...There were only two Chinese people including myself, so I had a number of chances to speak with Caucasians and share our feelings...But I don't know, even after the course I still feel that we cannot mix so well...though we can speak English, we are not as good as Caucasians. We cannot speak the slang...They find my English has an accent—the Chinese accent, and it is rather slow!...Like as classmates it's good, but not go any further to become very good friends.

For Hannah, religion provided a sense of direction and additional meaning to her life. The growth of Chinese churches in Vancouver testifies to the significance that religious pursuits have played more generally in the lives of this ethnic community. She said:

I have a lot of friends, they became Christians in Canada. Because they have more time, they can go to church. In the new environment they need spiritual support. After going to church they feel much better...A lot of friends told me that they became Christian in Canada, but if they hadn't come to Canada they wouldn't be...because in the circumstances in Hong Kong...they have a very busy life...They don't think of going to church. But here, life is more peaceful and quiet.

Several participants talked about finding a more 'meaningful life' in Vancouver, whether centred on religion, personal pursuits and hobbies or spending time with their children. One important way in

which women sought integration with the wider community and personal fulfilment was through volunteering. Several of the women volunteered at their child's school on a weekly basis, and found that this was a good opportunity to interact with English-speakers and improve their language skills. The hobbies in which participants engaged were diverse, including quilting, pottery, dance, aerobics, computers, tennis, reading and sculpture, most of which revolved around the local community centre. Lunching with friends was an often-mentioned favourite activity.

For Rose, moving away from the extended family in Taiwan has had a significant impact on her sense of freedom. As she explained:

Now I am in Canada I am very happy! I can go anywhere! [laughs]...I can visit my friends. When they [the children] go to school I have my free time... So I enjoy Canadian life [laughs].

Since coming to Canada, Sylvie has undergone a similar re-evaluation of her previous lifestyle, and found renewed joy in time spent with her children:

Sometimes when I talk with my friends, they have the same idea that when we are in Hong Kong we really neglected our kids... But when here, because I have more time to be with them, they talk more... Actually I prefer this way, to look after them closely.

In Hong Kong she worked as an accountant for a U.S. company:

I have to work overtime all the time. Usually I have time off around eight o'clock... Sometimes when it's a month's end I have to work until eleven or twelve... When it's a year's end sometimes two or three... in the morning. So my elder son [was] not really close to me.'

She said of her new life: 'I treasure the time that I am with my kids because I can see the relationship changed, and I understand more... them more.'

## Conclusions

This paper contributes to several current theoretical debates about concepts of transnationalism, citizenship, migrant identities and immigration,

through an examination of 'astronaut families' and 'satellite kids' in Vancouver, Canada. Responding to wider literatures, I suggested that several assumptions could be made about the nature of these family arrangements, and set about to test these assumptions, drawing upon in-depth interviews with over forty participants.

Firstly, I considered the possibility that through practices of close and sustained interaction with the country of origin, these immigrant households represented a distinctive form of transnationalism. Although there is now a significant body of research examining transnational communities in the United States, much less is known about the Canadian context (see Hyndman and Walton-Roberts 1998; Walton-Roberts 2001). This paper also addressed a concern voiced in academic and political arenas that certain immigrant groups are exercising an 'instrumental' conception of citizenship acquisition, devoid of more meaningful intentions toward permanent settlement and integration into and participation in an imagined national community. Recent literature has characterised the contemporary Chinese diaspora in this way, emphasising the 'hypermobility' (Skeldon 1995) of a highly successful business elite that, through migration, develops a 'flexible' relationship with various host countries (Mitchell 1993; Ong 1999). The astronaut and satellite circumstances have been perceived as particularly good examples of this flexibility.

Turning to the data, the concept of transnationalism seemed to well capture the material and emotional circumstances surrounding the everyday functioning of these spatially dispersed household units. Family members in Vancouver were fundamentally dependent upon vital overseas connections—most notably with the husband/father and the sole source of income generated back in the country of origin. Telecommunications and less frequent visits sustained emotional long-distance ties. These circumstances are not, I would argue, suitably captured by the more traditional notion of immigration as a discrete and permanent uprooting from one country and settlement in another, but exemplify a much more contemporary phenomenon of intensified transnational social relations.

Participants' conceptions of immigration were shown to resonate sharply with theoretical notions of 'instrumental' or 'flexible' citizenship (Ip, Inglis

and Wu 1997; Ong 1999), particularly through the ways in which specific strategies involving the acquisition of 'a passport' and the accumulation of 'cultural capital' underpinned their desire for immigration and citizenship in Canada. These arrangements were not, as is often believed, a response to business failure in Canada, but were in fact planned in advance of emigration, and the benefits of two national systems clearly factored into the migration decision. Again, the motivations underlying these family circumstances supported a common portrayal of a hypermobile and strategising Chinese elite.

Yet these depictions failed in a significant way to capture an important part of the transnational experience, falling short of describing the ways in which participants evidently became acculturated to, as was often indicated by them, a 'Canadian way of life'. The depictions also failed to penetrate the seemingly autonomous unit of the strategising Chinese family. In the remainder of the paper, I sought to illustrate some of the ways in which the everyday experiences of individual family members in Vancouver were apparently inconsistent with the instrumental intentions of immigration and citizenship acquisition as they actively pursued increasing involvement in and integration with their local communities. These findings also served to highlight the gender and generational differences in experiences of transnationalism and citizenship. I did not attempt to evaluate objectively the claims of participants alongside some measure of 'Canadian citizenship'. Rather, I wanted to show how *they themselves* interpreted their own behaviour and feelings in terms of Canada and Canadianness.

With respect to the 'satellite' circumstances, the notion that children can be literally 'dropped off' in North America as part of an overall family strategy of capital accumulation (Ong 1999) does not account for the formative experiences that settlement in Vancouver over several years provided. Interviews with children revealed the development of distinctive attitudes towards Canada vis-à-vis their country of origin, regarding both their future school and career trajectories specifically and life more generally. These opinions and attitudes diverged significantly from those of their parents and seemed potentially to undermine the objectives of 'cultural capital' accumulation and the development of a transnational business elite.

In a similar way, astronaut wives have been largely conceived in the transnational literature as indistinguishable from the family strategy in which they are involved (Ong and Nonini 1997; Ong 1999). In this view, their role is merely to bide time in Canada, sustaining the family home, until the objective of achieving a Canadian passport is finally achieved. Clearly omitted from these depictions are the transformations that the women experienced. All of the participants noted some change in themselves since immigrating. Far from perceiving their time in Vancouver as an impermanent means to an end, participants made active attempts to build new lives, to integrate with their new community and with 'Canadians'. Much of their time was spent in community activities such as sports, crafts and volunteering. Learning English so they could engage in meaningful conversation with local 'Caucasians' was a top priority.

By way of a conclusion, I would like to suggest that the 'mobility' of the Chinese diaspora is often overemphasised in accounts of contemporary migration practices, thereby neglecting the possibility that certain individuals (who may nevertheless be intimately connected to wider transnational family strategies) may experience some sort of settlement and acculturation to more local, 'rooted' influences. At the same time, the transnational literature tends to downplay the importance of the 'host' country both in facilitating transnational processes (cf. Zhou and Tseng 2001) and in affecting the ideas and aspirations of the migrants who 'land' there. In the case of Canada, the acquisition of citizenship requires three years of residence—conceivably time enough for the development of some sort of citizen-identity amongst less mobile family members. My interviews suggested that these immigrants conceived of Canadian citizenship in more than narrow instrumental terms.

Transnational research in geography has moved beyond abstract metaphors of travelling and 'third space,' characteristic of a body of writing in the early 1990s (see Mitchell's 1997b criticisms). Yet more attention still needs to be paid to understanding geographical differentiation in the host society. Perhaps we have been too hasty in rejecting outright traditional conceptions of immigrant settlement, such as those espoused by Milton Gordon (1964), when examining such explicitly transnational and intentionally strategic social

formations as the astronaut family and satellite kids in the context of North America. We might also consider the possibility of the transient nature of transnationalism itself (see Levitt 2001) and the extent to which it can and will continue amongst a new generation of citizens who are forming distinctive attachments and laying down roots despite the intensity of their overseas ties.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Ley and three anonymous referees for comments on a draft of this paper, and Priscilla Wei for providing invaluable help, enabling initial contact to be made with several interviewees and translating newspaper articles from Chinese. Eric Leinberger provided the map used in this paper. I would also like to thank the Canadian Rhodes Scholars Foundation for their financial support.

### References

- ANDERSON, K. 1991 *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1874-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press)
- APPADURAI, A. 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- BASCH, L., GLICK SCHILLER, N. and SZANTON BLANC, C. 1994 *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach)
- BAUBOCK, R. 1994 *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration* (Aldershot, UK: Edward Elgar)
- BLOEMRAAD, I. 2000 'Citizenship and immigration: a current review' *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1 (1), 9-38
- BOURDIEU, P. 1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- . 1986 'The forms of capital' in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed J.G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press) 241-258
- CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA 2002 'Who is a business immigrant?' <http://cicnet.ci.gc.ca/english/business/index.html> (last accessed 18 July 2003)
- CLIFFORD, J. 1994 'Diasporas' *Cultural Anthropology* 9, 302-338
- COHEN, R. 1997 *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press)
- FONER, N. 2001 'Immigrant commitment to America, then and now: myths and realities' *Citizenship Studies* 5, 27-40
- GLICK SCHILLER, N., and FOURON, G. 1999 'Terrains of blood and nation: Haitian transnational social fields' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 340-361
- GORDON, M. 1964 *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press)
- HALL, S. 1990 'Cultural identity and diaspora' in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. J. Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart) 222-237
- HAMILTON, G.G., ed. 1999 *Cosmopolitan Capitalists; Hong Kong and the Chinese Diaspora at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press)
- HANNA, D. 1992 "'Astronaut" families facing stress of lengthy separations' *Vancouver Sun* 19 October, B4
- HONDAGNEU-SOTELO, P. and AVILA, E. 1997 "'I'm here, but I'm there": the meanings of Latina transnational motherhood' *Gender and Society* 11, 548-571
- HYNDMAN, J. and WALTON-ROBERTS, M. 1998 'Migration and nation: Burmese refugees in Vancouver' *The Bulletin* 11, 1-5
- IP, D., INGLIS, C. and WU, C. 1997 'Concepts of citizenship and identity among recent Asian immigrants in Australia' *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6, 363-384
- JOPPKE, C. 1999 *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press)
- KYMLICKA, W. 1995 *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- KYMLICKA, W. and NORMAN, W. 1994 'Return of the citizen: a survey of recent work on citizenship theory' *Ethics* 104 (January), 352-381
- LAM, L. 1994 'Searching for a safe haven: the migration and settlement of Hong Kong Chinese immigrants in Toronto' in *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*, ed R. Skeldon (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe) 163-179
- LEVITT, P. 2001 'Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions' *Global Networks* 3, 195-216
- LEY, D. 1995 'Between Europe and Asia: the case of the missing sequoias' *Ecumene* 2, 185-219
- . 1999 'Myths and meanings of immigration and the metropolis' *The Canadian Geographer* 43, 2-19
- . 2000 *Seeking Homo Economicus: The Strange Story of Canada's Business Immigration Program* Working Paper, 00-02 (Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis) <http://riim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/2000/wp0002.pdf> (last accessed 18 July 2003)
- LI, P. 1998 *The Chinese in Canada* 2d edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press)
- MAK, A.S. 1997 'Skilled Hong Kong immigrants' intention to repatriate' *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6, 169-184
- MARSHALL, T.H. 1964 *Class, Citizenship and Social Development: Essays by T. H. Marshall* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc.)
- MITCHELL, K. 1993 'Multiculturalism, or the united colors of capitalism' *Antipode* 25, 263-294
- . 1995 'Flexible circulation in the Pacific Rim: capitalisms in cultural context' *Economic Geography* 71, 364-382
- . 1997a 'Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15, 533-553
- . 1997b 'Transnational discourse: bringing geography back in' *Antipode* 29, 101-114
- . 1997c 'Transnational subjects: constituting the cultural citizen in the era of Pacific Rim capital' in *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, ed A. Ong and D. Nonini (New York: Routledge) 228-256
- NONINI, D., and ONG, A. 1997 'Chinese transnationalism as an alternative modernity' in *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, ed A. Ong and D. Nonini (New York: Routledge) 3-33
- ONG, A. 1999 *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press)
- ONG, A., and NONINI, D., eds. 1997 *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (New York, Routledge)
- PE-PUA, R., MITCHELL, C., CASTLES, S. and IREDALE, R. 1998 'Astronaut families and parachute children: Hong Kong immigrants in Australia' in *The Last Half-Century of Chinese Overseas*, ed E. Sinn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press) 279-297
- PORTES, A., GUARNIZO, L.E., and LANDOLT, P. 1999 'Introduction: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 463-478

- SKELDON, R., ed. 1994 *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe)
- . 1995 'The emergence of trans-Pacific migration' in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed R. Cohen (New York: Cambridge University Press) 532–536
- SMART, J. 1994 'Business immigration to Canada: deception and exploitation' in *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*, ed R. Skeldon (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe) 98–119
- SMITH, M.P. and GUARNIZO, L.E., eds. 1998 *Transnationalism from Below* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers)
- SOYSAL, Y. 1994 *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago)
- TSENG, Y. 1997 'Immigration industry: immigration consulting firms in the process of Taiwanese business immigration' *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6 (3–4), 275–294
- VERTOVEC, S. 1999 'Conceiving and researching transnationalism' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 447–462
- WALTON-ROBERTS, M. 2001 'Embodied global flows: immigration and transnational networks between British Columbia, Canada, and Punjab, India' Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
- WANG, G. 2000 *The Chinese Overseas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- WATERS, J.L. 2000 'Flexible families? The experiences of astronaut and satellite households among recent Chinese immigrants to Vancouver, BC' M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
- . 2002 'Flexible families? "Astronaut" households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia' *Social and Cultural Geography* 3, 117–134
- WEI, L. 1998 'Anatomy of a new ethnic settlement: the Chinese ethnoburb in Los Angeles' *Urban Studies* 35, 479–501
- YAFFE, B. 1994a 'Do the "astronaut" families pay their fair share of taxes?' *Vancouver Sun* 10 September, B1
- . 1994b 'Most "astronaut" families cheat on their taxes, accountant says' *Vancouver Sun* 24 September, B1
- ZHOU, Y., and TSENG, Y. 2001 'Regrounding the "ungrounded empires": localization as the geographical catalyst for transnationalism' *Global Networks* 1, 131–153