

Social Capital, Familial Obligations and Family-Class Immigration Reforms in Canada

by

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Abstract

This research examines multi-generational households and patterns of co-residence among Chinese immigrant households in Winnipeg following the federal government's reforms of the Parent Grandparent Program in 2014. These phenomena are examined within the conceptual frameworks of familial obligations and social capital. The study interviewed 29 mainland Chinese immigrants living in Winnipeg. The study found that while social capital is relevant to understanding the flow of favours across generations, the flow of favours between generations is not necessarily reciprocal, but instead flows downward to the youngest generation. The study found the enormous scale of social, political and economic transformation in mainland China over the past half century have produced different forms of familial obligations and largely eliminated the practice of co-residence. Reforms to the PGP had the most impact on young families that desired to sponsor their parents and in-laws over a relatively short period of time.

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1.0 Introduction and background

This research examines multi-generational households and patterns of co-residence among Chinese immigrant households in Winnipeg following the federal government's reforms of the Parent Grandparent Program in 2014. These phenomena are examined within the conceptual frameworks of familial obligations and social capital. This research is guided by three overarching questions:

1. What is the nature of familial obligations in mainland Chinese immigrant households in Winnipeg, particularly as this relates to co-residence?
2. To what extent is Bourdieu's concept social capital relevant to understanding the operation of familial obligations within mainland Chinese households in Winnipeg?
3. Based on the above findings, how have changes to the federal government's family class Parent Grandparent Program (PGP) affected the ability of Chinese immigrants in Winnipeg to maintain their familial obligations, and in doing so, retain access to familial social capital?

This study builds upon the limited body of research that has been conducted on the socioeconomic factors that influence the desire and ability of Chinese immigrants to create and maintain multi-generational households in Canada and the impact of the federal government's scaling back of the Parent Grandparent Program. Bragg notes that since the changes to Canada's family reunification program are so recent, very little research exists on how these policies are affecting immigrant families (Bragg, 2014, p. 5). Vanderplaat's 2012 study also notes very little attention has been paid to the experiences of family-based immigrants in Canada, except for studies that note their relatively poor economic performance when compared against economic-class immigrants (2012, p. 80). Vanderplaat et al. argue this gap in the literature is partially due

to the complexity of developing and applying a meaningful measure of the integration outcomes of family-class immigrants. However, this absence of attention in the literature may also be due to the demographic composition of this specific group of family-class immigrants, who tend to be older women who are associated with the private domestic sphere, while policy discussions and the literature are focused on the macroeconomic function of immigration (Vanderplaat et al., 2012, pp. 80–81). Da and Garcia note that most studies of elderly immigrants employ quantitative research techniques and draw on data from secondary sources or social surveys, which often capture important patterns and characteristics of the population but fail to provide fuller explanations of the meanings behind the patterns (Da & Garcia, 2010, p. 1). Zhou (2012) makes a similar observation in her study of Chinese grandparents in Canada, reporting a limited amount of micro-level research being conducted into the relationship between aging and globalization (2012, p. 233). Zhou's research calls for a critical examination of aging in the context of transnational caregiving based on how immigrant seniors have been re-integrated into the global economy through kin-based childcare. Zhou argues that transnational grandparenting is rife with institutional intrusions that create an insecure and fragmented relationship because seniors lack control over the time they are allowed to stay in Canada. Furthermore, aging becomes subordinated to the changing life priorities of their immigrant children's families and Canada's neoliberal economy (2012, pp. 239–240).

While anthropologists have not completely overlooked the experience of Chinese immigrant families and communities in North America (see Baolian Qin, 2006; Chao, 2013; Han, 2014; Lan, 2007; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004) none of the anthropological studies reviewed for this research focused on how local practices of multigenerational childrearing are interpenetrated with a broader macrocosm of changing government policies on family-class

immigration in Canada. Outside the anthropological literature, there are a handful of Canadian primary research studies (see Bragg, 2014; Koning & Banting, 2013; Vanderplaat et al., 2012; Y. R. Zhou, 2013a, 2013b) that address immigrants' experiences within the post-reform period. These studies are insightful and needed, but have generally – with the exception of Zhou – lacked a firm grounding in social theory.

1.1 Positionality

As with all research, this study has been produced through a particular lens. My interest in the subject matter of this research is very much influenced by my family, particularly my wife who was born in China and immigrated to Canada in the mid-2000s. We desired to sponsor her mother to live in Canada and to live in a multi-generational household. My wife wanted to sponsor her mother because – in her own words – “it’s the way it works. I am her daughter. You are supposed to look after your family”. My wife is an only child, a product of the one-child policy, and her mother lives alone in China. I saw sponsorship more as a mutually beneficial decision, rather than an obligation of tradition (note: I am not Chinese). I liked the idea that my mother-in-law would no longer live alone and be so far away from her only child, and that she would be surrounded by people who love her and she would receive the care she needs as she aged. We would also get some much appreciated assistance with our two children and around the house. Unfortunately, after two visits to China and two visits to Canada, I realized just how much I had idealized the situation, based on the relatively positive relationship my wife and her mother had over the phone and on the strong relationship I have with my own parents. My wife and her mother, as much as they love each other, could not live together or even live near each other because there was a lot of hurtful conflict and unresolved (and unfortunately unresolvable) issues between them.

Yet we saw other families – among her Chinese friends and acquaintances in Winnipeg – having some more success involving their parents in their household. I kept hearing about the enormous assistance these elder parents provided their adult children through childcare and other domestic tasks. When I learned more about the federal government's plans to reform the Parent Grandparent Program, I realized this could have serious implications for households that planned to sponsor their elder parents to become permanent residents.

My interest in examining the Parent Grandparent Program also comes out of my professional experience as a program evaluator. I wanted to choose a thesis topic that would complement my work experience and allow me to use some of the skills I have developed while evaluating federal government programs.

1.2 Thesis outline

This paper begins with an overview of the research methodology, which is followed by a discussion of the various methodological challenges I encountered throughout the research phase, along with some steps I took to mitigate these challenges. In Section 4.0 I provide an overview of the circumstances that led to the federal government's decision to reform the PGP and provide a summary of how the program was revised. Section 5.0 discusses the conceptual frameworks of filial piety and familial obligations, and provides an explanation for why this research is focused on familial obligations rather than the concept of filial piety. Section 5.0 also discusses the concept of social capital. The research results are discussed throughout Section 6.0, beginning with a discussion on patterns of residence followed by my findings regarding structural factors, gender roles, and the production and exchange of social capital. Section 7.0 discusses the impact of the PGP reforms, which includes discussions on participant's experience with the super visa and barriers to parental sponsorship. Lastly, the findings are summarized and

conclusions are provided in Section 8.0.

2.0 Methodology

This research employed two methods of data collection, which are discussed below.

2.1 Literature and document review

I sourced academic literature by searching online social science journals and databases available through the University of Manitoba library. I examined literature across numerous disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, and gerontology. These sources provided essential background on the concepts of filial piety, the nature of familial obligations in contemporary China, and social capital, and more generally, the practice of multi-generational households and child-rearing among Chinese families in China and North America.

I sourced grey literature¹ through the University of Manitoba library search engine and Google. These sources included policy studies that generally supported or opposed the federal government's reforms to the Parent Grandparent Program. These studies, along with media and government websites, provided background information on the issues and arguments that led the Government of Canada to temporarily close the PGP in 2011 and reopen a substantially revised version of the program in January 2014. I also used government websites, mostly from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)² – to gain a better understanding of Canada's family-class immigration system. I reviewed online news reports about the reforms to gauge reaction to the reforms from interested and affected parties, including immigrant families, NGOs, and lawyers, which built upon my understanding of how the reforms were perceived and how they

¹ Material produced by organizations outside of academia.

² CIC is now called Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC).

might affect immigrant communities in Canada. I managed all secondary sources using Zotero reference management software.

2.2 Interviews

I used interviews to collect detailed information from Chinese immigrant families in Winnipeg. I conducted the interviews between November 2015 and October 2016. The interview process consisted of two steps. First, I used a structured interview form (referred to as a personal information form - see Appendix A) to collect demographic information and information about the structure of participants' households in Winnipeg. I collected this information from each participant prior to engaging in a more in-depth interview, either a few days before the interview or on the day of the interview.

Next, I used semi-structured interviews to collect more in-depth information about interviewees' childhood households in China and their current households in Winnipeg. I used this information to understand the flow of favours and obligations within participants' historic and current households and to gain insights into how childhood experiences and household structure in China may have influenced participants' current household structure in Winnipeg. The semi-structured interviews also provided details on how participants' parents are currently involved in their households in Winnipeg,

The semi-structured interviews typically lasted one to one and a half hours per participant. I provided spouses the option of being interviewed together or one on one. Participants were also provided the option of doing the interview in a mutually agreeable public location (many were done at a local Tim Hortons) or at their home. I offered all interviewees a \$10 gift card for participating. If participants appeared to be unaware or misinformed about the available immigration options in Canada, I provided them with an explanation of the various

options, provided links to official information on CIC's website, helped them word the questions they needed to ask about the sponsorship process, and directed participants to free Public Legal Information and Education (PLEI) on parental sponsorship provided by the Community Legal Education Association (CLEA). In a few cases participants also requested my assistance as a proof reader and I gladly provided them assistance.³ I transcribed all interviews in their entirety and provided a copy to participants for review and comment. I sent follow up questions to participants via email or WeChat.⁴ I analyzed the notes using Nvivo 11. Specifically, while reading through the qualitative data, I coded⁵ the information into several overarching themes that followed participants' life course, including their childhood households, school years, post-secondary school, adulthood in China, studying and living in Canada, parents in Canada, parents in China, and future plans. Within these categories, I developed further themes based on responses from interviewees. I used matrix coding⁶ to categorize and analyze the above themes according to data collected in the personal information form.

The study focused primarily on recruiting mainland Chinese permanent residents or citizens who had children, although I made a few exceptions (see Table 1 notes). The majority of my research participants were referred to this study by other research participants (n=13, 45%) or through friends of my friends and acquaintances⁷ (n=7, 24%). The remainder included personal friends who participated in research (n=4, 14%) and individuals I met through various

³ Note: the material I proofread was academic or business related, and was unrelated to immigration.

⁴ This is a popular free messaging and calling app used by nearly all my research participants and Chinese friends and acquaintances. I began using the app to communicate with participants and connect with new participants six months into my research. The ability of individuals to "refer" you to their friends made it ideal for research purposes. Like Facebook, the app also has a 'timeline' mode, allowing us to comment/emoji each other's pictures and postings.

⁵ This is the term used by Nvivo. It means to categorize information.

⁶ Matrix coding allowed me to cross tabulate the qualitative information categories I created with the demographic data I collected through the personal information form. This approach is helpful when looking for patterns among subsets of participants, such as by participant gender, age group, and elder parents' residence pattern.

⁷ This includes Chinese immigrants who declined to participate but referred me to friends they thought might be suitable for this research.

community outreach activities I undertook (n=5, 17%), which included running advertisements in three local Chinese community newspapers, advertising on two community websites, placing posters in Chinese grocery stores, visiting a local Chinese church⁸, and reaching out to a community member who was undertaking a project with Chinese immigrant families in Winnipeg.

I interviewed a total of 29 individuals from 18 households. Participation among males and females was roughly equal (52% male, 48% female) and the average age of participants was around 38 years old. My participants came from 11 different provinces⁹ and three direct-controlled municipalities¹⁰ in mainland China. Most participants had been in Canada for about seven years and were either permanent residents (n=19 or 66%) or had become citizens (n=6, or 21%). Most of the households (n=12 out of 18 or 67%) had one or more children, with most of these children being under 10 years old (see Table 1, next page)

⁸ I contacted a local Chinese church and was invited by the Chinese pastor to attend an English service at the church, after which a church member introduced me to members of the Mandarin-speaking congregation.

⁹ Including Fujian, Jiangsu, Shanxi, Hebei, Shandon, Shaanxi, Jilin, Guangxi, Sichuan, Anhui, and Inner Mongolia

¹⁰ Including Shanghai, Chongqing and Tianjin

Table 1: Overview of participants			
Referral sources (n=29)	Other participants	13	45%
	Friend of a friend	7	24%
	Personal friend	4	14%
	Community outreach	5	17%
Gender (n=29)	Male	15	52%
	Female	14	48%
Age (n=29)	25-29	6	21%
	30-34	8	28%
	35-39	3	10%
	40-44	5	17%
	45-50	5	17%
	51 and over	2	7%
	Minimum	27	
	Maximum	58	
	Average (overall)	37.6	
	Average (female)	36.7	
	Average (male)	38.5	
Siblings* (n=29)	Yes	15	48%
	No	14	52%
Years in Canada (n=29)	Less than a year	1	3%
	1 year	3	10%
	2 years	4	14%
	3 years	5	17%
	4 years to 8 years	5	17%
	More than 8 years	11	38%
	Minimum	<1	
	Maximum	14	
	Average	6.8	
Status in Canada (n=29)	Citizen	6	21%
	Permanent resident	19	66%
	Other**	4	14%
Households with children (n=18)	No Children***	6	33%
	One child	6	33%
	Two children	5	28%
	Three children	1	6%
	Total children	19	
	Minimum age	<1	
	Maximum age	20	
	Average age	5.5 years	
<p>*Information about siblings was collected during the semi-structured interview. Most participants with siblings were born before the one-child policy, however a few participants who were born after the policy came into effect also reported they had older or younger siblings.</p> <p>**Includes two participants with permanent residence applications in process and two participants planning to apply for permanent residence.</p> <p>***Includes three young couples who are planning to have children soon and the household of an elderly couple whose children are adults and moved away</p>			

3.0 Methodological challenges and mitigations

I encountered several methodological challenges over the course of this study, which are discussed below. In some cases I was able to at least partially mitigate these challenges and in other cases these problems remained unresolved.

3.1 Recruiting participants

I used a purposive (biased) approach to sampling, which built upon my community relationships through “snowball” sampling. I originally intended to engage several well-connected friends and acquaintances in Winnipeg Chinese community to network and develop a sample of approximately 30 interviewees for this research project. For various reasons – including busy and conflicting time schedules and lack of follow-through within this network – this approach did not work well. Having a busy family life myself, I also tried to recruit participants through happenstance meetings in public places (e.g., Chinese mothers and fathers I met in parks or at my children’s extra-curricular activities), but this yielded no results, likely due to lack of interest, time and possibly due to apprehension over discussing such personal details with a male, non-Chinese stranger.

I attempted to mitigate these challenges by reaching out to other Chinese friends who I had not previously tried networking through because I assumed – being 20-somethings, unmarried, and without children – they would not have connections with Chinese households with children. This assumption was wrong and these friends indeed were able to connect me with former Chinese university classmates who had settled and established families in Winnipeg. As an additional bonus, the households I met through this second wave of networking successfully referred me onto several of their friends who had children.

I also tried to diversify my Chinese community network by undertaking some outreach activities (see discussion on recruitment under Section 2.2 above).

3.2 Inclusion of Chinese elders

In addition to interviewing 30 Chinese parents, I originally intended to interview approximately 20 elder Chinese (preferably participants' parents) to gain a better understanding of their ideas of familial obligations, observations about multi-generational households in China, and their desire and ability to be part of their children's household in Winnipeg. I largely failed to recruit participants in this demographic and as a consequence the vast majority of information I received from participants about elder Chinese parents was second hand information from their adult children. While I believe the participants were truthful in the information they shared, I am also aware the information provided could contain inaccuracies if, for example, the participant misunderstood their parents' opinion on a matter, such as why their elder parent did or did not want to live in Winnipeg or Canada.

I failed to recruit participants in the elder demographic for several interrelated reasons:

- **Parents not in Canada:** None of the participants' parents reside in Canada on a permanent basis. Of the elder parents who sometimes reside in Canada (n=25, 86%), most would visit for three to six month intervals (see Table 2 below). Only five of these parents were in Winnipeg at the time the interview was conducted with their adult children. Only two elder parents were interviewed. While the temporariness of elder parents' residence in Canada is an important finding itself, it also highlights an oversight I made when I designed and conducted the research (see next bullet).

Table 2: Participant parents' residence patterns (n=29)		
Visits Canada, immigration planned or considered	11	38%
Visits Canada, no plans for immigration	10	34%
Permanent resident status, splits time between China and Canada*	4	14%
Unable to visit, no immigration	4	14%
*Includes two cases where permanent status applications were submitted, but processing is not yet complete.		

- **Failure to track/follow-up during elder parents' visits:** since most participants' parents were not in Canada at the time of the participants' interview, participants typically indicated their parents could not participate because they were in China. I failed to account for this when I designed the research and I failed to systematically keep track of when participants' parents were planning to visit Canada next and therefore missed out on opportunities to follow up with these participants on whether their parents would like to participate while visiting Canada. This misstep was a failure of planning, but also a failure to adapt my project to a longer than anticipated time in the field, which lasted 12 months instead of the originally planned six months. The longer than expected time in field was largely a result of me being unable to recruit a sufficient number of participants during the first six months of the project (see Section 3.1 above).
- **Hesitance to participate:** Among the few elder parents who were in Winnipeg at the time of the participants' interview (n=5), participants were lukewarm to the idea of me interviewing their parents. I explained the interview would be done through an interpreter (either the adult child or my own interpreter), but this did not help. I was hesitant to push the idea of interviewing participants' parents if the participant appeared to be uncomfortable because I was afraid it might offend the participant,

which could prompt them to withdraw from the research. One participant initially indicated their mother agreed to be interviewed. The elder mother provided me her written consent, but later her son told me his mother did not want to participate because she felt too shy. I did not ask why the participant's parent felt shy.

- **Failure to adapt interviewing technique:** considering the temporariness of participants' parents residence in Canada, I might have improved my chances of conducting interviews with elder parents if I offered to use the popular video chat app WeChat. Many participants use this app to text and voice message and video chat with their family and friends in Canada and back in China. Although the app could technically expand my ability to include participants' parents, I am unsure whether it would have helped me overcome participants' reluctance to refer me to their parents or parents' shyness towards conversing with a non-Chinese researcher through an interpreter.

I attempted to mitigate some of these challenges by sending a follow-up email in October 2016 to 11 participants¹¹ with young children whose parents regularly visit Canada (i.e. three to six month intervals). The email encouraged the participants to check with their parents – if they were in Canada – whether they would be interested in participating in the research. Two participants replied that their parents were in Winnipeg and were able to participate. Of these two, I was able to interview one set of elder parents. The other participant's parents were departing the day after I received the participant's email and I was unable meet these timelines.

¹¹ In three cases, couples provided only a single email address, and therefore it was not possible to contact both spouses separately. In this case the email was addressed to both participants, but was only sent to one participant.

3.3 Participant observation

I originally intended to employ participant observation to build better rapport with interviewees, recruit new interviewees, and observe interactions and roles within multi-generational households. I attended and held several gatherings with participants who were friends of mine prior to the research or had become friends over the course of the research. While these activities certainly helped build upon my relationship with these individuals, they provided little insight into multi-generational households because participants' parents were not involved. In two cases where elder parents were observable, one of these parents already opted out of the research and in the other case the participant had expressed unease at including their parents in the research. As a result, I made no formal observations.

I also pursued an opportunity to volunteer at the Folklorama's Chinese pavilion in hopes of recruiting more participants and also conducting some participant observation. However due to my busy work schedule and family life, I was unable to commit to the 20 hour per week volunteer commitment, and therefore did not volunteer.

3.4 Measuring social capital

In preparation for the interviews I believe I did sufficient background research on Bourdieu's concept of social capital (which is defined further below) to assess how it has been applied in immigration research. However, upon analyzing the results of the interviews, I came to realize I had overlooked how to measure Bourdieusian social capital specifically within a family unit. I carried out the research with an assumption that flows of social capital between generations, although delayed, would – in the end - be roughly even between generations. This turned out to be wrong insofar as it neglected to consider the effect of the third (i.e., youngest) generation. These challenges, and others, are further explored in Section 6.4.

3.5 Gender analysis

My research was conducted with insufficient attention to gender. There were many levels of gender relations I could have focused on during my interviews (e.g., between spouses, between father and daughter or mother and son), but I failed to do so. This happened for several reasons. Mainly, while I was interested in the way that gender is embedded in the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions of immigration, my research was not focused on defining the differences between women and men in the immigration policy sector. Had this been my focus, I would have lent greater effort to unraveling answers to questions at the structural level with regard to rights, participation/representation, access to and use of resources, values and norms that affect gender-specific behaviour. Additional factors include: 1) I had a lot of details to cover in the semi-structured interview process within a relatively short period of time (one to one and a half hours per interview); 2) I spent insufficient time with spouses to observe how they interacted and what this might have meant for gender-based roles, 3) I spent very little time observing how elder parents or in-laws interacted with each other or the younger adults and 4) my questions about household roles focused too much on collecting information about who was doing what between generations, specifically for the purpose of analyzing the production and exchange of social capital. Therefore I did not dig into why a woman or a man performed the roles they were performing.

4.0 Background - Reform of Canada's Parent Grandparent Program (PGP)

In November of 2011 the federal government temporarily paused the family-class PGP in an effort to reduce a massive backlog of 165,000 PGP applications, which had waiting times as long as eight years (Cohen, 2014). In its place, the government provided a modified temporary resident visa program (referred to as a super visa) that would remain valid for up to ten years,

while allowing parents/grandparents to stay in Canada for up to two years before having to leave the country to renew their status. This differed from a regular multiple entry visa option that allowed parents/grandparents to stay in Canada for six months before having to renew their status (CIC, 2011a, 2011b, 2014). The super visa option also required parents/grandparents to have at least one year of Canadian medical insurance, an immigration medical exam, and proof that their child/grandchild met the minimum income threshold¹² (IRCC, 2015).

In 2013 the federal government submitted its proposed amendments to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations which intended to introduce better management and greater efficiency to the PGP, while the government focused on creating a more economically driven immigration program to address Canada's economic and labour force needs (Government of Canada, 2013). The impetus for the amendments included the aforementioned backlog in PGP applications, but also growing concerns over the cost of the program, which the immigration minister estimated to be \$200,000 per grandparent (CBC News, 2013). The proposed amendments argued that low levels of labour market participation by PGPs meant these immigrants made limited contribution to Canada's tax base and had a higher likelihood for low incomes. These arguments were based on earlier studies conducted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) that demonstrated PGPs had relatively low levels of employment and investment earnings and higher incidences of provincial supplements, especially following the ten year sponsorship period (Dempsey, 2005, pp. 28–29). The research also suggested that immigrant seniors were less self-sufficient than non-immigrant seniors because more than half of immigrant seniors' income came from provincial supplements, Old Age Security, and other income supplements (Dempsey, 2006, p. 2). This situation, the government argued, could

¹² For a family of three, the super visa's minimum necessary income is \$37,234. This increases to \$45,206 for a four person family (IRCC, 2016a).

potentially lead to an increased draw on social assistance benefits compared to economic immigrants (Government of Canada, 2013). The government supported this argument using 2008 tax year data from CIC's Longitudinal Immigration Database, which showed that one year after the end of the ten year sponsorship period, about 19% of PGPs were accessing social assistance (compared to 5% among the spouses and partners category and 10% among the family category (CIC, 2012, p. 13)¹³. Furthermore, the proposed amendments also argued the financial requirements for sponsoring PGPs – the Minimum Necessary Income (MNI) – were insufficient because they were too low¹⁴, required only 12-months of income at the MNI level, and sponsors could use any type of documentation to demonstrate their meeting the requirements (Government of Canada, 2013).

The immigration minister at the time publically characterized the reforms as putting an end to the “abuse of Canada’s generosity” (CBC News, 2013). In discussing the reforms in the media, the minister stated,

[I]et me be blunt: we want to see that people are paying their taxes to help us, as taxpayers, fund the cost of mom and dad’s health care....[t]his is one way that we can deal with some of the abuse of our generosity in the program...[i]f you think your parents may need to go on welfare in Canada, please don’t sponsor them. We’re not looking for more people on welfare, we’re not looking to add people as a social burden to Canada. If their expectation is that they need the support of the state, then they should stay in their country of origin, not come to Canada (CBC News, 2013).

The federal government’s proposed amendments were passed and in January 2014 the

¹³ The federal immigration minister was quoted in the media stating that more than 25% were receiving welfare benefits, which he characterized as “an abuse of Canada’s generosity” (CBC News, 2013)

¹⁴ The Regulatory Impact Analysis Statement (RIAS) states that at the time the MNI for a family of six, including two PGPs, would be \$55,378 (Government of Canada, 2013)

PGP re-opened, introducing an annual 5,000 cap on applicants (down from about 40,000 applications annually), a 30% higher MNI which needed to be maintained for a period of three years prior to sponsorship, and a longer sponsorship period, expanded from ten to twenty years (Bragg, 2014, p. 4; CBC News, 2014; Cohen, 2014). In addition to the reformed PGP, the super visa option was maintained as a “quick and easy way to reunite parents and grandparents with their loved ones” (CIC, 2015a).¹⁵

5.0 Conceptual frameworks: filial piety, familial obligations and social capital

The following sections explore the concepts of filial piety, familial obligations and social capital in further detail and provide an explanation for why this study focuses on familial obligations rather than the idea of filial piety.

5.1 Filial piety

Filial piety is literally defined as the dutifulness befitting a son or daughter in relationship to a parent (Allen, 2000, pp. 516, 1053). The concept guides hierarchical displays of respectful behavior and is intertwined with other concepts, including “face,” “harmony,” and “personal relationships.” In discussing the hierarchical aspects of filial piety, Lieber et al refer to the concept of ren (仁), which can be translated variously as benevolence, compassion, goodness, charity, and perfect virtue, which is born heavily by those in positions of leadership (Lieber et al., 2004, p. 326). Ihara et al. (2012) explains that filial piety includes children paying due respect to their aging parents by caring for them in their senior years (Ihara et al., 2012, p. 36).

¹⁵ It is important to note that since November of 2015 the federal government – now under the Liberal party – announced and implemented a number of policies to expand the PGP (by increasing annual intake to 10,000 applications), improve fairness (applications will be chosen by lottery a month after submission), and make the process easier to understand (through use of plain language application kits) (CBC News, 2016d, 2016b, 2016c, 2016a). This research focuses more on the impact of the PGP reforms under the previous federal government.

Nagata et al (2010) refers to this as xiao shun (孝顺) – the show of respect, compliance, caretaking and maintaining a good family name, which is owed to parents for the children’s upbringing (Nagata et al., 2010, p. 152). In return, when older parents eventually become grandparents, they then have a responsibility to care for their grandchildren (Ihara et al., 2012, p. 36). This intergenerational childrearing arrangement is aided by the practice of co-residence, which Nagata explains is another aspect of filial piety (Nagata et al., 2010, p. 152).

These normative descriptions are useful for understanding what is generally meant by the term “filial piety” in academic literature, however the term is problematic in several ways. Lieber et al. (2004) describes filial piety as a core Confucian value that provides a foundation for sociocultural beliefs and behaviors in many Asian societies (Lieber et al., 2004, p. 325). This description is problematic because it assumes there is an unchanging, singular cultural practice among the many millions of people of Asia who are distinct in their languages, religions and political histories. That is not to say that China has not been influential on its neighbours, but rather it is important that such terms are not used to generalize practices among entire populations. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize the massive potential for variation within familial obligations across space and time. Anthropologist Charlotte Ikels provides a succinct summary of this variation, indicating that beyond a few of the core concepts (as shared above), the delivery and receipt of filial piety “is situationally dependent and shaped by local circumstances of history, economics, social organization, and demography and by personal circumstances of wealth, gender and family configuration” (Ikels, 2004, p. 2). A similar sentiment is echoed by Chen and Yoo, who note the importance of examining filial obligation within its social context, considering the financial and structural factors such as proximity in residence, financial resources, varying needs of parents, and the availability of other siblings to

provide care. All these factors may influence an adult child's decision to support their elderly parents (E. W.-C. Chen & Yoo, 2010). Sociologist Martin King Whyte exemplifies how macro socioeconomic and political factors have influenced variations of filial piety in mainland China and Taiwan. Although Taiwan was more exposed to Western influences and "modernization" efforts, Whyte argues that the Taiwanese government positioned itself as a "defender of Chinese traditional values and Confucianism" in contrast to the closed and revolutionary environment in the PRC (Whyte, 2004, p. 108). At the same time, mainland China's Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) and Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) kept western influences at bay, eliminated family-based wealth, and targeted Confucian hierarchies as part of the 'four olds'¹⁶, which included practices associated with filial piety. Despite these differences, aspects of life in the PRC continued to promote filial practices. For example, following the 1950s, there was an extreme shortage of urban housing in the PRC that made it common for married children to co-reside with their parents (Whyte, 2004, pp. 124–125). As well, Whyte explains that during the 1970s and into the 1980s the dingti system¹⁷ kept adult children close to home (Whyte, 2004, p. 111). Adding to this, the failure of social support systems to provide adequate public or commercial services to meet family needs reinforced a tendency among hard-pressed urban families to rely on their family networks for support. Whyte argues these family networks were based on mutual beneficial exchanges, which were less one-sided than in the past (Whyte, 2004, pp. 124–125).

Wang, Chen and Han refer to China's rapid socioeconomic development and urbanization from the 1980s onwards as playing key roles in further changing the structure of family in China. The authors argue that economic development encouraged younger generations

¹⁶ This includes old customs, old culture, old habits and old ideas.

¹⁷ Whyte describes this as a bureaucratic procedure that allowed a parent to retire early from a job in a state enterprise to allow for their child to be assigned a job in the same enterprise. As a result, adult children would end up living in the same city and living in the same work-unit complex.

to seek independent living and migration for greater employment opportunities. As a result, absolute deference to parents' wishes and the continuing of the family line are no longer dominant cultural norms (J. Wang, Chen, & Han, 2014, p. 232). Other researchers also note that the focus on obedience has shifted or grown to include expressions of reciprocity, gratitude or affection towards their parents (E. W.-C. Chen & Yoo, 2010; Ikels, 2004, p. 31). Alongside these changes, the Chinese government has begun to revitalize the virtues of filial piety to assist in China's eldercare crisis (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, p. 31). With disproportionately small generations of children and grandchildren to care for a disproportionately large population of seniors, the Chinese state – rather than provide key social services for the elderly - instituted the right to old-age support from one's children in various laws. Examples include China's constitution, marriage law, criminal law, and a series of laws passed in the late 1990s that clarified that family members have the primary responsibility for taking care of their elderly parents, including arranging for suitable housing (H. Zhang, 2004; Z. Zhang, Gu, & Luo, 2014, p. 260).

5.2 Familial obligations

During the interviews, I tried to ascertain the source of participants' ideas about the younger generations' obligation to care for their parents in old age or for the older generations' obligations to care for their grandchildren. In a few cases key informants referred specifically to Confucius, while in other cases participants referred to vague ideas such as "Chinese culture", "Chinese tradition", "norms" or indicated these ideas were part of a "traditional way". When I asked for clarification, most of these participants were not able to provide further details on what they meant by "tradition" or "culture". In these cases, I understood these vague references to the concept of Chinese "culture" or "tradition" to mean that interviewees were trying to refer to an

idea that they perceive to be common in China (either presently or in the past), but they did not know enough about the idea or its origin to provide more specific information.

Given the fluid nature of family obligations in China over the past 50 years (as discussed above in Section 5.1) and the tenuous connection participants have with the concept of filial piety, I have chosen to use the term familial obligations - or the dutifulness and obligations among family members – as a more accurate, and less imposed term for the subject matter of this research. The term filial piety has been retained in sections below where the literature specifically refers to “filial piety”.

5.3 Social capital

Social capital is a challenging concept to work with because it has a diverse and often ill-defined range of meanings within the social scientific literature and Bourdieu’s particular take on social capital is relatively brief, forming only part of a more general theory on the role of various other types of capital (economic, symbolic, and cultural¹⁸) (Bourdieu, 2011; Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008; Smart, 1993). Smart suggests that, among Bourdieu’s various forms of capital, social capital is the most tentative and least secure because it relies on vague and difficult-to-measure notions, such as obligations and trust. This is further complicated by its production through implicit acts of reciprocity, gift-giving, and favours (Smart, 1993, p. 393). Furthermore, Smart notes that social capital exists only as a potentiality: once it is used, it becomes something else, such as economic capital (Smart, 1993, p. 396).

Despite these challenges, Bourdieu’s definition of social capital fits well with the nature of familial obligations in contemporary mainland China (discussed above) and is relevant for a

¹⁸ Bourdieu argued there are three forms of cultural capital: embodied (an investment in the person, as in education); objectified (cultural goods, such as a book), and institutionalized (such as an academic qualification) (Bourdieu, 2011)

micro level study examining patterns of favours and assistance (including financial and in-kind) among multi-generational immigrant households. Bourdieu defined social capital as the:

...aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 10).

Of particular importance to this research, Bourdieu’s social capital is centered on socially instituted groups - such as a family, class, or tribe – that may have a “whole set of instituting acts” that form and inform group members (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 10). Members of the family group provide a network of social relations, which Bourdieu explains is a product of individual or collective investment strategies (conscious and unconscious) aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are usable in the short or long term (Bourdieu, 2011, pp. 2, 10). Social capital is reproduced among this group through a continuous series of exchanges including gifts, favours, services, visits and even words (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 11). Bourdieu states that the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections that can be mobilized and on the volume of capital possessed by those who are among these connections (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 11). As time passes and exchange continues, individuals within the network accumulate reserves of “nonspecific indebtedness” called “gratitude” (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 14).

Other definitions of social capital do not align as well with the reciprocal practices of familial obligations within the PRC and do not incorporate the interaction of obligations, trust, and accumulation of favours relevant to the functioning of a multigenerational household.

Specifically, Coleman's idea of social capital – while applicable at a micro-level – focuses on the effect of mutual action on social structure (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008, p. 543). Referring to Loury, Coleman acknowledges that social relationships may act as a resource (1994, p. 300), and conceives “social-structural resources” as social capital. However, he argues that social capital is “defined by its function” and is composed of a variety of different entities with two common characteristics: they all have some aspect of social structure; and they facilitate certain actions of individuals within the structure (Coleman, 1994, p. 302). Portes and Sensenbrenner – who applied the concept to immigration – redefine social capital as expectations for actions within a group that affect economic goals and goal-seeking behaviors of the group, even if those behaviors are not economically oriented (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1323). Putnam moves the concept to a macro level and attaches a specific goal. Specifically, Putnam redefines social capital as a means of explaining regional differences in institutional performances, stating that social capital refers to “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of a society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008, p. 543).

Immigration studies have applied various concepts of social capital with mixed success. For instance, Zhou, Xue, and Gilkinson’s *Health Status and Social Capital of Recent Immigrants in Canada* seems to amalgamate definitions of social capital mostly from Putnam, but also Bourdieu and Portes to form a no-less-vague concept involving interpersonal networks and social resources accessible within a network (J. Zhou, Xue, & Gilkinson, 2010, p. 3). Kim, Linton and Lum’s study of life satisfaction among elderly Chinese and Korean immigrants also applies a Putnam-influenced definition, stating that social capital “consists of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and social trust that bolster coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit in

a community” (Kim, Linton, & Lum, 2015, p. 88). Unlike the latter studies, Neborak’s 2013 critique of the Parent Grandparent Program (PGP) reforms applies a Bourdieusian concept of social capital to immigrant families. Referencing Erel (2010), Neborak states that social capital is obtained by individuals “through social networks that enhance the individual’s privilege and ability to access opportunities in a given social structure” (Neborak, 2013, p. 7). Although the author discusses at length the roles and benefits of grandparents within multigenerational immigrant households (Neborak, 2013, pp. 15–16), there is no discussion of how this social capital is produced within the family unit.

6.0 Results and discussion

The following section synthesizes results from the literature review and the structured and semi-structured interviews.

6.1 Patterns of residence

The literature on multi-generational co-residence among Chinese households in China and Canada suggests co-residence patterns are regionally variable and are shifting over time according to individual and larger socioeconomic circumstances.

6.1.1 Co-residence in China

Results from the Chinese Longitudinal Healthy Longevity Survey (CLHLS) and Chinese Survey of Family Dynamics (CSFD) provide some quantitative insights into co-residence patterns in China. Zhang, Gu, and Lun found adults with a stronger sense of filial piety¹⁹ were

¹⁹ Measurements of filial piety were based on 10 statements of filial values on a scale of 1 to 5, covering 1) child gratitude to parent for upbringing; 2) Child treating parent well regardless of how parent treated child; 3) Child gives up plans for future to comply with parents; 4) Married sons should live with their parents; 5) child should be responsible for making parent lives more comfortable; 6) child should complement parents when its necessary to save face; 7) child should have at least one son; 8) child should do something to glorify the family; 9) married

more likely to co-reside with their parents. As well, adult children who were married were more likely to co-reside with elderly parents if those elderly parents provided childcare, financial support or if the elderly parents needed financial, physical and emotional support. The authors concluded that co-residence in China is influenced by parents needs but also adult children's values, socioeconomic resources and the receipt of parental help (Z. Zhang et al., 2014). Based on their analysis of data from the fifth wave of the CLHLS (n=12,213) Wang, Chen and Han conclude that co-residence patterns among Chinese oldest old (80 years and older) are becoming partially "westernized", with 67% of unmarried elders co-residing with children, but 62% of married elders living with their spouse only; a pattern that was consistent across gender and place of residence (J. Wang et al., 2014, p. 235). The authors refer to earlier studies by Yi and Wang that show the 'spouse-only' residence pattern has been steadily increasing since the early 1980s (J. Wang et al., 2014, p. 237; Yi & Wang, 2003). Whyte's research in Baoding (Hebei province) exemplifies how intergenerational co-residence patterns vary regionally in China. Only about 35% of Baoding parents surveyed (n=509) lived in extended families with one or more married adult children, making the predominant family form nuclear, with either a spouse, or a spouse and one or more unmarried children (Whyte, 2004, p. 111). Whyte notes that most elderly parents in Baoding had earnings of their own and therefore financial contributions from their adult children²⁰ became supplementary rather than essential (Whyte, 2004, p. 112)

daughters should go home from time to time; 10) daughters should take the same responsibility as sons to support older parents (Z. Zhang, Gu, & Luo, 2014, p. 264)

²⁰ Whyte notes that about one quarter of Baoding parents received cash assistance from their adult children while about one third received support through other material goods. These proportions tended to increase as parents aged (Whyte, 2004, p. 112).

Interview results (Winnipeg)

Results from the semi-structured interviews conducted for this research also reflected a move away from grandparent co-residence over the past half century. Interviewees were asked to discuss who lived in their childhood household. Several themes emerged from participants' responses:

- **Few grandparents co-resided:** few childhood households had co-resident grandparents.

Notably, these co-resident grandparents tended to be widowed and/or in poor health. As one key informant explained, this arrangement was a matter of tradition and obligation.

[A] Chinese sentence says crow looks after baby all the time until the baby is able to fly, and when the crow gets old, the younger ones will look after the older one. By Chinese culture, there's [a] saying like that. When parents get older, they are like kids, so you have to look after them. – 49 year old male

- **Most grandparents lived separate, but close:** most interviewees reported that their grandparents (maternal and paternal) lived in separate homes. Most often, grandparents lived in the same town or village or lived in another suite in the same building.

Grandparents who lived nearby assisted with cooking, cleaning, bringing children to and from school, and minding children when parents were at work or out socializing. One key informant referred to this separate-but-close pattern of residence as一碗汤的距离 (yi wan tang de juli), which translates as “a bowl of soup distance” or close enough that a bowl of soup could be delivered between households while it is still hot.

- **Some children temporarily lived with their grandparents:** just over one third of all participants reported temporarily living in their maternal or paternal grandparent's household for an extended period of time, ranging from one year to six years. This most often happened during participants' early childhood prior to going to kindergarten. When

asked why they resided with their grandparents during this time, participants said their parents were busy working, needed to travel for work, or needed to relocate for work.

6.1.2 Co-residence in North America

Canadian quantitative research on co-residence among Chinese Canadians relies on results from the “Health and Well Being of Older Chinese in Canada” study (HWBOCC) which was conducted in 2001 and 2002 and consists of 2,272 respondents from 7 different Canadian cities, with about half (51%) the respondents originating from Hong Kong, just over a quarter (27%) from mainland China, and 5% from Taiwan²¹ (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, p. 33). Given Hong Kong’s separate history as a British protectorate and then a special administrative region (SAR) of China, it is conceivable that the practices reflected in the Canadian research could over-represent practices that are unique to Hong Kong, while underrepresenting practices that were influenced by socioeconomic circumstances in the remainder of mainland China.

Chappell’s analysis of the HWBOCC data showed Chinese seniors were more likely to live with their children than the general population of Canadian seniors (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, p. 32) with over a third (36%) living exclusively with their children while another 38% lived with their spouse and children. Only 9% lived alone (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, p. 35). Lai’s study – using the same dataset – found that 49% of the respondents indicated a preference for living with their children, while the other half (51%) indicated they preferred not to live with their children. Both groups were roughly the same mean age (70 years old), but those who preferred not to live with their children tended to be married, lived alone, had a higher level of education, and reported a lower level of identification with traditional Chinese culture and longer residence in Canada (Lai, 2005, p. 78). Those who preferred to live with their children had

²¹ The remainder were from Vietnam, parts of southeast Asia and other areas

higher levels of dependency in light household chores, lower levels of social support and less self-rated financial adequacy and income (Lai, 2005, p. 83). Chappell and Kusch add to this that as income among Chinese Canadian seniors increase, care from sons, daughters, and in-laws decreases, suggesting those with higher incomes might purchase their care, and relieve their children of these duties (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, p. 41).

It is also worthwhile to also explore potential reasons why Chinese elders would desire to live alone. As the above studies indicate, some proportion of Chinese elders live alone (9% in Chappell and Kusch's Canadian study and 21% in Dong et al.'s Chicago-based study). According to Wang, Chen and Han, increased intergenerational conflict is one of the reasons behind some elderly Chinese preferring to live separate from their children (J. Wang et al., 2014, p. 232), even though elders who lived alone tended to have lower levels of psychological wellbeing (PWB) in comparison to those who lived with a spouse or their adult children (J. Wang et al., 2014, p. 237). Lin's meta-analysis of older Chinese immigrant's relationship with their children showed many older Chinese immigrants placed great value on independence and autonomy and preferred to be physically and financially independent. Some studies found dependency could strain relationships, making older adults feel obligated to please or comply with their adult children's wishes (Lin, Bryant, Boldero, & Dow, 2014, p. 11), while other studies pointed to a desire to be less of a burden to their adult children. Chinese elders also experienced a lost sense of authority by not being the head of the household or not having control over household finances (Lin et al., 2014, p. 13).

Da and Garcia cite a number of earlier Canadian studies that explore the preference among some Chinese elders to live alone. Factors include immigration policy, pre-immigration living arrangements, child care needs, economic constraints, educational levels and personal

accomplishments, as well as functional capacity and level of acculturation (Da & Garcia, 2010, p. 13). The authors conclude the biggest challenge older immigrants face is the negative effects of economic dependence in all aspects of their life, which affects power relations, social status, autonomy, and role in decision making (Da & Garcia, 2010, p. 12).

Interview results (Winnipeg)

Interviewees discussed their parents' current residence patterns and shared their ideas about where their parents may reside in the future. As the table below shows, there is a diversity of situations among the small number of participants in this research. Generally, older participants with older parents were less likely to be planning for their parents to settle in Canada. Perhaps the most notable finding was that none of the participants' parents co-resided in the participants' households on a permanent basis and most participants had no plans for co-residence in the future.

Table 3: Participant parents' residence patterns (n=29)				
	Participants		Average age of participants	Average age of participants' parents
	#	%		
Group 1: Visits Canada, immigration planned or considered	11	38%	32.4	58.1
Group 2: Visits Canada, no plans for immigration	10	34%	37.7	62.7
Group 3: Unable to visit, no immigration	4	14%	42.9	73.7
Group 4: Permanent resident status, but splits time between China and Canada*	4	14%	34.2	60.4
*Includes two cases where permanent residence applications were submitted, but processing was not yet complete.				

The following discusses interview results among each of the above groupings. It is important to note that these groupings were created after the interviews were conducted for the purpose of analyzing interviewees according to their particular circumstances.

Group 1: Elder parents who visit Canada and immigration is planned or being considered

About 38% of the participants reported that their elder parents have visited Canada (or were planning to visit Canada soon) and that one or both parents were at least considering the possibility of immigrating to Canada in the future. Elder parents in this group were relatively young, with the average age being 58 years old, meaning some parents were already retired and some were still working.

Based on participants' description of their parents' attitudes towards living in Winnipeg, elder parents had mixed opinions about their time in Winnipeg. In many cases, participants described one or both elder parents as being bored while visiting, often staying inside, missing their friends back in China and desiring the convenience and independence they had back in China. Underdeveloped English language skills provided an inhibiting factor for Chinese elders to undertake independent activities outside the home, such as shopping. On the other hand, some of these elder parents seemed to excel in adjusting to life in Winnipeg, which may be related to these individuals' sociability and comfortability in an English speaking environment. Several key informants in this group indicated one or both of their parents liked being in Winnipeg, were socially active outside the home, and had met other Chinese elders in the community while out for walks. In the words of a few of these key informants:

I am comfortable going for walks in the park. This is my fourth time being here. I have made a lot of Chinese friends here. And I go to church. I want to learn English, but it's hard to remember the words and grammar.

-58 year old female (elder parent)

[My parents] are very sociable. We've been living here almost 3 years. We don't know the neighbours too much. We don't have time. But my parents know most of Chinese people living in this area. In the summer [they] chat for quite a few hours. Sometimes they invite the people to our house.

- 34 year old male

...my mom, she's very talkative. So is my mother in law. Both of them meet different people and they would come back and tell me about who they met that day and tell me all the stories they got. ...My mom has no problem because she was in [another English speaking country] for so many years, so her English is okay. She goes to church and studies English classes, 2-3 times a week. And she is volunteering more in the local Chinese community.... And she does the driving. She does have quite a lot of activities. - 30 year old female

Participants described several challenges they have encountered in their plans for sponsoring their parents for permanent residence. Some of these participants described financial challenges intermingled with competing familial obligations, including meeting the MNI and still having enough money to provide for their children, or whether to sponsor their parents or their in-laws first, and how to afford a separate living space for their parents (note: this is discussed further in Section 7.2). In the words of a few of these key informants:

... it's almost impossible for me to have a house, and have ... elders in that place and have kids to look after. And I need to work. It's very difficult to balance. [My mom] said she will go to an elderly home when she's older.... And I will visit them as much as possible. And if they like to stay here, feel comfortable in an old folks home here, first thing I need to do is have enough cash to be able to support them. - 30 year old female

... it's very hard in Canada because we have a big family... I needed to build up my foundation because I didn't have enough money to support my mom... Also, my parents-in-law wanted to be here too. Me and my wife must work very hard to support three parents to immigrate. - 49 year old male

That part is hard because we have to think which parents we should pick first. Everyone adds up. We discuss that we will probably help her mom because... for their parents, she [participant's wife] is more important than me to my parents [because wife is single child, husband is not]. That's how we judge. First it will be her parents, and then when our income gets higher, it will go to my parents. - 29 year old male

Participants in this group were also asked about where elder parents would reside, assuming the elder parents were successful with their permanent residence application. Most of these participants reported that they would live separately, including the two elder parent

participants who were open to the idea of living separately. These elder parents also said, however, that it was up to their adult child whether they would co-reside. Participants said their parents would either buy a house or a condo, lease an apartment or the adult child would help pay for space at a senior's home.

Among the few participants who said they would likely co-reside with their parents, the reasons provided conveyed ideas of duty, but this was mixed with ideas of individual preferences. These respondents explained:

In Chinese tradition, [parents] are normally living with the son. So normally I should take care of them... if they get older I think permanently would be the good choice for us. But if younger, I don't think so. They can take care of themselves.

– 34 year old male

In China, parents stay with the boy, not the girl. That's our culture. The boy will need to pay much bigger portion of the living costs of parents. But eventually when they are here, they will stay with either me or my brother... My parents haven't decided on whether to buy a new house for themselves or just live with us. I think even if they want to buy another house they will buy one very close to us because it's easier for them to come by and visit. Probably walking distance.

– 29 year old male

Group 2: Elder parents who visit Canada, but there are no plans for immigration

Just over one-third (34%) of participants reported their parents have visited Canada, or planned to visit Canada, but had no plans to immigrate. Participants explained that their parents would instead visit on vacation in Canada, staying anywhere from one month to a year at a time.

Participants were asked why they believed their parents did not plan to immigrate to Canada. The most common reason provided was that their parents were unable to speak or read English and were therefore unable to communicate outside the home while in Winnipeg. Some of these participants observed that their parents were often bored, felt stuck at home, did not have any of their friends here, and did not have anyone to talk to during the day because the participants were

away at their jobs.²² In the words of a few of these key informants, their parents seemed happier back home in China:

One thing I am struggling with. Parents might want to visit the children here in Canada and don't really like it here because... think living here is not enjoyable, so boring; in your own life you have all the people you know, you live with them. You only stay with your child here, when they go to work, they sit here, nothing to do. - 40 years old male

When [they] are in [their] 60s or 70s, they will feel comfortable with their old friends, who've they've known for decades, rather than getting to know new friends. - 37 year old male

Some participants in this group observed that times have changed and explained that they and their elder parents have separate lives and therefore need separate spaces:

I think now it's not like before. I think they have their life and we have our life. It's different. I think if you can have a very good and long relationship, you can live together if you want. But if you live too long, you have so many different ideas, sometimes can make trouble. I don't like that. - 43 year old female

Nowadays, the older and younger understand different living style. If you live too close, it's not good thing. Separate, but close. - 48 year old male

In one case, the participant indicated his parents were still hoping he would return home to China to start a family. This participant explained:

[Their] plan is if I go back I would live with them. They already set up a room for me and my wife. Oh, okay. Most of the young kids I know they don't want to live with their parents. But if I went to China, I don't want to live with my parents as well. - 28 year old male.

The average age of elder parents in this group was about 63 years old, therefore some elder parents were still working and some were recently retired. Participants were asked what, if any, plans they had for their parents as they aged and potentially became less capable of caring for

²² In hindsight, it would have been useful to ask these key informants whether their parents might feel differently about visiting and immigrating to Canada if the participant resided in Vancouver or Toronto, which have considerably larger Chinese communities. It is not clear whether the elder parents were apprehensive about Winnipeg specifically, or life in Canada more generally.

themselves. Most commonly, participants indicated they had one or more siblings²³ still living in China and that these siblings would help care for their parents as they aged. In this situation, the participants said they would assist by helping their elder parents buy a home closer to their siblings, send remittances to their parents, or travel back to China for a couple months at a time to care for their parents. A few key informants suggested the possibility of their parents living in an elder care home.

Group 3: Elder parents are unable to visit and there are no plans for immigration

A few other key informants explained that their parents are unable able to visit because they are deceased or are unable to travel due to health conditions. The average age of parents in this group was about 74 years old. The key informants explained that although their parents miss their adult children and grandchildren, the elder parents cannot speak English and therefore could not communicate outside. Also their elder parents would miss their hometown and friends. These participants assist their parents by traveling back to China to visit and by sending remittances. Participants in this category noted that their elder parents also receive assistance from the participants' siblings and other younger relatives, such as the participant's cousins.

Group 4: Permanent resident status, but splits time between China and Canada

A few key informants reported that their parents already have permanent residence status or their application for permanent residence has been submitted. The average age of elder parents in this group was about 60 years old, so some of these parents had already retired or were working reduced hours.

Similar to the elder parents in Group 1 above, the elder parents in this group were relatively independent outside the participant's house. For example, these elder parents either already knew

²³ These participants were born before or around the start of the one child policy.

some English or were at least interested in learning some English. Other examples of independence among these elder parents included driving while in Winnipeg, going out and socializing with other elder Chinese parents, and pursuing hobbies outside the home, such as photography. Still, some of these key informants observed that their parents seemed bored while in Winnipeg and missed their friends back in China.

Notably, none of the elder parents in this group reside permanently in Winnipeg or Canada. As a result, none of the families currently co-reside on permanent basis. Instead, the elder parents spend several months a year in China, either caring for their aging parents, or rotating visits with the participants' in-laws.

Participants were also asked about future plans for where their elder parents would reside in Canada. None of the participants in this group planned to co-reside with the parents in the future; rather they planned on having their parents live in a separate house in Winnipeg. In one case, the participant's parents and in-laws would share a house in Winnipeg on a rotational basis (while one set of parents visited Winnipeg, the other would return to China), while in another case the spouses' parents planned to reside together in the same house while in Winnipeg. This situation was unique because the participants' parents/in-laws had a pre-existing friendship for many years.

6.2 Structural considerations for shift away from co-residence

Given both the literature review and interview results show a shift away from co-residence, it is useful to look at some of the larger structural forces in China that may have driven these changes. Wang argues that land distribution, collectivization, and the prevalence of poverty in rural China following the Communist revolution all contributed to the decline in large multigenerational households and a rise of nuclear households as a means of survival. (D. Wang,

2000). Hu and Peng suggest a number of forces have been at work in changing the structure of Chinese families as China shifted towards a market-based economy, including China's low fertility rate (small family sizes due to the one child policy), population mobility (inflow of young adults from countryside to the cities for work and education), and a growing population of elderly combined with improvements to housing conditions, making it possible for the elderly to live independently (Hu & Peng, 2015). Chen adds to this that employment offering higher health benefits, childcare services, and pensions – such as in government sector work - are also factors in family division in China (F. Chen, 2009).

Over the course of the interviews it became apparent to me how participants' parents' households had been affected by Chinese government policies. Some key informants who were born in the late 1950s and 1960s relayed that their families were required to move away from their home city to other communities in different provinces. Sometimes both parents came and sometimes only one parent went with the children. At a later point in time, the participants' families were allowed to return to their home city. The oldest participants recalled their school being closed and one participant explained that their father had been investigated, arrested and punished by his workplace. While a few interviewees specified that these events were part of the *wénhuà dà gé mìng* (Cultural Revolution), others were less clear about why their parents had been relocated.²⁴

The PRC's forced displacement of families and disruption of the education system could have had lasting effects on the wellbeing of families throughout China, and may have affected household structure and the nature of familial obligations for these participants, although this study is unable to explore the extent to which participants were affected by these policies.

²⁴These relocations may have been part of the Socialist Education Movement (also known as the Four Cleanups Movement).

China's one child policy was another force that affected family structure, specifically for those participants who were born after 1979. Of the 12 participants who were born prior to the one child policy, nearly all (n=11) had siblings, while of 17 participants who were born after the one-child policy was instituted only four reported having siblings. Smaller families meant that there were fewer children available to care for aging adults.

Another structural factor to consider is socioeconomic class. Several of the participants who came of age during the 1970s and 1980s spoke of attending trade schools or colleges instead of high school or university. For some of these participants, university was not possible because their marks were not high enough. Also significant is that the government paid for most of their education if they attended a trade school or college, but not university. Notably, the parents of these participants were factory workers or farmers²⁵ which might suggest these families did not have the money to afford university but also may not have seen university as a necessity for their children to be successful. The trajectory of these families differs from those participants who came of age in the mid-to-late 1990s and 2000s. While a few of these families grew up on farms,²⁶ most of these participants' parents were business owners or professionals such as teachers, engineers, accountants, healthcare workers, civil servants, professors, or college instructors. Most of these participants told stories of the furious competition they faced in middle and high school so they could get into and finish from a top tier university and stand out in a highly competitive labour market. Those who could not get into top tier undergraduate or graduate schools came overseas to attend university, and in doing so limited their labour market potential back in China (a few key informants noted that after studying overseas they could only find entry level jobs in China). The class of professionals from which these participants came

²⁵ With the exception of one participant whose parents were healthcare workers who had been relocated to a village during the Cultural Revolution.

²⁶ Two of these farm families also drew income through their fathers' work as a school teacher.

was likely a factor in participants' desire or obligation to seek employment within the professional class. And in doing so, these participants ultimately ended up overseas, away from their families. All of these processes may have contributed to further changing the household structure and nature of familial obligations among these participants.

6.3 Role of gender

As indicated earlier, Ikels explains that filial piety is situationally dependent on numerous historical and socioeconomic forces, including gender (Ikels, 2004, p. 2). This is also applicable more generally to familial obligations and patterns of co-residence. For example, Vanderplaet et al.'s study suggests immigrant mothers and grandmothers play a larger role in grandchild care than fathers and grandfathers (Vanderplaet et al., 2012, p. 93). Yoon found that many Asian-American grandparents moved to the US to perform childcare for their daughters or daughters-in-laws because these young mothers worked in a family business along with their husband and were pushed into the labour market out of economic necessity (Yoon, 2005, pp. 88–89).

The information I collected about household gender roles was overly basic, focusing on who did what in the participants' childhood and current household. Given the limited amount of data I collected and the limited time I spent with participants (typically an hour to an hour and half), it was difficult to ascertain how gender played a role in participants' familial obligations, co-residence, and decision making authority, specifically as this related to parental or in-law sponsorship. Below is an analysis of gender-based information that I extracted from interviews and the observations I made during interviews.

► Insufficient information on gender-based financial power and decision making

authority: while more of the female participants had post-secondary education (12 out

of 14, 86%) compared to the male participants (11 out of 15, or 73%), nearly all the male participants (14 out of 15, or 93%) were employed while just over half the female participants (8 out of 14, or 57%) were employed. All but one of the unemployed female participants previously had jobs in either Canada or China.²⁷ Most of these women were currently engaged in fulltime domestic roles (discussed below). The fact that more male participants were earning incomes might suggest the males in this sample have more control over household finances, but I have insufficient information about who made financial decisions in the household. It is also unclear how gender and financial power relate to decision making authority to sponsor parents. All of the female participants who intended to sponsor their parents in the near or long-term were employed, while five of the six unemployed female participants had no plans to sponsor their parents because either their parents were unable able to travel for health reasons, or the elder parent did not want to immigrate to Canada or live in Winnipeg, or the female participants preferred their parents to visit rather than immigrate to Canada. The remaining unemployed female participant already sponsored her parents and at the time of the interview was in the process of applying to cosponsor her in-laws.

- **Unclear if and how domestic roles influence decision making authority:** Of the households with children (n=12), nine had the mother as the primary caregiver (i.e., the person who assumed the most responsibility for the children, including cooking, feeding, clothing, and pick up and drop off at daycare, school, and extracurricular activities).²⁸ Conceivably, this arrangement could mean that mothers have more influence in decisions on how to raise the children. For working mothers this could also

²⁷ The one woman who had not previously been employed was still in university completing her master's degree.

²⁸ There was insufficient information about the remaining three households.

represent a gender-based imbalance in contributions to the households. It was unclear based on the data I collected if and how the women's domestic roles affected their decision making authority specifically regarding decisions to sponsor parents or in-laws. As noted above, all of the female participants who intended to sponsor their parents in the near or long-term were employed, while five of the six unemployed female participants had no plans to sponsor their parents.

- ▶ **Insufficient information on gender roles of elder parents:** Grandmothers and grandfathers also played substantial roles in childcare and domestic chores such as cooking and cleaning. A few also did grocery shopping. However there were insufficient observations made and information provided to determine whether there was a gender division among grandparents in household activities. I saw both grandmothers and grandfathers working in the kitchen and taking care of their grandchildren.
- ▶ **Differences based on gender or personality:** Among the 14 female participants, eight were co-interviewed with their husbands. Based on the limited time I spent with these couples, none of the couples had one spouse that was more domineering than the other. It is unlikely a husband or a wife with such a noticeable power imbalance in their relationship would have volunteered to participate in research that pried into the inner workings of their household. That said there were couples where the men were more assertive or talkative, and couples where the women were more assertive and talkative, and couples where both participants were equally talkative.

- **Comfortable with outsider male:** Among the 14 female participants, six volunteered to participate in interviews without their husbands present.²⁹ All but one of these women were strangers to me prior to the interview. While presumably I indirectly gained some level of trust via the participants or acquaintances who referred me to these participants, the fact that these women chose to participate suggests they were relatively comfortable with the idea of meeting with a male, non-Chinese stranger for a detailed conversation about their childhood and current households. It also suggests that these women had enough confidence and authority in their lives to do so. This could be used as a proxy indicator of the independence of these women's decision making authority.

6.4 Social capital: production and exchange

One of the goals of this research was to determine the extent that Bourdieu's concept of social capital is relevant to understanding the operation of familial obligations among mainland Chinese households in China and Canada (and Winnipeg specifically). Therefore, the interviews sought to analyzing past and present-day activities – such as familial obligations and acts of reciprocity, gift-giving and favours (Smart, 1993, p. 393) – between participants and their elder parents which could be interpreted to represent conscious or unconscious activities that contribute to individual or collective social capital. Based on my early findings in the literature, I hypothesized that participants' "nonspecific indebtedness" to their parents would be a key driver behind their decision to sponsor their parents. Bourdieu's idea of social capital seemed particularly suited to understanding reciprocal familial obligations based on gratitude and affection towards parents (E. W.-C. Chen & Yoo, 2010; Ikels, 2004, p. 31).

²⁹ Two of these women were interviewed at their home while their husband was at home but the husband was in another room. The remaining four women attended the interview session without their husbands.

Unfortunately, Bourdieu's idea of social capital provides little insight into how a researcher might measure or attribute activity to reserves of favour and gratitude among members of a particular social group. Nor does he account for individual level factors (such as individual personalities, such as charitableness or selfishness) or explain how certain social organizational roles (such as a parent's role raising young children) would make these exchanges less bi-directional (at least in the short term) and more obligatory. Bourdieu does state that the different types of capital are distinct in how easily they are transmitted, and that the rate of loss and the degree of concealment tend to vary in inverse ratios and he notes that "everything that helps to disguise the economic aspect also tends to increase the risk of loss (particularly intergenerational transfers)" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 16), but the context of this intergenerational transfer is different from what this research is exploring.³⁰ This ultimately led to a major shortcoming in my research design. While I investigated how other studies generally used the concept of social capital and specifically how the concept has been applied in immigration research, I failed to consider how social capital operates specifically within a family unit.

The semi-structured interview guide that I used for this research focused on patterns of assistance within participants' childhood and current household. In analyzing the results, I looked for examples of familial obligations, favours, and gift giving that flowed from the older generation to the younger generation and the younger generation to the older generation, considering whether the activities took place during the participant's childhood or during their adulthood. As I analyzed the participants' responses it became clear that the store of gratitude and flow of favours is not equal between the generations and that the flow of favours changes over time according to the needs of family members. Based on the data I collected, the elder

³⁰ Bourdieu was referring to intergenerational transfer of occupation and how this relates to class (Swartz, 1997, p. 183)

parents' input into their children over the course of time appeared to have a larger impact on their children than the children's inputs into their elder parents. In hindsight, this seemingly obvious observation makes sense. While parental investment in their offspring may have some reciprocal expectations (such as the younger generation providing elder parents with assistance in old age), the larger goal of parental investment is the success of their offspring. The parents are ultimately left to find their own successes through their own social networks, which includes their friends, co-workers, and of course their own parents. In the context of this research, the flow of gratitude back to the elder parents is limited because the participants are focused on investing in the success of their children and themselves. The elder parents continue to invest in their adult children (e.g., helping to pay their children's mortgage, providing care to grandchildren, cooking and cleaning) because this improves the chances of success of the adult children and their grandchildren, not necessarily because this might (consciously or unconsciously) earn them a debt of gratitude in their old age. Another important factor to consider includes the fact that about half the participants in this study have siblings in China who could be an alternate source of care for the elder parents. Elder parents, moreover, also increasingly have access to pensions (n=18, 64%).

Figure 1 below lists the types of activities participants mentioned, which I categorized as flowing from the younger generation to the older generation and vice versa. It is important to note that the trend lines are purely hypothetical and do not represent any measured value of social capital; instead they are provided to better illustrate the hypothesis that the younger generation's input into the older generation is disproportionate to the older generations' input into the younger generation. Also, once the participants have their own children (youngest generation), the participants' trend line essentially becomes the line of the older generation, while their children's generation becomes the line of the younger generation. Therefore, we need to consider three generations to fully understand the flow of social capital within a household.

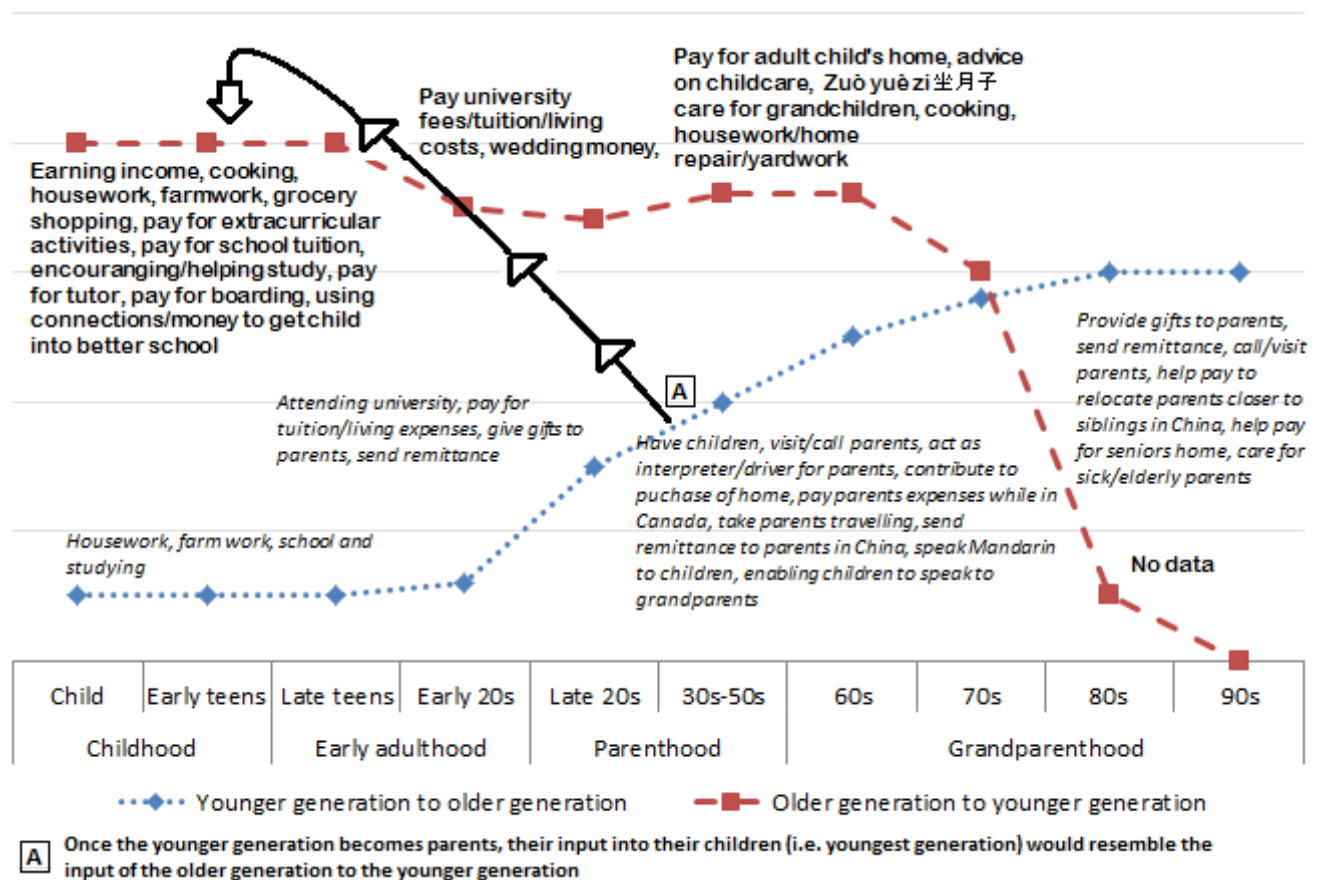


Figure 1 - Hypothetical flows of social capital

6.4.1 Assistance from older generation to younger generation

The important role of Chinese grandparents in providing care for their grandchildren was a common theme in the quantitative and qualitative literature reviewed for this study. Dong et al.'s Chicago-based study found that Chinese elders' expectations and perceived receipt of filial piety were positively associated with the number of grandchildren. The authors posit this could reflect grandparents' socially accepted role in caring for their grandchildren, but may also be associated with grandparents having more obligations to care for grandchildren, which in turn suggests a strong family connection, which in turn places grandparents in a better position to expect and receive reciprocal care (Dong, Zhang, & Simon, 2014, p. 1242). Lin et al.'s meta-analysis of older Chinese immigrants' relationships with their adult children shows many older Chinese immigrants provide help around the household, most often in the form of caring for their grandchildren, which was often cited as one of the main reasons for immigrating to a western country (Lin et al., 2014, p. 10). The same reasons were provided by the majority of elderly Chinese immigrants in Da and Garcia's qualitative study in London, Ontario (Da & Garcia, 2010, p. 7) and participants in Bragg's Calgary-based study of immigrants³¹ (Bragg, 2014, p. 12). The childcare provided by grandparents contributes substantially to the material and immaterial welfare of the household. Numerous studies mention that the childcare provided by grandparents enables young educated mothers to return to the workforce (Bragg, 2014, p. 6; Da & Garcia, 2010, p. 7; Zhu, 2010, p. 409). As well, the assistance of grandparents helps families avoid the prohibitive cost of childcare and the stress of dealing with a shortage of regular childcare spots (Bragg, 2014, p. 12). Grandparents (particularly grandmothers) also play a major role in meal preparation and other household chores (Thang, Mehta, Usui, & Tsuruwaka, 2011, p. 565; Zhu,

³¹ Bragg's study does not focus on the experience of immigrant Chinese grandparents, but rather immigrant grandparents in general.

2010, p. 415). Other studies point out that these activities play an important role in making grandparents feel helpful (Martin-Matthews, Tong, Rosenthal, & McDonald, 2013, p. 516; Zhu, 2010, p. 415).

Research on co-resident and immigrant grandparents also points to grandparents playing a key role in transmitting language, values, tradition and other cultural concepts to younger generations (Bragg, 2014, pp. 18–19; Thang et al., 2011, p. 565). Nagata, Cheng, and Tsai-Chae examined the experience of 17 Chinese American immigrant grandmothers and the influence of Chinese cultural values on their grandparenting style (Nagata et al., 2010, p. 152). The authors found the grandmothers spent a significant amount of time with their grandchildren and viewed their grandparenting style as being determined by their sense of responsibility to teach their grandchildren to have “good character” and behave properly to others (Nagata et al., 2010, p. 158).

Interview results

The typical activities of parenthood – including earning an income, cooking, cleaning, buying clothing, and helping children with school/homework – may not directly or immediately generate social capital among children. Stone explains that the norms of reciprocity within a family tend to be uneven, delayed, and indirect between generations (Stone & Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2001, p. 30). While it is possible that some children might recognize and appreciate their parents’ care early in life, children are generally limited in their ability to reciprocate.³² As children mature, they become better equipped to recognize their parents’ childrearing efforts, and thereby develop a sort of delayed reserve of gratitude (i.e., social capital) towards their parents. A few participants put it this way:

³² Arguably, a young child’s show of appreciation and an easy-going personality could generate greater parental gratitude because it would make the parent feel appreciated and reduce the stress of parenting.

My mom was doing everything. My dad was making money. My mom manages it I guess. Feed us, do all the house work. She never worked in her whole life. We are everything to her I guess.
- 29 year old male

My mom works hard to sell shoes in the store in order to pay for my tuition fees, the fees to eat at canteen and accommodation as well....They worked so hard and raised us up.
- 36 year old male

[My mom] was a worker; She worked on truck loading. So very hard. She was only 30 years old. Very working hard. Get home and she still look after us after that. In the morning she would leave home and get home around 5:00.

- 49 year old male

Even I study abroad they support me. Not like some foreigners, who study at university and need to work in the evenings. My parents always support me. That's why I am very thankful to them. It's the traditional Chinese. Most of the Chinese people will support their children because they think the children is their future. My generation... my parents only have one child. Only one hope.

- 33 year old female

Among the more commonly mentioned forms of assistance, participants often mentioned that as children, their parent's paid for their school tuition, paid for tutors, and paid for boarding if the participant needed to travel to another town or county for school. Parents also used their social connections and/or money to secure their children a position at a higher quality school. In the participants' early adult years, their parents assisted by paying university entrance fees, paying for tuition, and paying for the cost of living while in university. While at face value most of these examples are investments of economic capital, the end result is greater cultural capital (e.g., a university degree) and greater social capital (i.e., adult child's recognition/gratitude towards parents for enabling their success). A few key informants described their situation this way:

When I decided to go [to Canada to study], they supported me a lot, as much as they can. They love me to explore other countries. I almost started working for [a company] but then I got an offer from my professor, so I quit my job. They supported me a lot
- 29 year old male

[A lot of people were born in my birth year]. There are only 10 universities in China and the population is very big. So the chance of going to the best university is quite small. I'm not confident. So I decided I wanted to study abroad on my second year of high school. At first my parents didn't agree. They dreamed my life, after I graduate from university in China, find a good job, and get married and have baby. They never thought I would study abroad. So they disagreed. But after half a year, they agreed maybe there's another way. Because their friends children more and more go to study abroad, so they think maybe it is the right way.

- 33 year old female

The two elder parents who participated in this research indicated all they wanted for their adult child was happiness and to have a good job.

Elder father: we just want her to have a happy and healthy life. It doesn't matter where she is, but the most important thing is that she is happy and that the living and working environment is good.

- 58 year old male

Elder mother: it's all about her job, if she can get a better job, doesn't matter where. I think that's her best choice.

- 58 year old female

After university, the elder parents assisted their adult children by helping pay for immigration fees and by helping their adult children buy a home in Winnipeg, typically by providing some or all of the down payment. Again this represents the conversion of the elder parents' economic capital to social capital among their adult children, in that the adult children are grateful for this financial assistance, particularly because they are just starting out on their career path. A few key informants put it this way:

Husband: No matter we come abroad or stay in China, most our generation's parents bought a house for their children. Otherwise if the children attend work...

Wife: they cannot save enough for a house. It's crazy.

Husband: the young generation never be able to establish by themselves.

Wife: Even when we are in Canada, they still save money to help us to pay for the down payment even though the money will be devalued after transaction.

- 36 year old male

- 35 year old female

Husband – yes, the down payment came from both our parents. We didn't have any down payment.

Wife – when we bought this house, we just started work for one or two years. So we didn't have any savings so our families actually helped a lot. They helped on the down payment and we start paying the mortgage back ourselves.

- 29 year old male
- 29 year old female

Once the adult children had children of their own, the elder parents provided advice on childcare³³ and provided considerable assistance raising the grandchildren, including feeding, cleaning, putting to bed, going for walks, and playing. Also notable, grandmothers were specifically involved in young mothers' zuò yuè zi (坐月子), which is a month long period where the young mother stays in bed to recover from birth, regain balance, and avoid illness (Kartchner & Callister, 2003, p. 104).

Other forms of assistance elder parents provided around the household included cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, home repair, and yard work. All of these activities have the potential to relieve the burden of childrearing on their adult children, which in turn could produce a reserve of gratitude among the adult children. A few key informants expressed their gratitude towards their parents, saying:

[Our son] was sick last week so he stayed home four days and [my parents] took care of him. That's good help. In August the whole family got sick and no one help us. And she [wife] was stressed out when son is crying. This time my family is here and can help [because] son can't sleep and she has a full time job.... For woman's side it helps a lot. Even, the snow, my dad helps me clean up the snow. When I look at the neighbours, my drive way is the most clean one. My dad wake up at 5 and looks at the snow and keeps cleaning.

- 34 year old male

I think I have good parents because their personalities. I think it really not depends on how much education you have; it really depends on the personality. Some people have very good education, but they don't know how to share.

- 33 year old male

³³ This was also a point of conflict for some participants.

6.4.1 Assistance from younger generation to older generation

Beyond fulfilling expected childhood responsibilities, it was difficult to determine – based on the data collected – the nature and extent to which participants, during their childhood, generated social capital among their elder parents. This issue lays bare a weakness in my initial understanding Bourdieu's social capital. The interview process failed to get at the distinct ways children might generate social capital among their parents, which might include respectfulness and obedience, but also more subtle childhood behaviors, such as being easy to please.

Key informants commonly mentioned doing housework as one of their childhood household roles, and through regular fulfillment of these chores (presumably without complaint) children could conceivably ease their parents burden and thereby earn the gratitude of their parents, and in a few cases even a financial reward, in the form of an allowance.

Another commonly mentioned childhood obligation was attending school. Most participants, particularly those born in the last 40 years, spoke about spending long hours studying and intense competition to get into the best school possible, either by earning high marks and/or by their parents using their personnel connections. For most of these participants, the ultimate goal was to get the highest possible score at a top high school which would allow the participant to attend a first or second tier university. The driving force behind participants' desire to achieve a high academic standing varied, with some being pushed by their parents to achieve, some being self-motivated out of competitiveness or fear of limiting their future career opportunities. A few indicated they were neither interested in school nor pushed to excel. By fulfilling their obligation to attend school and by achieving high academic standard the participants conceivably earned the gratitude and respect of their parents. As one key informant explained:

Parents [are] proud of you if you could become a university student, it's easier to find a job after graduation and the salary would be higher compare to other degrees.
– 35 year old female

The interview process was somewhat more successful in identifying activities among participants during their adult years that could generate social capital among their elder parents. As with childhood activities, presumably the participant's attending and succeeding at university would earn the gratitude and respect of their parents (in addition to earning the cultural capital that comes with a university degree). A few participants mentioned having a job or a scholarship during university which allowed for them to pay for part of their university tuition or pay for their own living expenses while attending university in Winnipeg. These efforts could ease financial stress on their parents, which in turn could generate gratitude and well-being among their parents. One key informant explained:

[My parents] provide the money to apply for the university and collect the transcript from [my former university].... I got the scholarship which is enough for the tuition and part of my living costs. That's why I chose to study here, because it provides a scholarship. I also got an offer from [another] university, it's a good university, but doesn't provide scholarship. I thought because I'm an adult, I should get some money by myself.
– 27 year old male

After finishing university or college, a few participants described more direct contributions to their parents, including paying their parents' rent, providing them gifts, helping them pay for a new house, taking their parents traveling in Canada, and sending remittances to their parents. For participants whose parents visit or live in Canada on a regular basis, some participants described paying for the parents expenses while they were visiting, or acting as an interpreter and driver for their parents because their parents cannot speak English and cannot drive. A few participants mentioned they make a concerted effort to ensure their children can communicate with their grandparents.

We don't use English with him [son] because I know when he goes to kindergarten he will learn English very quick. Right now I just want him to learn Chinese well. Also because the grandparents are here, I don't want to speak English if they don't understand. They probably wouldn't be happy about that.
– 30 year old female

They all speak Mandarin and Shanghaies. All my kids. I don't want any of them to lose it. Because me, my wife, we are all Shanghainese. They did not lose their language.
- 49 year old male

It is conceivable that such an act would generate substantial favour among the elder parents because it would enable the grandchildren and grandparents to have a deeper and more multifaceted relationship.³⁴

7.0 Impact of PGP reforms

Various concerns have been raised about the PGP reforms in the media, grey and academic literature. In an interview with the Vancouver Sun, Queens University immigration law professor Sharry Aiken expressed concern over how the annual number of permanent residents landing in Canada each year (about 250,000) far outstrips the likely demand to sponsor parents (Cohen, 2014). Intake for the PGP begins each year in January and each year, since the program relaunched in 2014, the 5,000 cap³⁵ on applications has been reached within a few weeks of reopening (Canadian Newswire, 2014; CBC News, 2016b; CIC, 2015b).

Vanderplaat argues the majority of sponsored parents and grandparents are no more likely to be a drain on the Canadian social welfare system than other people their age or other immigrants and that while sponsored parents and/or grandparents are less likely to be working than other immigrants, a considerable proportion (altogether approximately two-thirds) were either working (39%), homemaking (14%) or caring for family (14%) four years after landing.

³⁴ Among participants whose parents were elderly and unable to travel, examples of generating social capital included sending their elder parents remittances and traveling back to China to provide care for a sick parent.

³⁵ In 2016, the federal government – under the Liberal party - increased the cap to 10,000 applications and within the first week of the PGP reopening, 14,000 applications were received (CBC News, 2016b).

About 28% were retired (Vanderplaat et al., 2012, pp. 86–87). Aikens adds to this that immigrant seniors are no more likely to overburden the health system, since those who are allowed to immigrate must meet standard admissibility requirements, which include checks on potential health issues (Cohen, 2014). Neborak criticizes the reforms as introducing a “process that reduces human life to positive and negative externalities to taxpayers” (Neborak, 2013, p. 8). Neborak argues that the economic focus for the reforms systematically devalues the role of the extended family unit and introduces numerous systemic barriers that make family reunification more difficult for many (Neborak, 2013, p. 8). Root et al add to this that Canada’s economically-focused immigration system represents a shift away from “nation building” and family reunification towards a neoliberal economy that prizes skilled, self-reliant immigrants that provide an immediate contribution to the Canadian labour market and economy (Root, Gales-Gasse, Shields, & Bauder, 2014, pp. 4–5).

In considering the impact of the PGP reforms, it is also worthwhile to consider satisfaction with the super visa, which the federal government touted as “quick and easy way to reunite parents and grandparents with their loved ones” (CIC, 2015a). Bragg’s research on immigrants in Calgary points to dissatisfaction with the super visa as an alternative to PGP sponsorship. The author argues the super visa presents two major challenges for families: 1) it prevents families from making long term plans beyond the period of the visa, which although active for ten years, must be renewed every two years; and 2) the super visa is unaffordable, with its mandatory health insurance ranging from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per visit, plus application fees and back-and-forth airfares every two years. These costs lead some families to opt for the more affordable regular six-month visa, which does not have a mandatory requirement for health insurance (Bragg, 2014, pp. 9–10), but must be renewed every six months, leading to more

fragmented visits.

Interview results (Winnipeg)

Table 4 below shows elder parents' residence patterns and status in Canada. Elder parents in Groups 1 and 2 tended to use the temporary resident visa to maintain their status in Canada rather than the super visa.³⁶ The following sections discuss the implication of the PGP reforms for participants whose parents visit Canada and parental sponsorship was planned or being considered (Group 1). This is the group that has the most potential to be affected by the reforms to the PGP and are the only group using the super visa option

Table 4: Elder parents' current and future status in Canada (n=29)								
Elder parents' residence pattern	Elder parent	Status in Canada					Total	
		Citizen	PR*	Super visa	TRV**	None		
Group 1: Visits Canada, immigration planned or considered	Mother	-	-	2	5	4	11	38%
	Father	-	-	2	3	6		
Group 2: Visits Canada, no plans for immigration	Mother	-	-	-	7	3	10	34%
	Father	-	-	-	4	6		
Group 3: Unable to visit, no immigration	Mother	-	-	-	-	4	4	14%
	Father	-	-	-	-	4		
Group 4: Permanent resident status, but splits time between China and Canada***	Mother	1	3	-	-	-	4	14%
	Father	1	3	-	-	-		
* Permanent residence								
**Temporary residence visa, allows for multiple re-entry but must be renewed every six months.								
***Includes two cases where permanent status applications were submitted, but processing is not yet complete.								

7.1 Experience with the super visa (Group 1)

Most elder parents in this group visited Canada using a multi-entry visa. Only two participants used the super visa for their parents and these participants had mixed opinions about the option. One participant reported that the super visa was useful because it allowed them to extend their parents visa for one and a half years, rather than applying for multiple six month

³⁶ Although it appears that it was more common for elder mothers to visit Canada than elder fathers, this may be due to more elder fathers being deceased compared to elder mothers. Deceased parents were coded as "None".

extension under a regular multi-entry visa. But this participant also believed the required medical insurance was too expensive, costing more than \$4,000 for two seniors for a year of coverage.

The other participant who used the super visa explained that the health insurance equaled about \$10 per person, per day (1 year=\$3,650)³⁷. This participant believed the cost was reasonable, but noted they never actually used the coverage, which is for emergency medical issues only and not regular doctor visits³⁸. This participant liked the fact that they did not need to do the extra paperwork associated with renewing a regular multi-entry visa, but did not see the super visa as an alternative to permanent residence because the visa lacks the benefits that come with permanent residence, such as access to health care and free classes that teach English and help immigrants adjust to life in Canada.

Among the participants who used the regular multi-entry visa, some considered the super visa's required medical insurance to be too expensive, particularly because their parents would not be staying for two years at a time. For these participants, the multi-entry visa was a more suitable option. Notably, a few participants were misinformed or did not understand the difference between the super visa and the multi-entry visa. One participant believed the 10 year multi-entry visa was the same as the super visa and was not aware of the health insurance requirement, while another participant believed the super visa could only be used if the applicant already had a case number for a permanent residence application.

³⁷ Two key informants, whose parents' application for parental sponsorship is currently in process also indicated they did not use the super visa because of the cost of the medical insurance. Both participants opted to use a multi-entry visa instead.

³⁸ Since so few participants had experience with the super visa medical insurance, I wanted to double check the medical insurance costs the participants quoted. I did an online quote for travel health insurance that met the Government of Canada's minimum of \$100,000 coverage for 356 days for two 60 year old individuals travelling to Manitoba, with a \$100 deductible. The company quoted \$2,201 per individual, for a total of \$4,402, which works out to about \$6 per day for both parents. This would covered emergency medication conditions, including stable pre-existing medical conditions (as defined in the travel health insurance policy) hospitalization and repatriation.

7.2 Barriers to parental sponsorship (Group 1)

When calculating the Minimum Necessary Income (MNI) for parental sponsorship, applicants must take into account the number of family members for whom they are or will be financially responsible. As Table 5 below shows, if a family of four (mother, father, two children) wished to sponsor one set of grandparents (grandfather, grandmother), they would rank as a six person household and would need to have an MNI of \$69,950 in 2012, \$71,991 in 2013, and \$73,072 in 2014.³⁹ Families in Group 1 ranged in size from two to five people. For comparison sake, the average after tax household income in the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area for households with two or more persons was \$74,686 in the 2011 Census (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Table 5: Federal Income Table for Parents and Grandparents Sponsorship (2016 sponsorship year)			
Family size	Minimum Necessary Income		
	2014	2013	2012
2 persons	\$38,272	\$37,708	\$36,637
3 persons	\$47,051	\$46,354	\$45,040
4 persons	\$57,125	\$56,280	\$54,685
5 persons	\$64,791	\$63,833	\$62,023
6 persons	\$73,072	\$71,991	\$69,950
7 persons	\$81,355	\$80,153	\$77,879
More than 7 persons (for each additional person add)	\$8,271	\$8,148	\$7,929
Source: (IRCC, 2016b)			

The most notable challenge for this group was among participants who intended to sponsor both their parents and their in-laws. Some of these participants are dealing with this by planning to sponsor one set of elder parents and then, once they are financially able, sponsor the

³⁹ It is important to consider that these are the *minimum* necessary incomes and participants might desire to exceed the MNI to ensure they can maintain the lifestyle they are accustomed to while still sponsoring their parents. The research failed to account for this factor and did not ask participants how much more annual household income (if any) beyond the MNI they would desire to have before sponsoring their parents.

other set of elder parents.⁴⁰ The crux of the challenge is that the sponsorship period under the reformed PGP lasts 20 years, during which time the sponsored elder parents are counted as dependents and therefore still need to be accounted for when determining the MNI for the sponsorship of the second set of elder parents. Therefore, a family of six (mother, father, two children, sponsored grandma, sponsored grandpa) becomes of family of eight, which pushes the MNI to \$85,808 in 2012, \$88,301 in 2013, and \$89,626 in 2014. Any additional children born between the parental and in-law sponsorship applications would further increase the MNI family size while also decreasing income (due to maternity leave) over the three year period.

For other participants in this group, parental sponsorship was a longer term goal. These participants wanted to earn enough money so that they could sponsor their parents in the future, once they were more settled in their career paths. These participants were either still in graduate school, had just begun working or had recently opened a business, and did not have children yet.

In a few other cases the cost of sponsorship was not the primary concern. Notably, these participants were not planning to sponsor their in-laws because the in-laws did not want to immigrate or had already immigrated to Canada. In one case the participant planned to sponsor his parents in 2-3 years, indicating his parents are still relatively young (62 years old), healthy and were busy helping the participant's sibling's family back in China. In another case the participant wanted to sponsor his parents but his parents were still undecided on whether they wanted to immigrate to Canada because while they liked the environment, they missed their friends in China (these parents were described as being very social back in China) and missed the conveniences of their hometown, and had a limited social life while in Winnipeg because they could not to speak English. In this case the key informant was exasperated that his parents had

⁴⁰ In one case, the spouses decided to sponsor the wife's parents first because the wife is an only child while the husband has several siblings still in China. In another case, the spouses decided to sponsor the husband's family first because they are older and already retired, while the wife's parents are still working.

not yet decided whether they wanted to immigrate to Canada and was worried about spending the money to sponsor his parents only to have it go to waste if the parents did not want to stay in Canada.

8.0 Summary and conclusions

The following sections provide summary and concluding statements on the nature of familial obligations in mainland Chinese households in Winnipeg, the operation of Bourdieusian social capital within those households, and how changes to the PGP have affected the ability of these households to maintain familial obligations and access to social capital. Suggestions for future research approaches are also provided.

8.1 The nature of familial obligations

While filial piety is a commonly discussed term in the literature related to familial obligations in mainland China, the term also conveys ideas that did not fit with the sample of interviewees who participated in this research. Instead, I chose to use the phrase familial obligations as a more accurate, and less imposed term. The literature shows that familial obligations are fluid over time and are influenced by the prevailing socioeconomic conditions and historical circumstances. The literature suggests that the enormous scale of societal and economic transformation in the Peoples Republic of China over the past half century has produced different forms of familial obligations that are less hierarchical and duty-driven and more based on mutual affection and on the ability and desire to provide assistance between familial generations.

Taking co-residence as an indicator of familial obligations, I examined the extent and nature of multi-generational co-residence in the literature and through my interviews. Studies on

co-residence in mainland China suggest multi-generational co-residence is declining over time particularly among married elder parents who have their own income. This pattern was echoed in the interview findings. Few participants indicated they had co-resident grandparents in their childhood households, and for those who did, their grandparents had health conditions or were widowed. Rather, it was more common for participants' grandparents to live separately, but closely - "a bowl of soup distance" as one key informant put it. Despite not co-residing, most participants' grandparents provided substantial childcare in their childhood households. Both these trends are apparent in the current households of the Chinese immigrants who participated in this research. Most of the participants who are planning to sponsor (or have already sponsored) their parents have no plans for co-residence in the future but are instead planning on their parents living close by. For the few who planned to co-reside, their reasoning contained elements of duty, but also practicality and preference, further reflecting the fluid nature of familial obligations.

Many different structural factors have influenced participants' co-residence patterns. Based on my review of literature and interview results, I suggest that land distribution, collectivization, the prevalence of poverty in rural China following the Communist revolution, and displacement during the Cultural Revolution altered the co-residence patterns of participants' parents. Family structure and co-residence patterns were further nucleated through the one child policy, increased rural to urban migration, and a growing population of elders and housing conditions that enabled elders to live independently as China shifted towards a market-based economy. Finally, socioeconomic class was also a factor. Participants who came of age in the 1990s and 2000s were the products of parents who were business owners and professionals. To continue their position in the "professional class", these participants needed to succeed in a

highly competitive education system and labour market. This ultimately forced these individuals to seek education and labour opportunities overseas. All of these processes may have contributed to further changing the household structure and nature of familial obligations among these participants.

8.2 Relevance of Bourdieu's social capital

I approached this research with the supposition that familial obligations could be understood through the lens of Bourdieu's concept of social capital, where members of a group accumulate and withdrawal from reserves of favour amongst each other (knowingly and unknowingly). These reserves of favour (i.e. social capital) can be converted to financial and in-kind forms of assistance among the family group. I designed my research to find examples of these types of exchanges, and indeed I found many examples of financial and in-kind exchanges that could be a result of social capital and/or an act of creating social capital. However, my background research and research design proved insufficient.

Bourdieu's concept of social capital is relevant to understanding the operation of familial obligations within mainland Chinese households in China and among the participants I interviewed, but not in the way that I had originally envisioned. My initial supposition was that the end goal of adult Chinese parents would be – whether it was for the sake of tradition or mutual affection – to return a substantial amount of favours to their elder parents, particularly in the elder parents' senior years. However I have very little data on that stage of life because most of my participants' parents are still in their early senior years. I believe my original supposition also ignored that reciprocity within a family tends to be uneven, as well as delayed, between generations. Based on interviewees' descriptions of flows of assistance, I argue that rather than having a circle of roughly equal (although delayed) reciprocity between two generations,

Bourdieu's social capital in the context of the family obligations observed among the participants in this study is better understood as operating across three generations, with the youngest generation tending to receive the bulk of input from the older and oldest generations. The goal of the older generations' investment strategy is not to earn future favours⁴¹ – particularly if the older generation is still healthy and has an income/pension – but rather to increase the likelihood of success in the younger generations. This strategy makes particular sense for the current generation of mainland Chinese immigrants and their elder parents, who grew up as children or parents in an environment of extreme competition for high-quality education.

8.3 Impact of the PGP reforms

The PGP reforms were peddled by the federal government as being an economically responsible and morally justified action to take against foreign parents/grandparents who were believed to be “abusing Canada’s generosity”. Media, gray and academic literature reviewed for this project convincingly argue how parents and grandparents are a boon to society, not a burden. It is clear from the literature and from the interview results that elder immigrant parents have the potential to provide a significant amount of financial (tuition, mortgage down payment) and non-financial (childcare and domestic help) assistance to their adult immigrant children’s households, and thereby make important contributions to the Canadian economy, but in less direct and less obvious ways. As explained above in Section 8.2, elder parents have a large store of social capital and want to invest this in their adult immigrant children and grandchildren to ensure their success in Canada. The Government of Canada can better serve this population by ensuring its suite of immigration options enables this flow of social capital, while also ensuring young immigrant families can reciprocate to meet their elder parents’ needs as well.

⁴¹ Although those are surely appreciated.

Although my interview findings cannot be taken to be representative of the larger population, the variety of situations among my participants (Groups 1 through Groups 4) likely exists to some extent in other immigrant households. For some families, the temporary resident visa option is sufficient because the elder parents are not content with the idea of settling in Winnipeg or Canada for long periods of time, or the adult children and elder parents desire to have separate lives and living spaces, and that the adult children still have siblings back in China who can care for their elder parents as they age. Therefore, the reforms to the PGP program did not have a direct impact on these participants' ability to maintain their familial obligations.

But for others families, there is a desire for their parents to have a more permanent status in Canada, even if the elder parents might not actually permanently reside in Canada. This research shows the PGP reforms –specifically the three year MNI and the 20 year sponsorship period – are particularly difficult for growing Chinese immigrant families who desire to sponsor their parents and in-laws over a relatively short period of time. For these families, the super visa is not an attractive option because of the high cost and small benefit of the medical insurance requirements. As such, the reforms to the PGP have negatively impacted this group's ability to maintain their familial obligations and in doing so have altered their access to familial social capital.

8.4 Future approaches

The literature reviewed and interview results do not tell us the extent to which young immigrant families desire to maintain their parents' financial and non-financial assistance by means of parental sponsorship or through another more temporary options, such as a multi-entry visa or the super visa. A large scale survey of young immigrant families in Canada could be used to better understand the needs of these families and the factors influencing their choice of

using temporary or permanent residence visas for their parents. The results of such a study could help inform future improvements to the temporary visa options (particularly the super visa) and adjustments to the current PGP. This research can also be used to inform future approaches to quantitative studies of how Bourdieusian social capital operates within immigrant households in Canada.

Whether quantitative or qualitative, any future research into the operation of social capital within multi-generational immigrant households would benefit by having a strong grasp on how social capital operates within an extended family unit. As discussed in Section 6.4, the production and exchange of social capital are not equal between the generations and the flow of favours changes over time according to the needs of family members and family composition (i.e., existence of a third generation). Among the participants I interviewed, the larger goal of parental investment appeared to be the success of their offspring, while the younger generation seemed to invest considerably less in the older generation.

Given the temporariness of the elder generations' presence in Canada, it would also be advisable for any future quantitative and qualitative research to more fully utilize electronic, internet-based means of data collection. A web-based survey would be an ideal approach for a quantitative study, allowing participants (younger and elder) to respond at their convenience whether they are in Canada or China. For qualitative research, the use of apps such as WeChat – which allow users to video chat and text for free – would help ease the challenge of trying to organize interviews to coincide with the elder parents' time in Canada.

Finally, it would be important for future qualitative and quantitative studies of multi-generational immigrant families in Canada to consider using a multi-site approach, drawing participants from several communities across Canada, including major centres of immigration

(such as Vancouver and Toronto) as well as smaller, less popular immigrant destinations. A multi-site approach should be designed to consider the influence of location and place; for the younger generation this would consider why they chose to settle in particular community and for the older generation, this would consider how a particular community influenced their decision whether to immigrate to Canada or not. As discussed in Section 6.1.2, some participants described their elder parents as being bored while in Winnipeg, often staying inside, missing their friends back in China and desiring the convenience and independence they had back in China. It may be that these elder parents would have felt more comfortable living in more climatically moderate cities with more dense populations of Mandarin speakers. Arguably, younger Chinese might prefer the lower cost of living available in cities such as Winnipeg, compared to Vancouver or Toronto.

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Appendix A — Personal Information Form



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ID# _____

PERSONAL INFORMATION FORM

Social Capital, Filial Piety and Family-Class Immigration Reforms in Canada	
Principal Investigator Paul Turner umturn24@myumanitoba.ca	Research Supervisor Kathleen Buddle kathy.buddle@ad.umanitoba.ca
CONTACT INFORMATION	
Chinese name (family name, given name) <i>Please use pin yin</i>	
English name (if applicable)	I prefer to be called by my... <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese name <input type="checkbox"/> English name <input type="checkbox"/> No preference / not applicable
Home address	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Please mail me the results of the research
Home phone number:	
Cell number:	
Email address:	<input type="checkbox"/> Please email me the results of the research

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION	
Date of birth (yyyy/mm/dd)	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Highest level of education completed	
In China: <input type="checkbox"/> Early-middle year school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Post-secondary Field of study: _____	In Canada: <input type="checkbox"/> Early-middle year school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Post-secondary Field of study: _____
Current field of employment:	

PERSONAL HISTORY		
Hometown / province in China (pin yin)		How long did you live in your hometown? ____years
Have you lived anywhere else inside or outside China for a long period of time? (other than Canada)	Place 1:	How long did you live there? ____years
	Place 2:	How long did you live there? ____years
Date first came to live in Canada _____ (yyyy/mm/dd)		Purpose? <input type="checkbox"/> School <input type="checkbox"/> Work <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Date of permanent residence _____ (yyyy/mm/dd)		Did you become a Canadian citizen? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Please include the people who regularly live in your house, including relatives who regularly visit for long period of time (e.g., multiple weeks)

Spouse	Name		Hometown/province	Date of birth _____ (yyyy/mm/dd)	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
Your children	Name			Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Name			Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Name			Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
Other relative	Name		Hometown/province	Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Relation to you <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparent <input type="checkbox"/> In-law <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling		Status in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> TRV (single or multi-entry) <input type="checkbox"/> Super Visa <input type="checkbox"/> Permanent resident <input type="checkbox"/> Canadian citizen	Residence pattern <input type="checkbox"/> Resides permanently in this home <input type="checkbox"/> Visits and returns to China <input type="checkbox"/> Splits time between here and another residence in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Other relative	Name		Hometown/province	Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Relation to you <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparent <input type="checkbox"/> In-law <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling		Status in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> TRV (single or multi-entry) <input type="checkbox"/> Super Visa <input type="checkbox"/> Permanent resident <input type="checkbox"/> Canadian citizen	Residence pattern <input type="checkbox"/> Resides permanently in this home <input type="checkbox"/> Visits and returns to China <input type="checkbox"/> Splits time between here and another residence in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Other relative	Name		Hometown/province	Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Relation to you <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparent <input type="checkbox"/> In-law <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling		Status in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> TRV (single or multi-entry) <input type="checkbox"/> Super Visa <input type="checkbox"/> Permanent resident <input type="checkbox"/> Canadian citizen	Residence pattern <input type="checkbox"/> Resides permanently in this home <input type="checkbox"/> Visits and returns to China <input type="checkbox"/> Splits time between here and another residence in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Other relative	Name		Hometown/province	Date of birth _____	Gender <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F
	Relation to you <input type="checkbox"/> Parent <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparent <input type="checkbox"/> In-law <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling		Status in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> TRV (single or multi-entry) <input type="checkbox"/> Super Visa <input type="checkbox"/> Permanent resident <input type="checkbox"/> Canadian citizen	Residence pattern <input type="checkbox"/> Resides permanently in this home <input type="checkbox"/> Visits and returns to China <input type="checkbox"/> Splits time between here and another residence in Canada <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	

Appendix B — Semi-structured interview guide

Interview Guide for Adult Children			
Life stages	Roles and responsibilities (focus on material and non-material contributions to household)	Concepts of filial piety / influencing factors behind changes (based on literature review) (aligned approximate to life stage)	Questions will not necessarily be asked in this direct fashion, but the interview will be looking for answers to these kinds of questions
Childhood in China	[Begin here – 30 mins] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father contributions to household • Mother contributions to household • Grandparents and other relatives contributions to household? Co-resident? • Children's role in the household 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents instilling benevolence, compassion, goodness, charity in children⁴² • Children paying due respect to parents Authoritarian Filial Behavior: children must respect parents, obey parent's opinion⁴³ • Children make parents happy, please them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you were young, who lived in your household? Did this ever change? Why? • What were some of the ways your father contributed to your household when you were young? How about your mother? Grandparents? Other relatives? • Do you recall how your parents, grandparents, other relatives helped each other? Examples? • What kinds of things did your family do together? • Did you have any chores or other responsibilities you needed to do? • Who was the 'boss' in your household? In what ways? • In what ways did family members show appreciation/affection for each other, or enjoy time with each other? -
Adulthood in China	[15 mins] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in roles, responsibilities to household as an adult – particularly in relation to competing responsibilities in school life, work life, social life • Co-resident? • [Probe] Forms of assistance to parents • [Probe] Forms of assistance from parents to adult child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children paying due respect to parents Authoritarian Filial Behavior: children must respect, obey parent's opinion • Children make parents happy, please them • Economic development prompting youth to seek independent living, migration for opportunities – shift away from absolute obedience towards expressions of reciprocity, gratitude, affection⁴⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a young adult in China, how did your role in the household change? Did your parents/grandparents' roles change? • As a young adult, how did your relationship change with your parents/grandparents? • Did you continue to live at home? What were your 'responsibilities' as a young adult? • Did you work? How did you use the money you earned? • How did you afford school? Rent? Food? Transportation? • What kinds of things did your family do together? • How much time did you spend with your family vs. your friends? What did you do while spending time with friends?
Adulthood in Canada	Without parents [30 mins] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in roles, responsibilities to family as an adult after leaving China – particularly in relation to competing responsibilities in school life, work life, social life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children paying due respect to parents Authoritarian Filial Behavior: children must obey parent's opinion • Assist financially • Children make parents happy, please them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the main reasons you wanted to come to Canada? How did you afford school? Rent? Food? Transportation? • What were your main responsibilities once you came to Canada? At home? In school? After finishing school? After married? After children? • How did you maintain contact with your parents while in Canada?

⁴² Ihara, Emily S., Catherine J. Tompkins, and Hisako Sonethavilay. "Culture and Familism: An Exploratory Case Study of a Grandparent-Headed Household." *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* 10, no. 1 (January 2012): 34–47. doi:10.1080/15350770.2012.645737.

⁴³ Liu, B.-S., Li, C.-Y., Yeh, K.-H., & Huang, H.-C. (2011). Differences in Filial Behavior in Multigeneration Families That Live Together: *Journal of Nursing Research*, 19(1), 25–34. <http://doi.org/10.1097/JNR.0b013e31820b0f3c>

⁴⁴ Wang, Jinfeng, Tianyong Chen, and Buxin Han. "Does Co-Residence with Adult Children Associate with Better Psychological Well-Being among the Oldest Old in China?" *Aging & Mental Health* 18, no. 2 (February 17, 2014): 232–39. doi:10.1080/13607863.2013.837143; Chen, Edith Wen-Chu, and Grace J. Yoo, eds. "Volume II, Section 11, Youth, Family and the Aged." In *Encyclopedia of Asian American Issues Today*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood Press, 2010; Ikels, Charlotte. "Introduction." In *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2004.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Probe] Forms of assistance to parents • [Probe] Forms of assistance from parents to adult child in Canada 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retain contact with parents 	<p>How often? What were some of the ways this changed your relationship with parents?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did you get married in Canada or China? Size of ceremony? Gifts? Who paid?
	<p>With parents in Canada [45 mins]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-resident? Plans for future? • Young father contributions to household • Young mother contributions to household • Elderly parents contributions to household? • [Probe] Types of assistance adult children providing to elderly parents (transportation, community integration, financial assistance) • [Probe] Types of assistance elderly parents providing to adult children (childcare, household chores, financial assistance, Disciplining) • Children's role in the household 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents instilling benevolence, compassion, goodness, charity in children • Elderly parents co-resident with adult children⁴⁵ • Elderly parents provide substantial care for grandchildren⁴⁶ • Demographic crisis from one-child policy – state institutes law for family to care for elderly parents⁴⁷ <p>Filial obligations of adult children towards elderly parents⁴⁸</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Look after / caring for elders - Assistance with basic activities of daily living (ADL) – bathing, dressing, toilet, feeding, moving around house Assistance with instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) – shopping, meal prep, housework, transportation, financial assistance⁴⁹ • Adult children assist financially • Respect elder parents • Make elder parents happy, please them • Retain contact with elder parents • Emotional support⁵⁰ • Companionship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did your parents come to Canada? Who was involved in this decision? How did this change how things are done around the home? • What proportion of your time per day is spent doing the following: cooking, cleaning, childcare, relaxing/entertainment? • Who is mostly responsible for generating income for the family? How are big decisions made in the household, like a major purchase, travel, changing jobs, etc. • Who is typically responsible for shopping? Paying bills? Driving? • Who is responsible for teaching the children about China? (language, history, stories/myth, religion/philosophy, health) Who is responsible for teaching children household rules/discipline? . • Can you tell me about Confucian/Mencius? What did they say about obligations about family? How did you learn about this? How does this apply to your life now? • What do you do for fun? What kinds of things does your family do together? What kinds of things do your parents do for fun? Who spends the most time together? Least time together? How much time do you spend with your parents compared to your other family members, or your friends? What do you typically do with your parents? What do you typically do while spending time with friends?

⁴⁵ Nagata, Cheng, and Tsai-Chae, “Chinese American Grandmothering,” 152.

⁴⁶ Ihara, Tompkins, and Sonethavilay, “Culture and Familism,” 36.

⁴⁷ Whyte, M.K. “Chapter 6: Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization.” In *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia*, 107–27. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2004

⁴⁸ Liu, J. H., Ng, S. H., Weatherall, A., & Loong, C. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation, and intergenerational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22(3), 213–223; Dong, X., Zhang, M., & Simon, M. A. (2014). The Expectation and Perceived Receipt of Filial Piety Among Chinese Older Adults in the Greater Chicago Area. *Journal of Aging and Health*, 26(7), 1225–1247. doi:10.1177/0898264314541697

⁴⁹ Chappell, N. L., & Funk, L. (2011). Filial Caregivers; Diasporic Chinese Compared with Homeland and Hostland Caregivers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 26(4), 315–329. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10823-011-9154-x>

⁵⁰ Chappell, N. L., & Funk, L. (2011). *Filial Caregivers; Diasporic Chinese Compared with Homeland and Hostland Caregivers. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 26(4), 315–329. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10823-011-9154-x>

Interview Guide for Parents of Adult Children

Life stages	Roles and responsibilities (focus on material and non-material contributions to household)	Concepts of filial piety / influencing factors (based on literature review) (aligned approximate to life stage)	Questions will not necessarily be asked in this direct fashion, but the interview will be looking for answers to these kinds of questions
Adulthood in China	<p>[Begin here, as adults with children – 45 mins]</p> <p>As parents of young children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father contributions to household • Mother contributions to household • Grandparents and other relatives contributions to household? • Co-resident?; Children's role in the household <p>As parents of adult children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in roles, responsibilities to adult child <u>before and after leaving China</u> - particularly in relation to competing responsibilities in school life, work life, social life • Co-resident? [Probe] Types of assistance from adult child to elder parent (financial) • [Probe] Types of assistance from elder parents to adult child in Canada (financial, bride price, wedding gifts) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents instilling benevolence, compassion, goodness, charity in children • Children make parents happy, please them • Children retain contact with parents • Children assist financially • Economic development prompting youth to seek independent living, migration for opportunities – shift away from absolute obedience towards expressions of reciprocity, gratitude, affection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thinking back to when you were young adults with little children in China, who lived in your household? Who made the decision for parents to live with you? • Who was mostly responsible for cooking, cleaning, childcare? Who was responsible for generating income for the family? How were big decisions made in the household, like a major purchase, travel, etc. • Who was typically responsible for shopping? Paying bills? Driving? • Who was responsible for teaching the children about China? (language, history, stories/myth, religion/philosophy, health) Who is responsible for teaching children household rules/discipline? . • Can you tell me about Confucian/Mencius? What did they say about obligations about family? How did you learn about this? How does this apply to your life now? • What kinds of things does your family do together? What kinds of things did your parents do for fun? • What are some of the challenges of living in a multi-generational household?

Adulthood in Canada	<p>[Adult's parents in Canada – 60 mins]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in roles, responsibilities in adult child's household - particularly in relation to child care, work around the house, • [Probe] Types of assistance adult children providing to elderly parents (transportation, community integration, financial assistance) • [Probe] Types of assistance elderly parents providing to adult children (childcare, household chores, financial assistance, discipline?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elderly parents provide substantial care for grandchildren⁵¹ • Demographic crisis from one-child policy – state institutes law for family to care for elderly parents • Economic development prompting youth to seek independent living, migration for opportunities – shift away from absolute obedience towards expressions of reciprocity, gratitude, affection⁵² • Co-residence with married adult children⁵³ • Tendency among elder parents to desire to live apart from children – high income, conflict, avail. subsidies, social security⁵⁴ <p>Filial obligations of adult children towards elderly parents⁵⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Look after / caring for elders - Assistance with basic activities of daily living (ADL) – bathing, dressing, toilet, feeding, moving around house Assistance with instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) – shopping, meal prep, housework, transportation, financial assistance⁵⁵ • Adult children assist financially • Respect elder parents • Make elder parents happy, please them • Retain contact with elder parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When did you come to Canada? Who was involved in this decision? How did this change how things are done around the home? • What proportion of your time per day is spent doing the following: cooking, cleaning, childcare, relaxing/entertainment? • Who is mostly responsible for generating income for the family? How are big decisions made in the household, like a major purchase, travel, changing jobs, etc. • Who is typically responsible for shopping? Paying bills? Driving? • Who is responsible for teaching the children about China? (language, history, stories/myth, religion/philosophy, health) Who is responsible for teaching children household rules/discipline? . • Can you tell me about Confucian/Mencius? What did they say about obligations about family? How did you learn about this? How does this apply to your life now? • What do you do for fun? What kinds of things does your family do together? What kinds of things do your children do for fun? Who spends the most time together? Least time together? • What are some of the challenges you've faced living in Canada? Is it difficult to meet other people outside your home? Difficult to travel? • What are some of the challenges of living in a multi-generational household?
Childhood in China	<p>[To be discussed last, to ensure time for other life stages – 15 min]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father contributions to household • Mother contributions to household • Grandparents and other relatives contributions to household? Co-resident? • Children's role in the household 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children paying due respect to parents. Authoritarian Filial Behavior: children must respect parents, obey parent's opinion • Children make parents happy, please them • Specific to elder parents: post-revolution, non-traditional elements promote aspects of filial piety in communist China (e.g., dingti system keeping adults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you were a child, who lived in your household? Did this ever change? Why? • What were some of the ways your father contributed to your household when you were young? How about your mother? Grandparents? Other relatives? • Do you recall how your parents, grandparents, other relatives helped each other? Examples?

⁵¹ Ihara, Tompkins, and Sonethavilay, "Culture and Familism," 36.

⁵² Zhang, Zhenmei, Danan Gu, and Ye Luo. "Coresidence With Elderly Parents in Contemporary China: The Role of Filial Piety, Reciprocity, Socioeconomic Resources, and Parental Needs." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 29, no. 3 (September 2014): 259–76. doi:10.1007/s10823-014-9239-4.

⁵³ Wang, Jinfeng, Tianyong Chen, and Buxin Han. "Does Co-Residence with Adult Children Associate with Better Psychological Well-Being among the Oldest Old in China?" *Aging & Mental Health* 18, no. 2 (February 17, 2014): 232–39. doi:10.1080/13607863.2013.837143; Yi, Zeng, and Zhenglian Wang. "Dynamics of Family and Elderly Living Arrangements in China: New Lessons Learned from the 2000 Census." *China Review*, 2003, 95–119.; Chappell, Neena L., and Karen Kusch. "The Gendered Nature of Filial Piety — A Study among Chinese Canadians." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 22, no. 1 (February 22, 2007): 29–45. doi:10.1007/s10823-006-9011-5.

⁵⁴ Liu, J. H., Ng, S. H., Weatherall, A., & Loong, C. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation, and intergenerational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22(3), 213–223; Dong, X., Zhang, M., & Simon, M. A. (2014). The Expectation and Perceived Receipt of Filial Piety Among Chinese Older Adults in the Greater Chicago Area. *Journal of Aging and Health*, 26(7), 1225–1247. doi:10.1177/0898264314541697

⁵⁵ Chappell, N. L., & Funk, L. (2011). Filial Caregivers; Diasporic Chinese Compared with Homeland and Hostland Caregivers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 26(4), 315–329. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10823-011-9154-x>

		children close to home; shortage of urban housing, inadequate public services force reliance on family networks) ⁵⁶	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kinds of things did your family do together? • Did you have any chores or other responsibilities you needed to do? • Who was the 'boss' in your household? In what ways? • In what ways did family members show appreciation/affection for each other, or enjoy time with each other? -
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⁵⁶ Whyte, M.K. "Chapter 6: Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization." In *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia*, 107–27. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Appendix C — Recruitment material

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本研究是学习中国移民家庭特征、关系及加拿大家庭多元制度的体验。做为研究对象，我们征求在过去10年内移民加拿大的中国成年者，研究参与者必须是在温尼伯有家庭 或者有准备建立家庭的打算。

为感谢您为本研究付出的时间，每位参加者完成采访后我们将赠送\$10食品商店的礼券。

或者邮件 umturn24@myumanitoba.ca

如您研究有任何关切請聯繫人類道德辦調者: 電話號碼 204-474-7122, 郵件 margaret.bowman@umanitoba.ca

[illegible]

Manitoba China Times, January 2016

緬省社區消息

http://www.mbchinatimes.ca/Community_News.php



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溫尼泊社團消息
Community News

中華學院
ICLCA

January 2016

緬省中華時報 Manitoba China Times

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《緬省中華學院消息》

緬省中華學院設有粵語及普通話(國語)課程的中文學校。

報名電話: 204-697-2982 謝校長
校舍: Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Institute
(720 Alverstone Street)

聖誕及新年假期後, 語文及數學班於1月9日照常上課。
學校活動:

- ◆ 學校中期總測驗 (K-6 年級) 或考試 (7-12 年級) 將於1月16日進行, 請家長協助及鼓勵學生溫習。如有任何疑問, 請與老師聯絡。
- ◆ 中華學院第39屆會員大會及新春聯歡會將於2月6日(星期日)體育室舉行。新春聯歡午餐亦隨即在學校飯堂舉行。午餐中, 除了豐富美味的食物外, 還有多份抽獎禮品, 歡迎各位家長及親友報名參加。午餐參加表格刊登在1月份的學校通告內, 請家長填妥後連同費用交回校方。
- ◆ 親接受辦理下學期(由2月份開始)插班生手續: 凡年滿四歲或以上有興趣學習中文及太極人士, 歡迎到本校 720 Alverstone Street, Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Institute 二樓註冊及上課。

查詢電話 204 697-2982 或學校電話 204 229-1230 謝校長或電郵 school@iclc.ca

中華學院祝各位新年快樂!

佛教慈濟基金會加拿大分會二〇一五年歲末祝福—邀請函

親愛的朋友:

料峭的寒冬擋不住春天的腳步, 「歲末祝福」這一全球慈濟人辭舊迎新的年度盛事也誠摯歡迎您的蒞臨。

「歲末祝福」是慈濟會員與社區志工善緣共聚的日子。溫尼泊慈濟舉辦的二零一五年歲末祝福將呈現志工大匯集、點心燈、祈禱等節目, 感恩回饋社區為工和贊助人一年來對慈濟志業的護持。

溫尼泊慈濟人誠邀您與家攜手赴會, 共同領受聖誕老人的智慧與祝福——福慧紅包以及祝福卡等諸緣品, 一起浸潤在慈濟大家庭的溫馨里!

敬 頌

福中永睦

慈中遙禱

慈濟加拿大分會溫尼泊慈濟人 敬邀

活動日期: 2016年1月24日(星期日)

入場: 1:30pm - 2:00pm

節目: 2:00pm - 4:30pm

地點: St Anne 幼兒園

425 St Anne's Road Winnipeg R2M 3C7

查詢電話: 204-229-1230

《溫城中華文化中心一月份消息》文化中心供稿

- 文化中心將於2月舉辦兩次中國春節慶祝活動, 免費入場, 歡迎大家前來參與活動。
- 2月6日下午1點至3點在文化中心多功能廳舉行 南橋彩韻目表演, 免費茶點招待。
- 2月13日下午1點至4點在 Forks Market 舉行, 有歌舞、功夫等表演。
- 溫城文化中心將於1月31日在金冠酒樓舉辦 2016 年新春晚宴, 加拿大郵政局將在現場售賣中國猴年紀念郵票, 中國城的城旗也將在晚宴上揭幕。同時, 還將在晚宴上頒發社區服務獎, 票價為每人\$50 或每桌\$600(12人)。有意者可到文化中心購買。地址: 2nd Floor, 180 King St. 聯繫電話: (204)943-2627。
- 文化中心將於2016年1月4日起正常開放。
- 溫城文化中心現在設立了公眾服務台。大家可以關注中心的公眾號, 在第一時間獲取文化中心的最新活動消息。搜索公眾號: WCCCC_Chinatown 即可關注。或者掃描旁邊的二維碼即可關注。
- 關氏書院現在文化中心開設繪畫課程, 調派老師來自中國, 在加拿大教書達有20年經驗。現面向各年齡階段, 每週日下午1:00到5:30, 小班制/個別指導, 每次25元, 10次為一課程, 6月1日開課。
- 中國和水彩畫班: 1:00 - 2:30pm
- 油彩及丙烯畫班: 2:30 - 4:00pm
- 基礎素描繪畫班: 4:00 - 5:30pm
- 在網頁上也可以註冊課程: <http://www.kwangstudio.com/>
- 本中心4月1日開始更新 2015-2016 年度會員, 會員將為其將有者提供以下待遇: 1) 免費借閱本中心的圖書; 2) 免費或優惠參加中心的各種活動; 3) 優惠使用場地; 4) 優惠參加中心的興趣班。

收費標準如下:

家庭會員 \$30/年 普通會員 \$20/年
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老年會員 (55歲以上) \$15/年 永久會員 \$200/年

- 紅樓鄉武術運動協會的師傅 Josh Schafer 於週二和週四晚六至九時和週六下午一至四時在文化中心開辦教授七星螳螂拳。師生曾取得國際武術錦標賽的多個獎項。有意報名者請與文化中心聯繫或於上課時間到中心找 Josh Schafer 師傅詳談。
- 中心蔡佛功太極, 星期日 1:00-2:30 進行訓練。教練為前清美師傅, 他有二十年功太極經驗, 有合氣道、陳家太極、柔術黑帶及蔡手擒拿經驗。有意訓練者, 請親臨查詢。
- 溫尼泊華埠慶祝成立一百周年「輝煌歲月 輝煌華章」的圖書在去年11月正式發售。這本近三百頁的中英文圖書, 包括了很多珍貴的照片向大家展示了華埠一百年的發展歷史, 具有很高的收藏價值。圖書售價\$25元, 有意者到文化中心購買。
- 文化中心繼續對老年人義務服務的活動, 內容包括幫助老年人信信、及解決相關事宜。我們將該項服務擴大到對所有需要英文幫助的朋友。時間定在每週六下午一點到三點。地點在文化中心圖書部。歡迎有需要的朋友前來尋求幫助。

電話: 204-943-2627; 傳真: 204-944-8308;

郵箱: wcccc@mts.net; 官網: www.wcccc.ca

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Department of Anthropology

400 Palliser Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R6T 5T6
Tel: (204) 475-4000 Fax: (204) 475-7000
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誠求參加者- 研究在溫尼泊中國家庭

本研究室學習中國移民家庭的特點。通過訪問溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。進行研究調查。他們目前正尋求10年內移居溫尼泊的中國移民。研究參加者必須在溫尼泊有家庭, 或者在溫尼泊有家庭。

作為本研究的參與者, 他們會與溫尼泊中國家庭研究中國移民的特點。以及溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。和溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。

參加者將會參加1-2次的訪問。訪問時間大約為2個小時。作為感謝, 為本研究室提供訪問。每個參加者將會得到溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。如果他們了解溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。或者他們了解溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。請與溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。聯繫。聯繫方式: 溫尼泊中國家庭的特點。

Manitoba Chinese Tribune, February-March, 2016, p.69



Department of Anthropology

征求参加者- 研究在温尼伯中国家庭

本研究是学习中国移民家庭的特征, 关系, 及对加拿大家族移民制度的体验。做为研究对象, 我们征求在过去10年内移民加拿大的中国成年者, 研究参加者必须是在温尼伯有家庭, 或者有准备建立家庭的打算。

作为本研究的参加者, 我们会采访有关您和您家庭在中国和加拿大的经历, 以及您移民加拿大的体验, 和在加拿大的工作/学习/社交和家庭生活体验。参加者将会接受1-2次的采访。采访时间大致为1-2个小时。为感谢您为本研究付出的时间, 每位参加者完成采访后我们将赠送\$10食品商店的礼券。

如果您想了解更多的信息, 或者想志愿参加研究, 请联系曼尼托巴大学人类学系的Paul Turner。

联系方式 
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查经祷告会 · 周三7:30pm
乐龄团契 · 每月第四周六2:00pm
彩虹小组 · 第一、第三周五7:30pm
阳光小组 · 第二、第四周五7:30pm
英语学习班 · 周一、三、四 7:00pm-9:00pm



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Winnipeg Chinese Post, June 2016, p.35

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征求参加者- 研究在温尼伯中国家庭

本研究是学习中国移民家庭的特征、关系,及对加拿大家族移民制度的体验。做为研究对象,我们征求在过去10年内移民加拿大的中国成年者,研究参加者必须是在温尼伯有家庭,或者有准备建立家庭的打算。

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