Contemporary Chinese Diasporas

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Editor

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For my mom and dad with love and gratitude from the diaspora

Foreword

It is now widely acknowledged that the history of Chinese migrations changed significantly after World War II following the end of the age of global empires. Thereafter, migrations everywhere faced the rise of new nation-states. Where the Chinese were concerned, this change highlighted the fact that the migrations up to that time were largely to colonies of one kind or another. For most Chinese living overseas, some of them descendants of men who left China two or more centuries earlier, the next few decades were a time of major readjustments.

The most important challenges arose from two shifts in modern history. The first was the victory of the Chinese Communist Party that led China to cut off relations with the global capitalist economy. The second was the post-imperial conditions, including the Cold War, that spurred a many-faceted process of nation-building that engaged the attention of more than 100 totally new sovereign states. Both impacted greatly on the nature of migration for every country in the world.

This volume contributes richly to the sociology of migrations and captures the variety in the Chinese diasporic experience following those post-war shifts. In particular, it focuses on the period of rapid development in mainland China after the economic reforms of 1978, and provides absorbing details about the new migrants from the country, the *xin yimin* (新移民) who have reached out in every direction to five continents.

Through close examination of the various groups of Chinese in selected countries, the chapters draw special attention to the changes that are related to the rise of China. They show that what is happening has similar features

to what we know about earlier Chinese migrants and can also be compared to the experiences of other migrant peoples. However, of particular interest are the depictions of the many new kinds of migrant who are significantly different from those who left their homes in the past. Reading the chapters helps us not only to understand what motivates *xin yimin* to emigrate but also throws light on what is happening in Chinese society as the country undergoes deep social and economic changes.

For many students of China it is remarkable that so many Chinese are seeking to emigrate from a country that is now recognized as the world's second largest economy and expected to be the world's largest in the not too distant future. Those who are engaged in thinking about the economic and political implications of that transformation will be fascinated by what these new migrant Chinese populations are doing today. There will understandably be concerns as to how their activities in the host countries will impact on the lives of the local people. There is also an interest in how the growing presence of Chinese migrants will affect the relationships between China and the nation-states. In particular, as we see how anti-immigration politics is evolving in the developed countries, we can expect that development to influence those people who are ultrasensitive to issues of national sovereignty.

I commend this book to all those who are interested in the trajectories of Chinese social and cultural change. For myself, as I was reading the chapters covering all parts of the world, I was reminded of what I wrote some 30 years ago in *Pacific Affairs* (Spring 1985). There I suggested that the China that opened itself up to the global economy will have a new policy area, one that I called "External China" (*waihua zhengce* 外华政策). Since then, those responsible for dealing with the Chinese overseas have indeed had to make many major adjustments in policy as they responded to China's growing involvement in all aspects of the global economy and its increasing clout in international affairs.

It is clear that, in the end, much will depend on how host countries recalculate their policies of letting the Chinese in to work and allowing them to settle. In the established areas of Chinese settlement, it was not surprising how quickly those back home in South China took up offers to reunite with their families overseas, but the speed at which mainland Chinese from other parts of China also sought emigration after the end of the Cold War was astonishing.

As late as 1994, when I was at the University of Hong Kong, I did not expect emigration from the mainland to grow so quickly. Instead, what impressed me was the numbers of Hong Kong people still seeking to leave. In my foreword to R. Skeldon's edited volume of essays, *Reluctant Exiles?*,

I welcomed the opportunity to track the migration trails of those Hong Kong families in detail. Never before have we been able to follow them so closely, from the decision to leave to the time of entry (to Canada, Australasia and the UK), and then through the early years of adjustment and settlement. I did not expect that, within a few years of that, large numbers of mainland Chinese emigrating would become the norm.

It was not until the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas met in Taipei in 2001 that it became clear that a new era was before us. I spoke about new migrants and asked: "How new? Why new?" All of us at the conference saw how the term *xin yimin* was being used to describe the new phenomenon. Unclear was how that term would relate to older ones such as *huaqiao* (华侨) or *huaqiaohuaren* (华侨华人) in the minds of policy-making officials in Beijing and elsewhere, what the label meant to those now living and working abroad and, in particular, whether the new usage would affect those who saw themselves as foreign nationals of Chinese descent. It has been for me a source of wonderment to read reports about the different ways in which these terms have since been used to describe Chinese migrations in various settings.

I regret I was unable to attend the conference at the Chinese Heritage Centre in December 2015 that produced this admirable volume. A few weeks before that, at another meeting, I spoke about the new mix of expectations that has evolved in recent years among all those involved in the sending and receiving of Chinese migrants; what different groups of Chinese emigrants now expect from their host countries; what the earlier migrants expect of these newcomers; what the current generation of policy-makers and populations in the host countries expect of their new Chinese; how expectations among their family members back home have changed; and, given the twists and turns in China's policies over the centuries, what the governments of mainland China and Taiwan now expect of the millions of *huaqiao*, *huaren* and *xin yimin*, most of whom are now citizens of more than 100 different nation-states.

Finally, I fully understand how the word "diaspora" is used in sociology research. Years ago, I was on record as saying that I have reservations about the word being used to describe the Chinese because of the possible repercussions of having a single word to describe complex realities. The chapters here about old and new Chinese migrants in many countries confirm that when Chinese authorities add *xin yimin* to their conflated use of the composite term *huaqiaohuaren* (mainly for earlier migrant Chinese), this leads them to what I had feared. When a single inclusive

word is officially used for all the Chinese living or settled outside Chinese lands, as the word *huaqiao* once did, there will once again be a blurring of the differences between the variety of the Chinese who reside or settle in foreign nation-states.

This points to one notable feature of this excellent collection. Professor Min Zhou and her colleagues have unpicked the word "diaspora" used for the Chinese who have migrated and described the great variety of life and activity that may be found in each locality and the potential for future changes. I am also delighted to see that there are now more answers to some of the questions I have asked over the years. By juxtaposing a few countries to represent each of the five continents, these chapters give us an illuminating bird's-eye view of what is happening around the world. The volume makes an important contribution not only to the study of the many kinds of Chinese migrants but also to migration studies in general.

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25 February 2017

Preface

Diasporas refer to extraterritorial populations, including temporary, permanent or circular migrants, as well as their native-born descendants.[1] They are constantly in flux. Differences in emigration histories and migrant reception in host societies lead to variations in diasporic formation. The Chinese diaspora is arguably one of the largest and oldest in the world. History has witnessed various streams of emigration from China to the outside world since ancient times and from Chinese diasporic communities to other countries since World War II.[2] Between 1949 when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded and 1978 when the PRC government launched its economic reform, emigration from China was reduced to a trickle. After a hiatus of several decade, China has experienced a new surge of emigration, which has been perpetuated by the country's economic transformation and relaxed control over emigration, revived diasporic networks, immigration-policy reform in migrant-receiving countries, and global geopolitical and economic restructuring. Since 1978 the total number of emigrants from mainland China has passed 8 million, with little sign of slowing down.[3]

Post-1978 Chinese migrants, commonly referred to as new Chinese migrants or *xin yimin*, are now spreading to every corner of the globe and developing diasporic communities wherever they set foot. The goals, forms, organizational structures and power dynamics of these new diasporas and their impact on individual migrants, social groups, and sending and receiving societies are vastly different from those of the past. This book is about the new Chinese migrants and their communities.

Background

Between 1949 and 1978, when China was cut off from the outside world, migration to and from the country was strictly prohibited by the state. Border crossing without papers became a crime, and overseas connections were condemned as espionage and treason subject to punishment in labor camp or jail. The three-decade Chinese emigration hiatus and nation-state building in Asia and around the world after World War II transformed diasporic communities oriented toward the ancestral homeland—China—into ethnonational communities oriented toward integration into the countries of residence. People of Chinese descent have taken up citizenship and struck roots in the land of sojourning they now call home.[4]

Since China opened its door in 1979, massive waves of Chinese emigration have surged onto the shores of all continents of the globe, giving rise to new Chinese diasporas in both traditional and contemporary migrant-receiving countries. Several macrostructural factors in China had profound impacts on emigration. First, the open door and economic reforms fueled enormous foreign investments in China, more than three-quarters of which came from the Chinese diaspora in the 1980s, thereby helping restore transnational family ties and rebuild migration networks.[5] Second, China has removed barriers to emigration, easing requirements to obtain passports and allowing Chinese citizens with overseas sponsors to emigrate. Third, China has sponsored hundreds of thousands of scholars and students on academic exchanges or studying abroad, while allowing many more to study abroad with private funding, first from their overseas relatives and, since 1990, from their newly enriched families in China. Fourth, as China becomes integrated into the world economy, especially since gaining entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001, both state and private capital investments overseas have become increasingly visible. These broader structural factors, interacting with changing immigrant policies and globalized economic development in receiving countries, have ushered in a new era of massive Chinese immigration that shows little sign of slowing down.

One of the most direct, though unintended, consequences of China's economic reforms is the self-perpetuating wave of network-driven human mobility. This wave is tremendously diverse in nature and composition, ranging from massive internal migration to international labor migration (both low and highly skilled), investor migration, student migration, and undocumented or clandestine migration. Contemporary Chinese immigrants are vastly heterogeneous with regard not only to their places of origin and

destination, socioeconomic backgrounds, and mobility and integration patterns and outcomes, but also to their patterns of diasporic formation, development and transnationalism. These extremely diverse migration streams link the local, regional and national economies, social networks and polities together more deeply and extensively than ever before and produce a more entrenched infrastructure for interpersonal, interorganizational and interstate interactions.

This book was born out of an international symposium on the formation and development of new Chinese diasporas. Funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange and the School of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Centre for Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at Nanyang Technological University (NTU), an International Symposium on the Formation and Development of New Chinese Diasporas: A Transnational, Cross-regional, and Interdisciplinary Comparative Study convened in December 2015 at NTU's Chinese Heritage Centre. It aimed to stimulate innovative, thought-provoking and ground-breaking research on new Chinese diasporas from a transnational, cross-regional and interdisciplinary perspective. The symposium had two objectives. One was to advance scientific knowledge about the causes and consequences of contemporary migrations that are less known to social scientists, technologists, policy-makers and civil-society practitioners. The other was to advance an alternative theoretical paradigm that is based on the experiences of the global south (developing or underdeveloped countries) and that addresses and challenges established theories derived from the worldview and experiences of the global north (developed countries). Distinguished scholars from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, as well as from Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic (Czechia), Germany, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, the UK, and the USA gathered together to share their seminal work on contemporary Chinese migrations. These scholars emphasized the importance of local, national and transnational contexts of migrations to and from mainland China, the history and timing of migration, individuals' premigration lived experiences and the perspectives so formed, and the contexts of reception in host societies when analyzing diverse patterns of diasporic formation and development, and varied outcomes of immigrant integration and local social transformations.

Theoretical and Practical Significances

Regarding Chinese immigration, we have long known much more about the history of migration and patterns of diasporic formation and migrant settlement in the context of a poor, backward homeland than in that of a highly globalized and economically powerful homeland, much more about migration as an end than as a means to an end, and about immigrants' struggles and marginalization than about their triumphs and contributions. The symposium will not only stimulate cutting-edge research from diverse lived experiences of new Chinese immigrants in different parts of world but also brainstorm ideas for new knowledge production.

In migration studies, classical theories and models have shed light on why and how people move, how well migrants fare in and integrate into their host countries, how they interact with one another and with natives to negotiate harmonious living in the host societies, and what implications global processes have for local transformations. However, these theories and models were extracted primarily from the decades before or immediately after World War II. Gaps in existing knowledge have become even more visible in migrations in the age of rapid globalization and of internet and mobile communication. These gaps widen further as existing theories and models are established from the perspective of the USA, Europe or the global north, often reflecting an out-of-date world order and very different levels of technological and economic development.

China and many new countries now receiving Chinese immigrants are part of the global south. A systematic study of new Chinese migrants and their communities matters greatly, and for at least three main reasons. First, countries in the global south are developing rapidly and attracting huge volumes of foreign capital investment. These emerging economies draw exceptional rates of cross-border flows that are extremely diverse and selective, including streams that originate from the urban and more developed regions and among more resourceful immigrants—traders, investors, capitalists and professionals alike. Moreover, the rise of new modes of transportation and communication has facilitated not only physical movement but also virtual travel and interaction, shrinking the global into handheld gadgets that help people on the move or in different geographic places form and maintain long-distance ties. Further, rapid cross-border movements produce a host of new business opportunities to capitalize both on the migrants' desires to migrate and the struggle by governments to manage migration, leading to the rapid growth of a specialized migration industry

(including legitimate labor brokerage firms and related services as well as organized criminal networks of human trafficking).

Second, the global south presents several unique realities that render established theories insufficient. One is the expectation of integration into the host society. Many developing countries are now simultaneously migrant-sending and -receiving countries. Of those receiving immigrants, many restrict permanent settlement or lack a sophisticated integration policy while facing the urgent need to comprehend changing demographics and intergroup dynamics. Another reality is the new composition of a host society's mainstream. Unlike traditional Western countries of settlement in the global north, dominated by a clear racial hierarchy with white Christians constituting the "mainstream" and other racial and ethnoreligious groups positioned on the margin, developing countries of the global south are much more diverse. They lack such clear-cut racial formation, and may not even be countries of resettlement. Still another unique reality is that of class heterogeneity. Diverse migration streams have given rise to a highly stratified and globalized labor market with privileges for some but marginalization and exploitation for others.

Third, a rising China has challenged commonsense knowledge about migration and development. Emigration from China has not followed the same historical trajectory as migration to the global north by, for example, populations from places previously directly colonized by the global north. Neither have Chinese migrations been wholly or uniformly encouraged by non-Chinese states as a means of economic development. On the contrary, they have often been discouraged. Moreover, China has undergone drastic economic reform and risen up to become a key player in the global economy while experiencing high rates of internal migration and, on a small but highly visible scale, international or transnational migrations or both. Further, the rising economic power of expatriate communities and their strong orientation toward helping their home communities and countries has rendered them increasingly important with regard to prospects for local and national development. Consequently, new institutional structures and cultures emerge to give rise to new patterns of migrant adaptation and integration, and of diaspora-homeland interaction, which ultimately shape policy-making and developments in both sending and receiving countries. Migrations are also increasingly circular and transitory at each site or stage, with migrants often moving between different destination countries or returning for a while or forever to the sending state. Yet classical theories bounded by disciplines have reached limits in explaining these diverse

contemporary flows, their directions over time, their cultural nuances, their socioeconomic and environmental impacts, and their societal complexity.

Understanding contemporary Chinese immigration also matters practically. China, with its fastest-growing economy, largest population and most expansive (and best-developed) diasporic communities in the world, is potentially a huge emigration country. Increasingly integrated into the world system, its marketization has continued to undermine the power of the state, and, as the Chinese people have reconnected with their overseas diasporas, Chinese emigration (legal or clandestine, permanent or temporary, international or transnational) may define a new "Chinese Century," of a magnitude many times greater than Anthony Reid's "Chinese Century" of 1740–1840.[6] The potential for emigration from China has already been likened to a "Tsunami on the horizon."[7] This signals a mixed blessing for China, Asia and the world. The challenge for China and other immigrant-receiving countries may be how to negotiate and manage international and transnational flows, but the power of the state is severely constrained not only by the market but also by diasporic and ethnonational networks, institutions and communities overseas. Policy-wise, it therefore becomes relevant to understand the formation and development of contemporary diasporas and their economic, sociocultural and political impacts on a global scale, beyond that of the nation-state.

Preview of the Book

This book is a collection of research papers originally presented at the abovementioned symposium and subsequently revised and polished. It starts with a historical overview of Chinese emigration by myself and Gregor Benton. In it we examine how centuries-old Chinese diasporas were formed to facilitate subsequent migrant flows and migrant resettlement. We do so with a focus on intra-Asia migrations to offer some points of reference from which to understand contemporary Chinese migrations across the globe. We argue that distinct streams of emigration from China and remigrations from the Chinese diaspora are contingent upon historical circumstances and influenced by the intersection of nation-state policies, global economic forces and migrant socioeconomic networks.

The chapters that follow are organized according to the geography of the receiving places, including three on Africa, five on Asia, two on Oceania, three on Europe and four on the Americas.

Chapter 2, by Yoon Jung Park, is about the politics of Chineseness in South Africa, one of the few African countries with three distinct ethnic-Chinese communities as well as a critical mass of ethnic-Chinese people. In South Africa the Chinese have been targeted because of their Chineseness. However, they have also made use of it—their ethnic difference from other South Africans as well as their links to "rising China" and the "Chinese factory"—to further their own interests in the receiving country. Park focuses on the fluidity of "Chineseness" in terms of both its content and its uses by examining the differences between the three main Chinese communities in South Africa: the third-plus-generation Chinese South Africans, first- or second-generation Taiwanese South Africans, and mainland Chinese arriving recently. She also explores shifting connections and identifications with China and Chineseness over time.

Chapter 3, by Karsten Giese, looks at Chinese traders in Accra, Ghana's capital and economic center. Unlike contemporary Chinese migrants in other parts of the world, those in Africa are predominantly petty entrepreneurs. Their lack of ethnic and national solidarity and social cohesion culminating in the widespread absence of community defies conventional wisdom with regard to overseas Chinese. Their strong individualism also offers a stark contrast with similarly common perceptions based on the transnational network paradigm. Giese shows that the Chinese who have arrived as individual entrepreneurs and in substantial numbers since the turn of the millennium form a highly concentrated trading cluster in Accra. This pattern of spatial clustering has made the Chinese and Chinese commercial activities highly visible, whereas residential patterns are characterized by a high degree of dispersion across middle-class residential areas. Widespread social isolation of the Chinese from each other and from the local population presents challenges for ethnic formation and integration. In particular, fierce economic competition among Chinese entrepreneurs, along with their individual convictions that their sojourn in Ghana will be temporary, effectively limits the possibilities for community-building based on ethnic solidarity. Short-term economic rationales also hamper integration and acculturation. Giese concludes that many Chinese traders in Ghana are trapped in liminality: unwilling and unable to acculturate locally but prolonging their sojourn for economic reasons, they experience personality changes during their stay in Africa that eventually obstruct their successful reintegration into Chinese society.

Chapter 4, by Xiaolei Shen, takes a close look at the integration of new Chinese migrants into local communities in Zimbabwe. Shen shows that

although the Chinese have made an important contribution to Zimbabwe's local and national economic development, they are slow to integrate. Unlike in Accra, however, new Chinese migrants have started to form associations and develop Chinese-language media despite the geographic dispersion of their living and commerce. As the Chinese community in Zimbabwe has gradually matured, new Chinese migrants have become more involved in their internally oriented social environment, which offers them greater social support but decreases their motivation and ability to integrate into local communities. Their slow integration is also a result of resistance from local Zimbabweans, who stereotype them negatively. To promote social integration, new Chinese migrants have carried out a series of activities through their associations, including helping each other adapt to local behavioral patterns, fulfilling social responsibilities and engaging with locals by organizing large-scale cultural or sports activities. These efforts have seen some success. However, full integration into the local Zimbabwean community has a long way to go.

The next five chapters are about new Chinese migrants in Asia. Chapter 5, by Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho and Fang Yu Foo, focuses on integration debates concerning new migrants from mainland China in Singapore. While the Singaporean state emphasizes the importance of integrating new immigrants into the existing social fabric of the nation-state, Singaporeans seem to doubt whether new Chinese migrants really want to integrate. It is critical to counterbalance this set of discourses with the views expressed about integration by the new immigrants themselves. The chapter suggests that integration pressures and social inclusion or exclusion are experienced in contradictory ways as a result of coethnic tensions, which are in turn tied to the periodization of migration to Singapore. By examining the attitudes expressed by new Chinese immigrants and their experiences of integration, it also draws out the variegations found in the Chinese diaspora that have deepened in Singapore across the decades.

Chapter 6, by Changzoo Song, traces the evolution and development of diasporic Chinese communities in South Korea. Song highlights the differences between old and new Chinese migrants. Old Chinese migrants are made up of those who migrated and resettled in South Korea (then Chosŏn) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (known as old *huaqiao*) and their descendants. The once prosperous old *huaqiao* community went through hard times in the turbulent history of modern Korea, and then shrank in size. Nevertheless, its members maintained their identity and are now reviving their communities. The new Chinese migrants, arriving in

South Korea after the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, can be further classified into two subgroup. One is made up of *Chaoxianzu* (Chinese citizens of Korean ethnicity) and the other of *xin yimin* (new Chinese migrants who are of Han ethnicity). The numbers of both *Chaoxianzu* and x*in yimin* have increased rapidly since the mid-1990s to more than a million. The two subgroups of new migrants are very different from old *huaqiao* in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics, cultural ways and political orientations. There are also major differences between *Chaoxianzu* and Han Chinese migrants in the patterns and experiences of migration and adaptation. The *xin yimin* subgroup is internally diverse, comprising laborers who search for better employment opportunities, international students, migrant brides, entrepreneurs and wealthy retirees. The chapter sets out to give a full picture of the diverse Chinese communities in contemporary South Korea by exploring their migration patterns, lifestyles, and social and cultural impacts on the host society. In particular, it investigates some prominent differences among the old *huaqiao*, *Chaoxianzu* and *xin yimin* migrants in South Korea. In so doing, it also highlights some of the profound impacts these Chinese migrants have had on South Korea, a non-conventional host country.

Chapter 7, by Chunfen Shao, addresses issues related to the formation and development of the new Chinese migrant community in Japan. Using official statistics from the Japanese Ministry of Justice and data collected from personal interviews and mainstream newspapers, Shao examines the phenomenon of recent Chinese migration to Japan, with a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the changes and challenges the existing Chinese community in Japan is experiencing. She offers a profile of the distinctive characteristics of contemporary Chinese immigration to Japan and details the ways in which the existing Chinese community is being transformed by the continuing influx of new Chinese migrants. Shao concludes with a discussion of the broader impacts of Chinese immigration on future migration trends and local Japanese society and on policy implications.

Chapter 8, by Fan Dai, examines the patterns of Chinese immigration to the Philippines, which has attracted a large number of new Chinese migrants since the late 1970s. Based on fieldwork conducted in the Chinatown located in Binondo in Manila, this chapter categorizes the new Chinese immigrants flowing into the country, either legally or illegally, while analyzing the motivation and other factors behind such a population flow. Dai argues that, in addition to migration history, migration culture and migration networks, the comparative advantages of the Philippines and

the unique economic niches established by the ethnic-Chinese economy provide new Chinese immigrants with the opportunities necessary for both survival and further development. She points out that the contemporary flow of international migrants does not necessarily move from low-income countries to high-income ones, and that the opportunities and comparative advantages in business contained in low-income countries play a significant role in driving migration flows from a relative high-income country to a low-income country.

Chapter 9, by James K. Chin, examines the formation of ethicized networks and the local embeddedness of the new Chinese migrant community in Cambodia. Ethnic Chinese in Cambodia form the country's largest ethnic minority, with around 60 % living in urban areas and engaged mainly in commerce and the other 40 % in rural areas. Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, the once stricken Chinese community has been rejuvenating, with large numbers of new Chinese migrants flowing in from mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, as well as from neighboring Southeast Asian countries. Companies set up by new Chinese migrants can now be seen in almost every town and city in the country, particularly in Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Sihanouk Ville and Battambang. Chinese entrepreneurs own, operate and build factories, banks, hospitals, restaurants, hotels, discos and casinos. At the same time a great many skilled Chinese laborers have been recruited to work in garment factories owned by entrepreneurs from Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China. According to a Cambodian congressman, new Chinese migrants are playing a very important role in Cambodia's economy as the majority of the revenue of the country comes from duties levied upon them. Three major groups can be discerned within the new Chinese migrant community: migrants from mainland China; from Hong Kong and Macau; and from Taiwan. Based on fieldwork conducted in the Chinese community over the past 15 years, this chapter gives an overall account of the new Chinese migrant community in Cambodia with a focus on those from Hong Kong and Macau. Chin argues that commercial acumen and entrepreneurship are acknowledged gifts of the Chinese migrants, who on the whole adapt well to the different environments abroad. Nevertheless, they still need various institutional mechanisms to assist or protect their interests. What stands out in all cases is that as transnational entrepreneurs they are quite active and successful in establishing different networks, intertwining with each other while becoming deeply embedded in local society.

Two chapters are on Oceania. Chapter 10, by Jia Gao, offers an overview of Chinese immigration to Australia since the mid-1980s. Australia was known to the Chinese as the "New Gold Mountain" at the time of the gold rush in the mid-nineteenth century, as distinct from San Francisco's "(Old) Gold Mountain." The history of Chinese migration to Australia from the 1850s to the present may be broadly divided into several stages: the gold-rush period of the 1850s and 1860s; the establishment stage after the gold rush; the consolidation period in the early years of "White Australia"; the diversification phase in the 1950s and 1960s; the multicultural period in the 1970s and 1980s; and the "model community" stage since the 1990s. The most significant stream in contemporary Chinese immigration to Australia was the settlement of 45,000 or so students from mainland China in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This sizeable and unique group of students has not only reactivated direct immigration from China to Australia but has renewed Australia's status as the New Gold Mountain and a preferred destination for new Chinese immigrants since 1978. This chapter offers a political-economic analysis of immigration and diasporic development as impacted by contemporary inflows of migrants, students, tourists and investors from China. It seeks to examine the patterns, trends and characteristics of Chinese migration to Australia from the mid-1980s to the mid-2010s, and to explain how and why Chinese migrants, once seen as aliens in Australia, have become an integral part of contemporary Australian society.

Chapter 11, by Liangni Sally Liu, provides an overview of the new Chinese immigration flow and its engendered return and re-migration patterns since the mid-1980s. Liu contextualizes the new wave of PRC immigration against the backdrop of New Zealand's changing immigration policy after 1986, and China's economic and social transformation. Her chapter focuses on examining the immigration pathways of PRC migrants, their general profile, and patterns of labor market participation and transitional migratory mobility. She concludes with a discussion of how new Chinese migrants are perceived by the host society, especially the indigenous Maoris.

Three chapters are on Europe. Chapter 12, by Adam Horálek, Ter-hsing James Cheng, and Liyan Hu, examines the patterns of identity formation, community-building and social integration among new Chinese migrants and their community in Prague, the Czech Republic. In the 1990s and the early 2000s, Czech Chinese were the focus of intensive scholarly research. However, there was little study from a demographic, geographic, or

sociological perspective, mostly because of the language barrier, but also because the Czech Chinese community has stagnated. Even so, the stagnation is not equivalent to homogenization or consolidation. The group remains incoherent, non-settled, non-identified, non-evolved and pioneering. Most studies on Asian immigrants in Czechia focus on Vietnamese as the largest non-European foreign community in the country, so a major aim of this study was to widen the focus. The first part undertakes a statistical analysis of the Chinese community in Czechia and in Prague between 1989 and 2013 in the framework of historical circumstances, geopolitical change, globalization, migration and ethnic development. The chapter demonstrates that the Vietnamese and Chinese communities develop in different ways, have different strategies and constitute different communities. Still, as the Chinese are usually assumed to be dominant (owing to their worldwide demographic dominance), Vietnamese are often seen as the Chinese from the Czechs' Orientalized perspective. The chapter also delves deeper into the Chinese community, explaining its internal heterogeneity, and its behavioral specifics and patterns of adaptation and integration from an intergenerational perspective.

Chapter 13, by Minghuan Li, focuses on new Chinese migrants to Spain. The majority of the Chinese in Spain are first-generation immigrants. Most migrated to the country after the 1980s, when China reopened its door to emigration. Owing to historical links, nearly 72 % of new Chinese immigrants in Spain come from Zhejiang Province, including some 65 % from Qingtian County. After arriving in Spain, the new Chinese immigrants quickly set up businesses, initially in catering and later spreading gradually to other economic sectors. Particularly after the turn of the twenty-first century, the business of "selling MIC (Made in China)" has become a symbol of the scale of the immigrant Chinese economic presence in Spain. However, while rising economically, the Chinese in Spain face ever greater problems, especially since the global economic crisis of 2008 and the resulting social challenge to Spain's stability. How does Chinese emigration to Spain happen? Why has Spain become a favorite destination for new Chinese immigrants and for Qingtianese in particular? What are the sociodemographic characteristics of the Chinese immigrant community in Spain? What dream have they carried to Spain? How do they try to realize it? What are the rising social challenges they face in Spain and why have these challenges arisen? This study analyzes these issues on the basis of the author's field research in the country over the last two decades, and it looks at how immigrants have challenged Spanish law. It is easy to declare

some transnational activities illegal, but greater effort must be directed toward exploring the origins and persistence of the illegality, and its widespread toleration and apparent acceptability. The new Chinese community in Spain is a case in point. The current chapter is a preliminary effort to open up this delicate subject for discussion.

Chapter 14, by Bin Wu, focuses on student migration and examines the relationships between Chinese students and their coethnics and other non-Chinese in the British host society. The unprecedented growth in the number of Chinese international students since the twenty-first century raises questions about their links to and impact on local communities in host countries. Viewing Chinese students as a special segment of Chinese diaspora, Wu explores their social networking, and their interconnections and interactions with different groups, both the Chinese and non-Chinese, on campus and off. Many questions arise. What contribution do Chinese students make to the growth and transformation of diasporic Chinese communities in major destinations? What are the scope and functions of their social networking for Chinese community cohesion and integration? What are the differences between Chinese students and local residents, and between Chinese students from mainland China and those from Hong Kong and Singapore in terms of network building and local engagement? The above questions are addressed by a combination of official data analysis and a questionnaire survey conducted in Nottingham, England.

Chapter 15, by Weinong Gao, provides an overview of contemporary Chinese immigration to Latin America. Although the history of Chinese immigration into this part of the world dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, it largely stopped until after China's reform and opening up in the late 1970s. Most of the new Chinese migrants come from rural areas. They typically move to Latin America through the double "networks" of kin and clan. In some countries in Latin America, clustering based on same-locality clans has become a trend among new Chinese migrants. Although their origins may differ, their clustering largely relies on locality clans. Because the history of Chinese migration in Latin America varies from country to country, the ratios of new immigrants to traditional ones in different countries also vary significantly. Among new Chinese migrants, some went to Latin America by "abnormal" (or undocumented) means. Even so, most have survived and even thrived with the help of clan associations in their relatively tolerant host countries, especially where law enforcement is slack. New Chinese migrants differ from traditional migrants in many ways, such as professions, progress patterns and ideas. In terms of new migrants'

solidarity, development and rights protection, clan and business associations play a central role.

Chapter 16, by Evelyn Hu-DeHart, looks at new Chinese migrants in Cuba. At the time of the Cuban Revolution of 1959 led by Fidel Castro, China, itself still a new socialist nation undergoing its own profound transformation, was one of the earliest to establish constructive relations with Cuba. However, when the Soviet Union became socialist Cuba's major ally and economic partner, Cuba's relationship with China faded, in step with the decline in Sino-Soviet relations. The downfall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s left Cuba adrift economically. The resulting vacuum partially filled for a while by Venezuela. China has also returned to Cuba, its presence advertised by the Chinese Yudong buses that roll down Havana's avenues, the growing visibility of the Confucius Institute at the University of Havana, the more than 300 Chinese medical students in Cuba, Xi Jinping's recent visit to the island as part of his grand Caribbean tour, and the gradual trickle of Chinese tourists. With Barack Obama having announced his intention to normalize relations with Cuba after a failed 60-year-old US-led embargo that has lost most of its international support, Cuba's world trade is expected to grow markedly, not only with the USA but with existing partners, such as China. Following China's grand commercial entrance in the twenty-first century into many Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico and Peru, will Cuba's expectation of accelerated trade with China as well as significant Chinese investment be realized? Will new Chinese immigrants once again find their way to Havana, which once boasted Latin America's first and largest Chinatown? Will China find enough compelling economic and political incentives to make significant investments in Cuba? Hu DeHart explores these and other questions in the current era and near future, as China resurfaces as a presence in Cuba, and in the context of normalizing US-Cuban relations.

Chapter 17, by Eva Xiaoling Li and Peter S. Li, is about the making of new Chinese immigrants in Canada. The authors show that, from their initial arrival in 1859 until the end of World War II, the Chinese were marginalized in Canadian society. They argue that, even after repealing discriminatory laws against the Chinese, it took another 20 years before Chinese could enter Canada by criteria similar to those that applied to other migrants. While Hong Kong was the main source of Chinese immigration to Canada from the 1950s till the 1980s, there has been a shift in the source of emigration, from Hong Kong to mainland China, related partly to the rising demand in Canada for skilled labor and partly to the growing supply

of university graduates in China. The continuous arrival of new migrants from Hong Kong and mainland China has brought economic vitality and social change to metropolitan Canada. Despite many coming with university education, new Chinese migrants receive lower remuneration than white migrants from the USA and Europe. Differences in human-capital levels and other factors account for only some of the disparity. It appears that racial inequality remains an obstacle for new Chinese as they establish their place in Canada.

The last chapter, by myself and Hong Liu, traces the histories of longstanding Chinese migrations to the USA to examine the link between immigrant entrepreneurship and diasporic development. Based on data collected from two parallel research projects and multisite fieldwork in the USA and China, we show that immigrant entrepreneurship has continued to serve as a key pattern of adaptation among new Chinese migrants and that this longstanding pattern is shaped by different migration histories, structural circumstances in both sending and receiving societies, and locations in the transnational social fields. We also show that rapid globalization, changing geopolitics in the Asia Pacific region and the rise of China have opened up new avenues for transnational entrepreneurship. We conclude that immigrant entrepreneurship is conducive to integration because it enhances not only an individual's economic opportunities but also their sociocultural opportunities by way of diasporic development.

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