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CHANGING PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

AMONG THE CHINESE IN OTTAWA:

A study of internal and external determinants

by

• Stephen Frederick Fisher

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
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ABSTRACT

Changing Patterns of Social Organization

Among the Chinese in Ottawa:

A study of internal and external determinants

The central focus of this study is to analyze the effects of internal and external factors on the social organization of the Chinese in Ottawa. Two conflicting approaches prevail in the literature on overseas Chinese social organization. The first views it as affected by factors internal to the ethnic group and the second as a reaction to, and largely determined by, conditions external to the group. These two positions are found to be overly one-sided.

To analyze the impact of internal and external factors upon the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese, a developmental model is used, consisting of three phases: the accommodation (ca. 1890-1947), the transition (1947-1962), and the integration phases (since 1962). Three corresponding patterns of social organization are identified: the early, the transition and the contemporary forms. The early social form was basically a transplantation of Old-World organizing principles and institutions. They were employed as an adaptive response to the structural constraints imposed by the restrictive immigration policy and the low degree of incorporation into the wider society. The development of the transition and the contemporary social forms were correlated with major changes in the external

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factors. New organizing principles, such as generation and social class, emerged to replace the transplanted ones.

These findings suggest that a syncretic approach, which posits a synthesis of internal and external factors, is a better explanatory framework for analyzing the experience of the Ottawa Chinese.

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Part I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND
TO THE RESEARCH

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Two conflicting approaches to overseas Chinese social organization prevail in the literature. The first approach tends to argue that the social organization of overseas Chinese is essentially a transplantation of traditional Chinese organizing principles and institutions and has little to do with conditions exogenous to the group (see for example, Heyer, 1953; Crissman, 1967; Lyman, 1974). Although most of the early overseas Chinese were from rural areas, it is a common assumption among scholars of this approach that they had transplanted traditional Chinese urban institutions abroad. They maintain that the early overseas Chinese, who were predominantly peasants, adapted to their new environments abroad in the same way as the peasants would when they emigrated to the urban centres in China. This interpretation may be referred to as the 'transplanted culture' hypothesis. The second approach tends to argue that the structural conditions in the host society largely determine the form of social organization of the overseas Chinese (Sedgwick and Willmott, 1974; Patterson, 1975; Li, 1976, 1978, 1979). Scholars of this approach usually de-emphasize the importance of internal cultural factors (i.e. the transplanted cultural heritage) in the organizational development of overseas

Chinese. This approach may be referred to as the structural approach. Although each of these two approaches accounts for some of the facts, both are inadequate in dealing with the historical reality of overseas Chinese social organization in its entirety.

This study presents an analysis of the changing patterns of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, focussing on both the internal and external determinants. By using a syncretic approach which deals with both internal and external factors, this study provides a better analytical framework for overseas Chinese social organization.

Besides the obvious fact that I was based in Ottawa, there were three other major reasons for choosing the Ottawa Chinese as the subject of this study. Firstly, the Ottawa Chinese have exhibited a high degree of organizational complexity as well as a high degree of incorporation into the wider society. They thus provide a good example for analyzing the effects of the mode of incorporation on ethnic social organization.

Secondly, Ottawa has a relatively large Chinese population (estimated to be 8,000 in 1979). According to the 1971 Census, the size of the Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull was seventh among Canadian cities after Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton, Calgary, and Victoria. The size of the Ottawa Chinese population is large enough for a fairly

complex network of informal social organization and voluntary associations to develop, but not too large to be unmanageable for a lone researcher.

Thirdly, studies of the social organization of overseas Chinese in North America have tended to centre exclusively on Chinatowns in cities, such as Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, San Francisco, New York City and Boston. This restricted research focus has limited attention to a special type of ethnic social organization - ethnic ghettos. Chinatown is a collectivity of recent Chinese immigrants and working-class Chinese. Middle-class and second-generation Chinese have usually moved out of this ethnic enclave to the suburbs. A study of the social organization of Chinatown would narrow one's perspective to only a segment of the Chinese population. This is perhaps one reason why studies in the past consistently portrayed the social organization of overseas Chinese as transplanted structures from traditional China and as isolationist and traditionalist in orientation. All the other major cities in Canada have long-established Chinatowns. Ottawa is an exception. A study of the Ottawa Chinese can, therefore, throw light on the organizing principles of a non-Chinatown-dominated Chinese collectivity.

To analyze the effects of internal and external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese, now and in the past, a developmental model is used consisting of

three phases: the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), the transition phase (1947-1962), and the integration phase (since 1962). This periodization is based on the major changes in the two most significant external factors, namely the immigration system and the mode of incorporation (i.e. the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society). Changes in Canadian immigration policy have significant effects on the demographic structure of the Ottawa Chinese population and these, in turn, have important consequences for the pattern of social organization. Like the immigration system, the mode of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the host society has been a major determinant of the pattern of social organization in the Chinese collectivity.

There has been an increasing degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the mainstream of Canadian society during these three phases. During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese were relatively unincorporated into the wider society. They were related to the host society primarily through a small group of intermediaries or intermarket operators. During the transition phase, the Ottawa Chinese began to be incorporated into the mainstream of society. The Ottawa Chinese are very much incorporated into the mainstream of society during the integration phase. However, they remain relatively low in terms of primary-group incorporation.

Three patterns of social organization corresponding to the three phases were identified. They are called the early social form, the transition social form, and the contemporary social form. The early social form was basically a transplantation of traditional Chinese organizing principles, such as clan and county origins. As a result of the structural constraints imposed by the restrictive immigration policy and the low degree of incorporation into the host society (external factors), the Ottawa Chinese employed transplanted organizing principles (internal cultural factors) as an adaptive response to the unfamiliar and hostile environment.

The emergence of the transition social form and the contemporary social form were correlated with major changes in the immigration system and the mode of incorporation during the transition phase and the integration phase. New organizing principles, such as generation and social class, began to replace the transplanted ones. During the integration phase, the pattern of social organization was largely determined by external factors, such as the immigration system, the mode of incorporation, and the political situation in China. The latter has segmented the Ottawa Chinese into rival factions.

These historical facts suggest that neither the transplanted culture approach nor the structural approach are sufficient to explain the organizational developments of the

Ottawa Chinese during these three phases. A syncretic approach which synthesizes both approaches is a better explanatory model for analyzing the experience of the Ottawa Chinese.

It is found that: (1) internal cultural factors were important in determining the pattern of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity only when the degree of incorporation was low, (2) external factors, such as the immigration system and the mode of incorporation, were major determinants during the transition phase and the integration phase, and (3) a new system of social organization based on generational and social-class criteria emerged when the degree of incorporation was high.

The research for this study was conducted during 1976 to 1979. To reconstruct the history of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947) and the transition phase (1947-1962), the following research techniques were used: (1) documentary research, (2) oral history, (3) analysis of census data, and (4) the study of historical remains, such as gravestones. Chinese voluntary associations have not maintained very comprehensive records. Use was made of whatever institutional documents that were available. These sources included association constitutions, correspondence, membership lists, notices, financial accounts, and old newspaper clippings kept by some organizations. Old City Directories of Ottawa also provided useful information on

Chinese ethnic businesses and voluntary associations. To supplement these documentary sources, oral histories of the early Chinese in Ottawa were also collected, using longtime Chinese residents as informants. Early census reports were examined for information on the Ottawa Chinese. To study the clan and county origins of the early Chinese, all the gravestones erected before 1947 in the Ottawa Chinese Cemetery were recorded and analyzed. Old Chinese gravestones usually had the name and native-place of the deceased inscribed on them. This is a useful source of data for investigating the social origins of the early Chinese.

Participant observation, unstructured interviewing, analysis of census data and other official statistics, and a questionnaire survey were used for gathering data on the contemporary Ottawa Chinese. The major research technique used was participant observation. This method actually consisted of five approaches:

(1) During the course of the research, I regularly used the Chinese facilities and services in Ottawa and shopped in Chinese stores.

(2) I frequently attended meetings, celebrations and gatherings of Chinese groups and associations. I also joined several Chinese voluntary organizations.

(3) During the summer of 1976, I was a counsellor on a volunteer basis at the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre

for several months. Contacts were maintained with the Centre afterwards.

(4) My wife and I made many Chinese friends during our stay in Ottawa and spent much of our leisure time with them in recreational activities and informal visiting.

(5) Unstructured interviews were conducted with about forty long-time Chinese residents and officials of the Chinese voluntary associations.

Observations and impressions were written down as field-notes and later re-read and analyzed for writing-up. Other sources of data included two Ottawa Chinese newsletters and other Chinese newspapers published in Toronto. Towards the end of the research, a questionnaire was administered to a quota sample of 41 Ottawa Chinese to obtain data on their participation in primary groups and primary relationships. Another major source of information came from special tabulations on the Ottawa Chinese prepared by Statistics Canada using the 1971 Census data-base.

During the field research, both Chinese and English were used to communicate with the respondents. My first language is Cantonese¹ which was the lingua franca of the Ottawa Chinese. English was mostly used with second-generation Chinese.

While a few suspicious persons were afraid that I might be an undercover agent of the People's Republic of

1) It may be helpful to the readers to point out that the researcher is a second-generation Eurasian from Hong Kong and Chinese in appearance.

China or Taiwan, the great majority of the Ottawa Chinese accepted the fact that I was a Ph.D. student working on a dissertation and were helpful.

Part I lays out the problem and provides the background to the study. In this first chapter, the research problem and the research techniques employed have been discussed. Chapter 2 is a survey of the literature on overseas Chinese social organization and Chapter 3 is a discussion of the conceptual framework of this study. To investigate whether the early Chinese had transplanted traditional Chinese social structures to Ottawa, Chapter 4 is an attempt to compare the institutional parallels between the early Ottawa Chinese collectivity and the traditional Chinese society.

Part II deals with the historical experience of the Ottawa Chinese. Chapter 5 focusses on the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider Canadian society during the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947). The early social form is analyzed in Chapter 6. The increasing incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the host society during the transition phase (1947-1962) is investigated in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 analyzes the mode of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the larger society during the integration phase (since 1962). The effects of the changes in the immigration system on the Ottawa Chinese are also

examined. Chapter 9 analyzes the contemporary social form, focussing on both the informal groupings and the voluntary associations.

Part III is a case study of the effects of external factors on ethnic social organization. It examines the internal political rivalry (based on transplanted Old-World politics) in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity as a communal issue.

Part IV is a conclusion of the study. The implications of the findings for overseas Chinese social organization are assessed.

Chapter 2

OVERSEAS CHINESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

As discussed earlier, studies of overseas Chinese social organization usually follow two dominant approaches: the transplanted culture approach and the structural approach. It is also possible to delineate in the literature a third approach which takes a middle position between the two more extreme interpretations: the syncretic approach. Scholars using this approach argue that overseas Chinese social organization is determined by both cultural and structural factors. They maintain that the social organization of the overseas Chinese is a syncretic form consisting of both transplanted culture and innovative elements. They have found that the transplanted culture approach is particularly applicable to the early phase of organizational development in the Chinese collectivity. Subsequent changes are, however, largely determined by factors external to the Chinese collectivity. The purpose of this chapter is to review some of the more significant and representative studies of these three approaches.

The Transplanted Culture Approach

Crissman

Among the advocates of the transplanted culture approach, the most well-known is Lawrence Crissman (1967). In a paper entitled, 'The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas

Chinese Communities,' he outlines the general principles used by overseas Chinese in communal formation.

On the basis of previous empirical studies of overseas Chinese, he argues that all the major Chinese collectivities in Southeast Asia and North America are organized in a similar structural pattern. His method is inductive, and he claims that his generalized model is a-temporal, i.e., it has no time dimension (Crissman, 1967:185).

According to Crissman, overseas Chinese collectivities are not homogeneous; they are often segmented into a hierarchical series of 'sub-communities'. Each of these sub-communities is internally autonomous with its own leadership and recognized membership. They are usually structured on a number of social criteria. Crissman has reduced these to three fundamental criteria: speech group, locality, and surname.

One of the most important of these social criteria is speech-group solidarity.¹ Speech groups represent the

1) Crissman and some of the other scholars studying overseas Chinese did not distinguish by separate terms a 'speech group' from a 'dialect sub-group within a speech group'. To avoid confusion, a distinction is made here between a speech group and a dialect group; the latter can be subsumed under the former. China has a unified written language, but Chinese is spoken in a multiplicity of ways. Among overseas Chinese, the major speech groups are Cantonese, Hainanese, Hakka, Hokkien, and Teochiu. These major speech groups are often mutually unintelligible. Within each speech group, there may also be further dialect differences. For example, Cantonese can be divided into 'standard' Cantonese spoken in Canton, Macao and Hong Kong and the T'ai Shan dialect spoken in T'ai Shan County.

major regional differences in spoken Chinese. A speech group is usually co-extensive with a discrete territory, except for the Hakka speakers who are geographically dispersed.

The second principle is locality or native-place ties. Every Chinese has a native-place, the area of China where his ancestors are buried and his lineage is localized. The native-place may be traced back to a village, but it is usually identified as a county or a group of counties speaking the same dialect within a major speech group.

The third principle used for forming sub-communities is surname. The total number of Chinese surnames is relatively small. All persons having the same surname are believed to be ultimately descended from the same patrilineal ancestor, even though the actual lines of descent are unknown.

Any of these three principles may be used for segmentation and organization. The varying usages of these criteria depend on historical and demographic factors, such as, the patterns of immigration history, the number of groups present, and the size of these groups relative to one another. The patterns of segmentation in different communities are not identical, but they do vary according to the same principles. To explain the existence of this common segmentary structure among urban overseas Chinese, Crissman suggests that the principles of organization did not originate abroad, but are derived from the social structure of traditional Chinese cities. In his conclusion, he states that:

Although most of the Chinese who went overseas were from rural areas, they were able to re-create traditional urban forms wherever they went, out of the common stock of Chinese culture they took with them (Crissman, 1967:202).

Crissman's formulation represents the majority view in the study of overseas Chinese.

Lyman

Following Crissman, Lyman (1974) also argues that Chinese collectivities in North America, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America are invariably characterized by the existence of three types of organization: clan associations, speech group or territorial associations (Landsmannschaften), and secret societies.² These associations have their roots in traditional Chinese society, and this historical continuity has been given as the reason for their durability. A classic statement of the transplanted culture approach can be found in the following passage from Lyman (1974:8):

With little modification in structure and few changes in activity, these institutions (i.e. clan associations, speech group or territorial associations, and secret societies) have persisted among overseas Chinese regardless of the foreign cultures surrounding them and despite attempts from within and without the Chinese community to

2) See Chapter 4 for a discussion of these organizations.

curb their power or destroy
them entirely.

The persistence of transplanted institutions seems to be overemphasized by Lyman and the 'transplanted culture' school. A number of social scientists (Straaton, 1973; Sedgwick and Willmott, 1974; Johnson, 1979; Li, 1979) have shown that these organizations have changed in response to the constraints and opportunities in the host societies.

T'ien

Ju-K'ang T'ien (1953) has found that the Chinese in Sarawak are organized according to three binding forces: speech group, place of origin, and clanship ties. According to T'ien (1953:17), "A Chinese who comes as an immigrant to join an already existing community of overseas Chinese makes his first contacts with others who not only speak his own dialect, as is well known, but also come from his own locality, often his own home town or village." A Chinese immigrant is also subject to a third binding force, that of clanship.

T'ien points to a basic difference between the social organization of the rural and the town-dwelling Chinese in Sarawak. In the rural areas, the Chinese tend to be of the same speech group in one area. They are organized primarily according to clanship, or surname group. There is also a tendency for people of the same surname and originating from

the same native-place to associate with one another. Economic relationships are also based on the binding force of clanship.

The Chinese rubber small-holders who are permanently in need of credit are invariably tied to shopkeepers who are members of the same clan.

In the town, unlike in the countryside, there is no such speech-group homogeneity. Among the urban Chinese in Sarawak, there is a multiplicity of speech groups. Each speech group tends to concentrate in one type of business or occupation. For example, in Kuching, all of the Chinese clock and watch shops are Cantonese-owned, all the Chinese tinsmiths are Hakka-speaking, and all the Chinese carpenters speak a southern dialect of Mandarin (T'ien, 1953:50).

T'ien (1953:58) summaries the patterns of social organization among the Chinese in Sarawak as follows:

In discussing clanship we were able to show how the social bonds of genealogical relationship provide the framework of economic activity in the rural districts; in a not very dissimilar way the social bonds of dialect grouping may be described as the framework of the urban economy of Sarawak.

The Sarawak Chinese are an example of a homogeneous overseas Chinese collectivity in which the social principles of surname, speech, locality and occupation are not clearly crystallized in the voluntary associations. To quote T'ien (1953:19) again,

..... there is no way of differentiating sharply between Associations based upon shared dialect, shared locality, shared clanship, or even, as a rule, shared occupation. All these primary social relationships tend to overlap, so that many of the members of an Association organized on the basis, say, of locality, may be expected to be related also by clanship, and most of them will also share the same occupation. Obviously, too, they will be speakers of the same dialect.

Freedman

In his study of the Chinese associations in nineteenth-century Singapore, Maurice Freedman (1960) reports that the early Singapore Chinese tended to divide and organize themselves into segments which reflected the solidarity of homeland ties. The organizing principles included village, county, prefecture and speech group ties. It was along these lines that they formed their voluntary associations or hui kuan (Landsmannschaften).

Speech group was the dominant criterion for Chinese social organization in nineteenth-century Singapore. The major speech groups were: the Hokkien, Tiuchiu (Teochiu), Hainanese, Cantonese and Hakka. Each of these groupings formed its own hui kuan.

A Singapore Chinese might also join a territorial association which mediated his ties with the speech group

association. The territorial association was a lower-level organization than the speech group association.

Due to the prevalence of lineage-type villages in Kwangtung and Fukien, surname associations were also popular among the Singapore Chinese who came exclusively from these two provinces. These associations did not necessarily cut across territorial and speech group lines, since they usually restricted their memberships to persons from one specific area in China. Surname group was an important basis for formal organization in Singapore, since it was the only way to bring large numbers of kinsmen together.

Unlike the Chinese in Sarawak, the principles of surname, territorial and speech group ties were crystallized into different types of associations.

Chinese secret societies were also very important in early Singapore. According to Freedman (1960:48), they functioned as "a means both in insulating the Chinese from outside interference, and of balancing the relations between the segments of a relatively closed Chinese community."

Freedman has proposed a typology of the organizational patterns of overseas Chinese collectivities based on a demographic continuum. He hypothesizes that:

the associations which in a small-scale and relatively undeveloped settlement express social, economic, and political links in an undifferentiated form tend, as the scale and complexity of the society

increase, to separate into a network of associations which are comparatively specialized in their functions and the kinds of solidarity they express (Freedman, 1960:47-48).

According to this classificatory scheme, the Sarawak Chinese, as described by T'ien (1953), would represent "the model of a simple and relatively small-scale overseas settlement" and the large Chinese collectivity in later Singapore "the model of the most developed form of immigrant Chinese settlement in Southeast Asia" (Freedman, 1960:45).

W.E. Willmott

William E. Willmott (1967; 1970) has found that the Chinese in Cambodia had in the past placed more importance upon sub-cultural divisions between the different speech groups than upon their common identity as Chinese. This segmentation was reinforced and perpetuated throughout the French colonial period by legal sanctions of the congrégation system. This system separated the Cambodian Chinese into five distinct corporations based on speech group origins: the Teochiu, Cantonese, Hokkien, Hakka, and Hainanese. As a result, the overriding principle of social organization in the Chinese collectivity was speech group origin. Each speech group was compulsorily organized into a hui-guan (hui kuan). To summarize the congrégation system during the French era, Willmott (1967:84) states that:

Chinese social organization therefore comprised five structures, which were corelative in various ways but which could be examined as discreet social systems. A speech group was the constituency for business relationships, marriage partners, associations, and relations with the administration.

Within this political framework of the five speech-group hui-guan, the Chinese were also segmented into clan and locality groupings. However, these were of less significance than the speech group. The congrégation system came to an end with the independence of Cambodia from French rule. During the post-independence days, voluntary associations provided the basic organizational framework of the Chinese collectivity.

According to Willmott, Chinese voluntary associations in Cambodia can be grouped on the basis of orientation into two types: traditionist and modernist. Traditionist organizations are oriented towards China and traditional Chinese culture and values. Their members are mostly older Chinese born in China. Examples of this type of organization include clan and locality associations, cemetery committees, the opera and other performing groups. Modernist organizations are oriented towards more universalistic values. These associations recruit from the Chinese collectivity as a whole and not from only one segment of it. Examples of this type of organizations include the Chinese hospital, sports

associations, and Chinese schools.

Speech group associations were so dominant during the congrégation system that they retarded the development of clan and locality associations. Clan and locality associations have developed only after the abolition of the congrégation system.

Willmott (1964) had earlier studied the Chinese in Vancouver. The Vancouver Chinese, like the Chinese in Ottawa, are almost without exception Cantonese. As a result of this linguistic homogeneity, speech group is not employed as an organizing principle. The Chinese collectivity is segmented according to surname and county origins. The major county groups are: T'ai Shan, K'ai P'ing, En P'ing, Hsin Hui, Chung Shan, and Fan Yu. Each of these six county groups is organized into a hui kuan, or Landsmannschaft. Surname or clan is also a very important basis of association. This is reflected in the fact that 23 of the almost 80 Chinese voluntary associations in Vancouver are clan associations.

Willmott (1964:49) has classified Chinese associations in five categories:

- (1) Clan associations - These associations are based on surname ties.
- (2) Locality associations - These are based on county origins.
- (3) Fraternal associations - There are two such organizations in Vancouver; the Kuomintang and the Min

Chih T'ang. The former is an overseas branch of a Chinese political party, and the latter is descended from a traditional Chinese secret society.

(4) Community Associations - The Chinese Benevolent

Association in Vancouver is an example of this type. It was first formed as a confederation of seven locality associations. This organization was reorganized in 1962 to include representatives from most of the Chinese voluntary organizations on its council (Willmott, 1970: 148).

- (5) Other Associations - These are special-purpose organizations, such as, music societies, youth clubs, gambling clubs and reading rooms. They are of less significance in the Chinese collectivity.

Except for differences in scale and complexity, the early social form of the Ottawa Chinese seems to resemble the organizational pattern of the Vancouver Chinese described by Willmott. It should be pointed out that Willmott has focussed exclusively on formal social organizations, and the contemporary form of social organization in the Vancouver Chinese collectivity cannot be fully represented by voluntary associations alone.

Coughlin

In his study of the Chinese in Thailand, Richard J.

Coughlin (1960) describes four major types of Chinese associations: surname associations, speech group/regional associations, occupational and business associations, and Benevolent and charitable organizations.

The surname associations within the Chinese collectivity in Thailand are not very important organizations. They are primarily immigrant institutions. The key criterion for organization is speech group ties. The Chinese in Thailand, unlike the Chinese in Vancouver and Ottawa, do not form a homogeneous linguistic group. Each of the major speech groups - the Teochiu, Hakka, Cantonese, Hainanese and Hokkien - has formed a hui kuan (Landmannschaft) of its own. These associations are the most influential organizations in the Chinese collectivity because of their large memberships.

The organizational pattern of the Chinese in Thailand appears to be quite similar to that of the Chinese collectivities in Sarawak, Singapore and Cambodia, but unlike that of the Chinese collectivities in North America.

Heyer

In her study of New York City's Chinatown, Virginia Heyer (1953) was primarily interested in defining and describing the principles of social organization of the Chinese collectivity. The dominant bases of segmentation and organization are dialect group ties, locality ties,

surname group ties, and secret society ties. She hypothesizes that these principles are transplanted from China.

It is believed that these principles of organization and behaviour are part of the cultural equipment of the Chinese immigrants, and while the forms in which they find expression are peculiar to the situations of Chinese life in New York, the principles themselves are the same as would be found in Chinese culture generally (Heyer, 1953:1).

Heyer argues that a segmental social structure characterizes the Chinatown in New York City. There are five major types of associations in Chinatown: village associations, family-name associations, territorial or county group associations, occupational group associations and secret societies (Heyer, 1953:54-105). Like the Vancouver and the Ottawa Chinese, the Chinese in New York City are predominantly Cantonese. Therefore, speech group organizations are insignificant. The dominant organizing principle is territorial origins, and the district (county group) associations compete with one another for power in the Chinese collectivity.

The Chinese Benevolent Association, a confederation of Chinese associations formed in 1875, is the highest-level organization in the Chinese group. It is also a mediating

body to which lower-level associations take their disputes.

The Structural Approach

In recent years, some social scientists (for example, Sedgwick and Willmott, 1974; Patterson, 1975; Li, 1976, 1978, 1979) have stressed the necessity of studying the contextual or situational factors in the host societies as a precondition to understanding the social organization of overseas Chinese. This approach tends to down-play the role of traditional Chinese culture in determining the form of overseas Chinese social organization. They have looked to the structural conditions of the wider societies for explanations to changes in the organizational pattern of the overseas Chinese. They tend to argue that overseas Chinese social organization is largely determined by the structural conditions of the host societies, and not by the persistence of a transplanted culture heritage.

Patterson

Among the group of scholars classified here under the structural approach, Patterson (1975) takes a more extreme position. In his comparative case study of the Chinese in Jamaica and Guyana, he argues that the transplanted cultural heritage of the immigrant Chinese has hardly any explanatory power in the analysis of the social structure of

these two Chinese collectivities. He suggests that one must look to the structural constraints and economic opportunities in the host societies, as well as to motivation and human choice, for a more adequate explanation.

Although sharing many structural similarities of Afro-Caribbean societies, the social contexts of the two societies were sufficiently divergent to have different bearings on the social structure of the two Chinese collectivities.

According to Patterson, the economic conditions in Jamaica provided the immigrant Chinese with unique opportunities in retail trade. Their concentration and success in this area made possible and reinforced a process of ethnic consolidation. This process was based on cultural distinctiveness, rather than racial purity, since black women had been used to mother the second-generation Chinese. Later changes in the structural conditions of the host society brought about a shift in the social structure of the Chinese.

First, there was a process of segmentary creolization and later this changed to synthetic creolization.

Creolization is defined as a process whereby a group of people develop a way of life peculiar to the new society in which they find themselves, as distinct from the cultures of their homelands. According to Patterson (1975:318),

The major difference between synthetic and segmentary creolization is that, whereas in the latter process each group develops its own local culture, with synthetic creolization the group attempts to forge a local culture which combines elements from all the available cultural resources.

During the period of synthetic creolization, a segment of the Chinese group chose to abandon ethnicity altogether, while the rest of the group tried to strengthen it by "changing the basis of their ethnic identification from cultural to somatic and kinship ties" (Patterson, 1975:347).

Due to the economic and social conditions in Guyanese society, the Chinese were distributed among a wider range of occupations than the Jamaican Chinese. In order to pursue these occupations successfully, the Chinese rationally chose synthetic creolization and the abandonment of Chinese culture. The Chinese in Guyana are now completely Guyanese, except in their physical appearance.

Patterson maintains that the various strategies of ethnic solidation, segmentary creolization, synthetic creolization, and the abandonment of Chinese culture were the most rational courses of action for the two Chinese collectivities, given the structural conditions of the two host societies. He argues that the relationship between economic factors and ethnicity is one in which economic factors have primacy. He concludes that,

.... people never make economic decisions on the basis of ethnic allegiance, but on the contrary, that the strength, scope, viability, and bases of ethnic identity are determined by, and are used to serve, the economic and general class interests of individuals (Patterson, 1975: 347-348).

It seems that Patterson has pushed his 'structural determinism' too far. As the studies reviewed in the previous section have shown, the social organization of overseas Chinese is not a mere mirror image of the structural conditions of the host society, but is significantly shaped by cultural determinants. This is especially true during the initial phase of contact with the host society.

Straaton

In a paper entitled, "Discriminatory Immigration Legislation and the Political Structure of the Vancouver Chinese Community: A Historical Perspective," Straaton (1973) examines the impact of provincial and federal legislation restricting Chinese immigration on the historical development of the political structure of the Vancouver Chinese. She focusses on how the associational network of the Chinese responded to the problems and pressures of discriminatory legislation.

Straaton puts forward three major historical hypotheses. Firstly, she argues that structural changes in the political system of the Vancouver Chinese correlated with major policy changes in immigration and in anti-Chinese legislation. Secondly, these changes in the political structure were functional, i.e., they served to assist the Chinese collectivity to adapt to the wider society in times of extremely restricted and discriminatory immigration as well as in times of greatly increased immigration. Thirdly, she maintains that "although the social organization of the Vancouver Chinese shows certain affinities with that of Southeast-Asian Chinese communities, especially in its early periods, the particular form it has assumed in Vancouver represents a unique response to the exigencies of Canadian life" (Straaton, 1973:1). The third hypothesis is a direct challenge to the 'transplanted culture' hypothesis, and is representative of the main thrusts of the structural approach which maintains that factors external to the Chinese collectivity largely determine its social form.

Sedgwick and Willmott

Sedgwick and Willmott (1974) argue that the structural changes within the Chinese collectivities in Canada can be traced to events in China and to changes in Canadian government policy. According to their formulation, "the community can be seen (simplistically) as standing between two poles,

changes in either of which produce changes within the community itself" (Sedgwick and Willmott, 1974:8). On the basis of these two external variables and their effects on the Chinese, Sedgwick and Willmott have divided the development of associational activity and leadership in five periods: (1) merchant leadership without associations, (2) the emergence of traditionist associations, (3) factional conflict, (4) the emergence of modernist leaders, and (5) the emergence of associations in the Canadian idiom.

Traditionist associations are defined as those directed towards the preservation of traditional Chinese values within the collectivity, while modernist associations are defined as those more concerned with relations between the Chinese and the dominant group. Traditionist leaders are those who are primarily concerned with cultural traditions, and modernist leaders are those whose activity relates the Chinese to the wider society.

Like Straaton, Sedgwick and Willmott have a 'billiard ball' conception of Chinese social organization. The five periods enumerated are said to reflect the two external factors. However, the dynamics of change are not analyzed. Too much emphasis has been placed on Canadian immigration policy and political events in China. The most crucial factor, the relationship between the Chinese collectivity and the wider society, has been ignored. It may be possible

that the five stages were brought about by the changing relationships between the Chinese and the host society. As they themselves point out, "the-collectivity-between-two-poles model" is a rather simplistic explanation of the changes in the social organization of the Chinese in Canada.

Kuo

In her study of Chinese voluntary associations in New York City's Chinatown, Chia-ling Kuo (1977) has employed a developmental model consisting of four phases. Four different types of voluntary associations emerged during the four phases: (1) traditional associations, (2) modern service associations, (3) political pressure associations and (4) united political associations. Each type of associations came into existence as a result of the changing relationships between the Chinese collectivity and the wider society.

The development of traditional associations such as the family, district, guild and merchant associations "was an adaption to legal and social discrimination by the larger society" (Kuo, 1977:18). As a result of the exclusion policy and discriminatory practices of the United States government, the Chinese voluntary associations were confederated into a single structure, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, which functioned as an inner government capable

of controlling social behaviour and protecting the Chinese against the larger society.

The Anti-Poverty Program, a federal government programme established in the 1960s, was directly responsible for the development of modern service associations in New York's Chinatown during the second phase. These associations deal with pressing social problems within the Chinese collectivity, such as poverty and criminal youth gangs.

In the third phase, the student movement, the anti-war movement and the civil rights movement in the wider society brought about the establishment of political pressure associations, such as the I Wor Kuen, the Free Health Clinic and the Food Co-op.

The final phase was marked by the formation of the politically-oriented, nationwide Pacific-Asian Coalition. Many Chinese modern-service and political-pressure associations have joined the coalition. This coalition has integrated the various Asian-American associations into a nationwide structure for a common cause. According to Kuo, the four phases of development of voluntary associations illustrated the progressive integration of the Chinese into the larger society.

Li

Li (1977; 1979) has argued that the transplanted

culture approach does not give an adequate explanation of the development of the Chinese familial and kinship system in Canada and the United States. According to Li (1977:47), there are two major underlying biases in the cultural approach:

- (1) organizational and cultural variations among ethnic groups are evaluated in reference to an ideal-typical formulation which is culture-bound and ethnocentric, and
- (2) ethnic organizations are viewed as resulting from a particular culture, and not arising from adaptations to an antecedent material or social condition which is external to the ethnic culture.

He strongly criticizes these two biases, and argues, instead, that the structure of the Chinese family in North America was largely determined by the structural conditions of the two host societies, rather than internal cultural factors. He suggests that the immigration systems of the two countries imposed various structural constraints upon the Chinese, and precluded them from bringing their wives and children to North America. The patterns of 'separated' families and 'married-bachelor' society were the results of institutional racism and had little to do with traditional Chinese culture. As evidence, he points to the innovative kinship ties of the American Chinese, such as 'paper sons' or fictive kinship, hasty marriages, and kinship chains

which have no equivalents in traditional Chinese culture. They are differential strategies devised by the Chinese to overcome the legal obstacles in immigrating to the United States.

To better understand the position of the Chinese in the ethnic stratification system and their concentration in certain types of businesses, such as laundries and restaurants, Li (1976; 1978) advocates a historical/structural approach, i.e., the study of the structural conditions of the host society and the constraints they imposed on the group.

The Syncretic Approach

While conceding primacy to structural factors, a few scholars have maintained that internal cultural variables are also significant in shaping the form of overseas Chinese social organization. The organizational structure of overseas Chinese is argued to consist of both innovative and transplanted elements. A few examples of this approach are reviewed below.

D.E. Willmott

Although not explicitly, D.E. Willmott (1960) maintains that the organizational structure of the Semarang³ Chinese is determined by both situational and cultural factors. The

3) Semarang is a city in Java, Indonesia.

structural variables, however, have greater impact on the Chinese.

According to Willmott (1960:99), speech group is only one of the many bases of social organization among the Chinese in Semarang. Unlike other parts of Southeast Asia, the Chinese collectivity in Semarang is not organized along speech-group lines. The major commercial, charitable, ceremonial, social, and recreational associations recruit members from all speech groups. The few speech-group hui kuan are supported by the Totok, or China-born group only.

The Chinese collectivity is segmented along generational and social-class lines.

Chinese society in Semarang may be presented as divided horizontally by lines of prestige and power and vertically by lines of group identification. The horizontal lines are based upon socio-economic distinctions and educational achievements. The vertical lines are based upon the Totok (China-born Chinese) - Peranakan (Indonesian-born Chinese) distinction and upon type of education (Chinese or Dutch) (Willmott, 1960:127).

Totoks (China-born Chinese) and Peranakans (Indonesian-born Chinese) tend to draw a clear line between themselves. Nearly all Indonesian-born Chinese have Indonesian mothers and grandmothers and they speak Indonesian in their homes. Therefore, the difference between the two groups are more than just a matter of birth-place. Distinct social

boundaries are based on linguistic, social, cultural, educational and ethnic differences.

The Semarang Chinese are stratified into three somewhat self-conscious status groups: (1) a small group of wealthy Chinese at the top, (2) a larger group of kampung, or poor, Chinese at the bottom, and (3) the 'ordinary' or middle-class Chinese in-between (Willmott, 1960:122).

Social participation is structured along socio-economic lines. Willmott (1960:123) states that:

.... social participation is limited not so much by distinct lines between groups as by relative distances. That is, there is no exclusiveness between fixed groups, but people in any position prefer not to have close social relations or friendships with people too far "below" them. A teacher, for instance, may feel excluded from social contact with the very wealthy class. He has few interests in common with them and feels uneasy in their presence. On the other hand, he does not enjoy the company of uneducated people and has few friends among kampung Chinese. He finds most of his friends (and almost certainly his wife) among the educated people of the middle class.

There is a striking similarity between the organizational pattern of the Semarang Chinese and the contemporary Ottawa Chinese. The explanation for this appears to be the relatively high degree of acculturation and social

mobility in both groups. The cultural boundaries between the Semarang Chinese and the other ethnic groups are very indistinct since, according to Willmott (1960:15), "acculturation toward the European way of life on the one hand and the Indonesian on the other have proceeded very far among certain groups of Chinese." There is also a high degree of occupational and social mobility (Willmott, 1960:119-124).

To summarize, Willmott maintains that structural factors largely determine the organizational pattern of the Chinese collectivity, but a number of transplanted institutions are still supported by the Totok (China-born) group.

Weiss

Melford S. Weiss (1974) has found Crissman's (1967) segmentary model unsatisfactory in his analysis of the social organization of the Chinese in Valley City (Sacramento, California), and proposes a modified model which has special reference to Chinese social organization in the United States. He argues that the segmentary model is only useful for understanding the early Chinese immigrant collectivities.

He hypothesizes that the forms of voluntary associations are related to the degree of structural assimilation of the members of the Chinese group. He states that:

As assimilation processes increase, the forms or functions of Chinese organizations will approach an American pattern. When assimilation processes are retarded or restricted, the Chinese community will adopt isolationist and protective institutional measures (Weiss, 1974:7).

He utilizes a 'tripartite' model to account for the three forms of voluntary associations in the Valley City Chinese collectivity - traditionist, modernist, and activist organizations. These three organizational types reflect:

- (1) the different ideological commitments of their members,
- (2) their major goals, and (3) the sociological profiles of their members (Weiss, 1974:151). Memberships in traditionist, modernist and activist associations are highly correlated with, though not determined by, certain socio-economic variables such as generation, age, language, education and occupation.

According to Weiss, traditionists, modernists and activists are basically cultural types. Traditionists are those Chinese who try to maintain the values and culture of traditional Chinese society. On the other hand, modernists are those American Chinese "who consciously and conspicuously pursue an American lifestyle" (Weiss, 1974:152) and willingly acculturate to the mainstream of society. Activists are concerned with their group identity as Americans and as Chinese. However, they, unlike the traditionists and

modernists, plan to actively change their present minority position in the United States'. Like Willmott (1960), Weiss has focussed on both structural and cultural variables in his study.

Johnson

In a recent paper on the Chinese family and the Chinese collectivity in Canada, Johnson (1979) combines the transplanted culture approach with the structural approach in his analysis.. On the one hand, he argues that:

Overseas Chinese communities in Canada, like those in other parts of the world, were essentially urban. China itself had a substantial degree of urbanization in the past. The adaptation of Chinese rural migrants to Chinese cities is a clue to how Chinese were to behave when they moved abroad and formed communities overseas (Johnson, 1979:359).

On the other hand, he maintains that:

the emergence of a particular kind of community in scattered and culturally distinct parts of the world - although reflective of certain Chinese cultural patterns - was also a consequence of a common effort on the part of dominant political authorities to exclude the Chinese segment of the population from full participation in social life (Johnson, 1979:359).

He suggests that during the early phase, the Chinese employed some aspects of traditional Chinese culture as mechanisms to deal with the strangeness of a new culture, separation from a traditional way of life, and racial prejudice and discrimination.

As a result of changes in the structural conditions of the host society, especially Canadian immigration policy, Johnson argues that the development of Chinese-Canadian families and collectivities went through three phases: from the 'bachelor society' phase during which the group consisted predominantly of men, through the 'normalization' phase during which families were reunited, to the 'family society' phase during which Chinese families become little different from other Canadian families. During the 'bachelor society' phase, the focus of Chinese collectivities was the voluntary associations modelled after traditional Chinese organizations. The character of Chinese collectivities has changed during the 'family society' phase. The older associations still exist, but a new structure has been grafted onto the old. Despite these changes in the structure of the Chinese family and collectivity, Johnson (1979:369) maintains that "in some respects there is the continuity in traditional familial values." This statement very well reflects Johnson's syncretic approach.

Conclusion

This review has focussed on three different approaches to the study of overseas Chinese social organization: the transplanted culture approach, the structural approach, and the syncretic approach. The conflicting findings of these schools suggest that a strictly structural or transplanted culture approach is probably an oversimplification of the organizational complexity of the overseas Chinese. Some evidence indicates that during the initial phase of contact with the host society, the Chinese had usually transplanted selected traditional Chinese cultural patterns to help them adapt to the structural conditions of a hostile environment. It seems that a syncretic approach which takes into consideration both structural and cultural factors is a better analytical framework.

Although this study has focussed on the impact of external variables on the Ottawa Chinese collectivity in explaining the changing patterns of social organization, it has also taken into account internal cultural factors. The latter were particularly significant during the early development of the collectivity.

Chapter 3

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

The main objective of this study is to examine the effects of external factors, such as the immigration system, the mode of incorporation, and the changing political events in China, have on the pattern of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. Before outlining the sociological framework of this study, it is necessary to define and review the key terms. The two major theoretical concepts used are ethnic incorporation and ethnic social organization.

Definition of Ethnic Incorporation

Ethnic incorporation is defined as a process whereby ethnic groups in a society are brought into full participation in the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the mainstream of that society.¹ Ethnic incorporation is regarded here as an ongoing process and not as a final outcome. It is used in a generic sense much broader than the common meaning attributed to assimilation. The latter is usually conceived of as a process in which an ethnic group becomes an indistinguishable part of the dominant group. For example, Rose (1956:557-558) defines assimilation as "the adoption by a person or group of the cultural of another social group to

1) This concept is very similar to Schermerhorn's (1970) idea of integration.

such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture." According to our definition, an ethnic group can be incorporated into the economic and political mainstream, but at the same time maintains some of its social and cultural distinctiveness. Ethnic Incorporation does not necessarily mean being indistinguishable from the dominant group. The term assimilation will only be used to refer to the final outcome in which an ethnic group is completely absorbed into (i.e. indistinguishable from) the host society.

Three Traditional Models of Ethnic Incorporation

Three important models have been developed in the United States to define the process of ethnic incorporation: (1) Anglo-conformity, (2) the melting-pot, and (3) cultural pluralism. These three macro or over-arching frameworks reflect the differing conceptions of ethnic incorporation in American society, since they have been derived from their counterparts in popular social doctrines. A number of writers, such as Berkson (1920), Glazer (1954), Gordon (1964) and Newman (1973: chapter 3), have shown that these theoretical interpretations were formulated as sociological frameworks only after they had gained popularity as social philosophies, or doctrines, in the United States.

To distinguish between the sociological versions from

the popular conceptions of the three orientations to ethnic incorporation, Newman (1973) has labelled the former sociological theories and the latter social ideologies.

The Anglo-conformity Model - The adherents of the Anglo-conformity model argue that all immigrant groups in the U.S. eventually conform to the mores, life-style and values of the core group in society, namely the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) group. According to Newman (1973:53), this model can be expressed in the following formula: $A + B + C = A$, where A, B and C represent different social groups and A is the core group.

The basic premise in both the sociological and ideological versions of the Anglo-conformity concept is the desirability and inevitability of maintaining English-derived institutions (as modified by the American context), the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life.

The concept reflects a belief in the basic homogeneity of the host society. It expects immigrants to give up their Old-World culture and language and to conform to the dominant social and cultural norms of the host society. Newman (1973: 53) suggests that it is basically a majority-oriented ideology. The social manifestation of this doctrine was the 'Americanization' movement which gained momentum after the First World War in the United States.

The Melting-Pot Model - Central to the melting-pot model is the assumption that the process of ethnic incorporation does not move only in the direction of conformity to the core group, but that all ethnic groups will contribute to the development of a new group which is an amalgamation of all groups.

Newman (1973:63) refers to this concept as a minority utopia.

He has summarized the main thesis of this model as follows:

$A + B + C = D$, where A, B and C represent different ethnic groups and D a new emerging group which is an amalgam of all three groups.

The spirit of this ideology is best represented in Israel Zangwill's play, The Melting Pot (1909). In a frequently quoted passage, the hero in the play declares that,

America is God's Crucible, the great
Melting-Pot where all the races of
Europe are melting and re-forming!
Here you stand, good folk, think I,
when I see them at Ellis Island,
here you stand in your fifty groups,
with your fifty languages and histories,
and your fifty blood hatreds and
rivalries. But you won't be long like
that, brothers, for these are the
fires of God you've come to - these are
the fires of God. A fig for your
feuds and vendettas! Germans and
Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen,
Jews and Russians - into the Crucible
with you all! God is making the
American (Zangwill, 1909:37).

Before the First World War, the melting-pot idea gained considerable popularity in the United States. It was believed that the various European peoples would fuse together with the dominant group to produce a new people - 'Americans'. To most

of its proponents, Blacks and Asians were, however, 'unmeltable', and they were not included in the process. After the First World War, this idea had lost general acceptance. Many became aware that the American 'crucible' was not working very well, and that some ethnic groups persisted for a very long time. The main reason for this was that there was a change in the distribution of the immigrants arriving in the United States from the different European countries. Before the War, most of the immigrants were from northwestern European countries, such as Britain, Holland, and Germany, and they were quickly incorporated. This was not the case for the southern and eastern Europeans who came after the First World War in large numbers.

Cultural Pluralism - Since the Second World War, the concept of cultural pluralism has gained currency among social scientists in North America. A clear definition of cultural pluralism has been provided by Gordon (1964:13) who defines it as:

a point of view which offers legitimization of the preservation of sub-national communal life and some cultural differences for the nation's various ethnic groups, and justifies the result as providing a more democratic, more interesting, and more dynamically fruitful culture of all Americans than one in which uniformity was the norm.

The central thesis of cultural pluralism can be restated as: $A + B + C = A + B + C$, where A, B and C represent different ethnic groups (Newman, 1973:67). According to this model,

ethnic incorporation is achieved through the conformity of immigrants to the majority group in those areas which are vital to the integration of the national society, but ethnic groups are able to maintain their cultural differences. This concept implies an incomplete fusion of the various groups in the incorporation process.

Relevance of the Three Models for English Canada - How well do the Anglo-conformity, melting-pot and cultural pluralism models fit the realities of the ethnic groups in English Canada? As a representation of the real world, the melting-pot model is not a correct description of the historical reality in English Canada. The contributions of the ethnic groups to the formation of English-Canadian culture have been relatively few and insignificant as compared to the dominant Anglo group. Both Anglo-conformity and cultural pluralism, on the other hand, explain only part of the experiences of the ethnic groups. What has actually occurred in English Canada seems to be somewhere between the descriptions of these two models. Although Anglo-conformity explains the high degree of acculturation and secondary social incorporation, it leaves unanswered the question of why ethnic collectivities still exist in English Canada after a long period of ethnic incorporation. While cultural pluralism can account for the low level of primary-social incorporation of ethnic groups, it has difficulties in

explaining the high rate of acculturation and secondary-social incorporation.

According to the ideology of the Canadian governing elite, Canada consists of 'two founding nations' and 'other-ethnic' groups. The official policy of the Canadian government, which comes rather close to cultural pluralism, is one of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework".² This policy emerged from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969). Unlike other multi-ethnic countries, ethnic particularisms are officially recognized, and to some extent encouraged in Canada.

Structural Pluralism - Gordon (1964) has suggested that structural pluralism is a better concept for interpreting the social realities of the United States than the three traditional models. He defines structural pluralism as an inter-group relations situation in which the ethnic groups of a society maintain a high degree of structural separation, but, at the same time, are highly acculturated to the cultural patterns of the dominant group of that society. The ethnic groups keep most of their primary relations within their own group, but participate widely in secondary relations with the wider society. This model is also relevant to the situation in English Canada. The sociological framework used in this study draws substantially from this perspective.

2) See "Statement by the Prime Minister, House of Commons, October 8, 1971", Office of the Prime Minister, Ottawa.

Sequences of Ethnic Incorporation

Another approach to the study of ethnic incorporation is to view the process through an extended time-frame and to map out the stages or phases through which one or more ethnic groups pass when they come into contact with the host society. This form of analysis is temporal and developmental. Developmental sequences are not theories, but they are useful in organizing a vast amount of heterogeneous material. By setting out the stages of incorporation and showing how one stage passes into the next, a sequence becomes a classificatory system which goes further than mere descriptions at different time-points.

Since this study ~~has applied~~ a developmental sequence to the analysis of the Chinese collectivity in Ottawa, it is necessary to review some of the major models of race-relations cycle and to point out their weaknesses and potentialities.³

One of the most influential theories in the field of race and ethnic relations has been that of the race-relations cycle advanced by Robert E. Park (1950).⁴ According to his classic formulation, "In the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself" (Park, 1950:150). He maintains that all race relations begin with some form of contact, and the contact phase is usually followed by competition and conflict which eventually lead to

3) For summaries and discussions of the various race-relations cycles and incorporation sequences, see Shibutani and Kwan, 1965: chapter 5; Price, 1969, and Berry and Tischler, 1978:chapter 7.

4) Most of Park's work on race relations is found in his Race and Culture (1950) published posthumously.

some form of adjustment or accommodation. He argues that the final outcome is assimilation. He also asserts that the cyclical pattern tends to be progressive and irreversible, except when retarded by obstacles.

Park was aware of the fact that his hypothesized sequence is not always operative. He tried to explain away the contradictions to his theory by introducing the concept of obstacles (see Lyman, 1968:16-18). He argued that progress along the hypothesized line is inevitable, except when impeded by some interfering factors.

Following Park, Louis Wirth (1928) and Nathan Glazer (1957) have applied a race-relations cycle perspective to the analysis of the history of American Jews. Other examples include the inter-group cycles of Bogardus (1930), Brown (1934), and Lieberman (1961).

Based primarily on his observations of the relations between the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican immigrants and the white society in California, Bogardus (1930:613) maintains that there are "sufficient recurrences in each case, as well as similarities in the behavior recurrences, to justify the label of a race-relations cycle". The stages in his incorporation process are: (1) curiosity, (2) economic welcome, (3) industrial and social antagonism, (4) legislative antagonism, (5) fair-play tendencies, (6) quiescence, and (7) second-generation difficulties. The stages outlined by Bogardus are also applicable

to the experiences of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants in British Columbia.

W.O. Brown (1934) argues that race relations have a natural history, and proposes the following phases: (1) initial contact, (2) emergence of conflict, (3) temporary accommodation, (4) struggle for status, (5) mobilization, and (6) solution. Although pointing out that there are three possible ways out, he believes that "in the long run the only permanent solution of race conflict is the complete absorption and assimilation of the races in a common culture and social order" (Brown, 1934: 46).

Stanley Lieberman (1961) provides an example of a race-relations cycle that is of more universal application. He maintains that the most important variable in determining the developmental process of race relations is the power relations between migrant and indigenous groups. His thesis is that "when the population migrating to a new contact situation is superior in technology (particularly weapons) and more tightly organized than the indigenous group, the necessary conditions for maintaining the migrants' political and economic institutions are usually imposed on the indigenous population" (Lieberman, 1961:904). Warfare often occurs early after the contact stage with the imposition of the migrants' institutions resulting. On the other hand, "when a population migrates to a subordinate position considerably less conflict occurs in the early stages"

(Lieberson, 1961:905). In the case of migrant subordination, the host society usually exerts pressure on the migrant group to assimilate, and the newcomers tend to become integrated with relative ease and rapidity.

Evaluation of Race-Relations Cycles

A common assumption among proponents of race-relations cycles is that progress along an hypothesized line is inevitable, except when something interfered with it. As a result of this type of circular argument, race-relations cycles have often been attacked as inherently unfalsifiable and, therefore, unscientific (Bock, 1956; Lipset, 1950; Berry and Tischler, 1978).

For example, S.M. Lipset (1950:479) has commented concerning Park's cycle that:

By their very nature, hypotheses about the inevitability of cycles, whether they be cycles of race relations or the rise and fall of civilizations, are not testable at all.

The critics are correct in pointing out the weakness of race-relations cycles as theories. Race-relations cycles are most fruitful if regarded, not as scientific theories, but as models for guiding research. It seems that the race-relations theorists themselves did not insist that they are universally applicable empirical generalizations.

A close reading of Park's writings on race relations suggests that he believed that complete assimilation in some cases will come about only in the long-run (perhaps over

several hundred years), but in the meantime, various forms of adjustment might exist for extended periods of time. His cycle is, therefore, a hypothesized developmental sequence and not a theory. The rigid determinism which some critics have attributed to Park's cycle is not there in his writings. In fact, at one point, he states that:

The course of events....is always more complicated than this statement of it indicates, and it is not possible to predict with any certainty the final outcome, except that one may expect with a certain amount of assurance, that when stabilization is finally achieved race relations will assume one of three configurations. They will take the form of a caste system, as in India; they will terminate in complete assimilation as in China; or the unassimilated race will constitute a permanent racial minority within the limits of a national state, as in the case of the Jews in Europe. (Park, 1950:194).

Bogardus seems to have regarded his cycle as a model. He had in mind only the relations of the Asian and Mexican immigrants with the Caucasian Americans in California when he proposed his race-relations cycle. He later put forward other cycles to describe other inter-group situations (Ross and Bogardus, 1940; Bogardus, 1941). Similarly, both Brown (1934) and Lieberman (1961) have maintained that the final outcome of the inter-group relations cycle is problematical and that alternative situations are possible.

The usefulness of a developmental model is its ability

to give order to unorganized data, and to generate hypotheses for research (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:116-135; Lyman, 1968). By drawing attention to progressive stages, it also provides a historical dimension to the analysis which other approaches lack.

Multi-dimensional Approach to Ethnic Incorporation

One other useful way of analyzing ethnic incorporation is to subdivide the process into its constituent elements. Various indicators are then devised to measure the different sub-processes. Sociologists have usually divided the incorporation process into three sub-processes - acculturation (adoption of the culture of the dominant group), structural integration (social participation in the institutions of the dominant group), and amalgamation (intermarriage). For example, Roy (1962) has broken down the concept into three variables - acculturation, social integration and amalgamation - in his model for the measurement of ethnic incorporation.

One of the most influential models of ethnic incorporation has been the one put forward by Gordon (1964) in his book, Assimilation in American Life. The central theme of the book is that ethnic incorporation is not a single social process, but a number of different sub-processes or variables. By combining cultural, structural and attitudinal factors, he derived a model consisting of seven sub-processes:

Table 1 The Assimilation (Incorporation)
Variables in Gordon's Model

<u>Subprocess or Condition</u>	<u>Type of Stage of Assimilation</u>
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society on primary group level	Structural assimilation
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation

Source: Gordon, 1964:71

Gordon (1964:77, 81) has hypothesized the following relationships between the variables:

- (1) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene;
- (2) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely;

and,

- (3) once the structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow.

Gordon's multi-dimensional model is valuable and has been widely employed in empirical research. There are, however, a few weak points in the model. Firstly, it does not make a clear distinction between structural incorporation on the secondary-group level and the primary-group level. Secondly, there is no place for economic incorporation in the model, though it is a distinct and important aspect of the incorporation process. Thirdly, there is also no mention of political-legal incorporation. Fourthly, the cultural and structural dimensions in the model are too inclusive. They should be broken down into their constituent parts for measurement.

Ethnic Social Organization

Ethclass

Gordon's (1964) concept of ethclass is an important contribution to the conceptualization of ethnic social organization. It points to the importance of the participatory group formed by the interaction of ethnicity and class. Gordon (1964:51) defines the ethclass as the "social space created by the intersection of ethnic group with the social class." This concept can be graphically presented as follows:

own class-status group within their own ethnic group - that is, to the ethclass. To quote Gordon (1964:53-54):

Succinctly, then, one may say that the ethnic group is the locus of a sense of historical identification, while the ethclass is the locus of a sense of participational identification. With a person of the same social class but of a different group, one shares behavioral similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but a different social class, one shares the sense of peoplehood, but not behavioral similarities. The only group which meets both of these criteria are people of the same ethnic group and same social class. With these "birds of our feather" we truly share a sense of what the early sociologist, Franklin Giddings, called "consciousness of kind" - with these particular members of the human race and no others we can really relax and participate with ease and without strain.

Social mobility has brought about an increasing degree of status differentiation within ethnic collectivities. The class-status group is becoming the basic unit of social organization. Ethclass is, therefore, a useful conceptual tool for studying ethnic social organization.

Eth-gen-class

Differential rates of ethnic incorporation have socially segmented some immigrant groups into a number of generational units. In his study of the Japanese in the United States, Kitano (1969) has added a third variable - generation - to the ethclass model, so that the basic frame-

work for analysis is the 'eth-gen-class'. This new concept more accurately describes the realities of some immigrant groups, such as the Chinese and the Japanese, in Canada and the United States.

Relationship between Ethnic Incorporation and Ethnic Social Organization

It is commonly assumed in the literature that the degree of incorporation of an ethnic group is partly determined by the social organization of the group. For example, Breton (1964) points out in his study that the ability of an ethnic collectivity to attract recent immigrants into its social boundaries is largely dependent on the degree of institutional completeness, or organizational complexity, of the group. It has been found that the higher the degree of institutional completeness, the greater the ability of the ethnic collectivity to attract newcomers to remain within the confines of the group.

Important as they are, Breton's findings show only one side of the relationship between the two variables. There is some evidence that the degree of incorporation to the wider society also has significant effects on the social organization of an ethnic group.

In his study of the Chinese collectivity in 'Valley City' (Sacramento, California), Weiss (1974) has argued that the analysis of the social organization of an ethnic group can

be used to understand the involvement of the group in the incorporation process. He states that:

Social organization reflects the major social and cultural commitments of the community's members and diagrams the process by which these stated and unstated commitments are translated into behaviour. (Weiss, 1974:5).

It appears from Weiss's study that ethnic incorporation has important effects on ethnic social organization.

Sociological Framework

Since this study deals with the influences of external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese, its theoretical framework will embody both synchronic and temporal perspectives. The focus of analysis will be on the impact of Canadian immigration policy and the mode of ethnic incorporation on the organizational pattern. A modified version of Park's race-relations cycle will be used to examine the changing relationships between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society. Based primarily on changes in the immigration system and the mode of incorporation, the developmental sequence of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity will consist of three stages: (1) the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), (2) the transition phase (1947-1962), and (3) the integration phase (since 1962). This diachronic perspective is a useful way of ordering data in the manner in which the Chinese immigrants became incorporated into

the host society. The patterns of social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during these three periods will be analyzed and correlated to their corresponding phase.

Central to this formulation are three major historical hypotheses. Firstly, it is hypothesized that the Ottawa Chinese as a group moved towards increasing incorporation into the wider society. It will be shown that the three phases of race relations the Chinese went through reflected this experience. Secondly, it is hypothesized that the changes in the organizational pattern of the Ottawa Chinese were closely correlated to the changes in the external variables, such as the immigration system, the mode of incorporation, and the political situation in China. Thirdly, it is hypothesized that these organizational changes were adaptive responses to the structural constraints and opportunities in the outside world.

Three Phases of Race Relations

Absence of Conflict during the Early Phase

All race relations originate with some form of contact. In the case of the Ottawa Chinese, they were first brought into contact with the Canadian society through migration. The early Chinese immigrants to Canada first entered British Columbia. Most of them were engaged in mining and railway building. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 left thousands of Chinese unemployed in British Columbia

with few opportunities for other work. Some began to move to other provinces in search of a livelihood. The development of a Chinese settlement in Ottawa in the early 1890s was the outcome of this eastern shift of British Columbia's Chinese population.

According to the race-relations cycles of Park (1950), Bogardus (1930), and Brown (1934), contact is usually followed by conflict or competition, especially for employment. However, this was not the case for the early Chinese in Ottawa. Conflict and competition were conspicuously absent in the early relations between the Chinese and the wider society. There were two major reasons for this. Firstly, unlike the early Chinese in British Columbia, who constituted a large percentage of the province's population, the Chinese population in Ottawa was very small before the Second World War. Secondly, arriving from British Columbia, they had already learned how to accommodate themselves to the majority group. Most of them entered into the laundry and restaurant businesses. Others accepted whatever work that was available in the wider society, and these were often jobs that the members of the majority group were unwilling to take. In other words, they occupied economic niches that were undesirable to the host society.

Accommodation Phase, ca. 1890-1947

According to most ethnic developmental sequences, the accommodation phase usually follows the early conflict phase.

In the case of the Ottawa Chinese, there was no conflict phase.

The strategy of adaptation adopted by the Ottawa Chinese during the early years was one of accommodation through institutionalized contact with the wider society. This phase of race relations began shortly after their arrival in Ottawa at around 1890 and lasted till 1947.

Park's use of the concept of accommodation comes closest to ours. According to Park and Burgess (1921:735), accommodation is defined as:

a process of adjustment, that is, an organization of social relations and attitudes to prevent or to reduce conflict, to control competition, and to maintain a basis of security in the social order for persons and groups of divergent interests and types to carry on together their varied life-activities.

Accommodation is some kind of modus vivendi worked out between the majority group and the minority group and it can take various forms, such as caste, segregation (enforced and voluntary), and institutionalized contact through intermediaries. The last example was the form adopted by the Ottawa Chinese during the first phase.

Accommodation through institutionalized contact is an intergroup-relations situation in which an immigrant group and the host society are interrelated primarily through the activities of a small group of intermediaries, or intermarket operators. The intermarket operator may be defined as a person

who functions as a means of contact between a subsystem and a larger social system. This situation is most likely to evolve when (1) two groups, one superordinate and one subordinate, interact through a small number of relatively more acculturated members of the subordinate group, and (2) there is no strong competition for jobs or other economic resources. Such institutionalized contacts are usually peripheral to the social life of both groups, since such relationships have little effect upon intra-group relations. They also do not bring about any major change in cultural orientation.

During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese interacted with the host society principally through a small group of intermarket operators. The latter consisted mostly of Chinese merchants - restaurant, laundry and grocery owners - who were usually better educated than most of the early Chinese immigrants. They were also more likely to speak English.

During this period, the Ottawa Chinese were not really incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian society, since they participated in few of its institutions. The average early Chinese immigrant had little contact with persons outside his own group. They were faced with racial prejudice and discrimination and were not accepted as social equals by members of the host society.

Following Gordon's multi-dimensional approach, the incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the wider society

during the three phases will be analyzed in terms of five behavioral sectors or dimensions: (1) political, (2) economic, (3) social, (4) cultural, and (5) identificational. Political incorporation is defined as the degree to which the ethnic group participates in the political process of the wider society. Economic incorporation measures the degree the ethnic group adopts the occupational pattern of the wider society. A distinction is made here between primary and secondary social incorporation. Primary social incorporation measures the degree to which the ethnic group participates in the cliques, friendship networks, and other primary groups of the dominant group. Secondary social incorporation, on the other hand, measures the degree to which the ethnic group participates in the 'public' social structures and other secondary groups of the wider society. Cultural incorporation is defined as the degree to which the ethnic group adopts the values, life-styles, and language of the wider society. Finally, identificational incorporation measures the degree to which the ethnic group members think of the host society as their permanent home and their country.

During the accommodation phase, the degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the wider Canadian society was low on all five dimensions. The Ottawa Chinese were not really an integral part of the Canadian political community during this period. The predominant majority were aliens ineligible to vote. Few Chinese participated in the political process of

the wider society in any way.

U8 Their relationships with the host society were mainly economic. The Chinese were not incorporated into the general labour force of the larger society, since they were not generally accepted as social equals in the work-place. They worked within a system of ethnic enterprises, consisting of restaurants, laundries, and groceries. No outsiders were employed within the Chinese ethnic business system. Though operating within a segregated market system with its own labour force and financial institutions, the Ottawa Chinese were economically dependent on the host society. The Chinese laundries and restaurants patronized by the majority group, provided the main sources of income for the group. The Chinese economic sub-system was related to the wider market through intermarket operators who acted as interpreters and counsellors for the group.

The degree of cultural incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese was very low during the accommodation phase. Few of the early Chinese immigrants spoke English, and they usually communicated with the wider society through the intermarket operators who spoke English. Since the majority of the Chinese could not communicate directly with members of the wider society, they remained relatively insulated from Canadian culture and values. Had they been allowed to bring their families, the children would have acquired a knowledge of English and Canadian culture through the public school system. However, barred by the

1923 Chinese Immigration Act⁵ from bringing their wives and children, the Ottawa Chinese remained a familyless male group during this phase.

There was little social interaction on the primary or personal level between the Chinese and the larger society. Social contacts were usually structured and took the form of a waiter - customer or proprietor - customer relationship.

The early Chinese immigrants were mostly birds of passage. They regarded their sojourn in Canada as temporary and planned on returning to their native village in China after they had saved up a small fortune. As a result, they were strongly oriented to their home country and did not identify with Canada.

This study will examine the degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese to the wider society during the period by devising empirical indicators for the five dimensions.

The accommodation phase coincided with the head-tax period (1885-1923) and the exclusion period (1923-1947) in the history of Chinese immigration to Canada. During the head-tax period, all Chinese immigrating to Canada had to pay an immigration tax. During the exclusion period, the Chinese were totally barred from entering Canada. The social organization of the Ottawa Chinese, especially the structure of the family, was largely determined by the structural constraints imposed by the immigration system. The pattern of 'separated'

5) Popularly known as the Chinese Exclusion Act.

families and 'married-bachelor' society were the products of the immigration policy (see Li, 1979).

The Transition Phase, 1947-1962

The period from 1947 to 1962 will be conceptualized as the transition phase. The repeal of the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act in 1947 marked the beginning of social changes which eventually transformed the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the larger society. During this period, the degree of majority prejudice and discrimination towards the Chinese lessened considerably, and the group began to be incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian society, especially in the economic and political sectors.

Many Chinese moved out of the ethnic labour market to work in the wider society, as job opportunities became more available. The importance of the intermarket operators diminished as more Chinese participated directly in the social institutions of Canadian society. Increasing involvement in the economic structure of the mainstream brought the Ottawa Chinese into social contacts with the host society and augmented their chances of acculturation.

The repeal of the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act resulted in the reunification of many Chinese families. The sex ratio also became more balanced.

The Integration Phase, since 1962

The entrance of the Ottawa Chinese into the social structures of the wider society in the last two decades has brought about the incorporation of the group into the mainstream of Canadian society. The period since 1962 is conceptualized as the integration phase. In 1962, the Canadian government introduced an assessment system into its immigration policy. With this change, the Chinese could, for the first time since the passage of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, apply for immigration to Canada as independent immigrants. This had important consequences for the demographic structure of the Ottawa Chinese.

The concept of integration has been defined differently (Gluckman, 1969:389; Schermerhorn, 1970:66; Hunter and Walker, 1974:8; Burkey, 1978:118). According to Burkey (1978:118), "integration as a social condition may be defined as the general irrelevance of racial or ethnic status in most areas of social life in distinguishing and separating members of two or more groups or all of the ethnic and racial groups within the total society". This definition will be employed here to delineate the contemporary relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society.

The racial status of the Chinese no longer excludes them from participating in the social institutions of the host society during the integration phase. They are now highly incorporated into the wider society on all dimensions, except on the primary-

social one.

Most of the Ottawa Chinese are either Canadian-born or naturalized Canadian citizens. They now constitute an integral part of the Canadian political structure. Occupationally, the Ottawa Chinese are no longer restricted to work in their own economic sub-system. They are now widely distributed throughout the occupational structure of the wider society. Having been through the socialization process of the public school system, the second-generation Chinese are often highly acculturated. They speak English as their first language and have learned the Canadian way of life. Recent Chinese immigrants are also more likely to speak English. In terms of orientations, most of the Chinese now regard Canada as their permanent home.

Incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese has occurred at the secondary-level of relationships, i.e., at work and in the public arena. The Chinese, however, are not incorporated into the host society at the primary-group level. As will be shown later, they are still excluded from the intimate friendship circles or cliques of the majority group.

Changing Patterns of Social Organization

This study uses a syncretic approach to the analysis of the pattern of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, i.e., it focusses on both external structural

and internal cultural determinants. It is argued here that the direction of the development of the organizational structure were primarily determined by the group's relations with the majority group, and secondarily by the structural constraints imposed by the Canadian immigration policy. Changing political events in China also had some effect on the structure. To analyze the impact of the changes in the mode of incorporation and the immigration system on the organizational pattern, the corresponding forms of social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the three phases will be examined. It is hypothesized that the form of social organization will be transformed with changes in the mode of incorporation and the immigration policy. Three forms of social organization - the early form, the transition form, and the contemporary form - developed in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity corresponding to the accommodation phase, the transition phase, and the integration phase.

Dynamics of Change

Changes in the pattern of social organization in the past were brought about by the increasing social differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. Internal social differentiation segmented the group, and led to the disintegration of the old organizational structure. In turn, this initiated a process of re-integration and the formation of a new pattern of social organization.

Internal social differentiation was largely determined by external conditions, the two most important ones being the mode of incorporation and the immigration system. Increasing ethnic incorporation was associated with acculturation and social mobility for some segments of the Chinese collectivity, and this brought about a process of differentiation along generational and social-class lines. Changes in the immigration policy also had significant effects on the process of internal social differentiation. The predominant majority of Chinese immigrants before 1947 were peasants from Kwangtung Province. Since 1947, the majority of them were from cosmopolitan Hong Kong. Before 1962, the great majority of the Chinese immigrants were not highly educated. With the introduction of an assessment system in 1962, a significant number of them were highly-qualified. These changes in the pattern of Chinese immigration reinforced the differentiation process.

The Early Form of Social Organization

As a result of the structural constraints imposed by the host society which prevented them from participating fully in the social institutions of the mainstream, the early Ottawa Chinese transplanted traditional Chinese organizing principles and institutions to Ottawa. Crissman's (1967) segmentary model of the social structure of overseas Chinese

collectivities will be applied to the analysis of the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase. The social structure of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity will be divided into informal social organization, or the pattern of social cliques and formal social organization, or the pattern of voluntary associations.

Informal Social Organization during the Accommodation Phase -

With a few rare exceptions, all the early Chinese immigrants in Ottawa were from Ssu I (the Four Counties) - T'ai Shan, Hsin Hui, K'ai P'ing, En P'ing - near Canton City in Kwangtung Province. They all spoke the Ssu I dialect, and unlike other overseas Chinese collectivities, were not divided into speech groups.

The bases of social organization in the early Ottawa Chinese group followed the traditional Chinese principles of clan, county and dialect group ties. The collectivity was segmented into a number of sub-groups based on clan, county and dialect loyalties, and their social life was also structured along these lines. On the lowest level, the clan was the fundamental unit of organization among the early Chinese immigrants. On a higher level, the county group was the organizing unit. On the collectivity-level, the Ottawa Chinese were divided into dialect groups. This pattern of social organization fits Crissman's segmentary model.

Formal Social Organization - Two types of Chinese voluntary association can be distinguished: 'traditionist' and 'modernist'. Traditionist associations are oriented towards the preservation of traditional Chinese culture and language within the collectivity, while modernist associations are more concerned with relations with the host society. A traditionist association is usually a transplanted social structure. A modernist association, on the other hand, usually adopts the form and format of the voluntary associations of the wider society.

The traditionist-modernist classification of overseas Chinese voluntary associations was originally formulated by Willmot (1969) in his study of the Chinese in Cambodia. It was later employed in the study of the Chinese in Sacramento, California by Weiss (1974). Weiss, however, added a third category to the classification - the activist - to describe those organizations concerned with creating "a new image in a pan-Asian solidarity". Sedgwick and Willmott (1974) have applied the traditionist-modernist dichotomy to the Chinese voluntary associations in Canada.

During the accommodation phase, the voluntary associations of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity were predominantly traditionist in orientation.

The Transition Form of Social Organization

Increasing socio-economic differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity during the transition phase had brought about some changes in the early form of social organization. Renewed immigration from China and Hong Kong since 1947 and acculturation of the second generation during this period had divided the collectivity into three social segments: the pre-1947 Chinese immigrants from Ssu I and San I, the post-1947 immigrants mostly from Hong Kong, and the highly acculturated second-generation Chinese. There were two systems of informal social organization. Firstly, the segmentary system was still in operation among the pre-1947 immigrants who constituted the majority. Secondly, the post-1947 immigrants and the second generation were increasingly organized along generational and social-class lines. Accordingly, the form of informal social organization during the transition phase will be conceptualized as a 'dual system'. During this period, traditionist associations remained dominant.

The Contemporary Form of Social Organization

The Ottawa Chinese have developed a new social form during the integration phase. As mentioned earlier, two major factors have contributed to the transition from the early form to the contemporary form. They are: (1) the acculturation of the second generation and (2) the increasing status differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

These factors, in turn, have been brought about by the increasing incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese to the wider society and the changes in the immigration system during the transition and the integration phases.

During the accommodation phase, the great majority of the Ottawa Chinese were working- or lower-class. In the last twenty years there has been considerable upward social mobility among the Chinese in Ottawa as a result of (1) second-generation Chinese entering well-paid jobs, and (2) the immigration of Chinese professionals and businessmen to Ottawa. The Chinese collectivity is increasingly differentiated in terms of social class.

The primary-group relationships of the Ottawa Chinese during the integration phase are predominantly structured along both ethnic-group and social-class lines. Social mobility has brought about an increasing degree of status differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The class-status group is now the basic unit of informal social organization. Gordon's concept of ethclass will be used as a conceptual tool for studying the form of social organization during the integration phase.

Chinese of the same generation share many cultural and behavioral similarities. For example, while many Chinese immigrants speak little English, it is often the first language of the second generation. As a result of these differences,

the Chinese of the same generation tend to interact mostly with each other. Following Kitano (1969), the eth-gen-class concept will be used as the basic framework for analysing the informal social organization of the contemporary Ottawa Chinese. The eth-gen-class model can be graphically presented as follows:

Figure 2 The Informal Social Organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the Integration Phase (since 1962): The Eth-gen-class Model

Each of the cells in the circle (representing the Ottawa Chinese collectivity) represents an eth-gen-class, and the primary-group relationships of its members are usually confined to it.

During the integration phase, a number of modernist

voluntary associations have been formed. They have replaced the traditionist associations in importance. The modernist voluntary associations reflect a contemporary and middle-class orientation. They are primarily concerned with social service and improving relations with the wider society.

Summary and Assessment

While the various race-relations models reviewed in this chapter each has something to offer, they are found to be inadequate in explaining the experience of the Ottawa Chinese in its entirety. The sociological framework outlined above has been developed to organize and interpret the data collected. It is designed to analyze the effects of the mode of incorporation and the immigration system on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese.

The three phases of race relations, formulated to show the increasing degree of ethnic incorporation among the Ottawa Chinese, can be presented diagrammatically as follows:

Figure 3 The Ottawa Chinese Experience:
Three Phases of Race Relations

The framework helps to show how the form of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity was transformed as a result of changes in the pattern of race relations and the immigration system. During the accommodation phase (low degree of incorporation), the pattern of informal social organization was based on ascribed and particularistic criteria, such as clan, county, and dialect group ties, and the voluntary associations were traditionist in orientation.

During the integration phase, the pattern of informal social organization is based on achieved and universalistic criteria, such as generation and class, and the voluntary associations are predominantly modernist in orientation.

The effects of increasing ethnic incorporation on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese can be simplified in the diagram below:

Figure 4 A Model of the Effects of
Increasing Ethnic Incorporation
on the Social Organization of
the Ottawa Chinese

As shown in the diagram above, increasing incorporation into the wider society was correlated with a high degree of acculturation and social mobility for some segments of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. This led, in turn, to the internal social differentiation of the group in terms of generation and social class. As the group became more heterogeneous, the early form of social organization could no longer integrate the whole group, and a process of re-integration began. A new form of social organization based on generation and social class finally emerged during the integration phase.

The framework developed in this chapter is adequate in dealing with the effects of external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese. Besides having an extended time-range, it is also dynamic. It not only describes the changing patterns of social organization, but also explains the way in which one form was transformed into the next by taking into account both external factors (the mode of incorporation, the immigration system and the changing political events in China) and the resulting internal changes (internal social differentiation).

Chapter 4

PARALLELS IN TRADITIONAL CHINA TO THE EARLY PATTERN OF CHINESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN OTTAWA

The social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947) was essentially a selected transplantation of the organizing principles and social institutions of traditional China. The early social form of the Ottawa Chinese was based on clan, county group (territorial group), dialect group (linguistic group), and secret society ties. These same social bases were also important principles of social organization in traditional China, especially in the urban centres. The purpose of this chapter is to describe in some detail the traditional Chinese organizing principles which were transplanted to Ottawa. These included: (1) clan or surname ties, (2) territorial/linguistic ties, and (3) secret society ties.

Clans in China

In the rural areas of traditional China, the extended kinship network was vital to its members as a safeguard against the dangers and uncertainties of a ruthlessly competitive world that was under-administered, unprotected, and neglected by the imperial government. As a recent researcher points out:

2

Heavily backed by a universally accepted ethic, kinship was an excellent basis for organization; and the larger the organized group, the safer it was (Baker, 1977:504).

The clan, or tsu, was the major organizational structure in the countryside. It was primarily an extended kinship group which traced its origin to the first male ancestor, who settled in a certain spot in rural China at some point in the distant past. Hu (1947:18) gives the following definition of the tsu:

The tsu is a group descended from one ancestor who settled in a certain locality or neighborhood.

The clan, like the joint family, consisted of a group of agnates, their wives, and their unmarried daughters. The distinction between the two was that whereas all property in the joint family was held in common, and no economic division took place, the clan included a number of economically independent kin groups all linked by rather insignificant economic ties. All members of a clan had a share in the clan properties which mainly consisted of agricultural lands.

The clan in the countryside lived in one locality, usually a village, or a group of clustering villages. The urban clan was rare in traditional Chinese society.

The families in one clan had the same surname, or hsing, but families of the same surname did not necessarily

belong to the same clan. The tsu was usually only one section of a village, but in the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, the clan and the village tended to be co-extensive, so that many villages consisted of a single clan. This coincidence of kinship and local community was also found in other parts of China, but in Kwangtung and Fukien, it was most common.

The village was often originated through clan settlement.

At some remote and generally unascertainable time in the dim past, some families arrived from somewhere else, camped down, made themselves a "local habitation" and that was the village (Smith, 1899:30)...

In Kwangtung, whole villages were often inhabited by a single tsu, or two or three tsu.

For example, a single clan and a few individuals and families with other surnames engaged in business (Kulp, 1925:143). Yang's (1959:11) study of a typical Kwangtung village near Canton City, Nanching, gives us some idea of what inter-clan relations were like:

Nanching was composed mainly of two large clans, the Wong clan and the Lee clan, which together claimed the overwhelming majority of the village population and dominated the affairs of the community. In addition, there were three minor clans, the Chen clan, the

Chang clan, and the Ho clan, each of which was numerically small, all occupying the eastern periphery of the village. Although the minor clans had little or no voice in community affairs, they were recognized as established and integral parts of the village. Thus, characteristically, this was a multi-clan village. Aside from the members of the clans, Nanching had a few families and individuals of other surnames who were temporary residents of the village or agricultural laborers from outside, none of whom owned land or a house in the village, and all of whom were regarded by villagers as "floating elements," "sojourners," or "guests" whose roots of life did not belong there.

It is estimated that four out of every five peasants in Kwangtung lived in their clan (Chen, 1936:37). Even in multi-clan villages, each clan tended to occupy a distinct section of the settlement, and there were not many mixed neighbourhoods. The existence of more than one clan in a village might also give rise to inter-clan rivalry and feuding. In most villages in Kwangtung, clan organization was the only viable organizational structure. In single clan villages, clan leadership was also village leadership.

While different types of functions and activities were engaged in by different clans, the following were the most common:

- (1) compilation of up-dating of clan genealogies;

- (2) sacrificial rites to clan ancestors;
- (3) establishment of a clan school for clan children;
- (4) material assistance to needy clan members;
- (5) organizing for village defense;
- (6) mediation in case of disputes between clan members, and
- (7) punishment of offending clan members.

In the traditional Chinese city, the clan was sometimes expanded to include all people of the same surname from the same locality. These surname-cum-locality groupings were often used as the bases for organizing voluntary associations. These organizations were known as t'ung hsing hui (common surname associations).

Territorial/Linguistic Groupings in the City

The traditional Chinese cities consisted of large numbers of people from the villages in the hinterland of the city and people from other districts and provinces. To these non-native urban dwellers, the city was only a place to work and to conduct business. They continued to maintain strong ties with their native-places. While in the city, they associated mostly with people from their own districts or provinces. Common geographic origins and linguistic ties (the two sometimes being co-extensive) provided a framework for organization and social solidarity.

In cities such as Peking, Shanghai, and Canton, the associations structured on common territorial origins played a vital social and economic role. Such organizations were commonly called hui kuan. After the establishment of a republic of China in 1911, many changed their names to t'ung hsiang hui (common territorial associations). Ho P'ing-ti (1966:1) uses the German terms Landsmann and Landsmannschaften to refer to t'ung hsiang (fellow countrymen) and hui kuan.

Western scholars, such as D.J. MacGowan (1896), H.B. Morse (1909), Sidney D. Gamble (1921), J.S. Burgess (1928), and more recently Edward Rhoads (1974) and Peter J. Golas (1977) have tended to treat hui kuan as mainly Chinese commercial and craft guilds, and to neglect them as organizations based on common territorial ties and regional loyalties. Ho P'ing-ti (1966), on the other hand, has focussed on geographically-based hui kuan.

Most hui kuan in the major cities were associations formed by provincial merchant groups. Provincial merchant groups played a key role in the development of China's commerce. Chang (1958) studied the commercial and financial functions of these merchant groups in the latter half of the Ch'ing dynasty. During the period of 1842-1911, there were six dominant provincial merchant groups in China: Kwangtung, Fukien, Shansi, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Chekiang. Chang regarded these as the leading groups because: (1) they maintained a

commanding position in the traditional commercial centres; (2) they were found in all important cities and towns in China, and (3) they controlled the commerce of their own province.

Susan Mann Jones (1974) has shown how one of these provincial merchant groups controlled the financial system in Shanghai. According to Jones, the Chekiang financial clique, or the Ninpo pang, as the group was called in Chinese, dominated the organization of Shanghai's finance and commerce from about 1800 to the 1920s.

According to Ho P'ing-ti (1966), the earliest hui kuan was established in Peking, the capital of the Ming dynasty, during the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) by officials who were from Wu-hu, Anhwei. The early hui kuan in Peking were exclusive clubs for imperial officials from a common territorial area. Later on, the hui kuan were opened to all persons from the same province, prefecture or county.

Outside of Peking, the hui kuan were established mainly by merchants and craftsmen of various geographical groups. They were more like geographically-based commercial guilds, than a general Landsmannschaft. Most were open to all fellow countrymen including merchants, craftsmen, officials, and students.

Hui kuan were a reflection of a very strong local particularism, or regional loyalty, in traditional China. The concept of native-place, or geographical origin, was the

organizing principle behind these territorial associations.

The importance of native-place had its roots in three sources. Firstly, the customary and sometimes legal emphasis on hsiao, or filial piety, reinforced the links to one's native-place, since a man was required to care for his parents in life, and to mourn them after death at their graves in the ancestral home. Furthermore, when a man died, his corpse was inevitably returned to his native-place for burial. Secondly, officials were not allowed to serve in their own province. Intended to make imperial officials outsiders during office, this restriction, in fact, strengthened regional loyalties. Thirdly, the geographically-based examination system aroused regional consciousnesses among the candidates since competition was based on a regional quota. Fourthly, there were linguistic differences between the regions.

According to Eberhard (1967), the traditional Chinese city was divided internally into hsiang, or quarters, from T'ang times onwards. The people in each hsiang, or block, came from the same place and often had the same trade or occupation. In some cases, it was possible to tell the origins of the inhabitants of certain blocks from the names given to their blocks. The residents from these blocks were usually non-native groups coming to the city from afar.

Lyman (1974:18) summarizes the traditional urban pattern and the origins of the hui kuan very well when he writes:

Hui kuan have their specific origins in the cities of China which, organized as regional administrative centers rather than self-governing municipal units, more closely resembled a congeries of "foreigner" communities than they did an independent cosmopolitan metropolis. Although city officials exercised a wide range of authority over taxes, production, commerce, credit, and curfew, the inhabitants of the cities looked to their local leadership - unofficially organized into clubs, guilds, and associations - for guidance, arbitration, and mutual aid. The city typically was composed of "ghetto" areas on blocks and streets whose very names indicated the rural prefectural origins of their denizens. Within these "ghettos", merchant guild associations, burial societies, caravansary clubs, hostelryes for students, itinerant merchants and visitors and clubs for special purposes fulfilled the functions necessary and proper for city life.

For Chinese who resided in a strange city away from their native-place, life was often difficult. Away from the family and the extended kin group, these persons were outsiders to their new communities. Very often, their dialects and customs varied markedly from that of the natives

of the city. As strangers and outsiders, they were often discriminated against by the local populace. They naturally preferred to associate and ally with their fellow countrymen who shared the same hardships in their new residence.

The aim of uniting against discrimination from the native populace can be seen clearly in the constitution of the Ningpo merchant association at Wen-chou Fu. In the preamble, it was stated that:

Here at Wenchow we find ourselves isolated; mountains and sea separate us from Ningpo, and when in trade we excite envy on the part of the Wenchowese, and suffer insult and injury; we have no adequate redress. Merchantile firms, each caring only for itself, experience disgrace and loss - the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a Guild
(MacGowan, 1886:136).

What constituted a territorial group for organizing a hui kuan depended on the number and size of the groups found in the city; it ranged from a county to a prefecture, or even a whole province.

Hui kuan were hostelryes and social centres for the Landsmann. They also organized mutual aid for members in the city and charities for the home district. In cases of dispute between members, the hui kuan acted as mediator and adjudicator. Economic sanctions were often organized against offending members.

Hui kuan did not have modern organizational structures. Many were formed without the formulation of a set of rules. Oral traditions passed on by older members played a vital role in the running of the associations. An elaborate system of customary practices and oral traditions determined the actions of the association and its members.

When the need for organized action or a common front arose, a coalition or confederation of hui kuan was often formed for the purpose. This structure was usually called a tsung hui kuan (confederated hui kuan).

Secret Societies in China

Chinese secret societies were by their nature clandestine and extremely complex. Although much has been written about them (see bibliography of works concerning Chinese secret societies in Chesneaux, 1972:279-288), we really know relatively little about their structure and composition.

For centuries, Kwangtung and Fukien had been the centre for most Chinese secret society activities. The size and power of clandestine organizations depended on socio-economic conditions of the times. In times of economic prosperity, the size of secret societies tended to diminish, and their activities were limited and localized. But when the country was in economic distress and political upheaval,

the ranks of secret societies were swelled by landless peasants, bankrupt merchants, discharged soldiers and rebels of all kinds. In addition to these elements, clan expellees, unsuccessful office-seekers, and adventurers were also attracted to secret societies.

Several secret organizations existed in China, but the most important was the Triad Society, or Hung Men (Hung League). This organization was also known as the T'ien Ti Hui (Society of Heaven and Earth), San T'ien Hui (Society of the Three Dots), and San Ho Hui (Society of the Three Harmonies).

Its operational base was the provinces south of the Yangtze River. The Triad system was comprised of several separate bands, and the Triad was the general name for denoting the common origin of the system. Each branch organization had a high degree of autonomy, and there was no overall controlling or co-ordinating structure.

The Triad, or Hung Men, was originally an anti-Manchu secret society. Its birth was shrouded in mystery and romanticism. Various versions of its origin can be found in the literature. However, it is usually traced to the Shao-lin Monastery in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty.

Freedman (1958:119) has outlined a generally accepted version.

In the myth-history of the Triad, which plays a major role in its

initiation ritual, the founding of the society is traced to events taking place during the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, when the monks belonging to a monastery in north Fukien were treacherously turned upon after they had rendered help in battle to the ruling emperor. The five monks who survived the destruction of the monastery set up the anti-Manchu organization founding five lodges in Fukien, Kwangtung, Yunnan, HuKwang (that is, Hunan and Hupeh), and Chekiang.

The ideology of the Triad was both religious and political. Jean Chesneaux (1972:5) interprets Triad religious beliefs as nourished by Buddhist millenarianism and a Taoist sense of individual salvation. What is most interesting about the Triad's political ideology is that it was a kind of nostalgic Ming loyalism. The Ming was a Han Chinese dynasty, whereas the Ch'ing was an alien Manchu government. The Triad was directly involved in rebellions against the Ch'ing and anti-Western activities. While the Triad's anti-state and xenophobic ideology could be described as 'nationalistic', the real ideological forces were Han Chinese chauvinism and ethnocentrism.

Most of the secret society's songs and poems revealed strong anti-Ch'ing feelings. The following were two of the more popular Triad songs:

(1) Five men began fighting against
the Ch'ing troops;
They founded the invincible
Family of the Hung Brothers;
After we have taken province,
district, and region,
We shall overthrow the Ch'ing
and restore the Ming.

(2) We will give the Manchus no
rest:
In the Hung-hua Pavilion
We swore in Heaven's name
To overthrow the Ch'ing and
restore the Ming
(Novikov, 1972:52-53).

In fact, the catch-phrase 'fan-Ch'ing fu-Ming'
(overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming) summarizes
very well the ideological outlook of the Triad.

Besides political activities, many of the secret
societies were also involved in social banditry and other
criminal adventures. In the countryside, they often fought
in clan feuds as mercenaries.

Conclusion

This seeming digression on the organizing principles
of the traditional Chinese society is necessary to provide
the background for the analysis of the early pattern of
social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.
At the time of emigration, China was a society structured
according to kinship, territorial/linguistic, and secret
society ties. The early Ottawa Chinese, like overseas
Chinese elsewhere, simply transplanted these principles to

Ottawa. The position of the early Chinese in Ottawa was very similar to that of the non-indigenous residents in the traditional Chinese urban centres. Both were outsiders and discriminated against by the local populace. Therefore, the organizing principles utilized by the Chinese when they migrated to the traditional Chinese cities were also convenient and powerful bases of organization when they came to Ottawa.

Part II

THE OTTAWA CHINESE EXPERIENCE

Chapter 5

THE ACCOMMODATION PHASE, CA. 1890 - 1947

As outlined earlier, the history of the development of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity can be divided into three periods: the accommodation phase, the transition phase, and the integration phase. The accommodation phase, which commenced with the arrival of the first Chinese immigrants in around 1890 and ended in 1947, was a period in which the strategy of adaptation of the Ottawa Chinese was one of institutionalized contact with the wider society through a small group of inter-market operators. This chapter will examine the growth of the Chinese settlement in Ottawa, and the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the host society during this phase.

Immigration Policy Concerning the Chinese

The development of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, like that of the other Chinese collectivities in Canada, was greatly affected by discriminatory immigration legislation in the past. Anti-Chinese immigration policy retarded the growth of the Chinese population and shaped its demographic structure. It also had significant effects on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese. Before discussing the development of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, it is,

therefore, necessary to outline the changes in Canadian immigration policy during this period.

During the accommodation phase, the immigration policy concerning the Chinese can be divided into two periods: the head-tax period, 1885-1923 and the exclusion period, 1923-1947. The Chinese first came to Canada in 1858. From 1858 to 1885, there was no special legislation restricting the entry of the Chinese to Canada. During this period, Chinese labour was needed to build the railway and to work in menial jobs. As a result of this economic need, the federal government refused to impose restrictions on the influx of Chinese labourers. With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1884, the raison d'être for Chinese immigration was gone. The capitalists and the federal government no longer defended the Chinese. To appease the anti-Chinese elements in British Columbia,¹ the federal government formed a Royal Commission in 1884 to study the so-called 'Chinese Problem'.

The direct outcome of the findings of this Royal Commission was the passage of a federal immigration law entitled, "An Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration into Canada," in 1885. Thus ended the period of unrestricted Chinese immigration and began Canada's history of anti-Chinese immigration legislation.

1) Of the 4,383 Chinese in Canada in 1881, 4,350 or 99.3% were in British Columbia (Census of Canada, 1881).

The 1885 Act imposed a head-tax of fifty dollars on every Chinese entering Canada. It also restricted the number of Chinese any one vessel might carry to one for every fifty tons of the total tonnage of the ship. Four classes of Chinese were, however, exempted from the tax including: (1) diplomatic and consular representatives and their personal staff, (2) tourists, (3) merchants, and (4) men of science and students. The Chinese were the only group subjected to an immigration tax in Canadian history.

There were widespread feelings among the white population in British Columbia that the head-tax of \$50 was too low. As a result of constant agitation and petitions from anti-Chinese groups and politicians in British Columbia, the federal government increased the head-tax to \$100 in 1901 and again to \$500 in 1904. The new \$500 head-tax practically caused Chinese immigration to cease for a few years.

During the First World War, Chinese immigration declined considerably, but with the end of the War in 1919, there was a sudden influx of Chinese. The post-war economic depression which coincided with increasing Chinese, Japanese, and Indian immigration renewed the hostility of the white population against Asian immigrants. In the early 1920s, numerous petitions demanding the complete exclusion of Asians were dispatched to the federal government in Ottawa by veterans' associations, trade unions, and other

anti-Asian organizations.

Conceding to the mounting public pressure in British Columbia, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 which totally barred the Chinese from immigrating to Canada.

The 1923 Act replaced the \$500 head-tax with exclusion except for three classes of Chinese. They were: (1) the members of the Chinese diplomatic corps, (2) Canadian-born children absent from Canada for educational or other purposes, and (3) merchants.

The Act defined a person as Chinese by race and applied to "persons of Chinese origin or descent irrespective of allegiance or citizenship" (Statutes of Canada, 1923: chapter 38). Wives and children of Chinese residents were also denied entry. Chinese teachers, clergymen and men of science, previously exempted from the head-tax, were now included in the exclusion. The Act also prohibited the landing of Chinese anywhere in Canada except the ports of Vancouver and Victoria. Thus, no loopholes were left in the new legislation.

The effectiveness of the Chinese Immigration Act may be seen from the immigration figures for the period from 1923 to 1947. In this 23-year period, only eight Chinese merchants were admitted as immigrants. Others were admitted, but only as non-immigrants, since merchants were the only

group eligible for immigrant status (Andracki, 1958:172). According to the two censuses taken during the exclusion period, the Chinese population in Canada actually decreased from 46,519 in 1931 to 34,627 in 1941 - i.e., a decline of 25.6%.

Early Development

According to the Census of 1881, there were no Chinese residing in Ottawa, although the category 'Chinese' was listed in the report (Census of Canada, 1881, vol. 1:264). In that year, there were 10 Chinese in Toronto and 7 in Montreal. For the Province of Ontario as a whole, there were only 22 Chinese. 99.3% of the total Chinese population in Canada were then concentrated in British Columbia. Since there was no indication from other sources of Chinese residing in Ottawa before 1881, it seems fairly safe to assume that there were no Chinese in Ottawa before that date.

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 put thousands of Chinese in British Columbia out of work without any immediate prospect for other types of employment. Some began to make their way to other provinces in search of a livelihood. The development of a Chinese settlement in Ottawa was part of this eastern shift of the Chinese population.

Information on racial origins were not available in the 1891 Census. However, five persons in Ottawa were recorded as China-born (Census of Canada, 1891, vol. 1:347), and they were presumably Chinese.

The Chinese probably arrived in Ottawa around 1890. The earliest known 'Chinese' organization, an English language school for Chinese immigrants run by Canadian missionaries, was established in 1893 (Wayling, 1965:27). According to a few longtime Chinese residents, five pioneering Chinese families from British Columbia first arrived in Ottawa before the turn of the century and initiated the early Chinese settlement. They were the Hum, the two Sim, and the two Wong families. These families opened the first Chinese restaurants and laundries in Ottawa. Some of their descendents are still living in the city.

By 1901, there were 83 Chinese² reported in Ottawa (Census of Canada, 1901, vol. 1:339). No breakdown according to sex was given. In 1911, there were 155 Chinese males and 7 females in Ottawa (Census of Canada, 1911, vol. 2:235).³ Hull recorded 7 Chinese males, but no females (Census of

2) This figure was for the 'Chinese and Japanese'. Since no immigrant from Japan or person born in Japan was reported in Ottawa, the number referred to the Chinese only. Furthermore, the Census confirmed this by reporting that there were exactly 83 immigrants from China, and again exactly 83 persons born in China (Census of Canada, 1901, vol. 1:422, 466).

3) Elsewhere in the report, a total of 168 Chinese were given for Ottawa (Census of Canada, 1911, vol. 2:372).

Canada, 1911, vol. 2:374).⁴ The Census showed that 164 males and 7 females in Ottawa were born in China (Census of Canada, 1911, vol. 2:427). From these figures, it appears that all Chinese in Ottawa at the time were immigrants and that there were no Canadian-born Chinese yet. The Chinese population increased almost two-fold from 1911 to 1921. In 1921, there were 272 Chinese males and 9 females in Ottawa and 19 Chinese males and 2 females in Hull (Census of Canada, 1921, vol. 2:542-543). In 1931, the Ottawa Chinese population increased slightly again in 315, but in 1941, it declined to 274 (Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 2:497; 1941, vol. 3:186).

The Census data on the Chinese population in Ottawa and Hull during this period are summarized below:

4) The Chinese in Hull traditionally were part of the Chinese collectivity in the area.

Table 2: Chinese Population in
Ottawa and Hull, 1881-1941

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ottawa</u>			<u>Hull</u>			<u>Total</u>	<u>% Change</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>T</u>		
1881	-	-			-		-*	-
1891	-	-	5**		-		5	-
1901	-	****	83	-	-	11	94	+1780
1911	155	7	162	7	0	7	169	+79.8
1921	272	9	282	19	2	21	303	+79.3
1931	274	31	305	14	5	19	324	+6.9
1941	231	41	272	7	0	7	279	-13.9

Sources: Census(es) of Canada, 1881-1941

* No Chinese recorded although the category 'Chinese' was listed in the Census Report.

** Persons born in China (data on racial origins not available for this Census).

*** Not available.

The figures above were, most probably, under-estimations of the actual size of the Chinese population in Ottawa and Hull at the time. Other writers have also found the Chinese in other parts of Canada and the United States to be under-represented in the official censuses (Kuo, 1977:5). The Chinese in the past were reluctant to cooperate with the census enumerators since they did not speak English and were generally apprehensive of government officials. The 1941 Census recorded that there were 272 Chinese in Ottawa. A few long-time Chinese residents assured the researcher that there were at least twice that figure in Ottawa at the time. However, the censuses were the only documentation that are available.

As discussed earlier, the early Chinese were subjected to harsh immigration regulations. The effects of these immigration laws on the growth of the Ottawa Chinese population can be seen from the immigration statistics tabulated below:

Table 3: Chinese Population (Foreign-born) in
Ottawa by Period of Immigration, 1931

<u>Period of Immigration</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Before 1901	34	-	34	12.8
1901-1910	75	-	75	28.3
1911-1920	122	2	124	46.8
1921-1925	18	3	21	7.9
1926-1931*	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total	257	8	265	100

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 4:549

* 5 months in 1931 only.

Since the Chinese settlement in Otttawa did not begin until around 1890, it seems likely that nearly all of the early Chinese paid the head-tax. According to the 1931 Census, 87.9% of the Ottawa Chinese arrived in Canada before 1920. Only 11.1% came after 1920, and the majority probably arrived before the passage of the Exclusion Act in 1923.

The 1923 Act effectively curbed the steady growth experienced by the Chinese collective in Ottawa during the head-tax period. The two decennial censuses (1931 and 1941) taken during the exclusion era recorded a 13.9% decline in the number of Chinese in the city.

Those arriving after 1923 were, almost without exception, the children of Chinese who were naturalized

Canadian citizens. The only Chinese who could apply for immigrant status after 1923 were merchants, and due to rigid requirements, extremely few (in fact, only 8 in all) were admitted (Andracki, 1958:172). Therefore, it was unlikely that those who came after 1923 were merchants. Before the Second World War, many Chinese returned to China for a visit after a few years' stay in Canada, and some fathered children during their home visit. Their children could claim derivative citizenship if they themselves were naturalized citizens.

The head-tax placed many of the early immigrants heavily in debt. A Chinese usually had to work at least two years to repay his fare to Canada and the amount of the head-tax. As a result of the financial burden incurred by a Chinese immigrant, mostly men of working age migrated to Ottawa. Since women were generally less employable at the time, very few came. According to the 1931 Census, there were only 8 Chinese female immigrants in Ottawa (see Table 2). They were most likely to be the spouses of the local Chinese merchants. The latter were the only group of Chinese who could afford to pay the head-tax and the passage money for their wives.

The demographic characteristics of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity during the accommodation can best be summarized in the age-sex structure of the group which is presented

below:

Figure 5: Age Pyramid of the Ottawa Chinese Population, 1931

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 3:278-281

The following observations are made from an analysis of the table above:

- (1) The Ottawa Chinese population during this period had a heavily imbalanced sex ratio. In fact, almost ninety percent of the Chinese population in 1931 were males.

(2) The majority of the Chinese were of working age. In 1931, slightly over eighty percent of the population were between the ages of 20 and 59.

(3) The percentage of children and young persons was relatively small. Only 14.8% of the Chinese population were under 20 years of age. This meant that the second generation was small in size.

(4) The percentage of older persons was also small. Only 3.6% of the Chinese population were over sixty.

The Ottawa Chinese collectivity was essentially a group of familyless men. There were few 'complete' families in the group. The following data on the marital status of the Ottawa Chinese were available in the 1941 Census:

Table 4: Marital Status of Chinese (15 years of age and over) in Ottawa, 1941

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	35	17.5	12	63.2	47	21.5
Married	154	77.0	7	36.8	161	73.5
Widowed	5	2.5	-	-	5	2.3
Divorced	-	-	-	-	-	-
Separated	4	2.0	-	-	4	1.8
Not Stated	2	1.0	-	-	2	0.9
Total	200	100	19	100	219	100

Source: Census of Canada, 1941, vol. 4:49

According to the 1941 Census, there were 154 married Chinese men in Ottawa, but there were only 7 married Chinese women which meant that there were at least 147 married Chinese men without their families in Ottawa. Many left their families in China with their parents or other relatives. Single Chinese men had very little chance of finding a Chinese wife in Ottawa as the pool of eligible Chinese women were extremely small. A number of Chinese men married, or more probably, lived with white women in common law marriage.

A growing proportion of the Ottawa Chinese population were recorded as Canadian-born between 1931 and 1941:

Figure 6: Place of Birth of Chinese in Ottawa, 1931-1941

Source: Census(es) of Canada, 1931, vol. 4:244-251; 1941, vol. 4:492-495

The Canadian-born constituted 13.4% of the total Chinese population in 1931, but increased to 30.9% in 1941. The birth of a second generation indicated the group was gradually taking root in Ottawa.

Chain Migration

The early pattern of Chinese migration to Ottawa was that of a chain migration process. Chain migration is the usual mode of migration from a traditional peasant society to a foreign country (Lochore, 1951; Macdonald and Macdonald, 1962; 1964). During the accommodation phase, migration chains were formed between Ottawa and China. A migration chain was an established route along which migrants continued to move over a period of time from a village or town in Ssu I to Ottawa. The traditional Chinese bonds of kinship, clanship, and common locality provided the social basis for these migration chains. In the absence of formal associations for promoting and organizing migration from China to Canada, these ties were the only linkages between Ottawa and Ssu I.

A migration chain usually began when a pioneering Chinese migrated to Ottawa, opened a restaurant or laundry, did well financially, and sent for his brothers, clansmen, and co-villagers in his native-place in China. And over the years, Chinese migrants continued to move along the

migration chain. In most cases, chain migration was the only way illiterate or semi-literate Chinese peasants could find their way to Ottawa.

It is impossible to document all the migration chains that existed between Ssu I and Ottawa. There were, however, evidence of two well-established chains - (1) between Ch'ih Shui in En P'ing County and Ottawa, and (2) between Hsien Kang in K'ai P'ing County and Ottawa. The Chinese from these two villages formed a substantial group in the early Chinese collectivity.

Accommodation

In the race-relations cycles of Park (1950), Bogardus (1930), and Brown (1934), inter-racial contact is usually followed by competition and conflict. However, conflict and competition were noticeably absent in the early relations between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society.

The early Chinese were able to achieve a certain degree of anonymity in the city as a result of three factors. Firstly, the Chinese were few in number - a mere 282 out of a total population of 107,843 in 1941 (Census of Canada, 1941). Secondly, they were not in direct economic competition with other groups. Thirdly, they consciously minimized contacts with persons outside their own group.

Unlike in Vancouver, anti-Chinese activities were relatively rare in Ottawa. However, racial prejudice was widespread among the white population. There were individual cases of discrimination and harassment, but, apparently, this resulted in very little organized agitation against the Chinese.

An act passed by the Ontario Legislature in 1914 succinctly reflected the racist attitudes of the dominant group and the extent of institutional racism in the province.⁵ The Act was allegedly aimed at protecting white women from the so-called 'corrupting influence' of the Chinese. It stated that:

No Chinese person shall employ in any capacity or have under his direction or control any female white person in any factory, restaurant or laundry (Statutes of Ontario, 1914: Chapter 40).

This Act was never enforced due to the strong protest from the Chinese in Ontario.

Another example of discriminatory legislation came from Quebec, and it affected the Chinese laundry operators in Hull. In 1915, the Quebec Legislature increased substantially the licence and inspection fees for all public laundries except those operated by charitable organizations

5) Similar acts were passed in Saskatchewan in 1912 and British Columbia in 1914. In these two provinces, the law was enforced despite vigorous protests from the Chinese. The Ontario Legislature seems to have followed the examples of the western provinces.

and corporate enterprises. Since nearly all of the small laundries were owned by the Chinese, the Act was designed to adversely affect the Chinese laundries.

The Chinese response to their minority situation was one of accommodation. Accommodation usually occurs when the minority group wants separation from the dominant group and the dominant group agrees to this arrangement. The reciprocal views on the final outcome of their relationship largely determine the social relations between the dominant and the minority groups. In Schermerhorn's (1970:81-81) terms, the goals of the minority and the dominant groups can be defined as either centripetal (assimilation) or centrifugal (autonomy or separation). Congruent goal definitions promote harmonious relations; discrepant goal definitions lead to conflict (Schermerhorn, 1970:77-85).

Accommodation was a viable response at the time because of the agreement or congruence between the Ottawa Chinese and the host society on the final goal of their relationship. Both preferred social separation. The wider Canadian society believed that the Chinese were 'unassimilable'. They were willing to leave the Ottawa Chinese alone and did not try to assimilate them. On the other hand, the Chinese were strongly oriented to their home country. They perceived their stay in Canada as temporary, and planned on returning to their native-place eventually.

The early Chinese immigrant was a 'sojourner', a person who clung to his Old-World culture and language. He was unwilling to regard himself as a permanent resident in his new home. The sojourner, as a social type, is well described by Siu (1952:34):

The "sojourner" is a deviant type of the sociological form of the "stranger," one who clings to the cultural heritage of his own ethnic group and tends to live in isolation, hindering his assimilation to the society in which he resides, often for many years. The sojourn is conceived by the sojourner as a "job" which is to be finished in the shortest possible time. As an alternative to that end he travels back to his homeland every few years. He is comparable to the "marginal man."

The early Chinese were generally birds of passage. Their usual goal was to save enough money in Canada to return home to their native village with a small fortune.⁶ There they would buy land, build a house and raise their social status. They did not intend to integrate into the host society. Neither did they wish to raise themselves socially in its terms.

6) An elderly Chinese resident from T'ai Shan told the researcher that he would have returned to T'ai Shan had he been able to save a few thousand dollars before the Second World War. The establishment of a communist regime in China in 1949 destroyed his hopes of retiring to his home country. Two or three thousand dollars were considered a small fortune before the Second World War.

Patron-Client Relationships and Intermarket Operators

During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese related to the host society principally through a small group of intermediaries, or intermarket operators. From my interviews with some of the long-time Chinese residents in Ottawa, the Chinese merchants at the time seemed to have functioned as the linkage between the Chinese collectivity and the wider society. They fitted rather well the general characteristics of the 'cultural broker' as described in the literature.⁷ In our analysis, the term intermarket operator will be used.⁸

The intermarket operator is defined here as a person who functions as a means of contact between a sub-system and a larger system. The concept is relevant to the study of part-whole relationships. More or less similar concepts have been used in the analysis of the relations between a local sub-system and a larger encompassing whole. It also has great potential in the field of race and ethnic relations for understanding the relations between immigrant groups and the host society.

7) The concept of 'cultural broker' and its functional equivalents, such as 'intermediary', 'mediator', 'middleman', and 'hinge group' have been given considerable attention recently. See Wolf, 1956; Redfield, 1956; Geertz, 1960; Mayer, 1966; and Paine, 1971.

8) This term best describes the role of the Chinese merchants during the accommodation phase.

In the early Ottawa Chinese collectivity, the status of an intermarket operator was interlocked to that of a patron. The reason was that one of the most important aspects of the patron's role was to relate the client to the outside world. It is, therefore, necessary to describe the pattern of patron-client relationships in the early Ottawa Chinese collectivity first.⁹ The patron-client contract was common in traditional China. The Chinese used the term k'ao shan (meaning a hill to lean against) to denote a patron. In traditional rural China, the k'ao shan was usually a member of the gentry class.

Silverman's (1965:176) definition of patronage closely resembles our usage here. He states that:

Patronage as a cross-cultural pattern may be defined as an informal contractual relationship between persons of unequal status and power, which imposes reciprocal obligations of a different kind on each of the parties. As a minimum, what is owed is protection and favor on the one side and loyalty on the other. The relationship is on a personal, face-to-face basis, and it is a continuing one (Silverman, 1965:176).¹⁰

The patron in the early Chinese group provided protection and favours to his clients. The clients, in turn,

9) In her study of New York City's Chinatown, Kuo (1977:37) also describes the relationship between the Chinese and their leaders as a patron-client one.

10) For further discussions of the concept of patronage, see Kenny, 1960; Foster, 1963; Boissevain, 1966; and Paine, 1971.

became his supporters in his bid for a leadership position in the collectivity. Many of the patron-client contracts were the outcome of the chain migration process. The newly arrived Chinese immigrant, sponsored by a relative or co-villager who loaned him the head-tax and the passage money, was obliged to and dependent on his sponsor. The sponsor then became his patron. Patron-client relationships were sometimes structured on clanship or locality ties. New immigrants often sought support from established members from their own clan or county group.

Who were the patrons in the early Chinese collectivity? As mentioned before, they were usually the Chinese merchants - restaurant, laundry or grocery owners - who were generally more secure financially and better educated than the average Chinese. They also tended to be long-time residents in the city. The patrons as a group formed the elite in the ethnic collectivity. A person achieved higher status in the group as a result of his patron role.

To the early Chinese, the merchants were the most easily available persons to turn to for financial help, employment and knowledge about the outside world. The patron would assist the client in finding employment. He would employ him in his own restaurant or laundry, and if this was not possible, he would use his influence to find a job for

him somewhere else. When a client needed help to deal with the authorities, he would go to his patron. The patron often acted as an interpreter and legal adviser to his clients. He also mediated in disputes within the Chinese collectivity involving his clients.

In return, the client reciprocated by demonstrations of respect. The Chinese merchants often competed for the few leadership positions opened to them within their own ethnic group. They needed supporters in their struggle for prestige and power, and patronage created loyal supporters. To the patron who employed his clients in his own restaurant or laundry, the patron-client relations were also a guarantee of a dependable staff. The relationships directly contributed to the day-to-day efficiency of the enterprise.

Based on clanship and locality ties, the relationships between patrons and clients were stable and durable.

Patron as Intermarket Operator

The role of the intermarket operator was a natural extension of the patron role. As a 'protector' of his clients, he was required to act on their behalf in the outside world. The patron often assisted his clients to fill out official forms which were required from time to time. He mediated with the tax collectors, the immigration authorities,

the building inspectors, the license bureaus and the police for his clients. An incident recounted by one of my respondents is highly relevant to our discussion and worth reporting here:

Before the Second World War, the Ottawa Police once raided a Chinese gambling club on Albert Street. Mr. L.T. (the respondent) was arrested together with the other Chinese present there. He spoke very little English and did not know what to do. He was afraid that he might be deported. He immediately called Mr. K.T., (his k'ao shan or patron) who came down to the police station to bail him out. Mr. K.T. also engaged a lawyer to represent him in court.

The above account clearly illustrated the role of the patron-intermarket operator. The patron as a protector to his clients had to be an intermarket operator also. As a leader of his ethnic group, he had to deal with the problems which existed between his group and the wider society.

Degree of Incorporation to the Wider Society

The way the Ottawa Chinese related to the wider Canadian society during the accommodation phase may be examined in terms of the degree or incorporation of the former to the latter.

During this period, the Ottawa Chinese were not really an integral part of the Canadian society. They participated in few of its major institutions. The average early Chinese had little contact with persons outside his own ethnic group. Following Gordon's (1964) approach, the concept of incorporation is analyzed in terms of five dimensions: (1) political, (2) economic, (3) social, (4) cultural, and (5) identificational. The first three dimensions deal with structural relationships.

I have relatively little data on which to base the analysis. My purpose here is not to measure empirically the degree of incorporation, but to discuss, in a general way, the direction and extent of the process. Using the available information, a composite picture of the degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese to the wider society during this phase is constructed.

Political incorporation measures the degree the ethnic group participates in the political process of the wider society. The Ottawa Chinese did not participate in the Canadian political system during this period. There were three reasons for this. Firstly, the majority of the early Chinese immigrants were not citizens and did not have the right to vote in elections.¹¹ According to the Census of

11) The Chinese in British Columbia and Saskatchewan were legally barred from voting before the Second World War even if they were citizens. There were no similar legislation in Ontario and Quebec.

1921, only eight percent of the Chinese were naturalized Canadians. The citizenship status of the China-born population in Ottawa in 1921 is shown below:

Table 5: Citizenship Status of the Chinese
(Foreign-born) in Ottawa, 1921

<u>Citizenship</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Naturalized Canadian	21	1	22	8.2
Alien (Chinese)	<u>243</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>246</u>	<u>91.8</u>
Total China-born	246	4	268	100

Source: Census of Canada, 1921, vol. 2:460-461

Secondly, the Chinese came from a non-participatory political culture and had no experience of direct political participation.

Thirdly, they were strongly oriented to China and were interested only in Chinese politics. None of the Chinese the researcher met had ever voted before the Second World War.

Economic incorporation measures the degree to which the ethnic group adopts the occupational pattern of the wider society. Throughout the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese were predominantly in the laundry and restaurant

businesses. The persistent concentration of the Chinese in these two lines of work was testimony to the occupational discrimination against them in Canadian society at the time. They occupied economic niches which the members of the wider society did not want. There was nothing in the nature of Chinese culture which directed the early Chinese to work in restaurants and laundries. These operations required hard work and long hours and offered low rates of remuneration. The Chinese interest in small businesses was a simple response to the discriminatory opportunity structure in the wider society which excluded them from skilled and semi-skilled occupations. The early Chinese found that self-employment in a small business was a better way to income and status rewards than employment outside their own group.

During this period, Ottawa did not offer many job opportunities for Chinese immigrants. There were no mines or factories in the region. As mentioned before, nearly all of the Chinese were in the restaurant and laundry businesses. According to the City Directory of 1921, there were 64 Chinese Hand-laundries and 21 Chinese restaurants in Ottawa. (City Directory of Ottawa, 1921:966, 979). Taking into account the fact that there were only 282 Chinese in Ottawa that year according to the Census, they were obviously concentrated in these two types of work. As a result of the discriminatory attitudes of white employers and the lack of a

working knowledge of English on their part, there were few other occupations open to the Chinese. It was possible that a few Chinese found work outside the group as cooks, domestic servants or common labourers. However, the great majority were employed in Chinese ethnic enterprises.

In 1931, there were 62 laundries (City Directory of Ottawa 1931:876). The number of Chinese restaurants could not be ascertained from the Directory since a separate category for Chinese restaurants was no longer available. There were four Chinese groceries at the time and they were all located along Albert Street (City Directory of Ottawa, 1931:864-865).

In 1941, the number of Chinese laundries decreased to 54. Modern steam laundries were beginning to drive the Chinese hand-laundries out of business. On the other hand, the number of Chinese restaurants increased to about thirty. Those who closed down their laundries probably moved into the restaurant business.

The social dimension of incorporation measures the degree the ethnic group participates in the cliques, friendship networks, and voluntary associations of the wider society. There were no data on this area except impressionistic accounts given by long-time Chinese residents. It seems that there was very little informal or face-to-face interaction between the Ottawa Chinese and the members of the

wider society. Social contacts were usually formal and took the form of a waiter-customer or store owner-customer relationship.

Cultural incorporation measures the degree to which the ethnic group adopts the values, life-styles and language of the dominant group. The early Chinese clung tenaciously to their Old-World values and life-styles. Many Chinese learned to speak a little English, but few were really fluent.

As mentioned before, the Chinese were strongly oriented to China and few identified with Canada. It was only after the establishment of a communist regime in China in 1949 that many Chinese gave up hopes of returning to their homeland.

Although the empirical data on the subject were scanty, there was sufficient evidence to show that the Ottawa Chinese were relatively unincorporated into the wider society during the accommodation phase. The situation can be summarized as follows:

Table 6: Degree of Incorporation
of the Ottawa Chinese to
the Wider Canadian Society
during the Accommodation
Phase, ca. 1890 - 1947

<u>Dimensions of Incorporation</u>	<u>Degree of Incorporation</u>
Political	Very Low
Economic	Low
Social	Low
Cultural	Low
Identificational	Very low

Summary

During the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), the Chinese in Ottawa were essentially a collectivity of familyless men. As a result of the head-tax, few Chinese brought their families with them. The discriminatory immigration legislation during this period had an important effect on the demographic structure of the Chinese population. The immigration policy was responsible for the imbalanced sex ratio and the predominance of Chinese of working age. The 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act effectively curbed the growth of the population.

During this phase, the Chinese related to the wider society primarily through a small group of intermarket operators who were usually Chinese merchants. The inter-

/ market operator role was an extension of the patron role in the Chinese collectivity.

The dominant group wanted social separation during this period and the Ottawa Chinese agreed to this arrangement. As a result, the degree the Ottawa Chinese were incorporated into the wider society was relatively low.

Chapter 6

THE EARLY FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the overseas Chinese collectivities in North America and Southeast Asia shared a similar pattern of social organization based on clanship, territorial, speech group, and secret society ties. These social bases of organization had their origins in traditional Chinese society. In conformity to this general pattern, the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947) was basically a selected transplantation of the organizing principles and social institutions of traditional Kwangtung. This transplanted organizational framework is labelled here as the 'early form' of social organization in contradistinction to the 'contemporary form' now existing in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The early form utilized ascribed and particularistic criteria derived from the Old-World as the bases of organization. The most important of these were clan and county origins.

The racial prejudice and discrimination of the dominant group against the early Chinese immigrants in Ottawa reinforced their own propensity to separate themselves from the wider

society. Considered 'unassimiliable' by the dominant group and left to themselves, the Ottawa Chinese formed their own mutual-aid, recreational, protective, and governing bodies. The early social form was an all-inclusive framework which drew the Chinese away from dependence on the institutions of the host society and into the Chinese collectivity.

The early social form reflected the group's strategy of adaptation to the wider society during the accommodation phase. The organizational structure of the Ottawa Chinese was directly related to the structural constraints imposed by the immigration system and the group's low degree of incorporation into the wider Canadian society. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the early pattern of social organization. A syncretic approach focussing on both internal cultural and external structural factors will be used.

The early social form can be divided into informal social organizations and formal social organizations. The early Chinese in Ottawa were organized informally into social cliques and formally into voluntary associations. The organizing principles of these two types of social grouping were different and will be discussed separately below.

Informal Social Organization

During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese were organized informally into social cliques or sub-groups on the basis of the same social principles as the groupings they

were members of when they were in China. The Chinese collectivity was segmented into clan, county and dialect groups which were based in three distinctive kinds of relationships - extended kinship (or more correctly, quasi-kinship), common place of origin, and linguistic ties respectively. Clan, county and dialect groups were all-inclusive social units. Every Chinese in Ottawa had an ascribed status as a member in a clan group. He was also ascriptively a member of a county group and a dialect group. Every person who came within the ascriptive definition of membership in these groups was included as a member of that group.

The clan was the fundamental unit of organization among the early Chinese immigrants. As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, the clan or tsu in traditional China was an extended kinship group which traced its origin to the first male ancestor who had settled in a certain location in the countryside some point in the distant past. All members of the same clan had the same surname or hsing. In the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, as in other Chinese collectivities in North America, the clan was defined more inclusively to comprise all persons of the same surname from the same locality, irrespective of actual genealogical ties. The clan-cum-county group was the basic social unit among the early Chinese.

As a result of chain migration, a few clans dominated the Chinese group in Ottawa during this period. These clans

Key:

- International boundaries
- - - - - San I
- . - . - Ssu I
- County boundaries

MAP 1 SSU I AND SAN I,
KWANGTUNG,
CHINA

were referred to as t'ai hsing or big surname groups by the Chinese.

The second type of social grouping was based on common home county origin. Nearly all of the early Chinese immigrants came from the counties surrounding Canton City in Kwangtung Province.¹ The county group was the most important organizing unit in the competition for power and prestige in the Chinese collectivity. The K'ai P'ing and the T'ai Shan county groups were much larger than the other groups and were known as the t'ai i or big county groups locally.

The third type of informal social grouping consisted of dialect groups. There were only two dialect groups in Ottawa during this period: the Ssu I and the San I dialect groups.* Most of the early Chinese immigrants were from Ssu I (the Four Counties) - T'ai Shan, K'ai P'ing, En P'ing and Hsin Hui. They spoke the Ssu I dialect which is a regional variation of 'standard' Cantonese (i.e., the dialect spoken in Canton City, the capital of Kwangtung Province). The San I group (the Three Counties) - P'an Yu, Shun Te and Nan Hai - appeared to have arrived in Ottawa much later than the Ssu I group. They were also a much smaller group. They spoke the San I dialect which is closer to 'standard' Cantonese. During the accommodation phase, the Ssu I group completely dominated the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

1) In fact, except for the diplomatic staff of the Chinese Consulate in Ottawa who were usually from other provinces, all of the early Chinese in the City were from Kwangtung Province.

* See Map 1.

A Segmentary Model of the Social Organization of the
Ottawa Chinese During the Accommodation Phase

As reviewed in Chapter 2, Crissman (1967) argues that all the urban Chinese collectivities in North America and Southeast Asia are characterized by a common segmentary structure. He points out that the overseas Chinese collectivities are not homogeneous groups, but are divided into a hierarchical series of sub-communities along speech group, locality, and surname group lines.

Crissman's model is useful for the analysis of the social structure of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase. The early Chinese were segmented into a hierarchical series of sub-groupings. As a result of this segmentation, there were four levels of organization in the Chinese collectivity.

At the highest level, all the Chinese in Ottawa shared, and were conscious of, a common racial and cultural identity which set them apart from the wider society. They responded to the prejudice and discrimination against them by developing a sense of community. They also acted communally on occasions.

As mentioned earlier, the Ottawa Chinese were segmented into two major dialect groups, the Ssu I and the San I groups. Since the Ssu I group constituted the predominant majority in the Chinese collectivity, this level of organization was not very significant.

The major division among the Ottawa Chinese was along

county group lines. During this period, the county groups often competed for power and prestige within the Chinese collectivity. The county groups were sometimes further segmented into clans. The clan was the basic unit of social organization in the segmentary system.

Depending upon the issues in question, segments sometimes combined into larger units or dissolved into smaller parts. Crissman (1967:193) states this point well:

Various segments, or sub-communities, combine and divide in different circumstances. In some contexts the whole Chinese community is united and acts together, while in different situations small segments act independently against each other. Opponents in one situation are allies in another.

The segmentary structure of the early Chinese in Ottawa may be presented diagrammatically as follows:

Figure 7 The Segmentary System of the
Ottawa Chinese during the
Accommodation Phase, ca. 1890-1947*

Levels of
Organization

Social Groupings

Group-wide
 Level

Dialect-
 group
 Level

County-
 group
 Level

Clan
 Level

* This model is an ideal-typical construct; Due to the small Chinese population in Ottawa during this period, not all the cells were actual organizing units.

Data on the Clan and County Origins of the Early Chinese in Ottawa

Two sources of information are available for the analysis of the composition of the clan and county origins of the early Chinese in Ottawa. The first source, which is impressionistic, came from recollections of the Chinese elders in Ottawa interviewed by the researcher. The consensus seems to be that the dominant clans, or t'ai hsing, in the early Chinese collectivity were the Hum, the Wong and the Sim clans. Other large surname groups included the Yee, the Kung and the Szeto. The t'ai i or big county groups were the T'ai Shan and the K'ai P'ing groups. Some said that the T'ai Shan people were the largest group in Ottawa at the time. Others maintained that the K'ai P'ing group was the largest. The Ssu I group was, by common agreement, the predominant dialect group in Ottawa.

The second type of data, which is quantitative, was compiled from gravestones in the Ottawa Chinese Cemetery built in 1926. Chinese corpses were not returned to the homeland for burial because of the vast distance between Ottawa and China. The early Chinese gravestones in Ottawa all had the name and native-place of the deceased inscribed on them. They represent a sample of the early Chinese population, though not a statistically reliable one. However, they are the only source of quantitative data and can provide us with some ideas of the clan and county origins of the Chinese. A total

of 112 readable gravestone inscriptions were collected. Only the gravestones of the Chinese who died before 1947 were recorded to ensure that the sample represents the early Chinese immigrants. The clan and county origins of the Chinese in the sample are shown graphically below:

Figure 8. Home County Origins of the
Chinese in Ottawa before 1947
(In Percentage)

Figure 9 Clan Origins of the Chinese
in Ottawa before 1947
(In Percentage)

N = 112

- * All the other clans constituted less than 3% of the total each.
- ** The transliteration of the Chinese surname in brackets represent the common Ssu I or Cantonese usage in Ottawa.

Figure 10 Clan Origins of the Ssu I
People in Ottawa before 1947
(In Percentage)

	T'an (Hum)	Huang (Wong)	Lin (Sim)	Other	
K'ai P'ing County	45.4	18.2	12.7	7.3	16.4
					N = 55

	Huang (Wong)	Mai (Mak)	Yu (Yee)	Chen (Chan)	Other	
T'ai Shan County	15.6	15.6	12.5	9.4	46.9	N = 32

	Ssu T'u (Szeto)	Liang (Leung)	Kung	Lin (Lam)	
En P'ing County	38.9	33.3	22.2	5.6	N = 18

	Lin (Lam)	Li (Lee)	Wu (Ng)	
Hsin Hui County	60	20	20	N = 5

According to the sample, the early Chinese immigrants in Ottawa were almost exclusively from the Ssu I counties. 98.2% came from this dialect group. Only about one percent of the sample was from the San I dialect group. The sample seems to be biased in favour of the Chinese who arrived in the early years of the accommodation phase. The Ssu I group was the first to settle in Ottawa. Since the San I group came much later, they might have been under-represented in the sample. The largest county group in the sample was the K'ai P'ing group with 49.1%. Our sample supported the K'ai P'ing residents's claim that they were the largest group during this period. The T'ai Shan county group constituted 28.6% of the sample. The two other county groups were much smaller - En P'ing constituted 16% of the sample and Hsin Hui 5%.

The most interesting fact about the sample is that some clans dominated in certain county groups. For example, 45.4% of the K'ai P'ing group were of the surname Hum (T'an). Almost 40% of the En P'ing county group were of the surname Szeto (Ssu T'u). The data clearly reflect the pattern of chain migration.

The Structure and Function of the Clan and County Groups

In the larger Chinese collectivities, the clans were often organized into clan associations and the county and dialect groups into territorial and linguistic hui kuan

(Landsmannschaften). During the accommodation phase, the Chinese collectivity in Ottawa were too small to provide a base for the organization of clan and county associations. The absence of formal structures for these groupings did not mean that they were unimportant. On the contrary, they were the basic groupings in the collectivity. Every major clan and county group in Ottawa had its own leadership and recognized membership. However, they did not have elected leaders. They were more in the nature of a constellation of followers around a leader who was usually a patron - intermarket operator. In most cases, the leading merchant in the clan or the county group became the acknowledged leader of the group. He dispensed jobs and other favours to his fellow clansmen and Landsmann. His laundry or store became the gathering place for the group. Some merchants even converted the second storey of their stores or restaurants into boarding houses for their clansmen.

These clan and county group leaders were often elected to the collectivity-wide organizations. There they represented the interests of their own group.

The clans in Ottawa assumed a number of the functions which had traditionally been associated with the tsu in Kwangtung.² They provided their members with companionship, mutual-aid and protection.

During the accommodation phase, familyless Chinese men

2) See Chapter 4 in this dissertation for a discussion of the tsu in traditional China.

of the same clan often resided together in a co-operative boarding house known in Chinese as the fang k'ou (literally meaning a house). The fang k'ou was also the social centre and gathering place for the other non-boarding clansmen. It was analogous to an extended family (except that there were no women) and normally consisted of eight to twelve people.

A longtime Chinese resident gave the following account of a fang k'ou during this period:

When I first came to Ottawa, I stayed with my clan brothers for some years. It was very difficult for a Chinese to rent a room at that time. We rented a whole house. There were about ten of us, but people kept moving in and out. All of us paid a share of the rent. Those who were unemployed paid a smaller amount, but would have to do cooking and the housekeeping. Clan brothers from out-of-town would stay over at our place for the night. There was always a crowd in the house on weekends.

County groups sometimes formed similar collectivity-owned boarding houses known as t'ang k'ou (meaning a hall).

Members of the same clan or county group sometimes formed a rotatory credit union or hui³ to provide money for persons who were in financial difficulties or who needed capital to start a business. When a fellow clansman was sick, or unemployed, the other clansmen often helped him out.

3) See Light (1972:23-27) for a further discussion of the Chinese institution of hui.

Membership in a clan or county group was, in a sense, a form of social insurance. A Chinese with no clansmen or fellow Landsmann in Ottawa was in a socially perilous position.

Virtually restricted to laundry and restaurant businesses, the Ottawa Chinese competed with each other more often than with members of the dominant group. Business conflicts, such as unfair competition or problems arising out of a partnership, frequently arose. The Chinese rarely used the Canadian courts to settle their differences. The disputes were mostly settled within the Chinese collectivity through mediation. And in mediation, the larger the group a person could depend on for support, the better off he was. Under the segmentary system, a person's position in the Chinese collectivity depended on his membership in an influential group. For example, a respondent who was from San I stated that,

The Ssu I people was the largest group in the Chinese community before the Second World War. They were very clannish. They monopolized all the official positions in the hui kuan. Infact, the hui kuan was really a Ssu I organization. People from other counties had little say in the community. The Ssu I people also owned most of the Chinese restaurants in Ottawa. They mostly hired their own people.

On the whole, the clan occupied a much more prominent place in the daily lives of the Ottawa Chinese than the larger and more amorphous county group. It was usually with fellow

clansmen that the early Chinese formed co-operative boarding houses. If they went into business on a partnership basis, it was usually with their fellow clansmen. The bond of clanship was much stronger than that of common county origin. The latter was important when it came to competition for prestige and power within the Chinese collectivity.

Voluntary Associations in the Chinese Collectivity

Whereas informal social groupings were based on ascribed statuses, the Chinese voluntary associations in Ottawa were open to all Chinese. All the voluntary associations in this period, except for the Ottawa Chinese Mission (Chinese Protestant Church) were traditionist organizations, i.e., they were isolationist and protective. Their major orientation was the preservation of traditional Chinese culture in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. They were not concerned with relating the Chinese to the wider society.

Social Clubs

The earliest Chinese associations in Ottawa were the so-called social clubs which were, in fact, gambling houses. Most of them were located along Albert Street, the area where Chinese businesses and voluntary associations were concentrated. One example of these social clubs was the Chinese Amusement Club on Albert Street which existed in the 1920s and 30s.

Gambling was widespread among the early Chinese immigrants since other forms of entertainment were not available. Lyman (1974) has argued that gambling performed an essential social function in the early Chinese collectivities in North America.

It was through gambling that overseas Chinese preserved one of the familiar institutions of Old World life, provided themselves with entertainment and financial opportunity, and promoted a sense of community and congregation in the midst of homelessness (Lyman, 1974:96).

Gambling was also important as a psychological safety-valve for releasing tension and boredom. The psychological significance of gambling was very well ~~put~~ by one of the long-time Chinese resident in Ottawa:

The Chinese nowadays can return to their wives and children after a hard day's work. Back in those days, most of the men came alone, leaving behind their families in China. After ten to twelve hours of work in a kitchen or laundry, they had to return home to face four empty walls. The only way to release the tension and boredom was to gamble. Everyone gambled during those days.

Some Chinese regularly gambled away part of their wages. As a result of gambling, some Chinese had to prolong their stay in Canada longer than they had intended.

By providing a form of recreation to which outsiders

were excluded, gambling helped to maintain the social boundaries between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society.

The Kuomintang and the Chih Kung T'ang

There were two Chinese political-fraternal associations established in Ottawa during the accommodation phase: the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist League) and the Chih Kung T'ang (Chinese Freemason League).

The predecessor of the Kuomintang in Canada was the T'ung Meng Hui (United League). Before 1911, the Chinese in Canada were politically divided into two groups: one group advocated constitutional reform in China under the Ch'ing government and the other revolution and the overthrow of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the establishment of a republic.⁴

After the failure of the Hundred Days Reform in China in 1898, the leaders of the reform movement, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-chao fled abroad and later arrived in Canada. They advocated reform in China under a constitutional monarchy (Lee, 1967:273-296). It was in Canada that the first Chinese constitutionalist party, the Pao Huang Hui (Chinese Empire Reform Association) was formed. The main purpose of the Pao Huang Hui was to propagate reformist ideas among the early Chinese settlers.

Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the revolutionary movement in China, was also in Canada on several occasions to advocate

4) See Lee (1967) and Tam (1977) for further discussions of the transplanted political rivalries among the overseas Chinese in Canada.

revolution and overthrow of the Ch'ing Dynasty in China. He formed the T'ung Meng Hui in Canada to recruit support for the revolutionary movement in China (Lee, 1967:297-320).

The Pao Huang Hui directly opposed the T'ung Meng Hui, and their struggle segmented the early Chinese collectivities into two political camps. With the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the T'ung Meng Hui, later renamed the Kuomintang, gained ascendancy in the Chinese group, and the Pao Huang Hui eventually disintegrated.

According to a Chinese source (Lee, 1967:289), the rivalry between the Pao Huang Hui and the T'ung Meng Hui spread to the early Chinese collectivity in Ottawa. After the establishment of the first Pao Huang Hui in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1899, eleven other branches were formed in Canada, including one in Ottawa (Lee, 1967:289). Lee, however, did not give the exact date for the formation of the Pao Huang Hui in Ottawa. No documentary evidence of such an organization could be found. This political rivalry did not seem to have significantly affected the early Chinese in Ottawa.

The Ottawa branch of the Kuomintang was founded in 1914. It had about eighty to a hundred members during this period. Considering the fact that the Ottawa Chinese population were only a few hundred, its membership was quite large. The major purpose of the Kuomintang was to orient the Ottawa Chinese to their homeland and to arouse their political con-

sciousness as Chinese nationals. It provided a semi-official link between the Ottawa Chinese and the Chinese government.

The preservation of Chinese culture and language was also one of its manifest aims. The club-house of the Kuomintang was a rooming house for its elderly members, and a rotatory credit union (hui) was organized by the association.

The Ottawa branch of the Chih Kung T'ang was formally established in 1941, though it had existed for some time before that date. During the accommodation phase, it had around 40 to 60 members.

It seems fairly certain that the Chih Kung T'ang in Canada stemmed from a secret society in South China, the Triads⁵ (Lyman, Willmott and Ho, 1964; Lyman, 1964; Lee, 1967; Tam, 1977). When the Chinese emigrated to Canada in the nineteenth century, they transplanted this secret society to their new home. According to Lee (1967:230), the Chih Kung T'ang was first established in Canada in 1862.

Unlike in China, they were not legally banned in Canada, and they attempted to legitimate their organization by appearing to be a Chinese political party. They were known to the wider society as the Chinese Freemasons.

The major goal of the Chih Kung T'ang was nationalistic.⁶ They wanted to overthrow the non-Han Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911).

5) Known in Chinese as the San Ho Hui (Three Harmonies Society) or the Hung Men (Hung League, literally meaning 'Vast Gate').

6) See Chapter 4 for a further discussion of the structure and political goals of the Triads in traditional China.

and to restore the Han-Chinese M'ing Dynasty. It played a minor role in the 1911 Chinese Revolution (Lee, 1967; Tam, 1977). After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, it found itself without a clearly defined goal. It was reorganized in 1945, and renamed the Hung Men Min Chih T'ang (Hung League Democratic Party).

The Chih Kung T'ang and the Kuomintang were rival organizations in Ottawa during this period. After the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the relationship between these two political associations was openly hostile. The Chih Kung T'ang⁷ repeatedly applied to the Chinese government (the Kuomintang was the ruling party in China) for official registration as a political party, but was turned down on every occasion. The members of the Chih Kung T'ang felt that they had been betrayed by the Kuomintang, since they had co-operated and supported them before the 1911 Chinese Revolution.

The Chih Kung T'ang in Ottawa was more of a mutual-aid society. Membership in the association brought the Chinese into sworn brotherhood. It provided its members with companionship, protection, employment, and financial aid. It was a substitute for the extended family the Chinese left behind in China.

With no clearly defined new goal, the organization lost its previous importance and vitality in the Chinese collectivity and declined in membership. By clinging to the past, it became an ultra-conservative group trying to preserve

7) The Chih Kung T'ang was an overseas Chinese political party with branches in many countries.

traditional Chinese values and customs among its members.

The Hui Kuan in Ottawa

The Ottawa hui kuan was the main representative body of the Chinese during the accommodation phase. It was modelled after the territorial hui kuan (Landsmannschaft) in the traditional Chinese city. Since the Ssu I group was the predominant majority in Ottawa during this period, the hui kuan was essentially a territorial/dialect group Landsmannschaft of this group. It was a rather informal and ad hoc organization. Elections were few and far between. It had several names during this period.

There is evidence that a collectivity-wide Chinese organization was already in existence in the early 1920s. According to the memorial stone in the Ottawa Chinese Cemetery, the cemetery was built in 1926 by the 'Chinese Benevolent Society of Ottawa'. Most probably, this was the name the early Chinese resident gave to their hui kuan.

The acknowledged predecessor of the present Chung Hua Hui Kuan (Ottawa Chinese Community Association) was the K'ang Jih Hui (Resist Japan Society).⁸ This collectivity-wide association was formed in the 1930s to support the war efforts of the Chinese people against the Japanese invasion of China. Funds were raised and dispatched to the Chinese government.

8) This association is a good example of the effects of political events in China had on the organizational structure of the Ottawa Chinese.

Through the hui kuan, the Ottawa Chinese were represented in national Chinese organizations in Canada. One of its main functions was to provide collective protection to the Chinese. On several occasions, the Hui kuan protested to the Canadian government against the discriminatory immigration policy. It sometimes mediated in disputes between Chinese individuals or groups. It was responsible for the maintenance of the Chinese Cemetery. Its club-house was used as a gathering place for the Chinese.

The hui kuan was a traditionist organization. Its major goals were the preservation of traditional Chinese culture and collective defence. In attempting to maintain Chinese customs, it performed certain ritualistic functions. Every year, the hui kuan organized the spring rites in the Chinese cemetery and other celebrations for traditional Chinese festivals, such as Chinese New Year and the Autumn Festival.

The Chinese Mission (Protestant Missionary Organization)

In 1893, an English language school was established on Sparks Street by Canadian missionaries for the early Chinese immigrants in Ottawa. Its aim was to teach the Chinese the English language and the Christian faith. The school was later moved to the basement of the Bank Street Presbyterian Church in 1895. (Wayling, 1962:27).

In 1921, the Ottawa Chinese Mission was formed and the control of the school was transferred to it. A Chinese minister

was brought in to run the Mission. In 1922 the Chinese Mission raised funds in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity to purchase its present building on Lisgar Street. It continued to receive some funding from the Presbyterian Church.

The Chinese Mission was very successful in proselytizing the Protestant faith to the early Chinese. This was shown in the information on the religious affiliation of the Ottawa Chinese in the 1941 Census:

Table 7 Religious Affiliation of the Chinese in Ottawa, 1941

<u>Religious Denomination</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Presbyterian	95	35.0
United Church	51	18.7
Anglican	19	7.0
Roman Catholic	30	11.0
Confucian and Buddhist	65	23.9
Other (including no religion)	12	4.4
Total	272	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1941, vol. 4:149-149.

According to the Table above, over 50% of the Chinese population in Ottawa belonged to the Presbyterian Church and the United Church, the sponsoring churches of the Chinese

Mission. The Chinese Mission (known as the Chinese Church to the Ottawa Chinese) played an important role in the early Chinese collectivity. The Chinese minister of the Mission was fluent in English. He was the only example of a patron - intermarket operator who was not a merchant. One of his main functions was to relate members of the Chinese Church to the wider Protestant community in Canada. As an educated and influential man, he was often asked to mediate with the outside authorities on behalf of his church members.

The Chinese School

To prevent the second generation from acculturation to Canadian culture, a Chinese language school was established in 1932 by the hui kuan with the cooperation of the Chinese Mission. Taylor, (1933) has documented the origin of the Chinese school in Ottawa in his thesis on Chinese language schools in Canada. To quote him:

Realizing their practical inability to open a school and engage a teacher but nevertheless desirous of providing Chinese instruction for their children, the Ottawa Chinese approached the Ottawa Chinese Mission for assistance. A scheme was worked out whereby the Mission, would provide room and the equipment and the Chinese (parents and private individuals interested in Chinese education, since the Benevolent Society functions but poorly in Ottawa owing to party jealousies, as in Toronto⁹) would defray the operating expenses except

light. The Mission and the Chinese were to be accord on (sic) the person of the teacher who was to be a Christian and preach on Sundays as well as a scholar to teach through the week. The Mission pays a definite salary to the "teacher evangelist" and the fees of the pupils are given to this gentleman after the expenses for chalk, paper, pens and ink are deducted. The school has no recognition by the Board of Education (in China) but the Consul-general visits frequently and presides at the annual closing exercises. (Taylor, 1933:59).

Besides the Chinese language, the School also taught Chinese history and culture and tried to orient the students to China.

Characteristics of the Early Form of Social Organization ✓

The social organization of the early Ottawa Chinese was determined by both internal-cultural and external-structural conditions. Excluded from full participation in the wider society, the early Chinese transplanted selected organizing principles and institutions to Ottawa. The organizational pattern was also affected by three external factors:

(1) the structural constraints imposed by the immigration system, (2) the low degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the host society, and (3) the changing political events in China. As a result of the external pressures, the social organizations of the Ottawa Chinese were isolationist,

9) The party jealousies which Taylor referred to in the quote above were probably the rivalry between the Kuomintang and the Chih Kung T'ang.

protective, and traditionalist in orientation.

The early pattern of social organization had two distinctive characteristics.¹⁾ Firstly, the segmentary system of the Ottawa Chinese was based on ascribed and particularistic criteria, such as clan and county origins, transplanted from their homeland. The use of these principles, rather than achieved and universalistic ones, such as social class and generation, indicates that there was little socio-economic differentiation within the early Chinese collectivity. Two factors accounted for this lack of internal differentiation - the low degree of acculturation of the Ottawa Chinese to the dominant group and the low degree of social mobility of the group in terms of the stratification system of the host society. Perceiving themselves as temporary sojourners, the Chinese clung to their Old World culture and were little acculturated to Canadian culture. During this period, the great majority of the Chinese immigrants were lower class. The correlation between Chinese racial status and low socio-economic position was something approaching 0.9.

Class and generation were not yet viable organizing principles. The second generation was too small and too young to form an autonomous segment within the collectivity. The Chinese merchants in Ottawa as a group did not associate exclusively among themselves. They were enmeshed in a system of clan and county ties with the Chinese lower or working class. They were also linked to the working class Chinese in a pattern

of patron-client relationships. During the accommodation phase class status did not constitute a social basis for organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The only viable organizing principles were those transplanted from traditional China.

Secondly, all except one of the voluntary associations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity were traditionist associations. As discussed earlier, overseas Chinese voluntary associations may be distinguished into two types: 'traditionist' and 'modernist'. Traditionist organizations were oriented towards the maintenance of traditional Chinese values and culture within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. They were not concerned with relating the group to the outside world. Most of them were modelled after traditional institutions in China. The gambling clubs, the Kuomintang, the Chih Kung T'ang, the hui kuan, and the Chinese School were all traditionist associations. The only example of a modernist association in Ottawa during this period was the Chinese Mission. As a modernist association, it was more concerned with relating the Chinese Protestant group to the wider Protestant community in Canada. It also adopted the Canadian form and format of organization.

The data suggest that the segmentary system and the traditionist voluntary associations were adaptive responses to the structural constraints imposed on the Ottawa Chinese by the immigration system and to the low degree of incorporation into the host society.

Chapter 7

THE TRANSITION PHASE, 1947 - 1962

This chapter will examine the social, cultural, demographic, and organizational changes that were taking place in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity during the transition phase, 1947-1962. Changes in the structural conditions of the host society after the Second World War brought about a many-sided process of change which eventually transformed the social structure of the Ottawa Chinese and their relationship with the wider society. This pattern of change can be analyzed in terms of the following five aspects, though these were inter-related in many ways:

- (1) Changes in Canadian immigration policy;
- (2) Changes in the pattern of Chinese immigration to Canada;
- (3) Changes in the demographic structure of the Ottawa Chinese;
- (4) Increasing incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the mainstream of Canadian society, and
- (5) Changes in the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese.

In order to fill in the gaps in the data on the Ottawa Chinese, relevant information of the Chinese in Canada as a whole will be used when appropriate to illustrate the changes occurring in this period.

Changes in Canadian Immigration Policy

As discussed earlier, the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act prohibited all persons of Chinese racial origin (except merchants) from immigrating to Canada. The Act caused Chinese immigration to virtually cease for twenty four years. As many Chinese returned to China, the Chinese population in Ottawa, as in Canada as a whole, actually declined during the exclusion period.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed on May 6, 1947. After the repeal, the Chinese were placed, together with other Asians, under the still very restrictive and discriminatory provisions of the Order-in-Council of September 16, 1930 (P.C. 2115). The changes were later incorporated into the 1952 Immigration Act. The admission of Chinese immigrants was governed by the following clause in the new Act:

Subject to the provisions of the Act and to these regulations, the landing in Canada of any Asian is limited to the following classes of persons: the wife, the husband or the unmarried children under 21 years of age of any Canadian citizen resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1952: chapter 325).

However, non-Asians, whether citizens of Canada or not, were able to sponsor the admission of a much wider range

of relatives to Canada. Furthermore, persons from the English-speaking Commonwealth countries were admissible whether or not they had relatives in Canada to sponsor them.

By restricting the right to sponsor dependents to Chinese with Canadian citizenship only, no massive Chinese immigration was possible. In 1941, only 5.9% of the Chinese population were naturalized citizens. 19.3% were Canadian-born, but it was unlikely that they had a wife (or a husband) and children outside Canada. 74.7% of the Chinese population were not entitled to bring their families, since they were not Canadian citizens.

As a result of the gradual decline of blatant racial discrimination, continuous economic prosperity and full-employment, Canada's immigration legislation was progressively liberalized in the post-war years. In 1953,⁴ the classes of persons eligible for admission as sponsored dependents were expanded to include a mother over 60 and a father over 65. Later that year, the right to sponsor dependents for immigration was also extended to Chinese residents who were not Canadian citizens (Lee, 1967:365-366)..

Throughout the transition phase, Chinese immigration to Canada operated under a sponsorship system. The Chinese could not apply for admission to Canada directly as independent immigrants. They had to be sponsored by either

a husband, a wife, a parent or a fiancé(e). As a result, the majority of the Chinese immigrants arriving in Ottawa during this period were women, children and elderly persons.

The Ottawa Chinese population increased rapidly after 1947, as many Chinese families were reunited. Table 8 below shows the number of Chinese to Canada during the transition phase:

Table 8: Chinese Immigration to Canada during the Transition Phase, 1947 - 1962

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1947	20	1955	2,575
1948	74	1956	2,093
1949	797	1957	1,662
1950	1,741	1958	2,615
1951	2,697	1959	2,561
1952	2,313	1960	1,370
1953	1,929	1961	861
1954	1,950	1962	826
		1947 - 1963	26,084

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 4, 1970:243-245

From 1947 to 1962, 26,084 Chinese immigrated to Canada. This number alone represents 75.3% of the total Chinese population in Canada in 1941. The sudden influx of Chinese immigrants had a tremendous impact on the Chinese collectivities across Canada.

Changing Patterns of Chinese Immigration

There were marked changes in the general characteristics of the Chinese immigrants of the transition phase compared to those in the accommodation phase. The most significant differences were in: (1) demographic characteristics, (2) place of origin, and (3) occupational and educational background.

During the accommodation phase, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese immigrants were men of working age. During the transition phase, the majority were dependents - wives, children, and elderly parents. This change is clearly illustrated in the immigration statistics showing the percentage of dependents among Chinese immigrants during this period:

Figure 11

Percentage of Dependents among
Chinese Immigrants to Canada
in Selected Years during the
Transition Phase

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1957, 1959 and 1961

Destined for Labour Force
Dependents

Under the sponsorship system which was in effect during the transition phase, many Chinese sent for their families in China and Hong Kong. As shown above, 78.6%, 80.4%, and 79.3% of all Chinese immigrants to Canada in 1957, 1959, and 1961 respectively were dependents, as compared with 46.3%, 49.9%, and 51.4% of all immigrants to Canada in the same three years. The inflow of Chinese women changed the formerly imbalanced sex ratio. The re-establishment of families had a profound impact on the social life of the Chinese.

The Chinese immigrants of the transition phase came from very different social systems from that of the early Chinese immigrants. Nearly all of the early Chinese were former peasants from the Ssu I and San I counties in Kwangtung Province. A large number of Chinese continued to migrate from this region during the transition phase, but the modern China they emigrated from was radically different from the traditional Chinese society the early Chinese left behind. An increasing proportion of the post-exclusion Chinese immigrants were former residents of the cosmopolitan city of Hong Kong.¹ Table 9 shows the statistics on immigration from China and Hong Kong for this period:

1) Hong Kong was, and still is, a colony under British rule.

Table 9: Immigration from China and Hong Kong to Canada, 1946-1962

<u>Period</u>	<u>Place of Last Permanent Residence</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>China</u>	<u>Hong Kong</u>	
1946-1950 (% of Period)	3,191 (89%)	393 (11%)	3,584
1951-1957	13,626 (82.8%)	2,829 (17.2%)	16,455
1958-1962	1,958 (24.4%)	6,052 (75.6%)	8,010
Total: 1946-1962	18,775 (66.9%)	9,274 (33.1%)	28,049 (100%)

Source: Immigration and Population Statistics
Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974:36

* The data show the place of last permanent residence of the immigrants and not their ethnicity. The immigrants from Hong Kong and China were, in nearly all cases, Chinese. Chinese immigrants from other countries were relatively rare during this period.

From 1947 to 1962, a third of the total immigrants from 'China and Hong Kong' were from Hong Kong. The percentage increased during this period - between 1946-1950, only 11% were from Hong Kong, but, between 1958-1962, 75.6% were from Hong Kong.

Most of the early Chinese immigrants spoke the Ssu I dialect, but the majority of the Chinese from Hong Kong spoke Cantonese. Some of the Hong Kong Chinese were also fluent in English before immigrating to Canada.

During the accommodation phase, most of the Chinese immigrants were from working class backgrounds. They had relatively little formal education or training. As shown earlier in Figure 11, only about twenty percent of all Chinese immigrants were destined for the labour force during the transition phase, but an increasing percentage of this group were white-collar workers. The change in occupational and educational background can be seen in the statistics on the intended occupation of the Chinese immigrants in a few selected years during this period, as presented graphically below:

Figure 12

Intended Occupation of Chinese Immigrants Destined for the Labour Force in Selected Years during the Transition Phase

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1960

N = Chinese immigrants intended for the Labour Force

Intended occupation is a good indicator of the educational attainment and former occupation of the immigrant. The occupational preferences of the Chinese immigrants were divided into two classes, non-manual or white-collar and manual or blue-collar. The non-manual group included all managerial, professional, clerical, commercial and financial workers. The manual group included all service, primary production, and manufacturing workers and general labourers. The non-manual group increased from 3.7% to those intended for the labour force in 1954 to 58.1% in 1960. This change in the occupational and educational background of the Chinese immigrants contributed partly to the increasing social differentiation within the Chinese collectivity.

Changes in the Ottawa Chinese Population

The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act had a tremendous impact on the demographic structure of the Chinese in Ottawa, as in other parts of Canada. After declining for some years, it began to increase again. The growth of the Ottawa Chinese population during this period is shown in the table below:

Table 10: Growth of the Chinese Population in
Ottawa-Hull during the Transition Phase

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ottawa-Hull</u>			<u>Decennial % Change</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>T</u>
1941	238	41	279	-	-	-
1951	326	115	441	37.0	180.5	58.1
1961	596	407	1,003	82.8	253.9	127.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. 1, Table 35-4, 6
Census of Canada, 1961, Vol. 1, Bulletin 1.2-5,
Table 38-6, 12

From 1941 to 1951, the Ottawa-Hull Chinese population increased 58.1% and, from 1951 to 1961, it increased another 127.4%. The growth of the female Chinese population was even more impressive; it increased 180.5% from 1941 to 1951 and 253.9% from 1951 to 1961. The rapid growth was the outcome of the two major factors, immigration from China and Hong Kong and a growing birth-rate.

Chinese immigration to Ottawa grew rapidly during the first few years of the transition phase. Data on the period of immigration of the China-born population in Ottawa and Hull were available in the 1951 Census (but not in the 1961 Census):

Table 11: Persons born in China by Period of Immigration for Ottawa - Hull, 1951

<u>Period of Immigration</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Before 1947	209 (82.9%)	29 (48.3%)	238 (76.3%)
1947-1951	43 (17.1%)	31 (51.7%)	74 (23.7%)
Total	252 (100%)	60 (100%)	312 (100%)

Source: Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. 2, Table 55-7, 13

About a quarter of the Chinese immigrants in Ottawa-Hull in 1951 entered Canada after 1947. However, if we look at the female group alone, over half of them arrived after 1947. As the inflow of Chinese immigrants continued during the 1950s, the post-exclusion group began to constitute a major segment in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

The rise in the birth rate was the outcome of the immigration of Chinese women of childbearing age to Ottawa. The Ottawa Chinese population was predominantly male during the accommodation phase. In 1921, the sex ratio was a staggering 30 males for each female. It was still 8 to 1 in 1931 and 5.8 to 1 in 1941. During the transition phase, the male/female ratio became more balanced - 2.8 to 1 in 1951 and 1.5 to 1 in 1961. The equitable sex ratio meant that there were more Chinese families in Ottawa. What Lee

(1960:330) has called the 'rooming-house culture' of the familyless Chinese men was on the decline during this period.

A graph showing the age pyramid of Chinese in Ottawa-Hull in 1951 best summarizes the demographic characteristics of the group:

Figure 13 Age Pyramid of the Chinese in Ottawa-Hull, 1951

Source: Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. 2, Table 6.7, 13

If we compare the age-sex structure of the Ottawa Chinese population in 1931 (see Table 3) to that of 1951, we can see that significant changes occurred during these twenty years. As mentioned before, the sex ratio in 1951 was much more equitable. The population was also more evenly distributed throughout the various age groups. However, men 55 years of age and over were still over-represented. They constituted 27% of the total population. Correspondingly, women 55 years of age and over were under-represented - they constituted less than 1% of the total population. This unique demographic feature was largely a legacy of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 which prohibited the early Chinese from bringing their wives and children to Canada. After 24 years of exclusion, some men decided not to send for their families after all. Some of the wives in China also decided not to migrate to Canada. The sex ratio for Chinese 34 years of age and under was relatively balanced.

Degree of Incorporation into the Wider Society

The relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider Canadian society was transformed during the transition phase. The degree of prejudice and discrimination by the host society against the Chinese diminished markedly during this period. With the gradual breaking down of racial barriers

after the Second World War, the Ottawa Chinese, especially the second generation, began to be incorporated into the mainstream of society. They participated increasingly in the the social institutions of the host society. The former importance of the inter-market operators in the Chinese collectivity declined.

We will use the five dimensions - political, economic, social, cultural, and identificational - discussed earlier to analyze the pattern of relationships between the Ottawa Chinese and the dominant group. A number of social indicators will be employed to measure some of the dimensions of incorporation.

A good indicator of the degree of incorporation is the percentage of native-born in an ethnic group. Canadian-born members of an ethnic group usually score higher than foreign-born members on all measures of incorporation. The higher the proportion of native-born in an ethnic group, the greater the degree of overall incorporation. This indicator, however, does not measure any specific aspect of incorporation and so can only be regarded as a proxy measure or correlate. Unfortunately, data on the percentage of Canadian-born in the Ottawa Chinese population were not available in the censuses of this period. We only have information for the Chinese in Canada as a whole. Since our objective is to illustrate the changes that were taking

place, the data available are quite representative of the Ottawa Chinese and useful for our purpose. Figure 14 shows the percentage of the Canadian-born group in the total Chinese population from 1931 to 1961:

Figure 14: Percentage of Canadian-born in the Chinese Population in Canada, 1931 - 1961

Source: Census (es) of Canada, 1931-1961

The Canadian-born group within the Chinese population increased from 11.4% in 1931 to nearly 40% in 1961. This increase reflects the transformation of the Chinese from a group of sojourners to an ethnic group taking root.

Political Incorporation - The Ottawa Chinese, like the Chinese elsewhere in Canada, became increasingly incorporated into the Canadian political system during the transition phase. There were two major reasons for this change. Firstly, during this period, a much larger percentage of the Chinese population were citizens eligible to vote in elections. Data on the citizenship status of the Chinese in Ottawa are not available in the 1951 to 1961 census reports, but this information is available for the Chinese in Canada as a whole:

Figure 15: Citizenship Status of Chinese in Canada, 1931 - 1951

Source: Census(es) of Canada, 1931-1951

As shown in Figure 15, the percentage of Chinese who were citizens (Canadian-born and naturalized) increased from 16.1% in 1931 to 60.6% in 1951.

Secondly, the Chinese commenced to act as a political pressure group during this period. For example, in 1960, when the RCMP raided eleven Chinese collectivities across

Canada for illegal immigrants and racketeers in international smuggling rings, the Chinese Community Centre Association of Ontario spent a substantial sum of money on advertisements in the three Toronto newspapers protesting against "the abuse of our (the Chinese) good name through grossly untrue statements" made by the authorities (Kung, 1961:610-611). The Ottawa Chinese also joined in the campaign. They forwarded a resolution of protest to the Government.

During the transition phase, the Ottawa Chinese no longer remained on the periphery of the political system as they did during the accommodation phase. Many of them participated actively in the political process. However, a large number of Chinese, mostly the early immigrants, remained inactive politically.

Economic Incorporation - During the accommodation phase, the predominant majority of the Chinese were employed in Chinese ethnic businesses. They tended to withdraw from open competition with the dominant group. Due to the prevailing social attitudes at the time, the chances of a Chinese high school or university graduate of finding a white-collar job in the wider society were slim. For example, there were only 129 Chinese classified as professionals in the 1931 Census out of a total Chinese population of 40,253 (Census of

Canada, 1931, vol. 7:441). The leading Chinese male occupations in 1931 were shown below:

Table 12: Ten Leading Occupations of Chinese Males in Canada, 1931

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of total employed Chinese males</u>	<u>% of total employed males (all races)</u>
Labourers and unskilled workers	8,604	21.5	13.0
Laundrymen	6,351	15.9	0.4
Cooks	6,319	15.8	0.5
Restaurant, cafe and tavern keepers	3,567	8.9	0.5
Farm labourers	3,019	7.5	14.7
Waiters	2,342	5.9	0.3
Domestic servants	1,512	3.8	0.3
Retail store owners	1,396	3.5	2.9
Gardeners, florists and nurserymen	1,190	3.0	0.3
Salesmen	732	1.8	3.1
Total of above	35,032	87.6	35.8

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 7:430-443

As shown in the Table above, the Chinese were concentrated in menial and unskilled occupations during

the accommodation phase. They were only minimally represented in white-collar occupations.

During the transition phase, the great majority of the second-generation Chinese had moved out of the ethnic economic system to work in the wider society. Many Chinese immigrants left the laundry and restaurant businesses to work in the outside world too. From a high of 62 in 1931, the number of Chinese laundries in Ottawa dropped to 33 in 1951 (City Directory of Ottawa, 1951:43). In 1961, only 14 laundries remained. The number of Chinese restaurants stayed around thirty, while the size of the Chinese population increased rapidly.

There was a small group of Chinese professionals in Ottawa during this period. Most of them were employed by the Federal government. A small number of them found white-collar or skilled jobs. Compared with the occupational pattern in the accommodation phase, the Chinese in Ottawa had achieved a measurable degree of occupational incorporation to the wider society.

Structural Incorporation - During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese collectivity was generally self-sufficient or 'institutionally complete', to use Breton's (1964:194) term. The early Chinese could satisfy all their basic needs, which were few and relatively simple, within the

3

group, making it unnecessary for them to utilize the institutions of the larger society. During this period, the Ottawa Chinese had their own business system, church, cemetery, benevolent and political organizations. The collectivity was able to maintain its members within its social boundaries, and there were few social contacts with the wider society.

During the transition phase, the Ottawa Chinese population became larger in size and more heterogeneous in composition. Accordingly, the social needs of the group became more variegated. The collectivity could no longer provide all the services required by its members. This led many Ottawa Chinese to participate in the institutions of the host society.

Increasing acculturation to and occupational participation in the wider society brought two segments of the Chinese population into more frequent interaction with members of the dominant group. These were the second-generation Chinese who had gone through the socialization process of the public school system and the well-educated and middle-class immigrants from Hong Kong. The pre-1947 Chinese immigrants remained relatively isolated from the outside world. During this period, social contacts with the members of the dominant group tended to be restricted to the work-place and the market-place. Few Chinese interacted

with outsiders on a personal or primary level. Inter-marriage was frowned upon and relatively rare.

Cultural Incorporation - The degree of cultural incorporation into the host society increased measurably during the transition phase for the Ottawa Chinese. Acculturation began to assume a positive value for many Chinese. They were more willing than before to adopt Canadian life-style. One of the most important factors affecting acculturation is the use of the language of the host society as the primary language. The rate of language loss will be used here as an indicator of cultural incorporation. It measures the extent to which members of an ethnic group have taken up the use of the language of the wider society. A high rate of language loss would imply a high degree of linguistic incorporation. An index of language loss can be calculated from the census data using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Chinese Pop. by Ethnic Origin} - \text{Population of Persons of Chinese Mother Tongue}}{\text{Chinese Population by Ethnic Origin}} \times 100 = \text{Rate of Language Loss}$$

The percentages of language loss among the Chinese in Canada for the period from 1931 to 1961 are shown below:

Table 13: Language Loss Among the Chinese in Canada, 1931-1961

<u>Year</u>	<u>Chinese Population</u>	<u>Population of Persons of Chinese Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Rate of Language Loss</u>
1931	46,519	46,063	1.0%
1941	34,627	33,500	3.3%
1951	32,528	28,289	13.0%
1961	58,197	49,099	15.6%

Source: Census(es) of Canada, 1931, Vol. 4:1177
Data for 1941-1961: 1971, Bulletin 1.3-4

As can be seen from Table 13, the rate of language loss had been increasing over the decades, indicating that the Chinese were progressively acculturated to the dominant group.

Similar data from the Ottawa Chinese are not available in all the censuses. From data available in the 1931 Census, the rate of language loss for the Ottawa Chinese (10 years of age and over) was a low of 1.8%. 226 out of the total Chinese population (10 years of age and over) of 271 in Ottawa claimed Chinese as their mother tongue (Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 4:1106-1107). In 1961, of the total Ottawa Chinese population of 970, 753 claimed Chinese as their mother tongue, thus giving a language loss rate of 22.4%. This percentage was higher than the comparable national rate.

This might have been the result of the fact that the Ottawa Chinese collectivity had a higher proportion of second-generation members.

During this period, the Ottawa Chinese partly adopted the Canadian way of life. Some of the traditional Chinese customs came into disuse. Generally, the second-generation Chinese were more acculturated than the immigrant generation.

Identificational Incorporation - Born and brought up locally, the second-generation Chinese always regarded themselves as Canadians. During the transition phase, the immigrant Chinese also began to shift their identity. Before 1949, most of the Chinese immigrants perceived themselves as temporary sojourners in Canada and strongly identified with China. The establishment of a communist regime in China in 1949 terminated the hopes of many Chinese of returning to their homeland. As a result, they came to regard Canada as their permanent home.

The rate of naturalization will be used to measure the degree of identificational incorporation of the immigrant Chinese to Canadian society. Kalbach (1970:355) has pointed out that "changing citizenship has generally been regarded as a serious decision, as it requires the shifting of allegiances and loyalties from one country to

another and an overt identification with a new country and government."

Before 1931, the Chinese were not subjected to any legal discrimination as to the acquisition of citizenship through the process of naturalization. However, as the discretion of the Secretary of State was absolute, it is conceivable that it was sometimes used as a means of what Angus (1931:10) referred to as "silent but effective discrimination." In 1931, an Order-in-Council (P.C. 1378) was passed which restricted the granting of naturalization to Chinese applicants who could produce documentary evidence that they had already renounced their Chinese nationality. As the Chinese government was reluctant to issue such certificates, the Order-in-Council might have limited the number of Chinese who were granted citizenship. With the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947, P.C. 1378 was rescinded. The Chinese were, therefore, in the same category as other ethnic groups with respect to the naturalization process during the transition phase.

Figure 16 shows the increasing rate of naturalization among the foreign-born Chinese during this period:

Figure 16: Rate of Naturalization Among Foreign-born Chinese, 1931-1951

Source: Census(es) of Canada, 1931-1951

As a result of their strong identification with their homeland, only 5.3% of the foreign-born Chinese in 1931 were naturalized Canadian citizens. Partly due to P.C. 1378 and partly to the continuing strong orientation to China, the rate

was still a low 7.4% in 1941. However, in 1951, 43.3% of all foreign-born Chinese were naturalized, a tremendous increase over the last decade. During the transition phase (1947-1962), 24,166 Chinese immigrants became Canadian citizens through naturalization. This figure was equivalent to 86.5% of the total foreign-born Chinese population in 1941. The increase reflected the fact that the Chinese began to regard Canada as their permanent home.

Summing Up - The Ottawa Chinese were increasingly incorporated into the wider society during the transition phase. The inter-group relations situation can be summarized as follows:

Table 14: Degree of Incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese to the Wider Society during the Transition Phase, 1947-1962

<u>Dimensions of Incorporation</u>	<u>Degree of Incorporation</u>
Political	Medium
Economic	Medium to high
Social	Low to medium on the secondary-group level, depending on generation and class; Low on the primary-group level
Cultural	Medium to high, depending on generation
Identification	Low to medium, depending on generation

The Transition Form of Social Organization

As a result of the changes in the external factors, and the consequent social differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, the early form of social organization was no longer capable of integrating the whole group during the transition phase. During this period, the Ottawa Chinese divided themselves into three social segments: the 'old' immigrants, or lao hua ch'iao, the 'new' immigrants or hsin i min, and the second generation or t'u sheng.²

The 'old' immigrants consisted of pre-1947 Chinese immigrants from the Ssu I and San I counties in Kwangtung. As mentioned before, they constituted a relatively homogeneous group, being mostly of peasant origin, relatively uneducated, and employed in unskilled occupations. During the transition phase, they were reinforced by the immigration of their long-separated families from China. The lao hua ch'iao remained the dominant or in-group within the Chinese collectivity.

Both the 'new' immigrants and the second generation were marginal or outsider-groups in the collectivity during this period. The 'new' immigrants consisted of post-exclusion Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. They usually

2) Lao hua ch'iao literally means long-time overseas Chinese; hsin i min means new immigrants, and t'u sheng means local born.

spoke Cantonese which is quite different from the Ssu'I dialect of the 'old' immigrants. Coming from an urban society, they adapted more easily to their new home than the early Chinese immigrants. They were often better educated than the lao hua ch'iao and tended to look for employment in the wider society, rather than within the Chinese collectivity. To this group, clan and county origins were not important social ties or principles of organization.

The second-generation consisted of Chinese who were born and brought up in Canada. A significant number of this group reached adulthood during this period. Their primary language was usually English. Like the hsin i min, they actively sought positions and opportunities in the wider society.

A feeling of social separateness existed between these three groups, and they generally associated with members of their own group only. In fact, there were two distinctive systems of social organization within the Chinese collectivity during this phase. On the one hand, the segmentary system based on clan and county origins was still in operation among the 'old' immigrants. On the other hand, generation and social class status were increasingly becoming the principles of social organization among the 'new' immigrants and the second generation. An eth-gen-class system was emerging in the Ottawa Chinese

collectivity. This system will be described and analyzed in a later chapter in this study.

The traditionist voluntary associations, such as the hui kuan, the Kuomintang and the Chih Kung T'ang, continued to be dominated by the lao hua ch'iao group and could not be said to have been representative of the whole collectivity. The modernist associations which included the Ottawa Chinese Church and the newly established Chinese Catholic Centre were, however, open to all.

Summary

Changes in the structural conditions of the host society, such as the repeal of the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act and the liberalization of social attitudes in the host society, brought about many far-reaching changes in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity during the transition phase, 1947-1962. During this period, the Ottawa Chinese began to be incorporated into the wider society.

As a result of increasing internal socio-economic differentiation, the early form of social organization could no longer hold the Ottawa Chinese collectivity together. A process of reintegration was in progress.

An overall view of the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during this phase reveals that there was a well-established group of 'old' immigrants in the core and

two loosely structured groups - the 'new' immigrants and the second generation - on the periphery. The lao hua ch'iao continued to be organized according to clan and county origins. The two other groups were increasingly organized along generational and social-class lines.

Chapter 8

THE INTEGRATION PHASE, 1962 -

Entrance by the Ottawa Chinese into the social structures of the wider Canadian society in the last two decades has brought about a new pattern in inter-group relations - the integration phase (since 1962). During this period, the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the host society has undergone a process of transformation through increasing incorporation. There is an increase in acculturation, occupational mobility, and residential dispersion among the Chinese.

A major part of the analysis in this chapter will be statistical. It will draw upon data from various sources to support the argument that the Ottawa Chinese are now incorporated into the mainstream of society, except on the primary-group level.

This chapter will begin with an examination of the changes in the immigration system, followed by an analysis of the demographic developments in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity since 1962 and its present mode of incorporation into the wider society.

Changes in Canadian Immigration Policy

The rapid growth of the Chinese population in Ottawa in recent years has partly been a result of the changes in

Canadian immigration policy in 1962 (1962 Order-in-Council, P.C. 1962-86, section 31). In that year, racial discrimination was finally eliminated from Canadian immigration laws. For the first time since 1923, Chinese could enter Canada as independent immigrants, without being sponsored by Chinese residents already in Canada. An assessment system was introduced in which the skill and training of the applicant and the manpower needs of Canada were made the most important criteria for immigrant selection.

A point system was formally incorporated into the 1967 Immigration Amendment (1967 Order-in-Council, P.C. 1967-1616). The new regulations apply universally to all immigrants, regardless of nationality or place of origin. According to this new policy, applicants who on the basis of the assessment of immigration officers have a sufficient number of points are admitted as immigrants. To qualify for admission, the independent applicant must normally obtain fifty out of the possible one hundred points. The assessment criteria are: education and training, personal assessment, occupational demand in Canada, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, knowledge of English and French, having a relative in Canada, and employment opportunities in the area of destination. For applicants nominated by relatives in Canada, the assessment standards are less demanding. Besides fostering Chinese immigration, the point-system has also

contributed to the development of a Chinese middle class in Canada by favouring professional and other highly-qualified Chinese.

Development of the Chinese Population in Ottawa since 1962¹

According to the 1971 Census of Canada, the Chinese population in the Ottawa-Hull Census Metropolitan Area was 3,060 of whom 2,910 lived in the Ottawa part and 150 in the Hull part. This number represents a threefold increase over the 1961 Census figure. The Chinese were, however, still a very small percentage of the Ottawa-Hull population, a mere 0.5%.

The age pyramid or age-sex structure best summarizes the demographic characteristics of a population. The age pyramid of the Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull is presented below:

1) In this chapter, Ottawa refers to the Ottawa-Hull Census Metropolitan Area.

Figure 17

Age Pyramid of the
Ottawa-Hull Chinese
Population, 1971

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

As can be seen in Figure 17, the sex ratio of the Chinese population in Ottawa and Hull has become more balanced. There were only 1.2 males to 1 female in 1971 as compared to 2.9 to 1 in 1951. For age groups 29 and under, the sex ratio was even more equitable - 1.07 to 1. Males outnumbered females 1.7 to 1 between the ages 30 - 49, indicating that some Chinese men still leave their families behind when they first come to Canada.

Compared with 1931 and 1951, the Ottawa Chinese in 1971 were much more evenly distributed among the various age groups. The data show that the Ottawa Chinese have been transformed from what Nee and Nee (1974) call a 'bachelor society' to a family society.

There are no reliable data on the present Chinese population in Ottawa. My own estimate is that it is around 8,000 in 1979.²

During the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947) and the transition phase (1947-1962), the great majority of the Chinese immigrants were from Kwangtung Province. During the integration phase (1962 -), direct immigration from China has dropped considerably. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese now come from Hong Kong. Some are from Taiwan and Macao. There are also small numbers of Chinese

2) My estimation is based on the number of Chinese households listed in the Ottawa section of the 1979 Ontario Chinese Business Telephone Directory multiplied by five.

from other Southeast Asian countries, such as, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, etc. The ethnic origins of immigrants are not longer published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration and so there is no way of determining the exact number of Chinese immigrants. The statistics on immigration from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao (presumably of Chinese origin) are shown below:

Table 15: Immigration from China, Hong Kong
Taiwan, and Macao to Canada, 1963-1976

<u>Period</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Hong Kong</u>	<u>Macao</u>	<u>Taiwan</u>	<u>Total</u>
1963-1967 (% of period)	701 3.7	17,130 90.5	218 1.1	885 4.7	18,934 100
1968-1973 (% of period)	659 1.3	45,377 88	421 0.8	5,087 9.9	51,544 100
1974-1976 (% of period)	2,165 5.3	34,560 84.8	348 0.8	3,691 9.1	40,764 100
Total 1963-1976 (% of period)	3,525 3.2	97,067 87.2	987 0.9	9,663 8.7	111,242 100

Source: Figures for 1963-1973 from Immigration and Population Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974:36

Figures for 1974-1976 from Immigration Statistics, 1974-1976, Department of Manpower and Immigration

As shown in Table 15, during the period of 1963-1976, 87.2% of the immigrants from 'China, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan' were from Hong Kong. 8.7% were from Taiwan, and less than 1% were from Macao. Immigrants from China constituted only 3.2% of the total. It should be pointed out that the Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao are likely to be originally from China. The Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao mostly speak Cantonese, whereas the Chinese from Taiwan speak kuo-yu or Mandarin. However, dialect and native-place origin are no longer important organizing principles among the Ottawa Chinese.

As discussed in the last chapter, the Chinese are socially segmented into three sub-groups - the 'old' immigrants or lao hua ch'iao (those who immigrated before 1947), the 'new' immigrants or hsin i min (those who immigrated after 1947), and the Canadian-born or t'u sheng. According to the 1971 Census, 1,045 Chinese or 34.1% of the total Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull were Canadian-born, and 2,010 or 65.9% were immigrants. As will be discussed in the next chapter, generational status has become a major principle of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

Table 16 shows the period of immigration of the foreign-born Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull:

Table 16: Foreign-born Chinese Population in
Ottawa-Hull by Period of Immigration, 1971

<u>Period of Immigration</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Total Foreign- born Chinese Pop.</u>	<u>% of Total Chinese Population</u>
Immigrated before 1945	135	6.7	4.4
Immigrated during 1946 - 1960	460	22.8	15.0
1961 - 1971	<u>1,425</u>	<u>70.5</u>	<u>46.5</u>
Total	2,010	100	65.9

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census
data-base

On the basis of the 1971 Census statistics, only about 5% of the Chinese population were 'old' immigrants. Over sixty percent were 'new' immigrants. About 35% were Canadian-born. This represents a substantial change from the situation during the transition phase in which 'old' immigrants constituted the majority. As a result of this demographic shift, the segmentary system based on clan and county origins has essentially disintegrated, although a small number of elderly Chinese immigrants still continue to participate primarily in their own clan and county groups. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the Ottawa Chinese collectivity is now organized into a eth-gen-

class system based on generational and social-class status.

Mode of Incorporation during the Integration Phase

Since 1962, the Ottawa Chinese can be regarded as integrated to the mainstream of Canadian society. The rest of this chapter is an attempt to validate this hypothesis. Integration is defined here as the social condition in which racial and ethnic status are not longer pertinent in the major areas of social life in differentiating members of different racial and ethnic groups within the society. In other words, racial and ethnic status no longer exclude people from full participation in the social institutions of society.

As outlined before, integration as a mode of incorporation can be analyzed in terms of five dimensions: political, economic, social, cultural, and identificational.

For some dimensions, the integration of the Ottawa Chinese will be demonstrated with 'hard data', i.e., statistics from special tabulations based on the 1971 Census data-base and data from a questionnaire survey conducted by the researcher. For other dimensions, the case is supported by observation data, since other sources are not readily available.

Political Incorporation

As defined earlier, political incorporation measures the extent the ethnic group participates in the political process of the wider society. The Ottawa Chinese now participate in the Canadian political system in a variety of ways; as citizens, as voters, as members of an ethnic interest group, and as members of the public service. During the integration phase, there is no longer discriminatory legislation prohibiting the Chinese from voting in elections or from obtaining Canadian citizenship.

In 1971, 63.8% of the Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull were Canadian citizens. 34.2% or 1,045 were natural-born Canadians and 29.6% or 905 were naturalized citizens (Data from a special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base). The proportion of Chinese who are Canadian citizens is likely to have grown since 1971, since the naturalization process has been simplified and more Chinese are intending to become a Canadian citizen.

Unlike the accommodation phase when only a small fraction of the Ottawa Chinese population were citizens or full members of the Canadian political system, the majority now are.

In the final stage of my research, a questionnaire was administered to a quota sample of Ottawa Chinese to obtain empirical data on the extent of their incorporation

into the wider society and their participation in primary groups and primary relations. The sample consisted of 41 respondents. Since the questionnaire and the sampling technique were specially designed to test the eth-gen-class hypothesis, the methodological details of the survey will be described in the next chapter when the eth-gen-class system is analyzed.

Questions in the questionnaire were designed to measure the degree of political interest and political participation among the respondents. In order to measure the degree of political interest in the different levels of government, the following questions were asked:

"How interested are you in Canadian national politics?"

"How interested are you in the provincial politics of Ontario?"

"How interested are you in the local affairs of the City of Ottawa (or your township)?"

The respondents have been given three choices:

(1) very interested, (2) fairly interested, and (3) not interested. The results are tabulated below:

Table 17: Degree of Interest in Canadian Politics Among the Chinese Respondents

<u>Response:</u>	<u>National Politics</u>		<u>Provincial Politics</u>		<u>Local Politics</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Very Interested	10	24.4	6	14.6	4	9.8
Fairly Interested	22	53.7	24	58.5	22	53.6
Not Interested	<u>.9</u>	<u>21.9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>26.8</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>36.6</u>
Total	41	100	41	100	41	100

The Table above indicates that the Ottawa Chinese are generally fairly interested in Canadian politics. 53.7%, 58.5%, and 53.6% of the sample are fairly interested in national, provincial, and local politics respectively. 24.4% are keenly interested in national politics, 14.6% in provincial, and 9.8% in local. Only a minority of the Chinese respondents said that they are not interested in Canadian politics. The data show that the Ottawa Chinese tend to be more interested in national politics.

To measure the degree of political participation, the respondents have been asked the following questions:

"Are you a Canadian citizen?"

"Have you voted in the last federal election?"

"Have you voted in the last provincial election?"

"Have you voted in the last municipal election?"

Of those qualified to vote (70% of the sample or 29 out of 41), 41.4% or 12 voted in the last federal election, 34.5% or 10 in the last provincial election, and 24.1% or 7 in the last municipal election.³ The voting rate among the Ottawa Chinese tends to be lower than the general population, but the present rate is much higher than what it used to be during the accommodation phase and the transition phase.

Besides participation in the Canadian political process as voters, the Chinese are also organized into an ethnic interest group. They are now quite effective in lobbying the different levels of government. The case of the campaign to save the Chinese gourmet barbeque food stores is a good example of the Chinese as an ethnic interest group in action.

According to the present federal health regulations, all ready-cooked foods must be stored above 60°C or below 425°C. At these temperatures, the taste of Chinese barbeque meats will be adversely affected. The Chinese are strongly

3) In a research paper entitled, "A Political Efficacy Study of the Chinese in Ottawa," Johnston (1978) found that a larger percentage of the Ottawa Chinese voted in the last federal, provincial and municipal elections than that found in my sample. Her survey was conducted in the Fall of 1977. From the City of Ottawa 1976 Electors' List she identified a total of 1,444 persons with a Chinese surname and among this group, a random sample of 100 Chinese residents was selected. In her study, 48% of the sample voted in the 1974 federal election, 44% in the last provincial election, and 37% in the last municipal election.

against the enforcement of these regulations and argue that it would wipe out an estimated \$30 million-a-year line of business in Canada. A co-ordinating committee was formed in Toronto to save the industry by lobbying the federal government. After some intense lobbying and a demonstration on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, the federal government finally agreed to modify the regulations in the near future so that the Chinese gourmet barbeque food stores can continue to operate according to the traditional Chinese method.⁴

Another indicator of political incorporation is the increasing Chinese representation in the federal Public Service. During the accommodation phase and the transition phase, few Chinese were employed in the federal Public Service, but the situation has now been changed. Many highly-qualified Chinese prefer the job security in government employment, and, as a group, they are now relatively well-represented in the federal Public Service in Ottawa.

Unlike the Chinese in British Columbia, the Ontario Chinese have not yet entered politics. No Chinese have been elected to public office in Ontario or to the federal legislature from Ontario.

4) Reported in the Sing Tao Daily (Toronto edition) on February 17, 1979, p. 16.

Although less politically active than the mainstream of society as a group, the Ottawa Chinese are now an integral part of Canadian political process. The data indicate that their racial status no longer excludes them from full participation in the political process.

Economic Incorporation

One of the best ways to analyze the degree of economic incorporation of an ethnic group into the mainstream of society is to compare its occupational structure to that of the general population and see if the group is over- or under- represented in the different sectors. The underlying premise of using occupational distribution as an indicator of economic integration is that the higher the degree to which the ethnic group is proportionally represented in the various occupational categories, the higher the degree of economic incorporation. However, the distribution of an ethnic group among occupational categories is seldom, if ever, proportional to the group's size. One alternative is to observe how the group is distributed among higher-status and lower-status occupational groups. Our evaluative criteria is that the lesser the degree of over-representation at the lower-status occupational categories and the higher the degree of over-representation at the higher-status ones, the higher the degree of economic incorporation.

Using data from the 1971 Census data-base, we will compare the occupational distribution of the Ottawa-Hull Chinese to that of the general population in Ottawa-Hull. Since data for women in the labour force are generally less reliable than those for men, only the male labour force will be used. The occupational distribution of the Chinese and of the general population are shown below:

Table 18: Occupational Distribution of the Chinese and of the General Population in Ottawa-Hull (Male Labour Force, 15 Years of Age and Over), 1971

<u>Occupational Category*</u>	<u>Chinese (%)</u>	<u>General Population (%)</u>	<u>Under- or over-representation for Chinese (%)</u>
Managerial and Administrative	3.5	11.3	-7.8
Professional and Semi-professional	31.5	17.3	+14.2
Clerical and Sales	7.4	21.4	-14.0
Personal Service	39.9	13.1	+26.8
Primary Production	1.0	1.9	-0.9
Blue-collar	3.4	21.9	-18.5
Other	<u>13.3</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>+0.2</u>
	100	100	0
	N=1,005	N=161,925	

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

* The above occupational categories consist of the following 'occupation major groups' (for further information on occupation major groups, see "Occupational Classification Manual, Census of Canada, 1971" Volume 1, Catalogue No. 12-536):

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Equivalent Occupational Major Group(s)</u>
Managerial and Administrative	11
Professional and semi-professional	21, 23, 25, 27, 31, and 33
Clerical and Sales	41, 51
Personal Service	61
Primary Production	71, 73, 75, and 77
Blue-collar	81, 82, 83, 85, 87, and 91
Other	All other

As can be seen from Table 18, the Ottawa Chinese are now more evenly distributed in the occupational structure than they were during the accommodation phase when they were overwhelmingly concentrated in the personal service sector. The data show that they have achieved a considerable degree of occupational mobility. They are now over-represented in the professional and semi-professional categories. 31.5% of the Ottawa Chinese as compared to 17.3% of the general population were in professional and semi-professional occupations in 1971. However, they are still over-represented in the service sector. Almost 40% of the Chinese as compared to 13.1% of the general population were in service occupations, the traditional economic niches of the Chinese in Canada. They were also under-represented in managerial and administrative, white-collar clerical, and blue-collar jobs in 1971.

A clear pattern emerges from Table 18. The Ottawa Chinese tend to be over-represented in occupations where technical competence, and not inter-personal relations, are most important. This may account for their over-representation in professional and semi-professional occupations. However, in positions where the whole personality is involved, such as managerial, administrative, and sales jobs, they tend to be under-represented.

On the lower end of the occupational hierarchy, the immigrant Chinese, who are not highly-trained, cannot compete with white workers for high-paid blue-collar jobs. They tend to concentrate in low-paid service occupations. This may help to explain why the Chinese are over-represented in the personal service sector.

Although the Ottawa Chinese may be considered to be integrated into the general occupational structure, their racial origin obviously has an effect on their position in the economic structure. Equality in economic opportunity has not yet been attained by the Chinese. This can be seen in the distribution of the Ottawa Chinese in the various income levels, as shown in the Table below:

Table 19: Total Personal Income of the Chinese in Ottawa-Hull (15 Years of Age and Over with Income), 1971*

<u>Income Category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull</u>	<u>% of Total population in Ottawa-Hull</u>	<u>% under- or over-representation</u>
Under \$3,000	665	42.1	21.5	+20.6
\$3,000-\$6,999	475	30.0	27.4	+2.6
\$7,000-\$14,999	355	22.5	40.3	-17.8
\$15,000 & Over	<u>85</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>10.8</u>	<u>-5.4</u>
	1,580	100	100	0

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

* Total income refers to income from all sources

The data show that the Chinese were over-represented in the lower income levels and under-represented in the higher. 42.1% of the Ottawa Chinese as compared to only 21.5% of the general population had a total personal income of less than \$3,000 a year in 1971. On the other hand, only 5.4% of the Chinese population compared to 10.8% of the general population had an income of \$15,000 and over.

Another indicator for the evaluation of the economic position of the Ottawa Chinese, and for comparison with the general population, is the average total income.

Table 20: Average Total Income of the Chinese and of the Total Population in Ottawa-Hull (Males, 15 Years of Age and Over with Income), 1971

	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Index</u>
Total Population	8,052	100
Chinese	5,357	81.4

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

Using average total income as an indicator, the Chinese have an index of 81.4. The average total income of the total population has been employed as the base for the index. The Chinese index of 81.4 means that they are, as a group, doing less well economically than the general population.

Although a smaller percentage of the Ottawa Chinese now work within the Chinese collectivity, a large number of them still do. Many recent immigrants are employed in Chinese-owned businesses, mostly restaurants. A system of ethnic enterprises have developed in Ottawa to cater to the

special needs of the Chinese. The following businesses are listed in a recently published Chinese business directory:

Table 21: Chinese Businesses in
Ottawa-Hull, 1979*

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number</u>
Auto service	1
Bookstore	2
Building construction firm	1
Driving school	1
Food products supply firm	4
Gift-shop	3
Chinese grocery	10
Laundry and dry cleaner	3
Photography studio	1
Real estate firm	1
Restaurant equipment store	1
Restaurant	126
Sporting goods store	1
Trading firm	4
Travel agency	4
Total	163

Source: Based on listings in the Ontario Chinese Business Telephone Directory, 1979 (section on Ottawa)

* Businesses owned and operated by Chinese.

According to Table 21, there are at present 163 Chinese businesses in Ottawa and Hull. Of these, 126 are restaurants. This large number of Chinese restaurants partly explains why such a large percentage of the Chinese labour force are employed in personal service occupations.

Some Chinese professionals, especially dentists and doctors, have built their practice within the confines of the Chinese collectivity. This has tended to limit their professional career and to lessen the need for Chinese to seek services in the wider society. As a result of racial prejudice, both real and imagined, many Chinese still prefer a profession that evaluates them purely on the basis of technical competence, such as engineering, accountancy, medicine, dentistry, etc., rather than a position that requires the handling of human relationships, such as in the practice of law, social work, or business management.

Education plays a very important role in economic incorporation as well as in the other dimensions of incorporation. A person's occupation is largely dependent on his education and training. A high degree of economic integration and mobility generally requires extensive education.

As mentioned earlier, the early Chinese immigrants were usually uneducated. The maturity and education of the second generation and the introduction of the point system

in immigrant selection which favours highly educated persons, have changed the educational picture. During the integration phase, a larger percentage of the Chinese population are university-educated than the general population. The level of educational attainment of the Chinese and of the general population in Ottawa-Hull is shown below:

Table 22: Educational Attainment of the Chinese and of the General Population (15 Years of Age and Over, Excluding Those Attending Full-time) for Ottawa-Hull, 1971

<u>Level of Schooling</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Chinese %</u>	<u>% of General Population</u>	<u>% over- or under-representation for Chinese</u>
Elementary	530	33.3	25.9	+7.4
Secondary	595	37.4	57.0	-19.6
University	465	29.3	17.1	+12.2
(without degree)	(65)	(4.1)	(7.2)	(-3.1)
(with degree)	<u>(400)</u>	<u>(25.2)</u>	<u>(9.9)</u>	<u>(+15.3)</u>
	1,590	100	100	0

Source: For the Chinese in Ottawa-Hull:
Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

For the General Population in Ottawa-Hull:
Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 1., Bulletin 1.5-3

The data show that the Chinese in Ottawa-Hull in 1971 were over-represented at the university-educated level. 29.3% of the Chinese, as compared to only 17.1% of the general population, attended university. More significantly, 25.2% or 1 in 4 of the Chinese, 15 years of age and over and not studying full-time, had a university degree, as compared to 9.9% or 1 in 10 of the general population.

Another interesting fact which emerges from Table 22 is that a large percentage of Chinese, 33.3% (as compared to 25.9% of the general population) received only elementary schooling or less. The Chinese were also under-represented in the secondary level. These figures reflect the social polarity in the Ottawa Chinese population. The second generation and the recent 'independent' immigrants tend to be better educated than the 'old' immigrants and the 'sponsored' immigrants.

Considering the data on economic incorporation as a whole, the overall picture appears to be that the Ottawa Chinese have now been integrated to the economic structure of the wider Canadian society, though they have not yet achieved equality in economic opportunity.

Cultural Incorporation

Cultural incorporation, or the change of cultural patterns to those of the mainstream of society, is

relatively hard to measure. The process includes changes in language use, norms and values, religious belief, social customs, dietary habits, etc. Some of these are rather difficult to operationalize. To simplify the matter, we will use linguistic change as a single-item indicator of cultural incorporation. Lack of fluency in the language of the wider society is obviously a major barrier to integration. Moreover, language shift is usually closely correlated with other aspects of cultural incorporation. Chinese who do not speak or read Chinese are shut off from the major sources of Chinese cultural influence, and exposed to Canadian culture.

Earlier in the dissertation, the rate of language loss was calculated for the Chinese population from census data using the following formula - the difference between the population of Chinese ethnic origin and the population whose mother tongue is Chinese is divided by the population of Chinese ethnic origin and the product multiplied by 100 to obtain a percentage. Strictly speaking, this index measures the rate of ancestral shift and not the current shift to another language. To measure the current shift, the following formula has to be used:

$$\frac{\text{Pop. by Chinese Mother Tongue} - \text{Pop. by Chinese Spoken at Home}}{\text{Pop. by Chinese Mother Tongue}} \times 100 = \text{Current Shift}$$

Data on 'language spoken at home' or current language are not available in the censuses before 1971. The index of current language shift is a more reliable measure of linguistic integration, since it measures the shift from the language learned during infancy to another language later in life. The data on the 'mother tongue' and the 'language spoken at home' of the Ottawa Chinese population are presented below:

Table 23: 'Mother Tongue' and 'Language Spoken at Home' of the Chinese Population in Ottawa-Hull, 1971

<u>Language</u>	<u>(1)</u> <u>Mother Tongue</u>		<u>(2)</u> <u>Language Spoken at Home</u>		<u>Difference</u> <u>between Columns</u> <u>(2) and (1)</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
Chinese	2,280	74.5	1,835	60.1	-445
English	635	20.8	1,135	37.1	+500
French	35	1.1	40	1.3	+5
All other	110	3.6	45	1.5	-65
Total	3,060	100	3,055	100	

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

From the figures in Table 23, the ancestral shift⁵ is calculated to be 25.5% and the current shift 19.5%. The ancestral shift of 25.5% means that about a quarter of the Chinese population (i.e. population of Chinese ethnic origin) had a mother tongue other than Chinese. The data show that 20.8% of the Chinese had English as their mother tongue and 1.1% had French. The figures imply that the direction of the ancestral shift has been to English. The current shift of 19.5% means that about 1 in 5 of the Chinese whose mother tongue was Chinese shifted to another language later in life. As expected, the data show that the shift was to English. Assuming that those Chinese whose mother tongue was English continued to use English (a very probable assumption), 500 or 20.6% of the Chinese whose mother tongue was not English shifted to it later in life, according to the 1971 Census. The degree of linguistic assimilation is, therefore, considerable.

In 1971, 60.1% of the Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull used Chinese as their first language, 37.1% English, and 1.3% French. The language trend among the Ottawa Chinese is likely to be a continued gradual shift to English.

Social Incorporation

A distinction is made here between primary and

⁵ See p.181

secondary social incorporation. Primary social incorporation is said to have taken place if the primary relationships of the members of an ethnic group are mostly members of other ethnic groups. The ethnic group is defined as integrated on the secondary level if its members participate extensively in the social institutions of the wider society. On primary and secondary relationships, Gordon (1964:32) has pointed out that primary relationships are "personal, intimate, emotionally affective, and which bring into play the whole personality, as contrasted with secondary relationships which are impersonal, formal, and segmentalized, and tend not to come very close to the core of personality."

Integration on the secondary or institutional level does not necessarily mean that a person is also integrated on the primary level. A Chinese may be incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian society on the secondary level and participate in the social institutions of the wider society, but at the same time associate only with other Chinese on the primary-group level.

Residential patterns reflect, and have important consequences for, the relations between an ethnic group and the wider society. Residential distribution is used here as a proxy measure of secondary social incorporation. A high degree of residential dispersion implies that the ethnic

group would have to interact with the wider society on the secondary level.

The following analysis of the Chinese residential distribution in Ottawa-Hull is based on data from the 1971 Census. The distribution of the Chinese population in the census tracts of Ottawa-Hull in actual number and in percentage of the total census tract population are shown in the two tables below:

Table 24: Distribution of the Chinese Population by Census Tract (in number) for Ottawa-Hull (CMA), 1971

<u>Number of Chinese in Census Tract</u>	<u>Number of Census Tracts in Category</u>	<u>Number of Chinese in Category</u>	<u>Percent of Total Chinese Pop. in Category</u>
0	38	0	0
5 - 45	63	1,280	41.7
50 - 95	15	1,040	33.9
100 - 195	3	425	13.8
Over 200	1	325	10.6
Total	120	3,070	100

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

Table 25: Distribution of the Chinese Population by Census Tract (as % of Total Census Tract Population) for Ottawa-Hull, 1971

<u>% of Census Tract Pop. Chinese</u>	<u>Number of Census Tracts in Category</u>	<u>Number of Chinese in Category</u>	<u>Percent of Total Chinese Pop. in Category</u>
0	38	0	0
Less than 2	75	2,130	69.4
2 - 4.9	5	480	15.6
5 and over	2	460	15.0
Total	120	3,070	100

Source: Special tabulation based on the 1971 Census data-base

The data indicate that the Chinese population in Ottawa-Hull were relatively dispersed. 38 census tracts (mostly sparsely populated areas) had no Chinese residing in them. In 75 tracts, the Chinese constituted less than 2% of the total tract population. Only in 7 tracts were the Chinese more than 2% of the total population. The highest concentration was in Census Tract 40 (an area bounded by Bronson, Gloucester, Kent, and James streets) where the Chinese population of 325 constituted 7.4% of the total tract population. In actual numbers, only 4 tracts had more than 100 Chinese in them.

On the basis of the data on residential distribution and my own observations, the Ottawa Chinese seem to be

relatively integrated into the wider society on the secondary-group level.

In order to measure the degree of primary social incorporation, the respondents in my questionnaire survey were asked to indicate the ethnic origin of their three closest friends. The rationale for using best friends as an indicator is that the larger the number of non-Chinese friends among the Chinese, the higher the degree of primary social incorporation. The respondents, classified into generational and occupational groups, are crosstabulated by the ethnic origin of their best friends in the two tables below:

Table 26: Chinese Respondents Classified into Generational Groups by Ethnic Origin of their Close Friends

<u>Ethnic Origin of 3 Best Friends</u>	<u>First Generation</u>		<u>Second Generation</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
All 3 Chinese	22	75.9	4	33.3	26	63.4
2 Chinese & 1 non-Chinese	5	17.2	3	25.0	8	19.5
1 Chinese & 2 non-Chinese	2	6.9	4	33.3	6	14.6
All 3 non-Chinese	0	0	1	8.3	1	2.4
Total	29	100	12	100	41	100

Table 27: Chinese Respondents Classified into Occupational Groups by Ethnic Origin of their Close Friends

<u>Ethnic Origin of 3 Best Friends</u>	<u>Professional and Managerial</u>		<u>White-collar Clerical & Skilled Blue-collar</u>		<u>Unskilled Blue- Collar</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
All 3 Chinese	8	53.5	7	58.3	11	78.6	26	63.4
2 Chinese & 1 non-Chinese	4	26.7	2	16.7	2	14.3	8	19.5
1 Chinese & 2 non-Chinese	2	13.3	3	25.0	1	7.1	6	14.6
All 3 non-Chinese	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	1	2.4
Total	15	100	12	100	14	100	41	100

The two tables show that 63.4% of the sample have only Chinese as their close friends. 19.5% have 1 non-Chinese out of 3 as close friends, and 14.6% have 2 out of 3. Only 1 respondent has only non-Chinese as his best friends. The data suggest that the degree of primary social incorporation among the Ottawa Chinese is relatively low.

As indicated by the data, it seems that the degree of primary social incorporation, as measured by the number of non-Chinese best friends the respondent has, is related to his generational and occupational status. The first generation are less likely to have non-Chinese as their close

friends - only 24.1% of this group have one or more non-Chinese as their close friends, as compared to 66.6% of the second-generation group.

It also appears that the higher the occupational status, the higher the degree of primary social incorporation. For example 46.7% of the professional and managerial group have 1 or more non-Chinese as their close friends, whereas only 21.4% of the unskilled blue-collar group have.

The data in Table 26 and Table 27 seem to suggest two things: firstly, the Ottawa Chinese are not yet incorporated into the wider society on the primary-group level, and, secondly, primary social incorporation is related to social class and generation.

Identification Incorporation

Identification incorporation measures the degree the Chinese perceive Canada to be their home and their country. In the earlier chapters, we have used the rate of naturalization as an indicator of identification incorporation. In 1971, of the 2,010 foreign-born Chinese in Ottawa-Hull, 905 or 45% were naturalized Canadian citizens.⁶ However, the acquisition of citizenship through naturalization is far from being an ideal indicator of identification incorporation.

6) Not all Chinese immigrants were eligible for naturalization. There was (and still is) a residence requirement for naturalization.

Firstly, it is applicable only to immigrants. In Canada, native-born Chinese are citizens by birth. Secondly, there might be more pragmatic reasons for acquiring citizenship than identification with Canada. For example, Canadian citizenship may enhance a person's opportunity of getting a job, especially a government position.

In order to measure the degree of identification, the following questions were asked in the questionnaire survey (answers to them shown below also):

Do you regard Canada as your permanent home?"

		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Response:	Yes	39	95.0
	No	2	5.0

"Do you regard Canada as your country?"

Response:	Yes	32	78.0
	No	9	22.0

"Which of the following terms would you identify yourself with?"

Chinese	7	17.1
Canadian	2	4.9
Chinese-Canadian	31	75.6
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>2.4</u>
	41	100

95% of the sample have answered that they regard Canada as their permanent home. However, a lower percentage

regard Canada as their country - 78%. 75.6% have identified themselves as Chinese-Canadians, 17.1% as Chinese, and only 4.9% as Canadians without qualification. The data seem to indicate that the Chinese do identify with Canada, but at the same time, they are conscious of being a racial minority.

The New Intermarket Operators

The great majority of the Ottawa Chinese now participate directly in the social life of the wider society. However, a small number of recent Chinese immigrants, who have no or little knowledge of English, still relate to the wider society through intermarket operators. The intermarket operators of today are quite different from those of the accommodation phase. The new intermarket operators are Chinese businessmen or professionals who have built their business or clientele within the confines of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. Examples of this group include real estate brokers, insurance agents, tax consultants, lawyers, travel agents, used car salesmen, etc. Also included in this category are the community workers at the Chinese Community Service Centre of Ottawa. The differences between the intermarket operators now and then are that: (1) the present day intermarket operators are not patrons as they were during the accommodation phase, and (2) they are now

usually not relatives of their clients as they were in the past. The relations between patrons and clients are now professional and commercial. The new intermarket operators reflect the changes in the composition of the Ottawa Chinese and their changing needs.

Summary

The Ottawa Chinese are now very much incorporated into the mainstream of Canadian society. However, they remain relatively low in terms of social incorporation on the primary-group level. The relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society can be summarized as follows:

Table 28: Degree of Incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the Wider Canadian Society during the Integration Phase, 1962-

<u>Dimension of Incorporation</u>	<u>Degree of Incorporation</u>
Political	High, depending on citizenship status
Economic	High
Cultural	Medium to high, depending on generation and education
Social	Medium to high on the secondary-group level depending on generational social class Low on the primary-group level
Identification	Medium to high, depending on generation

The Ottawa Chinese have shown evidence of integration to the wider society, but this has not led to social incorporation on the primary-group level. The Ottawa Chinese seem to present a case of 'integration without assimilation'.

In the next chapter, we will analyze the pattern of informal social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. During the integration phase, the Chinese are organized along generational and social-class lines into an 'eth-gen-class' system. This system or organization can help to explain the low degree of primary social incorporation among the Ottawa Chinese.

Chapter 9

THE CONTEMPORARY FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

As an adaptive response to the changes in the external conditions during the integration phase (since 1962), the Ottawa Chinese developed a new pattern of social organization - the contemporary form. In the first part of this chapter, we will examine the informal pattern of social organization (the eth-gen-class system) and, in the second part, the formal organizations or voluntary associations.

Informal Social Organization

As a result of increasing generational and status differentiation within the collectivity, the early form of informal social organization based on clan and county origins could no longer integrate the heterogeneous Chinese group in Ottawa. New principles of social organization emerged to re-integrate the collectivity. The Chinese are now organized along social class and generational lines. Following Gordon (1964:51) and Kitano (1969:5), this pattern is referred to as the eth-gen-class system.

In our discussion of the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and wider Canadian society during the integration phase,

we have concluded that it is a case of 'integration without assimilation', or economic, political, cultural, identificational, and secondary social-incorporation without social-integration on the primary-group level. The eth-gen-class hypothesis can help to explain this situation.

Social Mobility, Generation, and Assimilation

It is a common assumption in the literature on race and ethnic relations that social mobility and assimilation are closely related processes. Some sociologists have suggested that increasing social mobility among members of an ethnic group will eventually lead to the group's disintegration, since its upwardly mobile members are absorbed into the wider society. For example, Masuoka and Yokley (1954:32) argue that "when a society introduces the social mechanism of vertical mobility through greater economic, educational, and political opportunities, racial status and identification become problematic."

In his study, The Urban Villagers, Gans (1962) concludes that the 'peer group society' of the Italian-Americans in the West End of Boston was a lower-class phenomenon rather than an ethnic one. He also suggests that middle-class members of an ethnic group have more in

common with middle-class members of the majority group than they do with the lower-class members of their own group.

Second-generation members of immigrant groups are often more highly acculturated and more mobile socially than the first generation. The changes in the life-style of the second generation have led some sociologists to argue that assimilation is taking place in the second generation (Child, 1943; Warner and Srole, 1945; Campisi, 1948).

However, social mobility does not necessarily bring about assimilation. Neither is the second generation always absorbed into the dominant group.

Some studies (Rosenthal, 1960; Tan, 1968; Lai, 1971) have found that there can be social mobility and acculturation without structural incorporation on the primary level. In her study of the Chinese in the United States, Tan (1968:14-15) argues that:

The Chinese in the United States as a group have shown evidence of social mobility as indicated by an increase in high status occupations, high educational attainment, improved income patterns, but this has not led to structural assimilation on the primary level.

Kramer and Leventman (1961) found that although third-generation Jews are highly acculturated and upwardly mobile, they remain Jewish. They point out that "young Jews frequently turn to religion as a source of their identity. Although their non-Jewish behavior belies their religious intent, they choose to be Jews" (Kramer and Leventman, 1961:213).

Although status and generational differentiation have segmented the Ottawa Chinese into distinctive status strata and generational units, there are no indications that the collectivity is disintegrating. Second-generation and middle-class Chinese have not yet been fully assimilated into the wider society. They still associate with other Chinese on the primary-group level. A careful examination of social life within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity reveals the significance of two organizing principles: social class and generation.

Ethclass as an Organizing Principle

During the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), the Ottawa Chinese population was relatively homogeneous in terms of socio-economic characteristics. A small group of Chinese merchants constituted the elite in the collectivity, but the great majority were unskilled labourers. As mentioned before, clan and county group ties were the dominant principles of social organization. Increasing socio-economic differentiation of the Ottawa Chinese in the last thirty years has segmented the group into discrete and self-conscious status strata. The class-status group within the Chinese collectivity, or ethclass, has become the basic unit of association.

The concept of 'ethclass' was first coined by Gordon (1964:51) in his study Assimilation in American Life. He puts forward two related theses with regard to the interaction between

ethnicity and social class. Firstly, he hypothesizes that with regard to cultural behaviour, differences in social class are more significant than differences in ethnic group. Like Gans (1962), he argues that people of different social classes tend to act differently and to have different values even if they are members of the same ethnic group. Secondly, with regard to social participation in primary groups and primary relationships, Gordon hypothesizes that people tend to confine themselves to their ethclass - that is, their own social-class segment within their own ethnic group. Gordon's concept of ethclass can help to explain why social class is a major organizing principle in the Chinese collectivity in Ottawa.

As a result of the two behavioral tendencies, the primary-group relationships of the Ottawa Chinese are predominantly structured along both ethnic-group and social-class lines. Firstly, due to the actual or perceived racial prejudice against them, the Chinese prefer to associate with other Chinese. Secondly, they tend to associate with persons of similar social-class status. Consequently, social cliquing among the Ottawa Chinese is a class-confined as well as an ethnic-confined phenomenon. During the integration phase, the ethclass system provides a framework for reintegration after extensive status differentiation within the group.

The ethclass principle not only structures the Ottawa Chinese into primary groups, but more importantly, it excludes non-members from a system of social relationships. From this

perspective, the ethclass system is also a boundary-maintaining mechanism.

Generation as an Organizing Principle

Generational status first emerged as an organizing principle in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity during the transition phase (1947-1962). It has become one of the two major principles of social organization in the integration phase. To ethnicity and social class, we must now add a third variable, generation, so that the basic framework for analyzing the social structure of the contemporary Chinese collectivity is the eth-gen-class. In other words, the Ottawa Chinese tend to confine their social participation in primary groups and primary relationships to other members of their own social class and generation within their ethnic collectivity.

Chinese of the same generation usually share many cultural and behavioral similarities. As in the case of social class, they tend to associate mostly with other Chinese of the same generation.

For the purpose of this study, the Ottawa Chinese are divided into two generations - the first and the second.

The first generation includes all foreign-born Chinese who immigrated to Canada after 14 years of age. The choice of this age as a dividing line is somewhat arbitrary. It is assumed that by this age a Chinese would have acquired certain

characteristics which subsequent acculturation could not significantly alter. Chinese who immigrate after their early teens tend to retain a foreign accent.

The second generation includes Canadian-born Chinese and immigrant Chinese who arrived before 14 years of age. The Chinese have a special term for this group, chu shing, which literally means a bamboo stick. Since a bamboo stick is hollow and closed at both ends, the term was originally used derogatorily to imply the incomplete comprehension of both Chinese and Canadian cultures among the second generation. The word has now come into common use.

Being born in Canada is not the only defining characteristic of the chu shing. What is significant is that they speak English as their first language and are highly acculturated to Canadian culture and the Canadian way of life.

There are substantial cultural, linguistic, behavioral, and identificational differences between the first generation and the second. These differences are indicative of the differential rate of acculturation among the two generational groups.

Most first-generation Chinese tend to cling to their Old-World culture and style of life. Being exposed to Canadian culture at an early age, the second generation incorporates many non-Chinese values and customs into their way of life.

The Ottawa Chinese have experienced a generational move

from intra-group to extra-group employment in the last twenty years. While a substantial proportion of the first generation is still employed within the Chinese collectivity, the second generation is generally working outside the group. The second generation is also more likely to identify more strongly with Canada than the first generation. Being more acculturated, the second generation tends to participate more extensively in the wider society than the first generation.

Compared with social class, it appears that generation is a less 'determining' principle of social organization. This means that the Ottawa Chinese are more likely to associate on the primary-group level with other Chinese across generational than across social-class lines.

Data for testing of the eth-gen-class hypothesis came from two major sources: (1) participant observation, and (2) a questionnaire survey.

Observation Data

The eth-gen-class hypothesis was developed in the course of my participant observation in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The guiding question used during the observation process was: Who associated with whom in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity? The following ground rules have been employed for gathering data:

- (1) A social clique in the Chinese collectivity was first discerned and its core membership ascertained. A social

clique was operationally defined as a group of persons who regularly invite each other home for dinner and other leisure activities. In other words, a social clique is an intervisitation group.

- (2) The generational status of the core members of the group was then determined.
- (3) The social-class status of the members was also determined. The class ascertainment process used was an informal rating procedure carried out by the researcher himself. The principle criteria employed in the rating were occupation, income, education, and life-style.

It was found that the Ottawa Chinese have a strong tendency to associate with other Chinese of the same generation and social class.

An Empirical Test of the Eth-gen-class Hypothesis

In order to test the eth-gen-class hypothesis empirically, a questionnaire was administered to a quota sample of 41 heads of households drawn from the Chinese population in Ottawa. The sampling method used was cell or quota sampling. Generation and social class are the two criteria employed for forming cells. The operationalization of the concept of generation have been discussed before.

The operationalization of the concept of social class is relatively more complicated. The construction of social

classes is a process of classification by which persons who share some specified characteristics are grouped together for the purpose of analysis. The problem is how to find criteria by which social classes are defined. The usual criteria for class classification are economic power, social prestige, and political power. Generally, these three class variables vary together to a considerable extent. For example, in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, a person who has a high occupational status tends to be ranked highly in social prestige. He is also more likely to occupy a powerful position in the collectivity.

Since a multi-dimensional approach to social class is quite beyond the scope of this research, it is necessary to decide which of the dimensions be used to assign persons into social classes. The economic dimension is the most easily measurable. Accordingly, economic status will be employed as our basis for social class classification.

The usual indicators of economic status are occupation and income. Since many Chinese are reluctant to disclose information on their income, occupation will be used as the indicator of social-class status.

The Ottawa Chinese are classified into three occupational classes as shown below:

Table 29

A Typology of Occupational Classes
in the Ottawa Chinese Collectivity

<u>Occupational Class</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Social Class Label</u>
I) Professional and Managerial	<p>Professional: Doctors, dentists, architects, university professors, accountants, etc.</p> <p>Managerial: Managers, business executives, owners of medium- or large-size business, etc.</p>	Upper Middle Class
II) White-collar Clerical and Skilled Blue-collar	<p>White-collar clerical: Salesmen, insurance agents, secretaries, accounting clerks, etc.</p> <p>Skilled blue-collar: Electricians, mechanics, laboratory technicians, etc.</p>	Middle Class
III) Unskilled Blue-collar	Cooks, waiters, busboys, bartenders, deliverymen, janitors, etc.	Lower or Working Class

According to our generational and social class classifications, there are six possible eth-gen-classes as shown in Figure 18:

Figure 18 The Eth-gen-class System in
the Ottawa Chinese Collectivity

<u>Occupational Class</u>	<u>First Generation</u>	<u>Second Generation</u>	<u>Social Class</u>
Professional and Managerial	1	2	Upper- Middle Class
White-collar Clerical and Skilled Blue-collar	3	4	Lower- Middle Class
Unskilled Blue-collar	5	6	Lower or Working Class

Eth-gen-classes:

- (1) First-generation upper-middle class
- (2) Second-generation upper-middle class
- (3) First-generation lower-middle class
- (4) Second-generation lower-middle class
- (5) First-generation working-class
- (6) Second-generation working-class

The main purpose for quota sampling is to obtain enough respondents in each of the six cells so that comparisons can be made between the different eth-gen-classes. The final sample consisted of 41 respondents and their generational and occupational backgrounds are classified below:

Table 30 Characteristics of the Respondents
in the Quota Sample

<u>Occupational Class</u>	<u>First Generation</u>		<u>Second Generation</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional & Managerial	9	22.0	6	14.6	15	36.6
White-collar Clerical and Skilled Blue-collar	7	17.1	5	12.2	12	29.3
Unskilled Blue-collar	13	31.7	1*	2.4	14	34.1
<u>Total</u>	29	70.3	12	29.3	41	100.0

*Only one second-generation lower-class Chinese has been found for the sample. It seems that there are relatively few working-class second-generation Chinese in Ottawa.

The primary objective of the questionnaire survey was to analyze the primary-group relationships of the Ottawa Chinese. The questionnaire design is relatively simple. First of all, the respondents were asked their generational status and occupation. Then, the respondents were asked to give the following information on their three closest friends:

- (1) occupation
- (2) ethnic origin (if Chinese),
- (3) generational status¹

The purpose of these questions is to find out with whom

1) In case the respondent was uncertain of the generational status of his Chinese friend, he was asked whether his friend spoke fluent Chinese. If yes, the friend was classified as first-generation Chinese and if not, as second-generation.

the respondents associate on the primary-group level. 'Close friends' are used as an indicator of primary-group relationships.

The data on the ethnic background of the close friends of the respondents have already been presented and discussed in the last chapter in our analysis of the group's social incorporation on the primary-group level. Only 18.7% of the friends reported by the respondents were non-Chinese, indicating that the primary relationships of the Ottawa Chinese are still ethnic-confined.

To test the eth-gen-class hypothesis, the generational and social class backgrounds of the respondents are cross-tabulated with the generation and social class backgrounds of their three best friends (excluding those who are non-Chinese).

Table 31 shows the generational status of the respondents crosstabulated by the generational status of their three best friends:

Table 31

Generational Status of the
Respondents crosstabulated
by the Generational Status
of their Close Friends

RESPONDENTS

	First Generation		Second Generation		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First Generation	63	80.8	8	36.4	71	71.0
Second Generation	15	19.2	14	64.6	29	29.0
Total	78	100.0	22	100.0	100	100.0

* The resultant x^2 at 1 degree of freedom is 16.43 which is larger than 10.83, the critical value at the 0.001 level.

The x^2 test shows that the generational status of the respondents is significantly related to the generational status of their best friends. Over 80% of the first generation respondents chose first-generation Chinese as their close friends. The second-generation respondents seem a little less likely to confine their primary-group relations to members of their own generation. Only 64.6% of the second-generation respondents chose second-generation Chinese as their best friends.

In the following table, the first-generation respondents, classified into occupational classes, are crosstabulated by the generational status of their close friends:²

Table 32 First-generation Respondents
by Occupational Classes by
Generational Status of their
Close Friends

FIRST GENERATION RESPONDENTS

	Professional & Managerial		White-collar Clerical & Skilled Blue-collar		Unskilled Blue-collar		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First Generation	16	69.6	14	77.8	33	89.2	63	80.8
Second Generation	7	30.4	4	22.2	4	10.8	15	19.2
Total	23	100.0	18	100.0	37	100.0	78	100.0

A careful examination of Table 32 shows that the higher the occupational status of the respondent, the greater the probability that he would choose someone other than his own generational group as his best friend or friends. Among the first-generation respondents, almost 90% of the unskilled blue-collar group chose members of their own generation

2) The sample of second-generation respondents is too small for further crosstabulation.

as their close friends. However, only 70% of the professional and managerial group chose members of their own generational group.

In Table 33, the occupational status of the respondents are crosstabulated by the occupational status of their close friends:

Table 33

Occupational Status of the
Respondents by the Occupational
Status of their Close Friends

		RESPONDENTS							
		Professional & Managerial		White-collar Clerical & Skilled Blue-collar		Unskilled Blue- Collar		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
THEIR FRIENDS	Professional & Managerial	28	82.4	5	17.7	1	2.6	34	34.0
	White collar Clerical & Skilled Blue-collar	6	17.6	18	64.3	3	7.9	27	27.0
	Unskilled Blue-collar	0	0	5	17.9	34	89.5	39	39.0
Total		34	100.0	28	100.0	38	100.0	100	100.0

* The resultant χ^2 at 4 degrees of freedom is 107.66 which is larger than 18.465, the critical value at 0.001 level.

The x^2 test indicates that the occupational status of the respondents is significantly related to the occupational status of their close friends. The data show that there is a very strong tendency for Chinese to associate with other Chinese in the same occupational status group. 82.4% of the professional and managerial group have members of the same occupational-status group as their best friends. Almost 90% of the unskilled blue-collar group have close friends of the same occupational status. The findings suggest that primary relationships among the Ottawa Chinese are social-class confined.

To summarize, the data from the questionnaire survey are basically supportive of the eth-gen-class hypothesis. It was found that the Ottawa Chinese family heads tended to confine their primary-group relationships to other Chinese of the same generation and social class.

Chinese Voluntary Associations in Ottawa

Following Willmott (1967) and Weiss (1974), Chinese voluntary associations are classified into two types on the basis of the orientation of their activities: traditionist and modernist. According to Willmott (1967:85), "traditionist associations are those oriented toward traditional Chinese values", and "modernist associations undertake activities oriented toward more universalistic values". As discussed

earlier, traditionist associations are defined in this study as those oriented towards the preservation of the Chinese language and culture in the Chinese collectivity. On the other hand, modernist Chinese voluntary associations are those concerned primarily with social service to the group and improving relations with the wider Canadian society. The terms 'traditionist' and 'modernist' have been chosen to represent and reflect two different overall cultural orientations. The categories do not always fit perfectly, but they do give us some idea of the fundamental socio-cultural dichotomy between the two types of voluntary associations. Basically, traditionist organizations are against increasing acculturation and structural incorporation, whereas the modernist associations are for integration.

During the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), all except one of the Chinese associations were traditionist in orientation, but during the integration phase (1962-), this situation changed. Although some of the traditionist associations of the accommodation phase still exist, they have lost much of their former importance in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The more recently-established modernist associations are now replacing the traditionist associations as the dominant organizations in the group. One of the major theses of this dissertation is that with increasing incorporation into the wider society, modernist associations supplant traditionist associations in influence and importance in the

Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

Some General Characteristics of Chinese Organizations in Ottawa

Before individually examining the Chinese voluntary associations in Ottawa, some of their general characteristics will be described below.

Firstly, there is no one umbrella organization recognized as representing the whole Chinese collectivity in Ottawa, as there is in many other Chinese collectivities. There are, in fact, two collectivity-wide Chinese associations in Ottawa, the Ottawa Chinese Community Association (Chung Hua Hui Kuan) and the Ottawa Chinese Association (Hua Lien Hui). There is no umbrella Chinese organization in Ottawa similar to the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco or the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in New York City.

Secondly, like the other Chinese collectivities, some of the Chinese voluntary organizations in Ottawa are connected to one another through informal ties of 'interlocking directorates', i.e., some persons are directors of more than one association. For example, some of the directors of the Ottawa Chinese Service Centre are also directors of the Ottawa Chinese Community Association, and, similarly, some of the directors of the National Capital Chinese Community Newsletter Association are also directors of the Ottawa Chinese Association.

Thirdly, it is characteristic of most Chinese voluntary

associations in Ottawa that they serve many functions. For examples, both the Ottawa Chinese Community Association and the Ottawa Chinese Association organize social, cultural, recreational, welfare, and political activities. Even the Chinese ethnic churches are concerned with recreational, welfare, and educational activities, besides religious affairs.

Traditionist Associations

There are at present four traditionist associations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. All of them were first formed during the accommodation phase (see Chapter 6). They are the Min Chih T'ang (formerly known as the Chih Kung T'ang), the Kuomintang, the Chinese Language School, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Association.

The Min Chih T'ang and the Kuomintang are political-fraternal associations. The Chinese language School is a Saturday ethnic school concerned with the teaching of Chinese to the second generation. The Ottawa Chinese Community Association is a collectivity-wide association which claims to represent the whole Chinese population. Most of their activities are oriented towards the preservation of traditional Chinese culture and the Chinese language among the Ottawa Chinese.

The Min Chih T'ang - During the accommodation phase, the Chih Kung T'ang, the predecessor of the contemporary Min

Chih T'ang, was a relatively influential organization among the Ottawa Chinese. In 1946, the Chih Kung T'ang changed its name to the Chung-kuo Hung-men Min Chih T'ang (the Chinese Hung-men Democratic Party), or Min Chih T'ang for short. It continues to be known in English as the Chinese Freemasons.

At the all-America Min Chih T'ang conference held in Vancouver in 1950, the organization decided to move its headquarters to Vancouver.

The Ottawa branch of the Min Chih T'ang is now a poorly-organized and poorly-supported association. As discussed earlier in Chapter 6, the original goal of the organization was to overthrow the non-Han Chinese Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911). After the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the organization lacked a clearly-defined goal. The organization is now confused and disoriented.

In his study of the Min Chih T'ang in Canada, Tam (1977:130-131) concludes as follows:

Plagued by internal divisions at almost all levels, the Chih-kung T'ang of Canada appears to be destined to oblivion. It is no longer called upon to provide services, neither has anyone asked it to intervene in politics. Indeed, it does seem that the *raison d'être* no longer exists.

The Min Chih T'ang in Ottawa has almost withdrawn from active participation in the affairs of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. It makes no attempt at recruiting new members.

Nearly all of its members are over fifty years of age. The great majority are 'old' immigrants, i.e., those who immigrated to Canada before 1947. Most are non-English-speaking. The organization has less than thirty members. What prevents the organization from collapsing is that it owns an expensive piece of property in downtown Ottawa.

The Min Chih T'ang is now more of the nature of a mutual-aid society than a political party. The club-house has become a gathering place and a rooming-house for its members. Clinging to its once glorious past, its activities, mostly ceremonial and ritualistic, are oriented towards the preservation of traditional Chinese culture.

In recent years, the Min Chih T'ang has tended to support the People's Republic of China and the pro-China group in Ottawa.³ It has been a member of the organizing committee for the celebration of the National Day (October 1) of the People's Republic of China.

To sum up, the Min Chih T'ang is categorized as a traditionist organization, since its activities are concerned with the preservation of traditional Chinese culture in the Chinese group. It now plays a very minor role in the Chinese collectivity.

3) The Ottawa Chinese collectivity is divided into three camps on the basis of political orientation - the pro-China group, i.e., the supporters of the People's Republic of China, the pro-Taiwan group, i.e., the supporters of the Republic of China in Taiwan, and the neutralistic group who support neither of the two groups. The internal political rivalry in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Kuomintang - The Kuomintang, or the Chinese Nationalist League as it is known in English, is an ancillary organization of the ruling political party of the Republic of China in Taiwan. One of the main objectives of this organization is to keep the Chinese in Ottawa in close contact with the Chinese government in Taiwan. During the accommodation phase, the Kuomintang was one of the most powerful organizations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The association was then well-organized and had a relatively large membership. It also had practical control of the Ottawa hui kuan through the informal ties of 'interlocking directorates'.

After the communist victory in China and the retreat of the Nationalist government to Taiwan in 1949, the leaders of the Ottawa branch of the Kuomintang found it difficult to maintain interest in the organization or to recruit new members. With Canada's diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1970, the Kuomintang further declined in influence.

Its membership has been declining for some years, and there are now less than thirty active members in the Kuomintang. Like the Min Chih T'ang, most of its members are elderly Chinese who do not speak English. The association building of the Kuomintang is also a rooming-house for its needy members.

As the unofficial representative of the Chinese (Taiwan) government, the Kuomintang undertakes to preserve the Chinese language and culture among the Ottawa Chinese. Other associa-

tional activities include the organization of celebrations for important Chinese national events, such as the 'Double Ten' Chinese National Day,⁴ the anniversary of the death of Chiang Kai-shek, and so forth. The Double Ten celebration usually attracts a large crowd. A banquet is organized for members and other Chinese leaders in the evening to commemorate the occasion.

On the whole, the activities of the Kuomintang have little impact on the Chinese collectivity. It is conceived here as a traditional organization since it attempts to slow down the rate of acculturation by promoting the Chinese language and culture.

The Chinese Language School - The Chinese Language School in Ottawa plays the important role of the bearer of Chinese culture in the Chinese collectivity. The major aims of the school are: (1) to educate second-generation Chinese in the Chinese language, and (2) to promote traditional Chinese culture. On the basis of its cultural orientation, it is classified as a traditionalist organization.

Before 1973, the Chinese Language School was organized by the Chinese United Church. In that year, the administration of the school was transferred to a Board of Directors. The school used to be located within the premises of the Chinese United Church, but now it has moved to the High School of

4) The National Day of the Republic of China (Taiwan) is on October 10.

Commerce on Rochester Street.

The school is mainly financed by donations from the Ottawa Chinese. In 1978, the federal government gave the school a grant of \$3,200. The school also organizes fund-raising activities from time to time. For example, it organizes a fund-raising New Year's Ball every year.

The school now has about 170 student and 16 teachers. The students are grouped into 15 classes. The school offers elementary-level Chinese language instruction only. Both Mandarin (kuo yu) and Cantonese lessons are offered. Most parents prefer Cantonese lessons for their children. The students attend classes on Saturdays only from 9:30a.m. to 12:30p.m. and 1:00p.m. to 2:30p.m. They receive 32 days of instruction in one academic year.

It seems that the school is more popular among recent Chinese immigrants. Only a very small percentage of second-generation Chinese are sending their children to the Chinese Language School.

The Ottawa Chinese Community Association (Chung Hua Hui Kuan)

The most important of the traditionist organizations is the Ottawa Chinese Community Association or the Chung Hua Hui Kuan. To the Chinese, it is simply known as the hui kuan.

As discussed before, the hui kuan has existed in one form or another for a very long time. However, it was only

in 1962 that it was formally established. The present association building was purchased after a fund-raising campaign in 1969. The new Association building was officially opened on October 5, 1969.

The primary aim of the hui kuan is to unite the diverse elements in the Chinese collectivity. Its activities are often oriented towards the maintenance of traditional Chinese culture.

In accordance with the usual practice of the Chinese hui kuan in Canada, all Chinese in Ottawa are considered to be members without registration or payment of membership dues. All Chinese residents of Ottawa 18 years of age and over are allowed to vote in the election of its board of directors.

The hui kuan is mainly financed by donations and interests from its investments. The association is in a very sound financial position and has assets totalling over \$120,000.

The hui kuan is responsible for the maintenance of the Chinese Cemetery in Ottawa. Every year, it organizes a communal visit to the cemetery on the day of the Ch'ing Ming festival. The latter is usually well-attended. In 1978, about 100 people turned up at the cemetery and over 200 for the banquet in the Association afterwards.

During the accommodation phase, the directors of the hui kuan were almost exclusively merchants, especially restaurant and laundry owners. During the integration phase,

many white-collar Chinese have been elected as directors. In the 1978 election, only 14 of the 27 directors elected were businessmen. The others were professionals and white-collar workers.

Regarding itself as the guardian of Chinese culture in Ottawa, the hui kuan is oriented towards activities emphasizing the Chinese identity of the group.

Modernist Organizations

The growth of modernist associations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity has been quite recent. They emerged partly as a result of the liberalization of Canadian immigration laws. With the influx of non-English-speaking Chinese immigrants, modernist organizations, such as the modern service associations and the Chinese ethnic churches, have been formed to help them adjust to their new home.

In a sense, modernist associations are 'buffer structures', i.e., they lessen the culture shock and help the Chinese immigrants to relate to the wider society. These associations are an adaptive response to the low degree of social incorporation. Had there been greater integration to the host society, the modernist associations would probably not have appeared. Unlike traditionist associations whose structures are usually replicas of traditional Chinese institutions, modernist associations usually adopt the form and format of existing Canadian voluntary organizations,

Some of them are 'chapters' of voluntary associations in the wider society. The Chinese ethnic churches are good examples of such 'chapter forms'.

The activities of the modernist associations tend to reflect a socio-cultural orientation that is contemporary, middle-class, and assimilationist. The leaders of the modernist organizations are generally committed to the integration of the Chinese into the wider society. The modernist associations serve not only to organize the Chinese collectivity internally, but also as linkages between the Chinese group and the wider society around it. The major modernist associations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity will be described below.

The Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre - The Ottawa

Chinese Community Service Centre was established on December 1, 1975, to provide essential social services to the Ottawa Chinese and to promote better relations with the wider Canadian society.

The Centre is a good example of a buffer structure. Its activities are oriented towards relating the new Chinese immigrants to the host society. The two community workers at the Centre perform basically the same functions as the intermarket operators during the accommodation phase. The goals of the Centre according to its constitution are:

- (1) To provide interpreting and translating services from Chinese to one of the official languages and vice versa in the area of the City of Ottawa.

- (2) To provide counselling and referral services regarding health and welfare, medical-dental care, housing, employment, workman's compensation, human rights, consumer's protection, fair labour practices, and landlord and tenant relations, etc.
- (3) To provide assistance in filling out application forms, such as income tax, unemployment benefits, old age pension, social welfare payment, etc.
- (4) To conduct recreational and fitness programs and to facilitate social contact among groups that are now isolated.

According to the Centre's 1977 Annual Report, it handled 604 clients and 2,204 cases that year.

The association is currently under a service contract with the Department of Manpower and Immigration. It is also financially supported by the hui kuan and donations from the Chinese collectivity.

It was organized by some of the incumbent directors of the hui kuan and is located within the premises of the hui kuan. Although an independent organization, the Centre is very much related to the hui kuan both through interlocking directorates and the financial and material assistance given to it by the latter.

The Centre has a board of 7 directors. Membership is open to the public, including non-Chinese, on payment of a membership fee of \$2.00. There are now about fifty members. The major activities of the Centre are related to assisting new immigrants in establishing themselves in Ottawa. It is not concerned with preserving Chinese culture or maintaining a Chinese identity.

The Chinese Ethnic Churches - Religious conversion may be considered a form of cultural integration. The establishment and growth of Chinese ethnic churches can be seen as an indication of increasing acculturation and integration of the Chinese into the wider society. Participation in church affairs is a form of involvement in the wider Canadian society. Chinese ethnic churches are modernist associations since they are concerned with relating the Ottawa Chinese to the wider Christian communities in Canada. The role of the Chinese Christian churches in integrating the Chinese to the host society is very well put by Weiss (1974:228) in his study of the Chinese in Valley City:

Chinese-Christian churches may be viewed as another institutional aspect of Chinese life in America and, as such, are both a reflection and a consequence of the effects of Chinese acculturation in America. These churches are clearly modernist institutions. Their purpose, to engage their congregation in a Christian life and to provide for their spiritual and social needs, results in an involvement with western philosophical tradition and the American way of life and at the same time de-emphasizes China-centred traditionalism.

There are at present three Chinese ethnic churches in Ottawa, namely, the Ottawa Chinese United Church, the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church and the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church.

There is also the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Centre which is, strictly speaking, not a church. However, a Chinese-language service is offered every Sunday at the Centre. Not all Chinese Christians in Ottawa are members of Chinese ethnic churches. Many prefer to join churches of the wider society.

The Chinese ethnic churches tend to attract different segments of the Chinese population. As a result, they tend to reflect and maintain the social-status distinctions within the Chinese collectivity, adding a religious dimension to the eth-gen-class divisions.

The Ottawa Chinese United Church - The predecessor of the Ottawa Chinese United Church was the Chinese Mission which was described in Chapter 6. The Chinese Mission was formally reorganized into an independent Chinese ethnic church, the Ottawa Chinese United Church, on October 28, 1962. It is now the largest Chinese ethnic church in Ottawa.

The Church has a Chinese minister and over two hundred members. Its members are mostly well-educated, middle-class Chinese. Most of the second-generation Chinese in Ottawa join non-ethnic churches, but if they do participate in a Chinese church, it is most likely to be the Chinese United Church. The Church has a Sunday school and it also organizes English courses for recent Chinese immigrants.

The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church - The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church was established on April 22, 1973. For the first few years, it was assisted financially by the Chinese Alliance Church in Hong Kong.

The Church has about 150 members. According to the pastor, most of the members are high-school and university students from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In fact, over 60% of the congregation are under 25 years of age. The Church also tends to attract lower middle-class Chinese.

The Chinese Alliance Church belongs to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, an evangelical and missionary movement that began in the United States.

The Church has a Sunday school and a Chinese Christian Fellowship. It is trying to raise funds for building its own church. At present, it conducts its services in a Canadian Alliance Church.

The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church - The most recently established Chinese ethnic church is the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church. Like the Chinese Alliance Church, it attracts many college and university students. Its members also tend to come from lower-middle and working classes. The Chinese Bible Church has a Chinese pastor. It has a relatively small congregation of less than a hundred members.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Centre - The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Centre was established by the sisters of the Missionary of the Immaculate Conception when they returned to Canada after the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the subsequent expulsion of all foreign missionaries. The Centre serves as a social centre for the Chinese Catholics in Ottawa. A Chinese mass is offered on Sundays at the Centre. It is also a boarding-house for Chinese women.

The Ottawa Chinese Association (Hua Lien Hui)

The Ottawa Chinese Association, or the Hua Lien Hui, was formed in December, 1970, shortly after Canada established diplomatic relations with China. The Association is commonly regarded as a pro-China organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

The major aims of the Association are: (1) to better the understanding and friendship between Canada and China, (2) to organize the Chinese in Ottawa, (3) to promote Chinese culture within the Canadian multicultural framework, and (4) to help new immigrants to relate to the wider Canadian society.

The associational activities of the Hua Lien Hui are oriented towards integrating the Chinese to the mainstream of society. It participates in the various multicultural

programmes and folk festivals, representing the Chinese in Ottawa. The Chinese culture promoted by the Association is contemporary Chinese culture, not the traditional Chinese culture of the past.

The Association is run by a board of 17 directors. In 1978, there were 54 registered members. Although its membership is small, its activities, such as the Chinese New Year's Dinner Party, Chinese film shows etc., are usually well-attended.

The Association is also the chief organizer of the October 1 Chinese National Day Celebration in Ottawa. The Chinese ambassador to Canada is generally invited to be the guest of honour at the event. It is regarded as a rival to the hui kuan as a collectivity-wide representative organization of the Ottawa Chinese. It is one of the most important organizations in the collectivity.

The National Capital Chinese Community Newsletter Association

(Ka Ching Hua Pao) - The National Capital Chinese Community Newsletter Association publishes a monthly newsletter. It first commenced publication in July, 1977. It distributes by mail about 2,000 copies of the newsletter to Chinese homes free of charge in Ottawa and the region.

The Association is a non-profit organization established by a group of volunteers who are mostly professionals and students. It is supported by paid advertisements in the news-

letter and private donations.

The newsletter regularly features Canadian and Chinese news and communal events in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. It also features articles describing government policies and programmes. Its major aims are to unite the Chinese in Ottawa and to help the non-English-speaking segment of the Chinese population relate to the wider society.

The staff of the newsletter are mostly active members of the Ottawa Chinese Association. Although these organizations are independent of one another in structure, they are related through interlocking directorates.

Other Minor Chinese Organizations

There are about five hundred Chinese college and university students in Ottawa, and they are organized into three Chinese students' associations - the Carleton University Chinese Students' Association, the University of Ottawa Chinese Students' Association and the Algonquin College Chinese Students' Association.

The majority of the Chinese students in Ottawa are from Hong Kong, and the three students' associations are mainly run by Hong Kong students. The major aims of these associations are to unite the Chinese students and to organize social, cultural, and recreational activities.

The three students' associations tend to work closely together, and they jointly organize a China Week annually.

The purpose of the China Week is to introduce the modern China to non-Chinese students through a series of social, cultural and recreational activities. The associations are not involved in the affairs of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity.

The Ottawa Chinese Cultural Society is a strongly pro-Taiwan organization. It organizes a Chinese film club which regularly shows Chinese (Mandarin) films. It also stages exhibitions of Chinese art and culture from time to time. The Society has little influence in the collectivity.

Conclusion

The contemporary form of social organization is largely an adaptive response to the changes in the external conditions. During the integration phase, changes in the immigration system and the mode of incorporation brought about a process of social differentiation within the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The early form of social organization, based on transplanted organizing principles, was no longer capable of integrating the increasingly heterogeneous Chinese group. A new pattern of informal organization - the eth-gen-class system - emerged to re-integrate the collectivity. At the same time, new modernist organizations developed to deal with the changes in the relationship between the Ottawa Chinese and the wider society.

The eth-gen-class hypothesis has been developed in the

course of my participant observation in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. To test the empirical validity of the model, a questionnaire survey was used to gather data on primary-group participation and primary relationships of the Ottawa Chinese. The data support the hypothesis. The generational and social-class status of the respondents are found to be significantly related to the generational and social class status of their close friends.

The eth-gen-class hypothesis also has important theoretical implications for the study of racial and ethnic minorities. It is commonly argued in the literature of the sociology of race and ethnic relations that the second-generation and upwardly mobile members of immigrant groups tend to be assimilated into the mainstream of society. According to the eth-gen-class hypothesis, this is not so. In the case of the Ottawa Chinese, there has been integration without assimilation. Although highly acculturated and integrated on the economic and political dimensions, the second-generation and the middle-class Chinese still tend to confine their primary group relationships to other Chinese of the same social class and generation. It seems that the Chinese only really feel at home with members of their own eth-gen-class.

Following Willmott (1967) and Weiss (1974), we have categorized the Chinese formal organizations into two kinds on the basis of their socio-cultural orientation: traditionalist and modernist.

Traditionist organizations, such as the Kuomintang, the Min Chih T'ang and the Ottawa Chinese Community Association (hui kuan), are oriented towards the preservation of Chinese language and culture. Their organizational activities tend to retard acculturation and structural incorporation into the wider Canadian society. On the other hand, the socio-cultural orientation of the modernist associations, such as the Chinese ethnic churches, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre, is contemporary, middle-class and assimilationist. Their associational activities help to relate the Ottawa Chinese to the wider society.

During the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), all except one of the Chinese associations were traditionist, but during the integration phase, the majority of the voluntary organizations are modernist. Furthermore, the traditionist organizations have greatly declined in importance over the last two decades.

The data suggest that the use of achieved and universalistic criteria, such as social class and generation, is related to the high degree of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the wider society during the integration phase, as the use of ascribed and particularistic criteria, such as clan and county origins, was related to the low degree of incorporation during the accommodation phase. Furthermore, the emergence of modernist organizations in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity was related to a high degree of incorporation, as

the development of traditionist associations was related to a low degree of incorporation. The explanation for these two correlations seems to be that the two patterns of social organization were adaptive responses to the changing structural conditions in the host society.

Part III

A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF EXTERNAL FACTORS
ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE OTTAWA CHINESE

Chapter 10

THE INTERNAL POLITICAL RIVALRY

This chapter is a case study of the effects of external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese. More particularly, it is an in-depth analysis of the impact of the changing political events in China on the organizational pattern. Chinese politics has, as it had in the past, important consequences for the Ottawa Chinese because it is the substance of an enduring 'communal issue' in the collectivity.

Communal Issues

In the last chapter, we examined the contemporary form of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. On the basis of that chapter, it might appear that the Ottawa Chinese are highly segmented and that there is little 'sense of community' within the group. This, however, is not the case. The Ottawa Chinese are bound together into a cohesive and interacting whole by a number of 'communal issues' which involve most, if not all, of the Chinese in the city. Communal issues are matters which concern the entire collectivity. Examples include issues such as protection and furtherance of the group's interests in the wider society, the care of the needy members, the

fight against discrimination, the internal political rivalry between the pro-China and the pro-Taiwan groups, etc. These issues involve different voluntary associations and social segments in the Chinese collectivity. Furthermore, new issues also emerge from time to time. For example, the 'Vietnamese refugee problem' is becoming a major communal issue in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity as the leaders try to mobilize the group to assist the Vietnamese-Chinese refugees.

To illustrate the effects of external factors, such as politics in China, on the pattern of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, we will analyze the internal political rivalry between the pro-China group and the pro-Taiwan group as a communal issue. This transplanted political conflict structures the Ottawa Chinese into cohesive segments which are, in turn, bound together in a system of interaction.

Internal conflicts can be both divisive and integrative for an ethnic group. Conflict binds the antagonists together. According to Coser (1956:121),

the very act of entering into conflict with an antagonist establishes relations where none may have existed before. Conflict is seen as a binding element between parties that may previously have stood in no relation to each other.

In other words, an internal conflict can serve as a unifier in an ethnic collectivity. What members of an ethnic group quarrel about, and how they conduct their internal rivalry, serve to distinguish them from other groups. An internal dispute helps to bind them together in a web of social relationships from which outsiders are excluded,

Transplanted Old-World political differences have become a major basis of social segmentation and internal social integration in the last thirty years, as an outcome of the changing political situation in China since 1949.

Background to the Internal Political Rivalry

Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese in Canada traditionally supported the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government. In 1949, the Nationalist government retreated to the island-province of Taiwan after suffering defeat in the Nationalist-Communist civil war. With the People's Republic of China in the Chinese mainland and the Republic of China in Taiwan, the Chinese in Canada now faced with the political dilemma of deciding which of the two governments to identify with and support.

During the 1950s and 60s, the Nationalist government (Taiwan) endeavoured to strengthen its links with the Chinese in Canada. It also actively recruited their support in its

rivalry with the People's Republic of China. Through the Canadian branches of the Kuomintang, the pro-Taiwan group was able to dominate many of the Chinese voluntary associations, and to carry out anti-communist propaganda among the Chinese.

In the last decade, many Chinese-Canadians have begun to identify with the People's Republic of China. A small pro-China group first appeared in the late 1960s in opposition to the well-established and powerful pro-Taiwan group. The pro-China group has been growing in strength during the last ten years.

The most bitter rivalry between the pro-China and the pro-Taiwan groups is now taking place in Vancouver in the form of the competition between the pro-China Chinese Cultural Centre (Chung Kuo Wen Hua Chung Hsin) and pro-Taiwan Chinese Benevolent Association (Chung Hua Hui Kuan). According to recent reports (Lu Shou, 1978; Macleans, April 3, 1978), the Kuomintang in Vancouver, together with other pro-Taiwan elements, have succeeded in gaining control of the Chinese Benevolent Association. To oppose the pro-Taiwan group, the pro-China group has organized a separate collectivity-wide association known as the Chinese Cultural Centre. Both associations now claim to represent the whole Chinese collectivity.

Conflicting Interpretations of the Internal Political Rivalry

The internal political rivalry, which characterizes Chinese collectivities in Canada, has been interpreted in several conflicting ways. Many of the protagonists in the conflict have explained it in terms of what can be appropriately described as the 'conspiracy theory'. There are two versions of this theory - one put forward by the pro-China group, and the other by the pro-Taiwan group.

The pro-China group has asserted that there is a 'rightist conspiracy' within the Chinese collectivity. They allege that the pro-Taiwan group are trying to gain control of the Chinese voluntary associations. According to a popular version of the so-called 'rightist conspiracy', the Nationalist government in Taiwan has instructed the pro-Taiwan elements in Canada to infiltrate and control Chinese voluntary organizations as a means of countering the growing influence of the pro-China group in the Chinese collectivities across Canada. It is also alleged that when Taiwan broke off relations with Canada in 1970, the Taiwan diplomatic mission in Canada left behind a large bank account to subsidize pro-Taiwan groups in their activities, and to promote the Nationalist cause.

The pro-Taiwan group, on the other hand, alleges that a 'leftist conspiracy' of the same nature is taking place.

Among the pro-Taiwan group, it is commonly believed that the pro-China group is the tool of the government of the People's Republic of China, and that they are trying to take over control of the Chinese voluntary associations.

These apparently paranoid interpretations of the internal political rivalry are accepted by many Chinese. However, they probably are gross exaggerations of what is happening. A 'definition of the situation' approach is helpful in explaining the real nature of this internal political struggle.

The most striking feature about this rivalry is that the antagonists behave as if their version of the 'conspiracy theory' were true. Consequently, the perception of the situation by the Chinese is the most important element in our analysis. A person's social behaviour is closely related to his definition of the situation. This definition may correspond to objective reality or be a subjective view which is not in accordance with the facts. According to William I. Thomas's famous dictum, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928:572). To paraphrase Thomas in this context, if the Ottawa Chinese define the alleged political conspiracies as real, then they are real in their consequences.

The Internal Political Rivalry in the Ottawa Chinese Collectivity

The Chinese in Ottawa traditionally supported the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government. The establishment of the People's Republic of China in the mainland in 1949, and the retreat of the Nationalist government to Taiwan, created a difficult political choice for them. They have to decide which of the two Chinese governments to recognize and support.

Until the late 1960s, several factors favoured the choice of the Republic of China (Taiwan) as the 'legitimate' Chinese government by the Ottawa Chinese.

Firstly, the Nationalist government maintained close links with the local Chinese associations for a long time. The People's Republic of China, on the other hand, had no previous contact with the Ottawa Chinese. Secondly, the People's Republic of China was a communist regime, and most of the 'old' immigrants were strongly anti-communist. There were also widespread allegations of persecution of the families of overseas Chinese during the land reform movement in China. Some Chinese immigrants arrived in Ottawa after their properties were confiscated in the redistribution. Their stories and allegations did not endear the new government to the Ottawa Chinese. Thirdly, Canada continued to have diplomatic relations with the Nationalist government after 1949 until 1970. Fourthly, the Cold War fostered

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anti-communist attitudes in Canada, and many Chinese were afraid to identify publicly with a communist country. Fifthly, the Nationalist government tried very hard to recruit support from the Ottawa Chinese.

As a result of these factors, most of the Chinese backed the pro-Taiwan group and the pro-Taiwan associations during the transition phase (1947-1962). Some remained aloof from this political rivalry. The pro-China group were labelled as 'leftists' or 'communists', and were effectively isolated in the collectivity. The pro-Taiwan group were very active in organizing the Chinese. During this period, most of the Chinese voluntary organizations were oriented towards Taiwan.

The real turning-point in the development of the internal political rivalry was in 1970, the year Canada established diplomatic relations with China. In December of that year, the pro-China group in Ottawa organized the Ottawa Chinese Association (Hua Lien Hui) in opposition to the pro-Taiwan group.

At present, it is possible to divide the Ottawa Chinese population into three factions on the basis of their political orientation: (1) the pro-Taiwan group, (2) the pro-China group, and (3) the neutralist, or apolitical, group. There seems to be no major socio-economic differences between these three groups. Generally, those who are

pro-China are more likely to be foreign-born and better educated. The 'old' immigrants, or lao hua ch'iao, tend to be pro-Taiwan. The second-generation Chinese are most likely to be neutralist. The three groups will be examined below.

The Pro-Taiwan Group

Once dominant in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity, the pro-Taiwan group are now declining in number and influence. The two major pro-Taiwan organizations in Ottawa are the Kuomintang and the Chinese Cultural Society.

A checklist of pro-Taiwan organizations in Ottawa can be found in the organizing committee for the 'Double Ten' Celebration (the National Day of the Republic of China, i.e., Taiwan). The 1977 Double Ten Celebration in Ottawa was organized by four Chinese associations, including the Kuomintang, the Chinese Cultural Society, the Chinese Catholic Centre, and the Ottawa Chinese Student Social Society.

The pro-Taiwan group share certain common goals and attitudes. They regard the Republic of China (now in exile in Taiwan) as the only legitimate government of China and do not recognize the People's Republic of China as representative of the Chinese. They tend to be strongly nationalistic and anti-communist. Some perceive themselves

as Chinese nationals residing abroad.¹ They also aim at perserving the Chinese language and culture among the Chinese in Ottawa. The pro-Taiwan group is declining as a political force in the collectivity.

The Pro-China Group

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the Chinese who were sympathetic to China were stigmatized as 'leftists' or 'communists'. A visible pro-China group did not appear until after 1970. The major pro-China organization in Ottawa is the Ottawa Chinese Association (Hua Lien Hui).

The 1977 organizing committee for the October 1 Chinese National Day Celebration (People's Republic of China) consisted of the following associations: (1) the Ottawa Chinese Association, (2) the Min Chih T'ang, (3) the Canada-China Friendship Society of Ottawa, (4) the Canada-China Friendship Society of Hull, and (5) the Society for the Better Understanding of China. The last three are not exclusively Chinese organizations, and they are not involved in the internal political rivalry of the Ottawa Chinese.

The pro-China group regards the People's Republic of China as the only representative government of China, and that the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government does not

1) The Nationalist government promulgated a Nationality Law in 1924 which adopted the principle of jus sanguinis. This law is still in force in Taiwan. Under this law, overseas Chinese may claim Chinese nationality even if they were born outside of China.

represent the Chinese people. Their main goal is to promote the interests of the Chinese in Canada, and to better the understanding between Canada and China. The aspirations and objectives of the pro-China group were put in the following terms by one of their leaders:

We see ourselves as Canadians of Chinese descent.² As Chinese-Canadians, we wish to see better relations between Canada and China. We urge all Chinese in Canada to respect Canadian laws and be good citizens. We will not engage in any subversive or anti-Canadian activities. Many Chinese-Canadians do not know much about the new China. We wish to introduce modern Chinese culture to them. That is why we show Chinese films regularly. Of course, we do not recognize the Nationalist government in Taiwan as the legitimate and representative government of China. Kuomintang sympathizers have accused us of being 'communists' or 'leftists', just because we would not support the Taiwan government. We see Canada as our home, but China is our tsu kuo (ancestral country).

With the growing international recognition of China, the pro-China group is gradually gaining support in the Chinese collectivity.

2) It may be helpful to point out that the People's Republic of China recognizes the principle of jus soli. She also urges overseas Chinese to acquire the nationality of the country they are residing in.

The Neutralist Majority

Not all of the Ottawa Chinese are actively involved in the internal political rivalry. The majority are neutral in the conflict. They are now organizing themselves to keep the Chinese voluntary associations free from the influence of both the pro-Taiwan and the pro-China groups. Regarding themselves as Chinese-Canadians, they do not wish to be involved in this transplanted political conflict.

As put by a typical member of this group:

When a person becomes a Canadian citizen, he should not be involved in the politics of his Old Country. I don't want to take part in Chinese politics when I have made Canada my home. I don't think we can gain anything by this 'left-right' rivalry.

It seems that some Chinese are afraid to participate actively in the internal political conflict because they suspect that some of these pro-Taiwan and pro-China associations may be involved in subversive activities. Apparently, the 'conspiracy theory' is widely accepted as true. A Chinese-Canadian who is employed by the Federal government in Ottawa admitted that:

I am afraid to join any 'leftist' or 'rightist' Chinese association. I have a good job, and I don't want the RCMP to investigate my activities. Some of these Chinese organizations may be involved in subversive activities.

Recent immigrants from Hong Kong have a greater tendency to be neutralists. Seeing themselves as Canadians, the second-generation Chinese tend to refrain from taking part in the rivalry. The internal political rivalry is mainly a first-generation issue, and the second generation are not actively involved, except to prevent the two groups from controlling the Chinese voluntary associations. There are indications that more Chinese are becoming neutralists.

The Arena of the Tripartite Struggle: the Hui Kuan

As described in the last chapter, the Ottawa Chinese Community Association (hui kuan) is the closest equivalent of the representative body of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The Ottawa hui kuan is a potential power-base for any group which can gain control of it. The combined assets of the Association are estimated to exceed \$120,000, and it has a regular source of income from investments and contributions from Chinese ethnic businesses. Being one of the oldest Chinese associations in Ottawa, it has representation in the national-level Chinese organizations.

Traditionally, the hui kuan in Ottawa supported the Nationalist government in Taiwan. Members of the local Kuomintang were elected as directors of the hui kuan.

The Association now attempts to be neutralist, As pointed out by the secretary of the organization in an

interview reported in the local Chinese newsletter, the major positions of the hui kuan in the internal political rivalry are: (1) to keep the Association independent of outside control, and (2) to remain neutral in the internal conflict between the pro-Taiwan and the pro-China groups.

In 1970, some members of the pro-China group ran for office in the general election of the hui kuan. The attempt was alleged by the pro-Taiwan group to be a 'leftist takeover' of the Ottawa Chinese voluntary associations. As a result of these rumours, the pro-China candidates were defeated. In the next election in 1976, 17 members of the pro-China Ottawa Chinese Association stood for election. The neutralist group in alliance with the pro-Taiwan group campaigned vigorously against the pro-China candidates. They managed to defeat all of them. An analysis of the elections of the hui kuan from 1970 to 1978 can best illustrate the mechanisms and forces of the tripartite rivalry between the pro-Taiwan, the pro-China and the neutralist groups.³

Elections of the Ottawa Hui Kuan - The 1970 Election

The pro-China group came into direct conflict with the pro-Taiwan and the neutralist groups for the first time in the 1970 election of the Ottawa hui kuan. The outgoing

3) Data on the 1970 elections were obtained from interviews and documentary sources. The researcher was a participant observer at the 1976 and the 1978 elections.

board of directors were either neutralist or pro-Taiwan. As in the past, incumbent directors seeking re-election expected easy victory. In this election, however, some members of the pro-China also ran for office. The pro-Taiwan group immediately accused them of staging a takeover of the hui kuan.

As a result of events which remained largely obscure, the June election in 1970 was declared invalid, and another election was called later that year. There are two available accounts of what happened in this election. Firstly, there are stories of the election reported in the Kuomintang-controlled, Toronto-based Shing Wah Daily News (Hsing Hua Jih Pao). These accounts are biased against the pro-China group. Secondly, there is the interpretation of the events given by the then directors of the hui kuan.

According to the Shing Wah Daily News (July 6, 9, and 10, 1970), the Ottawa hui kuan had been infiltrated by the pro-China group since 1969. The hall of the hui kuan had been allegedly used as an exhibition centre for Chinese communist literature.

The Shing Wah Daily News on July 9, 1970 accused the so-called 'leftists' (tso tzu) of attempting a takeover of the Ottawa hui kuan by presenting a large number of candidates in the election. It commented that the 'leftist plot' failed as a result of the united efforts of the Ottawa

Chinese collectivity to keep the pro-China group out of their association. It went on to report that during the election count, the 'leftists' realized that they were trailing behind, and they tried to terminate the counting process on the pretext that there were frauds in the election. The Shing Wah Daily News implied that the hui kuan declared the election invalid under duress. It reported that when the outgoing Board of Directors met on July 2, 1970 to discuss the election, forty to fifty 'leftists' gathered at the hui kuan trying to intimidate the directors. It concluded by stating that they did not wish to see the Ottawa hui kuan falling into the hands of the 'leftists'.

The new chairman of the board of directors of the Ottawa hui kuan (elected in July, 1970) wrote a letter to the editor of the Shing Wah Daily News, protesting the paper's "inaccurate and biased" reporting of the June election incident. In the letter, the chairman explained that the June election was declared invalid by the board because the electoral officers found out that some people obtained ballots illegally by forging the signatures of others. Furthermore, they found the ballot box illegally opened before the count. The chairman denied that the Ottawa hui kuan was infiltrated by the pro-China group, and he demanded a public apology from the newspaper.

The events in the 1970 elections succinctly show the tripartite struggle in action. Before 1970, the hui kuan was dominated by the neutralist group. When the pro-China group endeavoured to gain a foothold in the Association through election of their members to the board, they were at one stimatized as 'leftists' staging a takeover. Apparently, the pro-Taiwan group were accused of electoral irregularities by the pro-China group and the neutralist group. As a result of this, the June election was declared null and void, and a new election took place in July,

One thing stands out very clearly in the events - the neutralists were in control of the hui kuan. It was not a straightforward fight between the pro-Taiwan and the pro-China groups, but a three-way contest between these two groups and the neutralists.

The Ottawa hui kuan did not hold another general election until June, 1976. During this interval, the hui kuan was dominated by neutralist directors.

The 1976 Election

In the 1976 election, 17 members of the Ottawa Chinese Association were nominated as candidates. To the neutralist and pro-Taiwan groups, this was a clear case of a pro-China organization attempting to control another association.

A massive and energetic campaign was organized by the incumbent directors to bring out the anti-'leftist' vote. Similar to the 1970 election, rumours of a 'leftist plot' were widespread. One rumour had it that the pro-China group was bringing in three buses full of their sympathizers from Montreal to vote in the election.

There was no regulation in the constitution of the hui kuan against members of another Chinese association standing for election. Therefore, there was nothing unconstitutional about the candidacies of the members of the Ottawa Chinese Association. Moreover, some members of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Cultural Society, and other Chinese associations also ran for office. To members of the pro-China group, the campaign against them was a 'rightist's' attempt to monopolize offices in the hui kuan.

From the perspective of the neutralist majority, the Ottawa Chinese Association candidates represented 'outsiders' trying to gain political control of their voluntary associations. The neutralists wanted to keep the hui kuan non-political and non-sectarian. They allied with the pro-Taiwan group because they were not threatening the status quo.

According to some of the pro-China candidates, they ran for office to obtain a better opportunity to serve the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. They felt that the traditional

elite were not doing enough for the new Chinese immigrants and the needy members of the group. They also felt that many Chinese did not really understand the new China. Their goal was to explain the modern China to them. Election to the board of directors could help them in achieving their aims. As put by one of the Ottawa Chinese Association candidates, the objectives of their group were:

Our main goal is to do something worthwhile for the Chinese community. The hui kuan in the past had been too conservative. It could have done much more. We do not have any hidden political objective. We admit openly that we regard the People's Republic of China as the only rightful government of the Chinese people. We do not recognize Taiwan as the representative government of China. But we are not 'communists' or 'leftists'.

In the election, all the candidates from the Ottawa Chinese Association were defeated by a wide margin. The neutralists turned out in force on election day to protect their association from what they believed to be a 'leftist takeover'. It appears that the great majority of the Ottawa Chinese are now neutralists.

The 1978 Election

Compared with the previous elections, the 1978 election of the directors of the Ottawa hui kuan was a peaceful and

uneventful one. Not many members of the pro-China group ran for office and none were elected. It seems that the pro-China group are no longer interested in gaining entry to the executive board of the hui kuan. The great majority of the elected candidates were neutralists.

The internal political rivalry is still an important communal issue in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. As the pro-Taiwan group continues to decline in support and power, the future rivalry is most likely to be between the pro-China group and the neutralists.

Conclusion

To illustrate the effects of external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese, this chapter is an analysis of the internal political rivalry as a communal issue. The Ottawa Chinese are tied together as a collectivity, not so much by encompassing organizations, but by a number of communal issues which involved the whole group. Most of these issues emerged as a result of external conditions. At present, the major communal issues are: the care of the needy members in the Chinese collectivity, the protection and furtherance of the group's interests in the wider society, the Vietnamese-Chinese refugee problem,

and the internal political conflict between the pro-Taiwan, the pro-China, and the neutralist groups.

The substance of the internal political rivalry is based on transplanted political differences and the political situation in China. We have described in this chapter the historical developments of the conflict and the role of the various Chinese voluntary associations. Three major conclusions can be drawn from this case study.

Firstly, the changing political events in China were, and still are, a significant determinant of the pattern of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The internal political rivalry ties together Chinese of different social classes into cohesive groups.

Secondly, internal conflict can be both divisive and integrative for an ethnic group. As a communal issue, the transplanted political conflict binds the antagonists - the pro-Taiwan group, the pro-China group, and the neutralist group - into an interacting whole.

Thirdly, the rivalry involves the Ottawa Chinese in a web of social relationships from which outsiders are excluded. The transplanted political conflict is a Chinese issue, and participation in the rivalry reflects and reinforces the Chinese identity of the participants. It may, therefore, be conceived of as a boundary-maintaining mechanism.

Part IV
CONCLUSION

Chapter 11

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined the influences of internal and external factors on the social organization of the Ottawa Chinese.

The focus has been on the effects of changes in the immigration system and the mode of incorporation on the organizational structure of the Ottawa Chinese in the last ninety years. The changing patterns of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity are conceived of as adaptive responses to the changes in the structural conditions of the host society.

To analyze the experience of the Ottawa Chinese, a developmental model consisting of three phases of race relations, the accommodation phase (ca. 1890-1947), the transition phase (1947-1962), and the integration phase (since 1962), has been used. Three corresponding forms of social organization, the early form, the transition form, and the contemporary form have been identified. The changes in the organizational pattern have been found to be correlated to the changes in the external conditions, such as the immigration system, the mode of incorporation, and the political situation in China. The basic premise of this model is that the Ottawa Chinese have gradually moved towards greater incorporation into the mainstream of society.

The three race-relations situations and the three corresponding social forms reflect this experience. To summarize the findings of this study, the three phases and the three corresponding social forms will be outlined below:

The Accommodation Phase (ca. 1890-1947)

The accommodation phase began with the arrival of the first Chinese immigrants in Ottawa in around 1890 and ended in 1947, the year of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. This was the period in which the Ottawa Chinese strategy of adaptation involved institutionalized contact with the wider society through a small group of intermarket operators. An intermarket operator is a person who functions as a means of contact between an ethnic group and the wider society. The intermarket operators in the early Ottawa Chinese collectivity were usually merchants.

Accommodation was a viable response for the Ottawa Chinese at the time because the host society agreed with them on the final goal of their relationship, social separation. The host society believed that the Chinese were 'unassimilable' and did not attempt to incorporate them into the mainstream. The Chinese, in turn, did not intend to stay permanently in Canada and to integrate. They planned to return to their homeland after a brief sojourn.

The way the Ottawa Chinese related to the wider Canadian society may be analyzed in terms of five dimensions of incorporation: political, economic, cultural, social and identificational.

During the accommodation phase, the Ottawa Chinese were not really an integral part of Canadian society. They were excluded from participating in major societal institutions. Most of the early Chinese had little direct contact with persons outside their ethnic collectivity. Empirical data for this period is relatively scanty, but sufficient to show that the Ottawa Chinese were relatively unincorporated into the wider society in all five dimensions in this phase. They did not participate in the Canadian political system, hardly any of them being citizens. They were concentrated in the laundry and restaurant businesses, and few were employed outside the Chinese collectivity. They were not acculturated to the wider society and few interacted directly with the outside world. They were also predominantly oriented towards China and did not identify with Canada.

The Transition Phase (1947-1961)

The liberalization of immigration laws and social attitudes in Canada since 1947 brought about many changes which eventually transformed the social structure of the

Ottawa Chinese and their relationship with the host society. During the transition phase, which lasted roughly from 1947 to 1962, the degree of prejudice and discrimination against the Chinese diminished markedly, and they began to be incorporated into the Canadian mainstream.

As more Chinese became enfranchised, they began to play a more active role in the Canadian political system. Besides participating in the political process as voters, the Ottawa Chinese began to act as an interest group. Although a large proportion of the Ottawa Chinese still worked in Chinese ethnic businesses during this period, most second-generation Chinese were employed outside the ethnic collectivity. The degree of cultural incorporation increased measurably, especially among the second generation. Although social incorporation on the secondary-group level had increased, the Ottawa Chinese remained separate from the wider society on the primary-group level. After the establishment of a communist regime in China in 1949, most Chinese gave up the hope of returning to their homeland. Many began to regard Canada as their permanent home. The second generation, who formed a sizeable group during this period, identified quite strongly with Canada and regarded it as their country.

The Integration Phase (1962 -)

Entrance of the Ottawa Chinese into the social structures of the wider society since 1962 has brought about a new pattern of race relations - the integration phase. The Chinese are now more or less integrated into the Canadian mainstream on all dimensions at the secondary level. Their racial status no longer excludes them from participating in the major areas of social life in the host society.

The Ottawa Chinese now take part in the Canadian political process in a number of ways: as citizens, as voters, as members of an ethnic interest group, and as members of the public service.

They are more integrated into the economic system of the wider society than in the two previous phases. They are now more evenly distributed in the occupational structure. In fact, they are over-represented in the professional and semi-professional categories, indicating that they have achieved a considerable degree of occupational mobility.

Using language shift as an indicator of cultural incorporation, the Chinese are found to be relatively highly acculturated.

Employing residential dispersion as a measure of social incorporation on the secondary-group level, the

Chinese are found to be highly integrated on this dimension.

To measure the degree of social incorporation on the primary-group level, a sample of Ottawa Chinese were asked to indicate the ethnic background of their three closest friends. The data suggest that the degree of primary-level incorporation is low.

The data obtained from the questionnaire survey also show that there is a relatively high degree of identificational incorporation among the Ottawa Chinese.

The different modes of incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese during the three phases can be summarized in the table below:

Table 34

Degree of Incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the Wider Canadian Society During the Accommodation Phase, the Transition Phase, and the Integration Phase

Dimensions of Incorporation	Degree of Incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese		
	Accommodation Phase (ca. 1890 - 1947)	Transition Phase (1947 - 1962)	Integration Phase (1962 -)
Political	Very low	Medium	High, depending on citizenship status
Economic	Low	Medium to high	High
Social Secondary-group level	Low	Low to medium, depending on generation and social class	Medium to high, depending on generation and social class
Primary-group level	Low	Low	Low
Cultural	Low	Medium to high, depending on generation	Medium to high, depending on generation and education
Identificational	Very low	Low to medium, depending on generation	Medium to high, depending on generation

Changing Patterns of Social Organization

Changes in the organizational pattern of the Ottawa Chinese were closely related to changes in the structural conditions of the wider Canadian society. The changes in the immigration system and the increasing incorporation of the Ottawa Chinese into the host society in the last ninety years were reflected in the changing patterns of formal and informal social organization. Three social forms emerged from the developmental process corresponding to the accommodation phase, the transition phase, and the integration phase. They were the early form, the transition form, and the contemporary form.

The social organization of the Ottawa Chinese mirrored the group's strategy of adaptation to the host society. It was found that the direction of the development of the social structure of the Chinese collectivity was significantly determined by the group's relationship with the wider society.

The social structure of the Chinese can be divided into informal social organizations and formal social organizations. The Chinese were organized informally into social cliques and formally into voluntary associations.

The Early Social Form

A syncretic approach focussing on both external-

structural and internal-cultural factors has been used to analyze the early organizational development of the Ottawa Chinese. The social organization of the Ottawa Chinese during the accommodation phase was based on organizing principles and social institutions transplanted from traditional China. Excluded from participation in the institutions of the dominant group, the Ottawa Chinese were forced to rely on their own institutions to satisfy their needs. Reflecting the structural constraints imposed by the host society, the transplanted institutions were isolationist, protective, and traditionalist.

The Ottawa Chinese were organized informally into a segmentary system with four hierarchical levels. At the highest level of organization, the early Chinese formed an ethnic collectivity based on a common identity which set them apart from the wider society.

On the next level, the Ottawa Chinese were divided into two major dialect, or linguistic, groups - the Ssu I and the San I. Since the great majority of the early Chinese were from Ssu I, this level of organization was not very important for segmentation.

The third level of organization was based on county origins. The Ssu I dialect groups consisted of four county groups, T'ai Shan, K'ai P'ing, En P'ing, and Hsin Hui. The most significant division among the Ottawa Chinese was

along county group lines. The county groups often competed for power and prestige within the Chinese collectivity during this period.

The county groups were sometimes further segmented into clans and these constituted the fourth level of organization in the Chinese collectivity. The clan-within-a-county group was the basic unit of social organization in the segmentary system.

Unlike the informal social groupings, the early Chinese voluntary associations were not based on ascribed criteria and were, in principle, open to all Chinese. There were two types of Chinese formal organizations during this period: traditionist and modernist. A traditionist association was oriented towards the preservation of traditional Chinese culture within the collectivity. A modernist association was concerned with relating the Chinese to the wider society.

During the accommodation phase, the traditionist associations predominated in the Chinese collectivity. In fact, there was only one modernist organization, the Ottawa Chinese Mission (a Chinese ethnic church).

The Transition Social Form

With increasing internal social differentiation, the early form of social organization was no longer able to

integrate the whole Chinese group. During the transition phase, the Ottawa Chinese collectivity was divided into three social segments, the 'old' immigrants (those Chinese who immigrated before 1947), the 'new' immigrants (those who immigrated after 1947), and the second generation. The three sub-groups tended to associate with members of their own group.

During this period, there were, in fact, two systems of informal social organization, the segmentary system and the emerging eth-gen-class system. On the one hand, the segmentary system, based on clan, county and dialect group ties, was still in operation among the 'old' immigrants. On the other hand, generation and social-class status were increasingly becoming the major principles of social organization among the 'new' immigrants and the second-generation. Traditionist voluntary associations, however, remained dominant during this phase.

The Contemporary Social Form

During the integration phase, the segmentary system gradually disintegrate and a new form of informal social organization, the eth-gen-class system developed. The Ottawa Chinese collectivity is now divided into a number of eth-gen-classes, or sub-groups based on generation and social-class lines. An eth-gen-class is a social unit consisting of persons who are simultaneously members of the same ethnic group, the same generation and the same social class. This social grouping combines the maximum number of common

interests and values. It is the basic unit of social organization in the contemporary Chinese collectivity in Ottawa, and the Chinese tend to confine their primary relationships to their eth-gen-class.

To test the empirical validity of the eth-gen-class model, a questionnaire survey was used to gather data on the primary-group participation and primary relationships of the Ottawa Chinese. The findings supported the hypothesis. The generational and social-class statuses of the respondents were found to be significantly related to the generational and social-class statuses of their close friends.

During this phase, traditionist associations have declined in significance and membership. A number of modernist associations have emerged, and they now overshadow the traditionist associations in influence and effectiveness.

A comparison of the three forms of social organization is present in the table below:

Table 35 A Comparison Between the Early, Transition and Contemporary Forms of Social Organization in the Ottawa Chinese Collectivity

<u>Criteria of Comparison</u>	<u>Early Social Form</u>	<u>Transition Social Form</u>	<u>Contemporary Social Form</u>
Corresponding Phase of Race Relations	Accommodation Phase (ca. 1890-1947)	Transition Phase (1947 - 1962)	Integration Phase (1962-)
Pattern of Informal Social Organization	Segmentary System	Dual System	Eth-gen-class System
Organizing Principles:	Clan, County, and Dialect Group Ties	Two Sets of Organizing Principles: 1) Clan, County, and Dialect Group Ties Among the 'Old' Immigrants 2) Generation and Social Class Among the 'New' Immigrants and the Second Generation	Generation and Social-class Status
Nature of Organizing Principles:	Ascribed and Particularistic Criteria	Both Ascribed/Particularistic and Achieved/Universalistic Criteria	Achieved and Universalistic Criteria
Pattern of Formal Social Organization	Traditionist Associations Predominant	Traditionist Associations still Important, but New Modernist Associations Emerging	Modernist Associations Predominant; Traditionist Associations Declining

Having summarized the major findings, we are now ready to assess the implications of this research for the study of overseas Chinese and race and ethnic relations.

Contribution to the Study of Overseas Chinese

The major contributions of this research are to the study of overseas Chinese. The findings suggest that both the transplanted culture approach and the structural approach do not adequately explain the organizational pattern of overseas Chinese. The syncretic approach, which takes into account both internal-cultural and external-structural factors, can best deal with overseas Chinese social organization.

In a sense, this study has been a critique of Crissman's (1967) model of overseas Chinese social organization. As reviewed earlier in the dissertation, Crissman had argued that overseas Chinese collectivities in North America and Southeast Asia are invariably characterized by a basic similarity in social structure. He maintains that they are all segmented into a hierarchical series of "sub-communities" on the basis of a number of ascribed criteria transplanted from traditional China. The major organizing principles according to Crissman are: surname-group ties, native-place ties, and speech-group ties. He claims that his segmentary model is "a-temporal", meaning

that it is not confined to a specific historical period, and on this point, he is found to be wrong.

Crissman's model undoubtedly has its usefulness in analyzing the social structure of overseas Chinese collectivities. His theoretical framework is particularly applicable to the early social form of the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. However, it is less relevant to the transition social form and the contemporary social form. One major weakness in his model is his assumption of a state of social equilibrium in overseas Chinese collectivities. He fails to take into account social changes in these groups and the consequent internal social differentiation.

As a result of the changes taking place during the transition phase and the integration phase, Crissman's model is no longer applicable to the contemporary social structure of the Ottawa Chinese. They are now increasingly organized along generation and social-class lines. It seems that his framework is valid only when the degree of incorporation of the Chinese group to the host society is relatively low.

In other studies of overseas Chinese collectivities, Chinese merchants have been found to be the leaders of the group (Skinner, 1958; Oddie, 1961; Willmott, 1970). In this study, the early Chinese merchants, besides being leaders and patrons, were found to perform another equally vital role, namely, that of intermediaries between the Chinese

collectivity and the wider society. The early Chinese merchant has been conceptualized here as an 'intermarket operator', or a person who acts as a linkage between an ethnic collectivity and the larger society. The concept of intermarket operator appears to have great potential and relevance for analyzing the nature of the mode of Chinese incorporation into the host society in other Chinese collectivities. It may be that the intermarket operator represents a general form of part-whole relationship characteristic of an early phase of race relations when the degree of incorporation of the ethnic group to the wider society is low.

Following the lead of the Warner School, studies on the social stratification of the Chinese in North America have traditionally used a class-within-a-caste approach. It is commonly assumed that race is the dominant factor in social differentiation and that socio-economic achievement does not make very much difference. From this perspective, Chinese merchants and professionals are perceived as middle- or upper-class only within the internal stratification system of the Chinese collectivity.

The class-caste model is valuable in explaining the situation during the accommodation phase when the correlation between Chinese racial status and lower-class status was near 0.9. However, this race-class relationship no longer

holds. A significant proportion of the Chinese population have been upwardly mobile and many are employed in 'middle-class occupations' in the wider society. They are also leading a middle-class life-style not much different from that of the middle class of the Canadian mainstream.

This study has viewed the status differentiation of the Chinese in terms of an open-market system. The Chinese are ranked according to the same criteria as other groups. It is only in the area of primary-group relationships that ethnicity is relevant.

Most studies of the organizational structure of overseas Chinese collectivities focus exclusively on formal social organizations, or voluntary associations. Examples of this institutional approach include Hoe's (1976) study of the Chinese collectivities in Alberta and Kuo's (1977) study of New York City's Chinatown. The informal social groupings have been neglected in both examples. This dissertation has examined both the formal and the informal patterns of social organization in the Ottawa Chinese collectivity. The informal sub-groups in the collectivity were found to constitute a very significant aspect of the group's organizational life. An analysis of informal social organization can also help to throw light on the social principles which bind the Chinese together as a collectivity.

The organizational characteristics of the Ottawa Chinese are found to be correlated to the mode of incorporation of the group. During the accommodation phase (low degree of incorporation), all except one of the voluntary associations in the collectivity were traditionist. However, during the integration phase (high degree of incorporation), modernist voluntary associations have emerged, and now overshadow the traditionist organizations. Particularistic and ascribed criteria, such as clan and county origins were the major organizing principles during the accommodation phase, but during the integration phase, universalistic and achieved criteria, such as social class and generation, are the major ones.

Theoretical Implications for the Study of Race and Ethnic Relations

Although not theory-oriented, this study also has some theoretical implications for the sociology of race and ethnic relations. Some sociologists have pointed out the importance of the social organization of an ethnic group in determining the degree of integration (Breton, 1964). . . However, the effects of the mode of incorporation on ethnic social organization have been neglected. One of the findings of this study is that the mode of incorporation largely determined the character of ethnic social organization. It has been found that the pattern of social organization in the

Ottawa Chinese collectivity changed with the different modes of incorporation.

It is commonly assumed that assimilation (social integration on the primary-group level) tends to follow integration in the other behavioral sectors. The Ottawa Chinese have shown evidence of a high degree of political, economic, cultural, secondary-social, and identificational integration, but this has not led to social incorporation on the primary-group level. They represent a case of integration without assimilation. Contrary to expectation, the great majority of the middle-class and second-generation Chinese have not been assimilated. They tend to associate on the primary-group level with other Chinese of the same generation and social class. This eth-gen-class system has enabled the Ottawa Chinese to maintain themselves as a viable social entity, despite increasing acculturation and upward social mobility.

It appears that 'structural pluralism' - integration on the secondary-group level, but social separation on the primary-group level - is a more relevant mode for analyzing some of Canada's ethnic groups, especially racial groups, than the other assimilationist frameworks.

Some sociologists believe that social class is such a determining factor that it overrides all ethnic effects in social life. Other sociologists view the ethnic factor as

more important. This study found that neither the class dimension, nor the ethnic dimension, has primacy in determining the primary-group participation of ethnic members. The experience of the contemporary Chinese in Ottawa shows that it is an interesting combination of both variables. The Chinese tend to confine their primary-group relationships to their ethclass (Gordon, 1964:51), i.e., members of their own class-status group within their ethnic group. The ethclass concept is very useful for understanding the interaction between social class and ethnicity.

The Ottawa Chinese were found to be bound together as a cohesive and interacting whole through collective involvement in a number of communal issues. A communal issue is defined broadly as a subject, conflict, or problem which concerns the entire group. The concept of communal issue may have theoretical implications for the study of ethnic groups. An ethnic collectivity may be conceived of as a set of ethnic-oriented, goal-directed interactions, and communal issues provide the goals for such interactions. From this perspective, communal issues may be perceived as boundary-maintaining mechanisms.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study has focussed on the integration of the Ottawa Chinese. There are few diachronic studies of the

sequence of ethnic incorporation. Detailed studies of the incorporation sequences of other ethnic groups are needed to provide comparative data. A comparative analysis of the integration paths of various ethnic groups may throw light on the factors accelerating or retarding integration.

Recent studies of ethnic groups have focussed almost entirely on the integration process. Only passing references have been made to the social structure of the groups under study. Further research is required in the area of ethnic social organization. The relationship between ethnic social organization and the mode of incorporation should also be investigated.

In this study, we have only touched lightly on the subject of communal issues. Further studies are needed to investigate the nature, role, and importance of communal issues in the social life of ethnic collectivities.

As far as the researcher is aware, this is the first attempt to test empirically the eth-gen-class hypothesis. Further applications and tests of the hypothesis are required to establish the general validity of the concept.

Another important area of research would be inter-marriage, a topic which has not been dealt with in this dissertation. There are indications that the Chinese who marry outside their own group and the children of inter-racial marriages are more likely to be integrated into the

wider society on the primary-group level.

Finally, it is now time to ask the question: What is the future of the Ottawa Chinese? The evidence presented here indicates that there is no reason to think that the Chinese collectivity will disintegrate in the near future, at least not for three or four decades. If present trends persist, there will be increasing integration on other dimensions, but a relatively low degree of incorporation on the primary-group level. As Chinese immigration to Canada continues, the new comers will more than likely replace those who are assimilated.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
CHARACTER LIST

Chen 甄

Chen 陳

Chih Kung T'ang 致公堂

Ch'ih Shui 赤水

Ch'ing 清

Chou 周

chu shing 竹星

Chung Hua Hui Kuan 中華會館

Chung Kuo Wen Hua Chung Hsin 中國文化中心

En P'ing 恩平

fan-Ch'ing fu-Ming 反清復明

fang k'ou 房口

Fukien 福建

hsiang 鄉

hsiao 孝

Hsien Kang 蜆岡

Hsin Hui 新會

hsin i min 新移民

hsing 姓

Hsing Hua Jih Pao 醒華日報

Hua Lien Hui 華聯會

Huang 黃

hui 會

hui kuan 會館

Hung 熊

Hung Men 洪門

Hung Men Min Chih T'ang 洪門民治黨

K'ai P'ing 開平

K'ang Jih Hui 抗日會

K'ang Yu-wei 康有為

k'ao shan 靠山

Kung 龔

kuo yu 國語

Kuomintang 國民黨

Kwangtung 廣東

lao hua ch'iao 老華僑

Li 李

Liang 梁

Liang Ch'i-chao 梁啟超

Lin 林

Mai 麥

Nan Hai 南海

Ningpo pang 寧波幫

P'an Yu 番禺

Pao Huang Hui 保皇會

San Ho Hui 三合會

San I 三邑
 San T'ien Hui 三點會
 Shun Te 順德
 Sing Tao Jih Pao 星島日報
 Ssu I 四邑
 Ssu T'u 司徒
 Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
 t'ai hsing 大姓
 t'ai i 大邑
 T'ai Shan 台山
 T'an 譚
 t'ang k'ou 堂口
 T'ien Ti Hui 天地會
 tso tzu 左仔
 tsu 族
 tsu kuo 祖國
 tsung hui kuan 總會館
 t'u sheng 土生
 t'ung hsiang 同鄉
 t'ung hsiang hui 同鄉會
 t'ung hsing hui 同姓會
 T'ung Meng Hui 同盟會
 Wu 吳
 Yu 余
 Yung-lo 永樂

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS IN OTTAWA

Ottawa Chinese Community Association 加京中華會館

Ottawa Chinese Association 華聯會

Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre

加京華僑服務處

Chinese Freemasons 洪門民治黨

Chinese Nationalist League 國民黨

Chinese Language School 中文學校

Chinese Cultural Society 中國文化協會

Capital Region Chinese Community Newsletter Association

加京華報

Chinese Alliance Church 華人宣道會

Chinese Bible Church 基督教真道堂

Chinese United Church 華人聯合教會

Chinese Catholic Centre 華人天主教會

Algonquin College Chinese Students' Association

雅崗昆學院中國同學會

Ottawa University Chinese Students' Association

渥太華大學中國同學會

Carleton University Chinese Students' Association

加爾頓大學中國同學會

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I

Personal Background

1. How old were you on your last birthday? _____
2. Sex of respondent: (1) Male _____ (2) Female _____
3. What is your present marital status?
 - (1) Married _____
 - (2) Separated _____
 - (3) Divorced _____
 - (4) Widowed _____
 - (5) Never Married _____
4. How well do you speak Chinese?
 - (1) Not at all _____
 - (2) A little bit _____
 - (3) Quite well _____
 - (4) Fluently _____
5. How well do you speak English?
 - (1) Not at all _____
 - (2) A little bit _____
 - (3) Quite well _____
 - (4) Fluently _____

6. How interested are you in Canadian national politics?
- (1) Very interested _____
- (2) Fairly interested _____
- (3) Not interested _____
7. How interested are you in the provincial politics of Ontario?
- (1) Very interested _____
- (2) Fairly interested _____
- (3) Not interested _____
8. How interested are you in the local affairs of the City of Ottawa (or your township)?
- (1) Very interested _____
- (2) Fairly interested _____
- (3) Not interested _____
9. Are you a Canadian citizen? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
10. Have you voted in the last federal election?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
11. Have you voted in the last provincial election?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
12. Have you voted in the last municipal election?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
13. Do you regard Canada as your permanent home?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
14. Do you regard Canada as your country?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

15. Which of the following terms would you identify yourself with?

- (1) Chinese _____
- (2) Canadian _____
- (3) Chinese-Canadian _____
- (4) Other, please specify _____

16. Where were you born? _____ (Country)

17. If not in Canada, {
When did you come to Canada? _____ (Year)

18. How old were you when you came to Canada? _____

19. What is your occupation? _____

20. What level of education have you attained?

- (1) Elementary _____
- (2) Secondary _____
- (3) University (without degree) _____
- (4) University (with degree) _____

Part II

Questions about your friends

I would like you to think for a moment and decide who you would consider as your three closest friends. Then, I would like you to tell me something about them.

21. Can you tell me the occupation of your three best friends?

First best friend _____

Second best friend _____

Third best friend _____

22. Can you tell me the ethnic background of your three best friends?

First best friend (1) Chinese _____
(2) Other, please specify _____

Second best friend (1) Chinese _____
(2) Other, please specify _____

Third best friend (1) Chinese _____
(2) Other, please specify _____

23. If any of the three best friends you have chosen is Chinese, please indicate whether he or she is first-generation or second-generation Chinese:

First best friend (1) first-generation Chinese _____
(2) second-generation Chinese _____

Second best friend (1) first-generation Chinese _____
(2) second-generation Chinese _____

Third best friend (1) first-generation Chinese _____
(2) second-generation Chinese _____

24. How well do your best friends (if Chinese) speak Chinese?

First best friend (1) Not at all _____
(2) A little bit _____
(3) Quite well _____
(4) Fluently _____

Second best friend

(1) Not at all _____

(2) A little bit _____

(3) Quite well _____

(4) Fluently _____

Third best friend

(1) Not at all _____

(2) A little bit _____

(3) Quite well _____

(4) Fluently _____

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