

## ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY

ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY : A STUDY  
OF  
CHINESE STUDENTS

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis is concerned with the internal differences of Chinese. In general, there is an assumption that ethnic minority groups are strong and coherent groups. This assumption has also been applied to Chinese groups. My main purpose has been to see if there is evidence of social differentiation among Chinese which would contradict the previous assumptions of other sociologists. The analysis of my data concerning a particular group of Chinese students suggests that external pressure from the host society has not promoted solidarity or cohesion among the subjects. Instead I found that there were distinct subgroups among them, each of them with distinct and different images of the others. Three factors could be established as major causes for internal differentiation, language, knowledge of Chinese culture, and identity. These have been analyzed in detail.

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## INTRODUCTION

There has been some sociological research devoted to the study of minority groups; however, in most cases they have been treated as homogeneous, when they might more profitably have been studied as complex social organisms. So far, only limited attention has been paid to the study of internal differentiation within the minority groups, and this deficiency also characterizes studies of the Chinese. They are approached as members of a racial group rather than as individuals. This seems to be determined by the fact that even in a country like Canada, with its great variety of races, the Chinese are clearly set apart as an ethnic group by their highly visible external racial features. In this respect they are more "ethnic" than Canadians of German, Dutch, Italian, Jewish, or Ukrainian origin, for skin colour establishes an unalterably separate identity from the white majority. No matter what differences in geographical, social, and cultural background, all Chinese become equally targets for discrimination and prejudice on the basis of their external similarity. Most Chinese, offended by the indiscriminate slurs on their race, react by developing views of Canadians which are equally undifferentiated and prejudiced. Having only been faced with negative experiences, Chinese develop an equally negative attitude towards Canadians.

This in turn reduces the possibilities for integration of Chinese and Canadians. They keep a certain distance in their social interactions and seek, instead, friendship from their own people. Since the white majority assumes that the Chinese are a homogeneous group, they are regarded as members of an "in-group" which is clearly separate from the "out-group", i.e. all those who are not Chinese. The latter hold that Chinese only speak their own language, and have all the same culture and ethnic identity. Their assumed similarities are further alleged to function as a means to establish the tie which binds them together as a strong coherent group. The vital point overlooked here is that Chinese may not conform to this pattern, and that there may be important factors which establish differences and divisions within the "in-group" not immediately visible to an outsider. Their marginality in the new racial environment may be one reason for the present lack of knowledge of their internal differentiations, another may be the fact that they themselves tend to feel cut off from the mainstream of their culture and people and thus become a new entity as immigrants. The various backgrounds of the Chinese immigrants may, nevertheless, lead to the formation of sub-groups within the larger group. Distinctive attitudes towards other Chinese may exist. Racial similarity may not necessarily be a significant element in determining their relationship with other Chinese. Cultural and linguistic differences among the Chinese immigrants , for



example, may produce separation and only limited social interaction among these sub-groups. If this is the case, the Chinese would have to be regarded as a heterogeneous group rather than as a homogeneous group, and there should be recognizable factors to prove their differentiation. Among these, the more significant social and cultural differences which characterize individual Chinese, according to their place of origin, appear as a worthwhile starting point in the study of minority groups.

For my investigation, the Chinese in one particular university, McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, have provided a test case to probe the question of possible differentiation within their group. These students, although of the same race, originate from quite different places and cultural environments: Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Taiwan, and Canada. Their social and cultural differences can potentially create two contrasting social situations. They may either become the basis for integration or for division into sub-groups within the larger group. Consequently, the research worker must try to discover what kinds of divisions and differentiating factors exist, if any, and seek to identify their origin. In order to achieve this purpose, i.e. to explore the nature and extent of homogeneity and heterogeneity in the Chinese student population, I shall investigate the following areas:

- Chapter III:
1. Images of Canada and Canadians, both favourable and unfavourable, among Chinese students
  2. Their experiences of discrimination and prejudice in Canada
  3. Their interaction with Canadians
- Chapter IV:
1. Their evaluation of other Chinese students
  2. The degree of solidarity among them, i.e. coherence and social interaction
- Chapter V:
1. The importance of views of their homeland and people
  2. The differences in language and dialects
  3. Knowledge of China and Chinese culture
  4. Nature and strength of their ethnic identity

The thesis will be organized around these themes.

In the first chapter, I shall give a brief review of previous research on Chinese immigrants in Canada, on the internal differentiation of other Canadian ethnic groups, and on social differentiation in general in order to throw some light on the central argument of this thesis, the social differentiation of an ethnic group. Chapter II is an elaboration of my research method. I describe the area of investigation, namely a single university campus with its Chinese student population, 48 of which provided the information presented here. The research technique which had to be chosen to obtain the relevant data, as well as the sampling method, are also discussed in this chapter.

In Chapters III, IV, and V, I present the information collected from interviews. In Chapter III, I present the Chinese students' views of Canadians as they have resulted from personal experience. In connection with the opinions here brought together, I shall also deal with the question whether these views of Canadians are the same for all Chinese students. We will study further the question whether their views prevent or stimulate social interaction with Canadians. In light of the data from Chapter III, the common assumption that the Chinese students' negative view of Canadians generates social distance from Canadians and turns them into a closed, homogeneous group will appear as false.

In Chapter IV, the samples from my interviews will provide conclusive evidence for the existence of several sub-groups within the Chinese student body and illustrate a considerable degree of non-solidarity and heterogeneity among the members of the larger racial group. I shall present evidence of the variety of views concerning their internal differentiation. Finally, I shall trace the impact which these views have on the social interaction among the Chinese sub-groups.

In Chapter V, the constituting factors in the formation of sub-groups in the Chinese student body will be investigated in detail. The emphasis in my investigation will be on three points: (1) language differences (variety, fluency, school background regarding knowledge of Chinese and other

languages, the most common languages and dialects, and their attitudes toward each others' languages); (2) differences in familiarity with Chinese tradition and culture; (3) identity differences (different types of self-classification and their bases).

## Chapter I

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Sociological literature on ethnic groups exhibits certain peculiar assumptions about the homogeneity of minority groups. The members of a minority group are generally believed to be homogeneous. Studies of ethnic stereotyping usually take the form of a catalogue of generalizations about the members of a group or about a particular nation; Italians, for example, are said to be artistic, impulsive, passionate; Negroes, superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky; Germans, scientific, industrious, stable; Jews, shrewd, mercenary, intelligent; Japanese, shrewd, industrious, progressive, etc. (Katz and Braly, 1933 : 284-5). The existence of similar stereotypes concerning French-Canadians has also been established. They are held to be talkative, excitable, and religious (Gardner, 1968 : 38-40). In stereotype-studies, a set of characteristics as it applies to all members of that particular group is established; yet, the question remains how these national stereotypes arise and whether they operate only outside the particular group or also within.

A similar situation exists regarding studies of discrimination. They consider different aspects of pressures exerted on minority groups who are unable to fight back, because, for various reasons, they are not accepted as equals,

nor are they given the opportunity to explain their views. As P. Jacobs and S. Landan illustrate in their book To Serve The Devil (1971), the minority groups in the United States such as the Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Blacks are all exploited by the white majority constituting the power structure. Its prejudice against other ethnic groups has become consolidated in laws passed by the legislature which implicitly belittle the minority groups.

N. Keyfitz' comparison study of majority and minority groups such as the English and French speaking Canadians, (1971), stresses the asymmetric relationship which characterizes all aspects of the present society, for example in the fields of industrialization, economic planning, and education, and he demonstrates that the majority always overrules the minority groups. In the United States, the problem of Black identity is similarly determined by the opposition between a racial group which possesses power and another which doesn't (Wellman, 1970).

So far, the assumption of the homogeneity of the minority groups continues to dominate in studies of ethnic communities. The Italian community of Montreal, for example, has been studied as a territorial unit with multiple strands of social relationships (Boissevain, 1971). Similar evidence was sought by the study of Toronto's Italian community which is described by housing and kinship patterns and social inter-

action within the group as proof for the strong cohesion of the community (Jansen, 1971). The Halifax Jews also appear as a community characterized by a high level of interaction and in-group consciousness, though it lacks definite geographical boundaries and institutional autonomy (Gillis and Whitehead, 1971).

The common assumption behind these studies of stereotypes, discrimination, and community structure is that the minority groups are tightly knit and homogeneous.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for diversity or "within-category-variation" is ignored. This common characteristic extends also to studies of the Chinese in Canada.

#### 1. Previous Research: Chinese in Canada

Compared with other ethnic groups like Germans, Italians, Indians, and Ukrainians, the Chinese are one of the smaller minority groups in Canada. Nevertheless, there are quite a few studies of the Chinese in Canada which deal with their legal, social, and statistical existence.

##### (a) Immigration Law and Immigrants

A large proportion of these studies is concerned with

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<sup>1</sup>The term "minority group" here refers to racial, religious, and national origin and not to such categories as the socially disadvantaged (women, the poor), i.e. non-ethnic groups to whom the term "minority group" is sometimes applied. The Chinese are clearly an ethnic as well as a minority group. (Elliot, 1971).

the origin of the Chinese (when they came and where from), the purpose of their coming, their distribution, the development of anti-Chinese immigration laws and discrimination, and with general data on population and occupation statistics (Ottawa Sessional Paper, 1885 and 1902; Woodsworth, 1941; Toronto Daily Star, Oct. 31, 1946; Jan. 14, 1948; July 11, 1950; Globe and Mail (Toronto), Nov. 27, 1946; Feb. 12, 1947; Telegram (Toronto), Oct. 17, 1950; May 25, 1960; April 2, 1962; Aug. 27, 1963; Walhouse, 1961; Kung, 1962; Porter, 1962; Wynne, 1963; Sien, 1966; 1967; Lee, 1967; The Canadian Family Tree, 1967; Polmer, 1970; Campbell, 1971; Davis and Knauter, 1971; Munro, 1971).

#### (b) Adjustment to Canadian Life

Various aspects of the adjustment of Chinese immigrants to Canadian life have been studied. Based on students from Hong Kong in eleven Canadian universities, a detailed study of their academic background, their academic and social life, physical adjustment, financial status, and general attitude towards Canada has been presented by Young (1965). Two studies are based on the Chinese immigrants in Toronto. One of them is an investigation of the extent of cultural, structural, and identity assimilation (Lai, 1971). The other concerns types and provisions of leisure time activities which have been studied in relation to the socio-cultural background and the existing social structure of the Chinese community (Yiu, 1968). The focus of another study



is the adjustment of young Chinese from downtown Toronto to education and recreation in Canada (Ko, 1967). There is only one study which deals with the adjustment of immigrants and Canadian-born Chinese who had been patients in mental hospitals (Lee, 1961). Three major points -- personality constituents (ego, strength, motivation), social factors (marginal position), and economic factors (employment) -- have been used to illustrate the causes of their mental illness.

#### (c) Community Studies

There have been studies of the Chinese communities in Calgary, Toronto, and British Columbia.<sup>2</sup> Full descriptions of ghetto formation and of the ecological, demographic, ethnic, organizational, and occupational structure, as well as of the institutional characteristics of the Chinese communities have been provided in order to show their distinct social and cultural identity. The studies agree that these communities have suffered in recent times through integration into the wider society and by urban renewal (Voisey, 1970; Baureiss, 1971; Stewart, 1969; Willmot, 1968; 1970; De Villiers, 1971; Telegram (Toronto), April 6, 1946; Feb.

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<sup>2</sup>There are 24,000 Chinese in the province of British Columbia. The two largest communities are in Vancouver (18,000) and Victoria (2,000). The remaining 4,000 live in some sixty towns and villages throughout the province.

23, 1955; May 25, 1960; Sept. 28, and Oct. 5, 1970; Globe and Mail (Toronto), Jan. 25, 1959; Dec. 24 and 31, 1969; Sept. 28, 1970; Jan. 14, 1971; Toronto Daily Star, Feb. 9, and 24, 1969; Nov. 14, 1970; March 3, 4, 12, 1971.

#### (d) Associations

There are four major types of associations of the Chinese in Canada: Clan associations, locality associations, fraternal associations, and community associations. Their origins, rules, and function have been discussed by several scholars (Lyman, 1964; 1968; Willmott, 1968; Wai, 1971). Sedgwick and Willmott examine the overall development of association structure and leadership within the communities from the early 1860's to the 1970's (Canadian Forum, Sept. 1974).

#### (e) Education

There are three studies on Chinese education. The first one investigates the workings of the Chinese public and private school in Canada and evaluates their social and cultural contribution to the Chinese community in which they have been established (Taylor, 1933). The second study focuses on relating performance of Piageton tasks of Chinese children to a cognitive style variable and to achievement motivation. The performance of the Chinese children is moreover compared to that of a group of white Canadian children (Mao, 1967). A third study examined

the teaching of English to Chinese students and offered suggestions for effective teaching of a foreign language (Wang, 1943).

(f) Political Behaviour

With respect to this area, there are two studies (Quo, 1971; Erickson, 1967). The first shows the low interest of Canadian born Chinese in politics. The author speculates, however, that once the first generation assimilation problem has been overcome Chinese may become interested in politics and will believe in their equal opportunity in this field. The other study deals with power and prestige within a Vancouver Chinese community by using the standard community power research tools. Erickson claims that the Chinese community displays much the same mechanism of power and prestige as is found in North American cities.

(g) Family Studies

The three studies of Chinese families are all unpublished theses. One of them examines the structure of Chinese families in Vancouver by using Levey's theoretical model of the "traditional" family (Bronson, 1966). Another describes the adjustment of Chinese families in Toronto in terms of selected living conditions, social arrangement, roles of the wife, husband, and children within the family (Fu, 1967). The third study is an analysis of the changes in patterns of Chinese family life which resulted from the change in immigration law allowing Chinese wives from Main-

land China to enter Canada (Davison, 1952).

## 2. Previous Research : Chinese in the United States : Internal Differentiation

When we approach our subject, we notice that none of the studies of the Chinese population in Canada give any attention to internal differences and differentiation within this group of people. It is erroneous to believe that all Chinese are drawn to each other by their similarities. Although they may have similar racial characteristics, they may be just as strange to other Chinese as they are to the dominant group of non-Chinese, when they arrive in the new land. However, from reading the literature on Chinese immigrants one can only infer their homogeneity. They are approached with the expectation that they will always behave as a group with a strong solidarity and cohesion.

In the United States, however, there are studies on the Chinese which have explored their internal differentiation. R. H. Lee, in his book The Chinese in the United States of America (1960 : 69-125), pointed out the oversimplification in the idea of the Chinese as a homogeneous group. He distinguished three major groups among them: Sojourners, students and intellectuals, and American Chinese.<sup>3</sup> The group of

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<sup>3</sup>There are no statistics available to indicate the proportions of these three groups (Lee, p.117).

sojourners is made up of the early immigrants who began to arrive in the United States from 1860 on. Working as peasants, laundrymen, cooks, etc., they maintained and perpetuated their own forms of social life, occupations, and recreation in a ghetto, and their orientation was toward the home country. Because of their limited education, linguistic ability, and their sojourner status, they could only earn their livelihood in the lowest occupations; however, their prolonged stay and business investment in the United States brought them a better economic situation. In the early twentieth century, a second group, consisting of highly educated intellectuals and students who adhered strictly to Confucian ethics, established itself in the United States. Their objective was to obtain a degree from an American university or to accomplish a given mission. They participated only in a limited sphere of American life and viewed other Chinese in their class from the perspective of their temporary role in America. It was not until 1900 that the group of Chinese born in the United States increased sufficiently to represent a significant proportion of the Chinese population in the United States as a whole. Having been brought up in North American society, they assimilated American behaviour patterns and language and expected to find their place in this society. Consequently, their knowledge of the culture and customs of the Chinese homeland was minimal.

Lee also examined their inter-group relationships with regard to their feelings toward each other, for example, admiration vs. hostility, superiority vs. inferiority, mutual dependency, and social contacts, according to the stereotypes of each other which were either developed or acquired (Lee, 1960 : 373-405).

F. S. Fong points out in his two studies that the disparity between American-born and China-born Chinese is formally recognized and institutionalized on the college campus across the United States and equally among the adolescents of San Francisco's Chinatown; i.e. two Chinese clubs may exist, one for the American-born, the other for the China-born. Fong suggests that the social distance and discrimination between these two groups stems from the disparity in interests, values, attitudes, behavioural propensities, and languages or dialects, yet the details are not provided (Fong, 1965; 1968). A similar categorization is also used by B. L. Sung in her study of the Chinese in America (Sung, 1967). The American-born Chinese are labelled "Jook Sing" or "Bamboo Knots", a reference to the hollow part of the bamboo pole. The term implies that they are empty, i.e. lack the traditions and customs of China. In return, the China-born are labelled "Jook Kock" or "China Bug", meaning old-fashioned, stubborn, impervious, and incapable of adjustment.

Finally, there is the recent research of Kuo (1970) who compares American Chinese and Chinese stranded overseas. With regard to their knowledge of China and their reaction to discrimination he found that the former have no opportunity to learn anything about Chinese civilization and do not know how to appreciate it, but acquire greater economic security. The latter, on the other hand, pride themselves in their tradition of Chinese ethics, arts, and literature which give them a superiority over their hosts with regard to knowledge. For the Chinese stranded overseas, ethnocentrism is a defense mechanism against discrimination, while for the American-born Chinese it is a means for their humiliation.

These several studies (Lee, Fong, Sung, Kuo) recognize for the first time the differentiation within the Chinese population. In general, the American-born Chinese are contrasted as a single group with the China-born who, in some studies, have been divided into two sub-groups, the sojourners and the students and intellectuals. These groups are characterized by differences in language competence, education level, acquaintance with Chinese traditions, defense mechanisms against discrimination, economic competence, and degree of integration into the host society. These studies reveal therefore the internal segregation of these Chinese groups. However, all of these data are limited to the United States.

### 3. Previous Research : Internal Differentiation in other Canadian Minority Groups

In spite of the common assumption of the homogeneity of minority groups in most social research, there are studies which reveal also divisions within groups. It has been demonstrated that they are not necessarily social and cultural units, although only limited attention has been paid to this group differentiation. It is desirable to look at these descriptions of internal divisions in minority groups other than Chinese, because they provide valuable analogies to my own research.

#### (a) Indians in Canada

Even before the European settlement of Canada, the Indians were notably heterogeneous. Traditionally, they were divided into six major cultural and ten linguistic groups (Davis and Krauter, 1971). Over the years, the customary divisions have been eroded and only a general Indian identity remains. The older distinctions, though, continue to exist.

Many factors determined the differentiation among Indians during the course of contact with whites. H. B. Hawthorn et. al. have outlined the major variables affecting contemporary Indian communities:

#### MAJOR VARIABLES DIFFERENTIATING CONTEMPORARY INDIAN COMMUNITIES

Reserve resources (in relation to population, contemporary techniques and interests)



Subsistence fishing  
 Land for grazing and for horticulture  
 Land leasable or saleable, as for urban development  
 Access to subsistence hunting  
 Timber on reserve  
 Minerals

#### Occupations

Labour skills, unused or unemployed  
 Commercial fishing  
 Cannery work  
 Logging and mill  
 Ranch, labour, truck-gardening and fruit-picking  
 Older established jobs -- railroad, boatyards, longshoring  
 Newer industries  
 Full employment or under-employment

#### Intergroup relations

Degrees of isolation; links with other Indian communities  
 Types of incorporation into non-Indian community urbanization as special set of influences

#### Religion

Catholic predominance  
 Protestant predominance  
 Continuation of Indian belief

#### Degree of acculturation

Disintegration of traditional social structures  
 Continued traditional goals and patterns  
 Growth of new social structures and values

(Hawthorn et. al., 1958 : 4-5)

Some empirical studies have demonstrated that there are communities in which two or more groups may be in conflict which is based on one or more of the factors listed above.

One study of categorization of Indians is F. Voget's study of their acculturation (1951). On the basis of field data from the Caughnawaga Iroquois Reserve near Montreal, three socio-cultural groups were tentatively identified in that community: "native-modified", "Euroamerican-marginal",

and "Euroamerican-modified". The structure, the basic premises by which the membership operates, and the type of social and cultural organization of these three groups have been investigated in detail.

A related, but not identical, type of stratification also appears among the Algonquian Indians in Canada, the Micmac and Malecite of the Atlantic provinces, and the Naskapi and Montagnais of Labrador and Quebec. Two types can be roughly distinguished, territorial groups (hunters and trappers) and reserve groups (those usually employed for wages or in small industries and stores of their own). The former are bi-seasonal in their movements and work hunting territories during the winter. The movements of the latter are either multi-seasonal or stable, and their bases of operation are the government-established reserves. In addition, these two groups can also be determined on the basis of rate of change (acculturation). The first group has undergone little subsistence change during the last two generations. In the second group, however, certain changes have occurred during the same time (McFeat, 1962 : 15-16). In another study, it was found that within contemporary Indian communities of British Columbia social class, religion, political issues, and generation differences operate as the bases for differentiation within the groups (Hawthorn et. al., 1958 : 421-424).

(b) Eskimos in Canada

Following a prolonged period of contact with our civilization, many Eskimo groups in Northern Canada have developed new forms of group differentiation in addition to the traditional differentiation according to tribes (Vallee, 1971). The differentiation between camp Eskimos and settlement Eskimos in Port Harrison (Willmott, 1961), between Nunamiut (people of the land) and Kabloonamiut (people of the white man) in Baker Lake (Vallee, 1971), and between hunters and labourers among the Great Whale River Eskimos of Hudson Bay (Balikci, 1960) is clearly established. The former groups desire to live on land and follow the traditional way of life; the latter groups prefer to live in the settlement and follow a certain Euro-Canadian way of life. F. G. Vallee mentions furthermore two new forms of sorting-out in groups, namely a division according to religious denominations and the emergence of something like age sets, particularly in the form of middle and late teenage gangs in the larger settlements, though the author did not proceed to spell out this differentiation in any detail (Vallee, 1971 : 286).

(c) Japanese in Canada

Many divisions exist between first, second, and third generation (Issei, Nisei, San sei) Japanese, between religious groups like Buddhists and Christians, and between polit-

ical groups as to whether or not they perpetuate Japanese customs and institutions in the new world (Layman, 1965; Richmond, 1967 :36; Maykovich, 1971; Suzuki, 1971).

(d) Ukrainians in Canada

The organizations which represent various groups of Ukrainians are motivated by their religious (Greek-Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant) and political affiliations in Canada. The formation of a number of these organizations among Ukrainian Canadians set the stage for controversies and social disorganization among them (Woycenko, 1967 : 8-9; Piniuta, 1952 : 1-15; 42-44).

(e) Dutch in Canada

The Dutch community was very fragmented and the main divisions were along religious lines, the Roman Catholic and the Christian Reformed Church. Smaller segments represent other religious groups. The study of Dutch communities in the farming settlements of Ansnorveld and Springdale in Holland March reveals that in addition economic class forms a major basis of differentiation within the community (small farmer, middle class farmer, upper class farmer), although its social consequences are not clear-cut (Ishwaran, 1971).

(f) Portuguese in Canada

It was found that the association pattern among Portuguese in Toronto tends to be determined by the regional

origin of the individual in much the same fashion as in the case of Italians. Another outstanding feature of the Portuguese population in Canada is the strength of family ties as against the weakness and lack of community cohesion. Besides, distrust and keen competition for material advancement also weaken community solidarity (Ferguson, 1964 : 19-52; Hamilton, 1970 : 71-72; Globe and Mail (Toronto), Aug. 26, 27, 30, 1971).

(g) Doukhobors in Canada

Three distinct groups have emerged in the Doukhobor population, though only 13,000 live in Canada (1961 statistics). The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, the largest of the three divisions, has most of its members in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. Most members are wage-earners and proprietors who reside on the former community land. The membership of the Society of Independents lives mainly in Saskatchewan. In this group there are divergences of attitude towards community life and the belief in divinely inspired leadership. The third sect, the Sons of Freedom, are only to be found in Southern British Columbia, and most of them live in villages. There is no hard and fast dividing line regarding belief or behaviour between them and the others, yet they show generally the most intensive reaction to the process of adjustment to Canadian life and the most pronounced belief in the necessary conflict between goods and government (Davis and Krauter, 1971; Hawthorn,

1955 : 10-11).

(h) Blacks in Canada

Originally, the descendants of Africans in the United States differed culturally, linguistically, and socially. The contemporary diversity is due to the former differences in family patterns and, to a certain extent, in values and life styles of rural areas. These differences are similar to the division of families on the basis of socio-economic status in urban areas (Green, 1970; Marston, 1969). In Canada, there are 100,000 Blacks. They do not represent a coherent group, and there is great diversity among them. However, they do not break into the types of differentiation common among American Negroes. In Canada, the heterogeneous past and ancestry have resulted in a variety of groups, differing from one region to another. In Nova Scotia, we find four separate groups -- Loyalists, Maroons, West Indians, and American Negroes; in Quebec, two groups -- West Indians contrasting with Canadian Negroes; in Ontario, three groups -- those descended from fugitive slaves (native Canadian Negroes), West Indians, and, more recently, American Negroes (Davis and Krauter, 1971 : 65-67; Winks, 1971; Time, Feb. 17, 1972).

#### 4. Previous Literature : Understanding Social Differentiation

In examining the internal differentiation of ethnic groups, we found that among the factors which account for it are socio-economic status, religion, language, family pattern, and life style. It does not always arise from the same or all of these factors. If any of them operates within one ethnic group, it does not necessarily operate in another, and if it does, not necessarily in the same way. While, for example, weak solidarity within the Portuguese community in Canada is attributed to the prevalence of strong family ties (Hamilton, 1970 : 49-52), in the Jewish and Ukrainian communities it is ascribed to religious differences (Wirth, 1962 : 93-149; Woycenko, 1967 : 76-85). The social factors which influence differentiation may furthermore vary with time. The Africans in the United States, for example, were divided in terms of cultural and linguistic background in the past, but for contemporary divisions among them credit is given to family patterns and socio-economic status (Green, 1970). The differences in religious belief among the Jews which had caused their separation in Europe during the 18th century still play an important part in the present, i.e. the division into Eastern and Western Jews in America (Wirth, 1962 : 93-149). It is possible that other factors will emerge in the future which will replace those operating within a given group at present. However, in spite of the

great diversity of the causes of differentiation within ethnic groups, we should be searching for a common basis to explain the formation of such sub-groups. For this purpose, we should study the general ideas which underly ethnic differentiation.

At the present time, theories concerning ethnic differentiation are far from adequate. However, some existing theories may assist the student in search of an explanation. Basing his work on the three main factors of sentiment, interaction, and activity, G. H. Homans describes the inter-relationship of members of an ethnic group in the following terms: Mutual dependence of activity and interaction (persons who interact with one another are more like one another in their activities than those with whom they interact less frequently); mutual dependence of interaction and sentiment (the more frequently persons interact, the stronger their sentiment of friendship for one another); mutual dependence of sentiments and activities (persons who feel a liking for each other will express this sentiment over and above the activities of the external social system; Homans, 1950 : 131-135). Thus he explains the formation of sub-groups within the larger unit by this process of relationship building, and he explores the social ranking, which is a sentiment, on the basis of interaction among these sub-groups (pp. 136-156).



The study of differentiation must also take into account the concept of "in-group" formation. G. W. Allport has explored the reason for the formation of such groups and explains the shifting nature of the "in-group". He elaborates on the way human beings form the group-norm to suit their own adaptive needs, yet, in doing so, they may consciously or unconsciously develop prejudices towards both other groups and the larger society (Allport, 1958 : 29-46).

Similar to this is the development of "consciousness-of-kind" which is a feeling of unity among members of a group arising from the perception of similarity among themselves and differences from outsiders. In their book Ethnic Stratification, T. Shibutani and K. M. Kwan illustrate the nature of this idea (1965 : 41-48). Furthermore, they explore the development of cultural traits, heredity traits, and various auxiliary symbols -- language, name, religion, clothing, etc. -- which lead to ethnic stratification (pp. 56-81).

Members of the "in-group" or those who develop "consciousness-of-kind" must be convinced that outsiders are basically different from them. Hence the rejection of the "out-group" or the formation of "contrast conception" is inevitable, although the "in-group" loyalty does not necessarily imply hostility towards the "out-group". The nature of gradations of rejection of the "out-group" has been examined in some detail by G. W. Allport as well (pp. 48-65). T. Shib-

utani and K. M. Kwan show the conceptions people form of themselves and of others in order to justify and support their feeling which depends more upon their sensitivity than upon the real attributes of the outsiders. These "contrasting conceptions" are also continually reinforced through selective perceptions (Shibutani, Kwan, 1950 : 372-401).

## Chapter II

### RESEARCH METHOD

In this chapter, I shall define the main area of my investigation, namely the Chinese students on a particular university campus, McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. I shall discuss the reasons for my choice of research technique and provide an illustration of the problems of sample collection. Finally, I shall give a description of sample characteristics.

#### 1. Areas of Study

The purpose of this study is the exploration of the nature and extent of heterogeneity and homogeneity in a particular group of Chinese. Stress is put on the kinds of similarities and differences perceived by the students and on the exploration of their causes.

##### (a) Pretest Exploration

A preliminary exploration was carried out to make sure the Chinese students were aware of the existence of similarities and dissimilarities among themselves. From my own observation, there appeared to be at least five different groups of Chinese students on campus: Chinese from Malaysia and Singapore (in the following, MS), Chinese from Hong Kong (HK), Chinese from the West Indies (WI), Chinese from Taiwan (TW), and Canadian-born Chinese (CB). As I found later,

more important social and cultural differences with regard to language, knowledge of China and Chinese culture, and identity exist along the lines of geographical origin. On the basis of these differences, the five groups have developed clear images of each other, each group seeing itself as being different from the others. This fact lent support to my idea that the group in question would provide a good basis for the study of the ethnic heterogeneity among Chinese.

(b) Difficulties in Deciding the Instrument  
for Data Collection

Originally, I had planned to carry out a survey by means of a questionnaire. However, this plan turned out to be impractical owing to the reticence towards questionnaires on the part of the Chinese students. Faced with a choice between questionnaire and interview, I asked the advice of two Chinese students, Mr. A and Mr. B., who had done research on the Chinese on campus. Mr. A. told me, "If I were you, I would give it up. It is very hard to ask them to fill out those questionnaires and mail them back. Last year I did research comparing Chinese and Canadians on campus. At the beginning, I stood on the second floor of Mills Library and asked every Chinese I met to fill out the questionnaire, but when they learned that I was a non-Cantonese-speaking Chinese, they felt strange and would not accept me as a member of their group. Therefore, they showed no interest in talking to me and in filling out the questionnaire. I was very

depressed and had to resort to asking my friends to ask their friends to do me a favour. I sent out 200 questionnaires to Chinese students. Less than half were returned, including some incomplete ones. From Canadian students the return rate was over ninety percent; about 180 questionnaires were returned. It was completely beyond my expectation. You better think it over before you do it."

The other Chinese student who had attempted such research described his experience as follows, "In order to have a better return percentage, I passed out questionnaires at the end of every meeting of the Christian Fellowship and asked that they return them to me that night. (It took them about five to ten minutes to fill it out.) Still, many returned a blank sheet. The return rate was about sixty percent." In general, his questions had been neutral and easy to answer. The questions I wanted to ask -- on identity, discrimination, Canadians, Chinese culture, interaction with other Chinese, attitude towards other Chinese -- are more difficult, since they require some thought and more time to answer. The typical response of a Chinese student, when asked about the problem of identity, for example, is, "I have never thought about this question before." Therefore, I expected little cooperation. A former member of the Chinese Students' Association also told me that it was well-known that surveys on Chinese communities seldom have a return higher than ten percent. C. Y. B. Fu and C. L. Kuo

experienced similar difficulties in their studies.

Since it became evident that questionnaires were not an effective means of collecting data, I decided on select interviewing as the method to be followed in my study. In addition, limited data from participation observation supplement my material from interviews. The limited extent of the latter is due to the fact that I did not participate continuously in the activities of the Chinese students on campus. Besides, I could only get data spontaneously when the observee initiated the conversation relating to my research without knowing of my intentions.

(c) Difficulties in Recording the Field Data

It was not possible for me to use a tape recorder in the interviews. It would have interfered with our relationship of trust. Even a good friend of mine, after having been interviewed for a long time, refused my request to make a tape recorded interview the next time. Some close friends told me that a tape recorder prevents an interviewee from feeling free to answer and may even induce them to reject interviews altogether. I also found that informants felt more free to talk about their experiences if I did not take notes in their presence. Gradually, I came to rely on my memory and reconstructed the entire conversation after every interview.

In contrast to the questionnaire method, I found that I could explain myself better and got more fruitful answers

by interviewing face to face. All interviews were conducted in English with the occasional use of a Chinese expression when the interviewee wanted to clarify an idea or point. Such expressions will be explained in the footnotes.

## 2. The Interview Questions

In the interviews, my aim was to obtain information in eight major areas relevant to my thesis problem. I needed to develop a set of questions which would encourage responses in each of the following areas:

- (a) Comparison between Canada and their homeland
- (b) Experience of and reaction to discrimination and prejudice
- (c) Interaction pattern with Canadians
- (d) Distinctive images they have of each other
- (e) Interaction patterns among themselves
- (f) Language ability and context of language or dialect learning
- (g) Amount and depth of their knowledge of Chinese culture
- (h) Nature and strength of their national and ethnic identity

The questions were not constructed all at once. They were modified many times as a result of informal conversations with my friends and initial interviews. I had to retain a certain flexibility in the formulation of questions in order to adapt myself to the person I was interviewing. The sequence of questions could therefore not be rigid either. The next question often depended on the answer to

the previous one. The following is an outline of the interview questions:

(a) Comparison between Canada and their homeland:

How many places have you lived in in your lifetime?

How long?

What do you think about them ( i.e. what are the differences among them)?

What do you think about the people there?

Where do you like it better? Why?

Which people do you like better? Why?

(b) Discrimination experiences:

Did you experience any discrimination?

Would you please give me some examples?

What is your reaction to discrimination?

(c) Interaction with Canadians:

Are most of your friends Canadian, or are they Chinese?

Who are your close friends, Canadians or Chinese?

With whom would you live, given an equal chance, with Canadians or Chinese? Why?

Do you think, Chinese should marry Chinese, if possible?

(d) Distinctive images of other Chinese:

How many different places do Chinese students at McMaster come from?

Do you think they are different from each other or similar to each other? (In other words, do you group them by place of origin or in larger groups combining students from several places?)

What are these groups?

What are the differences among them?



What is your impression of or attitude towards the people in these Chinese groups ?

(e) Interaction among Chinese students:

Which group do you associate with most? (Whom do you discuss your personal problems with, have lunch, dinner, play outdoor games?)

Are you a member of the Chinese Students' Association, the South East Asia Society, the Afro-Caribbean Society? If not, why not? If yes, why did you join?

Do you think it is necessary to have this kind of club or association so that you have a better chance to meet people with whom you have things in common?

(f) Language ability:

How many languages or dialects can you speak, write, read or understand?

How, where, from whom did you learn these languages or dialects?

What is the Chinese language or dialect spoken in your homeland?

What language was used in your primary and high school?

Which language do you want your children to learn and to use?

(g) Knowledge of Chinese culture:

Would you name famous figures in Chinese history, as many as you can?

Would you name works of Chinese literature, as many as you can?

What Chinese customs, traditions, values do you know or appreciate?

Would you tell me the representatives or symbols of China, as many as you know?

(h) Identity:

In Canada, do you regard yourself as a new Canadian or as Chinese?

Do you think of yourself as Chinese or as Hong Kong Chinese (or Malaysian, Singapore, Taiwan Chinese etc.)?

What country or place do you feel you belong to?

Would you estimate the strength of your identity?

Do you plan to go back to your homeland or do you plan to stay?

### 3. The Sample

#### (a) Composition of the Chinese Students on Campus

Determining the number of Chinese students on campus was the first problem, since there were no available statistics I could use as a reference. The first step was to get a list of names and student numbers of all students at McMaster. I obtained the 1973 student list from the Registrar. The next problem was to try to pick out the Chinese students by name. Uncertainty arose from the different ways of spelling a Chinese name in the European alphabet as well as in the different Chinese dialects; for example, Wu, Gou, Ng represent the same Chinese surname. I could therefore not arrive at a complete list by using only the English translations of names in Mandarin (my own dialect) but used the help of two friends who speak two other Chinese dialects and supplied me with the alternate spellings of the names. In addition, I used the membership list of the Chinese Students' Association. With all of these aids, I acquired a list of 512 students who, according to their names, were Chinese.

However, further information was necessary to determine whether they were actually Chinese and where they came from. For this reason, their student numbers were punched on computer cards so that I could obtain their student record from the Registrar's Office. The following shows what kind of information the student record provides:

McMASTER UNIVERSITY - STUDENT RECORD				PRINT DATE				A			
NAME				SEX	CITY	PR.	CNTRY	CNTY.	STUDENT NUMBER		
PERM. ADDR.											
MAIL. ADDR.				G S F F R B R N							
PRE. McM. SUBJECTS				DATE OF BIRTH		PERSONAL					
				CITY		MAR.	NO. BR & SIS	OLDER			
				PROV.		NAT. LANG.					
				CNTRY.		CITIZ.					
				COUNTY		IMMIG. STAT.					
				RELIGION		S.I.N.					
				BIRTH DATE		FAMILY STATISTICS		OCCUP.		H/S UNIV.	
				FATHER							
				MOTHER							

I submitted the 512 names to the computer, but only 487 were returned with a student record; 4.8% of the records were missing. The personnel of the Registrar's Office suggested that it was possible that the missing students had registered but had not handed in their student record form or that they had made mistakes such as losing cards or punching errors. In 27 cases out of the 487, I was unsure whether they were Chinese or Canadian, for some Chinese names correspond to English names, Lee, for example, and some English names like Orr are similar to Chinese names. In 40 other cases, the information on the student record card was incomplete.

Of these 67 uncertain cases, 43 were excluded after phone calls and letters. Thus, I finally arrived at the following data on the distribution of the Chinese students according to place of origin:

CB	HK	MS	TW	WI	Indet- ermin- ate	Total
18	332	28	11	32	23	444

Note: CB : Canadian-born Chinese  
 HK : Hong Kong Chinese  
 MS : Malaysia and Singapore Chinese  
 TW : Taiwan Chinese  
 WI : West Indian Chinese

This classification according to place of origin means that they spent most of their life in that place, although they were not necessarily born there.

#### (b) The Difficulties in Getting a Sample

Getting a definite sample was the next problem I had to resolve. I soon discovered how difficult it was to approach and interview Chinese students when he or she did not know me. In several cases I only received the reply that they had no time or that they were not interested in sociological research. Others turned me down for reasons like "I am not a proper sample" or "I am a special case" or "That kind of research is not at all meaningful".

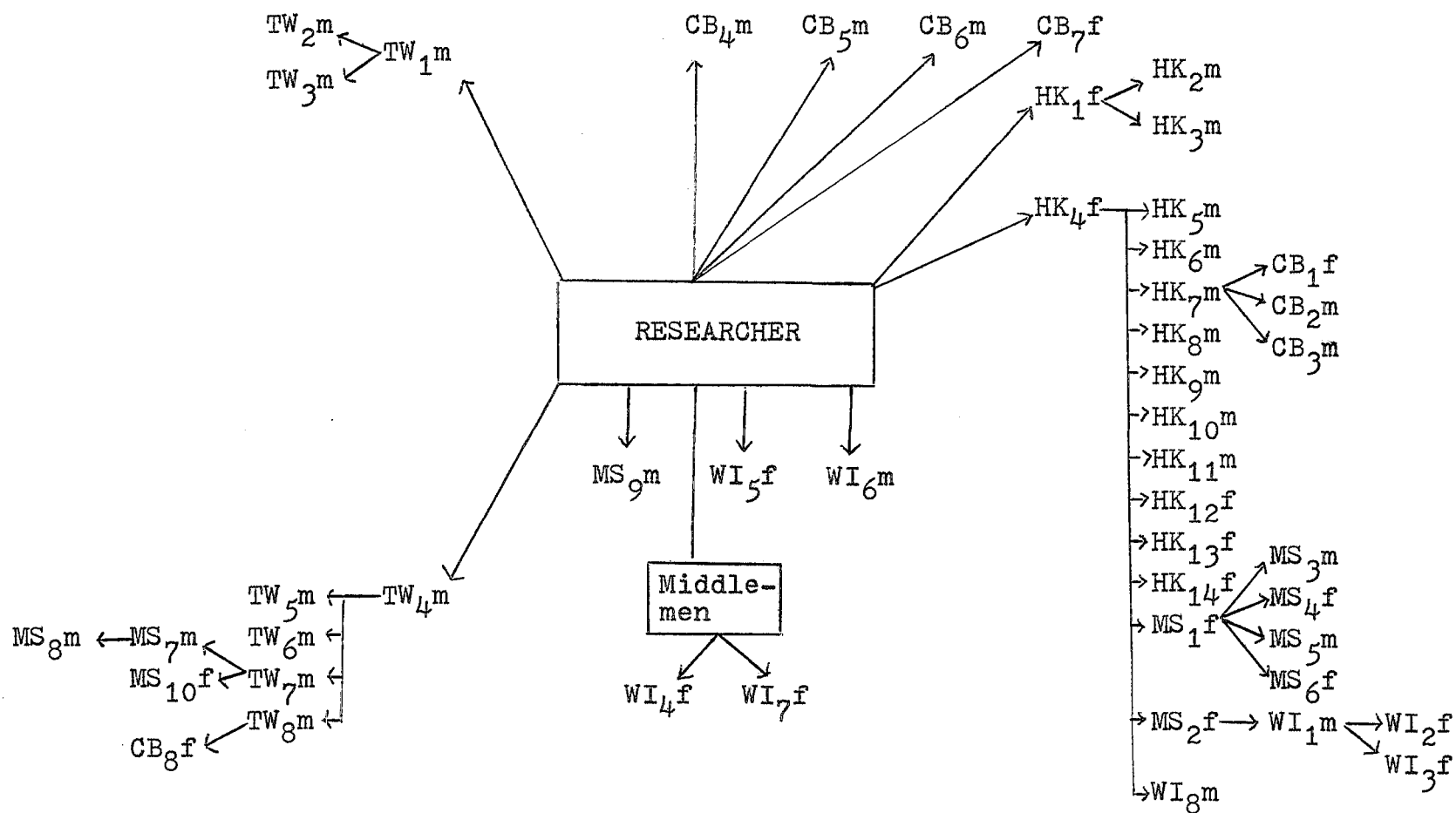
Due to the lack of studies of this subject, it was difficult for me to see the reasons for their attitude; how-

ever, through personal contact I found that the Chinese students are generally slow to commit themselves to anything new or unfamiliar. Especially in an alien country, distrust against strangers is very strong. The fact that I myself am Chinese was not in itself a reason for trust. I was always identified with the Taiwanese, a point which will later become clear for its significance. Another reason for their reluctance to be interviewed may be the fear that what they say may be used against them. In addition, they may be restrained by their cultural tradition, e.g. regarding privacy, which discourages talking about oneself, and by the fact that they were not familiar with interviews.

I found that of the five groups with which I had to deal the CB were the most cooperative. Although some of them did not know me before, none rejected the request for an interview when I contacted them by phone or by letter. The only Chinese student who voluntarily introduced me to two others was a CB. The rest were normally uninterested or reluctant to introduce me to potential informants. Unfortunately, there are not many CB on campus, but their openness was of great assistance. One must, of course, take into account that, unlike the other Chinese, they were not visiting aliens in a foreign country. The students from Malaysia and Singapore (MS) were likewise most cooperative, although none volunteered to help me meet other Chinese. Less helpful were the students from Hong Kong (HK) and the

West Indies. The latter did not respond to any of the letters I mailed to them with the request for an interview. Although one would have thought that it would be easy to obtain interviews with the HK, on account of their large number, quite a few of them rejected both me and my middleman. Since I was a member of the TW group, I received the most help from them.

Initially, I had planned to establish a listing of all Chinese students at McMaster and to draw a random sample from this group. However, given the difficulties just outlined, I had to abandon the idea. As a Chinese, I know that the best way to establish social contact with other Chinese is to find a middleman who can be a human link between me and my informant. He would introduce me to his friends and explain my purpose. An important factor in this approach is that the middleman speaks the informant's dialect. Being contacted by the middleman places the informant under an obligation to trust me and to cooperate with me, and this bond of trust is something valuable and meaningful for him. With this method, I achieved the following results: A HK girl introduced me to two other girls from Malaysia and Singapore and to a boy from the West Indies. These, in turn, contacted other informants and introduced them to me. The following diagram illustrates the network of contacts which produced the final sample:



CB : Canadian-born Chinese  
 HK : Hong Kong Chinese  
 MS : Malaysia and Singapore Chinese  
 TW : Taiwan Chinese  
 WI : West Indian Chinese

m : male  
 f : female  
 numbers 1, 2, 3 etc. indicate  
 sequence of encounter

In the following diagram, the kind of contact (direct request or middleman) by which a sample was obtained is set in relationship to the place of origin of the subjects contacted (by number of subjects):

Respondents' place of origin	Respondent obtained by	
	Direct Request	Middleman
Canada	4	4
Hong Kong	2	12
Malaysia & Singapore	1	9
Taiwan	2	6
West Indies	2	6
Total (Percentage)	11 (23%)	37 (77%)

As these figures show, the majority of the subjects from MS, HK, TW, and WI had to be obtained through middlemen, and half of my subjects of the CB were acquired through direct request by me.

(c) The Final Sample and Its General Characteristics

Two factors influenced the selection of a Chinese student as a member in the final sample. One was the desirability of having a representative number of subjects



from each of the five groups of Chinese students. So, at a certain stage in the collection of samples, further potential respondents from HK and MS had to be ignored, while the middlemen were encouraged to find other subjects from CB, WI, and TW. Since interviewing is a time-consuming process, the number of those included in the final sample had, by necessity, to be small. Through middlemen and personal contacts by phone and mail, a total of 48 Chinese students came to constitute the final sample to be interviewed. Of these, 8 were CB, 14 HK, 10 MS, 8 TW, and 8 WI. A second factor was that the subjects had to have a sufficient amount of experiences and a certain degree of familiarity with life in Canada in order to be able to answer my questions. Chinese who had not lived in Canada for at least a year were therefore excluded. The next two tables illustrate these two factors.

SAMPLE vs. TOTAL GROUP SIZE

	CB	HK	MS	TW	WI	Indet- ermin- able	Total
Group Size	18	332	28	11	32	23	444
Percent	4.1	74.8	6.3	2.5	7.2	5.2	100.1
Sample	8	14	10	8	8	1	48
Percent	16.7	29.2	20.8	16.7	16.7	1	100.1

TOTAL SAMPLE BY AVERAGE LENGTH  
OF STAY IN CANADA

	CB	HK	MS	TW	WI
Stay in Canada (years)	21.5	3.22	2.8	3.25	3.5

The following tables will indicate sex, average age of the subjects in each group (volunteers for this study were not restricted because of sex or age).

TOTAL SAMPLE BY SEX

	CB	HK	MS	TW	WI
F	3	5	5	0	5
M	5	9	5	8	3

TOTAL SAMPLE BY AGE

	CB	HK	MS	TW	WI
Age	21.5	22.57	22.8	31.5	22.63

### Chapter III

#### CHINESE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES WITH CANADIANS

Chinese students, through their interaction with Canadians, will develop an image of what Canadians are like. To find out what this image is like, I shall ask the following question of my interviewees: What do you regard as typical for Canadians? I shall try to find out if all Chinese students see the same traits in Canadians or whether they produce different stereotypes, for example, regarding the question of discrimination. I shall further try to explore what their reactions to such experiences are and whether they are determined or influenced by previously held ideas. Another question will be that of the interaction patterns between Chinese and Canadians. The responses given in the interviews have been collected in this chapter and will be treated as a representative sample of Chinese students' attitudes. I have organized my data in the following order: (1) the students' general views of Canadians; (2) their actual experiences with individual Canadians; (3) the influence of these experiences and views on their present and future interaction with Canadians.

##### 1. General Views of Canadians

When asked, "What do you think of Canadians?", none

of the Chinese students refused to respond, nor did they say that they did not know Canadians well enough or that there were too many differences among Canadians. There were no such common misgivings, and they were willing to provide their views on the subject. It is noteworthy that they made their responses without inhibitions, probably because they felt more at ease with me as a person of their own background than they would have with a foreigner. Their responses to the question of their general view of Canadians demonstrated a great variety of opinions and considerable differences in details. Some thought that Canadians were honest and hard-working; others thought that they were dishonest, casual, and care-free. The variety of specific traits attributed to Canadians is illustrated by the following examples.

WI<sub>2</sub>: Canadians take life too serious. They working hard. Some people even take several jobs at the same time.

MS<sub>1</sub>: I found Canadians are more care-free. They take everything easy.

WI<sub>6</sub>: Here, Canadians are more conservative. They working hard. It seems they are busy earning money and saving money, that style of life. They like stability and security. They respect each other more.

HK<sub>12</sub>: Canadians are open. Especially their attitude towards sex and drugs is much more open than ours. They dare to go straight.

HK<sub>4</sub>: Canadians are more exposed to new values, new things. They are more independent, casual. They have individuality which fewer Chinese have.

HK<sub>3</sub>: I think, Canadians are more honest than we are; for example, you meet a lot of people downtown. They get things and pay the money. They do most things by themselves in an honest way.

- TW<sub>7</sub>: After coming over, I found they are not moral. Many people are cheating and take things without paying. That gives me a very bad impression.
- HK<sub>2</sub>: I don't like them. They always ask us to tell them the truth, what we think about them, and that they won't mind if we say anything bad about them. Actually, they do mind. They don't like the truth. They are not honest. Next time you better not tell them what you really think about them. They won't like it.
- HK<sub>11</sub>: It was a shock to me that Canadians are so independent. What I mean by independent is that they can make their own project and finish it by themselves. They create new things and take the responsibility by themselves.
- TW<sub>1</sub>: When you meet a Canadian, if you ask him, "how is doing", he always says, "fine, fine, a very productive day". They use the word "productive". From this you can tell they are very utilitarian.
- CB<sub>3</sub>: It is the varieties, economic and cultural, I like best about Canada. From the West to the East, the agricultural products vary from province to province. Culturally, Canada is a country composed by different people, French, British, Greek, Italian, Ukrainian, etc. It is good to have their influence on Canada, and people can share different cultures.
- CB<sub>7</sub>: They lack some sort of solidarity. They don't like Americans. Americans unite themselves more or less into one and root down to America. But Canadians don't. They are regionalistic. They don't really integrate, and they are slow and conservative. They want to have a family, buy a house, have a car, and settle down in one spot and work for one company for thirty or forty years till they retire. They just want security, stability; stay in one place, keep distance from others.

The discrepancies in these views are obviously coloured by the individual's personal experience and temperament which influence his or her evaluation and expectation regarding the people they meet. Another reason for the discrepancies may be that the sample size was not large enough to show any pattern.

## 2. Specific Experiences with Individual Canadians

Although there is thus diversity and a seeming lack of consensus concerning the Canadian character, I found that all Chinese students agree about their experiences with two specific traits of their hosts, namely impersonality and discrimination. Only one student praised Canadians for their warmth and friendliness. "I would say, Canadians are more friendly. If you know them, Chinese and Canadians are both friendly. If you don't know them, it is easier to make friends with Canadians."(HK<sub>10</sub>). Other than this one comment there are only negative ones. They run as follows:

MS<sub>3</sub>: Canadians, they keep distance from you. They will ask you to have a cup of coffee together, but after that, we won't know each other.

TW<sub>5</sub>: In Taiwan people like to have guests at home. They are more human. Here is different. They seldom invite people to their home. You can say hello, talking about the weather, but nothing else. They may be kind, helpful, but you feel it is very hard to break into their cycle of life.

Another basic complaint is the limited scope for interaction with Canadians, namely that contacts are restricted to classrooms and the campus and do not continue outside the university into the Canadians' private life. The theme of impersonality is expressed in a variety of ways, e.g. in these terms: "superficial friendship", "Judy friendship", "artificial friendship", "shallow friendship", "hello friendship", "coolness", "indifference", "not human", "lack of warmth", "never going deeper with people", "seldom concerned

for others", "weak human relationships", "keeping distance".

The respondents found varying reasons for the impersonality of Canadians, for example, the differences in cultural and emotional conditioning:

- TW<sub>7</sub>: The basic difference between Chinese at home and Canadians is that Chinese emphasize human relationships; people are more intimate with each other. People here are different. They struggle by themselves. They never ask help from friends or neighbours. They are trained to be independent. Chinese depend more on their family and friends. Help from friends is very common. But here, they seldom depend on others.
- HK<sub>1</sub>: It seems they are close to each other. They embraced as they saw each other. As a matter of fact, they knew nothing about each other, nor did they have a further relationship. They will forget each other after a short time. It is a kind of superficial, artificial friendship. We Chinese seldom touch physically, and we are not trained to behave like this. But this doesn't mean we have no affection for each other. On the contrary, we are more sincere and closer to each other.

Most respondents accepted impersonality as an aspect of the cultural differences between Chinese and Canadians.

- MS<sub>10</sub>: But we got to know that they want privacy. They like to live by themselves and seldom talk to bother each other. Actually, you can say, they respect each other's privacy. Eventually, there will be distance between them.

One student was frightened by the experience:

- MS<sub>4</sub>: Do you think people here are more impersonal? They can ignore you even if you appear in front of them. It seems you do not exist at all. Sometime I feel afraid, because I feel that I learned this indifference from them after having been here for more than a year.

If impersonality is the one point on which there was general agreement among the Chinese students, prejudice and discrimination represent the other. Both contribute to a generally negative view of Canadians with little or nothing

on the positive side.<sup>1</sup>

I was surprised that the students were so frank in describing experiences of discrimination and prejudice. Since they were humiliating to them, one would have thought that they would wish to keep them secret. This openness may have been influenced by the fact that I myself am Chinese and could be expected to sympathize with them, sharing their indignation and frustration.

Of all 48 subjects, 37 strongly complained of discrimination, 7 mentioned only minor discrimination,<sup>2</sup> and 4 had not experienced any. Below are samples of the attitudes taken by the students after their experiences.

MS<sub>2</sub>: Discrimination cannot be eliminated, but if you mean, did I encounter it, I don't think so. Sometimes we feel some Canadians are not so friendly, but we may meet those persons at home, too.

TW<sub>7</sub>: Here people are more conservative. They have ruled against discrimination, but, in fact, you can still feel it, though they don't show it. Especially, they may be influenced by the British: they feel superior.

<sup>1</sup>The early Chinese immigrants were discriminated against by legislation which denied them the right to vote, restricted their entry into Canada, reduced their eligibility for employment, and excluded them from professions. After a long struggle for equality, they succeeded in eliminating the legal basis for discrimination, but this has not necessarily led to the elimination of individual discrimination.

<sup>2</sup>The degree of discrimination was described in such terms as, "not really", "not seriously", "subtly", "they won't say it right out", "yes, one or two cases, but not much", "occasionally".



WI<sub>4</sub>: At home, if you have high economic status, you may not experience so much discrimination. Money means something. But here it means nothing. They won't accept it. We are physically distinctive, not like Ukrainians, Italians, etc. At least they are white. It is not so easy to tell. We are Chinese. Once they see us, they can tell. It is so obvious and natural. They won't accept you.

WI<sub>5</sub>: Canadians, they are extremely discriminating. They are prejudiced against you. They try to take advantage of you. They never go deep with you. They laugh at you behind your back. They won't accept you really. I found Canada is an extremely discriminatory country. They discriminate against you, but they never say it out, but you can feel it. I hate to see a Chinese try to mix with Canadians. I really hate to see that. Because they won't accept Chinese. They are not real friends. They have a kind of superiority.

Acts of discrimination were experienced in a variety of settings. Discrimination from people in the street is the most common kind. In such cases, the Canadian who is the source of discrimination has the advantage of being able to hide behind his anonymity. He gives little thought to the damage being done to those whom he belittles thoughtlessly. Having already experienced loneliness and alienation due to the impersonality of Canadian life, the Chinese student's apprehensions are increased by his encounter with such open or disguised hostility.

MS<sub>6</sub>: One night, about twelve o'clock, one of my friends was on her way home. There was a man driving the car, several kids in his car. They pass by; then the child used a toy gun with water to shoot her. Then, you guess what happened? They turned around and came again to shoot her.

HK<sub>12</sub>: Another case was once in Toronto, when I was on the way to the bus terminal. A lot of high school kids, they laugh at me and call me "Chinese whore".

Stores, restaurants, and similar places which serve the public, are also settings for occurrences of this kind. Of our sample, 9 had had experiences with discrimination in these places; however, they vary considerably, depending on the persons involved.

MS<sub>10</sub>: I have a friend. One day he went to his apartment, but he had forgotten the keys. He pushed the doorbell and got in and sat there. Then a guy came over and said, "You are not a tenant here. Get out." My friend kept quiet and ignored him. The guy said, "Get out. You are not a tenant here. If you are don't go out. I will get the superintendent." My friend got mad. "Look, I have been here legally for six months. If you want to call the superintendent, go right ahead." Then the guy went away.

MS<sub>4</sub>: In the restaurant you felt discrimination. Those servants did not serve us well. That's because we Chinese don't pay a good tip. If we pay ten dollars tip, sure, they will serve us quite well. That's true. I felt that. Sometimes, in the cafeteria, I am sure they have heard what I want, but deliberately they always ask you to speak again.

CB<sub>7</sub>: Sometimes, when I went shopping, you know they just look at you differently. Anyway, you can tell from the way they look at you.

Though it is generally believed that discrimination is much less in the university than in society in general, about 11 of the subjects related experiences with their classmates.

WI<sub>5</sub>: I didn't experience it myself, because, you know, I am not so typically Chinese, like the Chinese from the East. But I have seen them to criticize Chinese and discriminate against them. They said, they didn't like their behaviour, their laughing, their attitude, their quiet. They don't like Chinese. They make fun of them. That was the first time I lived in a dorm. They said that in front of me. They said, they don't like Chinese, and they will say that they treat me as a non-Chinese.

MS<sub>4</sub>: Some of my classmates, we have been in the same course for a long time, since last September ... but every-

time when we meet, they just ignore you. They even pretend that they didn't see you or say hello to you. It seems we are strangers. Another example, one day one of my friends asked me if I had finished reading an article. Before I answered her, a Canadian boy turned round and answered for me, "Even if she wants to, she can't."

HK<sub>3</sub>: Canadians, they don't like us, because we get high marks. For example, last year Christmas exam. I got first place in my class. One of my classmates said he didn't like me and got angry with me. He often said about me, "He doesn't even know how to speak English." But when my teacher asked any question, he always pointed at me and said, "Ask him."

CB<sub>8</sub>: I was sitting there, waiting for a friend. There was a boy there who also played the piano. Then he stopped and just stared at me. I felt embarrassed and asked him why he stared at me. He answered, "I never talk to Chinese", then he turned his head.

There were also references to possible signs of prejudice in the behaviour of faculty members. However, they are not conclusive, as we see from the following:

HK<sub>14</sub>: I have been told there is a professor in our department. He won't answer the questions in detail when he answers Chinese students, as he does for Canadians. I don't know how true it is.

CB<sub>1</sub>: Sometimes you just don't know the teacher -- if they like you or not. It is hard to know their attitude.

Although possessing the proper visa for staying in Canada, Chinese students who are about to graduate and start looking for a job frequently encounter job discrimination. Some of the students I interviewed reported experiences made by friends which seemed to them convincing evidence:

CB<sub>5</sub>: One of my friends worked in a company. He said, "those British will be promoted very soon, no matter what qualifications they have. As for Chinese, they are always at the same position. You will find it happen quite often when you start to work."

TW<sub>7</sub>: One of my friends graduated two years ago. According to his level, he is qualified for several jobs which he has applied for. But he didn't get any. It is obvious there is discrimination. It is easier for Canadians to look for a job. I am going to graduate, and I am sure I will have a hard time to find a job.

Others reported discrimination which they themselves had experienced:

HK<sub>2</sub>: When I looked for a job, they just looked at me. They could tell from my face I am a Chinese. They express that they don't like Chinese.

WI<sub>4</sub>: Last month I applied for a job in a French restaurant. Before I went, I made a phone call. The boss was a lady. She used French to talk to me. You know, if my French hadn't been good enough, she wouldn't have asked me for an interview the next day. Then, when I did go, as soon as she saw me, she tried to find some excuses, and then she interviewed others, but not me.

WI<sub>1</sub>: When I applied for a job, I didn't know what was required. I have no experience and haven't been there before. When I apply, they will say "No Vacancy". But another one, a Canadian, I know him, they accepted his application and gave him an interview immediately. Of course, I know there is discrimination.

MS<sub>4</sub>: I was so fed up looking for jobs. In my class half are Chinese and half are Canadian. The top students are all Chinese. The Canadians are not so good as the Chinese. So far, only one Chinese got a job, but seven (out of eleven) Canadians got jobs already. We are smart, but no one employs us. There is a lot of discrimination, obviously. I was really fed up. It is unfair. I am going home for good.

As these statements point out, the difficulty of procuring a job arises not because of lack of qualifications, but because these students are Chinese. For example, the statement above referring to the job in a French restaurant indicates that discriminatory hiring practices become more obvious when the initial interview is by telephone, when the prospective employer cannot see the applicant. On seeing

him in person, the employer clearly showed her embarrassment at having acknowledged the Chinese as potential employee equal to a white person.

I have illustrated by these examples in which places and in what manner Chinese students are most likely to encounter discrimination and prejudice. It seems, in fact, that there is no one setting in which such experiences are impossible. Even in churches Chinese students found that it is difficult to be accepted as equal among other Christians. One of my friends once said to me, "Do you know that there will be a Chinese church in Hamilton?" When I asked her, "Why do you say that? Don't most of you usually go to ... church?", she replied:

Yes, but still, the church people usually treat us differently. We go there and want to participate and share the responsibility as well. But they never ask us to teach Sunday school, for example. I shouldn't say it is discrimination. Maybe, they are only considerate. Actually, they treat us too good, like a guest. But we don't feel like members. They think perhaps we Chinese are going to stick together again when we have our church. As a matter of fact, there is a church girl who said that to me. But we don't form a group on purpose. We don't mean to.

This comment illustrates clearly that it is not so much the open act of discrimination but the general attitude of Canadians which creates the impression of prejudice and discrimination for the Chinese student. Of course, there are some who, because of their previous experiences, look with jaundiced eyes even upon innocent gestures and behav-

iour as signs of discrimination against them; however, as is evident from the above mentioned samples, there is undoubted proof for its existence. One must further consider that it is immaterial whether an act or remark was meant to be discriminatory or not, for regardless of the Canadians' intentions, the suffering of the victim is very real and destroys the possibility for his playing a positive social role in the host society ( Thomas, 1973).

Having discussed the manner in which Chinese students experience discrimination, let us now look at the strategies they use to deal with this experience. My samples indicate that Chinese students employ more than one way of handling discrimination, contrary to B. L. Sung's thesis that "withdrawal" is the only way in which Chinese deal with this problem (1967).

One way of dealing with such experiences is to ignore it, but this causes a good deal of frustration in some cases. One student said, for example, "What can I say, since I live in their country and use their money for education?" Another said similarly, "What can I say if I want to settle down here?" In some cases, the frustration is disguised as careless indifference, e.g., "I don't care. I just don't care", "I just ignore it as if nothing had happened", "I don't say anything, just let it be."

By rationalizing discrimination as a fact of human nature, some students have adopted another strategy of deal-

ing with their unpleasant experiences.

CB<sub>4</sub>: That is a kind of thing I am used to. What can you do? I am used to it. Sometimes I don't even feel it is an insult, just a statement.

HK<sub>8</sub>: I keep quiet. It is what the Chinese people always do. I can't change my colour, but I don't want to look like them. I like to be what I am.

HK<sub>7</sub>: I keep quiet, because I know discrimination is just one of the problems human beings have. Even if we can get rid of discrimination, there are still a lot of troubles in the world. Besides, even Canadians are discriminated against. If you are rich, look pretty, they look up to you. If you are poor, people discriminate against you. Why do I have to bother? It is not a problem I can solve.

WI<sub>6</sub>: I ignore it. I don't think it is serious. You know, any minority would be treated like that. It could happen anywhere.

Other students, unlike the previous ones, acknowledged the painfulness of their experience with discrimination, as well as the feelings of humiliation and helplessness that result from it.

CB<sub>7</sub>: I was really hurt, on the edge of tears. I was really hurt, because I was too small to know anything about discrimination. I just knew I looked different from others.

Another subject reacted similarly:

HK<sub>12</sub>: I felt very upset. If I had been at home, I am sure it wouldn't happen to me. I am sure.

The strong emotional reaction felt by students of this category expressed itself in such phrases as, "I got to hate them", "I am disgusted", "I can't endure it. I just can't endure it. Nobody should stand it, because it is nobody's fault that they are a certain colour."

A third way of dealing with discrimination proved to be the adoption of an attitude of ethnocentrism, i.e. passive acceptance of the actual situation combined with a stress on their own superiority to Canadians.

CB<sub>5</sub>: I just let it pass. Actually, it is their loss if they don't hire Chinese, because most Chinese are responsible, hard-working, and intelligent.

TW<sub>1</sub>: In fact, I look down on Canadians, though I didn't say it out. They can find thousands of reasons to justify their discrimination against others. It seems they have the right, the privilege, to discriminate against people. They might be shocked if they knew that others discriminate against them. I am yellow, they are white, so they think they are superior. But they lack knowledge and intelligence. I feel sorry for them.

HK<sub>2</sub>: Why do they discriminate against us? Because we are smart. You know most Chinese are intelligent. We get good marks in school. They don't like our smartness, although they know it is a fact. No one likes to be inferior to anyone, especially to foreigners. They think, we should work in the kitchen. You know, like the earlier immigrants who had no skill, no knowledge, so most of them worked in restaurants. Canadians don't like it when we have a higher salary than they have. They can't accept it. They will say, "How can those Chinese have a higher position than we Canadians?"

CB<sub>7</sub>: I have worked for a Chinese. There were four Chinese and one "outsider" working for him. According to what he said, he preferred Chinese working for him. He discriminated against Canadians just like they discriminate against us.

Finally, discrimination was met by "talking back" at the aggressor. The following statements show how some students had reacted or intended to react:

WI<sub>5</sub>: If they say something to me, I answer that it is a culture difference. If they think I am inferior, then I tell them that is the same way I think of them.

MS<sub>5</sub>: If it happened to me, I would get mad, very angry, even do violence to him. I don't care.



MS<sub>1</sub>: I'll let him feel guilty. I want to let him know how stupid it is to discriminate against someone, and I really want to show him and prove that I can do what he thinks I can't do. I want to change his attitude.

However, no matter which mechanism the subjects of this study employed, there was no evidence of self-hate or a defeatist attitude. In fact, many offered suggestions for the improvement of the relationship between Canadians and Chinese.

MS<sub>9</sub>: The best way to handle it is to let them know that you are as good as they are, no matter what colour you have.

TW<sub>6</sub>: I think Canadians should make efforts to mix more with foreigners.

HK<sub>12</sub>: The way to react is to give them a good impression and to show them we are responsible, capable, self-disciplined; any good feature to let them know we are good, and there is no reason to discriminate against us.

HK<sub>7</sub>: I don't think Canadians know too much about Chinese. They don't know us. Maybe they should communicate with us more often. Then they will know us more.

### 3. Influence of their Experiences on their Present and Future Interaction with Canadians

As we shall see next, the experience of impersonality, social distance in personal relationships, and of racial prejudice in the society at large lead further to the consequence of disturbing social interaction and integration between Chinese students and Canadians. Questions on their cross-marriage attitudes substantiate this point, especially with regard to the possibility of a permanent relationship with Canadians in the future.

Although they believed that marriage should be based on love rather than race or anything else, most Chinese students would not consider cross-marriage with non-Chinese. I found that there were two possible responses to my question, "Do you think Chinese should only marry Chinese?" One kind of response was based on consideration of the problem as a general question. It concluded that, all things considered, marriage should be based on love and could transcend racial barriers, for example, "If we love each other, then we should overcome all difficulties"; "If we can match, why not?"; "as long as our personality can fit each other it is ok". For these students, cross-marriage is theoretically acceptable. When it was suggested they should view cross-marriage as a personal proposition, their responses expressed a different view, such as, "marriage is supposed to be based on love instead of nationality or race, but I don't think I will get married to a non-Chinese"; "people should get married to a person they love. The race or colour is not relevant. So, I rather get married to a Chinese." It is thus obvious that they would not accept cross-marriage when they are personally confronted with the possibility.

In terms of the entire sample, there were 5 who accepted cross-marriage both in theory and for themselves, 39 who accepted cross-marriage in theory but not for themselves, and 4 who did not have a definite view on either possibility.

One reason given for their rejection of cross-marriages is racist, namely that they spoil the pure Chinese blood. One student, for example, said,

I am firmly against cross-marriage. I am Chinese. I am proud to be Chinese. I would like my descendants to be pure Chinese. What will they look like if a Chinese gets married to a Canadian. He is not white nor yellow. I can't stand it at all. Maybe I have a very strong ethnic or country consciousness.

Another said,

For the children's own good. If a Chinese married with a Canadian girl, their kids won't be pure Chinese any more.

Another reason is lack of a common understanding or cultural background, a point stressed by 14 of our sample.

MS<sub>1</sub>: Yes, of course I will get married with Chinese only. That will make life more easy.

CB<sub>1</sub>: Before I didn't care. Now I know the cultural barrier. I think it is better to marry a Chinese.

HK<sub>7</sub>: If she has her own culture and I have my own, either one has to sacrifice his culture. I won't sacrifice mine. It is impossible to get rid of. So why get extra troubles?

TW<sub>4</sub>: If it happens to me, I do mind. First, you can't ignore the language difficulties. The communication must be limited to a certain extent. Second, the culture background leads to a difference in their life experience. Relatively speaking, they have less to share. This phenomenon is the same as the gap between Chinese students and Canadian students with the very superficial level of friendship.

Given these cultural differences, Chinese students fear that they will be the losers, namely that they would be forced to give up their cultural background in favour of that of their Canadian partners.

TW<sub>3</sub>: Cross-marriage won't have a good ending. Unless a Chinese would like to give up his own culture and learn to admire the western culture, because they usually won't give up theirs and would expect us to change our living style or customs in order to adopt theirs.

The aloofness and racism of Canadians also influence the attitudes of Chinese students towards inter-marriage. For these reasons, some Chinese students did not even explain why they would not or should not marry a Canadian but simply assumed that it was a total impossibility. From their experience they have drawn the conclusion that any close personal relationship with Canadians is closed to them.

MS<sub>2</sub>: But you know, I don't think it is easy to learn another culture and adopt their culture. We all know we should try to mix with Canadian students since we have been in Canada. It should be two--way. No matter how much effort you make, you can't be a real close friend with them, if they show no interest or don't like to associate with you at all. So, gradually, you will withdraw from interacting with them. That is why Blacks stick with Blacks, Italians stick with Italians, Ukrainians stick with Ukrainians. So do the Chinese. That is not without reason. Just no way for you to go deep.

Dating a Canadian girl is therefore regarded as unlikely.

TW<sub>5</sub>: It is very hard for us to chase after Canadian girls. Some of them show their superiority and don't want to make friends with Chinese. We can't even mix well with Canadians. What would the ending be, if we got married? I wonder if I will.

CB<sub>2</sub>: We had less chance to date Canadian girls. Their parents won't allow them to date Chinese or Spaniards, Italians, etc.

The previously described experiences with Canadians result thus in the fact that the majority of Chinese stud-

ents neither would nor could marry anyone except another Chinese. Speculating on their chances for a future marriage in the light of their present social relationships, 39 (81%) of our sample have definitely excluded the possibility of selecting a Canadian partner. Some (15) believe that Chinese and Canadians are too different from each other culturally; others (13) emphasize the impersonality and prejudice of Canadians against Chinese. Only 2 reject cross-marriage for the sake of keeping the Chinese heritage pure. The remaining 9 subjects reject cross-marriage without any explanation of their reasons.

▷ From the data presented thus far we may also assume that the students' responses to the question of their social interaction with Canadians will clearly reflect the limited extent of it. There was only one Chinese in our sample who said that he had more Canadian friends than Chinese. His answer was, "I like Canadians. They are nice" (CB). Two subjects stated that they have friends from a variety of places.

WI<sub>7</sub>: Some are Canadians, some Indians from India, and West Indians. Some are Chinese.

MS<sub>6</sub>: Actually, I have a lot of different friends. Canadians, black peoples, West Indians, Singaporeans, Malays. What I mean by "friends", they are real good friends.

Two other Chinese students reported their close relationship with both Canadians and Chinese.

CB<sub>3</sub>: Both. I have a couple of close Chinese friends.

Some of them I still keep contact with them.

CB<sub>6</sub>: Most Chinese friends are my high school friends. Some of them are my neighbours. Sure, I have some close Canadian friends.

However, most of the responses reflected the negative aspects of the students' experience with Canadian impersonality and discrimination which prevented any development of close friendships between them and Canadians. Accordingly, it appeared that most of their close friends were Chinese, even though some may have one or two close Canadian friends. The following statements may serve as illustration of the situation.

TW<sub>7</sub>: Canadians? You must be kidding. You know most of the time Chinese get together. They [i.e. Canadians] never go deep with you. X, he is a special case. He mixed with us Chinese quite often. But not other Canadians.

HK<sub>1</sub>: Canadians. We make fun together, but we are not real friends. I think those who can really make friends with Canadians have to sacrifice something and accept the way they treat us, because they never think to accept us unless we accept them. That means they reject us. They won't accept what we are.

MS<sub>8</sub>: Close friends are all Chinese. I have only one real good Canadian friend. I am the only Chinese student in my department. So I almost mix up with them. But you know you can never get close to them. They say hello to you; we play hockey, tennis together, but never further. They said that there is no discrimination. In fact, if you go to . . . it is impossible to get close with them.

TW<sub>8</sub>: Maybe it is discrimination. You must know how difficult it is to participate in their group, no matter how hard you try. It seems that there is still a gap between us.

Finally, here is an example which illustrates a different attitude towards the fact that friendship with Canadians is usually impossible. Having expressed his agreement with the previous views, the subject concluded as follows:

HK<sub>1</sub>: Besides, it is not important to have Canadian friends, because to be accepted by them means to have become Canadian. What I have got from them will not be worth what I must sacrifice or give up. I won't regret that I have no Canadian friends, but I will regret if I have no real good Chinese friends.

To summarize this chapter, we have learned that a variety of traits were attributed to Canadians. The general characteristic appears to be impersonality or distance in personal relationships. In addition, experiences with racial prejudice and discrimination had made a deep impression on almost all the subjects. As a consequence, Chinese students share feelings of alienation and frustration caused by their encounters with Canadian society. The differences in their geographical origin made no difference as far as experiences of impersonality and discrimination are concerned. In a word, Canadians appear to treat them without any awareness of their individual differences. This fact is furthermore the reason for the lack of interaction between Canadians and Chinese. It was demonstrated by the Chinese students' views on inter-marriage. As we saw, the majority of them would not consider marriage with Canadians. Their views on this subject have been influenced by the negative experiences most of them had

when trying to make friends with other Canadian students.

The data presented thus far show a similarity in the experiences made by the Chinese students. These experiences have produced an image of Canadians which is common to all members of the group interviewed. Because of it, the subjects feel confirmed in their view that social interaction with Canadians is by and large impossible. We have to ask ourselves next, if, because of this situation, we can conclude that Chinese students can be considered as a distinct group with strong coherence. This is an idea held generally by outsiders, i.e. sociologist and society at large. I shall investigate this question in the following chapter, and we shall see whether the idea is justified.



## Chapter IV

### DIFFERENTIATION AMONG THE CHINESE STUDENTS

In inquiring into the relationships among the Chinese students themselves, we shall start with an exploration of the significance of their varied geographical origin and cultural background. In the following samples, we shall see that their negative experiences in Canada, which might lead to strong group consciousness, are counterbalanced by their internal differences. I shall present my data according to the following thematic scheme: (1) criteria of differentiation used by the Chinese students with regard to each other; (2) evaluation of differences among themselves by each individual group; (3) impact of these differences on social interaction among Chinese of varying geographical origin.

Contrary to what one would expect from the evidence of the earlier chapter, the interviewed persons did not consider their racial similarity with other Chinese a factor in the formation of their attitudes towards each other. Instead, it appears that place of origin is an important influence on the differentiation within the Chinese student body.

WI<sub>2</sub>: Sure, people from different places are more or less influenced by the country they have been in. We are all Chinese from the physical appearance, but we are very different from each other.

MS<sub>10</sub>: At home I always think I am Chinese, very sure of that. But when I came to North America, when I meet Taiwan Chinese, they will refer to me as "overseas Chinese". If I get together with Hong Kong Chinese, they refer to me as "South East Asia Chinese", as they know I come from Malaysia. So I came to feel I am not pure Chinese. Even if I do mix with them, I still feel different from them, though I can speak both their languages, Cantonese and Mandarin.

Whether the individual Chinese speaks one or another of the Chinese languages and dialects or not is another important criterion for differentiation, in addition to the difference in geographical origin.

TW<sub>6</sub>: Hong Kong Chinese, Malaysian and Singapore Chinese, Canadian Chinese, they are mutations of Chinese. They are not real legitimate Chinese. They don't even know how to speak Chinese, the official language. Psychologically and culturally, we are all different from each other.

This response shows further that the merely external criterion of geographical differentiation is an indicator of more subtle differences with regard to cultural and emotional conditioning. As the following samples show, the latter determines the degree of interaction among Chinese of various geographical origin.

CB<sub>4</sub>: Actually, Chinese from Hong Kong are different from us. I have some Chinese friends from Hong Kong. We are good friends, I mean our personalities. It is easy for us to get along well. But, still, they won't think I am one of their group. I felt it was difficult to get in as well.

TW<sub>2</sub>: Sure, they are different from each other, since they come from different places. You don't have to do an interview; you know the difference. If you don't, one interview will be enough. I am sure the rest would be the same. It is so natural, you know what the differences are, don't

you? At least you know they seldom associate with each other.

The next subject expressed her view on the division within the Chinese student body in a more positive manner.

HK<sub>14</sub>: I don't know how to say that, but it makes me feel more warm, happy, if I know there is a new-comer from my own place, because we can share more. Also I know there is a gap between Chinese from Hong Kong and Chinese from Taiwan. They segregate and seldom have contact with each other; you know that, don't you?

These quotations indicate that there is no such thing as a common bond of solidarity which would draw the various Chinese on campus together as a group. On the contrary, they divide themselves into five clearly separate groups, as the following will show: Canadian-born (CB), Hong Kong Chinese (HK), Malaysia and Singapore Chinese (MS), Taiwan Chinese (TW), and West Indian Chinese (WI).

We will find that not everyone of the interviewees classified the other Chinese according to the five-group scheme. Depending on their knowledge about the origins of the various Chinese on campus, they were only able to distinguish among those Chinese they were acquainted with. In other words, they may only be able to name two or three groups. In the following we shall see how each subsequent group confirms or modifies the views of the others regarding each other's differences.

# 1. Taiwan Chinese : their Classification of other Chinese Students

When asked from how many places the Chinese students they know come from and how they classify them, TW mentioned only HK and MS beside themselves. Only one TW mentioned CB. None was aware that there are students from the West Indies.

## (a) Their Image of HK

TW's attitude towards HK is divided between admiration for their greater professional competence and criticism of their lack of knowledge in matters of Chinese culture and tradition. Talking about the things he admires, one student said:

TW<sub>8</sub>: They are more open. Superior language competence in English coupled with stronger ties to overseas Chinese here facilitate their adaptation to Canadian society. As for handling interpersonal relationships, they are much smarter than Taiwan students.

The negative characteristics of HK, on the other hand, are described as follows:

Especially important, they are a group whose heart was stolen. It seems a cliché, because it is the inevitable outcome of colonial education. Their lingering uncertainty reflects this weakness. In Canada they don't have tomorrow [i.e. a future]. Tomorrow is green card and job for most Hong Kong students. They are materialistic. They are victims of materialism, but few are aware of that. They are seldom concerned about the future of Hong Kong. Another aspect of their weakness is their excellence in science instead of in deep thought. They act according to the "conductor's baton" [i.e. the British].

TW<sub>6</sub>: Honk Kong students are typical people of colony. They have no idea of ethnic identity, race, or country. They are sycophantic. They will cling to the stronger side. Once you become poor or weak, they will switch to the stronger side. Just as their attitude to Taiwan and Mainland China. They exaggerate the good points of Mainland and ignore or criticize Taiwan. They don't see anything good in Taiwan; neither do they see any bad thing in Mainland. As a matter of fact, both have their good and bad points. People from Hong Kong don't have justice. They only recognize money, because Hong Kong is a commercial city. They are not like us who emphasize personal integrity and uprightness. They do not. They are materialistic.

TW<sub>1</sub>: Hong Kong students, they think they are the real Chinese, "the general of the short people". Actually, what I think is: How could they think they are Chinese since they don't speak Mandarin, the official Chinese language? We are the typical legitimate Chinese. No matter what, we are the only ones who grew up and were educated in real Chinese society. They even believe Cantonese is Chinese. It is really ridiculous. We really know Chinese culture better than they do, but we don't show it off. Besides, they are the typical slaves of the British. If they can, they will get their British passport and try to identify with the British.

TW described HK further from the physical viewpoint as short and sloppy with unpleasant facial features. They mentioned also lack of integrity or subtlety, cunning, single-mindedness, and cheating or taking advantage of others as typical for HK. These traits are attributed to the social situation in Hong Kong, i.e. a high population density on a relatively small island and a modern, westernized society which makes them materialistic, money-oriented, and practical. They are said to help each other seldom, and their selfishness is said to go so far that they actually

dislike each other. TW do not regard HK as legitimate Chinese; not only because of their insufficient knowledge of Chinese culture and their lack of an ethnic identity and consciousness, but also because they do not speak the official Chinese language. To confirm the validity of these views, I shall mention a particular incident. When TW found out that one of their group was living with students from Hong Kong, their reaction was a mixture of doubt and disbelief: "Hong Kong students? Can you get along with them? I don't think I could. What do you do with them? What are you talking about?"<sup>1</sup>

(b) Their Image of MS

In contrast to the unfavourable view they hold of HK, TW see many positive characteristics in MS, for example, warm feeling, kindness, consideration, frankness, honesty, personal integrity, uprightness, good will, and generosity. TW<sub>6</sub>: Chinese from Malaysia and Singapore are more friendly,

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<sup>1</sup>Once I told two students from Hong Kong about these remarks. Their response was, "I am not surprized to hear that. Those traits are part of human nature. It can happen anywhere and to anyone, but, I agree, there is a higher probability of its happening to Hong Kong students, especially the point about cunning. That is because society conditioned them that way. It cannot be avoided." The other said, "I don't know. It is probably true. But one thing I don't like about Hong Kong people is urbanization and the business mentality."

kind, and considerate than people from Hong Kong. Besides these traditional Chinese virtues, they still have a strong idea of kinship. Therefore, they have more expression of kindness, gentle human feeling, good will.

In spite of this, TW do not regard MS as real Chinese and tend to treat them with condescension, because MS grew up in a society which TW consider only as part Chinese. MS are for this reason said to know less about Chinese traditions and culture than do TW. TW are, however, highly pleased with the fact that MS can speak Mandarin, although with a special accent, and for this reason MS rank high in the estimate of TW.

TW<sub>1</sub>: Sure, Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese, some of them graduate from Nanyang University. Then, they can speak Mandarin. It is easier to make friends with them, because they are a sort of simple people.

It appears from this sample that differences in geographical origin tend to be of less importance, if there is a common language and similar cultural and emotional attitudes in any two groups. By contrast, lack of a common bond on the basis of language or cultural tradition tends to increase the importance of geographical differences. This fact will also be confirmed below by the samples taken from the other geographical groups.

## 2. Hong Kong Chinese : their Classification of other Chinese Students

TW, MS, and WI/CB as one group (perhaps because they are all from the Western Hemisphere) are the three categories

distinguished by most of HK. Their images of these three groups are quite distinct, as the following three sections of samples will illustrate.

(a) Their Image of TW

In their description of TW, HK seem to confirm TW's views on the cultural differences between them.

HK<sub>10</sub>: I felt Hong Kong and Taiwan students are not so different, but there is a difference. They are two groups, and the rest of the Chinese students are different from them. They are also the most discriminated against. Hong Kong and Taiwan students are more or less equal, but I know that Taiwanese people think they are more proper Chinese, and they are against Hong Kong people. But anyway, they have more Chinese culture, and they like to speak Mandarin. Some of the Hong Kong students don't like Taiwan students, and vice versa. Sure, some of them are very friendly.

HK<sub>1</sub>: Besides, they are a little bit backward, comparing with Hong Kong students.

HK agreed that TW are more in touch with Chinese tradition than they themselves, yet they think that they, too, have quite a strong cultural background. This is exemplified by their assumption that Cantonese, their own language, is the official Chinese language. It proves to them that they have a truly Chinese identity like TW. On the negative side, they rated TW as backward, poor, conservative, stubborn or stiff, and as bookworms.

(b) Their Image of MS

Contrary to TW, HK believe that MS possess less Chinese culture and traditions than they themselves.



- HK<sub>7</sub>: People from Singapore and Malaysia, they speak English, it seems. They don't have anything about Chinese culture. Hong Kong still has Chinese tradition and culture, and it is part of China.
- HK<sub>11</sub>: They are very different. I have met a Singapore girl. We have to speak English with each other. Of course she doesn't know my background, so when we talked to each other, we have to speak in English. It seems like foreigners or Canadians, though I know we have the same blood heritage.
- HK<sub>14</sub>: Malaysian Chinese, I feel they are very close, a strong tendency toward their country. It seems to me they have an identity to their country, just like you, but we . . .
- HK<sub>7</sub>: They have mixed with Malays very often. They are not pure Chinese any more.

The strong identification with Malaysia or Singapore, lack of Chinese traditions, and especially their use of English and their inability to speak Cantonese are the criteria by which HK judge MS. They see MS as markedly different from themselves and deny that MS are true Chinese.

(c) Their Image of WI/CB

It seems that these two groups cannot but give Asian Chinese the impression of being totally non-Chinese because of their lacking knowledge of Chinese traditions and written language (i.e. Chinese characters). Their fluent English facilitates their integration with Canadians by contrast to their Asian counterparts. HK took it for granted that WI/CB do not regard themselves as Chinese (this view does, of course, no justice to the real feelings of members of the two groups in question).

- HK<sub>13</sub>: I won't look down upon them [i.e. CB], but I won't regard them as Chinese. Actually, they won't think they are Chinese either. I have met a Canadian Chinese.
- HK<sub>8</sub>: They [i.e. CB/WI] are another group. They are very different. Their difference from the other three groups is bigger than the difference between the three groups [i.e. HK, TW, MS]. I also think they are most discriminated.
- HK<sub>5</sub>: As for Chinese from Trinidad and Guyana, they are even worse. Some of them even don't think they are Chinese. They can better integrate with Canadians, but I wonder how much they know about China and Chinese.

### 3. Malaysia and Singapore Chinese : their Classification of other Chinese Students

Students from Malaysia and Singapore distinguish HK, TW, and WI besides their own group. In general, they are not familiar with CB, nor do they hold any stereotypes of them.

#### (a) Their Image of WI

- MS<sub>2</sub>: Even if both of us are speaking only English, I feel they are more westernized than us. I enjoy having fun with them. They are really easy-going people, yet there is still a difference in talking, making jokes, dress. Some kind of things between us, though those are minor things.
- MS<sub>1</sub>: They have absorbed a fair bit of western thinking, for example, in their personal relationships with each other, they show more freedom compared to Chinese from somewhere else. Generally, they are more casual and easy-going. Moreover, most of them speak English but are not able to speak their mother tongue at all. They are friendly, open, and cheerful people. Perhaps it is a trait brought about by the influence of the local West Indians. West Indians are a gay and fun-loving people.
- MS<sub>3</sub>: I think West Indian Chinese are not Chinese. They have nothing to do with Chinese. At least we are

Chinese.

These quotations show that WI are regarded as having absorbed western thinking to a considerable degree. This westernization, coupled with a lack of knowledge of their mother tongue, increased the impression that they are clearly a separate group from the Asian Chinese and cannot be accepted as Chinese. MS appreciate WI's care-free attitude towards life and enjoy getting together with them, yet they also sense the existence of things which divide them, e.g. manner of dressing and talking.

(b) Their Image of TW

- MS<sub>3</sub>: I know two or three of them. They are hard-working, quite conservative. They have deep thought. Compared to Hong Kong students they are not so commercial.
- MS<sub>1</sub>: Taiwan students should have a lot of Chinese culture, traditions, heritage. They are different from Hong Kong.
- MS<sub>9</sub>: Most Chinese from Taiwan are conservative. Some Hong Kong Chinese would say of Taiwan Chinese "Tai Tau". That means they are backward and stiff. Since Hong Kong students feel that they are very advanced, I feel that Malaysian Chinese come in between the two.

If we wish to summarize the evidence thus far, it seems that the criterion which distinguishes "true" Chinese from the rest is the degree to which a group is familiar with Chinese language and culture. The attributes which seem to be representative of the true Chinese character are the same in all cases we have seen so far. The "true" Chinese,

as represented by TW, is conservative, not commercial, and speaks Mandarin. This is clearly illustrated by MS's view of the contrast between TW and HK, as quoted below.

(c) Their Image of HK

- MS<sub>2</sub>: Hong Kong students think they are Chinese, but I don't think they are qualified. I claim Chinese should be from Taiwan or Mainland. Hong Kong Chinese are not.
- MS<sub>6</sub>: But I feel Hong Kong Chinese are more practical. If they see some use for you, they will make friends with you. If you are not useful, they will cast you off just like old shoes. That is what I have found.
- MS<sub>1</sub>: Another most distressing fact is that there seems to be a general assumption among Hong Kong students that every Chinese automatically speaks Cantonese. This creates sometimes intensely embarrassing situations when a non-Cantonese speaking Chinese student is approached by a Hong Kong Chinese who addresses him in Cantonese. The result is disastrous, if not hilarious.

In comparing HK with themselves, MS attribute a greater degree of familiarity with Chinese culture to HK. This coincides with HK's opinion, as we saw earlier and contradicts the view held by TW concerning the cultural differences between MS and HK. However, like TW, MS deny that HK can be considered "true" Chinese, especially because they speak mostly Cantonese and not Mandarin. MS view HK also as money-oriented and materialistic, as do TW.

4. West Indian Chinese : their Classification of other Chinese Students

WI usually describe themselves as western Chinese in contrast to eastern Chinese like HK, MS, and TW. CB are very

new to them. Some WI did not know that there were students from Taiwan on campus.

(a) Their Image of MS

WI feel close to MS because of the similarities in historical background (i.e. both live in a former British colony), in society structure (many different races), and their geographical distance to China. WI believe that, like themselves, MS have less Chinese traditions and customs and speak no Chinese by contrast to those students from Hong Kong and Taiwan. They also mention frequently the friendliness and open-mindedness of MS as positive characteristics.

WI<sub>2</sub>: To me, sometimes, it seems that among the eastern Chinese the Chinese from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore are most similar to western Chinese. They also have many races, like the Indians, Europeans, or black people. They speak English. They were a colony before. But Hong Kong is different.

WI<sub>3</sub>: I don't feel we are different from Malaysian Chinese, though their English is different from ours. You know, sometimes they tease us about our English. They usually say, "Let's go back [ba:k]." That's kind of fun. We usually get along well.

WI<sub>4</sub>: Because they are far from Hong Kong and China, and they speak English. [When asked why he feels WI are similar to MS].

WI<sub>7</sub>: I found Chinese from Malaysia are more friendly. I know, Hong Kong students are intelligent, but Malaysian Chinese are more open-minded. Maybe it is not true for others, but I say it according to my experiences, not only one but many. I think it is quite accurate.

It seems that WI represent their being different from Asian Chinese as a positive characteristic. They seem to consider the ability to speak English and to make friends easily as more important than their diminished racial identity and knowledge of Chinese traditions or language. This seems also to be the reason why they have a preference for MS who are like them in this point.

(b) Their Image of HK

If HK's ability to speak a Chinese language and to seek material advantages create feelings of inadequacy in WI, they do not admit this openly but only indirectly by adopting a critical attitude towards these attributes of HK.

- WI<sub>4</sub>: At the beginning, I did not know any Chinese from home. Most of the time I associated with Hong Kong students, since the majority of Chinese students here are Hong Kong Chinese. At least we have Chinese linkage. But later on I found that I am very different from them. Hong Kong Chinese are narrow-minded. I found that a lot of them are materialistic, everything is in terms of money. They are so well disciplined: study, degree, job.
- WI<sub>3</sub>: I just feel they are different. Maybe my impression is people from there still have strong Chinese tradition.
- WI<sub>2</sub>: I don't feel we are too much different from each other until we talk to each other. You know they speak Chinese. I feel we are different. You know Hong Kong students. When they see you, they assume you speak Cantonese, and they talk to you in Cantonese. But, I can't speak Chinese.

As we see from these samples, MS take HK's ability to speak Cantonese as evidence of HK's better knowledge of Chinese

culture and tradition, but they also criticize HK as narrow-minded, i.e. success-oriented, and intent on degrees and material advancement. Like the other groups, WI dislike those traits of HK which are most directly influenced by western attitudes.

##### 5. Canadian-Born Chinese : their Classification of other Chinese Students

Partly because there are so few Chinese from Taiwan, Malaysia-Singapore, and the West Indies on campus, CB usually do not know of Chinese from anywhere else than Hong Kong. Only one of them knew that there were Chinese from Malaysia. Therefore, their views of Chinese are mainly determined by their contacts with HK. Their description of HK is very different from that of the other groups. Their image of HK is strikingly similar to the stereotypes held by white Canadians with regard to Asian Chinese, namely that they don't speak English and keep too much to themselves. CB also dislike the fact that HK speak Cantonese when they get together. They seem to regard HK's use of their native language instead of English as evidence of HK's inability to adapt to Canadian society. CB noticed also the materialistic and success-oriented attitude among HK.

Question: How many different places do Chinese students on campus come from?

CB<sub>7</sub>: I suppose they come from Hong Kong. Maybe there are a few from other places. I don't know.

Question: Do you feel different from them?

CB<sub>7</sub>: Sure, absolutely, very different.

Question: What is the difference?

CB<sub>7</sub>: Language. They speak Chinese and their English is not good. Most of the time they speak Chinese. I have the impression they like to stick together and talk their own business in their own language. They seldom associate with Canadians. Another thing is that their social activities are different from mine. For example, they never go out. All the time they stay at home, talking and talking. I go to a party, I play different kinds of sports, but they don't. You will find that very few of them are in social science, history, sociology, and arts. They are all, at least 90%, concentrating on the sciences or engineering. They are very "economic", commercial, occupational. They are success-oriented. Of course, their parents send them over to study. They have to study, but I don't think they like Canada. They come over just for a job, education, money. If they go back, it is because they can't find a job here. If they stay, it is because the job here can earn them more money.

Another CB said:

One thing that bugs me is that the Chinese on campus stick together, speak at the top of their voices, hang around with their own group. For God's sake, if you come to Canada to receive a Canadian education, you'd better participate, talk to Canadians. There is a lot of things to learn. If you are proud of being a Chinese, you don't have to act in that way. They should go out of their circle. They can pick up more things, no matter, English or other things.

CB<sub>8</sub>: One of my friends told me, he went to the library one Friday night. He said, "Nobody in the library except Chinese. Most are Chinese students in the library during the week-end." That is the thing. They don't go out. They don't have anything socially. Of course, their parents give them the money to study here, but go out to make friends, don't confine yourself to books only. They can learn more.

## 6. Interaction among the Chinese Student Groups

From the previous samples we can also draw conclusions with regard to the possible interaction patterns of the



various groups of Chinese students. I shall look at both formal and informal interaction. By formal, I mean organized activities or group activities, by informal, social activities of individual students like meeting at lunch or dinner, recreation, games, personal discussion. The subjects were asked with whom they associated most, formally and informally.

As the following section will show, Chinese students from the five geographically different groups associate with members of their own race with more or less frequency depending on the degree of cultural similarity or dissimilarity in the behaviour patterns of the other groups. The highest frequency of social interaction occurs, therefore, among members of the same group, as the following table shows.<sup>1</sup>

	CB	HK	MS	TW	WI	total out-group association
CB	1	2				2
HK		14	1			1
MS			9	4	3	7
TW			3	8		3
WI		1	3		3	4

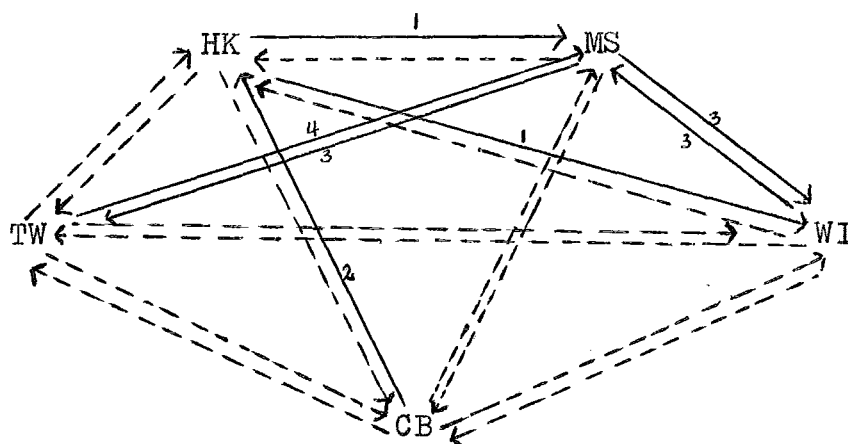
<sup>1</sup>The diagonal line marks association within the same group. The number of persons in a cell indicates the members of the group named on the left who associate with an unspecified number of the group identified at the top of that column.

It is evident that a majority from Hong Kong, Malaysia-Singapore, and Taiwan associate with their own group (see table p.82), i.e. 14 HK out of 14, 9 MS out of 10, 8 TW out of 8. WI and CB show less frequent interaction with members of their own group. This may be due to the fact that the frequency is restricted to association with Chinese only, yet some WI may have more frequent interaction with non-Chinese persons from the West Indies and a few CB may interact frequently with Canadians.

This table reveals further that there is out-group interaction, though limited, between MS and WI (3 MS associate with WI; 3 WI associate with MS), between MS and TW (4 MS associate with TW; 3 TW associate with MS). This is a reflection of the general image they hold of each other, as described above. The similarities which MS and WI recognize in each other are reflected in the frequency of their social interaction, as are those acknowledged between MS and TW. There is little interaction between CB and HK (2 CB associate with HK), and between WI and HK (1 WI associates with HK), although HK represent the largest single group of Chinese students on campus (70%). There is no interaction between CB and WI, TW, or MS; between HK and TW; and between TW and WI, though they may know a few members of each group.

With regard to total interaction frequency, MS are the group which associates most frequently with members of other Chinese groups (7 in total); then the WI (4 in total),

TW (3 in total), and CB (2 in total) who associate only with one group other than their own. HK are the group which associates least with other Chinese, except that one HK has affiliated herself with MS. The limited intergroup interaction pattern can be shown by a diagram:



The solid line indicates that there is association between two groups. The numbers indicate the number of people who associate with a group other than their own. The broken line indicates the lack of interaction between two groups. In total, there are ten pair-relationships, and therefore there are twenty possible ways of interaction, each represented by an arrow in the diagram. Actually, only seven out of the twenty possibilities are realized, and at most there are 4 people involved, as in the case MS/TW. That means thirteen ways of interaction are not operative at all. Thus there is really very little interaction among the five groups.

In addition to these informal or non-organizational interactions among individuals, there are also formal or

organized ones provided by the various official organizations of Asian or West Indian students. The C. S. A. (Chinese Student Association), S. E. A. S. (South East Asia Society), and A. C. A. (Afro-Caribbean Society) are three organizations of which the interviewees were members. These three associations are also based on geographical origin, as their names indicate. Of course they are also open to all other students on campus. The associations serve, therefore, a dual purpose. On one hand, they provide a sense of solidarity and identity for their own members, and, on the other hand, they offer those of different cultural-geographical origin the opportunity to become aware of their social, political, and cultural values and traditions. Among their activities are such events as film shows, plays, folk song and dance parties, panel discussions or seminars, outdoor activities, and also publication of magazines.

By joining these associations, a person may show his or her willingness to identify as well as to interact with the members of that group. As one of the subjects pointed out, "I think one reason is that I feel more familiar with them. I feel I belong. A lot of my friends are also members of . . . Association, so I am, too." (MS). Chinese students on campus are members in all three associations. The following is a table showing membership in these associations by students of the five Chinese groups.

	S.E.A.S.	A.C.A.	C.S.A.	Total Member- ship	Total Sample
CB	0	0	0	0	8
HK	1	0	14	15 <sup>1</sup>	14
MS	9	0	0	9	10
TW	1	0	0	1	8
WI	3	4	0	7 <sup>1</sup>	8

We notice from this table that HK are the ones most involved in organized clubs, TW and CB the least. Furthermore, there is a tendency for MS to join the S. E. A. S., for HK to join the C. S. A., and for WI to join the A. C. A. CB and TW are not members in any club; however, not all members of these groups fall into this pattern. The influence of geographical origin on the composition of the membership of the associations is reflected in the declared indifference of each group towards the activities of the others.

TW<sub>1</sub>: C.S.A. is completely controlled by Chinese from Hong Kong. I have never been there. I don't know what is going on there either.

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<sup>1</sup>Overlap factor: there are persons who belong to more than one association (1 of HK belongs to S.E.A.S. and C.S.A.; 2 of WI belong to A.C.A. and S.E.A.S.).

HK<sub>14</sub>: I never think of joining other associations. I joined the C.S.A. It seemed natural to me.

CB<sub>3</sub>: I didn't know there was S.E.A.S. on campus until this year.

TW<sub>8</sub>: What is Afro-Caribbean Association?

Few members of one association cross the lines to another: 4 of WI and 1 of TW are members of S. E. A. S.; 1 CB is a member of C. S. A. The cultural differences between members and non-members create feelings of alienation and, in fact, rejection of the non-members who withdraw from the association when they recognize this situation.

CB<sub>8</sub>: I noticed there is a C.S.A. on campus, but I never know what is going on there. I think those students come over temporarily. That kind of association may unify them. But for Canadian Chinese who were born here, I don't think it is necessary for them to join.

WI<sub>7</sub>: I felt I got lost the first time I was at the China night held by the C.S.A. I don't know how to behave there. It seems every one except me knows each other and is familiar with everything.

MS<sub>1</sub>: It is hard to fit in.

TW<sub>7</sub>: It is kind of out of place. I don't belong to them. We are different from each other.

CB<sub>6</sub>: I have been to a C.S.A. function once. But I found I can't get in, once they know I am a Canadian-born Chinese. We don't know how to adjust to each other. Some of them tried to speak English with me, and treated me differently, but I don't feel comfortable if they have to speak English or change something because of me.

This pattern is consistent with that of informal interaction among students. In both cases, there is very limited interaction among people from different places of origin. From personal observation, I have found, for example,

that on all occasions when activities are held by anyone club, Chinese visitors will form into small groups, based on their geographical origin, and sit and talk with each other instead of mixing with those from outside their own group.

The limited group interaction of Chinese students on campus is representative for their tendency to associate with Chinese from their home. There are only a few individuals in each group who mix with more than one group. Even though they acknowledge similarities with other groups, the limited number of social contacts in intergroup encounters indicates that the existing differences are of greater significance than the similarities. In the next chapter, I shall discuss these differences in detail, namely the differences based on language, on traditions, and ethnic or national identity.

## Chapter V

### ESSENTIAL FACTORS FOR THE HETEROGENEITY OF THE CHINESE STUDENT BODY

In the samples presented so far, we have seen that geographical origin is the major factor for the heterogeneity of the Chinese student body. When we consider the sample further, we notice that place of origin contains other meanings besides the merely geographical one; its special connotations are related to influences of language, of Chinese culture, and national identity. In the following, I shall establish the nature of these connotations of the differentiation among Chinese students according to geographical areas. With regard to the subject of language, I shall discuss variety, fluency, school background, the most common languages used for communication in each place, and the students' attitudes towards each other's languages. Further, I shall discuss the importance of their varying knowledge of Chinese culture and traditions. Finally, I shall examine their differences in identity.

#### 1. Geographical Origins of Chinese

In this section I shall briefly present a few facts about the students' homeland, as described by them, beginning with Canada and continuing with Hong Kong, Malaysia-Singapore, Taiwan, and the West Indies.



(a) Canada

Among the places of origin, Canada is the largest with a population of 21,568,315 according to the 1971 census. Canadians are made up of a wide range of ethnic or national stocks, but the British are the largest group with 9,624,120 or 44%, followed by the French with 6,180,120 or about 29% of the total population. By comparison, the Chinese are a minority group; there are only 119,000 or 0.6% of the total.<sup>1</sup>

The Canadian Chinese in our sample were all born in Canada and brought up here. Only two of them had been outside the country for a short time. They had spent a few weeks or months in the United States. In describing the characteristics of their native country, CB often mentioned the fact that Canadian society is multi-racial. They noted the diversity created by the existence of different ethnic groups and stressed its positive character. One of them said, "People are used to describe a group of people with terms like 'Americans are . . . ', 'Europeans are . . . ' ; I would say, Canadians have more variations full of different groups." However, they also point out the lack of solidarity: "They lack some sort of solidarity. Americans unite

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<sup>1</sup>Canada Year Book 1973, Statistics Canada, Information Division, (Ottawa, 1973), p.215.

into one and root themselves into America, but Canadians don't. They are regionalistic. They don't really integrate."

(b) Hong Kong

Though Hong Kong is a British colony, the Chinese comprise about 99% of the population. Most of them come from Kwantung province; Cantonese are the largest group followed by Hakka and Tanka. The 14 HK in our sample described their homeland as a small island and a colony, very westernized, crowded, hot, and commercialized where money is all important. Robbery is common in these abnormal circumstances. There is a lot of entertainment, and cultural life is mixed. Two students thought that despite this mixture, Hong Kong is nevertheless a Chinese city.

HK<sub>6</sub>: Hong Kong is small, hot, mixed in culture and of high density. Canada, on the contrary, is big, cold, western culture, and fewer people. In Hong Kong there are still a lot of Chinese customs and practice still very Chinese oriented.

HK<sub>13</sub>: It is a city. Every place is filled up. Everyone is rushing, busy. It is artificial, not natural, a crowded city. I should say, just like New York, a big city, metropolitan.

HK<sub>2</sub>: Too much robbery there. The social order is too bad. A big city, very commercial. A lot of people, but they don't have good jobs. They want money, but they don't have enough money.

They describe their own people as Chinese inside, westernized outside. They are hesitant to learn new things; family ties are strong, human relationships outside the family weak. This accounts for the fact that it is hard to make friends with strangers. People are described as dishonest, crazy,

irresponsible, practical, dressed in western fashion, and lacking independence.

HK<sub>4</sub>: Chinese like to think, rationalize, hesitate, before they accept new values. They are still typically Chinese inside.

HK<sub>12</sub>: The competition is keen. They spend most of their time earning money, busy for money. It is crowded here. People are hostile to each other, unless you know them well. Young people are depressed. Compared with Canadians, they are more conservative.

HK<sub>3</sub>: In Hong Kong people will think you are stupid if you are honest. They like to shift their responsibility to others. They seldom take responsibility. In a big city like Toronto people are not friendly. People in Hong Kong are the same.

### (c) Malaysia and Singapore

The population of West Malaysia consists of three major groups, each with its own cultural, linguistic, and religious background. One half are Malays, just over one third Chinese, and more than one tenth Indians or Pakistanis. In East Malaysia, Ibans and Chinese make up more than 60% of the population with the Chinese gaining the ascendancy in recent times. Apart from these two groups, there are the Malays (17%), Land Dayaks ( about 8%), and Melanaus (6%). In Singapore, 75% of the population are Chinese; the rest, in diminishing order, are Indians, Pakistanis, Eurasians, Europeans, Ceylonese, and others.

There were 10 students from Malaysia and 3 from Singapore in our sample. They described Singapore as a small island with a large population, but not so crowded as Hong Kong. However, people are also described as busy, western-

ized, like those from Hong Kong, and as more conservative than Canadians. Following are two descriptions of Singapore and its inhabitants.

- MS<sub>1</sub>: Multiracial, multicultural, cosmopolitan, quite industrialized, westernized city, but people, compared with Hong Kong people, are less commercialized.
- MS<sub>3</sub>: Singapore, though not so crowded, but still, there are a lot of people there. A lot of people absorb western values; not too much contrast between these two people [Singaporeans and Canadians] except their attitude towards sex.

Malaysia, as described by 7 out of the 10 students in our sample, is big, though smaller than Canada. The climate is hot all the time. Life appears to be more simple and easy. However, there is discrimination against Chinese. They are very close to each other, conservative, and family-oriented.

- MS<sub>7</sub>: In Malaysia, all the time is summer, one season only. I feel that people here [i.e. in Canada] don't associate with each other often as people did in Malaysia. People back home are more close to each other.
- MS<sub>10</sub>: I don't like the way they [Canadians] treat their parents, leave them to live alone, no respect to them at all. We take more care of our parents and respect them in Malaysia.
- MS<sub>5</sub>: The way of life there is very simple. You can go anywhere you like, sit, and eat at anybody's household. Here . . . We don't have luxurious things, but life there is easy.

#### (d) Taiwan

Taiwan is an island separated from the south-east corner of China by the Formosa Strait. The population is

estimated to be more than 15,000,000 and is predominantly Chinese. The geographical features of Taiwan are similar to Hong Kong and the West Indies. It is described as a small island. There are four seasons but without a great change in temperature. People are said to be very close to each other. Interpersonal relationships are very complex because of the ties of family and friendship.

TW<sub>1</sub>: Taiwan, or you call it Formosa, is an island famous for its weather --the whole year round is like spring -- and for its humanity. If you live in Taiwan, you will feel warm because of the intimate friendships. But sometimes you may feel you are tied to too many human relationships.

(e) West Indies (Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad)

There are very few Chinese in the West Indies. The population estimates for the three places were provided by 3 of the subjects from Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad respectively. According to them, Chinese make up 3% of the population in Jamaica, 0.7% in Guyana, and 0.5% in Trinidad. Indians (from India) and people of African descent form the majority in Trinidad and Guyana. In Jamaica, 80% of the population is of African origin. The students described their places of origin as small, hot (always summer), composed of different races, not so advanced as Canada.

People are described as friendly, casual, close to each other, with more social life and a sense of humour. Most people have dark skin colour, i.e. they are "black".

WI<sub>5</sub>: Trinidad, like the British West Indian countries, is a

small place. You don't have too many places to go to or as many recreational resources as Canada. But still, if you want, you can have. The music is different. Besides, the life there is more relaxed. They take everything easy. No one will take two jobs at the same time. They have more social life, more parties there, more relaxation.

WI<sub>6</sub>: In Guyana, people respect you, because they are very close to you. They are good friends. That is kind of buddy friendship. They go deep, though they don't have too many friends there.

These more general physical and social features of the places of origin of the five student groups on campus give only a superficial indication of the more important cultural elements which separate the individuals and the groups from each other, namely language, culture, and national identity. In the following, I shall examine each of these three in a separate section.

## 2. Language

Linguists know that nothing in the nature of any speech form is either good or bad. It cannot be argued that one form is a more effective means of expression than another. However, sociolinguists have found that speech differences are related to a number of rather subtle social variables, such as social status, social distance, personal identity, sex, age, etc. Therefore, speech differences do have consequences in a social context, and our sample can be regarded as additional proof.

Leonard Bloomfield postulates a direct relationship between linguistic diversity and the amount of verbal inter-

action among individual members of a community. He said, "We believe that the differences in communication are not only personal and individual, but that the community is divided into various systems of subgroups, such that the persons within a subgroup speak much more to each other than to persons outside their subgroup."<sup>2</sup> Through an analysis of the interaction and relationships among the five subgroups of Chinese, I wish to show that linguistic variation plays an important role in their differentiation.

There were 13 different languages and dialects spoken by the students in our sample. A subject's ability in anyone aspect of a language or dialect is counted as knowledge of that language or dialect. In other words, as long as they either write, read, speak, or understand a language or dialect (henceforth indicated by W, R, S, U), they are considered as being acquainted with that language or dialect. The 13 languages and dialects are partly European (English, French, German, Latin, and French), partly Chinese (Mandarin, a major language, and the six minor dialects Swato, Fu-Tsian, Cantonese, Haka, Tai-Shian, and Hsian-Wei), and Malay.

It is generally recognized that the Chinese language system is very complicated. Mutual intelligibility does not

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<sup>2</sup>Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p.46.

exist between speakers of Mandarin and speakers of anyone of the six dialects. Limited understanding seems only to be possible between speakers of Swato and Fu-Tsian. A student who knows both dialects said, "I can guess what the meaning is, if I talked with a person who speaks Fu-Tsian, but I can't speak it word by word."

In order to be able to communicate, however, both sides need to be able to understand as well as speak a language. In the following table, I shall show how many of the sample have sufficient ability to communicate in any of the 13 languages. The difference between the total of speakers (48) and the total of speakers at the bottom of the table arises from the overlap factor.

TABLE I  
Language Distribution In Chinese Sample  
Based On R/W/S/U

	No. of Persons Familiar with	Percentage of Total Sample
English	48	100
Other European Lgs.:		
French	7	14.60
German	1	2.08
Spanish	5	10.40
Latin	1	2.08



Mandarin	29	60.40
Other Chinese Dialects:		
Swato	3	6.25
Fu-Tsian	11	22.90
Cantonese	23	47.90
Haka	3	6.25
Tai-Shian	2	4.16
Hsian-Wei	2	4.16
Malay	7	14.60

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TABLE II

Language Distribution In Chinese Sample  
Based On U And S

	<u>No. of Persons Familiar with</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Sample</u>
English	48	100
Other European Lgs.:		
French	2	4.16
German	1	2.08
Spanish	2	4.16
Latin	0	0.00
Mandarin	20	41.66

## Other Chinese Dialects:

Swato	2	4.16
Fu-Tsian	10	20.83
Cantonese	20	41.66
Haka	3	6.25
Tai-Shian	1	2.08
Hsian-Wei	2	4.16
Malay	5	10.40

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The differences between Table I and Table II are due to the inequality in language comprehension with respect to W/R/S/U.

As we know, English is the only language spoken by all subjects. Mandarin and Cantonese rank second. Nearly half of all the subjects (41.60%) can communicate with each other in either Mandarin or Cantonese. This includes six subjects who can speak both. Though Fu-Tsian is the third most common language, only 10 out of a total of 48 can speak and understand it. Because of their mutual unintelligibility and the fact that of the 8 speakers of the other dialects listed in the table few know each others' dialects, there is little use of these dialects. Only very few of the sample would be able to use any of the last 4 dialects on campus. Thus there are not very many common languages for communication other than English, Mandarin, and Cantonese.

Table III shows the distribution of languages among the Chinese students by place of origin. It illustrates the fact that users of European languages other than English tend to be from the West Indies, with a few Canadian Chinese, and not from the Asian countries, with the exception of one person from Hong Kong. The speakers of the six Chinese dialects are mainly from Asia (Hong Kong and Malaysia-Singapore), and only a few come from the other three places.

TABLE III  
Language Familiarity By Place Of Origin<sup>3</sup>  
Based On S And U

Origin	English	One or more other Eur- opean Lgs.	Mandarin	One or more Chinese Dialects
Canada	8(8)	2(8)	0(8)	4(8)
Hong Kong	14(14)	1(14)	7(14)	14(14)
Malaysia- Singapore	10(10)	0(10)	5(10)	9(10)
Taiwan	8(8)	0(8)	8(8)	4(8)
West Indies	8(8)	3(8)	0(8)	3(8)
	<u>48(48)</u>	<u>6(48)</u>	<u>20(48)</u>	<u>34(48)</u>

Although English and Mandarin are the most widely known languages, there is considerable difference in fluency

<sup>3</sup>Figures outside parenthesis indicate number of speakers out of a total given in parenthesis.

among the students. Their ability to speak Mandarin is, in descending order: Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia-Singapore, (West Indies, Canada). The same sequence represents fluency in English, however in ascending order.

Further analysis revealed the factors which contribute to this language variation. The subjects were asked the places and persons they learned to speak their languages or dialects from; the official or popular language or dialect of their homeland; and the language or dialect used in the schools they attended. It appears that the official language of a place is most important for their fluency. In Taiwan, for example, Mandarin is the official language, not English. In all other four places, English is the official language. The second most important factor for fluency is the existing popular dialect or language. In Hong Kong it is Cantonese; in Taiwan, most people speak Fu-Tsian, as do most Chinese in Malaysia (1/3 of total population) and Singapore (75% of total population). Cantonese is also widely spoken in these two places, sometimes both dialects by the same person. Depending on which of the southern provinces of China people came from, they also use the other four dialects in Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

The Chinese born in Canada or the West Indies do not share a prevailing common dialect. The younger generation do not learn Chinese for this reason, although they may understand some; instead they learn the official language of

the country. As one student from Jamaica said, "Only some of the older Chinese speak their own language." A CB describes her situation, "Some of my mother's friends speak Tai-shian, a Chinese dialect, but my father speaks another dialect, Hsian-Wei." The same subject could understand some Tai-Shian but could not speak any dialect. Some CB are, however, familiar with Canada's second official language, French. In the West Indies the languages of the European colonial powers, French and Spanish, are taught in the schools, not the languages of the majority from Africa or of the second largest group, Hindi. Hence the subjects from the West Indies are more familiar with the two European languages than with the languages of their Chinese ancestors.

The third most important factor for fluency in a language is the language spoken in school compared to the language or languages merely taught. There seem to be three prevailing types. One type of school teaches all courses in Chinese, and students take English as a subject. Another kind teaches in English, offering Chinese as a course, and a third has every course in English but offers languages other than Chinese in its curriculum. The following table shows which type of school the subjects attended. We note that all CB, WI, and MS went to the third type of school. All subjects who are HK and 5 MS went to the second type, and all 8 TW and 2 MS went to the first type of school. It is obvious that the opportunity to learn English and Chinese

varies significantly in the three different types of schools.

TABLE IV  
Language Of Instruction  
By Place Of Origin

Place	(Number of Persons with Schooling in):			Total
	Chinese (Type I)	English (Type II)	English (Type III)	
Canada	0	0	8	8
Hong Kong	0	14	0	14
Malaysia- Singapore	2	5	3	10
Taiwan	8	0	0	8
West Indies	0	0	8	8

The linguistic varieties among Chinese are also associated with their attitude towards language learning. The subjects were asked which language(s) or dialect(s) they would like their children to learn. The next table indicates their preferences. The three categories in the table were found to adequately cover all the collected responses. Category I consists of responses dealing with specific language preference on the basis of ethnic or national value. The second category is based on what the respondents consider the practical usefulness of the language for their children. A third category represents a choice based on educat-

ional value of language learning.

TABLE V  
Language Preference For Children  
By Place Of Origin

Preference by Category	Place of Origin:					Total
	Canada	Hong Kong	Malaysia- Singapore	Taiwan	West Ind.	
I. <u>Specific</u>						
English only	3		1			4
Mandarin only				4		4
Engl.&Mandarin			3	1		4
Engl.&other Lg.					3	3
Engl.&other Chinese Dial.		5			1	6
II. <u>Not yet decided, but pref. will depend on</u>						
Future Resid- ence		3	1		1	5
Whatever is useful	1					1
III. <u>The more the better</u>	4	6	5	3	3	21
Total	8	14	10	8	8	48

There is more or less equal preference for English, other European languages, Mandarin, and Chinese dialects. However,

the general tendency is that Mandarin only preference is restricted to TW, English & other European language(s) to WI, English only to CB, English & Mandarin to MS, and English & other Chinese dialects to HK mainly. Although the language preference for children varies from group to group, it is along the lines of the respondents' own language ability. Their choice reflects moreover their ethnic or national preference. A subject whose preference was Mandarin said, for example, "It is a shame to a Chinese who cannot speak Chinese." In the second category, there are 6 altogether. Their preference depends on the future place of residence and on the usefulness of the language there. Nevertheless, nearly half of the total as well as of each group falls into the third category, i.e. preference on the basis of educational value without reference to ethnic group or nation. Here are two examples of responses in this category.

MS<sub>5</sub>: I shall let them select, but I will encourage them to learn more [than one]. It is good if they can speak more than one language.

CB<sub>7</sub>: I don't have any special preference. Actually, as long as they go to school, the more [languages] they learn, the better.

Generally speaking, this proves that the majority of our sample are education-oriented with respect to language preference.

To summarize our findings, 46 out of 48 subjects are bi-lingual, i.e. they can speak and understand any two of the 13 languages and dialects in the sample. English is



the only language of communication common to the entire sample. A majority, 38 out of 48, can speak either Mandarin or a Chinese dialect, but there is no single Chinese language or dialect common to more than 41.6% of the sample. It is clearly the place of origin which is the basis for language variation. With regard to language preference for the future generation, educational value determines language learning preference. In other words, if there is interaction among the subjects of the sample, it occurs by means of communication in English. Communication in a Chinese language or dialect is restricted to a sub-set of the sample. Due to the lack of a Chinese language common to all, there is also a lack of a common ethnic bond or identity on the basis of race.

### 3. Knowledge of Chinese Culture

Knowledge of Chinese culture is a second influence on the heterogeneity of the sample of Chinese students. For Chinese in Canada, knowledge of Chinese culture and history is a symbolic instrument to define their identity and, even more so, to ward off assimilation into the foreign society. This knowledge is not so much acquired by education as by the influences of the surrounding Chinese society as a whole. Although Chinese, like other people, acquire their identity through the circumstances in which they grow up, they do not automatically absorb a knowledge of Chinese culture unless they grow up in a society which is wholly Chinese, i.e. eith-

er in Taiwan or in the People's Republic of China. This means that the Chinese in our sample possess varying degrees of familiarity with Chinese cultural history. For the purposes of this investigation, this knowledge was defined as knowledge bearing upon (1) Chinese historical figures; (2) Chinese classics; (3) Chinese customs, traditions, and values; (4) ethnic symbols. The subjects were asked to point out examples in all four categories in order to produce an illustration of the degree of their familiarity with the subject matter of each category.

In the first, a total of 69 historical figures were named by the subjects. The ten most popular figures named were: Confucius (32),<sup>4</sup> Sun Yat-Sen (30), Meng Tsu (25), Chuang Tsu (24), Shih Huang Ti (22), Yo Fei (18), Chu Yuan-Chang (17), Li Shih-Min (16), Liu-Che (16), Lau Tsu (16). In the second category, a total of 42 classics were named, the 10 most popular of which were: Romance of the Three Kingdoms (25), The Pilgrimage to the Western Regions (24), The Dream of the Red Chamber (22), Story of the Water Margin (22), Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio (18), Confucian Analects (15), The Works of Mencius (15), The Great Learning (14), The Doctrine of the Mean (11), The Poetry of the Tang Dynasty (10). In the third category, 35 different Chinese

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<sup>4</sup>The numbers indicate the frequency of mentioning by all 48 subjects. The minimum number was 15 for the first category, 10 for the second, and 6 for the third.

characteristics, representative of values and traditions, were named. The 8 most often mentioned were: Communism (18), hard-working (17), fidelity (17), conservativeness (17), superstition (15), strong family ties (big families; 12), ancestor worship (7), and justice (6). In the fourth category, a total of 38 ethnic symbols were pointed out. The most frequently mentioned were: dragon (14), temple/pagoda (14), poems (13), painting/arts (12), calligraphic characters (12), opera/drama (11), dress (9), archeology (7). In all four categories there were marked differences in knowledge among the members of the five student groups.

In general, it appears that the more frequently mentioned items in each category are equally well-known among all groups, while the less frequently mentioned items are only known to the one or two groups who are more intimately acquainted with China and its cultural tradition. Even if most of the members of the groups with the least knowledge do not know any of the less frequently mentioned items, there may be some among them who know as much as the members of the groups with the most knowledge. The following table shows the amount of knowledge by number of mentioning of items in each category by the students in each of the five groups.

	TW	HK	MS	WI	CB
Historical Figures	20	12	6	2	1
Classics	15	8	5	0	0
Customs, Traditions, Values	7	3	3	2	1
Ethnic Symbols	8	4	3	1	1

It is evident that the differences in knowledge regarding the four categories confirm the opinions of the individual groups on this point quoted in the previous chapters. If we set up a scale of knowledge from high to low, TW rank highest, HK next, and MS third. WI and CB are equal in that they know least about Chinese traditions and culture. Here are a few statements which underline our findings.

HK<sub>8</sub>: Sure, what we know can't compare with the knowledge of the Taiwan students. Still, I believe, I know quite a lot, though not too much.

MS<sub>2</sub>: We learn Chinese history, poems, and language in high school, but I know little about Chinese literature, especially philosophy. So, I feel I know little, compared with Taiwan and Hong Kong students. But some Malaysia and Singapore students, if they graduate from Chinese school, they may know more than I do. As for the Chinese from South America, I know one. He just has a Chinese outlook, but he knows little about Chinese culture.

TW<sub>1</sub>: How many works of literature you want me to put down? I dare not say I know all the famous ones, but I am sure I am one of the Chinese on campus

who know most. Some of these works, I am afraid some Chinese students haven't read them, nor even heard of them. Generally speaking, students from Taiwan know many more.

CB and WI confessed their lack of knowledge of Chinese culture, but most of them also stated that they would like to learn more about Chinese history, literature, and art. One student expressed this wish as follows:

CB<sub>8</sub>: I don't know if it is a good example or not. I took a course in prehistory. My professor gave us a list of books to read. One of them is about China. I know I should like to read it and write a good paper on it. You know, there are a few books on Chinese sculpture and the arts, but few really go deep.

#### 4. Identity Differences

The internal cohesiveness of a group and its ability to act in competition with other groups depend to a large extent on the members' sense of identity. As in any other group, physical similarity and common ancestry alone are not necessarily enough to produce it. The essential heterogeneity of the Chinese students on campus will become apparent when we study their identity differences. The questions asked to discover them were: (1) their self-classification as Canadians, Chinese, or any other nationality; (2) the country or people they feel they belong to or identify with; (3) their self-estimation on the strength of their identity. I shall portray the feelings of each group on the basis of their responses to these questions.

(a) Identity of CB

Of 8 CB, 7 regarded themselves as Canadian Chinese, but they could not declare a definite Chinese identity, due to the awareness of their lack of knowledge concerning China. "I look at myself as Chinese Canadian. I can't say I am Chinese, since I can't read or write the Chinese language, and I even don't know what the real Chinese culture is. But . . . "(CB<sub>8</sub>). Another reason for their difficulty with their identity is that they don't feel they are proper Canadians either, because of their incomplete Canadianization.

CB<sub>1</sub>: But I can't say I am a Canadian, and they won't regard me as a Canadian, because I have Chinese origin.

CB<sub>5</sub>: I identify with Canadian Chinese. I am not so Canadianized, different from Canadians, because I am just second generation.

A few of the CB had solved this dilemma by expressing an attachment to both ethnic groups, i.e. a kind of double identity, as in the following case.

CB<sub>8</sub>: I have strong family ties which tie me to Chinese things. I still feel we do keep some part of Chinese tradition, and I also hope my husband [Canadian] knows that is part of me. Besides, I am physically different from the others. However, in some other aspects, I am afraid I am very Canadianized, such as dress, thought, etc. So, put me in one context, I am strongly aware I am Chinese, but, in some other context, I am Canadian. That is why I say I am Chinese-Canadian.

Only one CB regarded himself as Canadian. He said, "I think I am Canadianized. I cannot speak Chinese. I even haven't

been to China yet." Considering their ethnic background and heritage, their race, and physical appearance, CB think of themselves as Chinese; with regard to their legal status, i.e. citizenship, and Canadian mosaic,<sup>5</sup> they treat themselves as Canadians as well.

(b) Identity of WI

From the 8 WI, 7 described themselves as Jamaica-Chinese, Guyana-Chinese, or Trinidad-Chinese. Some of their answers are similar to those of CB in the attempt to explain their double identity. I will quote a typical response as an example.

WI<sub>5</sub>: I am not a Chinese. I am a Trinidadian. Chinese should come from China. Is that right? I am not, of course. By nationality, I am a Chinese, and I have a Chinese outlook. I won't hide it. Actually, I am proud of being a Chinese. But I was born in Trinidad and grew up there. I know nothing about Chinese history, literature; I can't speak Chinese, can't write either, nor understand. I know very little about Chinese. I can't say that. That is

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<sup>5</sup>Here I feel it is necessary to point out the difference between CB and American-born Chinese. It could be that the Canadian "vertical mosaic", as opposed to the American "melting pot", makes the double identity of the CB distinct from the straightforward identity of American-born Chinese who do not tend to see themselves as American-Chinese. A similar comparison between the two types of Chinese appeared in The Canadian Forum (Sept., 1974), 12. To illustrate this idea of the Canadian mosaic: one subject said, "I would say I am Chinese-Canadian. You know, Canada, just a recent formed country. Canadian means French, British, Italian, Negro, why not Chinese? This country is different from China: when you say you are Chinese, they are the same; but when you say Canadian, there is a difference. If you ask my ethnic background, yes, I am Chinese." (CB<sub>6</sub>).

the difference, you know, though I am Chinese in a sense.

On further examining their responses, I found that there is a strong tendency towards identity crises, i.e. they either feel doubtful about their identity or avoid thinking about it. They rather see themselves as individuals than as part of any particular group of people.

WI<sub>7</sub>: Maybe Jamaica-Chinese. I know, I won't claim I am a Chinese. You can, because you speak Chinese, and you know Chinese culture. But I don't. But I am Chinese in some way. I just don't know where or to whom I belong. I just do what I should. I don't identify with any group or place, just to be myself, to go my own way. I don't feel I belong here either. I don't know where I belong to. But, still, I feel more leaning to be a Chinese, though I have been identified with Jamaica all the time.

WI<sub>8</sub>: I don't like to sectionize people. I think I am a student here. I treat everyone equally. I seldom think who I am. I have no strong emotion, just an individual. If people ask me, 'Are you Chinese?', sure, I am Chinese, but not from China. I won't deny I am Chinese. I am Guyanese, but I am Chinese, too. Am I?

WI<sub>6</sub>: I won't identify with either one. I identify with myself. I don't want to identify with Guyanese, because I am not Guyanese, nor Chinese. I just want to be myself, to be me.

### (c) Identity of MS

The majority of MS, 8 out of 10, acknowledged a double identity, just as the above two groups. They define themselves as Chinese and, secondly, as Malaysian/Singaporean; however, unlike the above two groups, 3 out of the 8 put Malaysian/Singaporean first, Chinese second. Here are



two examples:<sup>6</sup>

MS<sub>2</sub>: Of course, I am Chinese, but Singaporean Chinese.  
First Singaporean, then Chinese.

MS<sub>5</sub>: I regard myself as a Malaysian who came to Canada to study. For me, I won't be distinctively Chinese, though I am Chinese. You know, I was born in a Chinese family, having pure Chinese blood parents. I was brought up in that environment. It just happened to me. It can happen to anyone. I can be born in a Canadian family, raised in Canadian society, or born in a Malay family. That just happened to me. But I will think I am a Malaysian, then Chinese.

Another interesting case is that of 2 MS who define themselves as Malaysian and deny their Chinese identity.

MS<sub>9</sub>: I don't identify with Chinese, because I don't want to behave like a Chinese because I am Chinese. As a matter of fact, I am Malaysian.

MS<sub>4</sub>: I identify with Malaysia. I was born there and grew up there. That is my country, and I am Malaysian. Chinese should come from China. I am not.

#### (d) Identity of HK

Hong Kong is a special case as a colony of Chinese people governed by the British. The comments of HK reveal that they are conscious of the anomaly in their political situation.

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<sup>6</sup>I once attended a party where I met two MS from Waterloo and Windsor, one coming from Singapore, the other from Malaysia. They agreed with the idea of the particular nature of MS's double identity -- Malaysian/Singaporean first, Chinese second.

HK<sub>7</sub>: I feel we are unlucky we are in Hong Kong. In that situation we can't go to Mainland. Taiwan doesn't welcome us either. It is very hard to get entrance to Taiwan. People there [i.e. Hong Kong] want to escape from Hong Kong, to escape from there. I use the word 'escape', because that quite reflects the situation.

HK<sub>2</sub>: [when asked why he still plans to stay in Canada, although he doesn't like it, because of discrimination] What can I do? I even don't have a country to love.

Other HK state that their Chinese identity is a reflection of the identity of Hong Kong with Mainland China, although the city is still a British colony.

HK<sub>9</sub>: What is the difference, Hong Kong Chinese or Chinese? Hong Kong is part of China. I don't care where I come from, but definitely I am Chinese.

In contrast to this single-minded identification with China is another with Canada, as two responses show.

HK<sub>10</sub>: Since Canadian can be of any ethnic group, why not me?

HK<sub>11</sub>: If I am going to settle down here, I am going to treat myself as Canadian.

Nevertheless, the most common definition is that of a double identity: Hong Kong-Chinese. The common answer to my question was: "I am a Chinese from Hong Kong." Expressing their difference from other Chinese, they would phrase it as this student did: "I would rather say I am a Hong Kong Chinese. I think I am different from the Chinese from other places." (HK<sub>4</sub>). Another said, "I was born there [i.e. Hong Kong] and lived there for over 20 years. I still feel I belong there." (HK<sub>14</sub>).

(e) Identity of TW

TW<sub>5</sub>: If I am not Chinese, who else can be Chinese? My parents are pure Chinese. I was born in China, grew up there, speak Chinese, write Chinese, read Chinese literature and newspaper, learned Chinese customs. Who can say I am not a Chinese? Obviously, I am the legitimate Chinese. Taiwan is a province of China. I came from there. But I won't claim I am a Taiwan-Chinese. Same as a Canadian who comes from Hamilton won't claim himself as Hamilton-Canadian either.

This response is representative for the entire TW sample.

It shows that their identity is very strong and not affected by any uncertainties.

The identity differences just reviewed can be classified according to two types, single identity and double identity, which in turn can be sub-divided into two kinds. Single identity implies that a respondent described him/herself by only one type of self-classification, either by geographic origin or by ethnic background. Instances of the first would be terms like Canadian, Malaysian, etc., of the second, identification on the basis of race, as in the case of TW who claim they are Chinese, treating Taiwan as a Chinese province and regarding themselves as part of a homogeneous people or race. Double identity implies a type of self-classification based on two elements, ethnic background (i.e. race) and nationality. Subjects in this group identify themselves with both. They claim, for example, to be Canadian Chinese, Malaysian Chinese, Jamaican Chinese, etc. Another form of expression is to claim either one of the two aspects at

different times, i.e. at one time that they are Canadian, Malaysian, etc. by nationality, at another that they are Chinese. The following table shows the distribution of the types of identity by number in each of the five groups.

	Single (Ethnic)	Single (Geogr.)	Double	Total
TW	8	0	0	8
HK	2	2	10	14
MS	0	2	8	10
WI	1	0	7	8
CB	0	1	7	8
Total	11	5	32	48

This shows that the majority have a double identity, i.e. an identity based on race and nationality. The significant element here is the second, for the national identity varies from group to group and is the most important cause of the heterogeneity of the sample. TW are the exception, because they all belong in the single identity group, while among all of HK, MS, and CB there were only 8 such cases.

To summarize this chapter, the description of the relative ranking of the five student groups in terms of their differences has produced a complex image of the elements

which contribute to their heterogeneity as a group. One of these were their language differences, a second the differences in cultural and historical knowledge of their Chinese background, and a third the conflict between nationalistic and ethnic elements in their concepts of identity.

## SUMMARY

Some studies of ethnic groups revealed a general assumption that minority groups are strong, coherent, and homogeneous groups. In spite of this assumption, there is, however, evidence to the contrary from other sociologists whose findings I have reviewed in Chapter I. In the same chapter, I reviewed also existing theories and concepts concerning ethnic differentiation which assist the understanding of this phenomenon.

With regard to Chinese, one of the smaller minority groups in Canada, evidence for internal differentiation is significantly ignored or unrecognized, though a few studies of Chinese in the United States have approached this subject, as I pointed out in Chapter I. In the context of my study, two distinct facts emerged. On one hand, Chinese are clearly separated from white society, because of their highly visible racial features, and they share a negative attitude towards the rest of Canadian society through their having had the same kind of experiences. On the other hand, there is no evidence that there exists any kind of strong internal cohesion in the group as a whole. In fact, we found considerable internal differentiation among the Chinese in our sample, and I have tried to identify and analyze the important social and cultural factors responsible for their differentiation.

According to the available statistics, there were 444 Chinese students on campus in 1973. Out of this number, 48 were selected for interviews, 14 from Hong Kong, 10 from Malaysia and Singapore, 8 from Taiwan, from the West Indies (Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana), and from those born in Canada. The study was divided into two major areas of investigation. One was the exploration of the subjects' views of the non-Chinese society in which they lived, the other, their views of each other. The first was dealt with in Chapter III. A variety of specific traits typical of Canadians were mentioned by the Chinese students in my sample. Most important, however, seem to be two, impersonality and prejudice or discrimination. The latter seems to occur in practically any kind of setting, for example, streets, hotels, cafeterias, supermarkets, on campus, in job interviews. A variety of ways, rather than one only, were employed by the subjects to handle such experiences. They range from acceptance and withdrawal to defense mechanisms such as ethnocentrism or talking back. It was interesting to note that none of the subjects showed any signs of self-hatred.

The two negative traits of Canadians -- impersonality and prejudice -- directly or indirectly prevent Chinese from associating with Canadians. This is reflected in their attitude towards cross-marriage and friendship with Canadians. 39, as against 5, would not consider cross-marriage; 43 out of 48 state that most of their friends are Chinese.

This shows that the majority have no close personal friends among Canadians and, instead, seek them among their own kind. They explain this either as the result of impersonality and prejudice, or of common interests among themselves.

However, the greater distance between Chinese and Canadians and this tendency towards internal affinities do not integrate Chinese students with each other as a whole group. It was found that there were five groups among the Chinese students on campus, each with a distinct image of the other groups as being different from each other. TW distinguished two groups, HK and MS. None of these are regarded as legitimate Chinese, due to their lack of a sufficient Chinese identity and knowledge of Chinese culture. They prefer MS to HK, whose characteristics impress them as undesirable. HK distinguish three groups, TW, MS, and WI/CB. They hold that TW are backward, conservative, with poor English, although they are credited with a good knowledge of Chinese culture. MS appear as markedly different from HK because of the differences in language and culture. WI/CB were completely excluded as Chinese, owing to their lack of any cultural ties with Chinese traditions and their better integration into Canadian society. MS mentioned HK, WI, and TW as the best known groups. Their respect for the rich Chinese culture of TW and their preference for speaking Mandarin result in their having a better opinion of TW than of HK whom they regard as westernized, Cantonese speaking, pract-



ical, money-oriented, materialistic, etc. They consider WI as more westernized than themselves, unable to speak Chinese, and as having a more easy-going attitude towards life than they themselves; however, their similar historical and cultural background makes them feel closer to WI than to the other Chinese groups. HK, with their strong Chinese tradition and culture, exemplified by their ability to speak Cantonese, with their strict study discipline and job orientation, gave them the impression that they are a very different people from them. HK are the only group CB were familiar with. They criticize them for sticking together, speaking Chinese most of the time, and for their lack of participation in social life on campus.

The images the 5 groups hold of each other have an impact on their interaction patterns, whether they occur on a formal (i.e. organized) or informal (i.e. non-organized) level. The majority of Chinese students form associations within their group, with the exception of CB. Of the 20 potential ways of social interaction, only a few exist in practice. The reasons behind this lack of internal integration in the Chinese group as a whole were explored by analyzing the significance of three factors, language, culture, and identity, for the heterogeneity of the sample. The major element of differentiation, place of origin, appeared to be compounded of differences in geographical features, proportion of Chinese, and specific culture of each place, according

to the statements of the subjects. The proportion of Chinese in the five places of origin is: 0.6% in Canada, 1.6% in the West Indies, 57.5% in Malaysia and Singapore, 99% in Hong Kong, and 99% in Taiwan. As far as personality goes, WI are described as friendly and care-free, HK as selfish and westernized on the outside but as Chinese inside, MS as easy going, though conservative, TW as clannish, bound by strong ties of family and friendship, and Canadians as lacking in any ethnic identity or solidarity.

Communication is further complicated by the fact that there is no single native (i.e. Chinese) language common to all Chinese. Instead there was a total of 7 non-Chinese languages and 6 Chinese languages or dialects spoken or understood by the sample, an illustration of the barriers to mutual intelligibility. English is the only common language for all. Though Mandarin and Cantonese are the languages best known, neither of these was universally known among the students. This situation derives from the fact that the official languages in each of the five places of origin are different from each other or are used in connection with different secondary languages or dialects in each instant. The languages used for instruction in school, as compared to those merely taught, also differ greatly from place to place. The linguistic difficulties experienced by the subjects may be the reason that they stressed both practicality and versatility (i.e. multiple languages) in stating their lang-

uage preferences for their children. Since communication among the entire group is conducted by means of a non-Chinese language, English, and the sub-groups are restricted to communication in a dialect which is unintelligible outside their membership, cohesion and solidarity among the subjects of varying geographical origin was weak.

Differences in knowledge of Chinese cultural history have bearings upon knowledge and appreciation of Chinese historical figures, classics, customs, traditions, values, and ethnic representatives. The findings were that TW have the highest degree of knowledge in this respect, HK have the next highest, then MS. WI and CB are more or less equal with the lowest degree of knowledge.

Finally, heterogeneity is influenced by the different concepts of identity held by the subjects. We found two general concepts with different contents. The subjects hold either that they have a single identity, based (a) on geographical origin and (b) on race, or that they have a double identity, based on a combination of national and racial consciousness. The majority (32 out of 48) said they had a double identity which means that, though their racial identity is the same, their national identity varies according to the individual. TW represent a separate group in which all subjects acknowledge a single identity, based on race. Single identity, based on nationality, was claimed by 2 HK, 1 CB, and 2 MS.

## CONCLUSION

### 1. Significance of Research

Now that my research is complete with its findings, it is natural to raise the question, "What are the implications of your findings?" In the following, I shall attempt to evaluate the significance of the present study.

First of all, it represents a departure in viewpoint regarding studies of minority groups. We know that most studies concentrate on the character of minority groups as seen from the point of view of the majority group. Studies of the images which a minority, such as the Italians, have of the majority are as yet far from adequate. This has also been true with reference to the Chinese. My contribution in this regard is to have uncovered two dominant images of the majority group as seen through the eyes of a minority, namely the impression that Canadians are impersonal and prejudiced towards Chinese. This impression may not remain constant in time or in the ethnic group; however, I think I have provided some valuable information relevant to the relationship between a majority and a minority group. I hope that it would serve as an activator and promoter of further research along similar lines.

Secondly, my study has taken into consideration the ideas of Allport, Shibutani, and Kwan on the formation of

in-groups and the development of consciousness-of-kind (1965: 39). It is commonly assumed that, confronted by a common antagonist or outsider, members of an ethnic group will seek unity within their ethnicity. Therefore, the result would be the strengthening of the in-group and the increase of consciousness-of-kind. However, as my data stand, only the first part of this proposition can be supported. All Chinese students did perceive the impersonality and prejudice, i.e. negative attitudes, towards their common antagonist and experienced feelings of insecurity in front of Canadians. My findings do not tie in with the tendency postulated by the above-mentioned scholars. The students did not diminish the potential differences among themselves and unite as a strong coherent group through the perception of their racial similarity.

My findings clearly support the idea of Shibutani/Kwan that "people who are placed into an ethnic category by outsiders do not always acknowledge being alike" (1965:41). My data show that the students did not recognize one ethnic category for themselves because of their racial similarity. In fact, they offered elaborate descriptions of the differences in social, cultural, and emotional conditioning which they derive, in turn, from the geographical differences in origin. They indicated that there is no such thing as a common bond of solidarity which would draw the various Chinese on campus together.

The validity of a related theory, advanced by Shibutani/Kwan, can also be illustrated by my data. They have suggested that "People who are genetically alike do not necessarily identify with one another; sometimes they form separate groups and act as if they were different." (1965: ibid.). Evidence from my study not only confirmed the lack of identification towards each other and the formation of sub-groups among the Chinese, but also demonstrated the extremely limited out-group interaction. The limited number of social contacts in inter-group encounters indicates furthermore that the existing differences are of greater significance than the similarities. I have not stopped at the mere identification of internal differentiation but have also analyzed the social and cultural factors from which it arises.

My study contributes useful details regarding Homan's theory of the differentiation within groups based on the mutual dependency of three elements: sentiment, activity, and interaction (1950:131-56). According to my data there is little interaction among Chinese and Canadians and Chinese among themselves because of the differences elaborated by the subjects. Where there is frequent interaction, the similarity within the sub-group is always stressed.

I should like to stress the significance of my research for the exploration of internal differentiation as

an important perspective for the study of ethnic groups -- Chinese as well as others. As we noticed earlier, such studies have been very limited -- both on theoretical and practical levels. For instance, studies of Chinese as an ethnic group have been confined to their discrimination experiences and to community organization.

## 2. The Limitations of the Present Study and Recommendations for Future Research

A study of this kind should ideally be designed to discover both the attitudes of Chinese students before their arrival in Canada and their images as they derive from personal contact after their arrival. This would help us understand whether their images are merely pre-impressions reinforced through selective perceiving or whether they only develop as result of actual interaction with Canadians. Since my study did not extend to the earlier period before their arrival in Canada, the students' views and perspective can only be reported here, not evaluated, given the limitations of our method.

In addition, it would be desirable if further research would take into account the time variable. My study only presents the general images held by the Chinese students at a given point in time. We would need other data which indicate whether the nature and strength of these images change during their stay in Canada. If the unfavourable attitude developed before coming to Canada,

the question to be asked should be whether or not there is an increase in its intensity after arrival here and for how long it lasts. If the negative attitude derives from interaction with Canadians only, one might ask whether it becomes weak or changes in time.

Third, the expansion of the present study to cover the attitudes of Canadians towards Chinese as well as their reaction to the Chinese students' images of them would be an interesting project. One might, for example, ask what things affect the Canadians' attitudes and perceptions concerning Chinese. Could we find comparable data to those from the Chinese students also in a Canadian sample, i.e. would Canadians express unfavourable attitudes towards Chinese? They may not mention impersonality and discrimination but perhaps a number of other characteristics which account for the lack of interaction with the Chinese. Such a study would, no doubt, shed more light on the nature of the inter-relationship of Chinese and Canadians than I have been able to provide within the limited framework of the present study.

Because of the limitation in sample size and the fact that the sample was not selected at random, my research is not representative. It would require more research and cooperation from a larger percentage of the Chinese student population on more than one campus to draw more general conclusions. If such a larger sample could be



obtained, I would also suggest that age and sex variables might be studied as well. Both of these factors may influence the Chinese students' attitude towards and interaction with Canadians and, equally their internal differentiation. It would further be desirable to control discipline and area of study regarding career intention and immigration status, if a larger sample were available.

The fact that I have limited myself to the study of three social and cultural factors which influenced the subjects' images and differentiation should not deter others to look for possible new factors, for people's views and attitudes do change. I would also suggest that there is a need for expansion of empirical studies like mine beyond the narrow limits of Chinese students on campus. More attention should be directed toward the Chinese population off campus to find if there is an internal diversity similar to that of the Chinese student group and whether there are possibly other social factors causing differentiation. Similarly, the application of the present method would also be worth with regard to other foreign student groups such as Blacks, Indians, or British. By this kind of comparison study more general inferences on the different phenomena can be drawn. Such studies could explore questions like, under what circumstances do group unity or internal differentiation arise.

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