

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY:
OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

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OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF POST-WAR
CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN MONTREAL

by

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ABSTRACT

During the summer of 1977, two hundred and one post-war Chinese immigrants were interviewed in Metropolitan Montreal in order to evaluate the degree and pattern of their occupational mobility and process of achievement in Canada. The study employs both traditional mobility research and path analytic techniques. Problems concerning the use of mobility matrices and indices, as well as the status attainment models are discussed. Comparisons are drawn with the results of other Canadian studies of social mobility and achievement. This study finds that Chinese immigrants disproportionately enter the professional and service occupations and are relatively immobile in terms of careers in Canada. Intergenerational mobility into these two sectors is also extensive.

RÉSUMÉ

Durant l'été de 1977, deux cent un immigrants chinois de l'après-guerre vivant dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal furent interviewés dans le but d'évaluer le degré de mobilité professionnelle et la structure particulière des mécanismes de réussite de ce groupe au Canada. L'analyse combine les techniques de la recherche traditionnelle en mobilité sociale et les techniques d'analyse de dépendance (path analysis). L'étude contient une discussion des problèmes associés avec l'utilisation des matrices et indices de mobilité ainsi que des modèles de réussite professionnelle. Les résultats de l'enquête sont comparés avec ceux d'autres études canadiennes des processus de mobilité sociale et de réussite professionnelle. L'examen des résultats révèle que les immigrants chinois sont représentés dans les professions et les emplois du secteur des services dans des proportions supérieures à la moyenne, et sont relativement immobiles en termes de carrières au Canada. Le taux de mobilité inter-génération vers ces deux secteurs est aussi considérable.

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INTRODUCTION

A review of the literature has shown that social mobility is seldom studied substantively among immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Many studies on immigrant groups have focused on the assimilation, acculturation or adaptation, and adjustments of immigrants to the host society. Other studies have concentrated on the issues of voluntary associations and community structure. It seems that the choice of social mobility as a subject of study has not been of general interest. Those who do incorporate this issue or its related aspects to their studies treat it only as a sub-topic of assimilation, or as economic adjustment or structural assimilation.¹ Some studies compare occupational achievement or distributions among immigrant and ethnic groups, or between these groups and the majority native population without paying special attention to a particular ethnic minority group.² As far as social mobility or status attainment of ethnic minorities is concerned, the most extensive studies seem to have been focused on blacks in the United States.³

What is true generally with respect to the study of ethnic groups and social mobility, is true specifically with respect to the study of the Chinese in North America. Some of this work seems to have aimed at a description of Chinese life in North America with minor attention being paid to occupational status achievement.⁴ Some studies have focused on aspects of assimilation;⁵ others have concentrated on community issues.⁶ Some research does appear to be directed towards the change of socio-economic status of the Chinese in North America. However, since these studies deal with occupational distributions rather than actual mobility data,⁷ they can hardly be considered as sophisticated mobility research.

With regard to the voluminous studies in the field of stratification and social mobility, it is amazing to find that so little attention has been paid to the in-depth study of mobility of a particular ethnic or minority group. As Becker has noted: "the degree to which mobility is desired by members of subordinate groups cannot be taken for granted but must rather be regarded as problematic".⁸ It is, therefore, the purpose of this paper to explore systematically the issue of mobility and status attainment with respect to post-

war Chinese immigrants in Montreal, an ethnic group with subordinate and minority status in Canada.

In mobility studies, an individual's status is almost always assessed in terms of the occupation he pursues. Indeed, the occupational position one holds is a good indicator of the individual's general social position in the society. It is also a good indicator of one's actual economic position within a society. To a lesser degree, an individual's occupational position determines his prestige status, his power, and his authority. However, even though occupational change correlates to some extent with changes in the economic and social positions as well as political power, it is not a perfectly reliable indicator of such change. The movement within the occupational hierarchy only indicates the change of one's occupational status. It does not necessarily designate a change in social position, even if occupation is measured in terms of socio-economic status. Hence, to call the movement across occupations "social mobility", is, in a strict sense, too generalized. Since the present study is restricted to the occupational dimension, it is more appropriate to use the term "occupational mobility" or "occupational achievement" to indicate such change rather than using the general term, social mobility.

An examination of the amount and pattern of intra-generational or career mobility in terms of the movement within the occupational hierarchy will serve as a good indicator of how Chinese immigrants have adjusted to the Canadian occupational structure, and how "open" Canadian society is to Asian immigrant groups. Intergenerational mobility, which has received the most research attention, will also be considered. The amount and pattern of intergenerational mobility will reflect the extent of the effect of emigration in determining the distribution of sons across the occupational hierarchy or the degree of social inheritance in terms of occupational status.

However, the study of mobility alone will be fruitless without investigating the factors relating to it. The social process involved will be difficult to determine without considering other conditions associated with it. Therefore, various personal resources and constraints have to be taken into account in order to delineate the mobility process or the outcome of occupational achievement. The opportunity to achieve occupational success depends on a variety of personal resources such as the ascribed family status, ethnic status and education. Personal constraints due to emigration also

will limit the chances of upward mobility. In the present study, various individual attributes contributing to the achieved occupational status of Chinese immigrants in Canada will be examined in an attempt to determine how observed patterns of occupational mobility are affected by various factors.

In addition, comparisons of the occupational achievement or mobility of the Chinese immigrants with other immigrant groups and native Canadians will also be made. Finally, attempts will be made to point out deficiencies in existing perspectives and approaches in mobility research.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

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"Socioeconomic Differentials Among Nonwhite Races," American Sociological Review, vol. 30, no. 6, Dec., 1965, pp. 909-922; Otis Dudley Duncan, David L. Featherman and Beverly Duncan, Socioeconomic Background and Achievement (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), Chapter 4; Charles B. Nam, "Nationality Groups and Social Stratification in America," Social Forces, vol. 27, May, 1958, pp. 328-333; Charles B. Nam, "Variations in Socioeconomic Structure by Race, Residence and the Life Cycle," American Sociological Review, vol. 30, no. 1, Feb., 1965, pp. 97-103.

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4. See for example, Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960); S.W. Kung, Chinese in American Life (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962); Paul C.P. Siu, "The Isolation of the Chinese Laundryman" in Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue (eds): Contributions to Urban Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 429-442; David Tung Hai Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada (Toronto: Hsing Wah Jih Po, 1967), (text in Chinese).

5. For example, Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto; Lai, "The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto".
6. For example, Stanford M. Lyman, "Contrasts in the Community Organization of Chinese and Japanese in North America," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 5, no. 2, 1968, pp. 51-67; Paul L. Voisey, "Two Chinese Communities in Alberta, 1880 - 1920," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 2, no. 2, Dec., 1970, pp. 15-29; D.Y. Yuan, "Chinatown and Beyond: The Chinese Population in Metropolitan New York," Phylon, vol. 27, no. 4, Winter, 1966, pp. 321-332.
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CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Chinese immigration to Canada has a long history.

There have been claims that the Chinese arrived in Canada as early as 1277 when troops of the Mongul Empire were shipwrecked and carried by currents to Canadian land.¹ However, the first documented groups of Chinese who came to Canada were from San Francisco, attracted by the Fraser River Gold Rush in 1858, ten years after their initial immigration to the United States.²

Chinese migration patterns fit W. Peterson's description of "Free Migration".³ The majority of the Chinese immigrated to Canada by personal choice, except for a very few who might have been forced to emigrate for political reasons. Chinese immigration patterns have been subjected to various push and pull factors, personal factors as well as some intervening obstacles,⁴ the most prominent of which are the Immigration Acts. Except during the initial period in which the Canadian government took a laissez-faire attitude in allowing free entrance of Chinese into Canada, Chinese immigration patterns have been

governed primarily by different immigration policies. Based on various over-time policy changes, roughly five stages of Chinese immigration can be determined:

- (1) 1858 - 1884, the initial free immigration stage
- (2) 1885 - 1923, the restrictive stage
- (3) 1923 - 1947, the stage of complete exclusion
- (4) 1947 - 1962, the stage of sponsored immigration
- (5) 1962 - present, the second "free" immigration stage.⁵

The first three stages characterize the historical pattern of pre-World War II Chinese immigration. On the other hand, the last two stages designate the post-World War II immigration pattern. The focus of this study on the post-war Chinese immigrants does not deny the importance of pre-war migration. A historical perspective shows that the two cannot be treated independently. Therefore, a brief review of the pre-war immigration pattern is necessary for a better understanding of post-war immigration characteristics.

Pre-World War II Chinese Immigration

(1) The initial free immigration stage: 1858 - 1884

The majority of early Chinese immigrants came from the southern part of China--predominantly from T'ai Shan (台山), K'ai Ping (開平), En Ping (恩平), and Hsin Wei (新會) of the

Province of Kwantung.⁶ Their emigration was due to a combination of demographic, political, economic and environmental factors. The lack of farm land, due to population growth, the inefficient and corrupted government under Manchu rule, the ceaseless political uprisings, poor economic conditions as well as famine--all these served to push the young male peasants abroad in search of a better living.⁷ They were first attracted to Canada by the Gold rush, and later, by job opportunities available with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Hence, the early Chinese immigrants were motivated primarily by economic reasons, with hopes of maximizing their economic well-being in a developing land of opportunity--Canada.⁸

The major aim of these immigrants was to make money to support their families in China. They did not intend to settle in Canada permanently, but to save enough money so that they could return to China when they were old. Therefore, by creating a migration stream or current for later immigrants, a counter stream or current also developed.⁹ Statistics show that during this initial period, around 20,000 Chinese came to Canada. However, by 1884, only 16,000 - 17,000 remained; others either died, went to the United States, or returned to China.¹⁰

The major concentration of Chinese immigrants during this era was in British Columbia; and they were predominantly male (the sex ratio was 1:70 in 1884).¹¹ These immigrants worked initially as laborers in the gold mines, and later when the gold mine industry declined, as laborers on the Canadian Pacific Railway. They were engaged in other low status occupations, as laundry workers, servants, farmers and coal miners. According to David Lee, there were 4,350 Chinese in British Columbia in 1880, only 22 in Ontario, 7 in Quebec, and 4 in Manitoba.¹² It was only after the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed that the Chinese began to move to the eastern part of Canada, as a result of both increasing unemployment in British Columbia, and available transportation means.

This initial period was "free" because any Chinese were allowed into Canada with no restriction whatsoever. One explanation of this policy was to provide a cheap labor force to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. In responding to a proposal to restrict Chinese immigration made by Premier of British Columbia Amos Cosmos, Prime Minister Macdonald noted: "Choose between Chinese labor or no railway."¹³

Therefore, the Chinese immigrants who came during this period responded to both push and pull factors associated with

the land of origin (China) and the land of destination (Canada), respectively. However, the push factors seem to be more important than the pull factors; thus, these early Chinese immigrants are assumed, according to Everett Lee's hypothesis, to be negatively selected. The intervening obstacles were minimal as there were no legal restrictions imposed on their entrance to Canada. As long as they could pay for the trip and were willing to leave their kins and community behind, they could come to Canada to work; although as we shall see, restrictions were beginning to build up towards the end of the 19th century.

(2) The restrictive stage: 1885 - 1923

The Chinese were viewed as a cheap labor reserve which could be exploited for particular projects, but it was never intended that they should become a permanent part of the Canadian population.¹⁴ As the influx of Chinese grew, anti-Chinese sentiments and the fear of "yellow peril"¹⁵ mounted. Canadians, and more specifically, the British Columbians, began to see the "oriental problem". They realized that they were facing direct competition with the Chinese (as a source of cheap labor) in the labor market. Moreover, the Chinese (as well as the Japanese) were seen as an unfavorable and undesirable race. In British Columbia especially, the orientals were regarded as a menace.

As early as 1872, requests were sent from the B.C. legislature to the federal government to impose a head tax on all Chinese entering the province¹⁶ in order to stop the flow of Chinese immigrants. By 1886, such a federal tax was established on newly arrived Chinese immigrants who were required to pay \$50 upon entrance into Canada. However, the massive inflow of Chinese continued (see Appendix A, Table 1). This individual assessment was then raised to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903.¹⁷ But the conditions at home were still unfavorable to stopping the Chinese from emigration. Between 1901 and 1904, a total of 11,287 Chinese came to Canada.¹⁸ From 1905 to 1923, more than forty thousand Chinese arrived (see Appendix A, Table 2).

To further discourage Chinese (and Japanese) entry, the Canadian parliament in 1908 passed a law that required every Asian immigrant to have \$200 in his possession upon landing in Canada.¹⁹ Unfortunately, such deterrents were not successful. The Chinese managed to borrow money from Chinese immigrants already residing in Canada in order to meet the requirements, and then repaid the debt slowly in the years following their arrival. Thus, these kinds of restrictions did not halt Chinese immigration, but increased the economic hardship of the new immigrants.

Realizing that the restrictive laws could not solve the problem, the legislators finally found a way that would effectively stop the migration. A law prohibiting the Chinese from coming to Canada would put an end to the whole issue. As a result, in 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act, or more accurately, the Chinese Exclusion Act, was passed.

(3) The stage of complete exclusion, 1923 - 1947

According to the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, only big business merchants, students, government officials and persons in transit were allowed to enter Canada.²⁰ The passage of this discriminatory law aroused the indignation of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The Chinese government, weak and pre-occupied with insurmountable internal political turmoil, was unable to defend its former citizens against such persecutions. Moreover, the Chinese immigrants lacked effective leadership, to struggle against exploitations.

The Chinese Immigration Act did succeed in decreasing the volume and rate of Chinese immigration to a large degree. As Everett Lee has stated, ". . . the imposition of new obstacles or the heightening of old ones brought about the sharp diminution of a long continued flow".²¹ The imposition of this new immigration law maximized the difficulty of migration, and

effectively decreased the volume of Chinese inflow. Officially, only 44 Chinese were recorded to have come to Canada during this era.²² However, a complete halt to Chinese immigration was still unsuccessful as the Chinese began to adopt illegal methods of entry.²³

Nevertheless, this Act had great effects on the social structure of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The exclusion of Chinese wives and sons from Canada led to a decline and aging of the Chinese population as well as a continued lopsided distribution of sex ratio.²⁴ From 1931 to 1941, the Chinese population declined by 11,892 (see Appendix A, Table 2). The sex ratio between men and women in 1941 was 10:1.²⁵ This unbalanced sex distribution and lack of companionship for male immigrants resulted in "more severe adjustment difficulties and a sense of insecurity and lack of belongingness to Canada".²⁶ To cope with their loneliness and frustrations, these men resorted to gambling, and the solicitation of prostitutes

Post-World War II Chinese Immigration

(1) The stage of sponsored immigrants, 1947 - 1962

The end of World War II marked a new era of immigration policy in Canada. The Canadian government firmly believed that

there should be no discrimination on immigration based on race or religion. But such a policy was not applied to the admission of Asian immigrants: "Any suggestion of discrimination based on either race or religion should be scrupulously avoided both in the Act and in its administration, the limitation of Asiatic immigration being based, of course, on problems of absorption".²⁷ Discrimination against Asiatic immigration was more profoundly spelled out in the Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King's speech to the House of Commons on May 1, 1947:

Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental right of any alien to enter Canada. There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make any fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population.²⁸

Therefore, the Canadian government was not manifestly opposed to large-scale immigration from the Orient because it was "discriminatory", but because it claimed that the Oriental immigrants created problems of absorption and assimilation.

Ironically, the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was introduced in the House on May 2, 1947, probably out of "sympathy". The recommendation was to allow married men of Chinese descent in Canada, to bring their wives and children

into Canada to live with them. But the deputation noted, "We are not asking you to open wide the gates for Chinese immigration. We are only asking you to allow the wives and children of Chinese residents of Canada to come there, giving them the privilege as we do Europeans and South Americans".²⁹

As a result, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was repealed. Canadian citizens of Chinese descent were allowed to sponsor their close relatives to Canada, at first only pertaining to wives and children under 18 years old. Later, these provisions were revised in the Immigration Act of 1952 which stated that the spouse and the unmarried children under 21 years of age as well as the father over 65 and the mother over 60 years old of any Canadian citizens of Chinese descent were allowed entry to Canada.³⁰ In 1955, Chinese immigrants were allowed to apply for their fiancé(e) to come to Canada; and furthermore, any unmarried children under 21 years old of the fiancé(e) could come along with their parent. This provision was further relaxed in 1957 when any Chinese male resident in Canada (whether he was immigrant or citizen) was allowed to sponsor his prospective wife to come to Canada to get married.³¹

The "re-opening" of Chinese immigration and the new immigration regulations opened a gateway for a large illegal

movement in the post-war period. It was not until 1959 that the government was convinced that large numbers of Chinese immigrants had been gaining admission to Canada illegally. They became aware of the "early creation of an illegal immigration industry based in Hong Kong, specializing in the creation . . . of fictitious Chinese families, or fictitious 'slots' in existing Chinese families, into which fictitious relatives could be fitted".³² In other words, those who wanted to immigrate to Canada could use money to forge papers proving their relationship with the Chinese families here in Canada, and by the laws, could then be admitted under sponsorship.

The problem was dealt with in a merciful way. An "amnesty" was given to all who entered Canada illegally before July 1, 1960; and this amnesty was later extended by a "period of tolerance" which continued up to September 1, 1964.³³ At the same time, the Chinese Adjustment Program was also introduced which,

called upon Chinese who entered Canada illegally to come forward and make complete and honest statements pertaining to the circumstances under which they had entered Canada, together with truthful information concerning their family backgrounds. In return, these illegal immigrants . . . might be permitted to remain in Canada if they were of good moral character and had not been systematically engaged in illegal immigration.³⁴

These conditions for remaining in Canada were not officially terminated. The amnesty, "period of tolerance", and Chinese Statement Program continued to operate and gradually were phased out. From June 1960 - July 1970, 11,569 Chinese had their status adjusted.³⁵

The sponsored immigration had great effects on the composition of the Chinese population in Canada. In the first place, the amount of immigration increased substantially (see Appendix A, Table 2). During this era, the immigration of females outnumbered males to a large degree, and were mostly either children or young adults within a marriageable age (see Appendix A, Table 3). The increase in Chinese immigration led to an increase in the Chinese population. Between 1951 and 1961, the Chinese population increased by 25,569 (see Appendix A, Table 2). The effect of "chain migration"³⁶ is shown especially in the proportion of the newly arrived immigrants in each province to the Chinese population of that province. British Columbia which had the largest concentration of Chinese over the years also absorbed the largest amount of Chinese immigrants, followed by Ontario which became the second largest Chinese centre (see Appendix A, Tables 4 and 5).

(2) The second "free" immigration stage, 1962 - present

The emergence of a new attitude towards immigration because of the increased need for skilled personnel and the fear of shortage in the labor supply paved the way to a second "free" immigration stage for Chinese immigrants. In 1962, the old policy based on national origins had been swept away, and in its place a policy based on the individual skills of the prospective immigrant regardless of his country of origin, was adopted.³⁷ For the first time, racial discrimination, the major feature of Canada's immigration policy, was officially removed.

This admission requirement was later structured in the 1967 Immigration Regulations³⁸ which provided an assessment point system based on nine categories: education and training, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, relatives in Canada, and employment opportunities in the area of destination. All of the categories except personal assessment, are objective criteria for selection. These nine factors have a combined value of 100 units. If the applicant receives 50 or more points, he will be admitted; with less than 50 points, his application will be rejected.

The regulations also created three categories of immigrants: (a) sponsored dependents, (b) nominated relatives,³⁹ and (c) independent applicants who are neither sponsored nor nominated. Sponsored immigrants are admitted to Canada only if they are in good health and good character, that is, they are not required to go through the point system. Independent and nominated applicants, on the other hand, are admitted provided that they pass the assessment of the immigration officers on the point system. However, for the nominated applicants, only the first four criteria mentioned above are applied.

Because of increased economic hardships and higher unemployment rates affecting Canada, new regulations were introduced in 1974. In February, amendments were made to the regulations stating that independent and nominated "applicants wishing to enter the labor force must be in an occupation for which there is a demand in Canada (either nationally, or in the area to which they are destined) or they must have a firm job offer from a Canadian employer".⁴⁰ Further new regulations were introduced in October of the same year to tie immigration more closely to the Canadian labor force:

The regulations now stipulate that from the total points awarded either an independent or nominated

applicant, 10 are deducted unless the applicant shows evidence of bona fide arranged employment, or is going to a job where persistent regional shortages are known to exist (i.e., a designated occupation). The applicant will receive credit for arranged employment only when it has been established that no Canadian citizen or permanent resident is available to fill the vacancy.⁴¹

(See also Appendix B for Selection Criteria.) For Canadian residents, the October regulations improve their chances of filling vacancies which might otherwise have been filled by immigrants from abroad.⁴² For the newly arrived immigrants, their employment in Canada is secure; and they are able to contribute to the Canadian economy more quickly.

The change of immigration policy in 1962 served as a very important landmark in Chinese immigration to Canada. For the first time since 1923, the Chinese were given equal opportunity to enter Canada independently if they could pass the point system. The result was a sharp increase in Chinese immigration after 1962, and consequently a tremendous increase in Chinese population (see Appendix A, Table 2). Moreover, the change also coincides with the growing insecure political situation in Hong Kong, especially marked by the Communist riot of 1967, which pushed the Chinese, especially the well-off ones, abroad at a surprisingly fast rate. The "Amnesty" given to all illegal immigrants in Canada to have their status

adjusted in 1973 further heightened the recorded number of Chinese immigrants. Between 1972 and 1973, the number of Chinese immigrants doubled from 7,181 to 16,185. (see Appendix A, Table 2).

The special regulation pertaining to occupational demand also had an effect on the destination of new Chinese immigrants. Alberta, which is a developing province, began to absorb a greater amount of Chinese immigrants as compared to the past. Ontario, especially Toronto, which had become highly industrialized and prosperous, took the place of British Columbia or Vancouver, as the biggest attractor of new Chinese immigrants in the past four years (see Appendix A, Table 4). Table 5 in Appendix A also shows the gradual decrease of Chinese population in British Columbia as compared to the steadily increasingly Chinese population in Ontario.

However, to some extent, the 1974 regulations tightened Chinese immigration as few independent applicants are able to obtain bona fide arranged employment, and therefore do not succeed in their application. This can be shown in the gradual decrease in the number of Chinese immigrants since 1974 (see Appendix A, Table 2).

Overall, the implementation of the point system brought in a different group of Chinese immigrants to Canada. The new immigrants are now generally well educated and highly skilled as compared to the early immigrants who were mostly manual laborers. Table 6 in Appendix A shows that between 1967 and 1976, more than 50% of the newly arrived immigrants belong to the white collar occupational group with more than 30% in the managerial and professional categories. When compared to other immigrant groups such as the Japanese, and British, the new Chinese immigrants are over-represented in the managerial, professional and clerical occupations. They are only under-represented in these occupational groups when compared to the American immigrants (see Appendix, Table 7).

For the Chinese-Canadian population, the lower-class image has begun to fade away. "The progression moves from menial worker to the development of a merchant class that uses its new wealth to educate its children who eventually enter the professions".⁴³ With no doubt at all, the Chinese in Canada began to rise gradually in the social and economic scale.

The history of Chinese immigration has been a bitter one marked with restrictions, exploitation and discrimination.

But as Davis and Krauter commented:

One may hope that the improving positions of the Chinese . . . will preclude any future repetition of such oppression and that the door to the anti-Chinese . . . bigotries of the past is now firmly closed.⁴⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. David T.H. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada (Taiwan: Hai Ting Printing Co., 1967), Text in Chinese, p. 30; Vivien Lai, "The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto" in Jean-Léonard Elliot (ed.): Minority Canadians 2: Immigrant Groups (Ontario: Prentice Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971), p. 121; Vivien Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto, M.A. Thesis, York University, Ontario, 1970, p. 3.
2. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 1.
3. See the detailed discussions of "free migration" as well as other types of migration in William Peterson, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review, vol. 23, no. 3, 1958, pp. 256-266.
4. These are the factors put forward in Lee's theoretical model of migration. See Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography, vol. 3, no. 1, 1966, pp. 47-59.
5. These stages were originally put forward by Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, and later modelled and translated into English by Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto.
6. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 43.
7. Ibid. For details, see Chapter 3.
8. The emphasis on the relationship between migration and economic betterment is found in most migration theories. The Chinese migration is no exception to prove this relationship. For detailed discussions on the importance of economic factors on migration, see E.G. Ravenstein, "The Law of Migration," Journal of Royal

Statistical Society, vol. 52, June 1889, pp. 241-305; Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," American Sociological Review, vol. 5, 1940, pp. 845-867; Lee, "A Theory of Migration"; and James M. Beshers, Population Processes in Social Systems (New York: The Free Press, 1967), Chapter 5, "Migration".

9. For detailed discussion of migration current and counter current or migration stream and counter stream, see Ravenstein, "The Law of Migration"; and Lee, "A Theory of Migration". See also Appendix A, Table 1 for the statistics showing migration stream and counter stream.
10. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, pp. 416-417.
11. Ibid., p. 422.
12. Ibid., p. 416.
13. Ibid., p. 141.
14. Morris Davis and Joseph F. Krauter, The Other Canadians (Canada: Methuen Publications, 1971), p. 55.
15. This term was used by Davis and Krauter to designate the "Oriental Problems". For detailed discussions concerning discrimination against the Chinese, see Ibid., pp. 55-72; and Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, especially Chapter 15.
16. Davis and Krauter, The Other Canadians, p. 61.
17. See S.W. Kung, "Chinese Immigration into North America," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 68, no. 4, Winter, 1962, pp. 610-620.
18. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 418. Note that the statistics put forward by Lee are different from the official immigration statistics shown in Appendix A, Table 2. However, the former is more reliable because if it was true that between 1901 and

1904, only two Chinese came to Canada, it would not be necessary for the Canadian government to raise the head tax from \$100 in 1900 to \$500 in 1903.

19. Davis and Krauter, The Other Canadians, p. 62.
20. For details, see Canada, "Immigration Act 1923, June, Statutes of Canada, 13-14, George V, Chapter 38.
21. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," p. 55.
22. See Kung, "Chinese Immigration into North America." For approximate figures, see Appendix A, Table 2.
23. Davis and Krauter, The Other Canadians, p. 62.
24. Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto, p. 6.
25. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 429.
26. Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto, p. 7.
27. Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), p. 84.
28. Quoted directly from Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto, p. 7. For details, see Canada, House of Common Debates, vol. 3, 1947, pp. 2644-2647; and Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, pp. 91-93.
29. Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, p. 85.
30. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 365. For details, see Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, The Immigration Act, Chapter 325, R.S.C. 1952 & Regulations; and Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, pp. 101-106.
31. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada, p. 366.

32. Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, p. 131.
33. Ibid., p. 132.
34. Ibid., p. 133.
35. Ibid.
36. Chain migration occurs when one member of a kin group moves and others follow until most of the family are relocated.
37. Quoted from Alan G. Green, Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy (Canada: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1976), p. 36. For detailed discussion of the 1962 regulations, see Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, pp. 125-127; and Canadian Gazette, SOR62-36, Part, 2, vol. 96, no. 3, February 14, 1962.
38. See Canadian Gazette, SOR 67-434, Part 2, vol. 101, no. 17, September 13, 1967; and Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, pp. 374-376. See also Canada, The Canadian Immigration and Population Study, The Immigration Program (Volume II), 1974; and Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, 1975.
39. Sponsored dependents are defined as husband or wife; fiancé or fiancée; unmarried daughters and sons under twenty-one; parents or grandparents over sixty, or younger if they are widowed and unable to work; and orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren under eighteen. Relatives not belonging to the above category are classified as nominated relatives and have to meet certain standards under the assessment system.
40. Quoted from Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Report, 74-75, p. 18. See also Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, 1975; and Canada, The Canadian Immigration and Population Study, The Immigration Program (Volume II), 1974.

41. Quoted from Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population, 1975, p. 9. See also Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Report, 74-75; and Canada, The Canadian Immigration and Population Study, The Immigration Program (Volume II), 1974.
42. Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Report, 74-75, p. 18.
43. "Climbing the Golden Mountain," Reader's Digest, October, 1977, p. 85.
44. Davis and Krauter, The Other Canadians, p. 69.



CHAPTER II

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CONTEXT OF A VERTICAL

MOSAIC¹: PROBLEMS OF OCCUPATIONAL

MOBILITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The history of Chinese immigration shows that ever since the changes of immigration policy after WWII, drastic changes have occurred in the socio-economic composition of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Labor in mines and on the railroads now belong to the scenes of the past, and the Chinese image as "coolie" has faded away. Now the immigrants arrive with higher social origins, better education, and a more favorable attitude towards participation in the larger society. On the other hand, the gradual diminution of discrimination and prejudice of the Canadians towards the Chinese contributes to a new profile of development and change. Now we find Chinese immigrants employed in almost all sectors of the Canadian economy, living in various residential areas of Canadian cities, slowly moving away beyond the limits and barriers of their own communities—the Chinatowns.

Though there is sufficient evidence that the Chinese as a group have entered a period of accelerated social mobility,² some of them still occupy disadvantages positions, and others rely on their own community for survival. It follows that individual variations with respect to career chances are still pronounced and should not be neglected. The present thesis explores certain conceptual issues of individual mobility and achievements pertaining to Chinese immigrants as a consequence of migration. Before investigating these issues, let us first consider the relative position of the Chinese in the Canadian stratification system.

Chinese Immigrants as an Ethnic Minority

Group in Canada

Immigrant groups are either called ethnic groups or minority groups. However, the two terms cannot be taken as synonymous. Ethnic group refers to a "cultural" unit whereas minority group designates a "status" unit. Chinese immigrants are considered as an ethnic group because they possess certain distinct racial and cultural traits, and identify themselves and are identified by others, as belonging to this particular group.³ They are viewed as a minority group because their

culture is not the one transmitted by agents of socialization controlled by the larger Canadian society, and because they are under-represented in the major decision-making bodies in Canada.⁴ Not all ethnic groups are minority groups. For example, the British compose an ethnic group with majority status in Canada. Similarly, not all minority groups are ethnic groups; examples being women and the poor. The interplay between ethnicity and status is especially perceptible and important in the Canadian social structure.

Canada is regarded as a vertical mosaic, a multi-cultural society with class and ethnicity intertwined to form the social structure. In other words, the Canadian stratification system is molded along ethnic lines. Ethnic groups are ranked hierarchically in superiority and inferiority. The Chinese are one of the ethnic groups with minority status in Canada.

The role of ethnicity is most visible when the Canadian class structure is dichotomized into its elite and non-elite components. In Québec, the political arena is occupied primarily by the French, whereas economic elite positions are held by the English. For the rest of Canada, the English of British origin assume primary dominance and power. The two

charter groups possess power to sort and sift appropriate people into the elites. In order to protect their control to delineate the society, they reinforce other ethnic groups into low status positions within non-elite class, and hold down immigrants and the poor. Ethnicity thus serves "as a form of class control of the major power structures by charter ethnic groups who remain over-represented in the elite structures".⁵ All other ethnic groups, except a few Jews,⁶ are denied access into the bulk of power in major decision-making bodies in Canada.

Within the non-elite stratum, noticeably the occupational structure, ethnic groups are also stratified in status. Both the British and the Jews are over-represented in top status positions and occupations and are under-represented in lower status positions, thus ranking the highest among ethnic groups.⁷ According to Porter,⁸ in terms of the overall rank order, the Chinese rank lower than the British, Jews, French, German, Dutch, Scandinavians, Eastern European, Italian and Japanese, only above native-Indians. Though this rough rank order was claimed to persist over the years, (except for the French who have dropped in status), there is sufficient evidence showing that the Chinese have improved their status as a result of post-

war immigration and improved education. The Chinese or Asians are now both over-represented in the highest and lowest status categories; and with respect to occupations, are over-represented in the professional (mainly engineers and scientists) and service categories.⁹

However, there are regional variations in terms of the stratification system in Canada. As indicated earlier, the composition of the elites differs between anglophone and francophone areas in Canada. The occupational structure also differs among provinces. Porter shows that "immigrant males in Quebec were more numerous in the professions and in clerical occupations than those born in Canada, although the opposite was the case in all provinces west of Quebec".¹⁰ The Blishen study revealed that post-war Asian immigrants, as well as other immigrants, were more over-represented in the top three Blishen classes than those immigrants in Ontario.¹¹ One is led to speculate that the relative positions of the post-war Chinese immigrants are higher in Quebec than in other regions.

In sum, Chinese immigrants are considered an ethnic minority group in Canada because they are not represented at all in the elite structures, and are ranked relatively lower than the majority groups in the occupational structure.

Discussion about mobility of the Chinese immigrants, therefore, cannot be focused on the movement into elite positions. Instead, the issues of mobility will be approached in terms of movement in the occupational hierarchy within the nonelite class.

Occupational Mobility as a Consequence of Migration

Mobility studies generally deal with the questions of the rate, amount, pattern and process of mobility, paying more attention to intergenerational than intragenerational or career movement. The rate of mobility refers to the probability of move while the amount of mobility refers to the extent of mobility. The pattern means the direction of move across occupations, whereas the process of mobility focuses on the intervention of other variables in explaining the movement. The present study will emphasize the aspect of intragenerational rather than intergenerational movement. Although the latter is not disregarded, we are more interested in how the career patterns of Chinese immigrants are being affected as a consequence of migration.

Migration is part of an economic process, a movement of labor with capital.¹² The process of immigration is mainly

determined by the economic needs of a host society, which in turn is governed by the interests of her elites. It follows that the movement is regulated by sorting out appropriate people from different ethnic origins according to their qualities or aptitudes suited for different economic activities. Racial minorities will be subjected to tougher selection so that they will have to be extremely well qualified in order to enter the receiving country. On the other hand, a migrant's decision to migrate is also largely governed by economic motives to better oneself, and facilitated by a lack of opportunity in the sending country and/or perceived greater opportunity in the receiving country. The potential migrant often perceives the country of destination as having better opportunities, though as Lee¹³ has pointed out, the knowledge of the receiving country is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of the area can only be perceived by living there.

As indicated in the previous chapter, immigration of Chinese to Canada was due primarily to economic factors, and they were generally being pulled to Canada by perceptions of better opportunities. However, emigration not only means new faces and new norms, but also implies a new environment and the crossing of social boundaries.¹⁴ It involves the development of potential strain in terms of adaptation to the new

environment, new job opportunities and job market. It produces disruptive effects, both in the forms of life expectations and occupational careers. After all, the receiving society may not be as fascinating and opportunistic as one thinks, especially for members of a less preferred ethnic minority group. It must be remembered that job opportunities are controlled mainly by dominant groups making invidious judgements as to what kind of people from which origins are more suitable to particular jobs.

The disruption of a normal career pattern as a result of migration can best be explained by status dislocation experienced by immigrants. Status dislocation is defined as "any change of social position consequent upon geographic movement and either necessitated or facilitated by it".¹⁵ In his national study, Richmond showed that immigrants from countries other than Britain are more likely to experience initial downward mobility and are less likely to make a full recovery because of language problems.¹⁶ In the Toronto metropolitan study, he also presented the findings that initial downward mobility is especially marked among "Slavic, Jewish, 'other' Europeans, together with the Black and Asian immigrants".¹⁷ The disruption of immigrants' career as a result of migration is thus very obvious. It is especially so for the Chinese.

However, are they going to make full recovery after staying for some time in Canada, or are opportunities available for them to advance further relative to their original achieved status prior to migration? According to Porter, immigration has allowed Canada to continue to fill important positions without reducing inequality of opportunity and may have locked particular ethnic groups into the status held on entering the country.¹⁸ Does this mean much immobility will be found with respect to immigrants' career pursuits in Canada? Being an ethnic minority group in Canada, how is the opportunity structure of the Chinese differentiated from that of immigrants from other countries, especially those from Britain? Does immigration provide opportunity for the Chinese to advance their positions relative to their fathers even if they experienced status dislocation or restricted opportunity as compared to other ethnic groups?

Besides these inquiries about vertical mobility, we are also interested in the movement across occupational groups as a consequence of migration. In particular, we want to determine the kinds of occupations which provide better opportunity for Chinese immigrants upon migration to Canada. What kinds of occupations will they be more likely to end up in, in Canada?

How does their minority group status in Canada affect their choices of occupation?

As indicated earlier, external employment opportunities, that is, opportunities in the larger society, are mainly under the control of the dominant groups, especially the British, who run the economy in Canada. The assumption of "entrance status" by the less preferred ethnic groups best explains the impact of power of the charter members in the receiving society. Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter groups.¹⁹ Many minority groups enter low status occupations because they do not speak the language of the dominant groups, have low education, or are subjected to discrimination and prejudice by the charter members.

In the past, Chinese immigrants certainly qualified as members of one of the ethnic groups driven into certain low status occupations because external opportunities were not available. The ethnic specific entrance status of the Chinese started due to job competition with the white labor force after the Gold Rush and the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They began to associate themselves with jobs that would not create conflict with white people. Thus they operated

restaurants and laundry businesses, which in turn created job opportunities for their Fellow Chinese. As more and more Canadians began to operate laundry businesses, using machinery in replacement of manpower, the Chinese laundry business started to decline. Nowadays, only restaurant and food businesses persist and such occupations have become a caste-like status for the Chinese. Such niche occupations provide internal opportunities for later immigrants who cannot find appropriate jobs in the larger society.

The ethnic specific occupations developed over the years, however, provide a ceiling for mobility of the Chinese immigrants if they are driven initially into such jobs upon arrival to Canada. According to Wiley,²⁰ the stratification system is projected like a tree in which the trunk provides the normal course of mobility in the larger society while the limb designates an ethnic mobility trap on which there is limited opportunity for mobility. "The mobile ethnic can choose the relatively safe and comfortable course of pursuing whatever opportunities exist within the group, or, to the extent that the majority group permits, he can take the more adventuresome and lonely course of leaving the group to climb the trunk. This latter option is not generally open to all groups."²¹ The ethnic specific entrance status; in this case, the service

occupations, developed over time, provides the in-group career which becomes a classic ethnic trap. If immigrants make choices in the ethnic direction, there will be no easy way for them to get out into the world at large. Whether this is due to "conflicting norms between the majority and the minority groups"²² is difficult to say. However, the concept of an ethnic mobility trap suggests that the "entrance status" assumed by Chinese immigrants will hinder opportunities to move out into the larger society. Service occupations, considered as dead end jobs, provide limited opportunity for mobility; for example, the farthest individuals can go is the movement from kitchen help to owners of restaurant.

As indicated earlier in the chapter, Chinese immigrants are over-represented in the service occupations. Is this a reflection of an existing ethnic trap? Under the assumption that migration provides a disruption of normal career patterns, what kinds of immigrants under study will be more likely to be driven into such occupations upon arrival in Canada? Is there any opportunity for them to move out of these occupations? If there is, to what kind of occupations will they more likely move? Moreover, from what kind of family background are these immigrants more likely to have originated?

But service occupations are not the only jobs Chinese immigrants pursue in Canada. Data show that the immigrants are also over-represented in professional occupations. We will want to determine whether there are opportunities for those who pursued other occupations prior to migration to enter these occupations upon arrival in Canada, or whether only previous professionals in their country of origin have chances to continue their career without being disrupted by geographical movement. Another question is whether there are opportunities for immigrants who worked initially in other occupations in Canada to switch to professional work after having stayed here for some time. Furthermore, does migration provide advantages for sons from other occupational origins to advance their positions relative to their fathers? Overall, why is there more opportunity for immigrants to pursue professional jobs but not other occupations, for example, other white-collar occupations?

Since the immigrants who started their career in Canada are not subjected to the disruptive effect of migration in terms of career pursuit, it will be interesting to find out how the opportunity structure differentiated between this group and immigrants who started their career prior to migration. Is the former more likely to achieve upward mobility than the latter?

Are they more likely to enter professional jobs than the latter? If there is any difference in the amount and pattern of mobility between the two groups, what are the underlying factors accounting for the difference?

To summarize, the problems of occupational mobility of Chinese immigrants will be approached in two ways: first, the change in status, and second, the change in occupation, as a consequence of migration. Though the two may imply the same analysis, because of various problems of measurement which will be discussed in Chapter V, they are treated as separate though related in the present study. In addition, comparisons will be made between immigrants who started their career prior to migration and those who started their career in Canada. Occupational mobility between Chinese immigrants and immigrants from other countries will also be investigated.

The Process of Achievement: The

Socio-economic Life Cycle

Mobility is commonly seen as a function of two main sets of factors: characteristics of individuals and structural characteristics of society.²³ Structural characteristics involves the influence of technological, demographic and economic factors in explaining the change in the supply of

positions in different occupations.²⁴ The present study falls short in the avenue of an empirical investigation of the structural component of mobility. This is not because it is unimportant, but because it is difficult to operationalize. In the first place, our study involves the analysis of different occupational structures; and second, the population under study represents only a sub-group in the occupational structure. However, inference to certain structural characteristics will be made in the analysis of mobility, in a later chapter. This study will focus on certain individual characteristics in explaining immigrants' achievements in Canada.

In contemporary societies, occupation is an achieved status. Though this does not mean that "occupational roles are allocated to persons solely on the criterion of merit",²⁵ the meritocratic argument which states that functionally important positions should be filled by able people is becoming a more and more pervasive view. Indeed, Blau and Duncan have concluded in their study that "the American occupational structure is largely governed by universalistic criteria of performance and achievement".²⁶ Though Cuneo and Curtis²⁷ argue that Canada is more ascriptive oriented, one is led to suspect that their argument is questionable. In fact, with respect to an immigrant group with minority status in Canada, it seems likely

that training and performance will be the most important criteria for them to achieve high status in Canada. In discussing mobility, we have already started to talk about individual attributes (for example, education). Now we would like to bring in the analysis explicitly.

In order to investigate to what extent achievements of Chinese immigrants depend on performance and competence, an analysis of the various effects of their personal resources on their processes of achievements in Canada will be made.

There are three stages in an individual's socio-economic life cycle that will affect his occupational achievements: family background, education, and career beginning. The institutions of family, education and work are closely inter-related. Sorokin,²⁸ in his pioneer work on social mobility, had already stated that these three institutions are channels which screen people for future success. For the present study, the association between these three attributes will be built into the status attainment model introduced by Blau and Duncan.²⁹ The operationalization of this model will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI. In general, it is assumed that family background has a direct influence on an individual's educational attainment which will in turn affect his initial occupational pursuit; his subsequent career will in turn be

determined by his career beginning. Social origins and education will have progressively attenuated direct influence on achievements coming later and later in the life cycle.

Basically, three models will be used for analysis: the first consists of the association of variables such as family background, education, career beginning in Canada and career destination in Canada; the second is an extended model including the variable family size; and the third model includes occupation prior to migration. It is believed that education and career beginnings in Canada will have the strongest influence on immigrants' subsequent career pursuits in Canada. Indeed, in order to compete for high status jobs and better places in an economy which is run by the white majority, the members of a racial minority group have to be extremely competent and qualified. As Becker has noted, "where a society contains disadvantaged groups, education is one of the possible means of mobility for them just as it is one of the means by which members of the dominant groups maintain their status."³⁰ The influence of occupation held in former country, on the other hand, will be less pronounced since most immigrants are forced to change occupation upon arrival to the host society.

Immigrants generally are prevented from achieving high status jobs because their experiences and professional

qualifications are not recognized by the receiving society. This is believed to be especially true for Chinese immigrants. It is assumed that those who complete their education in country of origin will face more disadvantages and less opportunities to pursue high status occupations, than those who complete their education in Canada or other western countries. In order to determine how important education is to ultimate achievements in Canada, separate analysis will be carried out for the two sub-groups. In addition, in order to determine how the influence of different variables varies between native Canadians and the Chinese immigrants, comparison will be made with native Anglophones and Francophones.

Acculturation and Achievement

Acculturation serves as an important individual constraint for immigrants in the process of achievement in the receiving society. It is defined as "the acceptance and internalization by the immigrant of a set of beliefs and values shared with the indigenous population and the modification of personality of his customary behavior in the light of these. It involves a gradual desocialization from the pattern of behavior acquired in the cultural environment of his former country and a resocialization of personality as a result of the influences brought to bear upon him in the receiving

country".³¹ In sum, it means "a change of cultural patterns to those of the host society" consisting of items such as language shifts, change in life style, values, norms and roles. For the population under study, it is assumed that they are more likely to be acculturated into the Anglo-Saxon sector than the French sector because most of them came from Hong Kong which is a British colony.³²

Acculturation can be seen as both a cause and a consequence of achievement. As suggested by Weinstock,³³ occupations can be differentiated according to the total number of central and peripheral role elements of which each occupation requires. Central elements are composed of the strictly occupational requirements such as education and know-how while peripheral elements involve specific behavioral pattern, unrelated directly to job performances, expected of the status-holders. In general, "the higher the rank of occupation, the more numerous, the more specific, and the more integrated will be the number of role elements connected with that occupational status".³⁴ Since peripheral elements are prescribed by the dominant groups, the more numerous role elements an immigrant has to fulfill, the more acculturation will be required. Therefore, the higher an immigrant's occupational status pursued initially upon arrival to Canada, "the more his behavior patterns will be prescribed for him by his job; that is, the more . . .

acculturated he will become, if he seeks to maintain his position, and still more if he seeks to advance it".³⁵ On the other hand,

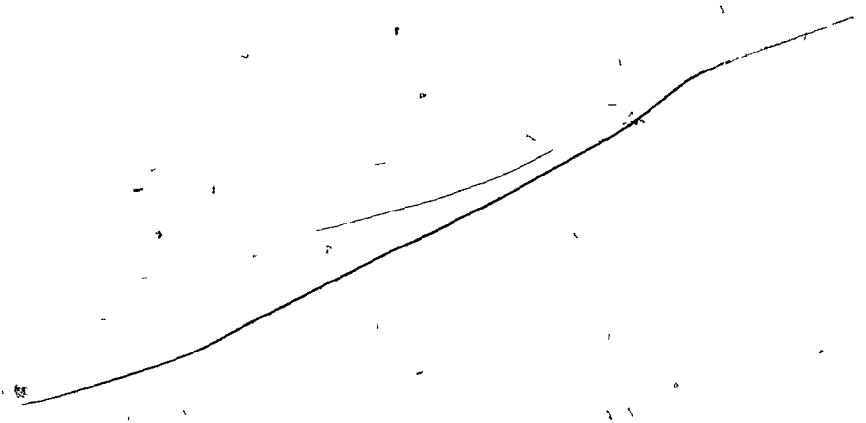
individuals who are more acculturated are more achievement oriented. The more acculturated have a strong acquisitive value orientation. One way to meet these needs is by either acquiring or maintaining a high occupational status. The social system works in such a fashion that in order to acquire and maintain a high occupational status, it is necessary to acculturate.³⁶

Therefore, in terms of the causal ordering of the achievements and acculturation, it is assumed that career beginning in Canada → acculturation → career destination.

However, acculturation is also affected by one's level of education such that the higher the education, the more an individual will acculturate.³⁷ On the other hand, education is also influenced by one's family background, which in turn influences achievements in Canada. In order to explicate the association among these variables, another model will be introduced.

Having considered the various problems of mobility and achievement of Chinese immigrants, the next chapter will proceed to the problem of methodology which includes the important aspects of sampling, questionnaire constructions and

data collection. Analyses of the data begin in Chapter IV which takes account of the various demographic, background, migration and occupational characteristics of the sample so as to provide a better understanding and background for later analysis on mobility and achievements in Chapters V and VI respectively. In addition, various technical and measurement problems involved in the study of mobility and achievement will also be discussed in these two chapters. Chapter VII provides a summary of the findings and implications for future research.



NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. This term is taken from Porter who refers it to the Canadian social structure as being multicultural and ethnically stratified. For detailed discussion, see John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Canada: The University of Toronto Press, 1965); John Porter, "Ethnic Pluralism in Canadian Perspective" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds): Ethnicity (U.S.A.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 267-304.
2. See for example, Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter III; David Tung Hai Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada (Toronto: Hsing Wah Jih Po, 1967); Monica Boyd, "The Chinese in New York, California and Hawaii: A Study of Socio-Economic Differentials," Phylon, vol. 32, no. 2, 1971, pp. 198-206; Calvin F. Schmid and Charles E. Nobbe, "Socioeconomic Differentials Among Nonwhite Races," American Sociological Review, vol. 30, Dec., 1965, pp. 909-922; Mely Giok-Lan Tan, The Chinese in the United States: Social Mobility and Assimilation (Taipei: The Orient Cultural Service, 1973).
3. For discussion of ethnicity and ethnic groups, see "Ethnic Groups," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (U.S.A.: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), vol. 5, pp. 167-172; Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), Chapter 2; Dennis Forcese and Stephen Richer (eds): Issues in Canadian Society: An Introduction to Sociology (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1975), Chapter 6.
4. Jean Leonard Elliot (ed): Minority Canadians 2: Immigrant Groups (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971), pp. 1-6.

5. Porter, "Ethnic Pluralism in Canadian Perspective," p. 294.
6. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter IX.
7. Ibid., Chapter III.
8. Ibid., p. 81.
9. Ibid., Chapter III.
10. Ibid., p. 54.
11. Bernard R. Blisshen, "Social Class and Opportunity in Canada" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Canada: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1973), pp. 162-173.
12. Porter, "Ethnic Pluralism in Canadian Perspective," p. 290.
13. See Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography, vol. 3, no. 1, 1966, pp. 47-59.
14. David F. Ip, "The Recent Chinese Immigrant Families in the United States: Some Sociological Aspects" in Henry E. White (ed): An Anthology of Seminar Papers: The Changing Family, East and West, Hong Kong Baptist College, Hong Kong, 1974 (unpublished); p. 123.
15. Anthony H. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 118.
16. See Ibid.; or Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Canada: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1973), pp. 174-186.
17. Anthony H. Richmond, Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), pp. 24-25.
18. Quoted directly from Lorne Tepperman, Social Mobility in Canada (Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1975),

p. 141. For detailed discussion, see Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter II.

19. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 63-64.
20. See Norbert F. Wiley, "The Ethnic Mobility Trap and Stratification Theory," Social Problems, vol. 15, 1968, pp. 147-159.
21. Ibid., p. 151.
22. Ibid., pp. 152-155.
23. See Aage Bøttger Sørensen, "Models of Social Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, 1975, pp. 65-92.
24. For discussions of structural factors of mobility, see Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), Chapter 12; Seymour Martin Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility" in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds): Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 561-573; John Porter, "The Future of Upward Mobility," American Sociological Review, vol. 33, no. 1, Feb., 1968, pp. 5-19.
25. Otis Dudley Duncan, David L. Featherman and Beverly Duncan, Socioeconomic Background and Achievement (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 3.
26. Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, p. 241.
27. See Carl J. Cuneo and James E. Curtis, "Social Ascription in the Educational and Occupational Status Attainment of Urban Canadians," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 12, no. 1, 1975, pp. 6-24.
28. See Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), Chapters VIII and IX.

29. See Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, Chapter 5.
30. Howard Becker, "Schools and Systems of Stratification" in A.H. Halsey, Jean Floud and C. Arnold Anderson (eds): Education, Economy and Society (U.S.A.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 103.
31. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada, p. 138.
32. For statistics, see Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration and Population Statistics, 1974.
33. See S. Alexander Weinstock, "Role Elements: A Link Between Acculturation and Occupational Status," British Journal of Sociology, vol. 14, 1963, pp. 144-149; or S. Alexander Weinstock, Acculturation and Occupation (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).
34. Weinstock, Acculturation and Occupation, p. 101.
35. Ibid., p. 103.
36. Weinstock, "Role Elements: A Link Between Acculturation and Occupational Status," p. 149.
37. See for example, Richmond, Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants; or Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Survey research and field research are two opposed, but equally valued, research techniques commonly employed in sociological studies. The present study favours survey research. Despite the various deficiencies and weaknesses in quantitative research,¹ it is the method used in data collection for mobility studies. Many improvements have been made in the measurement techniques used in mobility research. Path models, markov models, and log linear models have been developed and different occupational scales have been constructed. These techniques demand the extensive use of quantitative data and have set a future trend for all mobility studies.

However, the choice of a specific research technique, if it is used with understanding, is far less important than the operationalization and the value of the data gathered. As long as research is properly and carefully designed, any kind

of research technique, whether it is quantitative or qualitative, will yield satisfactory data, and hence, valuable results. Thus, within the realm of social research, the validity and reliability of measured variables, as well as the value of the data are of prime importance. In order to obtain good and valuable information in survey research, the questionnaire has to be carefully constructed, the sample properly selected, and the data appropriately collected.

The following sections explain the procedure and techniques of sampling, questionnaire construction, and data collection employed for the present study. As is true of any empirical research, the techniques used are to some extent defective and limited.

The Sampling

Taking the problems of time and cost into consideration, the total Chinese population in Montreal is too large to deal with in the present study. In 1971, the census shows that there were already 10,655 Chinese in metropolitan Montreal. Therefore, sampling was used to obtain a feasible number of respondents. Despite the risk of errors and bias it might have produced, this method was able to yield satisfactory results with a reduction in cost and time.

Based on certain conceptual grounds underlying the specific objectives of the present study, a number of criteria limited further the population from which the sample was taken. First of all, the respondents had to be Chinese immigrants. Being a Chinese immigrant does not mean that an individual has to come from either the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China. As indicated in Chapter II, the term has a wider application--it includes those who identify themselves as "Chinese", regardless of whether they originated from Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philipines, or somewhere else. As the Chinese are dispersed widely throughout the world, especially in the Far East, restricting the group to mere national boundaries is, in a strict sense, limited.

Second, the population under study had to be post-war immigrants, therefore, only those who came to Canada after World War II were included. The exclusion of pre-war immigrants is due to the fact that very few Chinese migrated to Canada between 1924 and 1947 (see Appendix A, Table 2), and those who came before 1924 were either dead or had reached the age of retirement, such that the study of their occupational mobility would not have been feasible. The third criterion was the exclusion of females from the sample. The reason for studying males exclusively was to avoid any confounding of the

results because of intermittent female labor force participation.²

The final criterion was the limit of age range to 25-44. One reason for this age limit was to maximize the amount of occupational mobility since most mobility within this age group occurs early in the occupational career.³ By the age of 25, most men have entered the labor force and have gone beyond their first job or reached a certain point in the occupational ladder. The reason for setting the maximum age at 44 was to make intergenerational mobility comparable. In comparison with Western countries, most countries in the Far East became industrialized at a relatively later stage. By limiting the age of respondents, we reduce this disparity and make father's occupation comparable to son's occupation in Canada.

The three possible sampling frames for the selection of respondents were association lists, the 1975 Lovell's Montreal City Directory and the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal. For various reasons and after detailed consideration, the first two sampling frames were discarded. In the first place, association lists do not exhaust the entire Chinese population. From first hand knowledge, not many

Chinese, especially the young and new immigrants, actually belong to any Chinese associations or churches. This is also confirmed with the present data.⁴ Moreover, the use of association lists restricts the sample to those people who have strong ties with the Chinese community, hence creating a bias towards those who are minimally acculturated and structurally assimilated into Canadian society.⁵

A comparison between the 1975 Lovell's Montreal City Directory and the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal favored the latter, a condensed telephone directory, as a more reliable sampling frame. After comparing some common Chinese names appearing in both sources, it was found that the latter provided more complete information on the Chinese population in Montreal.⁶ Moreover, since the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal was more recent than the other, the phone numbers and addresses provided were more up-to-date.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese directory was the best sampling frame, rather, it was the "best" available for sample selection. A common criticism of using a telephone directory as a sampling frame is that it produces a social-class bias. It is generally said that "poor people are less likely to have telephones; a telephone

directory sample, therefore, is likely to have middle- or upper-class bias".⁷ However, since telephones are becoming more and more common and are no longer considered a middle- or upper-class luxury, the social-class bias should have less profound effects.

But some other more serious limitations, particular to the Chinese directory, still exist. First, the total Chinese population is not included. Those people who want their phone numbers to be confidential will not be listed. Since the Chinese directory was copied from the 1976 Montreal Telephone Directory, it is very likely that some Chinese, who refused to have their names and phone numbers listed in the latter, were excluded in the former as well.

Second, quite a few names included in the Chinese directory are not Chinese (see Table III-1). One reason for this is that the list of "Chinese" names was copied directly from the Montreal Telephone Directory. Since all names which appeared to be Chinese were included without verification (for example: Lee, Kim, Quon), many Westerners, Koreans, Vietnamese and others, were listed in the Chinese directory. Conversely, it is also possible that a very small percentage of the Chinese were excluded because their names were spelled in a way that resembled Western names. Despite these various deficiencies,

the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal still serves as the best updated sampling frame available, and was therefore chosen for sample selection.

There are 3,909 names in the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal. Assuming that there are five people in each household,⁸ the total population covered would be 19,545. This estimate is far greater than the 10,655 Chinese in Metropolitan Montreal stated by the 1971 census. However, from Table III-1, we know that roughly 11% of these households are not Chinese, thus, the number of Chinese households listed should be approximately 3,479, and the total Chinese population covered should be approximately 17,395. This number still exceeds the official number stated in the 1971 census. However, discounting the various errors produced by calculation and estimation, the possibility of the inclusion of non-Chinese household members in the estimation, time lag, and the different definitions of "Chinese" by the two sources, etc., this rough estimate suggests that the Chinese Directory covers a very large number of the Chinese population in Montreal. Thus, we may consider it as a reasonable source for sampling.

Random sampling, based on the random number table produced by Beyer,⁹ was the method used to select the respondents. The sample size was set to be approximately 200. For

consistency, only household heads were interviewed. The sampling procedure required some complexity: To begin with, the first two hundred names were selected on the basis of the first two hundred random numbers. Before arrangements were made for interviews, telephone calls were made to confirm whether the potential respondents met the criteria set for the study. Since not all respondents qualified, and some refused or could not be reached, more names were added to the list using random numbers until the quota was met. The final number of interviews conducted was 201.

Details of the sampling procedure are shown in Tables III-1 and III-2. Out of the 713 phone calls made, 28.19% of those persons contacted were interviewed, 29.45% did not meet the criteria, 12.48% refused, and the rest could not be reached. The total qualified population was 290, out of which 30.69% refused to be interviewed and 69.31% were interviewed. The response rate, in this case, was quite satisfactory.¹⁰

Although the characteristics of persons in the universe specific to the qualified sample would be difficult to obtain and since it is not possible to check the correspondence of various characteristics, the use of random sampling method reduces the bias and errors to a minimal degree.

TABLE III-1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE AND NON-RESPONSE RATE
FOR INITIALLY SELECTED SAMPLE

		Number	Percentage
(1) Does not meet criteria		210	29.45
- Not Chinese	76	10.66%	
- Female	30	4.21%	
- Canadian-born	15	2.10%	
- Not immigrant (student visa)	21	2.95%	
- Not working	7	0.98%	
- Under age	13	1.82%	
- Over age	48	6.73%	
(2) Could not be reached		213	29.86
- Phone disconnected	56	7.85%	
- Phone changed to confidential	6	0.84%	
- No such person	115	16.13%	
- Deceased	2	0.28%	
- Left Montreal	14	1.96%	
- Could not communicate	3	0.42%	
- Could not be reached by the time the quota was met	17	2.38%	
(3) Refused to be interviewed		89	12.28
(4) Total interviews conducted		201	28.19
Total		713	100.00

TABLE III-2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUALIFIED SAMPLE

	Number	Percentage
Refusal	89	30.69
Response	201	69.31
Total	290	100.00

However, in order to give a rough estimate of how the present sample is distributed, the present data are compared to the 1971 census data. Among the information given by the census, the data on age seem to be most comparable to the present data. The age range in the census for non-Canadian born Chinese men is adjusted so as to correspond to the age of the sample in 1977. And for the sample, only immigrants who immigrated to Canada prior to 1971 were selected for comparison. Table III-3 shows that the Chinese immigrants of the present study are over-represented in the younger age group, but under-represented in the other age groups, especially the 36 to 40 age category. The present sample seems to be biased towards young Chinese which may be due to variation in age-specific refusal rates between the census and our sample; or it may be due to the fact that the definition of "Chinese" in the census is not the same as that in the present study.

TABLE III-3

COMPARISON OF AGE DISTRIBUTION IN THE CENSUS
AND IN THE SAMPLE

Age Group	Number	Percentage
Census Distribution*		
26 - 30	325	22.6
31 - 35	230	15.9
36 - 40	380	26.4
41 - 45	505	35.1
Total	1,440	100.0
Sample Distribution		
25 - 30	58	39.5
31 - 35	20	13.6
36 - 40	26	17.7
41 - 44	42	28.6
Total	147	100.0
$\Delta = 17.2$		

*Source: From special tabulation by Statistics Canada of 1971 Census results.

The Questionnaire

Since this project is one of a series of projects carried out by various graduate students, a common set of questions pertaining to pre-migration characteristics, migration patterns and occupations was jointly designed by the researchers under the supervision of the professors in charge. The questionnaire (see Appendix D) was structured with both

open-ended and close-ended questions, so as to provide a clear and systematic format for interviewing.

The questions focused on the dimensions of occupation and industry. In order to obtain a general overview of career patterns, respondents were asked to name the occupations, and type of industries they had worked in at various points of their lifecycle. Other related questions were included to obtain detailed information pertaining to these firms and occupations, and respondents' attitudes towards their occupations. As well, questions dealing with various family background characteristics were included. Both the Blishen's Socioeconomic Index¹¹ and the Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale¹² were used for coding the occupations; and the Canadian census industry categories were used to code the industries.

Other dimensions of the questionnaire included the indices of acculturation, structural assimilation, Canadian identification and reference group. The questions pertaining to acculturation included language skills, language usage and attitude towards Chinese values and norms, and were mostly adopted and modified from the studies done by Lai¹³ and Weinstock.¹⁴ The measurement of structural assimilation was

based on the questions on primary group relations and church and association affiliation, some of which were also adopted from Weinstock. The Canadian identification index includes the questions from Richmond.¹⁵ The questions on reference group were based on questions designed by Hyman.¹⁶ Though he used unstructured questions to conduct his research, and to the knowledge of the researcher, structured questions were unable to yield satisfactory results on this dimension, special efforts were made to obtain reliable and valid information. Due to the limited space in the present thesis, not all the variables in the questionnaire are used for analysis. The focus will be mainly around the issues of mobility.

Being aware of the shortcomings of the standardized questionnaire,¹⁷ attention was given to the design of all questions. The preliminary questionnaire was pretested on 20 Chinese immigrants, and changes were made before the actual interviews were carried out. The questionnaire was translated into Chinese so as to provide a standardized format for the interviewers when the interviews were conducted in Chinese.

Data Collection

In order to increase the reliability of the data collected, personal interviews were conducted with the help of

two trained interviewers. Most interviews were done in the respondent's home, though for convenience, some were carried out in other places, such as respondent's office or work place. Roughly 10% of the interviews were conducted over the phone with respondents who refused to meet the interviewer in person. Although telephone interviews may have had some bad effects, for example, the interviewers were unable to make important observations; note the characteristics of the neighborhood or the dwelling, etc., the percentage of telephone interviews is so small that it may not offset the results. Moreover, the interviewers as well as the researcher found that respondents were less reluctant to give out information over the phone, probably because they felt "safer" as their faces were not known.

All interviews were done during the summer of 1977, from the beginning of July to the end of August. The time span is relatively short so as to minimize the discrepancy of the data, especially pertaining to the issues of occupation and industry. Over 98% of the respondents were interviewed in Chinese, and most in Cantonese dialect. The interview time ranged from 30 to 65 minutes. Most of the interviews took 30 to 45 minutes.

Immediately following interviews, interviewers were asked to measure respondents' perception of the interviews and the questions. In general, the respondents understood the questions very well (see Table III-4). A majority of them were cooperative, friendly and interested (see Table III-5). A few of them were particularly interested, and asked the researcher to send them a summary of the findings when the study was finished.

TABLE III-4

INTERVIEWER'S PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS'
UNDERSTANDING OF QUESTIONS

	Number	Percentage
Good	169	84.1
Fair	32	15.9
Poor	0	0.0
Total	201	100.0

TABLE III-5

INTERVIEWER'S PERCEPTION OF ATTITUDE OF
RESPONDENTS TOWARD INTERVIEW

	Number	Percentage
Friendly and interested	125	62.2
Cooperative but not particularly interested	64	31.8
Impatient and restless	11	5.5
Hostile	1	0.5
Total	201	100.0

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. See Earl R. Babbie, The Practice of Social Research (Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 276-277.
2. For details, see Morley Gunderson, "Work Patterns: Labor Force Participation and Unemployment" in Gail Cook (ed): Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1976), pp. 93-111; and Juanita M. Kreps and R. John Leaper, "Home Work, Market Work, and the Allocation of Time" in Juanita M. Kreps (ed): Women and the American Economy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 61-81.
3. A.P.M. Coxon and C.J. Jones (eds): Social Mobility (England: Penguin Education, 1975), p. 13.
4. The present data show that 34.3% of the total respondents have religious beliefs; only 13.9% of the total respondents attend Chinese churches, and only 25.9% of the Chinese belong to any associations, out of which less than half belong to Chinese associations.
5. See S. Alexander Weinstock, Acculturation and Occupation (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), pp. 43-45.
6. Comparison between the 1975 Lovell's Montreal Directory and 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal shows the following results:

Selected Family Name	Lovell's	Chinese Directory
Chan	184	250
Hum	107	121
Wong	299	357
7. Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, p. 152.
8. The mean number of people in each household for the present sample is 4.98.

9. William H. Beyer, Handbook of Tables for Probability and Statistics (Cleveland: The Chemical Rubber Company, 1968).
10. Babbie felt that a response rate of at least 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting. A response rate of at least 60% is good and 70% or more is very good. See Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, p. 265.
11. See Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 4, no. 1, Feb., 1967, pp. 41-53. This measure will be discussed in Chapter V.
12. See Donald Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, no. 3, Sept., 1975, pp. 183-230. This measure will be discussed in Chapter V.
13. See Vivien Lai, The Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Toronto, M.A. Thesis, York University, Ontario (unpublished), 1970.
14. See Weinstock, Acculturation and Occupation.
15. Prof. Anthony H. Richmond was generous enough to provide us with the methodological detail concerning the ideas of Canadian identification and acculturation used in his studies.
16. See Herbert H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology, no. 269, 1942.
17. See Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, pp. 106-111.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Previous chapters have shown that post-war Chinese immigrants have, to a large extent, differed from pre-war immigrants in their socio-economic make-up. The change in immigration policies and attitudes towards racial minorities have brought in a new group of immigrants to Canada, a group which is more readily absorbed into the host society and more likely to be accepted by members of the receiving society. The present chapter examines certain characteristics of the sample, including their demographic and background attributes, their motives for migration, and their occupational pursuits in Canada. We believe a description of these characteristics will provide a better understanding of the immigrants under study, and will serve as a background for later analysis.

Demographic and Background Characteristics

The majority of Chinese immigrants studied came from urban origins, and therefore had been accustomed to urban life

before they immigrated to Canada. Almost all the immigrants were born and spent their adolescence and adult life in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, mainly in Hong Kong and T'ai Shan of the province of Kwangtung in China. Over 75% of the respondents have their ancestral origin in Kwangtung, an overwhelming majority of which being in the cities (or Hsiens) of T'ai Shan and K'ai Ping. This shows that the historical pattern of migration from this southern province and particularly these two cities still persists more than a hundred years after their initial migration to Canada, possibly as a result of a long term chain migration pattern.

It should be noted that this group of people did not come to Canada directly from their ancestral homes. The majority of them have families which had moved to Hong Kong as refugees because of the communist take-over of China in 1949; and depending on their age, they were either born in Hong Kong after the flight or were born in China. Very few of the immigrants studied came from Taiwan (3%) and Macau (1%).

The families of these immigrant families are traditional and stable. This is reflected by the high percentage (71%) who lived with both parents when they were 16 years old; only 5% lived alone and 12% lived with one parent. Divorce is not common among the Chinese. Within the sample, 72% are married,

and only 1% are widowed. Ethnic intermarriage is rare. Almost all the married Chinese have wives of the same ethnic origin, only 4% are married to English or French-Canadians, and 2% have non-Chinese Asian wives.

Individuals in the sample generally came from middle-sized families. The mean number of siblings is three, with the number of siblings ranging from none to ten. However, the majority came from low status family backgrounds. In other words, the average socio-economic status of their fathers (or father substitutes) when they were 16 years old was 37.25 Blishen points.¹ Nevertheless, half of their fathers were self-employed. Moreover, the occupations of their fathers were also concentrated in the clerical and sales and service sectors, amounting to more than half of the distribution (see Table IV-1). Only 7% worked in agriculture. None worked in the primary occupations of forestry, fishing and trapping, mining, quarrying, etc. This further supports the belief that the majority of the sample originated from urban areas.

The educational level of respondents' fathers is also fairly low in comparison with that of the respondents. The mean number of years of formal schooling for the fathers is 9 years. Thirty-three per cent of them finished elementary school only; 28% completed high school, and 22% did not even

complete elementary training. As expected, the educational level of mothers is even lower since Chinese women of the past generation were not encouraged to receive formal training. The mean is five years, with 80% having finished elementary school or less and only 4% having received a university education.

TABLE IV-1
DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF FATHER

Occupational Group*	Number	Percentage
Professional & Technical	27	14.9
Managerial	16	8.8
Clerical & Sales	67	37.0
Service	35	19.3
Manual	23	12.7
Farm	13	7.2
Total	181	100.0

*Occupational groups adopted from Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale in Donald Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, no. 3, Sept., 1975, pp. 183-230, Appendix A. This measure will be discussed in Chapter V.

The mean age of the sample is thirty-four years old, with more than half (57%) being between 25 - 34 years of age and 43% being in the 35 - 44 age category. On the average, they are fairly well educated. The mean number of years of schooling completed is thirteen, ranging from a minimum of three years to as many as 25 years. Forty-two per cent had received at least a bachelor degree. Therefore, on the average, they have achieved better educational training than their parents. One possible explanation is that the opportunity to receive a better education is more readily available to the present generation. However, only 40% of the respondents finished their education in their country of origin, that is, in the place where they grew up. The rest finished their schooling in other western countries. Of these, 87% did so in Canada. Others completed their education in countries such as the United States, England, France, Germany, Belgium and New Zealand. The average education attained by the latter is higher than that attained by the former, thereby indicating that the accessibility of higher education is limited in the country of origin. A large proportion of those seeking a higher level education must travel abroad if they are to succeed in this pursuit. The differences in educational and occupational achievement between these two groups will be further explored in Chapter VI.

Nearly one-third of the immigrants arrive in Canada having no working experience to their credit. While over half have worked full-time in their country of origin, the rest have only been employed on a part-time basis. Of those who have full-time working experience, their average achieved status was 43.87 Blischen points, with a standard deviation of 16.08. Almost all of them are employed workers, being engaged mainly in clerical and sales, manual and professional occupations (see Table IV-2). The average labor force participation prior to migration is four years, ranging from less than a year to fifteen years.

TABLE IV-2

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' MAIN OCCUPATION
IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.

Occupational Group*	Number	Percentage
Professional & Technical	24	21.8
Managerial	4	3.6
Clerical & Sales	32	29.1
Service	7	6.4
Manual	30	27.3
Farm	11	10.0
Total	110	100.0

* Occupational groups adopted from Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale in Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility."

Migration

The present sample immigrated to Canada between 1948 and 1976. Only 23% came during the 1945 - 1962 period when sponsored immigration was the only form possible; the rest arrived after 1962. Sixty-eight per cent came with landed immigration visas, 24% with student visas and 7% with tourist visas. Today, all respondents hold landed immigrant status. Of those who came without an immigration visa, 91% obtained one in Canada. Nearly half of these were issued during the amnesty period in 1972-73. Over half of the immigrants are sponsored and nominated; others applied independently.

According to Lee, migration is considered to be a mechanism of push and pull factors.² As Elliot has indicated, Chinese immigrants are being pulled to Canada "by lure of a high standard of living, employment and educational opportunities".³ This is supported by the present data, in that the individuals in the sample are more likely to be pulled to Canada, rather than pushed away from their country of origin.

When we examined the reasons for leaving their country of origin, we found the majority had responded to pull factors such as the opportunity for higher educational pursuits (30%), or economic factors including better occupational opportunity,

better prospects for the future, and earning a better and more stable living (22%). Another commonly given reason for leaving their country of origin is the existence of family members, relatives or friends in Canada (30%), a reason which may be classified as a pull factor. Only 10% accredited their emigration to push factors such as the lack of job opportunity in their country of origin, political instability, overcrowding in their country of origin, the desire to be free from family problems and a dislike for their former country. Only 2% of the sample left on the basis of the search for adventure or challenge.

To be more precise, looking at the reasons the respondents gave for coming to Canada, we find that 28% were pulled to Canada because of educational or occupational opportunities. However, 59% came to Canada because of having blood relatives, family members or friends here. Only 3% responded to the push factors, accrediting their emigration to political instability or the lack of opportunities in their country of origin. Other reasons include personal likeness for Canada (4%). Six per cent stated more "immigration opportunity" as their reasons.

With respect to the reasons for coming to Montreal, almost all of the respondents responded to the pull factors.

Over half gave family and personal reasons, while educational pursuits (16%) is followed by economic reasons (14%). Only 2% came because of a desire for adventure and challenge.

In general, post-war Chinese immigrants are, unlike pre-war immigrants, attracted to Canada mainly by pull factors; they are mostly positively selected, to use Lee's terminology.⁴ However, contrary to the motivation of early immigrants, economic reasons are less pronounced. The majority of the later immigrants selected Canada as their destination because of the presence of blood relatives and friends, followed by educational opportunities.

In order to determine the possibility of future migration, respondents were asked whether they would want to stay in Montreal permanently. Thirty-three per cent stated that they would like to stay, 41% were undecided, and 24% stated no. Of those who wanted to settle down in Montreal, nearly half of them have a personal preference for the environment and the people here; 25% wish to remain because they have established themselves in a job or business; and only 6% want to live here because they have family members and relatives located here. Of those who intend to move, 65% stated political reasons as the major factor; 16% stated language problems; and only 4%

gave economic instability as the main reason. One should be reminded that during the survey, the Parti Québécois, a political party dedicated to the goal of the separation of Quebec from Canada, was the government in power. Since the majority of the Chinese experienced some kind of political turmoil before migration,⁵ political instability becomes their major reason for re-migration. Moreover, the immigrants studied generally came from Hong Kong, a British colony, and thus are more likely to be handicapped in the French language. In fact, the present data show that 86% of the sample speak either poor or no French; only 1% speak no English at all and 22% speak poor English. Nevertheless, we did not find the language problem to be the most important factor for re-migration. This is due to the fact that during the period of interview, the enactment of Bill 101 was not being enforced. The relatively short period of the P.Q. reign at the time of the survey also accounts for the high percentage of undecided responses.

For those who intend to migrate in the future, the majority want to move to Ontario. Major reasons given are the presence of family members there (23%), the absence of a language problem (17%), economic reasons (13%), and the existence of a larger Chinese concentration (10%). Therefore,

Chinese immigrants will be mainly pushed away from Quebec and pulled to Ontario.

Of all the immigrants studied, 75% were initially destined for Montreal. The majority of the rest migrated to Montreal from Ontario. If it is true that those who intend to remigrate in the future actually will move to Ontario, the present data support the existing pattern of internal migration in Canada: Quebec is most likely to send people to Ontario and also receive a fair share in return.⁶ In order that it may be determined, however, whether this reciprocal internal migration stream persists under the P.Q. government, further investigation is required.

To summarize, most Chinese move to places where family members and relatives are present, the economic reasons being secondary. This further reflects the continuing trend of a chain migration pattern. One must bear in mind, therefore, the human aspects of migration. A shift of residence does not only mean new faces and norms, but also a loss of the support of social familiarity and long-term relationships and values. Therefore, the presence of family members, relatives or friends in the alien land is of great value to the Chinese immigrants who, in addition to the problem mentioned above, also face the problems of language and cultural shock upon migration.

The large percentage of Chinese immigrants giving educational opportunity as their main reason for migrating reflects the greater availability of high level education in Canada as compared with that present in their country of origin. Since the majority of those who gave this reason came on a student visa, it is speculated that these people are highly motivated to pursue a higher education, yet are faced with the problem of a lack of opportunity in their country of origin. They are the ones with a better social origin and who have parents who can afford to send their children abroad. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI.

Occupational Pursuits of Chinese Immigrants in Canada

The average age at which individuals in the sample started to work full-time in Canada is 26 years old, ranging from as young as 14 years of age to 43 years of age. Assuming that none of the respondents left the Canadian labor force once they had entered it, over half of them participated therein for five years or less, with 26% being involved between 11 to 28 years and 17% between 6 to 10 years.

Eighty-eight per cent of the immigrants took their first Canadian job for more than a month in Montreal. The rest

did so in other major Canadian cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Ottawa, thus indicating that post-war Chinese immigrants are generally concentrated in large urban centers. The first full-time occupations pursued in Canada reveal an average status of 43.42 Blisshen points, with a standard deviation of 17.57. Table IV-3 shows a concentration in the professional and service occupations.⁷ Thirty-nine per cent found their first job through independent search and newspaper ads, 26% through Chinese friends, and 17% through family members and relatives. It appears that personal effort and connections in terms of friends and kinship networks are equally important for the Chinese immigrants in obtaining their first job in Canada. Only 15% have pre-arranged employment prior to migration. The average length of participation in the first job is 2.4 years, with a standard deviation of three years.

Half of the sample have changed jobs once to three times; however, 30% have not changed jobs. With respect to present occupation in Canada or Montreal, self-employment increases from 3% in the first job to 9%, while family worker status drops from 7% to 4%; the rest are employed workers. The self-employed are most likely to have customers who are not Chinese. Their business is not oriented towards the

service of the Chinese population, even though the majority of them are restaurant owners. Of the employed Chinese, most work either in an English speaking or Chinese speaking environment for they are more likely to be handicapped in speaking French than English. Only 6% worked in French organized firms; 33% have Chinese bosses; the rest work for English-Canadians and Americans.

TABLE IV-3
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' FIRST
OCCUPATION IN CANADA

Occupational Group*	Number	Percentage
Professional & Technical	62	30.8
Managerial	4	2.0
Clerical & Sales	19	9.5
Service	92	45.8
Manual	24	12.0
Farm	0	0.0
Total	201	100.0

*Occupational groups adopted from Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale in Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility."

At the time of the survey, the average mean status of the immigrants had risen from 43.42 to 48.71 Blisshen points. But the occupations in which they are engaged are still concentrated in professional and service work (see Table IV-4). The present data also show that almost all the service occupations are in firms operated by Chinese, involving business in restaurant and food industries. Professional work, on the other hand, is mainly in firms operated by English-Canadians. Therefore, in the later analyses, all service work will be referred to as being in ethnic specific occupations.

TABLE IV-4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' 1977
OCCUPATION IN CANADA

Occupational Group*	Number	Percentage
Professional & Technical	74	36.8
Managerial	14	7.0
Clerical & Sales	16	8.0
Service	76	37.8
Manual	21	10.5
Farm	0	0.0
Total	201	100.0

*Occupational groups adopted from Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale in Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility."

The average years that the respondents have worked in the occupations held during 1977 is three years with a standard deviation of four years. Over 47% found their job through newspaper ads and personal search; 28% through Chinese friends, but only 5% through blood relatives. This indicates that after staying in Canada for some time, the importance of kinship relations decreases.

On the whole, individuals in the sample seem to be contented with their 1977 occupational achievement. Eighty per cent stated that their 1977 occupation was the one they wanted; and 67% were satisfied with their job. However, 48% claimed that their success in the pursuit of a career in Canada is only average; 27% claimed they were successful, while 24% viewed themselves as unsuccessful.

Conclusion

The descriptive statistics provided in the present chapter already give us an idea of the amount and pattern of mobility of the Chinese immigrants studied. For example, a look at the statistics concerning their statuses achieved prior to migration and after migration already indicates that a decrease in status is obvious for the immigrants; and by comparing the data on first job to present job held in Canada,

we note a possible increase in status. The high percentage of employment in the service sector reveals further the possibility of an ethnic mobility trap. All these and others, however, are merely descriptive statistics. In order to provide a better understanding of the problems of mobility and achievements, more detailed analysis is necessary. For example, we would like to know who is going to move to where and why. We would also want to know how the various characteristics mentioned in this chapter related to mobility and achievements. The next chapter, therefore, will be devoted exclusively to the study of occupational mobility, both in terms of occupational groups and occupational statuses. Before we begin the analyses, various methodological issues with respect to measurement will be mentioned.

1 2

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. The measure of occupational statuses was taken from Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 4, no. 1, 1967, pp. 41-53. This measure will be discussed in Chapter V.
2. See Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography, vol. 3, no. 1, 1966, pp. 47-59.
3. Jean Leonard Elliot (ed), Minority Canadians 2: Immigrant Groups (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971), p. 6.
4. See Lee, "A Theory of Migration."
5. The Chinese, depending on their age and year of migration, have experienced political turmoil in cases such as the communists take-over of China, or later, the instability of political situation in Hong Kong, which is best reflected in the Communist Riot in 1967, though they did not state political reasons explicitly as their motive for coming to Canada. It is believed that having faced such political problems before, they would not want to be trapped in such situation again in Quebec.
6. Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society (Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1974), p. 65.
7. This supports the fact that later immigrants are more likely to be clustered in certain occupations, and that Asian immigrants are most concentrated. For detail argument, see Lorne Tepperman, Social Mobility in Canada (Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1975), p. 148.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The study of mobility has been understood predominantly as vertical mobility, and until recently, was usually operationalized in terms of movements between occupational groupings, sometimes by forming an index from this movement. However, traditional mobility research involves many methodological problems.

In the first place, the occupations of fathers at any given time, as well as the previous job statuses of subjects, do not represent valid cohorts for comparison of inter- and intragenerational mobility. A son's present occupation reported at the time of the interview represents the occupational structure of the time, but the occupation of his father and his own previous occupation, if reported with respect to points in the lifecycle, cannot represent the occupational structure at definite dates. With respect to career mobility, the problem could be avoided if subjects were to name their occupations

on a specific date, say five or ten years earlier. But in terms of the analysis of intergenerational mobility, such problems could not even be solved by asking for a time-specific or age-specific report on father's occupation.¹ In order to reduce this problem, Duncan suggested that "instead of thinking of the classification of father's occupation as conveying information about a generation of fathers, think of it as describing the origin statuses of the sons".² Intergenerational mobility is then interpreted as an intra-cohort analysis on the amount and pattern of movement between the social origin and social destination of the sons. Likewise, the first jobs of the sons will be perceived as their initial status achieved; and the amount and pattern of intra-generational or career mobility will be measured between the status achieved by the subjects initially and their status destination.

The measurement of an individual's occupation poses another problem in mobility studies. There have been arguments over the desirability of using socio-economic indices or prestige scores for the measure of occupation. Since the prestige status of an occupation is ranked subjectively, it is criticized to be error-prone because of the "lack of unanimity of a population and by the lack of correspondence between

overall prestige measures and the prestige accorded to occupational positions by those who actually or potentially occupy those positions".³ Though socio-economic indices usually are calculated from prestige scales,⁴ because of the inclusion of education and income as the additional criteria, they are more objectively structured and multi-dimensional in scope. Moreover, it is argued that mobility of occupations more closely follow the dimensions of "social space" as defined by Sorokin⁵ by measuring the socio-economic distances among occupational groups rather than prestige distances among occupations. Occupational stratification is thus fundamentally socio-economic in character rather than prestige in character. Evidence to support this theoretical postulate can be drawn from the results in the analysis of status allocation or achievement using status attainment models. These results show that estimates based on occupations scaled by the SEI Index actually yield higher coefficients of multiple determination (R^2) than those based on prestige scores.⁶ Therefore, prestige scores for occupations are assumed to be less valid indicators for both mobility studies and studies of status attainment.

In the present study, there was an additional dilemma involved in the choice between the two. Both Blishen's SEI Index and Treiman's Standard International Occupational Prestige

Scale were coded for occupations. The Blishen's SEI Index was constructed primarily for the male labor force in Canada.⁷ Since this study is concerned with male Chinese immigrants in Montreal, and given a preference for SEI scales, it could be considered a more valid measure of occupations than Treiman's prestige scale. However, the use of the Blishen scores is only valid for the measurement of the subjects' occupations in Canada. The measures of fathers' occupations and the subjects' previous occupations in their country of origin become quite problematic since the Blishen scale only represents the Canadian occupational structure. In this case, Treiman's Prestige Scale seems to be more suitable since it was designed primarily for the purpose of cross-national comparison.⁸ Moreover, studies have shown that prestige ratings of occupations are highly correlated among countries⁹ and have been stable during the last fifty years.¹⁰ Therefore, there are strong arguments for the employment of the Treiman's Prestige Scale in the present study.

In order to review the difference between the two scales, it is useful to examine the correlations between the two on the different occupations measured. The correlations between measures of fathers' occupational positions is 0.8, and those of sons' occupations in Canada as well as in their

countries of origin are 0.9 (see Table V-1). The correlation of fathers' occupations in the two scales is comparatively low, indicating that there is more discrepancy in the ordering between the two measures on this variable. Most probably the Treiman scale provides a better measure. However, the correlations overall are very high; this indicates empirically that either scale can be used for measurement.

TABLE V-1

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN BLISHEN'S SEI INDEX AND
TREIMAN'S STANDARD INTERNATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL,
PRESTIGE SCALE FOR DIFFERENT
OCCUPATION VARIABLES

SEI Scale	Prestige Scale			
Variable*	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄
X ₁	0.8			
X ₂		0.9		
X ₃			0.9	
X ₄				0.9

- * X₁, father's occupation when son was 16;
 X₂, son's main occupation in country of origin;
 X₃, son's first occupation in Canada;
 X₄, son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

The use of a mobility turnover table in the analysis poses another methodological problem because of its nominal

nature. Conventionally, occupations are grouped into occupational categories which are ranked according to the average scores on some vertical dimensions such as the Duncan SEI or the Treiman's prestige scale. These occupational groupings are assumed to be ordinal in character, and thus are used as a measure of upward and downward mobility. However, the measurement errors in the ranking are sizeable. For example, individual occupations grouped under one occupational category do not have similar status or prestige scores; and in most cases, the discrepancy among the scores are very wide. For example, in Treiman's classification, individual occupations which belong to the professional and technical group have individual prestige scores ranging from 26 to 80.¹¹ This leaves a remarkable error in the measurement of individual's prestige status. Moreover, ranking the farm and the armed force groups is also problematic. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that in a strict sense, occupational groupings are nominal, not ordinal in nature; and thus cannot be used for measuring or comparing vertical mobility.

Because of the categorical nature of the mobility matrix, much information of the movement is hidden. The same limitation applies if an index is formed from the movement across occupational groupings between time₁ and time₂. Such

problems can be overcome if the mobility index is measured as a continuous variable in terms of occupational score difference. Even so, there still exist problems with regard to explaining individual variation in mobility by some other determinant, for example, education. The so-called "ceiling effect" creates difficulty in the analysis and interpretation of how mobility is determined by a certain factor.¹² However, such problems can be avoided using regression analysis to create causal models. Such an approach will be dealt with in great detail in the next chapter.

In the present chapter, the mobility matrix and the mobility index will be used as the vehicles to analyse the amount and pattern of inter- and intragenerational mobility of the Chinese immigrants. Even though there are many problems associated with the use of mobility matrix, it is still used here because it enables us to detect direction of movement in terms of occupational groupings such that we will know, for example, what particular occupations Chinese immigrants are most likely to pursue in Canada and to which occupations they are more likely to move, or what kind of family origin will be most likely to send them to which kinds of occupations. As a supplement to the mobility matrix, mobility indices will be used so that we can detect more precisely the distance of move

using continuous measures in order not to lose any valid information concerning vertical mobility. However, the analysis with respect to mobility in terms of the employment of these two measures will be mainly descriptive. In the next chapter, we will attempt to explain the mobility described here.

In the analysis which follows, occupation is treated as the social origin of the son. Therefore, father's occupation is measured at the time when the son was 16 years old since at approximately that age the influence of social origin on the future career planning of the son was most pronounced. Son's previous occupational statuses, measured as the main job in country of origin and the first job in Canada, are treated as their achieved statuses rather than as occupations of actual cohorts. In addition to the problem of time lag, it is important to note that the pre-migratory occupations of fathers and sons cannot be treated as occupations of actual cohorts. This is because these occupations are held by respondents from different countries and thus come from different occupational structures. For the analysis of vertical mobility, following the theoretical postulate that occupational role dimension is socio-economic status rather than prestige status, the Blishen SEI Index is used to measure all occupations.

Moreover, the use of the Blishen scale is found to be especially fruitful since comparisons between the results of the present study can be made with previous research done in Canada. Treiman's occupational groupings will be used to analyse the movement across occupations since the Blishen SEI classes, though ordinal in nature, do not represent occupational categories. Note that in this case, occupational mobility does not refer to vertical mobility. The Canadian Census categories are not used because they are criticized as being sociologically meaningless.¹³ Because of the small sample size, Treiman's original groupings will be collapsed into fewer categories so that the analyses will be more meaningful. Even so, the number of cases in some cells is still not large enough to allow reliable judgements to be made.

The data used in the analysis come from information on subjects' main full-time occupation in their country of origin,¹⁴ their first full-time occupation held for more than one month in Canada,¹⁵ full-time occupation at the time of the survey, that is, August, 1977, and fathers' occupation when the subjects were 16 years old. This enables assessments to be made of the pattern and amount of mobility consequent upon migration. In terms of career mobility, comparisons will be made between the main job held by the respondents in their

country of origin and their first job in Canada, and between the first job held in Canada and the occupation at the time of the survey, and further, between main occupation prior to migration and occupation at the time of the survey. For immigrants who started their career in Canada, their first job in Canada will be compared with their present job. With respect to intergenerational mobility, comparisons will be made between father's occupation and son's first and present occupations in Canada. No attempt will be made to compare father's occupation with son's main occupation in country of origin, not only because the time difference is unknown for the two occupations, but also because it involves different occupational structures as the Chinese immigrants came from different societies. Though son's first occupations in Canada also represent different points in time, they at least occur within the same society, as indicated in Chapter IV, 88% of these occupations were held in Montreal, the rest in other major Canadian cities. In addition, the data of the present sample will be compared with Richmond's study of the post-war immigrants¹⁶ to determine how the opportunity structure differs between the Chinese immigrants and the U.K. and the total group of non-U.K. immigrants.

Problems of comparability result from the disparate scope of the two samples. The inclusion of women and all age

groups in the Richmond sample may produce some downward bias when these results are compared with the present sample.

Another problem lies in the occupation of fathers. In the Richmond study, respondents were asked what occupation their father held when he was the same age as the respondent; in the present study, father's occupation was measured when the respondent was 16 years old. However, this disparity may not have produced much bias as fathers' occupations of the Chinese immigrants are found to be very stable over the years. The correlation between father's occupation when the son was 16 years old and father's occupation at the time of the survey or at the time of retirement or death, is very high ($r = 0.89$).

Another problem lies in the measurement of occupations. Though Blishen's Index is used for both samples, the one used by Richmond is the Blishen 1951 Occupational Class Scales while the one used in this study is the 1961 Blishen Socioeconomic Index. The former includes a number of female occupations which are included in the latter only if they have male incumbents. The procedure in the construction of both scales also differs. But this problem is reduced as Blishen found that the rank correlation between the two scales was as high as 0.96, "indicating both stability in the structure over time and similarity in results despite variation in procedure".¹⁷

However, the socio-economic classes used by Richmond are different from the Blishen classes used here. In this case, comparison may entail some difficulty.

Another problem seems to lie in the time difference of respondent's first job in Canada. For Richmond, the data of the sample refer to the first occupation held for more than two months in Canada. The data of the present sample refer to the first occupation held for more than one month only. This problem is more apparent than real as the data of the present study show that, for the present sample, the shortest length of participation in the first job in Canada is two months. Though the non-U.K. sample may include Chinese immigrants as well, this would not lead to much bias as Richmond shows that only 2 per cent of the sample came from Asian countries.

In general, the two samples seem to be comparable although the results of the present study may produce some bias due to the exclusion of women and the concentration of respondents in the twenty-five to forty-four age range. Nevertheless, one major problem involves the comparisons with respect to pattern of mobility.

Before investigating the amount and pattern of mobility of the Chinese immigrants, it is useful to compare the 1977 occupational distribution of the sample with the distribution of other labor force participants. Table V-2 shows the

distribution of the Chinese immigrants, the post-war immigrant and the native-born labor force in Canada in terms of occupational categories. As indicated in Chapter II, our sample is also found to be over-represented in the professional and service occupations, but under-represented in other occupations.

TABLE V-2

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT,
POST-WAR IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE-BORN
LABOR FORCE, FOR CANADA

Occupational Categories*	Chinese Immigrant	Post-War Immigrant (1967)**	Native-Born** (1967)
Managerial	4.5	8.0	10.0
Professional	28.2	15.0	12.7
Clerical & Sales	11.8	16.4	22.1
Service	42.7	12.9	11.4
Manual	12.7	40.4	43.8
Other	0.0	5.2	3.8
Total	100.0 (201)	100.0 (1,003,000)	100.0 (5,977,000)

* Occupational categories for the Chinese immigrants are based on Treiman's categories, while those for the Post-war immigrants and the Native-born are based on Census categories.

** Source from Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society (Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1974), p. 169, Table J-5. Data rearranged.

When the socio-economic status distribution of the Chinese immigrants is compared with that for the Canadian and Quebec labor force in 1961 as well as with the labor force distribution of the Asiatic immigrants in Quebec between 1947 and 1961 as shown in Table V-3, the Chinese are found to be over-represented in the top three socio-economic classes and under-represented in the lower three classes.

TABLE V-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE
IN TERMS OF BLISHEN CLASSES

Blishen's Classes	Chinese Immigrant	Asiatic Immigrant in Quebec (1946-1961)*	Quebec (1961)**	Canada (1961)**
I (70 +)	18%	13%	4%	4%
II (60-69)	15	6	4	4
III (50-59)	14	12	9	9
IV (40-49)	10	18	19	20
V (30-39)	18	23	33	22
VI (30 -)	25	28	32	31

* Bernard R. Blishen, "Social Class and Opportunity in Canada" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Canada: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1973), p. 164, Table 2.

** Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupation" in Bernard R. Blishen (ed): Canadian Society (Canada: Macmillan of Canada, 1971), p. 506, Table 3.

The over-representation is extremely pronounced in the top class, indicating that the post-war Chinese immigrants have done extremely well in the Canadian labor force. The mean socio-economic index for the Chinese immigrants also exceeds that of the Quebec labor force by 10 points: the mean of the former is 48.71 with a standard deviation of 17.86 and the mean of the latter is 38.48 with a standard deviation of 12.15.¹⁸ The question then is whether the high socio-economic status of the Chinese immigrants is due to the fact that they actually entered the Canadian labor force with high status jobs and were able to remain there, perhaps because they came from high status families, or whether there is opportunity available for them to move upward to high socio-economic positions. Before examining the vertical mobility of the Chinese immigrants, let us first consider the movement across occupational groupings to investigate why they are over-represented in both professional and service occupations.

Mobility Across Occupational Groupings

(A) Career Mobility

Let us first consider the pattern of movement of the Chinese immigrants who started their careers prior to migration. Table V-4 shows that the pattern of movement from main job in

country of origin to the first job in Canada. The matrix reveals the following characteristics: (1) Those who worked as professional and technical workers and those who were employed in the service sector in their country of origin are most likely to enter similar occupations upon arrival in Canada. (2) Those who worked in other occupations are most likely to take on service occupations in Canada which, as indicated in Chapter IV, tend to be ethnic specific occupations such as waiters, cooks, owners or managers of Chinese restaurants. (3) Mobility to professional and technical occupations is rare, as well as the mobility to other white collar jobs and manual occupations.

The above findings clearly show that the assumption of "entrance status"¹⁹ is a valid one for the immigrants studied. Aside from the professionals, other workers have to take on ethnic specific service jobs in Canada, indicating that opportunity outside the Chinese community is not available for them. The fact that most of the professional workers are able to retain their occupations is consistent with the idea that Canada needs skilled personnel to fill these positions. Indeed, Canada has never produced enough of the appropriate kinds of people to fill highly skilled professions; even if it does, the emigration of these people is so massive that in order to fill these

TABLE V-4

MOBILITY FROM SON'S MAIN OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION
IN CANADA, OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Main Occupation in Country of Origin	First Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>75.0</u> (18)	4.2 (1)	8.3 (2)	12.5 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	21.8 (24)
Managerial	0.0 (0)	<u>25.0</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	75.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.6 (4)
Clerical & Sales	18.8 (6)	3.1 (1)	<u>21.9</u> (7)	43.8 (14)	12.5 (4)	0.0 (0)	29.1 (32)
Service	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	28.6 (2)	<u>71.4</u> (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	6.4 (7)
Manual	7.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	68.3 (28)	<u>24.4</u> (10)	0.0 (0)	37.3 (41)
Farm	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	1.8 (2)
Total	24.5 (27)	2.7 (3)	10.0 (11)	49.1 (54)	13.6 (15)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (110)

positions, Canadian society must depend on immigration policy to recruit additional skilled personnel.²⁰

The lack of opportunity outside the Chinese community, noticeably in the managerial and clerical and sales sectors, may be due to the fact that these outside occupations can easily be filled by Canadian people. As Porter has suggested,²¹ managerial, clerical and commercial occupations are usually held by native-Canadians who are not adequately trained to fill professional work and are unwilling to pursue dirty manual work. However, the present data do not show substantive movement of the Chinese immigrants into manual work; rather, most previous manual workers enter service work in Canada. This may be due to the fact that manual jobs are actually shrinking in Canada as a result of technological advancement replacing more and more manpower by machines,²² such that they have to face competition with other immigrant and ethnic groups such as the Italians and Portuguese. Insufficient language skill might also deter these blue collar workers from seeking similar occupations in Canada.

Insufficient language ability, in addition, explains why so many Chinese move to professional and service work, but not other white collar occupations. As indicated in Chapter IV,

the majority of Chinese immigrants do not speak English well, and an overwhelming majority either speak no French, or very poor French. The Chinese professionals (usually engineers) and technicians are able to take on similar occupations because these kinds of work do not require a perfect command of English and/or French, only adequate training and skill. For these occupations, the educational prerequisites are comparatively more crucial than language ability. Even if such occupations require adequate language skill, the present data show that the Chinese professionals in the sample are able to speak English. However, other white collar occupations such as managerial, clerical and sales occupations require extensive communication and interaction with others. This explains why those who originally worked in these sectors were unable to enter similar occupations. Instead, these individuals take on service jobs within the Chinese community which, though requiring extensive communication, can be filled without or with minimal English and/or French since their coworkers or most customers share the same Chinese tongue.²³

In general, the findings indicated that Chinese immigrants are very likely to enter ethnic specific occupations upon entering the Canadian labor force. Except for professionals and service workers, their career continuity is most

likely to be disrupted as a result of migration. However, once they started their careers in Canada, movement into other occupations is very minimal (see Table V-5). For those who did move, the number of cases is so small that no reliable judgement could be made. Because of this relative stability, when their main occupations are compared to their ultimate occupational destinations in 1977 (see Table V-6), little difference is found as compared with movement to their initial occupation in Canada as shown in Table V-4. Those who started careers as professional and technical workers are most likely to end up in similar occupations in Canada. Those who worked in other occupations are most likely to end up as service workers. Comparatively speaking, mobility is most pronounced for clerical and sales workers in that most of them end up either in service occupations or in professional and technical professions.

From the above findings, one tends to conclude that immobility is the prevailing pattern with respect to mobility in Canada. Those who were "trapped" into ethnic specific occupations upon entering the Canadian labor force had very few opportunities to move out of the Chinese community, an indication of an ethnic mobility trap. Only those who have specialized skills were more likely to be able to enter similar

TABLE V-5

MOBILITY FROM SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA TO 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR CAREER
PRIOR TO MIGRATION (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

First Occupation in Canada	1977 Occupation in Canada					Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	
Professional & Technical	<u>96.3</u> (26)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	24.5 (27)
Managerial	0.0 (0)	<u>100.0</u> (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.7 (3)
Clerical & Sales	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	<u>81.8</u> (9)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	10.0 (11)
Service	3.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	5.6 (3)	<u>83.3</u> (45)	7.4 (4)	49.1 (54)
Manual	6.7 (1)	6.7 (1)	6.7 (1)	13.3 (2)	<u>66.7</u> (10)	13.6 (15)
Total	28.2 (31)	4.5 (5)	11.8 (13)	42.7 (47)	12.7 (14)	100.0 (110)

TABLE V-6

MOBILITY FROM SON'S MAIN OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO 1977 OCCUPATION
IN CANADA, OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Main Occupation in Country of Origin	1977 Occupation in Canada						
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	Total
Professional & Technical	<u>75.0</u> (13)	8.3 (2)	8.3 (2)	4.2 (1)	4.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	21.8 (24)
Managerial	0.0 (0)	<u>25.0</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	75.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.6 (4)
Clerical & Sales	28.1 (9)	3.1 (1)	<u>21.9</u> (7)	40.6 (13)	6.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	29.1 (32)
Service	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	42.9 (3)	<u>52.7</u> (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	6.4 (7)
Manual	9.8 (4)	2.4 (1)	2.4 (1)	58.5 (24)	<u>26.8</u> (11)	0.0 (0)	37.3 (41)
Farm	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	1.8 (2)
Total	23.2 (31)	4.5 (5)	11.8 (13)	42.7 (47)	12.7 (14)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (110)

occupations and remained there. Disruption of career patterns as a result of migration, therefore, does not happen to all immigrants under study.

Analysis of the career mobility of the Chinese immigrants who started their careers in Canada shows that immobility again is the prevailing pattern (see Table V-7). However, those who started their careers in Canada have comparatively greater opportunities for mobility than those who started their careers prior to migration (see Tables V-7 and V-5). The most significant difference between these two groups is that there are greater opportunities for those who started careers in Canada in service occupations to move to professional and technical occupations. In other words, the concept of an ethnic mobility trap is less applicable to this group of immigrants. This can be explained by the finding that those who started their career in Canada are more likely to have finished their schooling in Canada or other Western countries. Their participation initially in service occupations is likely to be a temporary solution to unavailability of jobs in other sectors. When positions become available in occupations for which they are qualified (that is, professional work), they will be able to leave their ethnic specific jobs. No doubt, education in Canada or other Western countries

facilitates this movement. This argument is further supported by the fact that persons who were professionals in country of origin who entered other occupations upon entering into Canada, never regained their previous positions (see Tables V-4 and V-6), possibly because their credentials were not recognized, as these people were most likely to finish their training in their country of origin. Whether there is discrimination against immigrants who completed their education in country of origin will be discussed in the next chapter.

When all the immigrants are considered, their career mobility in Canada is very static (see Table V-8). They are very likely to be locked into their initial occupations in Canada, whether in ethnic specific occupations or other jobs outside the Chinese community. The most extensive move, though involving a few cases, seems to be the movement into professional and technical occupations from clerical and sales, and service occupations. The likelihood for these people to move to professional work may be explained by the fact that they were originally qualified for these jobs, but failed to find employment in this sector upon entering the Canadian labor force. The relationship between education and mobility will be analysed in greater detail in the next chapter.

TABLE V-7

MOBILITY FROM SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA TO 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR CAREER
IN CANADA (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

First Occupation in Canada	1977 Occupation in Canada					
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Total
Professional & Technical	<u>91.4</u> (32)	8.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	38.5 (35)
Managerial	0.0 (0)	<u>100.0</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.1 (1)
Clerical & Sales	50.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	<u>37.5</u> (3)	0.0 (0)	12.5 (1)	8.8 (8)
Service	18.4 (7)	7.9 (3)	0.0 (0)	<u>68.4</u> (26)	5.3 (2)	41.8 (38)
Manual	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	33.3 (3)	<u>44.4</u> (4)	9.9 (9)
* Total	47.3 (43)	9.9 (9)	3.3 (3)	31.9 (29)	7.7 (7)	100.0 (91)

TABLE V-8

MOBILITY FROM SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA TO 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR TOTAL SAMPLE (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

First Occupation in Canada	1977 Occupation in Canada					
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Total
Professional & Technical	<u>93.5</u> (58)	6.5 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	30.3 (65)
Managerial	0.0 (0)	<u>100.0</u> (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.0 (4)
Clerical & Sales	31.6 (6)	0.0 (0)	<u>63.2</u> (12)	0.0 (0)	5.3 (1)	9.5 (19)
Service	9.8 (9)	3.3 (3)	3.3 (3)	<u>77.2</u> (71)	6.5 (6)	45.8 (92)
Manual	4.2 (1)	12.5 (3)	4.2 (1)	20.8 (5)	<u>58.3</u> (14)	11.9 (24)
Total	36.3 (74)	7.0 (14)	8.0 (16)	37.3 (76)	10.4 (21)	100.0 (201)

In general, one is led to agree with Porter that Canada is a relative immobile society.²⁴ Since Canada has to depend on immigration in recruiting manpower from abroad, any new demand of positions (especially highly skilled occupations) will be filled by newly arrived immigrants rather than by the movement of old immigrants into these jobs. Therefore, one can say that Canada has been very successful in recruiting trained personnel from abroad through its immigration policy.²⁵ Whether this means other Canadians are impeded from moving to these positions still needs further investigation.

(B) Intergenerational Mobility

The Chinese immigrants are found to be predominantly engaged in professional and service occupations since they usually enter the Canadian labor force in these occupations and remain there. Now we will turn to the analysis of intergenerational mobility in order to know to what extent there is occupational inheritance after migration.

Table V-9 shows the pattern of mobility from father's occupation to son's first occupation in Canada. The matrix reveals the following characteristics: (1) Occupational inheritance is most pronounced for those who originated in the professional and service sectors. (2) Sons of managers mostly

entered Canada as professional workers. (3) Fathers who worked as clerical and sales workers usually send their sons to either professional or service categories. (4) There is substantial movement from sons of service workers to professional and technical occupations. (5) Manual and farm workers generally send their sons to the service sector. In general, professional workers are more likely to inherit their fathers' occupations. Non-manual fathers in managerial, clerical and sales, and service occupations usually send their sons to professional sector. Service workers, aside from those from service origins, usually have fathers in clerical, manual and farm occupations. It seems that because of the greater opportunity for pursuing professional and service work here in Canada, migration allows a lot of immigrants from other origins to pursue these two kinds of occupations. Indeed, some may have benefited from it, others may face disadvantages to advance their positions relative to their fathers as a result of migration.

Since the careers of Chinese immigrants have been found to be very static, it is not surprising that the pattern of intergenerational mobility from father's occupation to son's 1977 occupation in Canada (see Table V-10) is similar to the movement between origin and first occupation as shown in Table

TABLE V-9

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR TOTAL SAMPLE. (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation,	Son's First Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>40.7</u> (11)	3.7 (1)	18.5 (5)	22.2 (6)	14.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	14.9 (27)
Managerial	75.0 (12)	<u>6.3</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	18.8 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.3 (16)
Clerical & Sales	29.9 (20)	1.5 (1)	<u>17.9</u> (12)	37.3 (25)	13.4 (9)	0.0 (0)	37.0 (67)
Service	28.6 (10)	2.9 (1)	5.7 (2)	<u>54.3</u> (19)	8.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	19.3 (35)
Manual	13.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	65.2 (15)	<u>21.7</u> (5)	0.0 (0)	12.7 (23)
Farm	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	84.6 (11)	7.7 (1)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	7.2 (13)
Total	31.5 (57)	2.2 (4)	10.5 (19)	43.6 (79)	12.2 (22)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (181)

TABLE V-10

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR TOTAL SAMPLE (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Son's 1977 Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>51.9</u> (14)	11.1 (3)	14.8 (4)	7.4 (2)	14.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	14.9 (27)
Managerial	75.0 (12)	<u>12.5</u> (2)	0.0 (0)	12.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	8.8 (16)
Clerical & Sales	37.3 (25)	6.0 (4)	<u>14.9</u> (10)	31.3 (21)	10.4 (7)	0.0 (0)	37.0 (67)
Service	34.3 (12)	8.6 (3)	2.9 (1)	<u>48.6</u> (17)	5.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	19.3 (35)
Manual	17.4 (4)	4.3 (1)	4.3 (1)	52.2 (12)	<u>21.7</u> (5)	0.0 (0)	12.7 (23)
Farm	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	84.6 (11)	7.7 (1)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	7.2 (13)
Total	37.6 (68)	7.2 (13)	8.8 (16)	35.9 (65)	10.5 (19)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (181)

V-9. But the amount of movement or immobility does show some difference. For example, a few more sons of professional and technical workers take on their father's occupations in 1977 as compared to their first job in Canada. The extent of inheritance is slightly less pronounced for the service workers in 1977 than in first job. Essentially, more sons from service and clerical workers take on professional work. But the difference only involves a few cases.

When those who started their career in Canada and those who started their career in country of origin are treated separately, for both groups, intergenerational movement into professional and service sectors is substantial in terms of mobility between origin and first job and subsequently, 1977 occupation (see Tables V-11 to V-14). However, the inheritance of professional and technical occupations seems to be more extensive for immigrants who started their career in Canada, whereas inheritance of service occupations is more pronounced for those who started their career prior to migration. Moreover, the opportunities of movement into the professional sector is greater for the former, while the latter have more chances to be recruited to service work as compared to the former. Educational difference may account for the variation between the two groups. If it is true, it seems that there is

TABLE V-11

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR
CAREER IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Son's First Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>29.4</u> (5)	5.9 (1)	17.6 (3)	23.5 (4)	23.5 (4)	0.0 (0)	17.7 (17)
Managerial	71.4 (5)	<u>14.3</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.3 (7)
Clerical & Sales	31.4 (11)	0.0 (0)	<u>20.0</u> (7)	37.1 (13)	11.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	36.5 (35)
Service	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	<u>61.5</u> (8)	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	13.5 (13)
Manual	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	69.2 (9)	<u>23.1</u> (3)	0.0 (0)	13.5 (13)
Farm	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	90.9 (10)	9.1 (1)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	11.5 (11)
Total	25.0 (24)	3.1 (3)	11.5 (11)	46.9 (45)	13.5 (13)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (96)

TABLE V-12

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR
CAREER IN CANADA (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Son's First Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>60.0</u> (6)	0.0 (0)	20.0 (2)	20.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (10)
Managerial	77.8 (7)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	0.0 (0)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	10.6 (9)
Clerical & Sales	28.1 (9)	3.1 (1)	<u>15.6</u> (5)	37.5 (12)	15.6 (5)	0.0 (0)	37.6 (32)
Service	36.4 (8)	0.0 (0)	4.5 (1)	<u>50.0</u> (11)	9.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	25.9 (22)
Manual	20.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	60.0 (6)	<u>20.0</u> (2)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (10)
Farm	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	2.4 (2)
Total	38.8 (33)	1.2 (1)	9.4 (8)	40.0 (34)	10.6 (9)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (85)

TABLE V-13

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR
CAREER IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Son's 1977 Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>41.2</u> (7)	11.8 (2)	17.6 (3)	11.8 (2)	17.6 (3)	0.0 (0)	17.7 (17)
Managerial	71.4 (5)	<u>14.3</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.3 (7)
Clerical & Sales	37.1 (13)	2.9 (1)	<u>22.9</u> (8)	25.7 (9)	11.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	36.5 (35)
Service	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	<u>61.5</u> (8)	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	13.5 (13)
Manual	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	7.7 (1)	61.5 (8)	<u>23.1</u> (3)	0.0 (0)	13.5 (13)
Farm	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	90.0 (10)	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	11.5 (11)
Total	29.2 (28)	5.2 (5)	13.5 (13)	39.6 (38)	12.5 (12)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (96)

TABLE V-14

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S 1977 OCCUPATION IN CANADA,
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR
CAREER IN CANADA (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation	Son's 1977 Occupation in Canada						Total
	Professional & Technical	Managerial	Clerical & Sales	Service	Manual	Farm	
Professional & Technical	<u>70.0</u> (7)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (10)
Managerial	77.8 (7)	<u>11.1</u> (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	10.8 (9)
Clerical & Sales	37.5 (12)	9.4 (3)	<u>6.3</u> (2)	37.5 (12)	9.4 (3)	0.0 (0)	37.6 (32)
Service	45.5 (10)	9.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	<u>40.9</u> (9)	4.5 (1)	0.0 (0)	25.9 (22)
Manual	30.0 (3)	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	40.0 (4)	<u>20.0</u> (2)	0.0 (0)	11.8 (10)
Farm	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	<u>0.0</u> (0)	2.4 (2)
Total	47.1 (40)	9.4 (8)	3.5 (3)	31.8 (27)	8.2 (7)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (85)

more chances to pursue higher education in Canada and other Western countries such that more sons who started their career in Canada were able to receive higher education irrespective of origin, hence more opportunity to enter and pursue professional jobs.

In sum, the present analysis shows that occupational inheritance is very pronounced for professional and service workers. Opportunity to move into the professional and technical occupations is more available for those with non-manual origins. It seems that even though there is great opportunity in this sector, movement of sons from manual and farm origins into this occupational group is very unlikely; rather, they are more likely to end up as service workers. If we want to make a distinction between the white-collar and blue-collar class dichotomy where the former includes professional, technical, managerial, clerical and sales categories and the latter includes service, manual and farm, we will find that crossing the class boundary is extremely difficult, especially in terms of the upward movement from blue collar to white collar. However, one should note that this is merely an illustration, as this classification is, nonetheless, arbitrary.

Vertical Mobility

In the previous section, much immobility across occupational groups is detected, mainly as a result of broad categorization of occupations. The use of Blishen's socio-economic index as a continuous measure not only provides us with more detailed categories, but also makes the analysis of vertical mobility more justifiable. In addition, comparison between the present sample and the Richmond samples will be made in order to determine how the opportunity structure differs among immigrant groups.

(A) Career Mobility

Let us first consider the amount and pattern of mobility of the Chinese immigrants who started their career prior to migration. The mean mobility from main occupation in country of origin to first occupation in Canada is down 3.27 Blishen points with a standard deviation of 12.36, ranging from +40.68 to -39.67. Table V-15-I shows that only 22.7% of the Chinese immigrants experienced no change or a change of less than 1 Blishen point. Extreme upward and downward movement is rare. The relatively high percentage of the downwardly mobile indicates that "status dislocation" occurs for the Chinese immigrants as a result of migration.

Their movement from first occupation in Canada to 1977 occupation reveals an average rise of 3.85 Blisshen points with a standard deviation of 7.74, ranging from -6.57 to +31.66. This shows that the Chinese generally have improved their status, though not to a large degree. Table V-15-II shows that over half of the immigrants have stayed in their status originally achieved in Canada, but nearly half of them have improved their status. Immigrants were either locked into status which they entered in Canada, or they were able to move upward. As Porter has noted,²⁶ there is a tendency for immigrants to be upwardly mobile after they arrived in Canada, mainly because they are more psychologically prepared to advance their positions (as reflected in their motives for migration), having already moved great geographical distance. If opportunity is available to them, they will be able to move upward; if not, they will stay in their original status, rather than moving downward.

Their overall mobility from main occupation to 1977 occupation shows an average upward movement of 0.57 Blisshen points, widely dispersed around the mean with a standard deviation of 13.42, ranging from -40.83 to +40.68. When column III is compared with column I in Table V-15, it is clear that the Chinese immigrants have improved their status in

Canada, and the majority have regained their initial drop in status upon arrival in Canada.

TABLE V-15

CAREER MOBILITY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS, BLISHEN SCORE
DIFFERENCE, FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO STARTED THEIR
CAREER PRIOR TO MIGRATION

Blishen Score Difference	I*	II*	III*
Extreme Upward (20.01 points and above)	3.6% (4)	8.2% (9)	8.2% (9)
Upward (1.00 - 20.00)	20.9 (23)	33.6 (37)	30.9 (34)
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	22.7 (25)	54.5 (60)	29.1 (32)
Downward (-20.00 - -1.00)	41.8 (46)	3.6 (4)	23.6 (26)
Extreme Downward (-20.01 and below)	10.9 (12)	0.0 (0)	8.2 (9)
Total	100.0 (110)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (110)

*I - Mobility from main occupation in country of origin to first occupation in Canada.

II - Mobility from first occupation in Canada to 1977 occupation in Canada.

III - Mobility from main occupation in country of origin to 1977 occupation in Canada.

The immigrants who started their careers in Canada experience a mean upward movement of 7.02 Blishen points from

first occupation to 1977 occupation with a standard deviation of 12.75, ranging from -20.49 to +46.78. Comparing this statistics with that for those who started their career prior to migration, the average mobility in Canada seems to favor the immigrants who started their career in Canada by 3.17 points. Table V-16 shows that those who started their career prior to migration are more likely to be immobile in Canada than those immigrants who started their careers in Canada, though for both groups, immobility is the predominant pattern. More upward mobility occurs among those who started their careers in Canada. Long distance upward mobility is twice as great for this group of immigrants. The difference in opportunity with regard to upward mobility between these two groups may be due to the difference in personal resources, most important of all, to the variation in level of education. This argument will be justified in the next chapter.

Overall, in terms of mobility from first occupation to 1977 occupation in Canada, immobility seems to be most extensive, with upward movement more pronounced than downward mobility. As shown in Table V-16-III, among those upwardly mobile, one-third have moved up more than 20 Blisshen points and two-thirds within 20 Blisshen points. One is led to conclude that the over-representation of the Chinese immigrants in the

TABLE V-16

MOBILITY FROM FIRST OCCUPATION TO 1977 OCCUPATION IN
CANADA, BLISHEN SCORE DIFFERENCE, FOR SELECTED
SAMPLES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Blishen Score Difference	I*	II*	III*
Extreme Upward (+20.01 points and above)	8.2% (9)	19.8% (18)	13.4% (27)
Upward (+1.00 - +20.00)	33.6 (37)	22.0 (20)	28.4 (57)
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	54.5 (60)	52.7 (48)	53.7 (108)
Downward (-1.00 - -20.00)	3.6 (4)	4.4 (4)	4.0 (8)
Extreme Downward (-20.01 and below)	0.0 (0)	1.1 (1)	0.5 (1)
Total	100.0 (110)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (201)

*I - Immigrants who started their career in country of origin;
II - Immigrants who started their career in Canada;
III - Total sample.

three Blishen classes is, as indicated earlier in the chapter, mainly due to the fact that the Chinese immigrants actually entered the Canadian labor force in these three Blishen classes and remain there, rather than due to upward mobility from first occupation to 1977 occupation in Canada. This argument is further supported by the mobility matrix presented in Table V-17. The opinion presented by Porter that Canada

is a relatively immobile society is thus further justified.

TABLE V-17

MOBILITY FROM FIRST OCCUPATION TO 1977 OCCUPATION IN
CANADA, BLISHEN CLASSES, FOR TOTAL SAMPLE OF
CHINESE IMMIGRANTS (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

First Occupation in Canada	1977 Occupation in Canada						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	<u>96.7</u> (29)	0.0 (0)	3.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	14.9 (30)
2	5.0 (1)	<u>90.0</u> (18)	0.0 (0)	5.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	10.0 (20)
3	31.3 (5)	6.3 (1)	<u>62.5</u> (10)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	8.0 (16)
4	0.0 (0)	25.0 (5)	5.0 (1)	<u>65.0</u> (13)	5.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	10.0 (20)
5	2.5 (1)	10.0 (4)	12.5 (5)	10.0 (4)	<u>55.0</u> (22)	10.0 (4)	19.9 (40)
6	1.3 (1)	2.7 (2)	14.7 (11)	1.3 (1)	18.7 (14)	<u>61.3</u> (46)	37.3 (75)
Total	18.4 (37)	14.9 (30)	13.9 (28)	9.5 (19)	18.4 (37)	24.9 (50)	100.0 (201)

There is a substantial difference in the degree of upward and downward movement when the present sample is compared with the U.K. and non-U.K. immigrants. For consistency, only those Chinese who started their careers prior to migration are

with the Richmond samples (see Table V-18). In terms of mobility from occupation prior to migration to first occupation in Canada, Table V-18 shows that for all three immigrant groups, downward mobility is more extensive than upward mobility, indicating that initial drop in status as a result of migration occurs irrespective of ethnic origin. But initial downward movement is most pronounced for the Chinese immigrants (53%), followed by the non-U.K. immigrants (49%) and the U.K. immigrants (33%), revealing that status dislocation is more seriously experienced by the present sample. However, compared to other immigrants, the Chinese are also more likely to experience upward mobility as a result of migration, and are least likely to experience no change in status. It seems that the Chinese are usually subjected to some change in status as a result of migration, and the lot is more likely to be against them. Only the U.K. immigrants coming from the country of one of the dominant charter groups in Canada, are more capable of retaining their former status upon migration. Belonging to an ethnic group with majority status in Canada helps them from falling in status. As Richmond has pointed out,²⁷ their credentials are more likely to be recognized and they have fewer language problems.

In terms of mobility from first occupation in Canada to occupation at the time of the surveys, the Chinese immigrants are found to be more immobile than other immigrants. However, in terms of the overall career mobility as shown in Table V-18-III, the Chinese are found to be more upwardly as well as downwardly mobile than other immigrants. In general, it seems that both Chinese immigrants and immigrants from countries other than Britain have done better than the U.K. immigrants in Canada in recovering from their initial status dislocation. But in terms of their overall career mobility, the U.K. immigrants still have the advantage over other immigrants in improving and retaining their achieved status prior to migration without having to drop much status.

In order to draw some qualitative conclusions about the difference in mobility among the three groups, comparison is made in terms of movement across occupational classes. In terms of mobility from occupation in country of origin to first occupation in Canada, the U.K. immigrants are more likely to remain in their original status (see Table V-19). With respect to those who worked in non-manual occupations prior to migration, 79% of the U.K. immigrants were able to remain in their original status upon arrival in Canada, as compared with 66% of the Chinese immigrants and 33% of the immigrants from

TABLE V-18

CAREER MOBILITY OF CHINESE, U.K. AND NON-U.K.
IMMIGRANTS, BLISHEN SCORE DIFFERENCE

Blishen Score Difference	I*		
	Chinese	U.K.**	Non-U.K.**
Upward (+1.00 points and Above)	24.5%	14.5%	14.8%
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	22.7	52.7	36.5
Downward (-1.00 and Below)	52.7	32.8	48.7
Total	100.0 (110)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (285)
	II*		
	Chinese	U.K.**	Non-U.K.**
Upward	41.8	42.7	46.6
No Change	54.5	46.4	47.8
Downward	3.6	10.8	5.6
Total	100.0 (110)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (318)
	III*		
	Chinese	U.K.**	Non-U.K.**
Upward	39.1	37.1	28.5
No Change	29.1	43.8	42.2
Downward	31.8	19.1	29.2
Total	100.0 (110)	100.0 (105)	100.0 (287)

*I - Mobility from main occupation in country of origin to first occupation in Canada.

II - Mobility from first occupation in Canada to occupation at the time of the survey in Canada.

III - Mobility from main occupation in country of origin to occupation at the time of the survey in Canada.

**Source from Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Canada: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1973), pp. 182-184, Tables 4, 5, and 6.

TABLE V-19

CAREER MOBILITY OF CHINESE, U.K., AND NON-U.K. IMMIGRANTS,
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES (OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES).

Occupation in country of Origin*	Ethnic Origin	First Occupation in Canada*			
		1 - 4	5	6	Total
1 - 4	Chinese	<u>66.1</u>	17.8	16.1	100.0 (56)
	U.K.**	<u>78.6</u>	8.2	13.2	100.0 (60)
	Non-U.K.**	<u>33.3</u>	22.2	44.4	100.0 (81)
5	Chinese	3.9	<u>42.3</u>	53.8	100.0 (26)
	U.K.	8.0	<u>70.0</u>	22.0	100.0 (37)
	Non-U.K.	0.0	<u>42.4</u>	57.6	100.0 (92)
6	Chinese	7.1	3.6	<u>89.3</u>	100.0 (28)
	U.K.	7.7	0.0	<u>92.3</u>	100.0 (13)
	Non-U.K.	0.0	8.9	<u>91.1</u>	100.0 (112)
Occupation at the Time of the Survey*					
1 - 4	Chinese	<u>73.2</u>	14.3	12.5	100.0 (56)
	U.K.	<u>80.4</u>	12.5	7.1	100.0 (56)
	Non-U.K.	<u>56.8</u>	25.9	17.3	100.0 (81)
5	Chinese	19.2	<u>53.9</u>	26.9	100.0 (26)
	U.K.	30.0	<u>57.0</u>	13.0	100.0 (37)
	Non-U.K.	5.5	<u>70.3</u>	24.2	100.0 (91)
6	Chinese	14.3	7.1	<u>78.6</u>	100.0 (28)
	U.K.	7.7	38.5	<u>53.8</u>	100.0 (13)
	Non-U.K.	3.5	13.9	<u>82.6</u>	100.0 (115)

*For Richmond's sample, 1 - 4 includes non-manual occupations; 5 includes highly skilled occupations; 6 includes other skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, whereas Blishen classes are used for our sample.

**Source from Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Canada: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1973), p. 185, Table 8; percentages and total adjusted to exclude missing data.

other countries. However, both U.K. and non-U.K. immigrants are more likely to move down to the lowest class, whereas the Chinese immigrants are more likely to move to class 5. For those who achieved their status in class 5, downward mobility is most pronounced for the non-U.K. immigrants, and least pronounced for the U.K. immigrants. The U.K. immigrants also have more opportunity to rise to the top four classes, whereas the non-U.K. immigrants lack opportunities to move up. In terms of those who were formerly in the lowest socio-economic class, the Chinese immigrants have more opportunities to move up, especially to the top classes; the non-U.K. immigrants again do not have chances to achieve long distance upward move. In sum, it seems that the Chinese have better opportunities to enter high status jobs when they are compared with non-U.K. immigrants, but less opportunity when compared with the U.K. immigrants.

In terms of the movement from main occupation in country of origin to status achieved at the time of the survey, it is found that 41% of the non-U.K. immigrants who formerly belonged to the top classes have regained their status as compared to 9% of the Chinese and only 3% of the U.K. immigrants. As well, those who fell to class 6 from the top classes, are also able

to improve their statuses to class 5. For those who originally entered highly skilled occupations, that is, class 5, substantial improvements of status are found among all three groups as compared with initial status achieved in Canada. However, upward mobility is still more pronounced for the Chinese and U.K. immigrants. With respect to those who formerly belonged to the lowest class, upward mobility is most extensive for the British immigrants, followed by the Chinese. However, the movement of the British immigrants is generally short-distance whereas the Chinese are twice as likely to move to the top classes. The non-U.K. immigrants are least likely to move upward; those who did move are most likely to end up in class 5.

In general, in terms of mobility across occupational classes, the Chinese immigrants seem to have more upward mobility and less downward mobility as compared with non-U.K. immigrants. However, the opportunity structure is still inclined to favor immigrants of British origin. It is then obvious that belonging to a group of majority status facilitates mobility chances. Though Chinese immigrants are found to have greater opportunity to advance their positions than non-U.K. immigrants, one should bear in mind that the Richmond study was conducted prior to the change in immigration policy which stresses skill

and training. It is thus assumed that the present sample includes immigrants who are more highly educated, and therefore, more readily prepared and equipped to advance their positions in Canada.

(B) Intergenerational mobility

With respect to the mobility from father's occupation to son's first occupation in Canada, the mean movement is down 1.04 Blisshen points with a standard deviation of 18.38, ranging from -47.05 to +44.56. However, when only those who started their career prior to migration are considered, the mean is further down to 2.99 Blisshen points with a standard deviation of 18.62. Moreover, the latter group also achieve more long distance upward mobility and less downward mobility than the former (see Table V-20). Social inheritance, however, is least pronounced for both groups. It seems that migration has provided equal chances for both upward and downward mobility initially. Most probably, those with higher education have better chance to benefit from migration to improve their status relative to their fathers.

When father's occupational status is compared with son's 1977 occupational achievement, a mean upward move of 4.43

is found for the whole Chinese sample, with a standard deviation of 18.00. For those who started their career prior to migration, the average movement is up only 1.32 points with a standard deviation of 18.45; while for the immigrants who started their career in Canada, the average mobility is up 7.98 Blisshen points with the distribution more clustered around the mean as compared with the former, the standard deviation being 16.88. Indeed, more extensive upward mobility and less downward mobility are experienced by the latter as shown in Table V-21. However, when Table V-21 is compared to Table V-20, improvement in status is pronounced for both groups. This indicates that majority of the immigrants are able to benefit from migration.

Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the relatively high upward mobility may be due to structural changes. Though immigrants themselves generally came from an industrialized society (that is, Hong Kong), their fathers came principally from China which was less industrially advanced. Therefore upward intergenerational mobility should actually be considered as normal. One should not claim their achievement as merely an effect of migration. Even if they had stayed in their country of origin, similar pattern may have been observed. Migration

only facilitates the amount or extent of intergenerational mobility.

A comparison with the Richmond samples shows that for the Chinese and U.K. immigrants, inheritance is most pronounced within the non-manual occupations, while for the non-U.K. immigrants, inheritance is most extensive in the lowest class

TABLE V-20

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S FIRST
OCCUPATION IN CANADA, BLISHEN SCORE DIFFERENCE,
FOR SELECTED SAMPLES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Blishen Score Difference	I*	II*	III*
Extreme Upward (+20.01 points and above)	11.3% (11)	18.8% (16)	14.8% (27)
Upward (+1.00 - +20.00)	29.9 (29)	23.5 (20)	26.8 (49)
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	14.4 (14)	14.1 (12)	14.3 (26)
Downward (-20.00 - -1.00)	26.8 (26)	30.6 (26)	28.6 (52)
Extreme Downward (-20.01 and below)	17.5 (17)	12.9 (11)	15.4 (28)
Total	100.0 (97)	100.0 (85)	100.0 (182)

- * I - Immigrants who started their career in country of origin;
II - Immigrants who started their career in Canada;
III - Total sample.

TABLE V-21

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S 1977
OCCUPATION IN CANADA, BLISHEN SCORE DIFFERENCE,
FOR SELECTED SAMPLES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Blishen Score Difference	I*	II*	III*
Extreme Upward (+20.01 points and above)	18.6% (18)	27.1% (23)	22.5% (41)
Upward (+1.00 - +20.00)	32.0 (31)	31.8 (27)	31.9 (58)
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	10.3 (10)	12.9 (11)	11.5 (21)
Downward (-20.00 - -1.00)	26.8 (26)	24.7 (21)	25.8 (47)
Extreme Downward (-20.01 and below)	12.4 (12)	3.5 (3)	8.2 (15)
Total	100.0 (97)	100.0 (85)	100.0 (185)

* I - Immigrants who started their career in country of origin;
II - Immigrants who started their career in Canada;
III - Total sample.

(see Table V-22). For those who originated in the top classes, non-U.K. immigrants experience the highest degree of downward mobility. Chinese immigrants having fathers in class 5 are most likely to inherit father's status. But downward mobility is also obvious for this group. For the U.K. immigrants, though inheritance is pronounced, downward mobility into

Class 6 is least likely to occur. Chinese immigrants of lowest status origin are more likely to pursue occupations similar to their fathers' when compared to the U.K. immigrants; but upward movement is more likely to be long distance. In sum, the non-U.K. immigrants most often fell in status as a result of migration and were less likely to move upward. U.K. immigrants of different origin have more chances to either retain high status or improve their lot. In general, the

TABLE V-22

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S OCCUPATION
AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY, FOR CHINESE, U.K. AND
NON-U.K. IMMIGRANTS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES
(OUTFLOW PERCENTAGES)

Father's Occupation*	Ethnic Origin	Occupation at the Time of the Survey*			
		1 - 4	5	6	Total
1 - 4	Chinese	<u>71.2</u>	16.0	12.8	100.0 (125)
	U.K.**	<u>82.9</u>	7.3	9.8	100.0 (41)
	Non-U.K.**	<u>40.6</u>	30.8	28.6	100.0 (91)
5	Chinese	42.9	<u>21.4</u>	35.7	100.0 (14)
	U.K.	39.6	<u>45.8</u>	14.6	100.0 (48)
	Non-U.K.	15.8	<u>47.4</u>	36.8	100.0 (95)
6	Chinese	30.2	27.9	<u>41.9</u>	100.0 (43)
	U.K.	31.0	38.0	<u>31.0</u>	100.0 (13)
	Non-U.K.	11.9	21.1	<u>67.0</u>	100.0 (109)

* For Richmond's sample, 1 - 4 includes non-manual occupations; 5 includes highly skilled occupations; 6 includes other skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, whereas Blighen classes are used for our sample.

** Source from Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" p. 179, Table 2; percentages and total adjusted to exclude missing data.

TABLE V-23

MOBILITY FROM FATHER'S OCCUPATION TO SON'S OCCUPATION
AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY FOR CHINESE, U.K. AND
NON-U.K. IMMIGRANTS, BLISHEN SCORE DIFFERENCE

Blishen Score Difference	Ghinese	U.K.*	Non-U.K.*
Upward (+1.00 points and above)	54.4% (99)	43.5% (48)	39.0% (115)
No Change (-0.99 - +0.99)	11.5 (21)	13.9 (14)	15.6 (46)
Downward (-1.00 and below)	34.0 (62)	38.6 (39)	45.4 (134)
Total	100.0 (185)	100.0 (100)	100.0 (295)

*Source from Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" p. 181, Table 3; percentages and total adjusted to exclude missing data.

Chinese immigrants have better opportunity for achievement as compared with the non-U.K. immigrants; but the British are among the most privileged. As shown in Table V-23, however, when the data are compared in terms of Blishen score difference, the Chinese are seen to be at an advantage relative to the U.K. immigrants with the highest degree of upward mobility and lowest degree of downward mobility. This contradiction is probably the result of the use of broad categories in the mobility matrix such that fine movement is not detected.

Conclusion

The present chapter makes use of the mobility matrices and mobility indices to explore the amount and pattern of occupational mobility of Chinese immigrants. In general, the findings validate a disruption of career pattern as a result of migration. This is shown by the high degree of status dislocation assumed by the immigrants. However, not all immigrants are disrupted in their career pattern as a result of migration. Professional workers are most likely to retain their pre-migration occupations upon entering the Canadian labor force. For other immigrants, occupational pursuits are diverted to ethnic specific occupations, that is, service work.

Immobility in terms of movement across occupational groupings in Canada is very pronounced. Immigrants who took on professional work were most likely to stay in them. This reflects the relatively low rate of mobility among these kinds of occupations.²⁷ However, service workers are also immobile, indicating the existence of an ethnic mobility trap. When more refined measures are employed, though substantial upward mobility is detected, immobility is still the prevailing pattern. This is support for Porter's thesis that Canada is a relatively immobile society.

In terms of intergenerational mobility, inheritance is more likely to occur in professional occupations and service work. Immigrants from nonmanual origins have more opportunities to move into professional occupations whereas service workers are more likely to be immigrants of manual and farm origins. Using more refined measures, the findings indicate that a disruption of career pattern has an effect on mobility from origin to first job in Canada, and an average downward movement is detected. Nevertheless, a majority of the immigrants have improved their statuses relative to their fathers after staying in Canada for some time. In any case, social inheritance is not pronounced.

When immigrants who started their careers in Canada are compared to those who started their careers prior to migration, the former group has, in every aspect, greater opportunities than the latter group with respect to mobility. In the first place, they are more likely to achieve both inter- and intragenerational upward mobility. In terms of movement across occupational groups, they are also more likely to pursue or move to professional jobs, and are less likely to be trapped into ethnic specific occupations.

Comparisons of the present data with the Richmond samples show that the opportunity structure does differ for

different groups of immigrants. In general, immigrants with British origins are found to have the greatest advantage with respect to improving status in Canada, followed by the Chinese, and then the non-U.K. immigrants. The greater opportunities available for the Chinese compared with immigrants from other European countries may indicate that occupational racial discrimination is not a strong phenomenon in Canada.

In general, what are the major factors accounting for the findings in the present study? In the first place, one should not overlook the interrelated factors of the power structure, the occupational structure, immigration policies, and emigration, all of which operate to sort out and select Chinese immigrants into Canada and consequently, its economic system.

According to Porter, because the inefficient educational system in Canada does not provide enough highly skilled personnel to meet rapid industrial growth, and because of the constant emigration of such personnel, Canada has to recruit highly skilled professionals from abroad.²⁸ As a result, immigration policies have changed, and Chinese immigrants who have the qualifications are able to come to Canada and are fed into the professional sectors.

The high demand for professional and technical workers also explains why mobility into such occupations is more feasible

for Chinese immigrants. However, Porter's argument of "educational deprivation"²⁹ or deficiency in the Canadian educational system as a reason of recruiting highly skilled manpower from abroad is not valid in the present findings, as the immigrants under study who finished their schooling in Canada are more likely to enter such occupations or move into them. Moreover, they are also the ones who have greater opportunities to achieve upward inter- and intragenerational mobility. In addition, the high demand for professional workers also accounts for the high degree of social inheritance in these occupations, and the movement of immigrants from other social origins into this sector.

Chinese immigrants have less opportunities to enter other white-collar jobs as well as blue-collar occupations because the former can easily be filled by native Canadians while in the latter, the Chinese immigrants must compete with other immigrants for jobs. Chinese immigrants who are not qualified to pursue professional work, which is the only external opportunity available, and facing competition with other Canadians and immigrants in other sectors of the economy, are then recruited by fellow Chinese. The relative inability to move out of this sector further reflects the power structure in the larger society which is mainly controlled by other Canadians.

The control of the dominant groups in sorting and sifting appropriate kinds of immigrants into the occupational structure is best reflected by the comparatively high degree of upward mobility of immigrants from British origin to high status occupations, and their comparatively small amount of status dislocation upon entering the Canadian labor force.

The above explanations, however, do not exhaust the factors accounting for the amount and pattern of occupational mobility of Chinese immigrants. Variations in personal resources also determine to a large extent, the occupational achievements of immigrants in Canada. As indicated earlier, for example, the effect of education may account for individual differences in achievement. Language insufficiency also may account for the entrapment of individuals into ethnic specific occupations, and therefore, the absence of mobility. The next chapter will explore in greater detail the effects of various individual characteristics in affecting immigrants' occupational achievements in Canada. Status attainment models will be used as tools for analyses and discussion. Before we begin with the analysis, various advantages and deficiencies of this approach will be mentioned.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. See O.D. Duncan, "Methodological Issues in the Analysis of Social Mobility" in A.P.M. Coxon and C.J. Jones (eds): Social Mobility (England: Penguin Education, 1975), p. 154.
2. Ibid., pp. 154-155.
3. K.U. Mayer and W. Müller, "Progress in Mobility Research?" in A.P.M. Coxon and C.J. Jones (eds): Social Mobility (England: Penguin Education, 1975), p. 170.
4. For the construction of SEI scale, see Bernard A. Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 4, no. 1, Feb., 1967, pp. 41-54; Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), Chapter 4.
5. See Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959).
6. See David L. Featherman and M. Hauser, "Prestige or Socio-economic Scales in the Study of Occupational Migration?", Sociological Methods and Research, vol. 4, no. 4, May, 1976, pp. 403-422. In addition, the present data also support the postulate that a higher R^2 is found with the use of SEI index rather than the prestige scale. For statistics, see Appendix C.
7. See Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupations in Canada."
8. See Donald Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, no. 3, Sept., 1975, pp. 183-230.

9. See Robert W. Hodge, Donald J. Treiman and Peter H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige" in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds): Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 322-334.
10. See Robert W. Hodge, Paul M. Siegal and Peter H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States: 1925-1963" in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds): Class, Status and Power (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 309-321.
11. See Treiman, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Comparative Study of Occupational Mobility," Appendix A.
12. Discussions of ceiling effects can be found in Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure; Aage Bøttger Sørensen, "Models of Social Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, 1975, pp. 65-92. A description of this concept will also be presented in Chapter VI.
13. Pineo and Porter explicitly state that the Canadian Census categories are meaningless. See Peter C. Pineo and John Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1976), pp. 62-64. Even though the classification of occupations is improved in the 1971 Census, Pineo et al. comment that the new Census categories are insufficient for rigorous sociological analysis.
14. It is found that the correlation between first job in country of origin and main job in country of origin is very high ($r = 0.94$). The correlation between last occupation and main occupation in country of origin is also high ($r = 0.95$). Therefore, only main occupation in country of origin will be used to designate the occupation prior to migration.
15. It is believed that immigrants are encouraged to take any job they can get on a temporary basis when they first arrive in Canada. By using "first job held for more than a month" as the measure, the problems of getting responses on temporary jobs will be minimized.

16. See Anthony R. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1973), pp. 174-186; or Anthony R. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967).
17. Blishen, "A Socio-economic Index for Occupation," p. 44.
18. Ibid.
19. As indicated in Chapter II, entrance status refers to ethnic specific low status occupations which in this case are the service occupations.
20. For detail discussions on this issue, see John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Canada: The University of Toronto Press, 1965), Chapter II; see also Oswald Hall, "The Canadian Division of Labour Revisited" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1973), pp. 46-54.
21. See Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter II.
22. See Ibid., Chapter V; see also Dennis Force and Stephen Richer (eds): Issues in Canadian Society: An Introduction to Sociology (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1975), Chapter IV.
23. With respect to the problem between language and occupational pursuits of foreign born, see Stanley Lieberman and Timothy J. Curry, "Language Shifts in the United States: Some Demographic Clues," International Migration Review, vol. 5, no. 2, 1971, pp. 125-137.
24. See Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter II.
25. The success of Canadian immigration policy in recruiting highly skilled personnel is further supported by the present study that ever since the change of immigration policy, creating a new category of independent applicants

judged in terms of education and skill, many Chinese professionals were recruited to take up highly skilled occupations. The present findings show that more than half of the independent Chinese applicants entered professional jobs after migration, and two-thirds ended up in this sector.

26. See Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter II.

27. See Richmond, "Social Mobility of ~~Immigrants~~."

28. See Kaare Svalastoga, Social Differentiation (U.S.A.: David McKay Co. Inc., 1965), p. 112.

29. See Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter II.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Having presented the description of occupational mobility in the last chapter, this chapter will explore the variation in some personal attributes and individual characteristics which are variables which help explain occupational achievement and mobility in Canada. The analysis will be based on the status attainment approach. We shall begin by discussing the various conceptual and methodological issues pertaining to status attainment, while the analysis in terms of our sample will be followed by a comparative study among language groups.

The Status Attainment Approach

Status attainment research was first introduced by Blau and Duncan¹ to explore individual variation in the process of achievement. This approach focuses on the process by which individuals locate themselves in the social hierarchy. This process involves both the principles of ascription and achievement. An individual's lifecycle is thought of as a sequence in

time which has at one extreme his ascribed status at birth and at the other extreme, his adult status. The objective is to compare the relative importance of ascribed and achieved characteristics for access to different positions. Thus, the status attainment model investigates the ways in which ascribed characteristics are converted into achievement, the extent to which inherited status determines the social fate of individuals, and the extent to which earlier positions affect later levels of attainment.

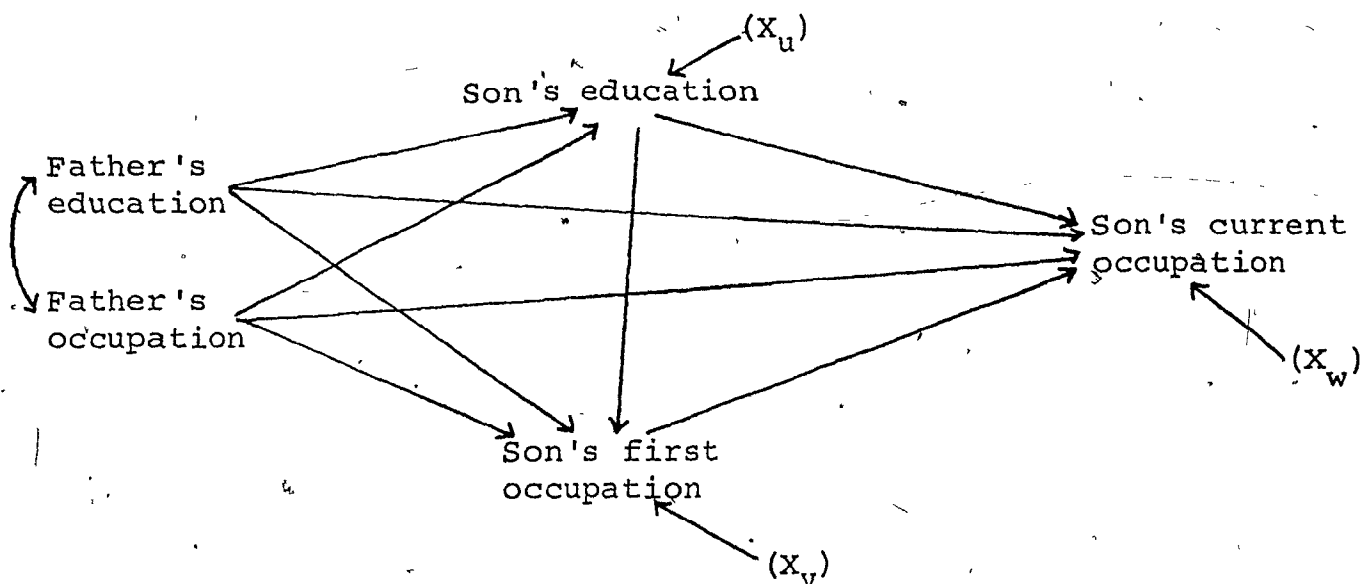
This approach draws attention to changes in status of persons covering all processes of intergenerational and intra-generational status transmissions. Whereas the problems of inter- and intragenerational mobility are treated separately in traditional research, in the status attainment approach the two are taken simultaneously; the justification being that the influence of social origin and career origin on occupational achievements are not independent.² Therefore, instead of using father's occupational status as a reference point to measure intergenerational mobility, it becomes one of the several variables in explaining the variance in son's achieved occupational status. The introduction of other variables which determine an individual's career also leads to the elaboration of the model of career mobility.

Students of status attainment see society or the social system as a continuous gradation, rather than made up of discrete classes. Status is distributed more or less continuously along the major dimensions of the social hierarchy with no boundary lines denoting discontinuities in the hierarchy. Mobility barriers are assumed to be non-existent. Furthermore, a functional point of view is taken in explaining mobility, which puts emphasis on achievement and universalistic criteria of evaluation.³ Hence, education is treated as one of the basic criteria in the transmission of status.

Based on the above assumptions, a basic model is formulated in terms of the socio-economic lifestyle of the individual in the causal sequence of family → schooling → work. Quantitative variables of father's educational and occupational status, son's educational attainment, first job and job destination are used to outline the major status changes. This causal sequence is presented in Figure 1. Since father's education and occupation denote only two measures of father's status, that is, son's social origin, no assumptions pertaining to the priority of father's education with respect to father's occupation are made. For other variables, son's education is assumed to occur prior to his first job which is followed by his job destination. The model is then presumed to be recursive.

FIGURE VI-1

THE BLAU-DUNCAN BASIC MODEL



The causal relationships of the model are based on the following propositions: (1) educational attainment depends on the two characteristics of family of orientation, that is, the occupational status of father measured at a given point in time and father's educational attainment; (2) son's first job status depends on the foregoing characteristics of the family background and son's educational attainment; and (3) the job destination of the son depends on the family background items, his educational attainment and first job. The residual factors X_u , X_v and X_w denote the influence of variables not included in the model, and uncorrelated with each other and the independent variables at each stage. Estimates of the degree of the various

causal effects are obtained by regression. Conventionally, all the variables entering the regression equations are presumed to be linearly related, and are taken in their standard form, that is, each has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of unity. In other words, standardized regression coefficients are used as the estimates of path coefficients indicating the direct causal effects.

Since these variables in the basic model do not exhaust the list of influence, this approach allows extensions of the model with the inclusion of other personal characteristics relevant to the explanation of achievements. The most famous extension is the Wisconsin model which focuses on "social psychological dynamics mediating interpersonal influences".⁴ The basic assumption is that father's occupation does not directly affect educational and occupational achievements. What father's occupation "means" in terms of the set of influences it can bring to bear on an offspring's attitudes and cognitions and how these in turn affect attainment-oriented behavior, comprise crucial aspects for study if adequate understanding of the dynamics of status attainment is to be reached.⁵ Therefore, the Wisconsin model is extended to include the additional variables; level of occupational aspiration, level of educational aspiration, significant others' influence and mental ability.⁶

Both the Blau-Duncan and Wisconsin models yield complementary results on status variables, attesting to the vigorous relationship among the status variables despite different conceptualizations. Therefore, extensions of the model are possible. In order to explain better the processes of achievement, additional steps in the status attainment sequence can be identified. Actually, in explaining the level of prospective adult status, many studies have extended the model in a variety of ways by including for example, personal constraints such as age, sex, marital status and migration status. The influence of ascribed status can also be extended to include sex, race, ethnic origin, national origin, mother's education, number of siblings, sex of siblings, family stability, etc. In addition, the conversion process can also be extended to include career contingencies where the outcome of achievements serve as the independent variables in explaining other variables such as income, voting behavior and job satisfaction.

The status attainment approach, thus points to a departure from descriptive mobility rates to causal analysis. A widely held criticism of this approach is that it shifts the orientation from occupational mobility to individual occupational achievements. Indeed, much of the attention has shifted in the existing studies which employ this approach. However, empirically,

the status attainment models cannot be claimed to be irrelevant to the study of mobility. For example, the zero-order correlation provides an index of mobility though it is problematic whether a perfect correlation actually means immobility. The least-square regression coefficients may provide statistics to explain mobility, though few people make use of this information. To illustrate this point, let us consider the following regression equation:

$$(SEI_2 - SEI_1) = a + b_1 SEI_1 + b_2 ED. \quad (1)$$

where SEI_1 denotes father's occupational status, SEI_2 denotes son's occupational status, and $(SEI_2 - SEI_1)$ indicates the amount of mobility. The whole equation describes the influence of education (ED) on mobility, holding father's occupational status constant. However, equation (1) can also be rewritten as follow:

$$SEI_2 = a + (b + 1) SEI_1 + b_2 ED. \quad (2)$$

Equation (2) is part of the equation developed from the status attainment approach. The magnitude of ED does not change; therefore the mobility equation can be transformed into an achievement model (and vice versa) without affecting the coefficients other than that of origin.

The status attainment approach, moreover, similar to traditional mobility research, also provides information on the

problem of equality of opportunity by means of the standardized regression coefficients. As Sørensen describes:

If many individuals move to the status different from their father's, father's status has a low effect on son's status. Thus the degree of equality of opportunity can be seen as measured by the effect of father's status on son's status, or more generally by the effect of ascribed characteristics on occupational achievement. The effect of education in equality of opportunity can be assessed by comparing the effect of education to the effect of the ascribed characteristics. . . .⁷

In addition, this approach has merit in itself in that it overcomes many problems encountered in traditional mobility research involving the use of mobility indices and matrices. One of the problems with respect to traditional mobility research is the problem of "floor and ceiling effects". As Blau and Duncan noted: "the lower the level from which a person starts, the greater the probability that he will be upwardly mobile, simply because many more occupational destinations entail upward mobility for men with low origin than those with high ones".⁸ Similarly, those who originated from high status levels are more likely to be downwardly mobile. Thus, using mobility matrices or indices can produce trivial results and misleading interpretation of mobility.

Another problem of traditional mobility research deals with controlling for origin when other variables are brought in

to explain mobility. To illustrate this point, let us take education as an example in explaining mobility. With the use of traditional methods, say mobility indices, the simple correlation between mobility and education will be difficult to interpret. The distribution of education is such that those who may achieve the longest upward mobility, that is, sons of low-status fathers, tend to have the lowest education.⁹ In order to eliminate this effect, we need to use multivariate analysis.

With the development of the status attainment model, these analytical problems are effectively controlled even though the model falls short in measuring or explaining vertical mobility directly. The model, for example, recognizes the fact that in order to explain career mobility or intergenerational mobility between father's status and son's ultimate status, we need to control for both initial status of the son and status of the father. In general, this approach provides the answer to the question of how "open" or "closed" the opportunity system is while avoiding problems of statistical interpretation associated with traditional mobility research.

However, the status attainment approach also has its defects and limitations, and has been the subject of many controversial arguments. Though it is claimed that this approach provides the answer to evaluating "inequality of

opportunity", one of the criticisms points exactly to the fact that it fails to separate the analysis of ascription and achievement. Path models are criticized for failing to "solve the problem of how to divide the joint variance explained by origin and education".¹⁰ In addition, the unexplained variance, besides representing luck and measurement error, also includes variables which are ascriptive and achieved. But the statistics fail to provide the answer in distinguishing between the two. Collins¹¹ stated that the role of education and other variables entering the models is not universal in explaining mobility and achievements. Rather, the role of chance is universal. As he noted: "the careers of many major executives (and their resulting fortunes) result from being around at the proper time".¹²

Another criticism with respect to the status attainment approach is that the logic for selecting and defining the various factors associated with achievements is rather weak.¹³

A lack of theoretical background impedes the explanation and specification of how the factors entering the model operate and interact with each other. Closely related to this argument is that the status attainment model fails to acknowledge and explain the operation of structural characteristics on the individual process of achievement.

In the first place, the model is constructed under the assumption that a given structural system will act similarly and consistently for all individuals over time. The model assumes a natural tendency towards inertia; that is, in the absence of change in the occupational structure and/or fertility rates of different occupational groups, sons will tend to inherit the occupations of their fathers.¹⁴ It ignores the fact that the shift in demand and supply of positions over the individual's lifecycle may facilitate or restrain his choices of occupations over time, and therefore, his achievements. It fails to recognize explicitly that a change in environmental forces may affect an individual's choice of careers. In addition, the change in internal organizational structure and conditions may force individuals out of certain positions or facilitate their chances of movement into other positions. Which individual characteristics will be important, then, depends on the overall distribution of organizational resources at the time.¹⁵ Moreover, changes in the structural system may also affect the impact of the influence of parents on their children, and the extent to which they will try, or be able to maximize their future success by providing them with adequate education.¹⁶

With respect to education, the status attainment model errs in assuming that the amount of education received is

consistent or parallel to its payoff for every individual. Even though recent public policies have given people from different backgrounds more equal access to education, not every individual benefits equally with the expansion of educational facilities.

The importance of education for achievements depends on the supply and demand of certain occupations at a particular period of time. In the first place, the availability of jobs depends on the number of people with the necessary skills and abilities which are acquired through education. If the supply equals the demand, individuals with the highest education will get the best jobs. This is assuming that employees are ranked according to labor queue and jobs according to job queue. If the demand for labor of a certain kind exceeds the supply, employers are forced to go lower down the labor queue to find people to occupy vacancies. On the other hand, if supply exceeds demand, people from high in the queue must accept less desirable jobs. Therefore, to predict the occupational achievements of a group by its educational level is only meaningful if the availability of jobs in different occupational groups can be assumed unchanged.¹⁷

The important function of education depends to a large extent on the occupational structure and fertility. In addition, the power structure in terms of who has control over the access to occupational positions (which is not detected directly from the model), is also important to achievements.

The above problems of the status attainment approach are complicated if we consider the different occupational structures and educational systems in different societies that may be involved in certain types of analyses. For example, if we fit the model to the study of immigrant groups, the comparison, say, between the effect of education on achievement prior to migration and after migration, will be problematic under the assumption of a given structural system. In fact, structural changes which will determine how personal resources are transformed into occupational achievements are not detected directly.

In general, the status attainment approach fails to acknowledge that the mobility process is also a function of structural characteristics. In other words, it fails to recognize that the process of occupational achievements is a dynamic process in the sense that an individual's achievements will change over time and across space as a result of structural differences which determine how individual characteristics will affect achievements.

Despite the various limitations of this approach, it has merit over traditional research in explaining mobility with respect to personal resources. Hence, the present chapter will make use of this method to examine empirically the effects of

certain individual characteristics on occupational achievements of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The basic model will be modified to include father's education, father's occupation, son's first occupational status in Canada and 1977 occupation in Canada as variables. It is assumed that first job in Canada represents career origin after migration. Extensions of the basic model will include first, the addition of family size as the determinant of family background; second, pre-migration occupational status; and third, acculturation which serves as the personal constraint consequent on migration.

Occupational statuses are scored by the Blishen SEI Index. The two education variables are scaled by the total number of years of formal schooling completed.¹⁸ The education variable for sons is quite problematic since it assumes that all the Chinese immigrants in the sample have completed their education before joining the labor force. Fortunately, the present data allow us to estimate roughly the percentage of the sample who did return to school after starting their career. About 12% were estimated to have returned to school. Though this may produce some bias in the estimate of correlation between education and first job, the percentage is so small that it may not offset the results to a large extent.

2

In order to give a more explicit and detailed interpretation of the mechanisms by which the independent variables effect the dependent variables, reduced forms of the path models are introduced. The reduced forms are developed as follows: "For each endogenous (dependent) variable in the model, obtain the successive reduced-form equations, beginning with that containing only exogenous (predetermined) variables, then adding intervening variables in sequence from cause to effect".¹⁹

In addition, the present chapter also provides a comparative study on the process of achievement among Chinese immigrants and native born Canadians. The present data will be compared with the study by Cuneo and Curtis²⁰ on Canadian-born Francophones and Anglophones. The study was done in 1972 using data from 145 Montreal Francophones and 163 Toronto Anglophones in males samples, aged 25 to 34. The comparison is possible because occupations for the three samples are coded with the same scale, that is, Blishen's 1967 Socio-Economic Index. In order to make the samples more comparable, only Chinese immigrants aged 25 to 34 will be included in the analysis. The measure of education is somewhat different from the Cuneo and Curtis study which followed directly the categorization by Blau and Duncan. But since only the standardized coefficients are available for comparison, the difference in metric will not lead

to misleading conclusions. Finally, the chapter includes a comparison between Chinese immigrants who completed their education in countries of origin, and those who finished their education in Western countries.

The Basic Model

The basic model deals primarily with occupational achievements of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The variables entering the model and the path coefficients are presented graphically in Figure VI-2. In addition, Table VI-1 shows the path coefficients of the basic model as well as its reduced forms. The direct effects of the variables are obtained from regression equations 1, 3 and 6, whereas the path coefficients of the variables in the reduced forms are obtained from equations 2, 4 and 5. The results of the various effects as well as the total association between variables are presented in Table VI-2.

Both X_a (father's education) and X_b (father's occupation) have significant effects on X_1 (son's education) with father's occupation having a stronger effect than father's education. For each standard deviation increase in father's status net of father's education, the son receives 0.33 standard deviations of education. Controlling for father's

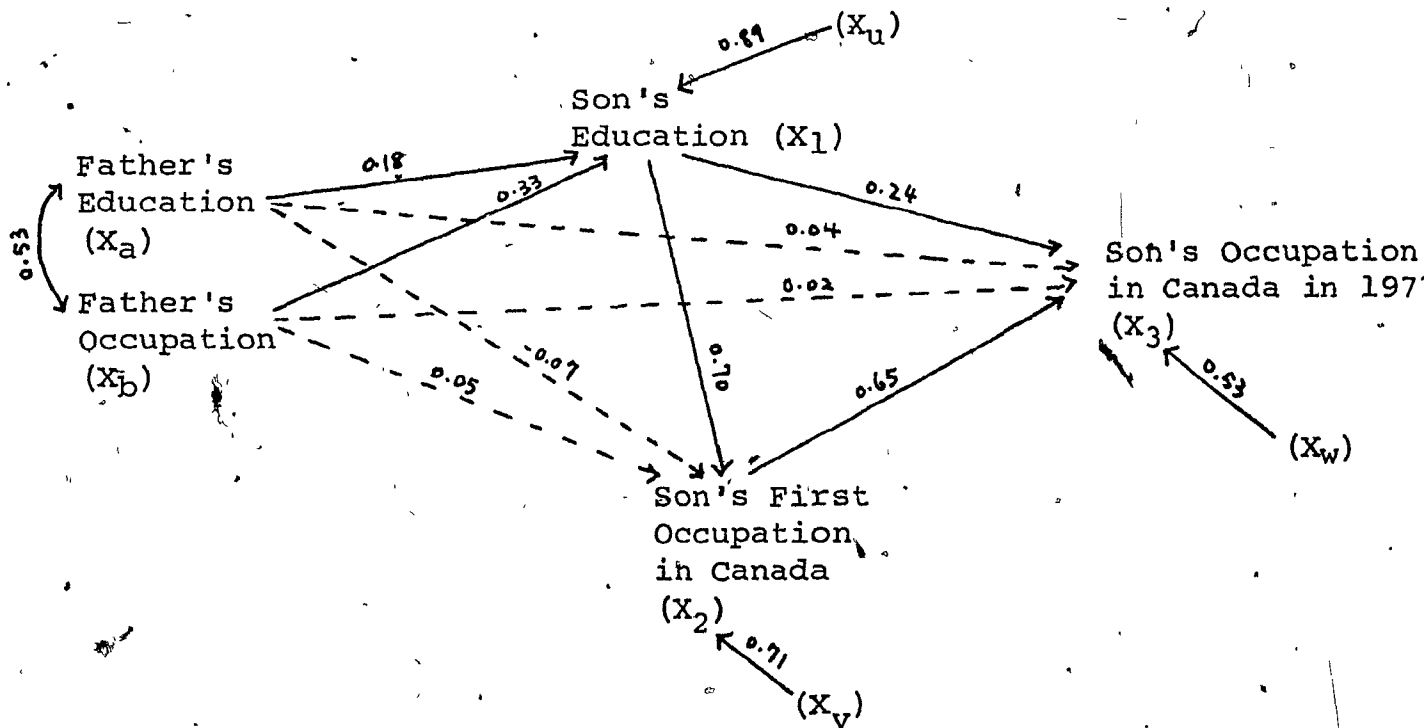
occupation, each standard deviation increase in father's education leads to 0.18 standard deviations in son's education.

Fifty-one percent of the total association between X_a and X_1 is expressed by the total effect, while 79% of the total association between X_b and X_1 is expressed by the causal effect; the remaining 49% and 21% respectively are expressed through correlation between exogenous variables. However, only 20% of the variance of son's educational attainment is explained by these two family background factors alone, attesting to the fact that other factors which are not included in the model, such as personal ability, intelligence, influence of peers and number of siblings, may help explain the educational attainment of the respondent. Nevertheless, ascribed family status does have some influence on one's educational pursuit: a son in a high status, well educated family is more likely to be socialized and motivated to achieve higher education, and because of this family background will be more likely to enter better schools. Consequently, he will be more prepared to pursue a higher education.

When X_1 is considered as an independent variable, both family background variables become insignificant, and the total effect of son's education on his initial status in Canada is incredibly strong ($P_{21} = 0.70$). With respect to the relationship between X_a and X_2 (son's first occupation in Canada), only

FIGURE VI-2

BASIC MODEL OF THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT
SHOWING PATH COEFFICIENTS



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path coefficient
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-1

PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN STANDARDIZED FORM
AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION, FOR BASIC MODEL
AND ITS REDUCED FORMS

Dependent Variable*	Equation	Independent Variable*				Coefficient of Determination (R^2)
		X_a	X_b	X_1	X_2	
X_1	(1)	0.18**	0.33**	-	-	0.20
X_2	(2)	0.05	0.28**	-	-	0.10
X_2	(3)	-0.07	0.05	0.70**	-	0.50
X_3	(4)	0.11	0.28**	-	-	0.13
X_3	(5)	-0.01	0.05	0.69**	-	0.51
X_3	(6)	0.04	0.02	0.24**	0.65**	0.72

* X_a , father's education; X_b , father's occupation;
 X_1 , son's education; X_2 , son's first occupation in Canada;
 X_3 , son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** $p \leq 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-2

EFFECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS ACHIEVEMENT,
AND TOTAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES
ENTERING THE BASIC MODEL

Dependent Variable*	Independent Variable*	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect via		Total Effect	Total Association (r)
			X ₁	X ₂		
X ₁	X _a	0.18**	-	-	0.18	0.35
	X _b	0.33**	-	-	0.33	0.42
X ₂	X _a	-0.07	0.13	-	0.06	0.20
	X _b	0.05	0.23	-	0.28	0.31
	X ₁	0.70**	-	-	0.70	0.70
X ₃	X _a	0.04	0.04	-0.05	0.03	0.26
	X _b	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.13	0.34
	X ₁	0.24**	-	0.46	0.70	0.71
	X ₂	-0.65**	-	-	0.65	0.83

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation;
X₁, son's education; X₂, son's first occupation in Canada;
X₃, son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** p ≤ 0.05 (F-Test)

30% of the total association is expressed by the total effect, while the rest is expressed by correlations among exogenous variables. Out of the total effect which is very weak, more than half (65%) is mediated by X_1 . In terms of the relationship between X_b and X_2 , 90% of the total association is expressed by the total effect, out of which over three-quarters (82%) is mediated by X_1 . Therefore, much of the influence of the family background variables on first job is mediated by respondent's education, which in turn has the strongest direct and total effect on the dependent variables.

Education is the most important determinant of initial status achieved in Canada. To further demonstrate the magnitude of education on initial achievement, the reduced-form equation 2 is compared with equation 3. The statistics indicate that with the inclusion of X_1 , the family background variables become essentially zero in their effects, and the variance explained also increases from 10% to 50%. Ascription in the sense of direct influence of family origin on initial status achievement becomes very weak. Educational credentials become the most important resource for the Chinese immigrant to establish himself in an alien land. In other words, the opportunity to advance position relative to one's father depends greatly on education.

With respect to the influence of education on occupational destination in Canada, almost all the total association between X_1 and X_3 is expressed by the total effect, attesting to the importance of the influence of education on achievement. However, 66% of the total effect is mediated by X_2 , while the rest are transmitted directly. The strongest direct influence is found to be that of X_2 . The direct effects of X_a and X_b are both insignificant as predicted. The importance of career beginning in Canada is further demonstrated by comparing the reduced-form equations 4 and 5 with equation 6; with the inclusion of X_1 and then X_2 , both family background items decrease their effects to nearly zero. With the inclusion of X_3 , the effect of X_1 also decreases substantially and the variance explained increases to a large extent.

Taking the whole basic model into consideration, it seems that education for Chinese immigrants is ascriptive, that is, the opportunity to receive higher education depends significantly on family background. On entering the labor force in Canada, education then becomes the most important determinant of occupational achievement, attesting to the fact that those who have higher education are more likely to enter high status jobs. The social origins of the Chinese immigrants do exert considerable influence on initial status in Canada by influencing education,

but the direct effects have been attenuated in magnitude with the inclusion of education. With respect to later achievement, the direct influence of family background and the indirect influence through education and initial status are further attenuated and become very weak; early experience in terms of first job in Canada accounts very strongly for later success, with the indirect effect of education via initial status being second. Therefore, the relative immobility of the Chinese immigrants is mainly due to the effect of first job, with education and training being secondary. Once the Chinese immigrant gets stuck in a first job, for example, an ethnic specific occupation, there is little chance for him to move out. The present analysis further points to the importance of education insofar as it allows people to move initially to high status professional jobs in Canada and then remain there.

The importance of education and early experience in Canada is further supported by the coefficients of determination. Social origin alone accounts for only 13% of the variance of occupational achievement while together with education, 51% of the variance is explained. With the inclusion of career beginning, the total variance of occupational achievement explained increases to 72%. The fact that about three-quarters of the variance of occupational achievement is explained by these

attributes indicates that opportunities for Chinese immigrants to achieve depend very much on their own personal resources.

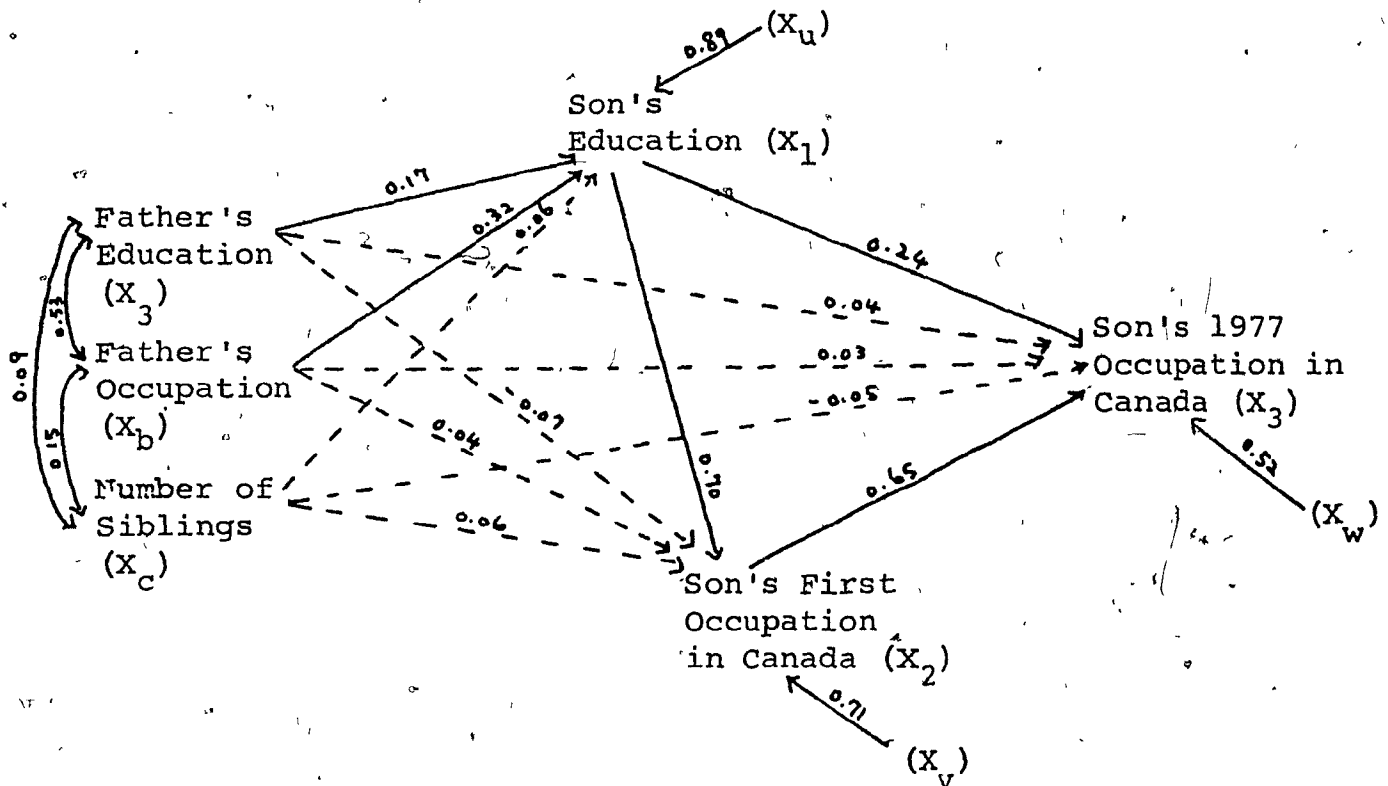
Family Size and Occupational Achievements

It is generally agreed that father's socio-economic status and education hardly exhaust the list of family background variables, and the inclusion of more relevant variables of this kind can improve the explanation of the occupational achievement of the son. Attention has been given to the measure of family size as an additional predetermined variable in measuring social origin. Family size, operationalized as the number of siblings of the respondents, is generally assumed to be negatively correlated with other family origin variables; men from high socio-economic background generally have fewer siblings; and further, family size generally has a negative effect on education. This in turn will produce a negative influence on occupational achievement.²¹ Thus, men from large families are less likely to achieve high status in their careers than those from small families.

However, this widely accepted postulate is not supported with respect to the Chinese immigrants under study. In this extended model (see Figure VI-3), the correlation between X_a and X_c (number of siblings) is positive, but insignificant;

FIGURE VI-3

PATH COEFFICIENTS OF EXTENDED MODEL OF THE PROCESS
OF ACHIEVEMENT, ADDING EFFECTS OF SIBLINGS



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path coefficient
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

the correlation between X_b and X_c , though significant, is also positive. Moreover, X_c does not have any significant effect on any of the dependent variables, including education. The magnitudes of other paths do not differ much with the inclusion of this variable from those in the basic model; and the total variance explained only increases by 1% as compared with that in the basic model. The sample size for both models only

differ by one case, so the above findings cannot be said to be due to the bias produced by the difference in sample composition.

Therefore, for the present study, adding another family background variable does not increase the explanatory power of the model. The influence of family size on educational and occupational achievement may not be universal; at least, it is not applicable to the Chinese under study.

Pre-migration Occupation and Occupational Achievements

For the Chinese immigrants in particular, an extension of the model with the inclusion of some other intervening variables rather than the addition of more predetermined family background variables would seem appropriate in explaining their ultimate achievements in Canada. One important determinant of the immigrant's achievement in Canada is his previous job status in country of origin. In the extended model presented graphically in Figure VI-4, the causal ordering of the variables is arranged such that X_2 (main occupation in country of origin) is assumed to occur prior to X_3 (first occupation in Canada) and X_1 (education) prior to X_2 . Table VI-3 displays the path coefficients of both the extended model and its reduced forms. The direct effects of the extended model are obtained from

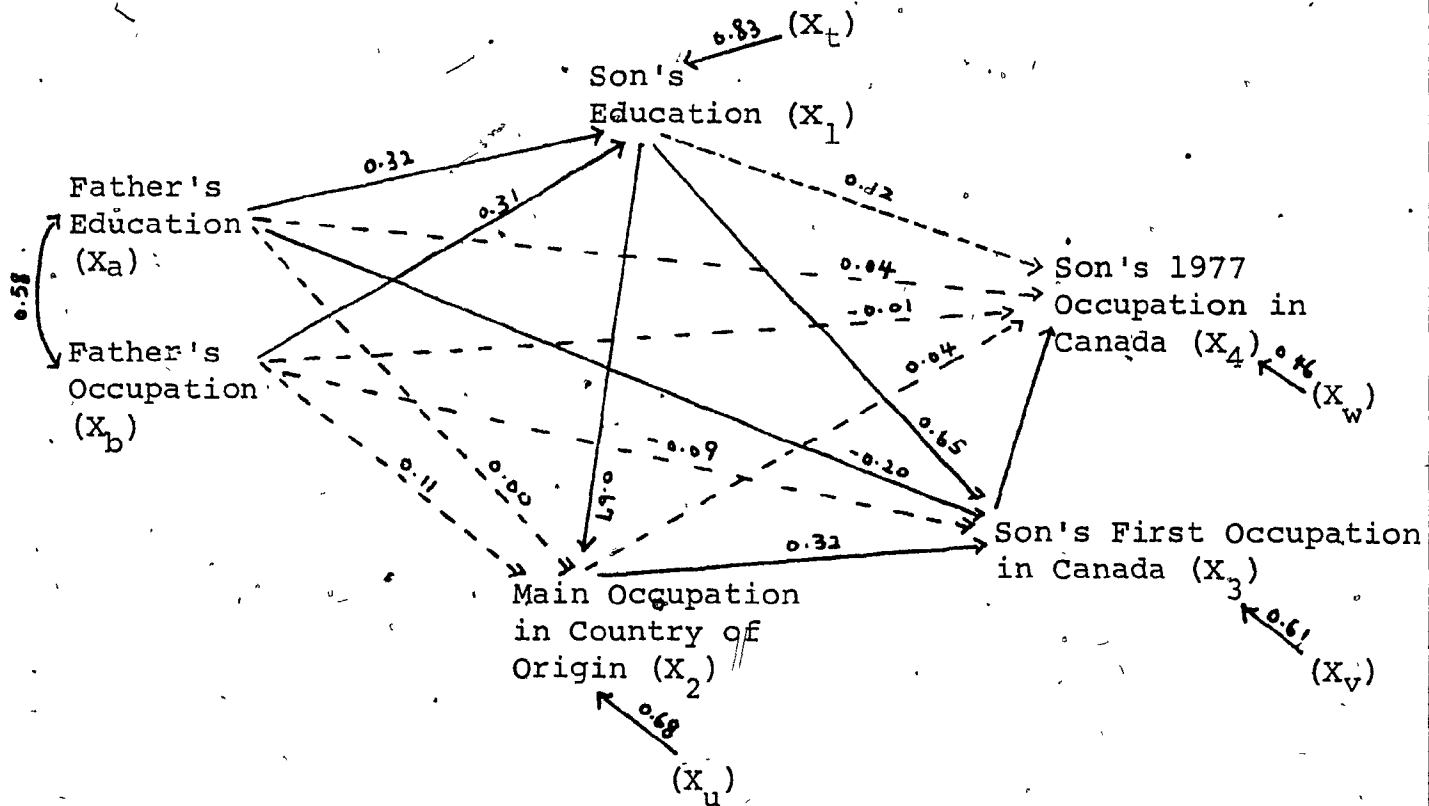
equations 1, 3, 6 and 10; and the coefficients of the reduced forms are obtained from equations 2, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9. The results of the various effects and the total associations between variables are shown in Table VI-4. Note that in this case, the sample size is smaller than that in the basic model because only those who started their careers prior to migration are included.

It is interesting to find that both X_a and X_b have insignificant direct effects on son's occupational achievement in country of origin. The direct effect of education is most pronounced. Similarly, the influence of X_1 directly on X_3 is the strongest among all, followed by the direct influence of X_2 , indicating that educational credentials are still most important for son's initial achieved status in Canada, after taking X_2 into consideration.

The present findings seem to contradict the widely held notion that social origins and education have progressively attenuated influences on achievements coming later and later in the lifecycle.²² Though education is assumed to take place earlier in time than main occupation in country of origin, the former has a stronger influence on initial achieved status in Canada. This may be explained by the fact that as a consequence

FIGURE VI-4

PATH-COEFFICIENTS OF EXTENDED MODEL OF THE PROCESS
OF ACHIEVEMENT INCLUDING MAIN JOB IN COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN AS THE INTERVENING VARIABLE



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path coefficient
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-3

PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN STANDARDIZED FORM AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION, FOR EXTENDED MODEL AND ITS REDUCED FORM, INCLUDING MAIN OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

Dependent Variable*	Equation	Independent Variable*					Coefficient of Determination (R^2)
		X_a	X_b	X_1	X_2	X_3	
X_1	(1)	0.32**	0.31**	-	-	-	0.31
X_2	(2)	0.22	0.31**	-	-	-	0.22
X_2	(3)	0.00	0.11	0.67**	-	-	0.54
X_3	(4)	0.08	0.21	-	-	-	0.07
X_3	(5)	-0.20**	-0.05	0.86**	-	-	0.58
X_3	(6)	-0.20**	-0.09	0.65**	0.32**	-	0.63
X_4	(7)	0.14	0.20	-	-	-	0.09
X_4	(8)	-0.12	-0.05	0.80**	-	-	0.53
X_4	(9)	-0.12	-0.08	0.61**	0.28**	-	0.57
X_4	(10)	0.04	-0.01	0.12	0.04	0.77**	0.79

* X_3 , father's education; X_b , father's occupation; X_1 , son's education; X_2 , son's main occupation in country of origin; X_3 , son's first occupation in Canada; X_4 , son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** $p \leq 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-4

EFFECTS AND TOTAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES ENTERING THE EXTENDED MODEL,
INCLUDING MAIN OCCUPATION AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

Dependent Variable*	Independent Variable*	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect via			Total Effect	Total Association (r)
			X ₁	X ₂	X ₃		
X ₁	X _a	0.32**	-	-	-	0.32	0.50
	X _b	0.31**	-	-	-	0.31	0.49
X ₂	X _a	0.00	0.21	-	-	0.21	0.40
	X _b	0.11	0.21	-	-	0.32	0.44
	X ₁	0.67**	-	-	-	0.67	0.73
X ₃	X _a	-0.20**	0.21	0.00	-	0.01	0.20
	X _b	-0.09	0.20	0.04	-	0.15	0.25
	X ₁	0.65**	-	0.21	-	0.86	0.74
	X ₂	0.32**	-	-	-	0.32	0.67
X ₄	X _a	0.04	0.04	0.00	-0.15	0.07	0.25
	X _b	-0.01	0.04	0.00	-0.07	-0.04	0.28
	X ₁	0.12	-	0.02	0.50	0.65	0.72
	X ₂	0.04	-	-	0.25	0.29	0.65
	X ₃	0.77**	-	-	-	0.77	0.88

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation; X₁, son's education; X₂, son's main occupation in country of origin; X₃, son's first occupation in Canada; X₄, son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** $p \leq 0.05$ (F-Test)

of migration, the normal career patterns of the Chinese immigrants are being disrupted; and therefore, facing a new environment and different opportunities as well as occupational structures, the immigrants are forced to start all over again. Educational credentials once again become the major criterion to be evaluated for qualification to pursue certain jobs. The strength of education on initial achievement is also supported when we compare equation 5 with equation 6 in Table VI-3, that with the inclusion of X_2 , the magnitude of X_1 only weakens by a small degree.

With respect to the influence on 1977 occupational status, it is found that all the direct effects, except X_3 , become insignificant. The fact that $P_{31}P_{43}$ has a stronger effect on ultimate achievement than $P_{32}P_{43}$ further attests to the fact that initial status achieved in Canada and education are more important than pre-migration characteristics in determining the outcome of immigrants' achievement even though education itself, in this case, does not have significant direct effect on job destination.

The relative importance of education in explaining initial status achievement in Canada attests to the fact that education is the major criterion for the Chinese immigrants to

achieve high status jobs such as professional work. Those who lack qualifications will be forced to assume relatively low status occupations such as service occupations. The fact that ultimate achievement is predominantly determined by initial achieved status in Canada implies that the relative immobility of Chinese immigrants is mainly due to the effect of first job rather than education.

Acculturation and Occupational Achievements

One other possible important determinant with respect to immigrant groups in explaining occupational achievement is the level of acculturation which serves as a major personal constraint as a result of migration. It is hypothesized that both education and initial occupation in Canada will affect immigrants' level of acculturation which will in turn affect ultimate occupational success. Figure VI-5 presents the extended model taking acculturation into consideration. The causal ordering assumes that acculturation occurs after first occupation in Canada but before present job. The assumption has the problem that acculturation is measured at the time of the survey and therefore the degree may not be the same as before the respondents took their present jobs. But the problem cannot be easily resolved. It is more problematic to

ask the respondent his degree of acculturation before his 1977 occupation since it is difficult for him to recollect his own behavior or attitude at a specific time in the past; such a question would yield unreliable results.

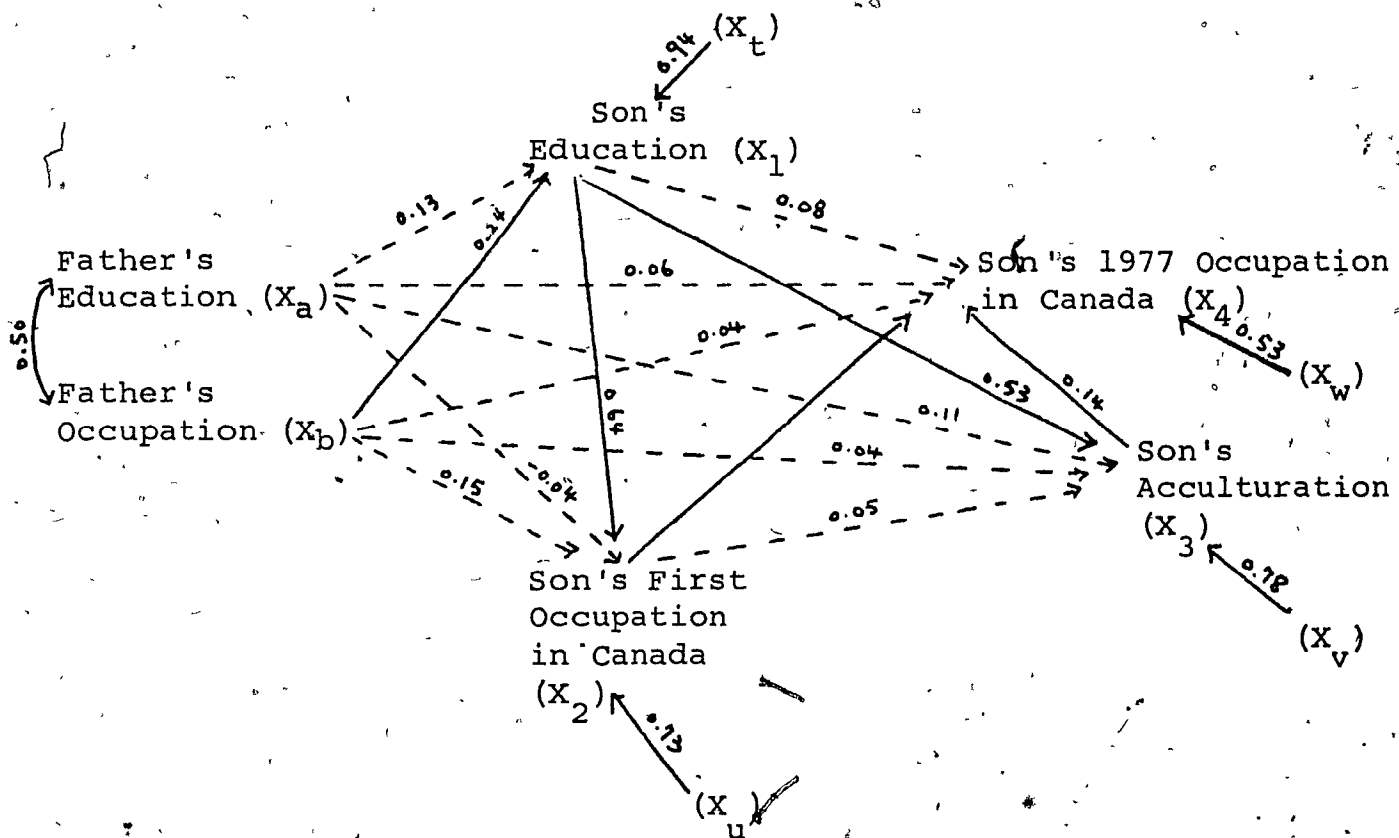
The acculturation index was constructed by means of factor analysis. Various items with respect to language, life style, perception of norms and values were entered into the analysis. Only some of the items pertaining to language and life style belong to the first factor, the items being language used when speaking to friends, language of books and newspapers read, food preference, kind of festival celebrated in Canada and the frequency of seeing Chinese movies (see Appendix D for detail description of these items). All the items on norms and values were irrelevant. This may be due either to the improper construction of the questions or simply to the fact that norms and values do not belong to the previous groups that multivariate analysis denotes as acculturation. Since only language and life style belong to the same factor, it is perhaps imprecise to call it acculturation; but for simplicity's sake, the term is used to denote the index used in the following analysis.

Table VI-5 presents the effects in the extended model and its reduced forms, together with the coefficients of

determination. The various effects and total associations among the variables are displayed in Table VI-6. The acculturation index ranges from a minimum of six points which denotes the least acculturated to a maximum of thirty points. The mean is 18.31 with a standard deviation of 4.26. The simple correlations of the index with all the other variables entering the model are significant and positive. However, within the model, only education is detected to have influenced one's degree of acculturation. The magnitude of the effect of education is further supported when the reduced-form equation 5 is compared with equation 6; with the inclusion of initial achieved status, the relative influence of education is only attenuated a bit. Moreover, the variances for both equations explained remains constant. This seems to indicate also that initial status achievement has minimal influence on the level of acculturation. The previous finding that the Chinese came mainly from Hong Kong, a British colony, accounts for the fact that the majority have acculturated to a certain degree prior to migration. Moreover, the fact that those who have higher education usually completed their studies in Canada and other Western countries indicates the relative importance of educational attainment in explaining acculturation.

FIGURE VI-5

PATH COEFFICIENTS OF EXTENDED MODEL OF THE PROCESS
OF ACHIEVEMENT, INCLUDING ACCULTURATION AS
INTERVENING VARIABLE



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path coefficient
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-5

PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN STANDARDIZED FORM AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION, FOR EXTENDED MODEL AND ITS REDUCED FORM, INCLUDING ACCULTURATION AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

Dependent Variable*	Equation	Independent Variable*					Coefficient of Determination (R^2)
		X_a	X_b	X_1	X_2	X_3	
X_1	(1)	0.13	0.24**	-	-	-	0.11
X_2	(2)	0.04	0.30**	-	-	-	0.10
X_2	(3)	-0.04	0.15	0.63**	-	-	0.46
X_3	(4)	0.18	0.19	-	-	-	0.10
X_3	(5)	0.11	0.15	0.57**	-	-	0.39
X_3	(6)	0.11	0.04	0.53**	0.05	-	0.39
X_4	(7)	0.07	0.30**	-	-	-	0.12
X_4	(8)	-0.01	0.15	0.61**	-	-	0.44
X_4	(9)	0.02	0.05	0.16**	0.71**	-	0.71
X_4	(10)	0.01	0.04	0.08	0.70**	0.14**	0.72

* X_a , father's education; X_b , father's occupation; X_1 , son's education; X_2 , son's first occupation in Canada; X_3 , son's acculturation; X_4 , son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** $p \leq 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-6

EFFECTS AND TOTAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES ENTERING THE EXTENDED MODEL,
INCLUDING ACCULTURATION AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

Dependent Variable*	Independent Variable*	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect via			Total Effect	Total Association (r)
			X ₁	X ₂	X ₃		
X ₁	X _a	0.13	-	-	-	0.13	0.25
	X _b	0.24**	-	-	-	0.24	0.31
X ₂	X _a	-0.04	0.08	-	-	0.04	0.19
	X _b	0.15	0.15	-	-	0.30	0.32
	X ₁	0.64**	-	-	-	0.64	0.67
X ₃	X _a	0.11	0.07	0.00	-	0.18	0.28
	X _b	0.04	0.13	0.01	-	0.17	0.28
	X ₁	0.53**	-	0.03	-	0.56	0.61
	X ₂	0.05	-	-	-	0.05	0.44
X ₄	X _a	0.06	0.01	-0.03	0.02	0.06	0.22
	X _b	0.04	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.18	0.33
	X ₁	0.08	-	0.45	0.07	0.60	0.65
	X ₂	0.70**	-	-	0.01	0.71	0.83
	X ₃	0.14**	-	-	-	0.14	0.52

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation; X₁, son's education; X₂, son's first occupation in Canada; X₃, son's acculturation; X₄, son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** $p \leq 0.05$ (F-Test)

Though the effect of acculturation on occupational achievement is 'significant the relationship is weak.' In fact, only 30% of the total association is expressed by the effect, the rest is explained by correlations among exogenous variables. Moreover, and similar to the findings in the basic model, P_{42} still has the strongest influence on ultimate achievement, followed by P_{21} P_{42} . However, with the inclusion of acculturation, the direct effect of education on 1977 occupational achievement becomes insignificant. Looking at R^2 , one sees the addition to explained variance, though insignificant, is small.

In general, with respect to initial occupational achievement, education is still the major determinant; however, ultimate occupational achievement is predominantly influenced by first job in Canada, even when acculturation is taken into consideration.

Education and Occupational Achievements

The previous chapter showed that Chinese who started their careers in Canada tend to have better chances of achievement than those who started their careers prior to migration. This is because individuals in the former group are most likely to have completed their education in Canada and other Western

countries while individuals in the latter group completed their education in their countries of origin. Chapter IV also indicated that those who finished their schooling in other Western countries including Canada were more likely to receive higher education. In order to determine how important the location of education is to the ultimate achievement of the Chinese immigrants, separate analyses were carried out for the two sub-groups. Table VI-7 presents the means and standard deviation(s) for both groups. It is found that in comparison with those who finished their schooling in country of origin, those who completed their studies in Western countries are, on the average, more likely to come from better social backgrounds, more likely to pursue higher education, and are consequently better trained to achieve higher statuses.

The standardized regression coefficients displayed in Figures VI-6 and VI-7 show that only father's occupational status has a significant direct effect on the educational attainment of immigrants who completed their education in Western countries, whereas both background variables are significant for the other group. Comparing equation 1 with equation 4 in Table VI-8, the unstandardized coefficients show that each unit increase in father's status almost doubles the increase in education for the first group as compared with the second.

TABLE VI-7

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES ENTERING THE MODEL
FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO COMPLETED EDUCATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
AND IMMIGRANTS WHO COMPLETED EDUCATION IN WESTERN
COUNTRIES INCLUDING CANADA

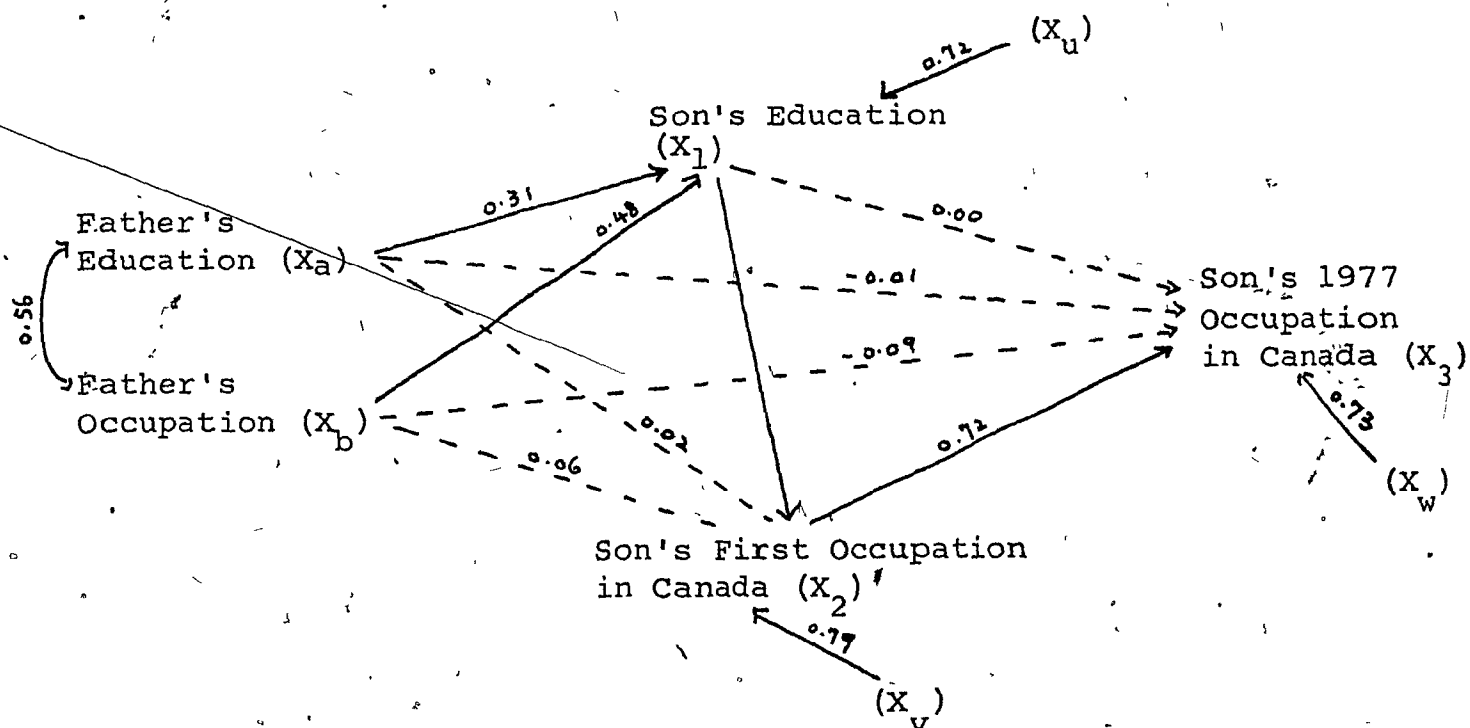
Variable*	I**		II**	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
X _a	6.89	4.69	9.67	4.99
X _b	40.72	12.52	47.39	12.69
X ₁	10.09	3.48	16.19	3.35
X ₂	32.64	7.73	51.11	18.22
X ₃	36.82	11.03	57.82	16.28

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation;
X₁, son's education; X₂, son's first occupation in Canada;
X₃, son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

** I, immigrants who finished education in country of origin;
II, immigrants who finished education in Western countries
including Canada.

FIGURE VI-6

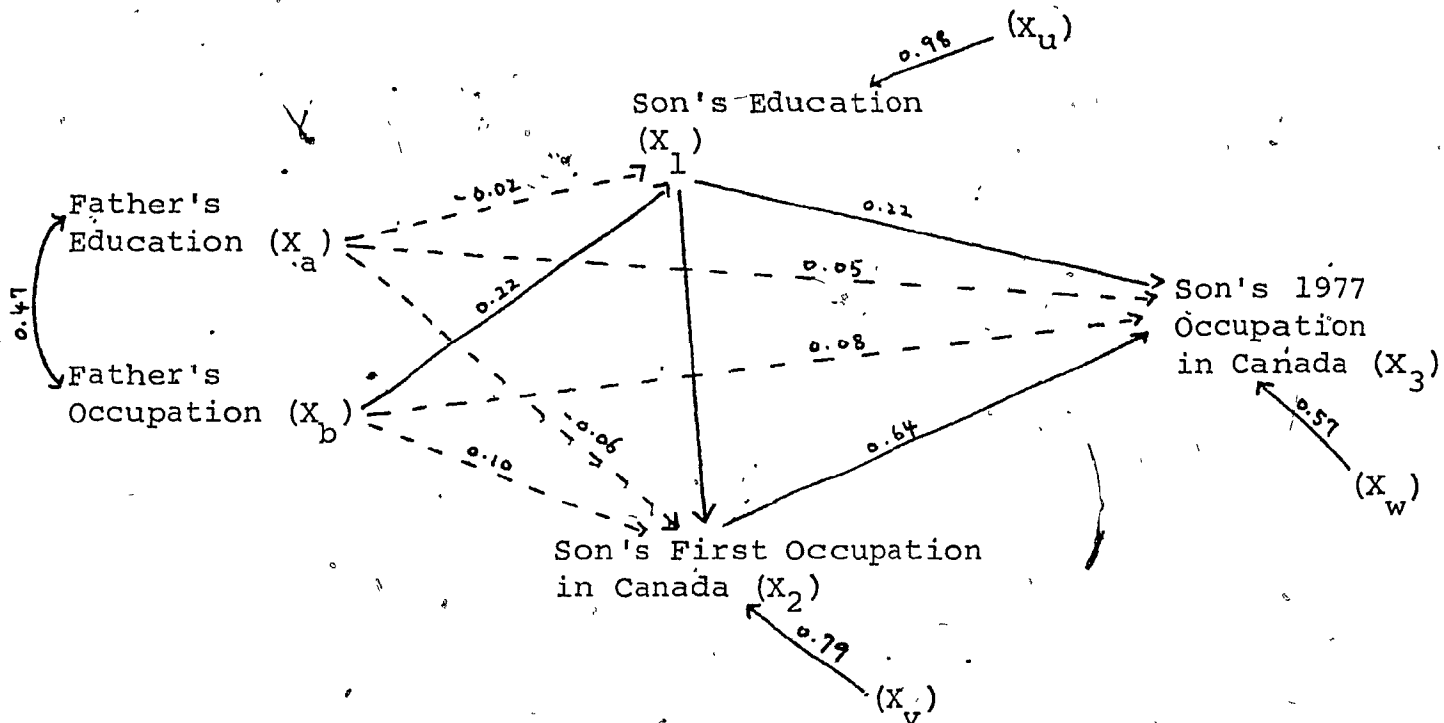
BASIC MODEL FOR THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT
FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO COMPLETED EDUCATION
IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

FIGURE VI-7

BASIC MODEL FOR THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR
IMMIGRANTS WHO COMPLETED EDUCATION IN WESTERN
COUNTRIES INCLUDING CANADA



Note:- Dotted line represents insignificant path
 $p > 0.05$ (F-Test)

TABLE VI-8

REGRESSION EQUATIONS SHOWING UNSTANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS
FOR VARIABLES ENTERING THE MODEL FOR IMMIGRANTS WHO
COMPLETED EDUCATION IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND
IMMIGRANTS WHO COMPLETED EDUCATION IN
WESTERN SOCIETIES INCLUDING CANADA

I*		R ²
$X_1 = 3.13 + 0.23X_a + 0.13X_b^{**}$		0.49 (1)
$X_2 = 18.23 + 0.03X_a + 0.03X_b + 12.6X_1^{**}$		0.38 (2)
$X_3 = 6.61 + (-0.02X_a) + (-0.08X_b) + 0.01X_1 + 1.02X_2^{**}$		0.47 (3)
II*		
$X_1 = 13.62 + (-0.01X_a) + 0.06X_b^{**}$		0.04 (4)
$X_2 = -5.83 + (-0.23X_a) + 0.14X_b + 3.23X_1^{**}$		0.38 (5)
$X_3 = 4.89 + 0.17X_a + 0.10X_b + 1.06X_1 + 0.57X_2^{**}$		0.67 (6)

* I, immigrants who completed education in country of origin;
II, immigrants who completed education in Western countries
including Canada.

** X_a , father's education; X_b , father's occupation;
 X_1 , son's education; X_2 , son's first occupation in Canada;
 X_3 , son's 1977 occupation in Canada.

However, only 4% of the variance in education for group II is explained as compared with 40% of the variance for group I. This may be due to the fact that, on the average, group II respondents came from high status families who were able to send their children abroad to pursue higher education once they are abroad, however, family background does not explain educational attainment.

The influence of family background on initial occupational achievement in Canada is, for both groups, not as great as the effect of education. There are some variations between the two groups. The influence of education on initial status is stronger for group I as compared with that for group II; but the influence of father's occupation is more pronounced for group II than group I. Since first job in Canada is more likely to be the career beginnings for those who completed their education in Western countries, the influence of family background is more important than for those who finished their education prior to migration, that is, for individuals who started their careers in countries of origin. For group II, training becomes more important factor for obtaining initial high status jobs in the Canadian labor force.

In terms of 1977 occupational achievement, for those who finished their schooling prior to migration, initial occupation

has the strongest direct influence on ultimate achievement.

For the immigrants who finished their education in Western countries, similar patterns are found, although in this case, the direct influence of education on ultimate achievement is significant. For the other group, this association is insignificant.

A comparison between the two groups shows that the influence of education is more pronounced for group II than group I. On the contrary, the influence of initial status in Canada is more pronounced for the first group, with respect to ultimate occupational achievement. Therefore, in comparison with group I, the relatively high degree of upward mobility achieved by those who started their careers in Canada is mainly due to the effect of having higher returns from education. Those who finished their schooling in countries of origin are more likely to be immobile since their occupational achievements in 1977 are more likely to be determined by their initial statuses.

Linguistic Groups and Occupational Achievements

In order to determine how the influence of various variables differ between native Canadians and Chinese immigrants, the present data are compared with those for Canadian-born

Francophones and Anglophones. Table VI-9 displays the direct effects and the coefficients of determination for the variables entering the basic model, that is, father's education, father's occupation, son's education and initial and destination of occupation in Canada. Table VI-10 shows the various effects entering the model.

For the Canadians, both family background variables have significant effects on educational attainment, but for the Chinese immigrants, only father's occupation net of parental education is significant. For all three ethnic groups, education has the most important direct effect on initial status achieved in Canada; the direct effects of family background items in this case are insignificant for all groups, but family origin does have some influence on first job by influencing education. All indirect effects of family origin via education are stronger than the direct effects, except for the Chinese immigrants where P_{2a} has the same magnitude as $P_{1a}P_{2a}$. The variance explained is more pronounced among the English than among the Chinese or the French, indicating that the two background variables and education best explain the initial status achievement of the Anglophones.

Both education and first job have significant direct effects on later occupational achievements for all three groups.

TABLE VI-9

PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN STANDARDIZED FORM AND
COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR BASIC MODEL BY
LINGUISTIC GROUP, AGED 25 - 34

Linguistic Group and Dependent Variable*	Independent Variable*				Coefficient of Determination (R ²)
	X _a	X _b	X ₁	X ₂	
Chinese					
X ₁	0.08	0.26**	-	-	0.10
X ₂	-0.05	0.05	0.64**	-	0.42
X ₃	0.12	0.07	0.34**	0.68**	0.72
Anglophone***					
X ₁	0.17**	0.29**	-	-	0.15
X ₂	0.07	0.09	0.62**	-	0.47
X ₃	0.05	0.07	0.34**	0.41**	0.54
Francophone***					
X ₁	0.29**	0.29**	-	-	0.19
X ₂	0.05	0.02	0.59**	-	0.38
X ₃	0.01	-0.04	0.51**	0.38**	0.63

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation;
X₁, son's education; X₂, son's first occupation in Canada;
X₃, son's occupation at the time of the survey.

** p ≤ 0.05 (F-Test)

*** Source from Carl J. Cuneo and James E. Curtis, "Social
Ascription in the Educational and Occupational Attainment of
Urban Canadians," The Canadian Review of Sociology and
Anthropology, vol. 12, no. 1, Feb., 1975, pp. 12, 15-16,
Tables I, II and III.

TABLE VI-10

EFFECTS OF VARIABLES ENTERING THE BASIC MODEL,
BY LINGUISTIC GROUP, AGED 25 - 34

Linguistic Group and Dependent Variable*	Independent Variable*	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect via		Total Effect
			X ₁	X ₂	
Chinese					
X ₁	X _a	0.08	-	-	0.08
	X _b	0.26**	-	-	0.26
X ₂	X _a	-0.05	0.05	-	0.00
	X _b	0.05	0.17	-	0.22
X ₃	X ₁	0.64**	-	-	0.64
	X _a	0.12	0.03	-0.03	0.12
	X _b	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.19
	X ₁	0.34**	-	0.44	0.78
	X ₂	0.68**	-	-	0.68
Anglophone***					
X ₁	X _a	0.17**	-	-	0.17
	X _b	0.29**	-	-	0.29
X ₂	X _a	0.07	0.11	-	0.18
	X _b	0.09	0.18	-	0.27
X ₃	X ₁	0.62**	-	-	0.62
	X _a	0.05	0.06	0.03	0.14
	X _b	0.07	0.10	0.04	0.21
	X ₁	0.34**	-	0.25	0.59
	X ₂	0.41**	-	-	0.41
Francophone***					
X ₁	X _a	0.29**	-	-	0.29
	X _b	0.29**	-	-	0.29
X ₂	X _a	0.05	0.17	-	0.22
	X _b	0.02	0.17	-	0.19
X ₃	X ₁	0.59**	-	-	0.59
	X _a	0.01	0.15	0.02	0.18
	X _b	-0.04	0.15	0.01	0.12
	X ₁	0.51**	-	0.24	0.75
	X ₂	0.38**	-	-	0.38

* X_a, father's education; X_b, father's occupation;
X₁, son's education; X₂, son's first occupation in Canada;
X₃, son's occupation at the time of the survey:

** p ≤ 0.05 (F-Test)

*** Cuneo and Curtis, "Social Ascription in the Educational and Occupational Attainment of Urban Canadians."

However, some variations are detected in that for the Chinese $P_{32} > P_{21} P_{23} > P_{31}$, for the English, $P_{32} > P_{13} > P_{13} P_{23}$ and for the French $P_{31} > P_{21} P_{23} > P_{32}$. This indicates that education, transmitted directly and indirectly via first job is much more important in determining the later achievement of the French than the direct effect of career beginning. Conversely, the importance of career beginning to later achievement is paramount for both the English and the Chinese. The direct and indirect effects of family background, however, are the least pronounced for all three samples.

The fact that the occupational achievements of Chinese immigrants and native Anglophones depend so much on their career beginnings, implies that once they have started their careers, chances to future success depend on their actual performances in their first jobs. But for the French, educational credentials are of long-term importance for future occupational pursuits. Therefore, the French-Canadians are less likely to succeed if they are poorly educated.

In sum, one is led to speculate that the process of achievement for the Chinese immigrants is more similar to the native-Anglophones than Francophones. If they are fed into the right positions, depending on their educational levels, their

future successes will depend on their performances in those jobs. However, it was found that the initial statuses of the Chinese immigrants in Canada are most likely to be either professional or service occupations. The relative importance of these occupations on ultimate achievement means that these immigrants are less likely to move out of their initial occupations in Canada. Similar arguments can be applied to the achievements of Anglophones. If they enter high status occupations, they are more likely to stay in them; conversely, they are also more likely to be locked into initial low status jobs, and fail to move out of them. However, the variance explained for ultimate achievement is higher for the Chinese than the Anglophones, indicating that for the latter group, there are more chances of random movement, independent of the variables entering the model. As for the Francophones, educational credentials are important if they hope to stay in certain high status jobs or to move out of low status occupations. Looking at the R^2 , it is found that the model best explains the ultimate achievement of Chinese, followed by the Francophones and then the Anglophones. The relative importance of career beginning and education, and the weak direct and indirect effects of social origin on ultimate achievements for the three groups, indicates that with respect to occupational pursuits, Canada is an achievement-oriented country.

Conclusion

The present chapter has made use of status attainment models to examine how certain individual characteristics affect the achievements of Chinese immigrants in Canada, and consequently their career mobility.

In general, the influence of social origin on achievements in Canada is very weak. Initial status achievement in Canada is mainly determined by one's level of education, while ultimate achievement is predominantly a function of initial achieved status. Similar patterns hold true even with the inclusion of additional variables such as pre-migration occupational status, family size, and acculturation.

Those who have the qualifications are more likely to enter high status or professional work while those who have little education will be more likely to pursue ethnic specific occupations or other low status occupations. Career immobility is predominantly an effect of initial achieved status rather than education. Likewise, the relatively high degree of inter-generational mobility between father's status and son's ultimate achievement is a function of the initial status achieved by the son.

When immigrants who have completed their studies in Western countries were compared with those who have completed their education prior to migration, it was found that the relative advantage of the former group, with respect to career mobility, can be attributed to the fact that they were more likely to get a higher return from education. However, for both groups, the effect of initial occupation in Canada on career destination is extremely pronounced.

A comparison of the sample with native-born Anglophones and Francophones has shown that the process of achievement of Chinese immigrants is more similar to Anglophones than Francophones. However, the variance explaining the ultimate achievement implies that random movement according to chances is least likely to occur among Chinese immigrants. The status-attainment model explains best the occupational achievement of Chinese immigrants.

The total explained variance for our sample was also very high when it was compared with the results presented by Blau and Duncan in their national study conducted in the United States.²³ Does this mean that individual characteristics are the major determinants of the occupational mobility of Chinese immigrants in Canada? We shall discuss this issue in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), Chapter 5.
2. Ibid., p. 402.
3. J. Myles and A. Sørensen, "Elites and Status Attainment Models of Inequality of Opportunity," Canadian Journal of Sociology, vol. 1, 1975, p. 81.
4. A. Haller and A. Portes, "Status Attainment Processes," Sociology of Education, vol. 46, 1973, p. 51.
5. Ibid., p. 58.
6. Ibid., p. 59.
7. Aage Bøttger Sørensen, "Models of Social Mobility," Social Science Research, vol. 4, 1975, pp. 72-73.
8. Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, p. 402.
9. Sørensen, "Models of Social Mobility," pp. 71-72.
10. Myles and Sørensen, "Elites and Status Attainment Models of Inequality of Opportunity," p. 80.
11. See Randall Collins, Conflict Sociology (U.S.A.: Academic Press, 1975), Chapter 8.
12. Ibid., p. 450.
13. See review by Lee Hansen in T.B. Bottomore, H.M. Blalock, Jr., and W. Lee Hansen, "Review Symposium: Peter M. Blau and O. Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure," American Sociological Review, vol. 33, no. 2, April, 1968, pp. 294-300.

14. Myles and Sørensen, "Elites and Status Attainment Models of Inequality of Opportunity," p. 82.
15. Collins, Conflict Sociology, p. 451.
16. See review by Hansen in Bottomore et al., "Review Symposium: Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure," pp. 294-300.
17. Myles and Sørensen, "Elites and Status Attainment Models of Inequality of Opportunity."
18. It is impossible to rank the education of these immigrants according to the method posed by Blau and Duncan because it is assumed that the educational systems through which these people passed differ.
19. Duane F. Alwin and Robert M. Hauser, "The Decomposition of Effects in Path Analysis," American Sociological Review, vol. 40, Feb., 1975, p. 42.
20. Carl J. Cuneo and James E. Curtis, "Social Ascription in the Educational and Occupational Status Attainment of Urban Canadians," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, vol. 12, no. 1, 1975, pp. 6-24.
21. See for example Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure; Otis Dudley Duncan, David L. Featherman and Beverly Duncan, Socioeconomic Background and Achievement (New York: Seminar Press, 1972).
22. See Ibid.
23. In their basic model, only 42% of the variance for total achievement is explained. When age is divided into synthetic cohorts, 50% of the variance is explained for the age group of 25 - 34; 45% for the 35 - 44 age group; 41% for the 45 - 54 age cohort and 39% for the 55 - 64 age cohort. See Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, Chapter 5.

CHAPTER VII

RETROSPECT

The present study attempts to investigate occupational mobility and achievements of post-war Chinese immigrants in Canada as based on the survey conducted in Metropolitan Montreal.

In general, the research outcome is in line with the propositions presented in Chapter II. Firstly, we found a disruption of career pattern as a consequence of migration. This is reflected by the high degree of status dislocation or downward mobility between pre-migration occupation and initial occupation in Canada, though the movement is mostly short distanced. In addition, the findings also show that immigrants from other career origins have a higher probability of moving into service occupations which are regarded as ethnic specific jobs. Only previous professional workers and service workers were able to enter similar occupations upon arrival in Canada. The disruptive career pattern also has an effect on inter-generational mobility in that an average short distanced downward

movement is detected between father's occupation and son's initial occupation; in addition, there is movement of immigrants from other social origins into service or professional work.

With respect to career mobility in Canada, it was found that those who entered service jobs initially failed to move out of them, hence supporting the existence of an ethnic mobility trap. Overall, though upward mobility is substantial, immobility is the prevailing pattern, verifying Porter's thesis that Canada is a relatively immobile society.

The opportunity structure is found to vary among different groups. Immigrants who started their careers in Canada, in every respect, have greater opportunities with respect to mobility than immigrants who started their careers prior to migration, the reason being that they were able to get a higher return with respect to education. The fact that they also completed their education in Canada or other Western countries facilitates their advantage. In this case, Porter's argument that a deficiency in the Canadian educational system leads to the recruitment of highly skilled workers from abroad is invalidated. This group of Chinese immigrants, the majority of whom graduated from Canadian Universities, were more likely

to either enter or move into professional work in Canada than those who graduated in their countries of origin.

Comparison of the present data with the Richmond samples also shows that the opportunity structure differs among immigrants from different ethnic origins. Overall, immigrants of British origin experienced the least amount of status dislocation, and greater improvement relative to their pre-migration status than did Chinese immigrants and immigrants with non-U.K. origin. The amount and pattern of intergenerational mobility also tend to favor immigrants of British origin. It is speculated that their advantage is mainly due to the fact that they belong to an ethnic group having majority status in Canada.

Variations with respect to the influence of individual characteristics on ultimate occupational achievement in Canada were also found among different language groups. The present data show that the process of achievement of Chinese immigrants is similar to that of native Anglophones in that career beginning has the strongest effect on ultimate achievement, while the difference in the total explained variance of the two groups indicates that career mobility with respect to chance (and excluded variables) is more possible for native Anglophones. For the native Francophones, their achievements are to a large extent

determined by their level of education; however, the variance explaining achievements is smaller than for Chinese immigrants.

Returning to the analysis of mobility of Chinese immigrants, we have already noted that professional and service sectors provide the only opportunities for mobility within our sample. In order to explain this pattern as well as the relatively high rate of immobility, we investigated various individual characteristics that may have accounted for the observations. The findings indicate that level of education has the strongest effect on initial attained status in Canada, whereas ultimate occupational achievement is predominantly determined by first job in Canada. Pre-migration occupation and acculturation, though having significant direct effects on later achievement, are weak in their influence as compared to initial occupation. One is then led to conclude that those who initially entered into professional occupations did so mainly as a result of their high level of education; the high rate of career immobility is mainly the effect of career beginning in Canada. Overall, more than 70% of the variance is explained by the various individual characteristics entering the models.

However, one should not forget that mobility is both a function of structural and individual characteristics. In

addition, it should be noted that the transformation of personal resources into achievement may be determined by structural characteristics. Therefore, one should not ignore totally the operation of structural attributes on individual achievements or mobility. As indicated in Chapter II, the present study is limited in that we are unable to study the structural influence on mobility empirically. However, we did make an attempt to delineate and speculate upon such influence on mobility.

In the first place, we pointed out that one should not overlook the interrelated factors of power structure, occupational structure, immigration policies, and emigration, all of which operate to sort out and select Chinese immigrants into Canada and consequently, its economic system. As indicated in Chapter II, Chinese immigrants are not represented in the elite structures in Canada, and therefore, their life chances are mainly under the control of the dominant group. Their very presence in Canada was subjected to immigration policies, a device structured by charter groups to select appropriate people into Canada. Their opportunity for achievement and advancement, especially into high status occupations, was subjected to the evaluation of other ethnic groups who have the power of employment. Finally, the change in the occupational structure in Canada in the past decades and the massive emigration indirectly

affect the judgements of the dominant groups in their screening of immigrants into Canada.

Let us first consider the impact of the change in the occupational structure. Since World War II, Canada has been moving into a post-industrial stage characterized by technological innovation and consequently, structural change in the economy. The substitution of machinery for labor in manual work became more and more pronounced which led to a decline in the demand of primary occupations including agricultural occupations, as well as a decline in blue-collar employment. Likewise, there is an expansion in tertiary occupations including professional, service and clerical white-collar occupations.

Because of massive emigration of professional or highly skilled workers, Canada has to recruit such manpower from abroad. As a result, the immigration policy changed putting a high value on education and skill; and discrimination towards racial minorities in terms of admission was officially removed. Consequently, an extensive amount of highly skilled Chinese were imported, and fed right into the occupational system. Therefore, a high demand for professional and technical workers may account for the high degree of social inheritance in these occupations, and the movement of immigrants from other social

or career origins into this sector. The demand for professional workers also explains the disproportionate representation of Chinese immigrants who started their career in Canada.

However, despite the expansion of other white-collar occupations, Chinese immigrants who previously engaged in these jobs could not hold on to them. This may be explained by the fact that these kinds of jobs can easily be filled by native Canadians. In addition, the chances of these immigrants taking blue-collar jobs upon their arrival in Canada are less likely because of the shrinking of this part of the labor market. Therefore, greater competition for these jobs takes place between Chinese immigrants and other immigrants as well as low-educated Canadians. Since the power of employment in these sectors is largely in the hands of other Canadians (not necessarily the charter members), their chances of moving into such occupations further decrease.

The expansion of service industries in Canada directly affects the booming of Chinese restaurants and food business. Chinese immigrants who are not qualified to pursue professional work, the only external opportunity available, and face competition with other Canadians and immigrants in other sectors of the economy, are then recruited by their own fellow Chinese. Their

relative inability to move out of this sector further reflects the power structure in the larger society as mainly controlled by other Canadians.

The above explanations, however, are merely speculations. We cannot prove that they are actually operating with respect to mobility of Chinese immigrants. But we do know that ultimate occupational achievement is predominantly determined by initial occupation rather than education, and that on the whole immigrants were most likely to be locked into their initial occupation in Canada. Does this imply that the functions of structural forces are more important than individual characteristics? With respect to initial status achievement, we found that education is the most important determinant. Does this mean that structural factors are less pronounced in explaining initial status achievement? Is the fact that over 70% of the explained variance on ultimate achievement a reflection of the joint explanation of ascription and achievement in terms of ability and performance? The present study is limited, in the sense that we cannot determine the relative importance of the functioning of structural characteristics, and how these and other individual characteristics interplay with each other in explaining mobility. As Hall has noted:

Occupational selection is never a simple affair.
It depends on the availability of specific kinds

of occupations at the time workers are making their initial choice of a life-work; it depends on the kinds of training and education that the candidates possess by the time they start off into the occupational world. It depends also on any restraints or discrimination imposed by those in a position to admit candidates into the preferred occupational niches in society. It likewise depends on any cultural restraints which people inherit along with the rest of their culture, which inhibits their seeking to enter specific kinds of occupations.¹

Synthesizing the structural and individual characteristics is not an easy task. In fact, we hope that in the future, there may be a breakthrough methodologically.

The present study provides the analysis of mobility and achievements of Chinese immigrants in Montreal. It is worthwhile in a sense that we are able to detect the amount, pattern and process of mobility of an ethnic minority group in Canada. However, such an analysis would be of limited interest unless comparison with other ethnic minority or immigrant groups made. It is hoped that a large-scale comparative study with respect to different individual ethnic and immigrant groups may be done in the future.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Oswald Hall, "The Canadian Division of Labor Revisited" in James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (eds): Social Stratification: Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1973), p. 52.

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APPENDIX A

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

TABLE 1
CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AND LEAVING CANADA,
1885-1900

	Immigration to Canada	Leaving Canada
1885	211	827
1886	116	734
1887	296	923
1888	764	1,267
1889	1,065	1,671
1890	2,108	1,617
1891	3,264	2,168
1892	2,199	106
1893	2,044	1,171
1894	1,383	666
1895	2,722	473
1896	2,417	697
1897	2,137	768
1898	4,279	802
1899	3,880	859
1900	1,338	1,102
Total	30,203	15,851

Source:- David T.H. Lee, A History of Chinese in Canada
(Taiwan: Hai Ting Printing Co., 1967), pp.417-418.

TABLE 2

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, CHINESE AND ALL OTHERS, AND CHINESE
ETHNIC POPULATION, 1900-1976

	Chinese Immigrants ¹	Total Immigration to Canada ¹	Chinese Ethnic Population ²
1900-1901	7	49,149	
1901-1902	2	67,379	17,312
1902-1903	-	128,364	
1903-1904	-	125,899	
1904-1905	-	142,653	
1905-1906	18	184,064	
1906-1907	92	122,165	
1907-1908	1,884	257,309	
1908-1909	1,887	141,370	
1909-1910	2,156	196,044	
1910-1911	5,278	294,517	27,831
1911-1912	6,247	334,853	
1912-1913	7,445	382,841	
1913-1914	5,512	367,240	
1914-1915	1,258	126,778	
1915-1916	88	37,453	
1916-1917	393	65,128	
1917-1918	769	65,945	
1918-1919	4,333	48,942	
1919-1920	544	108,408	39,587
1920-1921	2,435	138,728	
1921-1922	1,746	82,324	
1922-1923	711	67,446	
1923-1924	874	145,250	
1924-1925	-	111,362	
1925-1926	-	96,064	
1926-1927	-	143,989	
1927-1928	3	151,600	
1928-1929	1	167,723	
1929-1930	-	163,288	
1930-1931	-	88,223	46,519
1931-1932	-	25,752	
1932-1933	1	19,782	

TABLE 2 [Cont'd]

	Chinese Immigrants ¹	Total Immigration to Canada ¹	Chinese Ethnic Population ²
1933-1934	2	13,903	
1934-1935	-	12,136	
1935-1936	-	11,103	
1936-1937	1	12,023	
1937-1938	-	15,645	
1938-1939	-	17,128	
1939-1940	-	16,205	
1940-1941	-	11,496	34,627
1941-1942	-	8,865	
1942-1943	-	7,445	
1943-1944	-	9,040	
1944-1945	-	15,805	
1945-1946	1	31,081	
1946-1947	7	66,990	
1947-1948	24	79,194	
1948-1949	111	125,603	
1949-1950	1,028	86,422	
1950-1951	2,173	85,356	32,528
1951-1952	2,745	211,220	
1952-1953	1,961	144,692	
1953-1954	2,028	174,154	
1954	1,950	154,227	
1955	2,575	109,946	
1956	2,093	164,857	
1957	1,662	282,164	
1958	2,615	124,851	
1959	2,561	106,928	
1960	1,370	104,111	
1961	861	71,689	58,197
1962	670	74,586	
1963	1,187	93,151	
1964	2,674	112,606	
1965	4,352	146,758	
1966	4,094	194,743	

TABLE 2 [Cont'd]

	Chinese Immigrants ¹	Total Immigration to Canada ¹	Chinese Ethnic Population ²
1967	6,409	222,876	
1968	8,382	183,974	
1969	8,272	161,531	
1970	5,377	147,713	
1971	5,817	121,900	118,815
1972	7,181	122,006	
1973	16,185	184,200	
1974	14,574	218,465	
1975	13,271	187,881	
1976	12,870	149,429	

Note:- Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1953-1954; Calendar years from 1954-1976:

From 1901 to 1961, the variable used is Racial Origin, except in 1952, where the variable is Nationality. From 1962 onwards, it is changed to Country of Last Permanent Residence; and the statistics selected for these years are the aggregation of those on Last Permanent Residence in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau.

Sources:- ¹Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Departmental Annual Report, 1949-1952; Annual Report, 1952-1953, 1960-1961; Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965.

Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1966-1976.

²Census of Canada, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971.

TABLE 3

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS, 1956-1976

		0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60	Total
1956	M	182	242	598	25	15	4	4	1,070
	F	76	141	278	54	190	188	96	1,023
1957	M	129	107	228	30	7	4	6	511
	F	74	143	417	67	157	168	125	1,151
1958	M	238	250	262	31	9	5	7	802
	F	191	218	841	127	155	157	124	1,813
1959	M	233	281	245	76	28	8	4	875
	F	180	223	771	164	120	129	99	1,686
1960	M	106	100	112	48	12	3	8	389
	F	88	143	481	93	40	73	63	981
1961	M	24	57	80	45	8	2	6	222
	F	29	104	333	58	25	45	45	639
1962	M	39	28	131	82	17	6	3	306
	F	40	51	181	40	15	14	23	364
1963	M	86	86	131	77	52	17	3	452
	F	69	103	321	86	52	49	48	735
1964	M	217	345	137	135	64	32	14	944
	F	188	362	569	249	86	138	138	1,730
1965	M	300	634	363	221	123	72	28	1,741
	F	276	606	671	372	194	285	207	2,611
1966	M	271	398	528	309	146	80	35	1,767
	F	237	467	712	306	200	233	172	2,327
1967	M	471	627	790	589	266	133	62	2,938
	F	396	633	1,132	529	305	286	190	3,471

TABLE 3. [Cont'd]

		0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60	Total
1968	M	605	780	865	677	331	210	200	3,668
	F	524	873	1,226	644	396	486	565	4,714
1969	M	626	782	1,328	842	283	159	151	4,171
	F	583	686	1,259	653	318	291	311	4,101
1970	M	368	445	977	486	163	73	101	2,613
	F	306	417	1,101	365	178	172	235	2,764
1971	M	368	491	1,273	412	220	109	98	2,971
	F	308	409	1,135	363	211	187	233	2,846
1972	M	391	634	1,572	511	212	177	182	3,619
	F	389	548	1,407	386	240	268	324	3,562
1973	M	733	1,694	4,778	877	484	318	255	9,139
	F	651	1,237	3,041	637	484	476	480	7,046
1974	M	876	1,327	2,813	1,011	536	359	421	7,343
	F	734	1,146	2,754	803	548	599	647	7,231
1975	M	784	1,018	2,145	874	410	269	630	6,130
	F	730	1,017	2,638	695	506	698	857	7,141
1976	M	789	960	1,734	803	445	304	800	5,835
	F	704	951	2,516	725	479	737	923	7,035

Note:- Statistics of immigrant's age and sex by last permanent residence is available only after 1956.

Sources:- Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965.

Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1966-1976.

TABLE 4
DESTINATION OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS, 1949-1976

	NFL	NS	NB	PEI	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALTA	BC	NWT/YUKON	TOTAL
1949-50	3	15	4	-	51	299	27	96	172	361	-	1,028
1950-51	18	34	2	1	177	569	30	212	329	808	-	2,178
1951-52	14	32	18	-	261	738	76	273	325	1,002	-	2,745
1952-53	17	47	12	3	196	479	61	189	273	682	2	1,961
1953-54	14	36	9	7	233	539	58	231	243	657	1	2,028
1954	21	38	7	2	243	503	62	193	236	644	1	1,950
1955	28	33	9	7	304	761	79	208	241	904	1	2,575
1956	31	25	3	3	220	599	58	143	212	799	-	2,093
1957	10	22	2	5	196	494	56	121	155	601	-	1,662
1958	20	35	16	-	280	788	46	170	265	993	-	2,615
1959	13	29	20	1	278	852	74	165	306	822	1	2,561
1960	3	10	7	-	163	461	72	63	130	461	-	1,360
1961	9	19	9	-	111	305	31	49	54	274	-	861
1962	3	6	1	-	90	250	66	34	48	175	-	670
1963	5	14	6	-	172	355	65	80	83	405	2	1,187
1964	27	36	17	4	325	845	124	188	292	810	6	2,674
1965	24	51	35	7	593	1,415	132	260	510	1,310	15	4,352
1966	27	65	43	8	500	1,423	97	200	333	1,389	9	4,094
1967	64	60	30	4	700	2,284	129	205	511	2,413	9	6,409
1968	85	89	69	4	803	2,948	263	278	759	3,070	14	8,382
1969	59	72	71	1	882	3,208	275	297	772	2,617	18	8,272
1970	34	80	52	1	494	2,235	178	172	537	1,588	6	5,377
1971	54	60	65	7	547	2,565	270	179	569	1,500	1	5,817
1972	42	75	54	4	630	2,933	266	211	713	2,215	8	7,181
1973	75	153	87	18	1,114	7,196	725	348	2,089	4,368	12	16,185
1974	52	97	80	14	989	6,551	420	269	1,479	4,612	11	14,574
1975	52	58	67	6	1,110	5,662	345	273	1,486	4,195	17	13,271
1976	30	89	48	2	888	5,669	350	232	1,417	4,112	33	12,870

Note:- Fiscal years from 1949-1950 to 1953-1954; Calendar years from 1954 to 1976.

From 1949 to 1961, the variable used is Racial Origin, except in 1952, where the variable is Nationality. From 1962 onwards, it is changed to Country of Last Permanent Residence; and the statistics selected for these years are the aggregation of those on Last Permanent Residence in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau.

Sources:- Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Departmental Annual Reports, 1949-1952; Annual Reports, 1952-1953, 1960-1961; Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965.

Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1966-1976.

TABLE 5

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE ETHNIC POPULATION
BY PROVINCE, 1901-1971

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
NFL	-	-	-	-	-	186 (0.57%)	445 (0.76%)	610 (0.51%)
NS	106 (0.61%)	137 (0.49%)	315 (0.80%)	340 (0.73%)	372 (1.07%)	516 (1.59%)	637 (1.09%)	935 (0.77%)
NB	59 (0.34%)	93 (0.34%)	185 (0.47%)	231 (0.50%)	152 (0.44%)	146 (0.45%)	274 (0.47%)	575 (0.48%)
PEI	4 (0.02%)	6 (0.02%)	14 (0.04%)	31 (0.07%)	45 (0.13%)	35 (0.11%)	43 (0.07%)	25 (0.02%)
QUE	1,037 (5.99%)	1,579 (5.67%)	2,335 (5.90%)	2,750 (5.91%)	2,378 (6.87%)	1,904 (5.85%)	4,749 (8.16%)	11,905 (10.02%)
ONT	732 (4.23%)	2,767 (9.94%)	5,625 (14.21%)	6,919 (14.87%)	6,143 (17.74%)	6,997 (21.51%)	15,155 (26.04%)	39,325 (33.10%)
MAN	206 (1.19%)	885 (3.18%)	1,331 (3.36%)	1,732 (3.72%)	1,248 (3.60%)	1,175 (3.61%)	1,936 (3.33%)	3,430 (2.89%)
SASK	41 (0.24%)	971 (3.49%)	2,667 (6.74%)	3,501 (7.53%)	2,545 (7.35%)	2,144 (6.59%)	3,660 (6.29%)	4,605 (3.88%)
ALTA	235 (1.36%)	1,792 (6.44%)	2,581 (6.52%)	3,875 (8.33%)	3,122 (9.02%)	3,451 (10.61%)	6,937 (11.92%)	12,905 (10.86%)
BC	14,885 (85.98%)	19,601 (70.43%)	13,538 (34.20%)	27,139 (58.34%)	18,619 (53.78%)	15,933 (48.98%)	24,227 (41.63%)	44,135 (37.15%)
NWT/ YUK	7 (0.04%)	-	1 (0.00%)	1 (0.00%)	3 (0.01%)	41 (0.12%)	134 (0.24%)	200 (0.17%)
Total number in labor force	17,312 (100%)	27,831 (100%)	39,587 (100%)	46,519 (100%)	34,627 (100%)	32,528 (100%)	58,197 (100%)	118,815 (100%)

Note:- Statistics from 1901 to 1941 for Newfoundland were not available.

Sources:- Census of Canada, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971.

TABLE 6
CHINESE IMMIGRANTS BY GROUPS OF (INTENDED) OCCUPATION, 1967-1976

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Total
Managerial	172	205	174	104	162	306	540	642	407	460	3,172 (8.18%)
Professional & Technical	1,376	1,394	1,178	736	955	1,078	1,555	1,386	1,454	819	11,931 (30.78%)
Clerical, Commercial & Financial	400	486	680	530	592	649	1,142	1,067	1,208	1,467	8,221 (21.21%)
Service, Sales & Recreation	128	323	647	344	439	512	1,130	1,188	1,187	968	6,866 (17.72%)
Transportation & Communication	20	16	18	16	20	22	35	29	45	52	273 (0.70%)
Farming	13	14	42	12	13	14	19	32	157	80	396 (0.10%)
Fishing, Trapping & Logging	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3 (0.00%)
Mining & Related	1	-	-	-	1	1	3	3	1	-	9 (0.02%)
Mechanical, Manufact., & Construction	262	289	458	324	369	385	717	750	1,059	947	5,560 (14.35%)
Laborers	14	14	48	37	32	36	36	35	49	38	339 (0.87%)
Others	20	7	14	68	86	215	520	510	286	179	1,905 (4.92%)
Total number in labor force	2,406	2,746	3,259	2,172	2,667	3,211	5,699	5,642	5,944	5,011	38,757 (100%)

Source: Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1967 - 1976.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS OF (INTENDED) OCCUPATION
BY SELECTED IMMIGRANT GROUPS, 1971

	Chinese	Japanese	British	American
Manag., Prof. and Technical	6.1	5.3	4.9	14.0
Clerical, Commercial and Financial	35.8	28.6	30.9	45.4
Service, Sales and Recreation	16.5	14.4	9.5	6.1
Transportation and Communication	0.7	-	1.6	1.4
Farming	0.5	16.7	1.3	2.1
Fishing, Trapping and Logging	-	0.4	0.9	0.6
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Construction	13.8	16.6	24.1	11.5
Laborers	1.2	-	0.6	0.8
Others	3.2	0.9	1.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number in Labor Force	2,667	4,419	8,101	10,634

Source:- Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration,
Immigration Statistics, 1971.

APPENDIX B

IMMIGRATION SELECTION CRITERIA

IMMIGRATION SELECTION CRITERIA (showing maximum units)		Nominated	Independent
(a)	EDUCATION & TRAINING	20	20
(b)	PERSONAL ASSESSMENT	15	15
(c)	OCCUPATIONAL DEMAND (if "0" occupational demand, the application is refused unless the applicant has "Arranged Employment" or is in a "Designated Occupation")	15	15
(d)	OCCUPATIONAL SKILL	10	10
(e)	AGE	10	10
(f)	ARRANGED EMPLOYMENT or DESIGNATED OCCUPATION		10
(g)	LANGUAGE English ----- 5 French ----- 5		10
(h)	RELATIVE		5
(i)	AREA DEMAND		5
* Approved Application by Relative in Canada		15 to 30	
TOTALS Reduce by 10 units where there is not Arranged Emp. or Designated Occupation		85 to 100	100
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-start;"> <div> <p><u>Nominator is Permanent Resident</u></p> <p><u>Nominator is Canadian Citizen</u></p> </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> <p>↓</p> <p>↓</p> </div> </div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p>* SON OR DAUGHTER 21 OR OVER ----- 30 25</p> <p>MARRIED SON OR DAUGHTER UNDER 21 ----- 30 25</p> <p>BROTHER OR SISTER ----- 30 25</p> <p>PARENTS OR GRANDPARENTS UNDER 60 ----- 30 25</p> <p>UNMARRIED NEPHEW OR NIECE UNDER 21 ----- 30 25</p> <p>NEPHEW OR NIECE 21 OR OVER ----- 20 15</p> <p>MARRIED NEPHEW OR NIECE UNDER 21 ----- 20 15</p> <p>UNCLE, AUNT, GRANDSON OR GRANDDAUGHTER ----- 20 15</p> </div> <p>NOTE: An immigration officer may approve or reject the admission of an immigrant regardless of units of assessment obtained if in his opinion the units obtained do not accurately reflect the applicant's chances of successfully establishing himself in Canada</p>			

GLOBAL PROCESSING PRIORITIES

1. Sponsored Dependents (NEED ONLY BE OF GOOD HEALTH & CHARACTER TO BE ADMISSIBLE.
POINT SYSTEM IS NOT APPLICABLE.)
2. Independent Applicants and Nominated Relatives
 - destined to arranged employment or
 - destined to a designated occupation or
 - Occupational Demand 8 - 15 units
3. Persons whose presence in Canada would create employment (entrepreneurs)
4. Nominated Relatives and Independent Applicants who do not comply with any of the requirements of categories 2 or 3.

NOTE: Refugees are dealt with according to the individual need.

DECISIVE FACTORS IN SELECTION - NOMINATED RELATIVES AND INDEPENDENT APPLICANTS

Units of Assessment Obtained	Occupational Demand	Arranged Employment or Designated Occupation	Selection Result *
49 or less	not necessarily relevant	not necessarily relevant	refused
50 or more	0	NO	refused
50 or more	0	YES	passed
50 or more	1 to 15	not necessarily relevant	passed

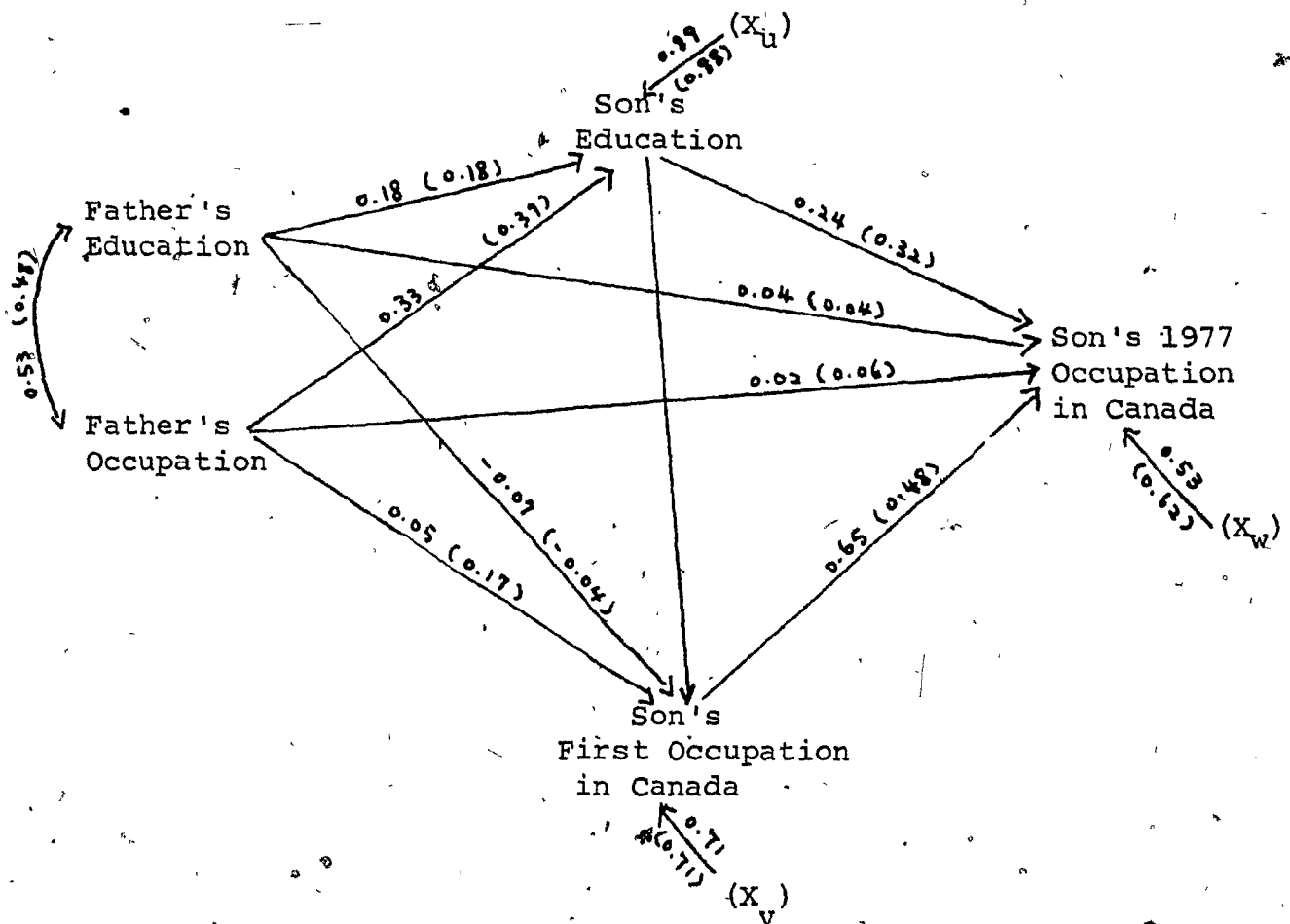
- * Applicants who meet the selection criteria must also be of good health and good character before admission as an immigrant is granted.

APPENDIX C

MODELS OF THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT SHOWING PATH
COEFFICIENTS GENERATED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC
SCALE AND PRESTIGE SCALE

FIGURE 1

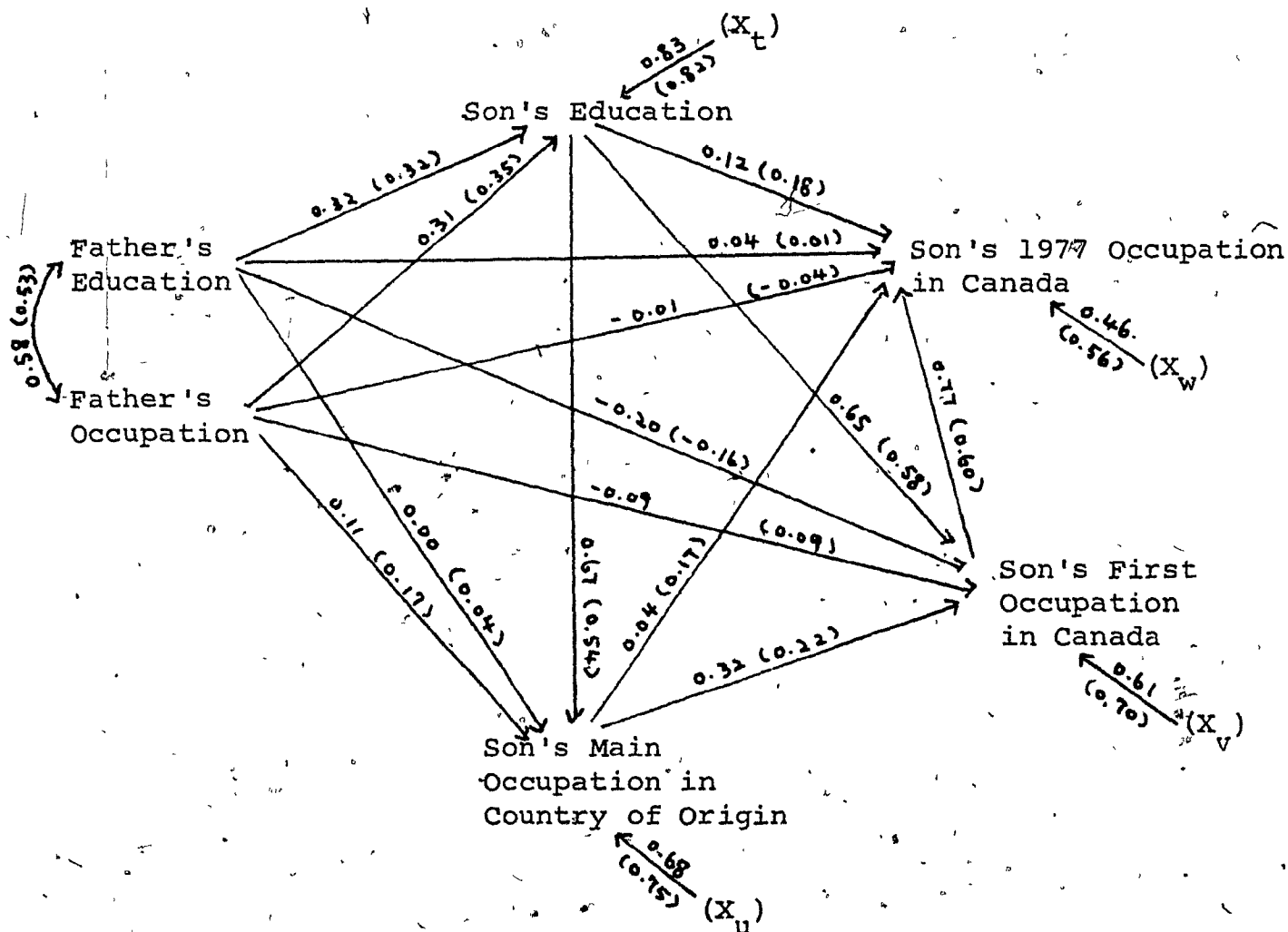
BASIC MODEL OF THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT,
SHOWING PATH COEFFICIENTS



Note:- The first coefficients were generated by means of Blishen's SEI Index; coefficients in parentheses, by Treiman's Prestige Scale.

FIGURE 2

EXTENDED MODEL OF THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVEMENT
SHOWING PATH COEFFICIENTS



Note:- The first coefficients were generated by means of Blishen's SEI Index; coefficients in parentheses, by Treiman's Prestige Scale.

APPENDIX D

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Project:

MIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA

GROUP: CHINESE

Date: _____

Time: _____

Place: _____

Language
used: _____

Interviewer: _____

Respondent:

--	--	--

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4

Card Number

- (1) Where were you born?

你在那里出生?

5 6 7 8

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省/份) _____

Country (國家) _____

9

- (2) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien) when you finally left there?

当你最後離開那城市或縣的時候,那兒大概有多少人口?

10

Less than (少過) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多過) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (3) Did you spend most of your life before age 18 in your place of birth?

在你18歲之前,你是否常在你的出生地?

11

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.6)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.6)

- (4) Where did you spend most of your life before age 18?

在你18歲之前,你常在那里?

12 13 14 15

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省/份) _____

Country (國家) _____

16

- (5) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien) when you finally left there?

当你最後離開那城市或縣的時候,那兒大概有多少人口?

17

Less than (少過) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多過) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (6) Where were you living just before coming to Canada?
在你來加拿大之前，你住在那里？

Place of birth (出生地).....1

Place where you spent most of
your life before age 18
(在18歲之前常在地).....2

Other place (其他地方).....3 → (GO TO Q.8)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.12)

- (7) How many years did you live there?

你住在那里有多少年？

_____ years (年) (GO TO Q.12)

- (8) Where were you living just before coming to Canada?

在你來加拿大之前，你住在那里？

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (國家) _____

- (9) How many years did you live there?

你住在那里有多少年？

_____ years (年) → (IF "MORE THAN A YEAR", GO TO Q.11)

- (10) Where was your last permanent residence before coming to Canada?

在你來加拿大之前，你最後的長久居留地是那里？

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (國家) _____

- (11) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien) when you finally left there?

當你最後離開那城市或縣的時候，那兒大概有多少人口？

Less than (少過) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多過) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (12) Where do you consider as your place of origin?

你認為那里是你的原籍地?

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (國家) _____

- (13) Where do you consider as your home country?

你認為那里是你的祖國?

- (14) Have you ever stayed elsewhere for more than six months continuously? (INTERVIEWER: DISREGARD CANADA AND ANY OF THE PLACES MENTIONED ABOVE)

• 你有没有在其他地方逗留連續六個月以上?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.16)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.16)

- (15) Did you have any intention of settling down when you were in any of those places?

当你在那些地方的時候,你是否有定居下來的打算?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (16) You say you were born in (CHINA, TAIWAN, HONG KONG, MACAU.....), where did you move from there?

你說你是在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)出生, 你從(這個地方)搬到那里?

Hong Kong (香港).....1

China (中國).....2

Taiwan (台灣).....3

Macau (澳門).....4

Canada (加拿大).....5 → (GO TO Q.18)

Other place

(其他地方).....6 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.19)

- (17) Why did you leave there? (REFER TO ANSWERS IN Q.16)

你為什麼離開那里?

→ (GO TO Q.19)

- (18) Why did you leave your place of birth?
你為什麼離開你的出生地?

49 50 51 52

53 54

- (19) Why did you come to Canada?
你為什麼來加拿大?

55 56 57 58

59 60

- (20) When did you come to Canada for the first time?
你是在何時第一次來加拿大的?

61 62

19 _____

- (21) In that year, did you come to Canada alone or with somebody else?

在那年你是單獨還是與其他人一起來加拿大的?

63

Alone (單獨).....1 → (GO TO Q.23)

With other(s) (與其他人)....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.23)

- (22) Who are they?
他們是誰?

64 65

- (23) Did you have an immigrant visa at that time?
當時你是否已經擁有移民証?

66

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.28)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.28)

- (24) What type of visa did you have at that time?
當時你擁有那一類証件?

67

Tourist visa (旅遊証).....1

Student visa (學生証).....2

Business visa (商業証).....3

Other (其他).....4 →

Specify: _____

DK/NA.....9

- (25) Where did you get your landed immigrant visa, in Canada or outside Canada?

你是在那里取得移民証, 在加拿大或加拿大以外?

In Canada (在加拿大).....1

Outside Canada (加拿大以外)...2 → (GO TO Q.27)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.28)

68

- (26) When did you become a landed immigrant?

你何時成為移民?

19_____ → (GO TO Q.28)

69 70

- (27) When did you arrive in Canada as an immigrant?

你何時以移民身份到達加拿大?

19_____

71 72

- (28) Were you sponsored or nominated to become a landed immigrant?

你是否被保證或被提名而成為移民的?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.30)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.30)

73

- (29) Who was your sponsor or nominator?

誰是你的保證人或提名人?

74 75

- (30) Have you sponsored or nominated anyone?

你曾否有保證或提名過其他人?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.34)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.34)

76

- (31) How many persons did you sponsor or nominate?

你曾保證或提名過多少人?

_____ person(s) (人)

77 78

1 2 3

I.D. Number

2

Card Number

(32) Whom did you sponsor?

你保證過誰?

5 6 7 8

9 10

(33) Whom did you nominate?

你提名過誰?

11 12 13 14

15 16

(34) Have you been residing in Canada continuously since you first came here?

你第一次來加拿大之後,是否一直居留到現在?

17

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.36)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.36)

(35) When did you come to Canada to live?

你何時到達加拿大生活?

18 19

19 _____

(36) When did you come to Montreal to live?

你何時到達滿地可生活?

20 21

19 _____

(37) Why did you come to Montreal and not to another city?

你為什麼來滿地可而不是去其他城市?

22 23 24 25

26 27

(38) Are you going to settle here in Montreal permanently?

你是否打算永久居留滿地可?

28

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Undecided (未決定).....3 → (GO TO Q.45)

Probably not (可能否).....4 → (GO TO Q.40)

Definitely not (絕對否).....5 → (GO TO Q.40)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.45)

- (39) Why are you going to settle in Montreal?

為什麼你會繼續居住在滿地可?

29	30	31	32
----	----	----	----

33	34
----	----

→(GO TO Q.45)

- (40) Why do you intend to leave Montreal?

你為什麼有離開滿地可的打算?

35	36	37	38
----	----	----	----

39	40
----	----

- (41) Are you planning to:

你是否打算:

41

move to some other city/region
in Canada?

(搬到加拿大其他城市或地區)...1

move on to some other country?

(搬到其他國家).....2

move back to (Hong Kong, China,
Taiwan, Macau...)?

(搬回香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)...3 →(GO TO Q.44)

DK/NA.....9 →(GO TO Q.45)

- (42) Where are you planning to move?

你打算搬到那里?

42

- (43) Why there?

為什麼那里?

43	44	45	46
----	----	----	----

47	48
----	----

→(GO TO Q.45)

- (44) Why are you planning to move back to (HONG KONG, CHINA,

TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你為什麼計劃搬回(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)?

49	50	51	52
----	----	----	----

53	54
----	----

- (45) Have you ever lived in other Canadian cities for more than six months consecutively before coming to Montreal?

在你來滿地可前，你是否有在加拿大其他城市居住過六個月？

55

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.47)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.47)

- (46) Could you tell me chronologically the name(s) of the place(s)?

你可否跟著次序把地方名列出？

56 57 58 59

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____

- (47) How many times have you moved since you came to Montreal?

你來滿地可之後，搬過多少次家？

60

Never (從未).....0

Once (一次).....1

Twice (二次).....2

Three times (三次).....3

Four times (四次).....4

Five times (五次).....5

Six times (六次).....6

Seven times and more

(七次或以上).....7

DK/NA.....9

- (48) May I ask how old are you?

請問你今年多少歲？

61 62

63

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

Are you between:

你的年數是：

25 - 34.....1

35 - 44.....2

DK/NA.....9

- (49) How many years of schooling have you completed?

(Excluding kindergarten)

除了幼稚園，你一共完成了多少年學業？

64 65

_____ years (年)

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade you completed?

你最高讀到那一班？

66 67

- (50) Have you done all these years of study in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是否在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)完成你的学业?

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.53)

No (否).....2

DK/NA/IA.....9 → (GO TO Q.53)

- (51) How many years of schooling have you completed in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)完成了多少年学业?

_____ year(s) (年) (IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade you completed in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)最高读到那一班?

- (52) Where did you complete the rest of your study?

你在那里完成其他的学业?

Country (国家) _____

- (53) What is the highest diploma or degree you received?

你获得的最高文凭或学位是什么?

None (没有).....00 → (GO TO Q.57)

Elementary/primary school

(小学).....01

Secondary/high school

(中学).....02

Post high school/post secondary school (CEGEP, F.6, F.7, etc.)

(大学预科).....03

College (职业学院).....04

Bachelor (学士).....05

Master (硕士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees

(职业学位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99 → (GO TO Q.57)

- (54) Did you receive your highest diploma or degree in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是否在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...) 獲得你的最高文憑或學位?

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.57)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.57)

- (55) Where did you receive your highest diploma or degree?

你在那里獲得你的最高文憑或學位?

Country (國家) _____

- (56) What is the highest diploma or degree you received in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...) 獲得的最高文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school
(小學).....01

Secondary/high school
(中學).....02

Post high school/post
secondary school (CEGEP,
F.6, F.7, etc.)

(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees

(職業學位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99

1 2 3

I.D. Number

3

Card Number

- (57) With whom did you live when you were young, say when you were around 16 years old?

當你大約16歲的時候，你是和誰一起居住？

5 6

Both parents (父母).....01

Father only (只是父親).....02 → (GO TO Q.60)

Mother only (只是母親).....03 → (GO TO Q.60)

Father and female household

head (父親和女性家長)....04 → Specify female household head:

Mother and male household

head (母親和男性家長)....05 → Specify male household head:

Male household head only

(只是男性家長).....06 → Specify:

(GO TO Q.60)

Female household head only

(只是女性家長).....07 → Specify:

(GO TO Q.60)

Both male and female household heads

(男性和女性家長).....08 → Specify:

Other(s) (其他).....09 → Specify:

DK/NA/IA.....99 → (GO TO Q.68)

- (58) How many years of schooling has your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed? (Excluding kindergarten)

除了幼稚園，你母親(或女性家長)一共讀了多少年書？

7 8

_____ year(s) (年)

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed?

你母親(或女性家長)最高讀到那一班？

9 10

- (59) What is the highest diploma or degree your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed?

你母親(或女性家長)獲得最高的文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school
(小學).....01

Secondary/high school
(中學).....02

Post high school/post
secondary school (CEGEP,
F.6, F.7, etc.)
(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees
(職業學位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99

- (60) How many years of schooling has your father (OR MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD; OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD, OR MOTHER) completed? (Excluding kindergarten)

除了幼稚園,你父親(或男性家長,女性家長,或母親)共讀了多少年書?

_____ year(s) (年) → (IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade he/she completed?

他/她讀到最高的是那班

- (61) What is the highest diploma or degree he/she received?

他/她獲得的最高文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school
(小學).....01

Secondary/high school
(中學).....02

Post high school/post
secondary school (CEGEP,
F.6, F.7, etc.)
(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees
(職業學位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99

- (62) What was your father's (OR MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S, OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S, OR MOTHER'S) full-time occupation when you were younger, say when you were around 16 years old?

當你大概16歲的時候，你父親（或男性家長，或女性家長，或母親）的正業是什麼？

— (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.66)

- (63) In what kind of business, industry or service was he/she working?

他/她是在那一行業工作？

- (64) What was his/her position or title?

他/她的職位或銜頭是什麼？

- (65) Was he/she employed, self-employed, or was he/she a family worker at that time?

他/她當時是自僱、被僱、或家庭員工？

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工)...3

DK/NA.....9

- (66) What is his/her present occupation, or what was the one he/she held at the time of his/her retirement, or at the time of his/her death?

他/她現在的正業是什麼，或他/她退休時，或他/她死時的正業是什麼？

— (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.70)

- (67) In what kind of business, industry or service is/was he/she working?

他/她是在那一行業工作？

- (68) What is/was his/her position or title?

他/她的職位或銜頭是什麼？

- (69) Is/was he/she employed, self-employed, or is/was he/she a family worker?

他/她也是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1
Employed (被僱).....2
Family worker (家庭員工).....3
DK/NA.....9

- (70) How many brothers and sisters did you have when you were young, say when you were around 16 years old? (Excluding those who were deceased)

當你大約16歲的時候, 你一共有多少兄弟姊妹?
(除了已經身亡的)

35 36 37 38

39 40 41 42

_____ elder brother(s) (兄)
_____ younger brother(s) (弟)
_____ elder sister(s) (姊)
_____ younger sister(s) (妹)

- (71) How many brothers and sisters do you have now? (Excluding those who were deceased)

你現在有多少兄弟姊妹? (除了已經身亡的)

43 44 45 46

47 48 49 50

_____ elder brother(s) (兄)
_____ younger brother(s) (弟)
_____ elder sister(s) (姊)
_____ younger sister(s) (妹)

- (72) Are you

你是

single (單身)?.....1 → (GO TO Q.75)

married (已婚)?.....2

divorced (離婚)?.....3

widowed (喪偶)?.....4

other (其他)?.....5 → Specify: (GO TO Q.75)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.75)

- (73) Where did you get married?

你在那里結婚?

In (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau
....) before coming to Canada

(未到加拿大前, 在(香港, 中國, 台灣,
澳門...)結婚).....1

In Canada under Canadian law

(在加拿大, 依照加拿大法律).....2

Went back to (Hong Kong, China,
Taiwan, Macau....) to get married

(回去(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)
結婚).....3

In other place (其他地方).....4 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

(74) Is/was your wife
你的妻子是

Chinese or Chinese immigrant?
(中国人或中国裔移民)...1

Canadian-born Chinese?
(加拿大土生中国人).....2

English-Canadian?
(英国裔加拿大人).....3

French-Canadian?
(法国裔加拿大人).....4

Other than above (其他)....5 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

(75) Did you have family member(s), relative(s), or in-law(s)
living in Montreal or other part in Canada when you came to
Canada?

当你来加拿大的时候,你有没有家人,亲戚,或姻亲
居住在满地可或其他加拿大的地方?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

(76) Do you have family member(s), relative(s), or in-law(s)
living somewhere else in Montreal or in Canada now?

你现在有没有家人,亲戚或姻亲居住在满地可
或其他加拿大的地方?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.83)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.83)

(77) How many households of family members are in Montreal?

(FAMILY MEMBERS INCLUDE RESPONDENT'S PARENTS, BROTHERS,
SISTERS, CHILDREN, WIFE, GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN)

有多少家庭是在满地可?

_____ household(s) (家)

(78) How many households of family members are in other Canadian
cities?

有多少家庭是在加拿大其他城市?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (79) How many households of relatives are in Montreal? (RELATIVES INCLUDE RESPONDENT'S UNCLE, AUNT, NEPHEW, NIECE, COUSINS, etc.)

有多少家親戚是在滿地可?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (80) How many households of relatives are in other Canadian cities?

有多少家親戚是在加拿大其他城市?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (81) How many households of in-laws are in Montreal? (IN-LAWS INCLUDE THOSE WHO ARE RELATED TO THE RESPONDENT BY MARRIAGE)

有多少家姻親是在滿地可?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (82) How many households of in-laws are in other Canadian cities?

有多少家姻親是在加拿大其他城市?

_____ household(s) (家)

(TELL THE RESPONDENT):

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your occupation.

現在我想問你一些關於你職業的問題。

- (83) Did you work in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)有沒有工作?

Never worked (從沒有工作).....1 → (GO TO Q.108)

Working full-time (正業工作).....2

Working part-time (輔業工作).....3 → (GO TO Q.108)

Working both full-time and part-time

(正業和輔業工作).....4

Other (其他).....5 → Specify:

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.108)

- (84) When did you start working full-time in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

當你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)你是在那一年開始你的正業工作?

19. _____

- (85) How old were you at that time?

你當時多少年紀?

- (86) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker in your first full-time occupation?

你在第一份正業是自僱、被僱、或家庭員工？

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

NA.....9

- (87) What was your first full-time occupation in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)的第一份正業是什麼？

————— → (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.93)

- (88) In what kind of business, industry or service were you working?

當時你是在那一行業工作？

- (89) What position did you hold last in this job?

你在這份工作最後的職位是什麼？

- (90) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked?

(Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少名員工？(短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少名員工？

————— people (人)

- (91) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多少年？

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你在那間公司一共營業了多少年？

————— month(s) (月) and (和) / or (或) ————— year(s) (年)

1 2 3
4

I.D. Number

Card Number

- (92) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎样得到那份工作的?

5 6

- (93) What was your last full-time occupation in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)最後的一份職業是什麼?

7

(IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.100)

- (94) In what kind of business, industry or service were you working?

你当时是在那一行业工作?

8 9

- (95) What position or title did you hold last in this job?

你在这份工作最後的職位或銜頭是什麼?

10 11 12 13

- (96) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你当时是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

14

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工)...3

NA.....9

- (97) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工(包括短工在內)

- (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

15 16

_____ people (人)

- (98) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

- (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

17 18 19 20

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (99) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎样得到那份工作的?

21 22

- (100) Which occupation was the longest you ever held in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)做得最长的职业是那一份?

23

Your first occupation (你第一份职业)...1 → (GO TO Q.108)

Your last occupation (你最后的职业)...2 → (GO TO Q.108)

Some other occupation (其他职业).....3

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.108)

- (101) What was the full-time occupation you held for the longest period of time in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU...)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)做得时间最长的职业是那一份?

24

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.108)

- (102) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working?

当时你是在那一行业工作?

25 26

- (103) What position or title did you hold last in this job?

在这份工作你最后的职位或头衔是什么?

27 28 29 30

- (104) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker at that time?

你当时是自僱、被僱, 或家庭員工?

31

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

NA.....9

- (105) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工?(包括兼工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括兼工在內)

32 33

people (人)

- (106) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?
你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run your company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

34 35 36 37

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (107) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?
你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

38 39

- (108) When you came to Canada to live, when did you start working full-time?

當你到達加拿大居住, 你何時開始正式工作?

40 41

19 _____

- (109) How old were you then?
你當時有多大年紀?

42 43

- (110) Did you start working immediately after arriving in Canada?
你是否到達加拿大後便馬上工作?

44

Yes (是) 1 → (GO TO Q.113)

No (否) 2

NA 9 → (GO TO Q.113)

- (111) After how long did you start working full-time in Canada?
過了多久, 你才開始正式工作?

45 46 47 48

_____ week(s) (星期). and (和)/or (或)

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或)

_____ year(s) (年)

49 50

- (112) What did you do between that period of time?
你在此期間做什麼?

51

- (113) What was your first full-time occupation in Canada?
你在加拿大的第一份正業是什麼?

52

_____ → (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.123)

- (114) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working at that time?

你当时是在那一行业工作?

53 54

- (115) What was your position or title at that time?

当时你的职位或头衔是什么?

55 56 57 58

- (116) Were you self-employed or employed, or were you a family worker?

你当时是自雇, 被雇, 或家庭员工?

59

Self-employed (自雇).....1

Employed (被雇).....2

Family worker (家庭员工).....3

NA.....9

- (117) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked?

(Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少职工? (包括短工在内)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共请了多少职工? (包括短工在内)

60 61

_____ people (人)

- (118) Had that job been arranged before coming to Canada?

这份工是否在你来加拿大之前已经安排好?

62

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (119) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

这份工作是你想得到的吗?

63

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大概是).....2

No, not exactly (大概不是).....3

No, not at all (绝对不是).....4

DK/NA.....9

- (120) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎样得到那份工作的?

64 65

- (121) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

- (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

66 67 68 69

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (122) In which city did you hold that job?

你是在那一個城市做那一份工作的?

70

- Montreal (蒙特利爾).....1 → (GO TO Q.141 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)
 Toronto (多倫多).....2 →
 Vancouver (溫哥華)....3 → (GO TO Q.133 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)
 Calgary (卡加利).....4 →
 Other (其他).....5 → Specify: _____
 NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.133 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)

- (123) What was your first full-time occupation that you held for more than a month in Canada?

你在加拿大第一份超過一個月的正業是什麼?

71

_____ → (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.133)

- (124) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working?

當時你是那一行業工作?

72 73

- (125) What was your position or title at that time?

當時你的職位或銜頭是什麼?

74 75 76 77

- (126) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你當時是自僱、被僱或家庭員工?

78

- Self-employed (自僱).....1
 Employed (被僱).....2
 Family worker (家庭員工)....3
 NA.....9

- (127) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工?(包括兼工在內)

- (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括兼工在內)

79 80

_____ people (人)

1 2 3

I.D. Number

5
4

Card Number

- (128) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?
你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?
你那間公司一共營業了多久?

5 6 7 8

5 month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) 5 year(s) (年)

- (129) Had that job been arranged before coming to Canada?

那份工作是否在你來加拿大之前已經安排好?

9

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (130) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

10 11

- (131) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

這份工作是你想得到的嗎?

12

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大抵是).....2

No, not exactly (大抵不是).....3

No, not at all (絕對不是).....4

DK/NA.....9

- (132) In which city did you hold that job?

你是在那一個城市做那份工作的?

13

Montreal (滿地可).....1 → (GO TO Q.141)

Toronto (多倫多).....2

Vancouver (溫哥華).....3

Calgary (卡加利).....4

Other (其他).....5 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (133) What was your first full-time occupation that you held for more than a month in Montreal?

你在滿地可第一份超過一個月的正業是什麼?

14

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.141)

- (134) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working at that time?

你當時是在那一行業工作?

15 16

- (135) What was your position or title at that time?

你當時的職位或銜頭是什麼?

17 18 19 20

- (136) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你當時是自僱、被僱，或是家庭員工?

21

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工)...3

NA.....9

- (137) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方有多少職工?(包括短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

22 23

_____ people (人)

- (138) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

在那間公司你一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

24 25 26 27

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (139) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

28 29

- (140) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

這份工作是你想得到的嗎?

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大概是)...2

No, not exactly (大概不是)...3

No, not at all (绝对不是)...4

DK/NA.....9

30

- (141) Are you self-employed, employed, or are you a family worker now?
你現在是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1
Employed (被僱).....2 → (GO TO Q.144)
Family worker (家庭員工)....3 → (GO TO Q.144)
NA.....9

- (142) Are many of your customers Chinese and/or Chinese-Canadians?
你的顧客是否多數是中國人, 及/或中國裔加拿大人?

Yes (是).....1
No (否).....2
NA.....9

- (143) Could you tell me roughly how many of your customers are Chinese and/or Chinese-Canadians?

你是否可以告訴我你的顧客大概有多少中國人, 及/或中國裔加拿大人?

Almost all of them
(差不多全部).....1 → (GO TO Q.146)
Nearly three-quarters
(差不多四分之三).....2 → (GO TO Q.146)
About one-half
(大概一半).....3 → (GO TO Q.146)
Nearly a quarter
(差不多四分之一).....4 → (GO TO Q.146)
Less than a quarter
(少過四分之一).....5 → (GO TO Q.146)
DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.146)

- (144) Who owns the company, institution, or organization you work with?

誰擁有你工作的公司?

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian
(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)....01
Chinese and English-Canadian
(中國裔及英國裔加拿大人)....02
Chinese and French-Canadian
(中國裔及法國裔加拿大人)....03
British or English-Canadian
(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)....04
French or French-Canadian
(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)....05
American or American-Canadian
(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)....06
Jewish or Jewish-Canadian
(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)....07
The Government of Canada
(加拿大政府).....08
The Government of Quebec
(魁北克政府).....09
Other
(其他).....10 → Specify: _____
DK/NA.....99

- (145) What is the ethnic background of the majority of the executives/management of the company, or institution, or organization?

你公司的高級職員或經理階級多數是屬於那一種族?

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian
(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)...1
British or English-Canadian
(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)...2
French or French-Canadian
(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)...3
American or American-Canadian
(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)...4
Jewish or Jewish-Canadian
(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)...5
Mixed
(混雜).....6
Other
(其他).....7
DK/NA.....9

Specify: _____

- (146) What is your present full-time occupation?

你現時的正業是什麼?

- (147) In what kind of business, industry, or service are you working?

你是在那一行業工作?

- (148) What is your present position or title?

你現時的職位或銜頭是什麼?

- (149) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people are employed at the place where you work now? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工?(包括短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people do you employ?

(Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

_____ people (人) → (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT, GO TO Q.151)

- (150) Please think about five people, either colleagues or supervisors you most closely work with, could you please tell me the ethnic background of each of them?

請想五位你工作時經常接觸到的同事或上司,可否告訴我他們每一個人的種族是什麼?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 5. _____ → (GO TO Q.152)

- (151) How many of your employees are Chinese or Chinese-Canadians?
 在你的職工之中, 有多少是中國人或中國裔加拿大人?

61 / 53

_____ people (人)

- (152) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long have you been working in this company, or institution, or organization?
 你在这間公司工作了多少年?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long have you been running this company?

54 / 55 / 56 / 57

_____ month(s) (月) and (多) / or (和) _____ year(s) (年)

- (153) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get your present job? 你是怎樣得到現時這份工作的?

58 / 59

- (154) Is this the type of job you wanted to get?
 這份工作是你想得到的嗎?

60

Yes, exactly (正是).....1
 Yes, more or less (大概是)....2
 No, not exactly (大概是)....3
 No, not at all (绝对不是)....4
 DK/NA.....9

- (155) Everything taken into consideration, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present job?
 總括來說, 你对現時的工作滿意否?

61

Very satisfied (非常滿意).....1
 Satisfied (滿意).....2
 In between (在滿意與不滿意之間).....3
 Dissatisfied (不滿意).....4
 Very dissatisfied (非常不滿意).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (156) Do you feel that your career in Canada so far has been successful?
 到目前為止, 你覺得你在加拿大的事業是否成功?

62

Very successful (非常成功).....1
 Pretty successful (很成功).....2
 Average (普通).....3
 Pretty unsuccessful (很不成功).....4
 Very unsuccessful (非常不成功).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (157) Some people judge their occupational achievement by comparing themselves with other people (for example: close friends, colleagues, supervisors, schoolmates, neighbors, a particular friend, some other Chinese, some other Canadians, etc.) With what kind of people do you usually judge your own occupational achievement in Canada?

有些人將自己與他人比較來判斷自己事業上的成就
(例如: 好朋友, 同事, 上司, 同學鄰居, 某朋友, 其他中國人, 其他加拿大人等等). 你通常與那些人比較來判斷你自己
在加拿大事業上的成就?

63 64

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.160)

- (158) Are most of them
他們多數是

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian?

(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)...1

British or English-Canadian?

(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)...2

French or French-Canadian?

(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)...3

American or American-Canadian?

(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)...4

Jewish or Jewish-Canadian?

(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)...5

Mixed (混雜).....6

Others (其他).....7

DK/NA.....9

Specify: _____

- (159) Do you feel most of them have achieved better, the same or worse than you?

他們的成就是否多數好過, 一樣, 或差過你?

Better (好過).....1

Same (一樣).....2

Worse (差過).....3

DK/NA.....9

- (160) How many times did you change your full-time employment since you started to work in Canada - jobs that you kept at least for one month?

你在加拿大開始工作後曾經轉過多少次正業工作(做超過一個月的)

None (沒有).....0

Once (一次).....1

Twice (二次).....2

Three times (三次).....3

Four times (四次).....4

Five times (五次).....5

Six times (六次).....6

Seven times or more

(七次或以上).....7

DK/NA.....9

65 66

(161) Have you ever applied or bid for a promotion?

你曾否申請升職?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA/IA.....9

(162) Have you ever taken or are you taking courses given by your company? 你曾否或你現在有否讓公司舉辦的課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA/IA.....9

(163) Have you taken or are you taking courses in a school, university, or by correspondence, since working?

你開始工作以來,是否曾經或現在正就讀於學校,大學,或其他函授課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

(164) What would be the ideal occupation you would want to get?

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR IDEAL BUSINESS, INDUSTRY OR SERVICE, AND POSITION OR TITLE)

你心目中想得到理想職業是什麼?

Ideal occupation (理想職業): _____

Ideal business, industry or service (理想行業): _____

Ideal position or title (理想職位或銜頭): _____

(165) What was your own total earning for 1976 from all sources

including wages, salaries, rents, investment income and so on?

包括一切入息, (例如薪金, 工酬, 房租, 投資收入等等), 你在1976年的收入大約共有多少?

\$25,000 and more (和過)....1

\$20,000 - \$24,999.....2

\$15,000 - \$19,999.....3

\$10,000 - \$14,999.....4

\$5,000 - \$9,999.....5

Less than (少過) \$5,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4

Card Number

- (166) How many people are living in your household including yourself?

包括你在內，一共有多少人住在你家里？

5 6

_____ people (人) → (IF NO ANSWER, OR "ONE", GO TO Q.169)

- (167) Excluding yourself, how many of them are:

除了你自己，其中有多少人：

7 8

Adult family members
(those who are over 21)

(超过21岁的成年家人): _____ people (人)

9 10

Children family members
(小孩家人):

_____ people (人)

11 12

Adult relatives

(超过21岁的成年亲戚): _____ people (人)

13 14

Children relatives

(小孩亲戚): _____ people (人)

15 16

In-laws

(姻親): _____ people (人)

17 18

Tenants

(租客): _____ people (人)

19 20

Friends

(朋友): _____ people (人)

21 22

Others

(其他): _____ people (人)

Specify: _____

- (168) What was the total earning of your household for 1976 from all sources including wages, salaries, rents, investment income and so on for all persons including yourself (but excluding tenants and friends, if any)?

包括一切入息(例如薪金、工酬、房租、投資收入等等)，你全家(包括你自己，但不包括你的租客和朋友)在1976年的收入大约有多少？

23

\$25,000 and more (多过).....1

\$20,000 - \$24,999.....2

\$15,000 - \$19,999.....3

\$10,000 - \$14,999.....4

\$5,000 - \$9,999.....5

Less than (少于) \$5,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (169) Would you say your family's economic position in Canada is high, low or average compared to that of other families in Canada?

與其他加拿大家庭比較，你認為你家庭的經濟地位，在加拿大來說是高，低，還是普通呢？

High (高).....1

Average (普通).....2

Low (低).....3

DK/NA.....9

- (170) How would you say your standard of living in Canada compared with the standard of living you had in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是怎樣比較你在加拿大的生活水準和你在(香港，中國，台灣，澳門...)的生活水準？

Very much better off in Canada

(在加拿大更好).....1

A little better off in Canada

(在加拿大略好).....2

Little or no difference

(無大分別).....3 → (GO TO Q.172)

A little worse off in Canada

(在加拿大略差).....4

Much worse off in Canada

(在加拿大更差).....5

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.172)

- (171) Could you tell me what makes the difference?

你可否告訴我差別的原因？

26 27 28 29

30 31

- (172) Regarding one's position in society, people judge other people not only by their income, education, or occupation, but also by general acceptance and respect they receive in the society. Thinking in this way, is your social position in the community higher, lower or the same now in comparison with that in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

一個人在社會上的地位，不單只以其收入，學歷，或職業來衡量；而且還以他在社會得到的普遍接受和尊敬而決定。從這方面去想，你覺得你在社會上的地位是比以前(香港，中國，台灣，澳門...)高些，低些或相同？

Higher (高些).....1

Same (相同).....2 → (GO TO Q.174)

Lower (低些).....3

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.174)

32

- (173) Could you tell me why do you think there is such a difference?
 你可否告訴我為什麼會有這樣的差別?

33 34 35 36
 37 38

- (174) Did you attend or are you attending language courses?
 你曾否或是否正在就讀語言課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.176)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.176)

- (175) What language courses did you attend or are you attending?
 你曾讀過或正在讀的是什麼語言課程?

English (英文).....1

French (法文).....2

Both English & French
 (英文與法文).....3

Others (其他).....4 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (176) Could you please rate your fluency and ability in Chinese, English, and French? 你可否估計你對中、英、法文的能力及流暢程度?

41 42 43

	Chinese (中)	English (英)	French (法)
Very good (非常好)	1	1	1
Good (好)	2	2	2
Fair (不錯)	3	3	3
Poor (差)	4	4	4
Not at all (全不會)	5	5	
DK/NA	9	9	9

- (177) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your wife? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
 在加拿大,你用什麼語言和你妻子傾談?

44 45

- (178) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your children? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
 在加拿大,你用什麼語言和你子女傾談?

46 47

- (179) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your brothers and sisters? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

在加拿大,你用什麼語言和你的兄弟姊妹傾談?

48 49

- (180) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your close friends? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

在加拿大,你用什麼語言和你的好朋友傾談?

50 51

- (181) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to people at work? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

在加拿大,你用什麼語言在工作地方與人傾談?

52 53

- (182) If you read books, do you read English, French or Chinese books?

(REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

如果你看書,你是看中文,英文或法文書呢?

54 55

- (183) If you read magazines, do you read English, French or Chinese magazines? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

如果你看畫報,你是看中文,英文或法文畫報呢?

56 57

- (184) If you read newspapers, do you read English, French or Chinese newspapers? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)

如果你看報紙,你是看中文,英文或法文報紙呢?

58 59

- (185) What kind of food do you prefer for your main meals, Canadian or Chinese food?

在你日常的主要膳用,你較喜愛吃加拿大或中國食物呢?

Completely Canadian food (全部加拿大食物).....1

Mostly Canadian food (多數加拿大食物).....2

Both Canadian and Chinese food (加拿大及中國食物,二種).....3

Mostly Chinese food (多數中國食物).....4

Completely Chinese food (全部中國食物).....5

Other (其他).....6

Specify: _____

NA.....9

60

- (186) What kind of festivals do you celebrate here in Canada, Canadian or Chinese festivals?

你在加拿大慶祝什麼節日，是加拿大或中國節日？

Only Canadian festivals (只是加拿大節日).....1
 Mostly Canadian festivals (多數加拿大節日).....2
 Both Canadian and Chinese festivals (加拿大與中國節日二種).....3
 Mostly Chinese festivals (多數中國節日).....4
 Only Chinese festivals (只是中國節日).....5
 NA/IA.....9

- (187) When you watch T.V., do you watch English-language programs or French-language programs?

當你看電視，你是看英文或法文節目？

Only English-language programs (只看英文節目).....1
 Only French-language programs (只看法文節目).....2
 Mostly English-language programs (多數看英文節目)....3
 Mostly French-language programs (多數看法文節目)....4
 Both English- and French-language programs (看英文及法文節目二種).....5
 NA/IA.....9

- (188) Do you go to Chinese movies?

你看中國電影嗎？

Yes, always (永遠看).....1
 Yes, frequently (時常看)....2
 Yes, occasionally (有時看)...3
 Yes, seldom (很少看).....4
 No, never (從不看).....5
 NA.....9

- (189) As you know, Chinese women were taught to follow "the three rules of obedience and the four virtues". Do you think they should retain these virtues?

以你所知，中國女子是授予尊從“三從四德”，你認為她們是否應該保存這種美德？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
 Probably yes (可能是).....2
 Uncertain (不肯定).....3
 Probably not (可能不是)....4
 Definitely not (絕對不是)..5
 DK/NA.....9

- (190) Do you feel that Canadian-born Chinese should keep alive some of the Chinese traditions?

你覺得加拿大土生中國人是否應該保留部份中國傳統?

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
Probably yes (可能是).....2
Uncertain (不肯定).....3
Probably not (可能不是)....4
Definitely not (絕對不是)..5
DK/NA.....9

- (191) Do you think that it is necessary for a son, once working, to give part of his salary to his parents to repay them?

你認為做兒子的是否應該從工作所得的新金給予一部份給父母親,以作報答?

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
Probably yes (可能是).....2
Uncertain (不肯定).....3
Probably not (可能不是)....4
Definitely not (絕對不是)..5
DK/NA.....9

- (192) Do you think that a Chinese should marry to Chinese only?

你認為中國人是否應該只與中國人結婚?

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
Probably yes (可能是).....2
Uncertain (不肯定).....3
Probably not (可能不是)....4
Definitely not (絕對不是)..5
DK/NA.....9

- (193) Do you resent it when people say harsh things about Chinese although they do not refer to you personally?

當他人說中國人的壞話,但又卻不是指你個人而言,你會覺得反感嗎?

Very much (十分反感).....1
Much (很反感).....2
Somewhat (略為反感).....3
Little (少許反感).....4
None (沒有反感).....5
DK/NA.....9

- (194) Do you feel that in many ways Chinese is superior to other nationality groups?

在很多方面來說，你覺得中國人是比其他國家的人優秀嗎？

Very much (十分優秀).....1
 Much (很優秀).....2
 Somewhat (略為優秀).....3
 Little (少許優秀).....4
 None (全無優秀).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (195) Do you feel that Canadian-born Chinese should learn the Chinese language?

你覺得加拿大土生中國人是否應該學習中國語言？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
 Probably yes (可能是).....2
 Uncertain (不肯定).....3
 Probably not (可能不是).....4
 Definitely not (絕對不是).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (196) Please think of three close friends that you have. To what ethnic origin does each of them belong?

請想及你的三位好朋友，他們每一個人的種族是什麼？

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

- (197) With which of the following persons do you feel most at ease?

你與以下那一種人會覺得最相處自如？

British or English-Canadian
 (英國人或英國裔加拿大人).....1
 French or French-Canadian
 (法國人或法國裔加拿大人).....2
 Canadian-born Chinese
 (加拿大土生中國人).....3
 Chinese or Chinese immigrants
 (中國人或中國裔移民).....4
 Others (其他).....5
 DK/NA.....9

Specify: _____

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4 7

Card Number

(198) When you are invited to parties and dinners, are they usually given by

通常請你去舞會或宴會的人是

British or English-Canadian?

(英國人或英國裔加拿大人).....1

French or French-Canadian?

(法國人或法國裔加拿大人).....2

Canadian-born Chinese?

(加拿大土生中國人).....3

Chinese or Chinese immigrants?

(中國人或中國裔移民).....4

Others (其他).....5

NA.....9

Specify: _____

(199) What is your religion?

你的宗教是什麼?

Protestant (基督教).....1

Catholic (天主教).....2

Buddhist (佛教).....3

Confucianist (孔教).....4

No religion or atheist
(無宗教或無宗教).....5 → (GO TO Q.202)

Others (其他).....6 → Specify: _____

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.202)

(200) Do you attend church?

你去教堂嗎?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.202)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.202)

(201) Is the church you usually attend a Chinese church?

你通常去的教堂是否中國教堂?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

NA.....9

(202) Do you belong to any clubs or associations?

你是否有屬於任何社團或會所?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.207)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.207)

- (203) How many Chinese associations or clubs do you belong to?
你屬於多少間中國社團或會所?

_____ (IF "NONE", GO TO Q.205)

- (204) Among the Chinese associations or clubs you belong, please think of the one which you consider most important. How often do you attend the meetings or activities held by that association or club?

在你屬於的中國社團或會所，請想及其中一個你認為最重要的，你多久才去一次這個社團或會所舉辦的聚會或活動？

Always (永遠去).....1
Often (經常去).....2
Occasionally (有時去).....3
Seldom (很少去).....4
Never (從不去).....5
NA.....9

- (205) How many non-Chinese associations or clubs do you belong to?
你屬於多少間非中國社團或會所？

_____ (IF "NONE", GO TO Q.207)

- (206) Among the non-Chinese associations or clubs you belong, please think of the one which you consider most important. How often do you attend the meetings or activities held by that association or club?

在你屬於的非中國社團或會所，請想及其中一間你認為是最重要的，你多久才去一次這個社團或會所舉辦的聚會或活動？

Always (永遠去).....1
Often (經常去).....2
Occasionally (有時去).....3
Seldom (很少去).....4
Never (從不去).....5
NA.....9

- (207) If a football match or other game was being played between a Canadian team and a Chinese team, which team do you want it to win?

若一隊加拿大足球隊(或其他運動隊)與一隊中國足球隊比賽，你想那一隊勝利？

Canadian team (加拿大隊)....1
Don't care (沒有所謂).....2
Chinese team (中國隊).....3
DK/NA.....9

- (208) Do you feel now you belong to Canada, or do you feel you belong to (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....), or some other place?

你現在認為你是屬於加拿大, 或你仍然屬於(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...), 或其他地方?

Really belong to Canada

(真正屬於加拿大).....1

Partly belong to Canada and partly to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau...)

(部份屬於加拿大及部份屬於香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門).....2

Partly belong to Canada and partly to other place

(部份屬於加拿大及部份屬於其他地方).....3

Really belong to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau...)

(真正屬於(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)).....4

DK/NA.....9

- (209) Of what country or city are you a citizen?

你是那一個國家或城市的公民?

Canada (加拿大).....1

(GO TO Q.213)

Hong Kong (香港).....2

China (中國).....3

Taiwan (台灣).....4

Macau (澳門).....5

Other (其他).....6

Specify: _____

NA.....9

(GO TO Q.213)

- (210) Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?

你是否計劃成為加拿大公民?

Definitely Yes (絕對是).....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Uncertain (未決定).....3

Probably not (可能不是).....4

Definitely not (絕對不是).....5

DK/NA.....9

- (211) Are you already eligible to become a Canadian citizen?

你是否已經有資格成為加拿大公民?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

(GO TO Q.213)

DK/NA.....9

(GO TO Q.213)

- (212) Why have you not taken citizenship so far?

你為什麼到現在還未成為公民?

- (213) In your opinion, what will be the consequences of becoming a Canadian citizen?

以你的意見, 成為加拿大公民會有什麼後果?

21 22 23 24

25 26

- (214) There are some people who regret to have come to Canada; are you happy being in Canada?

有些人後悔來到加拿大, 你在加拿大是否快樂?

Very happy (非常快樂).....1

Happy (快樂).....2

In between
(快樂與不快樂之間).....3

Unhappy (不快樂).....4

Very unhappy (非常不快樂).....5

DK/NA.....9

- (215) Everything taken into consideration, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with life in Canada?

總括一切來說, 你對加拿大的生活滿意否?

Very satisfied (非常滿意)....1

Satisfied (滿意).....2

In between
(滿意與不滿意之間).....3

Dissatisfied (不滿意).....4

Very dissatisfied
(非常不滿意).....5

DK/NA.....9

- (216) Do you feel that if a Chinese immigrant or Canadian-born Chinese does the same work as an average Canadian he will get paid more, the same, or less for that work?

當一個中國裔移民或加拿大土生中國人與普通一個加拿大人做同樣的工作, 你認為他是否會得到多些, 少些, 或同等薪酬?

More pay (多些薪酬).....1

Same pay (同等薪酬).....2

Less pay (少些薪酬).....3

DK/NA.....9

- (217) Do you think that a Chinese immigrant or Canadian-born Chinese who is qualified can get as good a job, a better job, or not as good a job as an average Canadian with the same qualifications?

你覺得一個中國裔移民或加拿大土生中國人與其他加拿大人有同等的履歷是否會獲得一份相同、較好、或較差的工作？

Better job (較好的工作).....1
As good a job (相同的工作).....2
Not as good a job (較差的工作)....3
DK/NA.....9

- (218) Do you feel Chinese immigrants or Canadian-born Chinese are discriminated against in trying to get a job?

你是否覺得當中國裔移民或加拿大土生中國人找工作時有被人歧視呢？

Strongly discriminated against (被強烈歧視).....1
Moderately discriminated against (被緩和歧視).....2
Not discriminated against at all (沒有被歧視).....3
DK/NA.....9

- (219) Do you feel there is prejudice against Chinese immigrants or Canadian-born Chinese?

你是否覺得他人對中國裔移民或加拿大土生中國人有偏見？

Yes, very strong prejudice (非常強烈偏見).....1
Yes, some prejudice (有些偏見)....2
Yes, just a little among a very few people (只是一部份人中有少許偏見).....3
No, not at all (絕對沒有偏見)....4
DK/NA.....9

- (220) To what extent do you feel that you have been a victim of prejudice because of your membership in a minority group?

你覺得身為少數民族而身受偏見的程度上有若干？

To a great extent (很高程度).....1
More or less average (差不多平均程度).....2
Average (平均程度).....3
Less than average (少過平均程度)....4
Not at all (沒有).....5
DK/NA.....9

- THE END -

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

多謝合作！

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

(221) In general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the interview?

Friendly and interested.....1

Cooperative but not particularly interested.....2

Impatient and restless.....3

Hostile.....4

Other further comments: _____

(222) Was respondent's understanding of the questions - good, fair or poor?

Good.....1

Fair.....2

Poor.....3