THE ASSIMILATION OF CHINESE IN SASKATOON

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CONTENTS

I  INTRODUCTION .................................................. 1

II  THE CONCEPT OF ASSIMILATION ............................ 5

III  ASSIMILATION THEORIES ................................. 15

IV  THE CHINESE IN NORTH AMERICA .......................... 32

V  HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES
   TOWARDS THE CHINESE ......................................... 38

VI  THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN SASKATCHEWAN ............. 46

VII  METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESES .......................... 52

VIII  FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS ................................. 61

IX  IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS ......................... 97

X  CONCLUSION .................................................. 101

APPENDIX I ...................................................... 106

APPENDIX II ..................................................... 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................... 115
I INTRODUCTION

While the white immigrant groups were undergoing the processes of assimilation, namely the 'melting pot' and the Americanization Movement, in the history of the North American society, the Chinese immigrants were being seriously discriminated against by the legislation of both the American and Canadian governments.

In Canada, as early as 1875, the Chinese immigrants encountered the first discriminatory act by their host society. They were denied the right to vote in the Province of British Columbia. Ten years later, a bill was passed by the Federal Government levying a fifty dollars head tax on every Chinese entering Canada, and at the same time limiting their number. This tax gradually was raised up to five hundred dollars. In 1923, the tax act was replaced by another act of total exclusion of Chinese immigration. During this period, men were not allowed to bring their wives and children to Canada, and many returned to their homeland. This exodus was not halted until 1947 when the act was repealed. All these legislative actions of the Canadian government against the Chinese had given them the feeling of being excluded from the Canadian society, and thus in turn
they did not want to become assimilated to it.

The Chinese started to think of Canada as their permanent home only after the immigration act of 1923 was repealed in 1947 and they could bring their families to Canada. Today, the Chinese as an ethnic group are becoming more integrated in the Canadian society, although it is still hard for those older Chinese to forget their painful experiences of the past.

The theories found in studies on various ethnic groups' assimilation in the history of the American society are those of (1) Anglo-conformity, including the Americanization Movement, (2) the "melting pot", and (3) cultural pluralism. These theories seem not to apply to the situation of the Chinese, though they are also considered as one of the ethnic groups in the society. The Chinese, instead of going through the processes of assimilation other ethnic groups had undergone, first had to face the discrimination enforced by legislation which had a greater effect on them than the effects of those social movements implied by the assimilation theories.

The theories of conflict in race relations and the theories of "Race Relations Cycle" of the
Chicago school represented by Park and Burgess seem more applicable to the case of the Chinese in Canada than those theories of assimilation. The theories of assimilation in North American societies rest largely upon an overgeneralization of the experiences of white immigrant groups which ignores or minimizes conflict. Other immigrant groups, including some white Europeans, might have experienced conflict in immigration and integration into their host society, particularly in Canada where only English people were preferred, yet the case of the Chinese experiences in Canada, as well as in North America, has been an extreme case which can be used for testing the assimilation theories against the theories of conflict and "Race Relations Cycle".

The following study, therefore, is not concerned with the possibility of other immigrant groups' conflict experiences in Canada, but only the case of the Chinese. It is also to examine the applicability of the assimilation theories put forth by sociologists in their studies of other ethnic groups to the Chinese situation in Canada, and also the factors which either accelerate or prevent the process of assimilation of the Chinese in Canadian society.
In order to accomplish this, a mathematical model of assimilation measurement will be applied, namely, "degree of association between various assimilation variables". And it is also the proposition of this study that this mathematical model of assimilation measurement can be used as a means of studying minority group conflict and assimilation in general.
Although sociology is concerned with culture, personality, social relations and social structure, its theme has been directed to focus on social interaction. According to Wilson and Kolb, social interaction may be defined operationally as what happens when two or more persons come into contact (not necessarily physical contact) and a modification of behavior takes place. Social interaction is classified into two categories of processes by Wilson and Kolb: the Conjunctive and Disjunctive social processes. Under conjunctive processes, there are cooperation, accommodation and assimilation, and under disjunctive processes, competition and conflict. As a conjunctive social process, assimilation is defined as the process through which the immigrant or alien loses the modes of behavior previously acquired in another society and gradually takes on the ways of the new society.\(^1\) Social factors may affect the process of assimilation. Ethnic and cultural similarities, for example, facilitate the process while dissimilarities slow it down.

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According to Milton Gordon, sociologists and anthropologists have described the processes and results of ethnic 'meetings' under such terms as 'assimilation' and 'acculturation'. Sometimes these terms have been used to mean the same thing; in other usages, their meanings, rather than identical, have overlapped. An early influential definition of 'assimilation' by the two sociologists R. E. Park and E. Burgess reads as follows:

"Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common culture life." In the article "Social Assimilation" in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Park adds to this early definition of "assimilation" the following statements:

"... Social assimilation, thus, is the name given to the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence.

3. Ibid., p. 65
"... In the United States an immigrant is ordinarily considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and the social ritual of the native community and can participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political. The common sense view of the matter is that an immigrant is assimilated as soon as he can get on in the country. This implies among other things that in all the ordinary affairs of life he is able to find a place in the community on the basis of his individual merits without invidious or qualifying reference to his racial origin or to his cultural inheritance."  

Some other definitions equate "assimilation" with "acculturation". Brewton Berry, for instance, defines "assimilation" as: "... The process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture. This means, of course, not merely such items as dress, knives and forks, language, food, sports, and automobiles, which are relatively easy to appreciate and acquire, but also those less tangible items such as values, memories, sentiments, ideas, and attitudes.

Assimilation refers thus to the fusion of cultural heritages, and must be distinguished from amalgamation, which denotes the biological mixture of originally distinct racial strains.\(^5\)

Joseph Fichter defines assimilation in the same way: "Assimilation is a social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior. We commonly talk about a person, or a minority category, being assimilated into a group or a society, but here again this must not be interpreted as a "one-side" process. It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other."\(^6\)

In other studies, acculturation is distinguished from assimilation. Lesser, for example, in his discussion of acculturation says:

"... Acculturation is a useful term for the processes by which aspects of elements of two cultures mingle and merge."

Later he adds to the distinction of acculturation and assimilation as 'of a separate character':

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 65 See also Brewton Berry, Race and Ethnic Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951, p. 217

\(^6\) Ibid., p. 65 See also Joseph Fichter, Sociology, University of Chicago Press, 1957, p. 229
"Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted and fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the form of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation.

"In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose."?

Lesser's definitions of acculturation and assimilation are quite precise; they will find their support later in the discussion of the assimilation

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theories, particularly "Anglo-conformity" and the Americanization Movement.

In a study of individual and aggregate assimilation, a working definition was given by Bunle:

"... Thus an immigrant appears to be assimilated when the bonds of his native country have lost all hold on him, when he feels himself a whole-hearted citizen of his new community, when he speaking its language, adopts its ways of life and thought, and when a practised foreign eye no longer detects any difference between his outlook, habits and behavior and those of his new fellow-citizens."

From the above definitions of assimilation we find two elements which are vital in the process of assimilation. They are language and culture. Since culture is a complex whole of ideas, norms and artifacts, it thus includes an individual's ways of life and thought; his outlook, habits and behavior.

Assimilation can thus be approached through an emphasis on the prerequisite or component process whereby the immigrant acquires the language of the new society, adopts the ways of life and thought of the new

society and changes his outlook, habits and behaviour towards the ones of the new society.

The distinction between assimilation and acculturation is that assimilation concerns people whereas acculturation is concerned with culture. The word assimilation can be used to designate the process by means of which a synthesis of culture is achieved, whatever degree of contact or amount of borrowing, taking and giving. Acculturation can be regarded as one type of assimilation. or, as in Gordon's terminology, cultural assimilation. Types of assimilation and their subprocesses or variables are listed on next page.

The relations among these variables are, as Gordon suggests, that (1) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene; (2) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely. Moreover, once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally
**ASSIMILATION VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subprocess or condition</th>
<th>Type of assimilation</th>
<th>Special term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change of cultural patterns to those of host society</td>
<td>Cultural or behavioral assimilation</td>
<td>Acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level</td>
<td>Structural Assimilation</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale inter-marriage</td>
<td>Marital assimilation</td>
<td>Amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society</td>
<td>Identificational assimilation</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of prejudice</td>
<td>Attitude receptional assimilation</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of discrimination</td>
<td>Behavior receptional assimilation</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of value and power conflict</td>
<td>Civic assimilation</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Gordon, op. cit., pp 70-83 for source of table and relations among these variables.
follow. However, these assimilation variables and
generalizations will be tested through the analysis
of the assimilation of Chinese in Saskatoon in later
chapters.

Assimilation, on the other hand, as implied
in either the theories of "race relations cycle" by
Park and Burgess or the theories of social interaction
by Wilson and Kolb, is only one of the social processes.
For Park, race relations form a cycle which is from
contacts to competition, to conflict, to accommodation,
and finally to either symbiosis or assimilation. Park
believes that this "cycle" tends to repeat itself
everywhere and is irreversible. He states:

"In the relations of races there is a cycle
of events which tends to repeat itself everywhere.....
The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state
it abstractly, of contacts, competition, accommodation
and eventually assimilation, is apparently progressive
and irreversible. Customs regulation, immigration
restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo
of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a
time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any
rate, reverse it."9

of Glencoe, 1950, pp 149-151
For Wilson and Kolb, social interaction consists of much the same processes; from co-operation to competition, to conflict, to accommodation and finally to assimilation. In their terms it is from disjunctive processes to conjunctive processes.¹⁰

Unfortunately, American sociologists, in the main, have long avoided the issue of conflict and have proposed theories of structural-functionalism which presuppose social equilibrium and acceptance of values of a dominant system by all.¹¹ However, the bias of these theories of structural-functionalism has affected theories of minority group relations, in that they largely ignore or minimize conflict. This can be found in the assimilation theories arising from American historical experiences with race relations.

Thus in the following chapter we shall discuss theories of assimilation.


III ASIMILATION THEORIES

As acculturation must be distinguished from assimilation, so must several other sociological and anthropological terms. One is amalgamation which denotes the biological mixture of originally distinct racial strains. Another is naturalization, a political concept denoting the act or process of admitting an alien to the status and privileges of a citizen. Americanization is another term which refers to a special case of assimilation in the American society; the process whereby a person of some foreign heritage acquires the customs, ideals, and loyalties of American society.12

Assimilation in North American society, especially in the United States, according to Brawton Berry, has its expression in two widely accepted theories: (1) the 'melting pot', and (2) the Americanization movement.13

The popular view on the matter of assimilation in the American society prior to World War I was very optimistic. Assimilation was regarded as an easy, simple and speedy process. The philosophy of the 'melting pot' prevailing at that time was supposed to be a

12. For more detailed explanations, see B. Berry,
Race and Ethnic Relations, Boston Houghton Mifflin, 1951
process of fusion of the cultures brought into the American society by immigrants from different ethnic background, which, the public believed, would eventually produce a great civilization.

The ideology of the ‘melting pot’ was favored by many great social thinkers. Praise of and faith in the ‘melting pot’ was strongly expressed by William Bryan, who wrote:

"Great has been the Greek, the Latin, the Slav, the Celt, the Teuton, and the Saxon; but the greater than any of these is the American, who combines the virtues of them all."14

In his drama The Melting Pot, Israel Zangwill also voiced the following words:

"America is God’s Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! ....... God is making the American! .... The real American has not yet arrived, .... He will be the fusion of all races, perhaps the coming superman.... Ah, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem, where all races and nations come to worship and look back, compared

13. Brewton Berry, op.cit., p 210
14. Ibid., p 211
with the glory of America, where all nations come to labour and look forward!"15

There was truth in the concept of the 'melting pot', but also there was error in the belief and assumption that the whole process of fusion of cultures would be easy and rapid. The doctrine of laissez faire applied to race and culture was the spirit of the 'melting pot' theory. Assimilation was thus thought to be natural and inevitable.

During World War I, the nation began to realize the idea of a natural and inevitable process of assimilation was too idealistic. The fact that millions of people in the country who could neither speak nor write the English language and hundreds of newspapers and periodicals were published in foreign languages demonstrated that the belief in rapid assimilation by natural forces was only a myth.

The result of the discovery of these facts led to a new approach to assimilation: - the Americanization movement. However, assimilation was no longer regarded as an inevitable outcome of the meeting of cultures.

15. B. Berry, op.cit., p 212
Deliberate, organized efforts were made to divest the immigrant of his foreign heritage, to suppress his native language and teach him English and to inject into him a loyalty to American institutions.

By doing so, the Americanization movement ignored or discarded the values in the cultures of the immigrants. It also, on the other hand, implied that the American culture, in the Anglo-Saxon pattern, was superior to all others. The spirit of this movement, in marked contrast to the doctrine of laissez faire at the beginning, was that of coercion and suppression. Then again, the Americanization movement itself was based on another misconception of the process of assimilation.

Since Berry believes that assimilation is a two-way process, he no doubt comes to the conclusion that neither the theory of the 'melting pot' nor the Americanization movement, being two extremes, adequately served to further the assimilation of the immigrants.16

In his conception of assimilation, it is, on

16. See B. Berry, op. cit., pp 210-231
the one hand, not a natural and inevitable outcome of the meeting of cultures. There are many cases which give support to the theory that assimilation is an inevitable consequence of the meeting of groups. But other studies of group relations also suggest that contact between groups does not invariably lead to their assimilation. A study of four ethnic groups, for instance, in the Southern part of India demonstrates the fact that in spite of close and constant contact among the four cultures, they had very little in common. Mandelbaum, the author of the study, in explaining the failure of these peoples to become assimilated, gives the reasons on economic bases of each society, and custom, tradition and taboo of each culture which restricted the group contacts. However, the study points out that there is restricted and retarded cultural interchange in some cases when people meet.17

On the other hand, assimilation is a reciprocal process. The belief in assimilation being a one-way process implies the discarding of the traditional culture of one group and the adoption of the culture of the other group. But in fact, assimilation involves

17. D. C. Mandelbaum, Culture Change among the Nilgiri Tribes, American Anthropologist, Vol. 43 No. 1, Jan-March 1941 pp 19-26
the integration of the new elements with the old. The assimilation process has been reciprocal in the American society. This can be easily found in the American civilization which was greatly influenced by ethnic cultures.

Berry also conceives that the process of assimilation is slow, both conscious and unconscious, and it cannot be hastened by coercion and suppression.

Fifteen years later, in another study of intergroup relations among the ethnic groups, and their relations to the social structure in the American society, Milton Gordon formulates his theory of assimilation in three parts: (1) Anglo-conformity, (2) the 'melting pot', and (3) cultural pluralism.

In the introduction to his theories Gordon explains:

"In preliminary fashion, we may say that the 'Anglo-conformity' theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group; the 'melting pot' idea envisaged a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new
indigenous American type, and 'cultural pluralism' postulated the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.\(^{18}\)

The first part of his theory of assimilation demonstrates how 'Anglo-conformity' assumes the desirability of maintaining the English institutions, the English language and English oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life. The theory, though sometimes was easily mistaken as racism, was supported by a large number of Anglo-conformists who simply believed in the cultural superiority of Anglo-Saxon institutions or that since English culture has laid the foundation for the American institutions, newcomers should conform accordingly.

In Berry's view, the Americanization movement played a limited role in the process of assimilation in the American history. In Gordon's interpretation, the 'Anglo-conformity' theory had been developed to an extreme during the Americanization movement. It received

\(^{18}\) Gordon, op.cit., p 85
its fullest expression in this consciously articulated movement (Americanization) whose aim was to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and make him over into an American along the Anglo-Saxon lines. All this was expected to be accomplished with a great rapidity, as Gordon describes it: "an attempt at 'pressure cooking assimilation'." 19

Although the Americanization movement had its different goals at various stages, its essential end was to achieve a speedy assimilation process. But its failure was to demand rapid transformation of the immigrant. Moreover, instead of taking the positive values of the immigrant's cultures, it ignored his heritage, cultural patterns and memories of his homeland. In fact, the newcomers would make gradual progress in acculturation to the American patterns and integration into the American society, but not under a high pressure created by the Americanization movement, in Gordon's view.

Gordon thus believes that in the formal aspects of the Americanization movement there was very

little success. But the entire ideology of Anglo-conformity has been substantially achieved with regard to cultural assimilation which is, in Gordon's terminology, acculturation. 20

The second part of the theory of assimilation points to the desire of constructing a new society which crystalized into another ideology - the 'melting pot'. However, the theme of this ideology was the belief that the American would be a new and superior race arising from a nation in which all races and cultures melted into one. A description of an American as a new race was given by Crevecoeur: 21

"An American, who leaves behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world." 21

It seems, in Berry's discussion, the idea of the 'melting pot' was the belief in a process of fusion

20. Gordon, op.cit., pp 105-106
21. Ibid., p 116
of cultures of the immigrants, whereas in Gordon's view, the 'melting pot' stresses both the biological mixture of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and the blending of their cultures.

According to Zangwill, the conception of a melting pot admits no exception or qualification of the ethnic backgrounds; even the black and yellow races were specifically mentioned in his work. But in fact, such a conception was too idealistic.

The failure of putting the concept of a true 'melting pot' into practice was first revealed by a study on intermarriage or amalgamation by Mrs. Kennedy, which reviewed that the idea of the melting pot was not a 'single melting pot' in the nation. Intermarriage was taking place across the nationality lines, but there was a strong tendency for it to stay confined within the basic influential field of one or the other of the three major religious groups: Protestants, Catholics and Jews. The term 'triple melting pot' was thus employed, based on the religious divisions in the nation, and the idea of a 'single melting pot' was abandoned.22

The theory of the 'triple melting pot' was later supported by Will Herberg in his analysis of the American religious groups. In his Protestant, Catholic, Jew, he states:

"America is indeed, in Mrs. Kennedy's terminology, the land of the 'triple melting pot', for it is within these three religious communities (Protestant, Catholic, and Jew) that the process of ethnic and cultural integration so characteristic of American life takes place." 23

However, the fact that there are other perspectives besides the religious divisions in analysis of the 'melting pot' theory has led to the use of the term 'multiple melting pot'.

In the third part of the theory of assimilation, the melting pot idea was challenged by another philosophy of ethnic cultural preservation; cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism existed in the American society long before it became a theory. Under the pressure of the Americanization movement, attempts to preserve ethnic


-25-
cultures and to create ethnic enclaves were made by several social thinkers and scholars. Dewey, Kallen, Kilpatrick, MacIver and Cole are the most influential ones who advocate cultural pluralism. Among these, Horace Kallen has been acknowledged as the originator and the Father of cultural pluralism.

As Kallen develops his argument for the preservation of ethnic cultures, he criticizes the Americanization program and the assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The attempts to promote racial amalgamation, advocated by the Americanization movement, were considered as misguided.

Kallen believes in the spiritual formation of the American nation; he says:

"It is a symphony that comes to life anew with the playing of each orchestra. The ethnic groups are the instruments of the orchestra, and through each plays its own part, they all contribute to a harmonious whole." 24

The theme in Kallen's work on the subject of

pluralism is the assertion that the positive value of the nation derives from the various ethnic cultures and their interaction within the framework of a democratic society. This value develops in two ways, as Gordon describes it; directly, as the ethnic groups contribute elements from their cultural heritage to the total national culture, making it richer and more varied, and indirectly, as the end-product of the competition, interaction, and creative relationship of the later arrived ethnic cultures with the Anglo-Saxon culture and with each other.

Kallen points out that America stands facing a kind of cultural dilemma; to impose by force the Anglo-Saxon culture or allow the ethnic cultures to exist and develop. He of course insists that America should follow the latter course, because then, "the outlines of a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth become discernible. Its form would be that of the federal republic; its substance a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions in the enterprise of self-realization through the perfection of men according to their kind." 25

25. Gordon, op.cit., pp 142-143. See also H.M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, New York, Sons & Liveright, 1924, p 116
However, Kallen's postulation of a 'federal republic of nationalities' was later criticized and rejected by other scholars. And his work of purely intellectual and philosophical analysis simply faded away in the generations that follow his.

The theory of cultural pluralism itself contains a defect which makes it unrealistic, that it does not indicate any social area where the cultural activity of the various ethnic groups could be fitted in within the larger framework of American culture. The theory has been unable to suggest the organized form through which the ethnic groups could make their conscious contribution to the mainstream of American spiritual creativity. And the basic conscious efforts of the ethnic groups to perpetuate themselves in a collective way were lacking. The problem with cultural pluralism is, as Sherman says, that the generation with the will and interest to preserve ethnic identity in the United States is dying out. The results are thus inevitable; all the evidence indicates that assimilation will proceed at a faster rate in the future than in the past. 26

26. See Sherman, op.cit., Chapter 2, for a better criticism of cultural pluralism.
The theories of assimilation, as discussed before, can thus be summarized into three formulæ: (1) Anglo-conformity, (2) the 'melting pot', and (3) cultural pluralism. They have arisen historically in America, and they thus reflect the characteristics of the American society. The process of formulation of these theories represents the experiences of race relations in American history. To apply the theories of 'race relations cycle' to the American experiences on assimilation, the social movements implied by both 'Anglo-conformity' and the 'melting pot' would seem to be efforts, either conscious or unconscious, to accomplish assimilation directly from competition without going through the stages of conflict and accommodation. However, as both 'Anglo-conformity' and the 'melting pot' failed to achieve assimilation in several aspects, the rise of the philosophy of cultural pluralism represents entering into the stage of accommodation in the 'race relations cycle'. Therefore, to complete the theory (race relations cycle), the situation of the Chinese must be taken into consideration since it denotes largely the conflict part of the theory.

In those theories of assimilation, according to Gordon, the key variable always turns out to be
structural assimilation. The social processes implied
the assimilation theories have accomplished a great
deal with regard to other types of assimilation,
particularly acculturation, except structural assimilation
which preceeds certain types of assimilation, such as
marital and identificational assimilation.27

However, the formulation of these theories
rests largely upon the experiences of white immigrant
groups who had encountered a lesser degree of conflict
in comparison with the Chinese. And if to assume the
validity of these theories and to apply them to the
case of the Chinese experiences in Canada, as well as
in North America, the Chinese should have also achieved
what the other immigrant groups have accomplished in
assimilation. In order to test this, a mathematical model
of assimilation measurement will be employed. Mathem-
atical models have recently been introduced to deal
with degrees of social differentiation,28 and thus a
similar model would allow tests of these theories; e.g.
acculturation of the Chinese will be tested through
such a model of assimilation with measures of association

27. Gordon, op.cit., pp 234-235
28. L.C. Freeman and M.H. Sunshine, Patterns of
       Residential Segregation, Schenkman Publishing Co,
       Mass. 1970
between (1) years in the host country; Canada, and (2) measures of acculturation; reading the English language.

On the other hand, the measure of conflict which the assimilation theories have avoided, namely, the degree of legal exclusion in immigration adopted by the host country, reflects degree of acceptance and hostility of the host country towards the minority. Though it does not vary directly as the variable of years in the host country, it is mediated by the conflict stage in the 'race relations cycle' demonstrated by legal sanctions of the host country. Such a measure of conflict will be generalizable to other minority groups and countries where conflictual race relations exist.

This will be discussed more in later chapters. In the next chapter we shall discuss the Chinese as a minority group in North America.
Chinese in North America, with their particular cultural background and racial characteristics, have constituted a minority group which sociologists classify as one of the ethnic groups. The term 'minorities' is applied to ethnic groups which, though concentrated in specific geographic areas and possessing their own cultures and histories, live under the political rule of other nations. 29 The Chinese in North America are regarded as one of the minorities because minorities are "subgroups within a culture which are distinguishable from the dominant group by reason of difference in physiognomy, language, customs, or cultural patterns (including any combination of these factors). Such subgroups are regarded as inherently different and 'not belonging' to the dominant group; for this reason they are consciously or unconsciously excluded from full participation in the life of the culture." 30

Minority problems in the American society are

29. Sherman, op.cit., p4
30. Ibid., p 4
entirely different from minority problems in other parts of the world. As Gunnar Myrdal points out, the minority peoples of the United States are fighting for status in the larger society; the minorities of Europe are mainly fighting for independence from it.\textsuperscript{31} However, many social problems arise from the difference of racial characteristics and cultural behavior. Racial antagonisms arise and wide social distances exist and endure between different races. Attitudes of discrimination and prejudice of the dominant group place limitations upon the opportunities of education and economic security of the minority groups. And the results of these are sometimes a larger proportion of disease, poverty, crime and illiteracy in the minority groups than the dominant one. The different cultural background and the discriminatory attitudes toward immigrant populations may also lower the general level of well-being in the group.

Studies by various social scientists of expressions of racial attitudes have generally concluded that attitudes of the dominant group seem to find

\textsuperscript{31} Sherman, op.cit., p 3, See also Gunnar Myrdal, \textit{An American Dilemma}, New York, 1944, Vol. I p 50
expressions along three major lines: first, there is a feeling of friendly interest in the new arrivals. Some degree of cooperation is likely to be developed and the spirit of tolerance and 'good will' is in evidence. As the newcomers increase rapidly and competition becomes intensified, threatening to force the native workers out of employment, or to lower their standard of living, hostile attitudes arise. Various indirect means may be employed to undermine the strength of the new arrivals. The most successful of these is through legislation designed to limit the economic activities of the minority groups. It may be done by a denial of citizenship rights, which carries with it certain limitations with respect to property ownership, education, mobility and tenure. Whether or not satisfactory legislation can be secured, the native population generally seeks an advantage by means of local rules and customs. The newcomers are described as a menace to native traditions, a threat to native standards of living and morality: 'clannish and deceitful'.

The third phase of line of action is open conflict in which actual riots are staged, threats and warnings declared, property destroyed and individuals
However, the case of the Chinese immigrants in North America was exactly as described above, as reflected in the history of the Chinese Immigration Policy of both the American and Canadian governments.

The assimilation theories of the 'Anglo-conformity', the Americanization movement, the 'melting pot', and cultural pluralism seem do not apply to the Chinese immigrants in North American society. In his discussion of the assimilation theories, Brewton Berry states: "Negroes, Indians, and Orientals, of course, were not included." And it is generally thought that the Chinese were unassimilated. Due to their cultural background, living habits and customs, and the language spoken, early Chinese immigrants typically congregated to form a cohesive group where they could speak their own language and preserve their own culture. On the other hand, because of the discrimination of the Chinese Immigration Policy of both the Canadian and American governments, most of the early Chinese immigrants did not consider Canada or America as their

33. B. Berry, op.cit., p 211
permanent home. The Chinese thus were considered the least assimilated or even non-assimilated group. When talking about the Chinese, Berry made such a statement:

"Today, generations later, we find their (the Chinese) descendants still living in those foreign parts; and while they have made an excellent economic adjustment, they are unassimilated, socially distinct, and not identified politically or psychologically with the countries in which they reside." 34

The Chinese do not become assimilated in countries other than America or Canada perhaps due to other reasons, but the process of assimilation of the Chinese in North American society appears to be greatly affected by the attitudes adopted by the Chinese and their host society.

In order to test this hypothesis of non-assimilation and its possible causes, Canadian-Chinese and the Chinese population of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, were selected for study. The cause predicted to be of great affect on assimilation is the government immigration policies towards Chinese immigrants.

This will be investigated by (1) a survey of

34. Berry, op.cit., p 208
the history of Canadian immigration policies toward
the Chinese, and (2) a study of the attitudes of different
population of Chinese, who immigrated under these
different policies in corresponding historical periods.

The next chapter will investigate the history
of the Canadian immigration policies towards the Chinese,
and the study will be presented in the following
chapters.
There is much evidence that the Canadian immigration policies towards the Chinese immigrants played an important role in preventing and hindering the Chinese from becoming assimilated in the Canadian society early in the twentieth century. From time to time, the changing of immigration policies by the Canadian government gave the early Chinese immigrants more and more feelings of insecurity. They could not predict what the future would be for them. They could only keep to themselves. They rented property instead of buying it. They found no need to learn the English language. In other words, they did not show any sign of wanting to become citizens, because they kept one foot in the old country where they had their families which they felt obliged to support.

According to Stanislaw Andracki, the history of Canadian policies in the matter of Chinese immigration from 1870 to the present time may be divided into four periods:

(1) Unrestricted immigration ending 1885,
(2) Head tax system from 1885 to 1923,
(3) Exclusion of Chinese immigration ending 1947,
Limited admission of Chinese immigrants under the rules applicable to Asians in general. 35

An interesting story has been told that the first Chinese reached the western shores of America hundreds of years before the first European reached the eastern seaboard, and that it was actually claimed as a province of Ta Han (Great China). However, the first Chinese came to Canada, according to Anne Davison, in 1858; twelve years before the Province British Columbia entered confederation, and the early history of the Chinese in Canada is linked with the gold rush on the Canadian Pacific coast. In six years time from 1858 onward, the Chinese had increased to about two thousand, and within fifteen years, they became so numerous that pressures were brought to bear on the provincial government for their control. 36

After the days of placer mining, the Chinese


36. Davison, A.M., An analysis of the significant factors in the patterns of Toronto Chinese family life as a result of the recent changes in immigration laws, (M.S.W. Thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1964) p 1
were gradually absorbed into more stable occupations such as gardening, farming, retail trade and domestic service. Large number of Chinese were to be found on road and railway construction.

In the year 1875, the first measure of discrimination against Chinese was entered the Statute Book of British Columbia, when the Legislative Assembly passed an act disfranchising the Chinese in the provincial elections. 37

The construction of the railway on the west coast needed a great number of labourers. Despite the continuous protests of those who did not wish to see the Chinese come in large numbers, the railway company hired many Chinese labourers whose willingness to work for lower wages was a severe threat to the local labourers. It was estimated that at one time there were between six and seven thousand Chinese working for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Most of these Chinese came directly from South China, having been brought by contractors who went to Hongkong and Canton and brought them over.

37. Andracki, _op.cit._, p 3
In 1885, the federal government passed an act regulating and restricting the immigration of the Chinese into Canada. All Chinese immigrants were obliged to pay a head tax of fifty dollars each upon entering Canada. No vessel might carry more than one immigrant for every fifty tons. Every Chinese meeting these regulations should be given a certificate of entry, which he would hold as proof of his having entered legally.38

It was thought that this act might effectively reduce the number of Chinese immigrants coming to Canada, but in 1891, the British Columbia provincial census showed there were 9,129 Chinese which was one in eleven of the population in the province. By that time, the Chinese community on the west coast was large enough to grow up the traditional system of guilds and secret societies. They had set up courts within their own community to settle disputes.

In 1900, the government passed new legislation to restrict Chinese immigration. The parliament thought that by increasing the head tax

38. Davison, op.cit., p 3. See also Canada Statutes; 48-49 Victoria, Chapter 71
from fifty to one hundred dollars the 'problem' would be settled simply. But, this act only slowed immigration for a short time, and it gradually increased again. Three years later, the legislature passed another act with regard to the Chinese immigration, which they thought would completely solve the 'problem'. The act increased the head tax from one hundred to five hundred dollars. 39

After the head tax was increased from one hundred to five hundred dollars, there were practically no new immigrants coming to Canada. The result of the increased head tax was that most applied for admission under one of the exempt classes, such as student, merchant, etc.

It seemed none of the attempts was sufficient. The public pressure grew again. Finally in 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act was passed which abolished the head tax system and excluded the Chinese almost completely. The effectiveness of this act could be seen as: in the 17 years preceding its passing, there

39. Davison, op.cit., p 6. See also Canada Statutes, 3, Edward VII, Chapter 8
were 44,455 Chinese admitted to Canada, whereas in the 17 years following 1923 only 6 were admitted.\textsuperscript{40}

The head tax had been an humiliation to the Chinese, but now it came to an exclusion of immigration. After 24 years of the enforcement of this act, it is not hard to imagine why the Chinese kept to themselves; why they showed no sign of wanting to become citizens. The men were not allowed to bring their wives and children to Canada. Gambling and drinking took most of their spare time. There was no reason they should consider Canada as their permanent home since their families were still in China.

In 1947, this situation was changed. After 24 years, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was finally repealed. Chinese who were Canadian citizens were permitted to bring their children under 18 and their wives from China. For those years, these families had been separated, living on opposite sides of the ocean, in two different cultures and economic systems. Now they could grow together again as a unit and plan for their future in Canada.

\textsuperscript{40} Davison, op.cit., pp 9-10
From the survey of the Canadian immigration policies towards the Chinese, we find three basic groups which can be studied, who represent different experiences from the Canadian government immigration policies; (1) Chinese immigrated prior to 1923, who experienced the official hostility of the government and long separation from their countrymen and families, (2) Chinese who immigrated after 1947, and experienced more favorable treatment, and (3) Canadian-born Chinese, (mostly born after 1947) who aside from experiences of either exclusion or non-exclusion in immigration, had other reasons for favorable attitudes towards Canada.

The first group who encountered hostility more than acceptance of their host society establish a situation of 'conflict' instead of assimilation to be examined. This conflict situation, namely, legal exclusion of immigration, cannot be found in the experiences of white European immigrant groups. The experiences of the Chinese immigrants, especially early immigrants, thus become an extreme case which can be more properly studied through theories of conflict than the dominant assimilation theories.

Since government immigration laws, which to a certain extent reflect degrees of acceptance and
hostility of the country, play an important role on assimilation of minority groups, it is therefore possible to study minority relations using government immigration laws as one type of measure.

Since the Chinese in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan are selected for this study, we thus come to the discussion of the Chinese community in Saskatoon in the next chapter.
VI THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN SASKATOON

In order to measure the degree of assimilation of the Chinese immigrant arrived in Canada at various periods, a survey was done within the Chinese community in Saskatoon. A review of the Chinese community therefore is necessary.

There is no reliable statistics which would indicate the exact amount of the Chinese population in the city of Saskatoon. An informal vital census of the Chinese population in the city had been conducted by the 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association' several years ago. The president of the Association, who was the organizer of the survey, unfortunately died shortly after the survey was completed. And afterwards, the rest of the executives of the Association decided to burn all the documents, records and statistics left by the late president from the survey. They were so superstitious to believe that those were symbols of bad luck, and should be gone with the dead man. 41

However, part of the information from that survey appears in the Saskatchewan Chinese Directory, compiled and printed by the 'Chinese Publicity Bureau' in Regina. On the first page of the Directory, it

41. The information here is given by several Chinese old men, particularly the present president of the 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association', during my interview with them.
describes itself as "comprising a complete listing of Chinese house holders and individuals of Saskatchewan cities and towns".\textsuperscript{42}

In the introductory part of the Directory, which is written in both English and Chinese, it says in Chinese that the exact number of Chinese whose names are listed here in the province of Saskatchewan is 5,500. This means the number of women and children is unknown. It states in English that the total Chinese population in Saskatchewan exceeds 11,000. This estimated population is based on the actual number of individual names in the alphabetical section of this Directory, with due allowance for women and children whose names are not listed.\textsuperscript{43}

In the Saskatoon section of the Directory, 450 names are listed as residents of Saskatoon. This, of course, does not indicate the Chinese population in the city. However, an estimation of more than 700 people was given by the present president of the 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association' during my

\textsuperscript{42} Saskatchewan Chinese Directory, compiled by the Chinese Publicity Bureau Ltd, 1970, Regina, p 1
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., pp 6-7
interview with him. But in fact, in the past two or three years a number of Chinese immigrants and students have come to Saskatoon, and in the most conservative estimation, it would still be more than 100 newcomers.

Including the churches, there are ten organizations in the Chinese community in the city. They are: 'Chinese Free Masons'; 'Chinese Nationalist League'; 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association'; 'Chinese Old Men's Club'; 'Saskatoon Chinese School Board'; 'Saskatoon Young Men's Club'; 'Dart Coon Club'; 'United Church Chinese Mission'; and 'Chinese Alliance Church'. Besides all these organizations, there is a 'Chinese Student Society' on campus.

The biggest and most popular organization among all these is the 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association' which also sponsors the 'Chinese School Board' in the city. In fact, some of the organizations listed above have been dissolved or only have a few members, and some of them associate together, maintaining different names for the same organization.

There is a tendency to concentrate in one type of occupation, restaurant business, in this
Chinese community. According to the old Chinese who have been living in Saskatoon for decades, Chinese people used to operate laundry shops too. However, they were put out of business by machines. Most Chinese switched to the restaurant business. It is thus not surprising to know that in a small Chinese community like this one there are a total of 33 big or small cafés and restaurants. Another popular business among the Chinese people is the grocery retail business.

An explanation for this phenomenon of concentration in one type of work was given by Carey McWilliam. In 1920, in the United States, it was estimated that 50% of the Chinese were engaged in work in restaurants and/or laundries. McWilliam, in explaining how these occupation have come to be identified as Chinese, says that for a majority to restrict a minority in a population, there are three methods used: (1) restrictive legislation, (2) citizenship denied to the minority, and (3) various devices to restrict the minority to subordinate positions in the economy. Therefore, in every kind of occupation, when competition became higher, the Chinese feared that actions of discrimination might be taken against them, so they withdrew to occupations where there was less competition.
and discrimination.\textsuperscript{44}

Professionals who are known by the Chinese in Saskatoon, it seems, are only medical doctors and an accountant. There are ten medical doctors and one accountant.\textsuperscript{45} Other professionals, such as university professors and professional engineers, who, unlike the medical doctors and accountant being able to serve the community, are not active or enthusiastic enough to be known in the community, thus information concerning them is not available.

The community, as a whole, is apparently an exclusive and protective community. New immigrants, particularly those who do not know English, depend largely upon the community for social lives. On the other hand, the community gradually loses its hold on individuals who are most assimilated and mobile; such as professionals mentioned above. The sample in this study, therefore, is inevitably biased for being unable to include these individuals.

Other difficulties for obtaining information are that the Chinese in general are reluctant to reveal

\begin{itemize}
\item[44.] Carey McWilliam, \textit{Brothers under Skin}, Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1951, pp 106-107
\item[45.] As listed in the Saskatoon section of the Saskatchewan Chinese Directory.
\end{itemize}
their personal beliefs and habits to outsiders, especially to be exposed to the academic world. This causes another bias in the sample towards those who are more acculturated, by virtue of their willingness to co-operate. But even so, little evidence of assimilation can be found, as revealed from the results in later chapters. Many variables are not useable in testing the hypotheses due to lack of response; such as job, reason for coming to Canada, plans to stay in Canada permanently, attitudes on mixed marriage and parents-children relations, etc.

However, after this general review of the Chinese community in Saskatoon, we shall come to discussion of methodology and hypotheses in the following chapter.
VII METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESES

The Definition of Chinese

The Saskatoon Chinese community can be taken hypothetically as a miniature of the Chinese minority within the larger Canadian society. If the immigration policies in the Canadian history had affected the process of assimilation of the Chinese, then in turn, these effects should also be reflected by the Chinese in Saskatoon. Based upon this assumption, a survey has been conducted within the Saskatoon Chinese community to test the general attitudes of the Chinese towards the Canadian ways of life and society.

However, a definition of 'Chinese' must be given here so to distinguish them from people with other ethnic origin. The definition used in 1961 census of Canada reads as follows:

"In a census, a person's ethnic group is traced through his father. In 1961, each person was asked the question: 'to which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this country?' The language spoken at that time by the person or his parental ancestor was used
as an aid in the determination of the person's ethnic
group.\footnote{46}

The term 'Chinese' used in this survey thus
will cover all those who have become naturalized and
attained Canadian citizenship, known as Chinese-Canadians
and their children whether born in Canada or outside
of Canada now staying in Saskatoon. The term also
includes other Chinese who came from outside Canada
either as landed immigrants or as students, and children
of mixed marriages when the father is a Chinese, who
now reside in Saskatoon.

The Questionnaire and its Distribution

The questionnaire is designed to find out
the attitudes among different generations who have
arrived in Canada or were born in Canada at various
periods. Their attitudes will allow the comparison of
different degrees of assimilation. Since the index of
assimilation besides general attitudes toward Canadian
ways of life is the ability of reading the English
language and formal education in English or Anglo-
American schools in this study, the questionnaire is

\footnote{46. See \textit{Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics} inside
front cover.}
thus designed to gather information on age, date of first arrival, English reading and speaking, and education. Moreover, insofar as factors such as sex, marital status, status in Canada and place of birth would have effects on individual assimilation, these items are therefore included. Finally, additional assimilation variables; family, job, Canadian friends, and intermarriage, etc. are included also.\textsuperscript{47}

Two identical questionnaires, one in Chinese and one in English, were distributed at the same time, and the respondent was told to fill in the one which he felt more natural to him. All the questionnaires were distributed through:

(1) The Chinese Student Society of the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon campus,

(2) Two public high schools in Saskatoon where most Chinese students attend (City Park Collegiate and Bedford Road Collegiate),

(3) The Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association,

(4) The two Chinese churches in Saskatoon, (United Church Chinese Mission and Chinese Alliance Church),

(5) Accidental distribution through Chinese restaurants and shops in the city and friends of mine.

\textsuperscript{47} See Appendix.
The total number of questionnaires distributed is 300, of which there are 79 returned. The distribution of the questionnaire to the different organizations listed above is based on the assumption that the 'Saskatoon Chinese Benevolent Association' consists of older Chinese who have been in Saskatoon for a longer period of time. On the other hand, the 'Chinese Student Society' on the university campus has Chinese students from various places in the world, though mostly from Hongkong and Taiwan, and they are largely landed immigrants or on student visa, whereas students from the high schools are more likely those Canadian-born Chinese or those who came to Canada since very young and have been raised in Canada. Those people from the Chinese churches would be the mixture of all the above categories plus those Chinese women who came here to join their husbands after 1947. This assumption of the way the Chinese associate in Saskatoon is supported by this writer's knowledge and his observation during his residence in Saskatoon.

Five Chinese old men and their families have also been interviewed by this writer. This is to gather further information on the history of the Chinese community in Saskatoon since there are no written records to follow.*

* The interviews were conducted on the basis of questionnaire and the results are coded together with those of the questionnaires.
Hypotheses to be tested

From the history of the Canadian immigration policies towards the Chinese, one can assume that before the 1947 repeal of the Immigration Act of 1923, the Chinese were the group that showed no signs of assimilation at all. After the 1947 repeal of the Act of 1923, larger numbers of the Chinese residents were allowed to bring their families to Canada. They were then able to reunite their families, and consider Canada as their permanent home. The children of these immigrants, having been educated in Canada, are able to speak English and share the same culture as other Canadians. In this case, whether or not the Chinese have their families in Canada is expected to affect the process of assimilation. In other words, the family here can be regarded as a social unit which functions to accelerate the process of assimilation of the Chinese immigrants in the sense that the family provides opportunities for the immigrant children to be educated and to be socialized in the Canadian society. The assimilation of this young generation contributes to the group assimilation of the Chinese. Based on this rationale, the hypotheses for this study will be:
A. Assimilation is affected by the government immigration policies which reflect degree of acceptance and hostility of the host society, and the experience of acceptance and hostility by the immigrants.

Since, in the situation of the Chinese in Canada, the degree of hostility of the Canadian society has declined after 1947, the Chinese are hypothesized, in terms of degree of assimilation, to be grouped as follows:

(1) most assimilated - the group of Canadian born Chinese, who are the first generation mostly born after 1947,

(2) intermediately assimilated - Chinese who immigrated after 1947, and are under 25 years of age,

(3) less assimilated - Chinese who immigrated after 1947, and are above 26 years of age,

(4) least assimilated - Chinese who immigrated before 1923.

It is also hypothesized that the general assimilation theories of the 'Anglo-conformity', the 'melting pot' and cultural pluralism are irrelevant to the Chinese situation and not be supported by the data. This will be tested through:
(1) the measure of reading the English language shows that assimilation is not associated with length of residence in Canada, but is inversely associated with length of residence in China;

(2) the measure of language chosen for the questionnaire shows that assimilation is not associated with length of residence in Canada, but is associated with length of residence in China;

(3) the measure of affirmation of speaking the Chinese language shows that assimilation is not associated with length of residence in Canada, but is associated with length of residence in China;

(4) the measure of identification with the Chinese sportsmen shows that assimilation is not associated with length of residence in Canada, but is associated with length of residence in China;

(5) the measure of affirmative respondents towards naturalization shows that assimilation is not associated with length of residence in Canada.

All these measurements will be based upon the application of a mathematical model, namely, degree of association or correlation between different assimilation variables. As we expect, to a degree, there will be high statistical associations between certain variables, and for some others, there will be low
statistical associations, or even none. But in the main, the statistical figures shall support these assumptions.

(B) Between the independent variable (years in Canada), which is also an indicator of the policies experienced in immigration, and the dependent variable (degree of assimilation), there are intervening variables. They are: job, school, social organization, family, Canadian friends and spouse of intermarriage, etc. Among these, (1) entrance into social organizations of Canadian society has not yet come on a large-scale; thus structural assimilation has not yet occurred among the Chinese in Saskatoon, (2) the amount of intermarriage is hypothesized to be considerably small, and thus marital assimilation has not yet occurred.

These will be tested through:

1. the measure of membership in Canadian organizations,

2. the measure of nationality of spouse among the married Chinese, and

3. the measure of willingness to marry a white Canadian.

(C) In this stage when major types of assimilation, structural assimilation and marital assimilation for instance, have not yet occurred, family and school
are more functional with regard to facilitating the process of assimilation, and these two variables are associated.

Before 1947, family units were not admitted to Canada, thus family has not become a factor affecting the process of assimilation till after 1947. For the group of Chinese who immigrated before 1923, isolation from Canadian schools and other socializing agencies was the rule - because they had no children in Canada, isolation continued over the years.

The data are inadequate to test these relationships directly, thus an investigation of education and family characteristics will be done to explore this hypothesis.

In the following chapter we shall come to the findings and the analysis of the data.
Assimilation in North American society has its own features and characteristics, which might not be found in other European or Asian societies. Generally speaking, the three formulae of assimilation found in the history of the American society - the 'Anglo-conformity', the 'melting pot' and 'cultural pluralism', were the product of the great migration. They thus can only apply to this society. 48

The Chinese situation in Canada was different from other ethnic groups. On the one hand, the Chinese were not included in the process of assimilation in the American historical experience. On the other hand, being discriminated against, they did not want to become assimilated.

During the 24 years from 1923 to 1947, no Chinese immigrant was admitted to Canada. In this study of 79 Chinese in Saskatoon, all the immigrants except those who were born in Canada, can thus be divided into two categories: those who came to Canada before 1923 and those who came after 1947. And in fact, only those older Chinese who came before 1923 had

48, See Chapters II & III.
actually experienced the discrimination and prejudice in the immigration laws. Unfortunately, we cannot find too many of these old men to have a better comparative analysis in this study; there are only 6 Chinese who came before 1923; 58 came after 1947 and 15 were born in Canada.⁴⁹

Since assimilation is the process whereby the immigrant acquires the language and culture of the new society, it thus can be measured in terms of 'the ability of reading the English language'.⁵⁰ Language is always considered as the most important part of a culture. The ability of reading the English language indicates the degree of cultural assimilation, in other words, the acculturation of the Chinese in Canada. When a Chinese, for instance, reads English only, he is regarded as more a Canadian than a Chinese in a cultural sense, and thus a Chinese who reads both English and Chinese is still more assimilated than the one who reads Chinese only.

It is generally conceived that the length of

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⁴⁹. See Table I.
⁵⁰. The ability of speaking English is not used as a measurement here because it is difficult to define the term 'able' to speak English; e.g., someone can only speak a little bit more than 'yes' and 'no', and claims that he can speak English.
### TABLE I

**THE IMMIGRANT AND CANADIAN-BORN CHINESE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came to Canada before 1923</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came to Canada after 1947</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who were born in Canada</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>79</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 63 -
residence in a country is an important determinant for acculturation; the longer an immigrant stays in a country, the more assimilated he will be. As Gordon states, cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene, and cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later and this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely. The age of first coming to the country, of course, has to be taken into consideration. However, in many cases, a high statistical degree of association should be expected between the length of residence in a country and acculturation. But the Chinese in Canada cannot be predicted in a usual way. In this study of the Chinese in Saskatoon it is thus predicted that the discriminatory condition in Canada which the Chinese experienced is a more important determinant in acculturation than the length of residence in Canada.

In order to test this hypothesis, a statistical comparison is drawn upon the basis of the years a Chinese stayed in Hongkong or China and in Canada. The degree of association between the length of residence in each country and the ability of reading its language
is shown by a statistical figure: Gamma ($\gamma$).\textsuperscript{51} It is true that the longer a Chinese stayed in China or Hong Kong before he came over to Canada, the more likely he reads Chinese only. This can be found on Table II in the next page, which has a very high degree of association between length of residence in China or Hong Kong and reading the Chinese language only.

In Canada, the Chinese situation is different. There is no association between length of residence in Canada and reading the English language. This is demonstrated by Table III.

This inapplicability of the conventional formula to the Chinese situation in Canada is mostly caused by those old Chinese who have stayed in Canada for more than 50 years but tend to be less culturally assimilated. The reason for them to be so is that they had experienced discriminatory immigration policies of the Canadian government, which to a certain degree, had prevented them from becoming assimilated.

\textsuperscript{51} For more information on "association between nominal scales, and ordinal scales", see L. C. Freeman, \textit{Elementary Applied Statistics}, New York, John Wiley \& Sons, 1965, Section C.
### TABLE II

**READING THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGE**

**BY YEARS IN CHINA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in China</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total* 76

For this table, Gamma ($\gamma$) = 0.875

* 3 persons did not give the date of first arrival, they are thus excluded from this table.
# TABLE III

**READING THE CHINESE AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

**BY YEARS IN CANADA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Canada</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and Chinese</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total 61

For this table, Gamma ($\gamma$) = -0.02

* The Canadian-born Chinese are not included in this table since they are not immigrants.
Comparing the 6 Chinese who came to Canada before 1923 with those who came after 1947 in terms of reading the Chinese and English language on the same basis of age of first arrival into Canada, one can easily see that in spite of having stayed in Canada for at least 24 more years, the group of Chinese who immigrated before 1923 does not have a higher tendency of reading English than the other, instead, it has a tendency of reading the Chinese language only. This is shown by Table IV.

**TABLE IV**

**READING THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGE**

**BY AGE OF FIRST ARRIVAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Age of first arrival</th>
<th>Reading English only</th>
<th>Reading English and Chinese</th>
<th>Reading Chinese only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who Came to Canada Before 1923</td>
<td>1-5 years old</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11-19 years old</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who Came to Canada after 1947</td>
<td>1-5 years old</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11-19 years old</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 68 -
The question arises from here whether the degree of association between length of residence in Canada and reading the English language really indicates the degree of acculturation since a number of immigrants have learned English in Hongkong or China before they immigrated to Canada. However, this is supplemented by another measure of actual behavior of the respondent, namely, choice of language for the questionnaire. Since the respondent was told to fill in either the English or the Chinese questionnaire whichever he felt more natural to him, this behavior with regard to language chosen thus indicates, to a certain degree, his inner sense of culture, which is not merely related to his years of schooling in English schools in Hongkong or China.

The following two tables are a statistical comparison based upon the length of residence in Hongkong or China and in Canada, and the language chosen for the questionnaire. Here again, we find very high correlations between the length of residence in Hongkong or China and use of the Chinese language for the questionnaire, whereas between the length of residence in Canada and use of English for the questionnaire, there is a very low degree of correlations.52

52. See Tables V & VI.
### TABLE V

**LANGUAGE CHOSEN FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY YEARS IN CHINA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language chosen</th>
<th>Years in China</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><strong>61</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma (\(\gamma\)) = 0.857

* 3 persons who did not give the date of first arrival and 15 Canadian born Chinese are not included in this table.

### TABLE VI

**LANGUAGE CHOSEN FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY YEARS IN CANADA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language chosen</th>
<th>Years in Canada</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>61</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma (\(\gamma\)) = 0.185

* 3 persons did not give the date of first arrival and 15 Canadian born Chinese are not included in this table.
During my interviews with 5 Chinese old men and their families the reason for not knowing English was asked if the interviewee does not speak and read English. Two of them gave the same answer; they are too old to learn. At their younger age when they first came to Canada in the late 1910's, they both were following their father or relatives who were engaged in laundry business. They did not have the chance to go to school in Canada. They moved to Saskatoon in 1930's and operated their own laundry shops. They have spent most of their lives together with their Chinese relatives and friends. All the English they could speak and read was the numbers and amounts of money the laundry business needed. Now they are both retired and live together since they are alone, and as they said, there is no point for them to learn the English language now. However, it is hard for us to imagine how one can live his whole life in a country without knowing her language.
Another old man, 80 some years of age, has stayed in Saskatoon all his life since he came at the age of 9. He educated himself in Chinese after he came to Canada. He speaks and reads a little bit of English, but what makes him proud, according to him, is being a respectable scholar in the Chinese community here. He said, during the interview, "I am always a Chinese, and our culture is greater!"

The older Chinese are less culturally assimilated because, on the one hand, the condition for them in Canada is the determining factor. Four Chinese whom I have interviewed told me that they did have the idea of going back to China some 25 or 30 years ago. The Chinese idiom says, as they quoted to me, "The leaves must fall and return to the root" - everything must revert to its original source.

On the other hand, the older Chinese perhaps are more influenced by the Chinese tradition since they did not experience the social and political change in their own country - China, since the beginning of the 20th century. The Chinese tradition had its majesty and solidity deeply rooted in the Chinese mind and endured for centuries before the revolution and the rise of Communism. A few features of the
Chinese tradition are reflected by the attitudes of these Chinese old men.

China was, through centuries, largely isolated from the rest of the world. Until very recently when the modern West intruded into China, the Chinese believed their country was the central entity in the world. This belief is signified most evidently by the name the Chinese give their country and civilization: 'Chung Kuo', the middle country, and 'Chung Hua', the central flowering culture. The Chinese have always referred to all the 'outsiders' as 'barbarians', because the Chinese were superior to all the others in all aspects of culture.

The values prevailing in China before the revolution are still held by the Chinese in Canada who had left their country too early to see the young people of modern China turning against their tradition since the beginning of the 20th century. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that they are so much more ethnocentric than the young Chinese.

Although the discriminatory situation for the


- 73 -
Chinese in Canada played an important role in preventing them from becoming assimilated, the majority of the Chinese, consciously or unconsciously, want to maintain their ethnic identity at least in one cultural aspect, speaking the Chinese language. More than 73% of all the Chinese in this study think they should speak Chinese to their parents or children, and only 6.3% answered in the negative as shown by Table VII. Towards this matter, the difference between the younger and the older Chinese is rather small. But the statistical figure Gamma in Tables VIII & IX still indicates that there is a slight correlation between the length of residence in Hongkong or China and the positive attitude towards speaking the Chinese language, and there is no correlation between the length of residence in Canada and the negative attitude towards speaking the Chinese language.

TABLE VII

SHOULD A CHINESE SPEAK HIS NATIVE LANGUAGE TO HIS PARENTS AND/OR HIS CHILDREN?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>Don't matter</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII

AFFIRMATION OF SPEAKING CHINESE TO
PARENTS AND/OR CHILDREN BY YEARS
IN CHINA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should speak Chinese</th>
<th>Years in China</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't matter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma ($\gamma$) = 0.354

* 3 persons did not give the date of first arrival and 15 Canadian born Chinese are not included in this table.
TABLE IX

AFFIRMATION OF SPEAKING CHINESE TO
PARENTS AND/OR CHILDREN BY YEARS
IN CANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should speak Chinese</th>
<th>Years in Canada</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't matter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma (\( \gamma \)) = -0.30

* 3 persons who did not give the date of first arrival and 15 Canadian born Chinese are not included in this table.
The Chinese have definitely changed their attitudes towards "Canadian friends". They in general think the Canadians are fairly friendly.

In answer to the question: "Do you find the average Canadian: a. very friendly, b. fairly friendly, c. unfriendly, d. very unfriendly," 15 of them say that the average Canadian is very friendly, and 61 fairly friendly; only 3 say that the Canadians are unfriendly. There is none who says the Canadians are very unfriendly.

Comments written under this question were

**TABLE X**

**PERCEIVED ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE AVERAGE CANADIAN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very friendly</th>
<th>Fairly friendly</th>
<th>Unfriendly</th>
<th>Very unfriendly</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 (19%)</td>
<td>61 (77.2%)</td>
<td>3 (3.8%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>79 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
given by three Chinese who came to Canada before 1923. They all have the same remarks, though with various reasons and explanations, that some 25 or 30 years ago, the Canadians were VERY unfriendly to the Chinese; it is only now that they are found fairly friendly. The same opinion was also expressed by the other Chinese old men during my interviews with them. We did not, of course, anticipate the younger Chinese who came after 1947 to give comments as such, because, on the one hand, they did not experience the discrimination in the Canadian society before 1947, and on the other, the attitudes of the Canadian government have been no longer hostile towards the Chinese since 1947.

However, a statistical comparison is drawn from among these Chinese who are divided into four groups:

(1) the Chinese who immigrated before 1923,
(2) those who immigrated after 1947 and are and above 26 years of age,
(3) those who immigrated after 1947 and are and under 25 years of age,
(4) the Chinese who were born in Canada.

By dividing them into groups as such, we want to find out, regardless of the length of time they have stayed in Canada, the difference in degree of assimilation
between the younger and the older generations.

According to Gordon, once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequently to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow. The condition for structural assimilation is large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on a primary level. Structural assimilation has not yet occurred among the Chinese in Saskatoon, because only 13% of the sample in this study belongs to Canadian organizations, which is, however, only a very small scale.

If to assume the validity of Gordon's generalization again, that entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary level inevitably will lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage, then since structural assimilation has not yet occurred among the Chinese in Saskatoon, we do not predict a substantial amount of intermarriage.

---

54. See Chapter II or Gordon, op.cit., p ??
55. See Table XI
56. Gordon, Ibid., p 80
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Belong to no organization</th>
<th>Belong to one organization</th>
<th>Belong to two organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated before 1923</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≥ 26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≤ 25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian born Chinese</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total and %</td>
<td>67 (84.8%)</td>
<td>11 (13.9%)</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In fact, as Table XII indicates, out of 30 married Chinese, there is only one who married to a white Canadian. He is one of those Chinese who immigrated before the exclusion, and as he told me during my interview with him, it was apparently due to the particular situation of shortage of Chinese women in Canada during the exclusion period that he chose to marry a white Canadian.

However, this is also sustained by Table XIII, which indicates no Chinese would be willing to either marry or let their children marry a white Canadian.57

57. See Table XIII
TABLE XII

NATIONALITY OF SPOUSE OF
THE 4 GROUPS OF CHINESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Chinese Canadian*</th>
<th>White Canadian</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated before 1923</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and (\geq 26)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and (\leq 25)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian born Chinese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Chinese Canadian here means not only the Canadian born Chinese, but also Chinese immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship.
TABLE XIII

WILLINGNESS TO MARRY A WHITE CANADIAN

BY THE 4 GROUPS OF CHINESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Willingness Categories</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated before 1923</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≥ 26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≤ 25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian born Chinese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have demonstrated that the older generation is less assimilated than the younger, regardless of the length of residence in Canada. However, the distinction in the degree of assimilation between the young and the old is sustained by the following facts regarding filling out the questionnaire in either English or Chinese:

(1) among the group of Canadian born Chinese, 13 people filled out the English questionnaire and only 2 filled out the Chinese one;

(2) 14 filled out the English one and 17 the Chinese one among the group of Chinese who immigrated after 1947 and are under 25 years of age;

(3) only 2 filled out the English one and 22 filled out the Chinese one among the group who immigrated after 1947 and are above 26 years of age;

(4) no English questionnaire was filled out among the group of old Chinese who came before 1923.\(^{58}\)

Question No. 29 on the questionnaire asks both the immigrant and the Canadian born Chinese to

\(^{58}\) See Table XIV
### Table XIV

**Number of Questionnaires Returned in Chinese and English from the 4 Chinese Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Questionnaires returned in</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who immigrated before 1923</td>
<td>100% (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≥ 26</td>
<td>91.7% (22)</td>
<td>8.3% (2)</td>
<td>100% (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and ≤ 25</td>
<td>54.8% (17)</td>
<td>45.2% (14)</td>
<td>100% (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian-born Chinese</td>
<td>13.4% (2)</td>
<td>86.6% (13)</td>
<td>100% (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
decide which side they would support should a team of athletes or sportsmen from Hongkong or China come to play a Canadian team. However, the answer to this question reveals, to a certain extent, the loyalty to or the identification with the country of the respondent; China or Canada. Here again, the result turns out to be that more Canadian-born Chinese support Canada than China whereas all the old men take an opposite stand.\textsuperscript{59}

The statistical comparison based upon the length of residence in Hongkong or China and Canada also reveals that there is a medium correlation between years in Hongkong or China and their identification with the Chinese sportsmen team, and there is a very low correlation between length of residence in Canada and the Canadian sportsmen team.\textsuperscript{60} However, the same tendency, though less obvious, is also revealed by their attitudes regarding the matter of naturalization.\textsuperscript{61}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} See Table XV
\item \textsuperscript{60} See Table XVI & Table XVII
\item \textsuperscript{61} See Table XVIII
\end{itemize}
TABLE XV

WISHING THE CHINESE TEAM OF ATHLETES OR OTHER SPORTSMEN

WOULD DEFEAT THE CANADIAN TEAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>&quot;yes&quot;</th>
<th>Doesn't matter</th>
<th>&quot;no&quot;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated before 1923</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and are ≥ 26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(66.7%)</td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese immigrated after 1947 and are ≤ 25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(64.6%)</td>
<td>(32.2%)</td>
<td>(3.2%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian-born Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.4%)</td>
<td>(53.3%)</td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XVI

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CHINESE SPORTSMEN
BY YEARS IN CHINA

(WISHING THE CHINESE TEAM WOULD DEFEAT THE CANADIAN TEAM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wishing the Chinese team would win</th>
<th>Years in China</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't matter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma (\(\gamma\)) = 0.45

* 3 persons who did not give the date of first arrival and 15 Canadian born Chinese are not included in this table.
TABLE XVII

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CHINESE SPORTSMEN

BY YEARS IN CANADA

(WISHING THE CHINESE TEAM WOULD DEFEAT THE CANADIAN TEAM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wishing the Chinese team would win</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't matter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this table, Gamma ($\gamma$) = 0.116

* 3 persons who did not give the date of first arrival and 15
Canadian-born Chinese are not included in this table.
"SHOULD EVERY IMMIGRANT BECOME NATURALIZED?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>doesn't matter</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who were born in Canada</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(86.6%)</td>
<td>(6.7%)</td>
<td>(6.7%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came after 1947 and</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are ≤ 25</td>
<td>(48.4%)</td>
<td>(32.2%)</td>
<td>(19.4%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came after 1947 and</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are ≥ 26</td>
<td>(45.9%)</td>
<td>(20.8%)</td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came before 1923</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
<td>(50%)</td>
<td>(16.7%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the facts and comparison indicated above, the four groups of Chinese can be placed onto a scale of gradation from the most assimilated to the least assimilated. The most assimilated group is no doubt the Canadian born Chinese. Next to this is the group of young immigrants who came after 1947 and are under 25 years of age. This group becomes assimilated largely through a bilingual and bicultural process which the group of Canadian born Chinese did not have to undergo. Then it is the old immigrants who came to Canada after 1947 and are above 26 years of age. The least
assimilated is the older generation of Chinese who immigrated before 1923.

The order of these Chinese groups on the scale of assimilated is as predicted in the hypotheses. It thus proves that the general assimilation theories of 'Anglo-conformity', the 'melting pot' and cultural pluralism do not apply to the situation of the Chinese. The assimilation of these groups in terms of years of residence in Canada and China also contradicts the general assimilation theories, and supports the hypotheses stated before.

The Chinese immigrants adopt the ways of life and thought and acquire the values of the Canadian society mainly through formal education in Anglo-American schools and interaction with the Canadians. Lack of either education in Anglo-American or English schools or interaction with the Canadians would slow down the assimilation process. Education in an English school provides opportunities for an immigrant to learn the English language and acquire the English culture.  

62 The immigrant also becomes socialized

62. Here 'English school' includes not only the Anglo-American schools, but also the English schools elsewhere which provide the same language and culture.
through his direct and indirect, formal and informal social interaction with other fellows in the schools. Education here thus can be regarded as a factor facilitating the assimilation process.

Since one has to interact with other members of the society but not necessarily receive a certain amount of education, it would thus be easier to indicate the degree of assimilation by measuring the amount of education in English schools than the amount of interaction with the Canadians. We do not attempt to conclude that education is more important a determinant than interaction in assimilation, or to deny the fact that certain individuals are very much assimilated without a great amount of education.

The younger generation is more assimilated than the older generation, regardless of the length of residence in Canada, and one of the reasons for this, we assume, is because that the younger generation has a better chance to be educated and socialized in the Canadian society.

The mean of the amount of education in English schools for the four Chinese groups ranges as the following:

- 92 -
(1) the Chinese who came to Canada before 1923 have an average amount of education of 2.3 years,
(2) those who came after 1947 and are above 26 years of age have an average of 5.2 years,
(3) those who came after 1947 and are under 25 years of age have an average of 8.4 years,
(4) the Canadian-born Chinese have an average of 10.6 years. 63

The difference between the two extremes (the most educated and the least educated) is 8.3 years. This difference in the amount of education in English schools, in turn, confirms the assumption that the young Chinese, especially the Canadian born Chinese who were mostly born after 1947, are much more assimilated than the old Chinese because they receive a lot more education in the English schools.

The process of assimilation of the older immigrants is mostly affected by the factors of isolation. For the young Chinese, the circumstances and the situation are favorable for their assimilation to the Canadian society. Factors as schools, Canadian friends, neighbours and family serve to accelerate their assimilation. The family bridges the gap between the old

63. See Table XIX
### TABLE XIX

YEARS OF EDUCATION IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS FOR
THE 4 CHINESE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of education</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came before 1923</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came after 1947 and are above 26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who came after 1947 and are under 25</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese who were born in Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and the young generations in this society.

The older generation, who came even at a very young age, encountered hostility. They thus isolated themselves from some of the social contacts with the Canadians; these social contacts such as schools, Canadian friends and neighbours, and even their family could have added to their assimilation to the Canadian society. For most of these old men, they did not have their families in Canada, or some of them, not until after 1947. Now all these factors of isolation are not to be found from among the younger generation; instead, the family, as mentioned before, provides the opportunities for them to be educated and socialized in the Canadian society.

The rapid and complete acculturation and integration of the young Chinese, especially the Canadian born Chinese, contributes to the group assimilation of the Chinese as an ethnic minority in the larger Canadian society. It is in this sense that the family is considered as an extremely important factor.

Studies on Orientals reveal that the assimilation of the Japanese-Canadians took place long before that of the Chinese-Canadians. These two groups were quite alike at the beginning; back to the times
of the railway construction, both the Chinese and Japanese came to Canada and stayed in their own cultural groups. Both suffered injustice when the need for labourers diminished. But since Japanese men either brought their wives with them or soon sent for them, there was first a large Canadian born generation and then a large second Canadian born generation of young Japanese who attended Canadian schools, played Canadian games, joined Canadian clubs and church groups. The old folks might turn against these, but they had to adjust to the modern actions and attitudes of the young. This situation was not made possible for the Chinese immigrants until after 1947. Now the first generation of the Canadian born Chinese is undergoing somewhat the same process as the Japanese-Canadians did, and it is only the family which functions to provide the basis and the possibility for this process of assimilation.

The family and school are therefore very important factors in facilitating assimilation in the case of the Chinese. The older generation is less assimilated than the younger because, as far as family and school are concerned, these two factors were lacking in their process of assimilation.

64. Isobel McFadden, *Bamboo Bridges*, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the United Church in Canada, 1969, p 20
IX IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The general findings in the previous chapter support the assumptions that the Chinese are more affected by the Canadian government immigration laws, which are indirect measures of the degree of acceptance and hostility of the Canadian society, than the experiences implied by the dominant assimilation theories.

According to Gordon, acculturation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur. And in America, acculturation was substantially accomplished through the ideology of "Anglo-conformity" which thus forms the first part of the assimilation theories.65 These generalizations, however, are based largely upon the experiences of white European immigrant groups who have, on the one hand, a more similar cultural background to the English culture than the Chinese, on the other, they did not experience extreme conflict situation of total exclusion in immigration as the Chinese did. These generalizations therefore presuppose social equilibrium and acceptance of the English cultural values by other immigrant groups.

65. See Gordon, op.cit., Chapter III, for discussion on the nature of assimilation.
The Chinese, who have experienced all the social movements implied by the dominant assimilation theories, remain largely unassimilated. Acculturation, which is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur, has only occurred to a very low degree among these Chinese. This is because they underwent processes of conflict as well as assimilation at the same time. From the time of the railway construction to the end of the legal sanction of immigration in Canada, the situation of the Chinese represented the stages of what Park defines as "competition" and "conflict" in race relations.

Again, according to Gordon, structural assimilation always turns out to be the key variable, in that once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequently to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow. The subprocess or condition for structural assimilation is large-scale entrance into clubs, cliques and institutions of host society on a primary level. This condition will inevitably lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage. However, it is likely here that social cliques, clubs and institutions of Canadian society, on the one hand, appear to be more secondary
relations than primary to the Chinese. They are becoming assimilated through secondary group levels such as school, job and social organization, as well as primary group level; neighbourhood and Canadian friends, etc. On the other hand, intermarriage is not necessarily a by-product of structural assimilation for the Chinese, and in fact, the case perhaps should be reversed. In this study of the Chinese in Saskatoon, the trend of entrance into Canadian organizations is apparent whereas towards intermarriage, it is invisible. The only case of intermarriage in this study was largely due to the particular situation of shortage of Chinese women during the exclusion, and not structural assimilation of the individual.

Since neither structural assimilation nor marital assimilation has occurred among the Chinese in Saskatoon, we do not attempt to conclude but only assume that marital assimilation is likely to be the key variable, that once it occurs, other types of assimilation will also be achieved inevitably. This assumption is also based upon the fact that Chinese are more racially conscious than other immigrant groups.

Assimilation of the Chinese, therefore, can
be more properly studied in terms of "competition" and "conflict" in race relations; Park's 'race relations cycle', for instance. And it would not be relevant to apply theories of assimilation which rest largely upon the experiences of white immigrant groups to the case of the Chinese.
CONCLUSION

Fifty years ago, Harry Stevens made a statement on the importance of the 'Oriental problem' involving largely the Chinese in the province of British Columbia. He said: "The Oriental immigration problem is one of vital importance to Canada, not only because of any racial pride or sentiment which may exist, but because the problem as to which is to be the dominating race on the North Pacific Coast of this continent, Oriental or Occidental, is one which must be solved." 66

This statement made fifty years ago has lost its meaning today, for the Chinese are no longer an 'Oriental problem' to the Canadian society, and in fact, they are undergoing a rapid assimilation process.

The history of the Chinese in Canada can be traced back to the middle of the 19th century. For nearly a century, they stayed unassimilated in this country. While the other immigrant groups were

learning the English language, adopting the ways of life and thought and becoming the citizens of this country, the Chinese remained in their own cultural group suffering from discrimination.

As shown by the discriminatory immigration policies of the government, which reflect degree of acceptance and hostility of the Canadian society, the Chinese encountered great difficulties. Since the degree of hostility has declined after 1947, the assimilation of the Chinese has become more general.

The results from the measurements of reading English by years in China and Canada, the years of education in English schools, identification with the Chinese sportsmen team, the language chosen for the questionnaire and attitudes on naturalization have all agreed that in terms of degree of assimilation, the Chinese can be classified into four groups from the most assimilated to the least assimilated. The young and Canadian-born Chinese, who did not experience government immigration laws, have accomplished a high degree of acculturation although the old Chinese remain largely unacculturated. On the other hand, the results from the measurements of membership in Canadian organizations and intermarriage indicate neither structural nor marital assimilation has occurred among the Chinese in Saskatoon.
However, the effects of the discriminatory immigration policies of the Canadian government are clearly reflected in the older generation of the Chinese immigrants. Some of them have stayed in this country for nearly all their life without knowing the English language. Most of them identify themselves as Chinese instead of Canadian though they have spent more than half a century in Canada.

During the 24 years of exclusion of the Chinese immigration, the ratio of men to women among the Chinese was 48 to 1. Large numbers of the Chinese immigrants did not have their families in Canada. Therefore, not until 1947 when the family units were admitted to this country, has the family become a factor affecting the assimilation process of the Chinese immigrants. The family of the immigrant functions to accelerate the assimilation of the immigrant in such a way that the immigrant, since reunited with his family and children, began to plan to settle down in Canada and think of Canada as his permanent home. On the other hand, for the young generation, whether born in Canada or come at a young age to join their father in Canada, the obstruction for their assimilation has been
removed. The need for becoming a Canadian is increasing. This accomplishment in assimilation of the young Chinese owes a great deal to the family. It is the family of the immigrant which gave rise to the young generation in Canada, and provides for them to become fully integrated in the Canadian society through education.

This is the situation of the Chinese in Canada. It is impossible to study the assimilation of the Chinese without understanding the history of the Chinese in Canada. It will also be irrelevant to apply the three assimilation formulae of the 'Anglo-conformity', the 'melting pot' and cultural pluralism, which arose historically in Eastern America, to the particular situation of the Chinese who were excluded from these assimilation processes. In fact what has affected mostly the assimilation of the Chinese is the degree of acceptance and hostility of the Canadian society, which is reflected by the government immigration policies in the history, and not the three assimilation formulae as mentioned above.

However, the Chinese situation represented largely the conflict part of the race relations in North American historical experiences. And if the
assimilation theories of 'Anglo-conformity', the 'melting pot' and cultural pluralism indicate both the stages of competition and accommodation before achieving the goal of assimilation, then the situation of the Chinese denotes the stage of conflict in the race relations and the processes of assimilation. Therefore in this sense, to complete the assimilation theories the assimilation of Chinese or the similar cases of other ethnic groups must be taken into consideration.
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ASSIMILATION OF CHINESE IN SASKATOON

1. Sex ... male ( ), female ( )
2. Marital status ... single ( ), married ( ), other ( )
3. Nationality of spouse ...
   a. Chinese ( ), b. Chinese-Canadian ( ),
   c. Canadian ( ), d. Other ( )
4. Current residence of spouse ...
   a. China ( ), b. Hongkong ( ),
   c. Taiwan ( ), d. Canada ( ),
   e. Other ( )
5. Age .... ( ) years
6. Place of birth ...
   a. Mainland China ( ), b. Hongkong ( ),
   c. Taiwan ( ),
   d. Canada ( ),
   e. Other ( )
7. Date of first arrival (not applicable for Canadian-born) ..... ( ) year
8. Status in Canada .... a. Canadian citizen ( ),
   b. Immigrant ( ),
   c. Student Visa ( )
9. Language speaking ... a. English ( ), b. Mandarin ( ),
   c. Cantonese ( ), d. Toysanese ( ), e. Other ( )
10. Language reading ....
   a. English ( ), b. Chinese ( ), c. Other ( )

11. Language used when speaking to your:
   a. parents ( ), b. brothers/sisters ( ),
   c. spouse ( ), d. children ( ),
   e. Chinese friends ( )

12. Employment status:
   a. employer ( ), b. self-employed ( ),
   c. employee ( ), d. pensioner ( ),
   e. housewife ( ), f. student ( ),
   g. unemployed ( )

13. Number of years of schooling in Chinese schools ...
    .... ( ) years

14. Number of years of schooling in English or Anglo-American schools ..... ( ) years

15. Can you give a brief reason of why you came to Canada?  

                                         

16. Do you like to live in Saskatoon? ....
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. don't know ( )

17. Do you think it would be better if you had stayed in
    China or Hongkong instead of coming to Canada?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. don't know ( )

18. Would you like to spend the rest of your life in Canada?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. undecided ( )
19. Is the accommodation you have now in Canada better than the one you had in China or Hongkong? ...
   a. yes ( ),   b. no ( ),   c. same ( )

20. Do you like the kind of job you have now? ...
   a. yes ( ),   b. no ( ),   c. don't know ( )

21. If not, what kind of job would you prefer? .. ( )

22. Why are you not doing that kind of job? ...

23. Do you live more comfortably in Canada than in China or Hongkong?
   a. yes ( ),   b. no ( ),   c. don't know ( )

24. Do you find the average Canadian:
   a. very friendly ( ),   b. fairly friendly ( ),
   c. unfriendly ( ),   d. very unfriendly ( )

25. Do you find it easy or difficult to make friends with the Canadians?
   a. very easy ( ),   b. fairly easy ( ),
   c. difficult ( ),   d. very difficult ( )

26. How does your wife like Canada (if she is in Canada)?
   a. very much ( ),   b. not too much ( ),
   c. not at all ( ),   d. don't know ( )

27. How satisfied are you in regard to the education and future of your children in Canada?
   a. very satisfied ( ),   b. fairly satisfied ( ),
   c. a little dissatisfied ( ),   d. very dissatisfied ( ),
   e. don't know ( )
28. Would you like your children to grow up and spend the rest of their lives in Canada?
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. undecided ( )

29. If a team of athletes or other sportmen from Hongkong or China came to play a Canadian team, do you expect the team from Hongkong or China would win? ...
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. doesn't matter ( )

30. Do you think every immigrant should become naturalized if he/she is to stay in Canada permanently?
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. doesn't matter ( )

31. Do you think there should be a Chinese school in Saskatoon? ....
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. doesn't matter ( )

32. Do you think you should speak Chinese to your parents or children even though both you and they can speak English? ...
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. doesn't matter ( )

33. Would you be willing to let your children marry a white Canadian?
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. undecided ( )

34. If not, can you give the reason why?

35. If not a white Canadian, would you be willing to let them marry a Japanese, Malaysian, Korean or Vietnamese?
   a. yes ( ),  b. no ( ),  c. undecided ( )

- 109 -
36. Do you think your children should know Chinese even they are to stay in Canada all their lives?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. doesn't matter ( )

37. Do you think the father should support his children even after they are 21 years of age?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. don't know ( )

38. Do you think the children should listen to their parents when marriage concerns?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. doesn't matter ( )

**39. If you don't like the boyfriends/girlfriends of your children, would you still let your children marry them?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. undecided ( )

40. How often do you eat rice?
   a. practically every meal ( ),
   b. 3-4 days a week ( ),
   c. 1-3 days a week ( ),
   d. not at all except necessary ( )

41. How do you like Canadian food in general?
   a. tasteless ( ), b. not too good ( ),
   c. it is O.K. ( ), d. very good ( )

42. Should there be a Chinatown in Saskatoon?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. doesn't matter ( )
43. Do you think all the Chinese should stay close to Chinatown or to each other?
   a. yes ( ), b. no ( ), c. doesn't matter ( )

44. Do you belong to any Canadian associations?
   a. yes ( ), b. how many ( ), c. no ( )

45. To what church or denomination (if any) did you belong before you came to Canada?

46. To what church or denomination (if any) do you belong now in Canada?

47. Do you burn Chinese incense during the Chinese festivals? ... a. yes ( ), b. no ( )

48. If yes, how often do you burn Chinese incense?
   a. always ( ),
   b. several times a year ( ),
   c. once or twice a year ( )

* On the questionnaire for the high school students, this question reads as: "Would you be willing to marry a white Canadian?", and same on question no.35.

** For high school students, this question changes as: "Do you conform to your parents' wishes if your parents don't like the boyfriends/girlfriends you are going out with?".
Appendix II

Raw Data From Questionnaire

1. male = 39, female = 40
2. single = 49, married = 30, other = 0
3. a. = 16, b. = 11, c. = 1, d. = 2, no answer = 49
4. a. = 0, b. = 0, c. = 2, d. = 27, no answer = 49
5. ---
6. a. = 36, b. = 19, c. = 6, d. = 15, e. = 3
7. ---
8. a. = 41, b. = 29, c. = 9
9. a. = 72, b. = 23, c. = 42, d. = 46, e. = 8
10. a. = 69, b. = 58, c. = 3
   b. English = 21, Chinese = 46, English & Chinese = 7, other = 1, no answer = 4
   c. English = 2, Chinese = 24, English & Chinese = 2, no answer = 51
   d. English = 2, Chinese = 26, English & Chinese = 3, no answer = 48
   e. English = 18, Chinese = 37, English & Chinese = 24
12. a. = 2, b. = 5, c. = 12, d. = 4, e. = 9, f. = 46, g. = 1
13. ---
14. ---

- 112 -
15. ---
16. a. = 34, b. = 13, c. = 12, (doesn't matter) = 20
17. a. = 11, b. = 27, c. = 24, (same) = 3
18. a. = 20, b. = 14, c. = 45
19. a. = 36, b. = 3, c. = 9, (don't know) = 13
20. a. = 8, b. = 6, c. = 4, no answer = 61
21. ---
22. ---
23. a. = 37, b. = 6, c. = 5, (same) = 13, no answer = 18
24. a. = 15, b. = 61, c. = 3, d. = 0
25. a. = 9, b. = 60, c. = 9, d. = 1
26. a. = 3, b. = 9, c. = 0, d. = 6, no answer = 21, (male only)
27. a. = 10, b. = 10, c. = 0, d. = 0, e. = 8, no answer = 51
28. a. = 6, b. = 1, c. = 28, no answer = 44
29. a. = 44, b. = 6, c. = 24
30. a. = 42, b. = 15, c. = 22
31. a. = 60, b. = 0, c. = 18, no answer = 1
32. a. = 58, b. = 5, c. = 16
33. a. = 0, b. = 12, c. = 28, no answer = 39
34. ---
35. a. = 1, b. = 15, c. = 18, no answer = 45
36. a. = 70, b. = 1, c. = 8
37. a. = 41, b. = 11, c. = 27
38. a. = 38, b. = 22, c. = 2, (don't know) = 17
39. a. = 10, b. = 16, c. = 23, no answer = 30

- 113 -
40. a. = 63, b. = 11, c. = 3, d. = 2
41. a. = 4, b. = 0, c. = 61, d. = 13, (don't know) = 1
42. a. = 38, b. = 1, c. = 3y, no answer = 1
43. a. = 11, b. = 25, c. = 42, no answer = 1
44. a. = 12, b. (belong to 1 = 11, belong to 2 = 1)
c. = 67
45. ---- (belonged to church = 8, belonged to no church = 58
      no answer = 13)
46. ---- (belong to church = 24, belong to no church = 55)
47. a. = 22, b. = 56, no answer = 1
48. a. = 1, b. = 12, c. = 9, no answer = 57
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