PRESTIGE DEPRIVATION AND RESPONSES:
CHINESE PROFESSIONALS IN VANCOUVER

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a qualitative study of Chinese professionals in Vancouver. Thirteen respondents were subjected to unstructured in-depth interviews guided by a questionnaire schedule which seek to explore the respondents' experience of their ethnicity in their work environment and outside of it. The data gathered was interpreted in terms of status inconsistency theory.

Status inconsistency theory looks at the locations of individuals in a set of status hierarchies, the relationship between these locations and its consequences. Objectively, Chinese ethnic status is inconsistent with professional status since the former is negatively evaluated in relation to most White ethnic groups while professional status is positively evaluated in relation to most other occupational statuses.

The main body of the thesis deals with status inconsistency as it is translated into the subjective experiences of Chinese professionals. Ethnic status is inconsistent with professional status when it deprives Chinese professionals of the prestige available to professionals of positively evaluated ethnic groups; when Chinese professionals are treated according to their lower ethnic status rather than their higher professional status; and when Chinese professionals experience special difficulties in their work environment.
as a result of their ethnic status -- such as difficulties in getting promotions and difficulties in communicating with superiors and colleagues.

This thesis found that Chinese professionals respond to status inconsistency in various ways. The participation of Chinese professionals in ethnic organisations is particularly striking. This active involvement with one's own ethnic group appear to contradict another tendency of the respondents: the tendency to negatively evaluate their own ethnic group. In terms of status inconsistency theory, involvement in ethnic organisations dissolves the connection between professional status and ethnic status since within the ethnic group, ethnic status rankings does not apply. Occupational status is the more relevant criterion of rank within one's own ethnic group. Thus, Chinese professionals within their own ethnic group are regarded only in terms of their high professional status and thus enjoy high prestige. Negative evaluation of one's own ethnic group is, on the other hand, a confirmation of ethnic group rankings with an attempt to dissociate oneself from one's own negatively evaluated ethnic group by adopting the role of an outsider.

This thesis is exploratory in nature. It aimed to find common problems and common responses. Its findings may be useful in generating hypotheses for future research.
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CHAPTER 1
THE STUDY OF CHINESE PROFESSIONALS

Although visibly ethnic professionals constitute an increasingly prominent part of the Canadian labour force in the professions, they have been neglected in Canadian social research. The Chinese ethnic group in Canada has been well researched in terms of its historical development and community organisational structure. However, there have been few studies which focus exclusively on Chinese occupational subgroups such as the Chinese professionals. Quantitative and qualitative data on the social variables of the Chinese professional class is limited. Straaton's study of Vancouver Chinese elites provides some valuable information on Chinese professionals, but only with respect to those who are active in leadership roles in the Chinatown organisational structure (Straaton 1974).

The neglect of Chinese professionals as a topic of research stems from at least two factors. First, they only emerged as a sizeable and visible group in the sixties and seventies. This was one result of the 1967 immigration act which permitted immigrants into Canada mainly on the basis of technical skills (Hawkins 1972:53). Second, discriminatory legislation which had prevented Chinese from practising as professionals was only removed in 1949.
Chinese professionals merit study for a number of reasons. They are important in terms of their growing numbers, for one. Although most Chinese in the labour force are still in trade or service industries, an increasing number can be found in the professions. Their numbers are likely to increase further, for not only has there been an influx into Canada of Chinese professionals trained abroad, Chinese college students in Canada also demonstrate a noticeable tendency to major in technically oriented fields such as engineering, pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine. Practical majors such as business administration, accounting, and commerce are also favoured (Wong 1979). Most of these students will achieve their goals and become the professionals of tomorrow. In fact, they have succeeded so well that they have caught the attention of the Canadian news media. Ross Val's article in "Saturday Night" bears the provocative title: "Can the Canadian elite tolerate the Chinese invasion?" (Val 1977). This is a good question. It reminds us that although some Chinese have attained positions of high income and prestige, the Chinese ethnic group is not the dominant ethnic group in terms of power and control over resources. It is still a subordinated minority group whose destiny depends, to some extent, on the tolerance of the White majority.

This brings us to another reason why Chinese professionals deserve more attention from social scientists. The entry of some members of subordinated groups into prestigious white-collar occupations is often taken as a sign of success of these
groups in overcoming prejudice and discrimination. Is this really the case with ethnic groups such as the Chinese who have gone through a long history of oppression and harsh treatment from white society, and who are characterized by distinctive racial features which still set them apart? By focusing on Chinese as visibly ethnic professionals, it may be possible to reveal new issues and problems which continue to handicap the Chinese even as they move into prestigious white collar occupations. Chinese professionals may experience unique problems which are not experienced, or experienced to a lesser degree, by Chinese in blue collar and manual occupations.

An examination of the experiences of Chinese professionals in their work environment may also help to clarify the issue of whether ethnicity is and should be relevant in modern industrial societies seeking to base themselves on the criteria of rationalism, universalism, and achievement. In the past, sociologists were more inclined towards the view that ethnicity, being a product of sentiment and custom, was out of place in modern societies. This view has decreased in popularity as a result of the ethnic revival in the seventies: "the sudden increase in tendencies by people in many countries and in many circumstances to insist on the significance of their group distinctiveness and identity and on new rights based on this group character" (Glazer and Moynihan 1975:3).
The experiences of Chinese professionals working in environments supposedly characterized by the norms of rationality and achievement, will show whether ethnicity continues to be salient today and why.

Finally, another justification for more research on Chinese professionals is that this group of individuals is playing an increasingly influential role in the organisational structure of the Chinese community. Chinese organisations such as the Chinese Cultural Centre and SUCCESS (a Chinese welfare association), are run largely by Chinese professionals. In terms of their goals and orientation, these organisations are quite different from the older types of organisations such as the common speech or surname associations. The traditional associations tended to be particularistic in orientation, and to look towards China as a basis for the formulation of organisational goals. The new organisations cater to all Chinese regardless of origin, speech or surname. Rather than look to China, they orientate themselves to the Chinese community within the Canadian context. The Chinese professionals play an important role in this new orientation. It is therefore important to understand their perception and experiences.

**Theoretical Approach**

This thesis attempts to fill some of the gap in research on visibly ethnic professionals by a qualitative
study of a group of Chinese professionals in Vancouver. It asks the following questions: What is the role of race in the lives of Chinese professionals both in their work environment and outside of it? The Chinese are not the dominant ethnic group in terms of power, influence, and size. Moreover, they are an ethnic group which is negatively evaluated in terms of prestige or social standing. How does being categorized as members of a subordinated, negatively evaluated ethnic group affect individual Chinese as they enter into prestigious white collar occupations? What new problems do successful Chinese face? How do they cope with being visibly ethnic professionals?

This thesis is in part inspired by Dean Lan's interesting study of Chinese American elites (Lan 1976). Lan suggests that the experiences of successful Chinese in a minority context can be analysed from the point of view of prestige and its limitations. His study, based on fifteen in-depth interviews, revealed that the Chinese Americans in the sample experienced limitations even though they were very wealthy and highly educated individuals. Mobility was possible only up to a point. Subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination reminded the Chinese that they belong to a negatively evaluated ethnic group. The popular view of the Chinese as a successful minority, concludes Lan, is probably inaccurate (Lan 1976:55).

This thesis adopted a similar approach to the study of Chinese professionals in Vancouver. In-depth interviews
were carried out with a small sample of Chinese professionals. Dean Lan's interview schedule, with several modifications, was utilised for the purpose. The data collected was then interpreted in terms of theoretical concepts which will be discussed in the following sections. A full discussion of the data collection method used in this study will be presented in the next chapter.

Status Contradiction as Prestige Deprivation

Although Chinese professionals are involved in positively evaluated occupations, they are also members of a low prestige ethnic group. This suggests that status inconsistency theory would be useful in explaining the attitudes and behaviour of the Chinese professionals. Status inconsistency theory looks at the locations of individuals in a set of status hierarchies and the way these locations are related. Interrelations between statuses or social positions became a focus for study by students of social stratification in the forties and fifties. Individuals were viewed as being situated on several status dimensions rather than in terms of their relative position in one single hierarchy. The terms "status consistency", "status crystallisation" and "status congruency" refer to the degree of consistency of an individual's position across hierarchies. High status inconsistency is characterized by a set of statuses some of which are highly ranked while others are of low rank. Individuals who are characterized by statuses all or most of which are given the same rankings have a high degree of
status consistency.

Degree of consistency was felt to have important influences on the attitudes and behaviour of individuals. Some studies show that individuals with inconsistent statuses more often than those with consistent ones possess negative self images (Fenchel, Morderer & Hartley 1951, Goffman 1957), experience greater stress (Jackson 1962), and have a higher rate of diagnosed mental disorders (Dunham, Philips & Srinivasan 1966). Lenski showed that a person with inconsistent statuses tends to avoid other people (1956). An explanation for these psychological stresses is that individuals with discrepant statuses are more frequently subjected to social experiences which are unpleasant or frustrating. According to Lenski,

> the individual with a poorly crystallized status is a particular type of marginal man, and is subjected to certain pressures by the social order which are not felt,... by individuals with a more highly crystallized status (1954:412).

According to Malewski, status incongruency violates normative expectations and brings forth punishment. For instance,

> If the individual simultaneously presents two conflicting stimuli, of which the first causes respect and the second contempt, other people may react to the second type of stimuli and show their contempt for the individual, although this is not justified in the light of the higher status factors. (Malewski 1966: 305).

Hughes presents a similar argument. He reasons that social roles are invested with prescribed prerequisites.
For instance, certain careers would have socially prescribed prerequisites besides the formal requirement of educational training, such as—"doctors ought to be men," "airline pilots should be white males," etc. Consequently individuals who meet the formal requirements but not the unspecified normative ones would face difficulties. Female professors may not get promoted and paid according to their academic merit. Black doctors may find difficulties in getting employment in certain hospitals. These are the "punishment" consequences of status incongruence (Hughes 1945).

In a purely objective sense, Chinese ethnic status can be said to be inconsistent with professional status because the latter is ranked high in terms of prestige whereas the former is ranked low relative to most white ethnic groups. In a subjective sense, i.e., from the experience of the Chinese professionals themselves, Chinese ethnic status is inconsistent with professional status when, as a result of their ethnic status, Chinese professionals are robbed of the prestige and rewards available to professionals of highly ranked ethnic groups.

Deprivation of prestige may occur both within the work environment and outside of it. An example within the work environment would be if Chinese professionals face difficulties in obtaining promotions to positions of greater power and influence, and are therefore deprived of the prestige which comes with these positions. Limitations
may also be experienced outside the occupational area. A reason why the professions are so highly valued as careers in our society is the professions' capacity to endow their incumbents with prestige outside of the occupational environment. To be a doctor or lawyer or professor means more than the prestige one gets through contacts within one's job, i.e., the admiration or deference of clients, patients or supporting staff. It also enables one to participate in leadership roles within the larger society, to gain entrance into prestigious social clubs and fraternal organisations, and to enhance one's social standing with various prestige symbols. Chinese professionals may face difficulties in attaining these appendages. In addition, they may be unable to sustain their self image as individuals of high social standing outside of the work area where they are unknowns. They are likely to be treated as Chinese rather than as professionals.

Response to Prestige Deprivation

This thesis will look at some of the responses of Chinese professionals to prestige deprivation. One common response revealed by data from the thirteen interviews which were carried out, was ambivalent attitudes towards the respondents' own ethnic group. Within the interview protocols were statements which revealed that the respondents felt some shame in being Chinese. They displayed a tendency to identify with the values and standards of the dominant society, and at the same time to condemn their ethnic group.
by those standards. Ambivalent attitudes are however, only one type of response.

Since status inconsistency brings forth punishment consequences, eliminating that incongruence is rewarding. Individuals develop responses which enable them to live satisfying lives. The literature suggests that these responses range from contextual types of responses to long-term behavioural and attitudinal orientations (See Goffman 1963:9-12 for this distinction).

As far as the Chinese professionals are concerned, responses to prestige deprivation must take place within the limits imposed by their visibility. In other words, they cannot hope to "pass" into positively valued white ethnic groups because they are characterized by distinctive physical features which distinguish them as Chinese. **Ethnicity and Race**

Some students of ethnic relations have emphasized the mutability of ethnic identity and its instrumental possibilities. Patterson, for instance, holds that it is a fallacy to view ethnic identity as basically involuntary and unchangeable (1975:306). In his study of the Chinese in Jamaica and Ghana, Patterson viewed ethnic identity as an instrument manipulated by the group to serve socio-economic interests. Lyman and Douglas also emphasize the instrumental aspect of ethnicity.

**Ethnicity is an acquired and used feature of human identity, available for employment by either participant in an encounter and subject to presentation, inhibition, manipulation and exploitation (Lyman &**
This approach, in my view, over-emphasizes the rational, instrumental and mutable nature of ethnic identity. Even where ethnic groups are not distinguished on the basis of racial characteristics, there are limitations to which ethnic identity can be manipulated. Lyman and Douglas did recognise some of these limits. For instance, people may lack skill and confidence in their own abilities to carry out a "performance". They may lack information about other ethnic groups necessary for successful performance (Lyman & Douglas 1973: 351-353). A more important limitation which Shibutani and Kwan point out is that even though ethnic categories are essentially mental constructs and beliefs, they are binding or constraining on social behaviour because of the shared nature of these beliefs (Shibutani & Kwan 1965: 47). Milton Gordon holds a similar view:

...the "status" of being a Negro or a White or a Mongoloid Oriental is not one from which one can voluntarily resign. The occasional individual who may have determined independently that he will wear none of these labels ... finds that the institutional structure of the society and the set of built-in social and psychological categories with which most of his countrymen are equipped to place him ... are loaded against him. Group categorization, then, has its own social momentum once it is set in motion and is by no means purely a matter of individual volitions acting in concert (Gordon 1964: 29).

Pierre Van den Berghe made a useful distinction between racial groups and ethnic groups. A racial group is that which is defined socially but on the basis of physical criteria whereas an ethnic group is defined socially but on the basis
of cultural criteria. When cultural criteria of group differentiation are exclusively or predominantly resorted to, there results a more flexible system of stratification than one based on race, for culture can be learnt and movement from one ethnic group to another is thus possible. Racial, pheno-
typical definition of group membership is more immutable than an ethnic definition and usually gives rise to a more rigid social hierarchy (Van den Berghe 1978:22). This distinction between racial groups and ethnic groups helps to clarify the debate in the literature between those who view ethnic groups as ascriptive and thus immutable, and those who view ethnic group membership as achieved and thus subject to choice and manipulation.

**Chinese Ethnicity**

Distinctive racial features provide the most relevant criteria by which individuals define themselves and are defined by others as Chinese. Cultural and language differences are far less important. A study of Vancouver Chinese house-
holds showed that 92% of Vancouver born Chinese speak only English in the home (Wickberg 1980:Part IV-133). Many third and fourth generation Chinese do not speak or understand any of the Chinese dialects. Cultural customs which used to differentiate the Chinese ethnic group from others have declined. Traditional kinship gatherings, such as grave worship which is still significant in Hong Kong and Chinese communities in S.E. Asia, are of little importance in Canada (Johnson 1979:369).
According to Johnson, other forms of traditional rituals have also declined. Only 10% of a sample of Chinese residents in Vancouver in 1974 had ancestral tablets, signifying a decline in ancestral worship. Although some of the respondents interviewed in this thesis made an effort to celebrate Chinese festivities (so as to remind their children of Chinese culture), most did not do so. Respondents tended to celebrate Christmas and the English New Year, partly because Chinese festivities seldom fall on public holidays.

With the decline in cultural differentiation, visible mongoloid features remain the most critical distinguishing criteria. What are the consequences of this visibility for the Chinese professionals? Their visibility means that they are easily identified as members of a negatively evaluated group. They are often judged on the basis of group rather than individual characteristics. They are not able to adopt the strategy of "passing" into another more positively evaluated ethnic group. However, although racial characteristics cannot be easily changed, behavioural and attitudinal orientations are mutable. The professionals can respond to their situation with behavioural and attitudinal strategies.

Conclusion

In summary, a recurrent theme throughout this study is the ambiguous position of the Chinese professionals, an ambiguity which arises from their possession of two inconsistent statuses -- professional status and ethnic status. The former is prestige
conferring whereas the latter is potentially prestige depriving. Chinese deal with this issue in a variety of ways.

The two statuses, ethnic status and occupational status are justified as a focus for study because they are what Lenski termed "basic statuses" (1956:368) and Hughes termed "master statuses" (1945:357). They are powerful characteristics which define an individual's place in society. Occupational status is an important criterion by which the worth of individuals is judged in industrial society. Ethnic status informs people who they are and where they came from (See Gordon 1964, Isaacs 1975).
CHAPTER 2
METHODS

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of race and status contradiction in the lives of Chinese professionals in their work environment as well as outside of it. It aims to find common problems and similar responses. It is exploratory and no inferences are made to the entire population of Chinese professionals. This chapter will discuss the methods used in collecting and interpreting the data for the thesis.

Data Collection

Given the main concerns of the thesis, in-depth interviewing is a good method of data collection. In-depth interviews provide the possibility of capturing shadings and subtle meanings important in the problem of status contradiction. A schedule of open-ended questions constructed and utilized by Dean Lan in his study of Chinese American elites (1976:64-67) was, with modifications, used for the purpose of introducing the main concerns of the thesis. However, neither the questions nor the order in which they were asked were rigidly adhered to. Respondents were allowed some leeway in introducing topics, freedom to expand and elaborate on issues of concern to them, and freedom to ignore others which they felt were not relevant. Thus I hoped to avoid a situation where the respondents would feel entrapped and forced into postures which misrepresented them, a problem with rigid, close-ended
type of interviews (Riesman, 1958).

I tried to encourage a relaxed style with the give and take typical of an ordinary conversation. On the whole, this put the respondents at ease and increased the rapport and trust between the interviewer and respondent. However, the interviews were not permitted to be as free-wheeling as a non-standardized interview where "the investigator is willing and often eager to let the interviewee teach him what the problem, the question, the situation is" (Dexter 1970). Thus, whenever the respondent appeared to be veering off into a completely different direction, I attempted to tease the conversation back onto the tracks.

My interviewing strategy also tended to vary with the respondents. Some respondents were expansive and talkative, with a lot to say. Some were more reticent and seemed to prefer the interviewer to ask the questions and define the areas. This was generally the case with respondents who felt more comfortable with their own Chinese dialects than with English. In these cases, the interviews followed the question schedule closely.

Since the thesis is exploratory, I did not select a random sample. I attempted to find respondents who were likely to have different life experiences and different points of view. Various factors are thought to contribute to differences within an immigrant ethnic group. A number of studies showed that assimilation, for instance, is a
function of length of residence in Canada (Mckay 1975). Wong's study of Chinese students demonstrates that the students' attitudes and behaviour varied with the amount of time they spent in Canada (Wong 1979). Thus, it is generally believed that a person born in Canada or who came at an early age is likely to have a different life experience and different attitudes than a recent immigrant because he or she has had a longer time in which to become acculturated and assimilated.

However, as far as the Chinese professionals are concerned, length of residence in Canada need not be the only indication of acculturation and assimilation. To become assimilated, individuals must have the opportunity to learn and become "wise" to the ways of the group into which they are being incorporated. An important consideration is place of emigration. Immigrants came to Canada not only from Hong Kong and China, places where Chinese as a group dominate in size and where Chinese culture is assumed to prevail, but also South Africa, Singapore, Malaysia and the Pacific Islands -- places formerly colonized by the British and where the British presence is still felt in terms of the countries' educational system and the prevalence of English as a common language. The Chinese from these places are likely to have considerable experience with Western culture, attitudes and ideology.

Place of education is another factor to consider in this matter. Professionals, especially from less developed coun-
tries, are likely to have their professional education in Western countries such as New Zealand, Australia, England and United States, and therefore to have gathered more experience and knowledge of the ways of white society than length of stay in Canada would indicate.

In selecting respondents, I tried therefore to have represented as many places of emigration and places of education as possible.

I also tried to find respondents from different professions. There has never been complete agreement over the exact definition of a profession. Most definitions incorporate one or several of the following components: existence of a governing or policing body which regulates entry; defines working conditions and rules of conduct; professional authority arising from skill; skill based on a body of theory; existence of an occupational sub-culture (Greenwood 1957).

To begin with, I had in mind four main occupations which could be considered as established occupations: law, medicine, engineering and accountancy. I began by selecting names and addresses of potential respondents from the directories published by their professional associations, i.e., "British Columbia Legal Telephone Directory, 1979"; "Medical Directory" of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of B.C., 1979-1980; "The B.C. Professional Engineer", the annual directory issue of the Association of Professional Engineers of B.C.; "Directory of Canadian Chartered Accountants, 1979".
I chose surnames to reflect different dialect groups. Most names would also be accompanied by place of education and specialisation. Again I utilized the criteria of variety and differences. I wrote letters to selected potential respondents, explaining that I was a student at UBC undertaking a project for a Master's thesis in Sociology and that I was interested in the opinions and views of Chinese professionals about life in Canada.

I did not have much success with this method however. Only a few replied consenting to be interviewed. I also had difficulties in contacting potential respondents by phone. I was seldom able to "catch" them in as most had busy schedules. Of those I did manage to contact, only one refused outright because of lack of time. A few asked for the interviews to be postponed but I did not manage to get back to them.

I later obtained introductions to Chinese professionals prominent in the community affairs of Chinatown from Dr. Graham Johnson, a member of my advisory committee who has done research into the Chinese community in Canada and therefore had contacts with its denizens.

In order to avoid over-concentration on professionals sharing the characteristic of being active in the affairs of the Chinese community, I also tapped alternative resources by soliciting addresses and introductions from Canadian friends and from the respondents I interviewed. I had considerable
success in reaching more people through this snowballing method.

Sample size was not determined on the outset. Rather I set out with some a priori categories in mind—of the variety of attitudes that I was likely to encounter based on a reading of the literature, especially Milton Gordon (1964) and Dean Lay (1976). Thus the number of interviews was judged to be adequate when I felt that all categories had been covered. A small sample has an advantage in that the data collected is manageable and the relevant issues can be easily identified without taxing time and finances.

At first, I decided to interview only male professionals, thus holding constant the variable of sex. However, I later decided to include female professionals in the sample on the basis that they would have fresh perspectives to contribute to the problem of status contradiction. Women might reveal concerns such as those relating to children and marriage not revealed by men. Their status as a doubly subordinated group adds an important aspect to the issue of status contradiction. I interviewed three women. They tended to be more frank with their views, less withdrawn and protective. This could be due to the fact that the interviewer was of the same sex.

One problem encountered was the fact that professionals were generally very busy people often pressed for time. Thus interviews were kept between 45 minutes and 1 1/2 hours. Some were carried out during lunch breaks. The interviews
took place in the respondents' offices or in their homes. They were carried out over a period of five months.

At the beginning of each interview I would again state the purpose of the interview. All the respondents were sympathetic, although one engineer wanted to know whether I was in any way connected with Green Peace or other environmental and Indian interest groups. Another said he hoped he would not lose his job by talking to me. I assured them of complete anonymity.

Some of the respondents, such as accountants and engineers, worked in large corporations, and others worked in their own private practices. I felt that individuals who worked in corporations tended to be more cautious. A few, I thought, were more relaxed and frank only after the tape recorder was switched off. On some occasions, I was invited for tea and snacks. Respondents often expressed an interest in my background, especially my dialect group and country of birth.

What did the respondents get in return for giving up their valuable time? A chance to talk to an interested listener -- the therapeutic effect -- and also a chance to pass on experience. One respondent who expressed strong disagreement with the traditional Chinese attitude of placing less importance on the education of female offspring said he agreed to be interviewed as a gesture of support for female aspirations:
When you came up, I said to myself: that's good; I don't mind participating. A Chinese girl sitting across from me, asking the questions. That's really something; that's a big plus. At least we give you guys the benefit of our experience.

Data Interpretation

My purpose in this study was not to verify the theory of status inconsistency but to use the theory as a mode of conceptualization for describing and explaining a particular area of social life. The theory provided a guide and a strategy for handling data.

The recorded interviews were fully transcribed as individual protocols. These were not content analyzed in any statistical sense but were simply examined for patterns of responses. Some interesting comments and stories were not used as they did not bear on the relevant issues: status inconsistency and the saliency of race. Status inconsistency refers to the condition where individuals possess high and low statuses at the same time. Objectively, Chinese professionals are in a situation of status inconsistency since they are members of a negatively evaluated group involved in highly evaluated occupations. This was established with reference to two sets of studies. One set of studies showed that the Chinese ethnic group has consistently been given lower rankings in terms of prestige than most white ethnic groups. The other set of studies showed that the occupations that the respondents were involved in are those which have
consistently been given high evaluation by samples representative of the general population.

Data from the interview protocols were used to analyze status inconsistency as it is subjectively experienced by individuals. Status inconsistency manifests itself in the lives of the Chinese professionals through their experience with negative evaluation and prestige deprivation. In shifting through each protocol, I looked for incidents and events in which the respondents encountered prejudice and discrimination in their everyday lives and in their careers. General awareness of negative evaluation as indicated by the respondents' opinion and attitude was also noted. Also relevant and not ignored were situations in which respondents benefited from being Chinese and received positive evaluation because of it.

Respondents' attitudes and behaviour, such as identification with the Chinese ethnic group, were interpreted as responses to negative evaluation and prestige deprivation if they were acknowledged as such by the respondents. Interpretations were also made on the basis of sociological studies and works such as those of Allport (1958) and Goffman (1963).
### CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

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<td>China</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
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<td>England</td>
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### DATE OF ARRIVAL IN CANADA

<table>
<thead>
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<th>NUMBER</th>
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<td>Engineer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Professor</td>
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CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The emergence of Chinese professionals as a sizable component of the Chinese ethnic group was made possible by changes in immigration rules and discriminatory legislation. The brief sketch in this chapter of the experiences of the Chinese in Canada will provide a historical view of the emergence of the Chinese professional class and show how overt discrimination has given way to fresh concerns and issues facing the Chinese.

The Chinese population in Canada, from the very beginning, had been subjected to a series of efforts at harassment, legal and otherwise (Johnson 1979:359). The period between 1858 (when the Chinese first arrived in British Columbia) and 1947 (when the 1923 Immigration Act prohibiting Chinese immigration into Canada was repealed) was marked by overt, legal forms of discrimination. The period after 1947 was characterized by increasing liberalization of White attitudes towards the Chinese. The period between 1958 and 1947 can be further divided into four stages coinciding with changes in immigration laws, employment conditions and spatial distribution (See Lai 1973).

**Early Immigration: The Gold Rush (1858 - 1880)**

The first Chinese who arrived in British Columbia came via San Francisco, attracted by news of the discovery of gold.
Later, Chinese came directly from the rural areas in the Kwangtung province of China. According to Crissman,

(The Chinese) did not set out adventurously to begin a new life abroad, but were pushed out of their homes by economic necessity, the unwilling victims of pressure on the land and lack of local opportunities for earning a living. Leaving home was not thought to be permanent but, on the contrary, was seen as a temporary expedient that would allow them to earn enough to live, support their families, and eventually return home as wealthy men.... emigrants left China expecting to return home in due time....{(Crissman 1967:187).

The exodus from Kwangtung was aided by a lineage system which enabled males to leave behind wives and children as they themselves went hither to seek better opportunities (Morton 1973:5). Consequently, the early Chinese population was characterized by a preponderance of males.

The West Coast of British Columbia where the Chinese first arrived in Canada was already settled mainly by Britons. The Chinese were at first regarded with curiosity and amused tolerance. It was during these years before the turn of the century that the diacritical features of ethnic identity which distinguished the Chinese from other ethnic groups appear sharpest. The Chinese wore their queues and customary garb of blue cotton (Dicker 1979:2), they spoke a different tongue and observed different customs and rituals. Local newspapers published accounts of the bizzare funeral rites of the Chinese, their habits of gambling, prostitution and opium smoking. These distinguishing features of the Chinese did not lead to discrimination against them until they began to compete with whites for jobs. At first
not of sufficiently large numbers to constitute an obvious economic threat. Most passed through Victoria and disappeared to the mines up north. Their presence at that point also increased trade and thereby benefitted local merchants.

After 1866 the productivity of the gold mines diminished and economic recession set in. The result was increased competition for jobs and increased enmity against the Chinese. In 1867, one of the earliest Chinese settlements on Burrard Inlet, a labour camp on the West End peninsula was burnt down by a mob (Cho & Leigh 1972:68). In the 1870s a series of discriminatory acts were passed by the provincial legislative assembly aimed at cutting down Chinese immigration but were all vetoed by the Dominion Government.

**Era of Railroad Construction (1881 - 1885)**

The largest influx of Chinese labourers occurred between 1881 and 1885. The beginning of the Canadian Pacific Railway led to a huge demand for labour which could not be filled by white labour alone. Accordingly, the Onderdonk Construction Company employed Chinese from the States and also imported coolies from Hong Kong (Lai 1973:104). This led to increases in the Chinese population of B.C. from 5% of the province's population to 8.8% between 1871 and 1881.

When the CPR was completed many were thrown out of work and competition for jobs increased. In this competition, the Chinese often had the advantage for their lower standard
of living enabled them to accept lower wages (Bonaich 1972). In addition, the Chinese were employed as strike breakers. Their employment as scab labour in the 1883 Wellington mine strike led to demands for the exclusion of the Chinese.

In 1885, the Dominion Government gave in to pressure from labour groups and passed an immigration act imposing a $50 headtax on every Chinese entering Canada.

**Restricted Entry (1886 – 1922)**

The period between 1886 and 1922 was one of increasing enmity against the Chinese. Petitions were frequently sent by groups of workers to restrict Chinese immigration. In 1891, over 70 petitions were presented to the Dominion Parliament urging the prohibition of the importation of Chinese labour (Lai 1973:34).

In 1886, a mob destroyed a Chinese settlement on the banks of False Creek (Cho and Leigh 1972:60). In September 1907, an anti-Oriental riot broke out in Vancouver in which Chinese and Japanese sections of the town were pillaged by mobs (Straaton 1974:33). In 1907, B.C. adopted a policy of segregation in its schools. It was felt that the Chinese students were inadequate in English and needed to be educated separately. This policy in effect prevented most Chinese children from attending public schools (Straaton 1974:33).

Most politicians had to adopt an anti-Chinese stand in order to maintain a following. For instance, in 1879, Noah Shakespeare, a member of the Victoria City Council formed the Anti-Chinese Association. His success as Mayor
of Victoria and then as member of parliament could be attributed to this anti-Chinese platform (Li 1979:325).

The headtax was increased to $100 in 1901 and then to $500 in 1904. Consequently, Chinese immigration was curbed quite radically for a short period. In 1905 only 8 Chinese entered Canada. The Chinese as a percentage of the province's population declined from 8.3% in 1901 to 4.5% in 1921.

Exclusion (1923—1946)

Only 23 Chinese entered Canada between 1923 and 1946 due to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923. Under this act, persons of Chinese origin were not permitted to enter Canada. Only students, diplomatic attaches, Chinese born in Canada, and merchants were allowed to enter. Chinese with Canadian domicile or citizenship were not permitted to bring their wives and children into Canada (Lai 1973:106).

Other forms of discrimination were also operating at this time:

During the interwar years, Orientals, even though they were subjects were ineligible to vote in provincial and municipal elections or to hold office in the provincial legislative or municipal councils or school boards. The provincial voters' lists were used as the basis of exclusion in other aspects of life. In this manner Oriental British Subjects were disqualified from voting in Dominion elections, and Orientals were generally barred from the practices of law and pharmacy in British Columbia. They could not be employed by contractors engaged in provincial public works, or by companies holding crown timber leases. They were being gradually squeezed out of the fishing industry by the withholding of licenses by the Federal department of Marine and Fisheries (Corbett 1957:34).
Responses to Exclusion and Discrimination

The period from 1858 to 1946 was a time of overt and institutionalized forms of discrimination against the Chinese. During these years, individual Chinese could not attempt to deal with subordinate status by assimilation, or by pursuing individual paths to greater power through education and the professions. They were prevented by the laws of the land from doing so. Consequently, the only other viable alternatives were to band together as an ethnic group for mutual help and support, and economically to create alternative forms of livelihood.

The emergence of ethnic businesses such as Chinese laundries and restaurants can be viewed as survival adaptations, as attempts to develop alternative economic opportunities in a hostile labour market (Li 1979:328). According to Dicker,

... opening a laundry took little capital: one needed only soap, a scrub board, an iron and an ironing board. Because laundrymen picked up and delivered, the business location was unimportant, and rent could be kept at a minimum. Two laundries sometimes shared the same premises, with one operating during the day and the other at night. Self employment was an ideal solution for the Chinese for it placed them in a position where they neither had to work for whites nor compete with them for jobs (Dicker 1979:5).

Restaurants needed more capital to set up but the hot tasty meals could be cheaply produced and provided nutritious fare not only for the Chinese (most of whom live in rooming houses without kitchen facilities) but also for the white miners for whom the Chinese food was a welcome alterna-
tive (Dicker 1979:5).

In the Fraser Delta area, the Chinese went into vegetable marketing. Since most Chinese came from peasant backgrounds, they were familiar with the techniques of cultivation. In their tiny backyard gardens, they grew vegetables and sold them from door to door. So successful were they at this that, in 1936 when they moved into the wholesale market gardening business in Vancouver, a vigorous protest was launched by established white farmers (Morton 1973:224-247).

Those professionals who did exist during these periods were mainly doctors trained in China and servicing the Chinese community, or teachers. A report on the occupational distribution of the Chinese compiled by Huang Xiquan, a staff member of the Chinese consulate in San Francisco, showed that in 1884 only 2% of the Chinese population were employers and professionals. The professional class probably did not expand until 1947 when the franchise was extended to the Chinese, thus opening up the professions as a path from subordination. Before this, Chinese who undertook professional training such as law, could not practise as lawyers but instead took up the role of ethnic brokerage by acting as court interpreters (Wickberg 1980 Part 11:85-86).

Aside from impersonal contacts with the White world in the area of employment, the Chinese confined themselves to
their own ethnic group. They lived in the "Chinese quarter" (Cho & Leigh 1972:71), oriented themselves to China's politics (Straaton 1971:40), and built up a multitude of associations devoted to their own mutual welfare, protection and recreation. The Chinese community could be described as being "institutionally complete" (Breton 1964) in that all services required by members, i.e., education, food, clothing, medical care and social assistance, could be provided within it. Thus by means of institutional completeness would dependence on White society be cut to a minimum.

Throughout 1858 to 1947, the Chinese population remained predominantly male. In 1931, there were only 3,468 women in a total Chinese population of 46,519 (Johnson 1979:363). In British Columbia there were only 1,000 Chinese families. As a result of the head-tax, the cost of bringing a wife over from China was prohibitive, especially after 1904 when the head-tax increased to $500. The Exclusion Act of 1923 prevented the in-migration of women altogether. In response to the impossibility of establishing conjugal units, the focus of the Chinese community during this "bachelor" phase was the voluntary associations (Johnson 1979:364). Some of these associations recruited members on the basis of common territory of origin, common surname or dialect, and were important sources of welfare for members. They kept members in touch with the homeland, sent remittances back to China, and also
transported bones home for burial.

Besides these associations based on particularistic criteria, were associations attempting to cater to all Chinese. The Chinese Benevolent Association, started in Victoria in 1884, acted as a welfare agency, and settled disputes within the Chinese community. Its executives included representatives from locality associations so that as a federation of associations it theoretically represented the totality of an otherwise segmented structure (Straaton 1974:91). As such it acted as an intermediary between the Canadian political system and the Chinese, and its leaders were often recognized by white society as leaders of the Chinese community.

The proliferation of associations segmented on the basis of common locality, surname and dialect, and characterized by interlocking directorships, were by no means unique to the Chinese in Canada. According to Crissman (1967), all overseas Chinese communities displayed this organisational structure. It was a traditional response to the common problem of discrimination and exclusion. If the Chinese in Canada suffered prejudice and discrimination, so did Chinese in other communities outside of China. Dominant political authorities, often colonial and British, excluded the Chinese segment of the population from full participation in the wider society (Johnson 1979:359). According to Crissman,

Until recently, no Chinese community abroad has had any say in the government of the city or country of
settlement. In addition, few if any provisions were made for governing the Chinese or providing for their needs. As an extreme example, from 1825 to 1870 the British in Singapore made no formal arrangements whatever for administering the Chinese, who made up over half of the population of the city... Similar conditions existed everywhere, north America included; yet had the Chinese tried to establish explicitly governmental or political organisations, even those limited to activities internal to the Chinese communities, they would have brought repression down upon themselves.... urban Chinese ... must govern themselves without having noticeable governmental institutions, and their solution of the dilemma is the same. They use the organisational superstructure of their segmentary social structure as both a representative political system and a hierarchical administrative system ... (Crissman 1967:200).

There were signs in the interwar period that the institutional completeness of the Chinese community in Canada was becoming less encompassing. The poverty of the community meant that the Chinese had to seek public assistance (Wickberg 1980 Part III:94-101). Moreover, some avenues for Chinese participation in the life of the larger community were becoming available, for instance, the Chinese participation in the sale of war bonds. The Chinese were also not adverse to utilizing the tactics of the White society in demanding certain rights. Strikes and demonstrations were resorted to either as a sign of protest or to get certain specific concessions. For instance, in 1933 during the depression, about 50 Chinese marched on Vancouver City Hall to demand unemployment relief. In 1935 about 20 Chinese congregated at the B.C. Parliament building in Victoria to demand provincial aid. In 1937, Calgary's first sit-down strike was staged by a group of Chinese to protest their
meagre unemployment allowance from the provincial govern-

**Liberalization (1947 to the present)**

The 1923 Immigration Act was repealed in 1947, thus
signallying a new phase in which more liberal attitudes
prevailed towards the Chinese (Cho & Leigh 1972: 7). The
participation of the Chinese in the war effort had won
for them some measure of acceptance. Also, industrialization,
the growth of liberalism, and the increased role of the
government in the economy due to the war, had fostered the
welfare state which sets out to recognise and protect
human rights regardless of race, nationality, colour, reli-
gion or sex (The Act for the Recognition and Protection
of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Statutes of Canada,
1960. Vol.1, Chapter 4). The effects on the Chinese com-
munity of the recognition of human rights was quite dra-
matic.

Franchise was extended first to the war veterans and
after some pressure by the Chinese, to the rest of the com-
munity. The professions which had excluded the Chinese on
the basis that they were not on the voters' list could no
longer do so. The Franchise therefore facilitated the deve-
development of a Chinese professional class. Increases in the
number of Chinese professionals in Canada was also faci-
litated by changes in immigration laws.

The Immigration Act of 1947 which permitted naturalized
Canadian Chinese to sponsor wives and children under the age of 18 for admission to Canada, was based on the principle of sponsorship. In 1962, a point system was introduced in which skill became the most important criterion in the selection of new immigrants (Straaton 1971:47). Finally, "in 1967, the department of Manpower and Immigration replaced the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, creating a firm manpower orientation in Canadian Immigration policy" (Hawkins 1972:53). Consequently, after 1962 and increasingly after 1967, large numbers of Chinese came as independent immigrants on the basis of skills rather than as sponsored relatives (Wickberg 1980: Part IV 96). It was from this group that most of the subjects in this study were drawn.

The increase in the number of Chinese in the professions is not unique to the Chinese. Other ethnic groups, particularly the British, and other groups of Asians were also responding to the demand for highly skilled labour -- a demand which was general throughout the economy. Richmond and Kalbach stated that substantial economic and social changes took place in Canada during the 60s in which the country took on the features of a highly advanced industrial society. Major developments took place in computerisation, in the communications industry, and in the skilled services sector. These created professional and technical employment requiring higher education. Expansion in Canadian post secondary education was not sufficient to keep pace with this
growth. Immigration became a means of filling this need (Richmond & Kalbach 1980:28-29).

With the goal of meeting manpower needs of industry as the basis of immigration policy, the countries from which immigrants were selected was no longer a relevant criteria in the decision to admit particular immigrants. The result was an increased multi-ethnic character of the Canadian population. Southern and south-eastern European immigrants had, since 1900, increased their presence substantially. Their proportions jumped from 15% just after the Second World War to 30% during the 1956 to 1966 period. Immigrants of Asian origin increased as a proportion of immigrants from 1% before the war to 6.5% in 1955-66, to 12% in 1956-65 and to 35% in 1971 (Kalbach 1978:91). Within this context, "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" became government policy. The principle of multiculturalism had some impact on subordinated ethnic groups such as the Chinese.

The New Community

The principle of multiculturalism meant that the Chinese could continue to rely on traditional responses to modern problems. Institutional completeness was justified and not condemned as an obstacle to assimilation. Straaton found that there were 80 Chinese organisations in Vancouver during the sixties. These were divided into nine categories: clan, locality, fraternal, community, athletic, charitable, leisure, alumni, and commercial (1974:57). In addition, there were
Chinese language schools, churches and Chinese newspapers. The Chinese Benevolent Association continued as a community wide organisation, with representation from most of the other "lower" associations. Thus, due to the continued role of voluntary associations, the resurgence of the Chinese communities had a "traditional ring to it" (Wickberg 1980: Part IV:139). In spite of the increasing opportunities for integration into the wider society, associational networks continue to play an important role as a "boundary marker" in the definition of the Chinese community (Straaton 1974: 18).

The government's policy of multiculturalism encouraged the growth of cultural organisations seeking to "ensure that Chinese-Canadian culture can be represented in the Canadian mosaic" (Johnson 1979:367). Vancouver's Chinese Cultural Centre for instance, enjoyed government and public support.

Changes in immigration laws allowed the Chinese population of Canada to grow in size after long years of decline (Johnson 1979:365). In the decades 1951–60, 1961–70, the Chinese population of Canada doubled. In 1971, the Chinese in Canada constituted 0.6% of the total population, with the British constituting 44.6%, the French 28.7% and "other Europeans" 23%. Chinese accounted for approximately half of the 1.3% contributed by the "Asiatic" category (Kalbach 1978:86–87). The Chinese population in Vancouver doubled
between 1961-1971;

Table One
Chinese Population/Vancouver, 1911-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>6,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>13,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>6,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>8,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>15,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>30,640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ng 1977:75 -- Source: Census of Canada, 1911-71)

The repeal of the Chinese exclusion Act in 1947 meant that Chinese migrants could abandon their "bachelor" status and establish conjugal units in Canada. Husbands were united with their wives and children, and men went back to China and brought their brides back to Canada. The unbalanced sex ratio which had characterized the Chinese population had, by 1970, become much more balanced (Johnson 1979:365).

By the 1970s, the Chinese were also involved in a wider range of occupations although most were still in either trade or service industries. 10% of the Chinese population of
Vancouver in 1974 were professionals.

Table Two.

Chinese Population of Vancouver: Occupational Profile, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wickberg 1980: Part IV 127 --
Source: Vancouver Chinese Community Study, 1974). Based on a survey of household heads.

The Chinese community in Canada was by now increasingly diverse. Chinese immigrants came from diverse sources in contrast to the earlier periods of immigration where they came mainly from the Kwangtung area of China.

The post-1967 immigrants came to Canada for a variety of reasons. Some came to join their families, others wanted a more secure future for their children than could be available in countries such as South Africa. The Chinese in South East Asia were also, in the sixties and seventies, experien-
cing increasing discrimination from the local populations (Wickberg 1980: Part IV 131). Better educational opportunities in Canada and the uncertainty of the future of Hong Kong were important reasons for the large immigration from the island.

Table Three
Chinese in Canada, Place of Birth, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asia</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wickberg 1980: Part IV III -- Source: Census 1971)

Besides place of emigration, the Chinese population in Canada can also be divided into three groups according to period of immigration: (1) the early immigrants who came to British Columbia before 1923; (2) their Canadian-born offspring, known as tu-sheng or "native born"; and (3) recent arrivals (Straaton 1971:42). Ten of the respondents in this study were recent arrivals having immigrated to Canada between 1966 and 1977. Two were tu-sheng and one came a few years after 1923. The recent arrivals can again be
divided into those who came from Hong Kong where Chinese were the majority (in terms of size) and those who came from overseas Chinese communities where Chinese were the minority. The latter tended to have experienced similar forms of institutionalized discrimination and restrictions as did the tu-sheng and pre-1923 immigrants.

The Chinese population in Canada can also be differentiated on the basis of immigrants who had entered Canada by means of the sponsorship of their relatives and the independent immigrants who came on their own merit. The former were less educated and competent in English than the latter.

The Chinese population in the present period is therefore increasingly heterogeneous. Lines of differentiation now occur about generation, age, ability to speak English, occupation, educational attainment, and period of migration (Wickberg 1980: Part IV 145). These differences play an important part in the personal identity of the individual Chinese.

Power and Prestige: Some New Concerns

With the liberalization of immigration laws, the extension of citizenship rights to the Chinese, and the removal of most overt and blatant forms of discrimination, the Chinese were now able to participate more fully in the wider society. Yet, like other non-white ethnic groups, they continue to face certain disadvantages. Their subordinate status has by no means been completely erased.

Porter (1965) and Clement (1975) demonstrate that positions of power and influence in Canadian society continue to be
dominated by Anglo-Saxons. According to Clement,

Although over one quarter of Canada's population
is made up of ethnic groups other than the two
charter groups*(26.7%), they have almost no re­
presentation in the economic elite*, except for
Jews (Clement 1975:237).

Table Four

Index of Ethnic Representation* in the
Economic Elite, 1951 and 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Elite</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A figure of over 1.00 denotes over-repre­
sentation and an index below 1.00 shows
under-representation (Clement 1975:234).

Kelner (1971) demonstrated in her study of Toronto
elites that

although non-Anglo-Saxon representation in elite
groups has definitely increased since 1948, in no
major institutional field has it reached the same level
level as non-Anglo-Saxon representation in the total
community (1971:331).

Thus for those non-Anglo-Saxon groups who have attained
some degree of economic advancement, such as the Chinese
professionals, the question now is getting further advance­

1. Usually defined to encompass English, Scots, Welsh and
Irish.
2. Charter groups refer to French and English Canadians, the
two"founding groups" of Canada.
3. Uppermost positions, e.g., senior management and directors
in the largest or dominant corporations in Canada.
ments into positions of power and influence. Comments a Chinese doctor (a respondent interviewed for this thesis):

In terms of career promotions and high position jobs, not only Chinese but all other minority groups are underrepresented. You just don't get there. You only rise to a certain level and then you stop. In the past, the Chinese stopped at the manual labourer's level, and now, they've stopped at the professional level. Now, we're in the professional field but we do not get to the top.

According to Dean Lan in his study of Chinese American elites:

To attain employment is one thing, and to achieve diversity beyond limited occupations or promotions beyond middle level management levels is another picture. It is harder to visualize the effects of delayed promotion for jobs, (and) lack of equal access to the good life ... (1976:VIII).

Kelner distinguishes between strategic elites and core elites. The strategic elites are those who play key functional roles in Canadian society, such as corporation presidents, labour leaders and cabinet ministers. The strategic elite occupies the bottom rung of the elite structure. The core elites are those who not only fill key functional positions but are accorded high social status in the community. Core elites are at the apex of the elite structure. According to Kelner, non-Anglo-Saxon members of strategic elites occupy positions of high social status within their own groups but within the community at large there is a lack of congruity between their wealth and power, and their social status (Kelner 1971:336). The issues therefore is not simply economic opportunities but also prestige or social standing.
With overt discrimination a thing of the past, the Chinese must now contend with more subtle barriers which prevent them from attaining equal access to greater power and prestige.
CHAPTER 4
THE CHINESE PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

This chapter discusses the experiences of Chinese professionals relating to their work and work environment. It seeks answers to the questions: how do the Chinese professionals feel about their work? and, how does their ethnic status affect their careers?

Prestige of Professional Status

Investigations by students of social stratification into the structure of occupational hierarchy have produced two basic methods of ranking occupations. The socio-economic approach utilizes a composite index of education and income levels of workers in each occupation drawn from census occupational listings, to rank occupations. Blishen constructed an "occupational class scale" for Canada utilizing this method (Blishen 1958). Another approach is to obtain ratings of "prestige" or "general standing" of selected occupations from samples representing the public. A study based on this method was carried out for the United States in 1947 by the National Opinion Research Center (See Reiss, 1961) and in Canada, a similar study was conducted in 1965 by Pineo and Porter (1967). Because prestige ratings were available for only a relatively small number of occupational titles, their usefulness for social stratification studies requiring use of census data was limited. Consequently, Blau and Duncan
constructed a socio-economic index of occupational status by utilizing census data on income and education as predictors of a set of prestige ratings obtained form the 1947 NORC study. By means of the regression weights thus obtained, census occupations could be assigned scores based on their education and income distributions, these scores being taken as estimates of prestige ratings or as occupational status (Blau & Duncan 1967:118-128).

It is clear that the occupations of the 13 respondents who were interviewed for this thesis, are highly ranked. According to Blishen's occupational class scale which ranked and grouped occupations in Canada according to combined standard scores for income and years of schooling for the 1951 census year, physicians and surgeons, lawyers, engineers, and professors were given scores ranging from 81.2 to 72. Accountants and auditors, and school teachers were given scores of 61.8 and 57.6 respectively (Blishen 1958:526). The NORC 1947 study for the United States showed that physicians, professors, lawyers, and accountants were given scores ranging from 93 to 81 (Reiss 1961:54-55). Similarly high ratings were revealed by Duncan's socio-economic index (Duncan 1961:122-123) and Pineo and Porter's study of occupational prestige in Canada (1967)^4.

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^4: Rankings of occupations show very little variation across time or space. When Inkeles and Rossi (1956) compared the prestige positions accorded to occupations in six countries, substantial agreement was found among countries in their ordering of occupations. Hodge, Siegel and Rossi (1964) found that a set of ratings obtained in 1925 were strongly correlated to another set obtained in 1963.
Besides their professional status, the respondents possessed certain characteristics which are prestige conferring. They are all highly educated. The amount of university education the respondents received varied from four to eight years. The professors and doctors received the most years of education. Although the engineers had four years of university education, they spent additional years as trainees before becoming members of their professional association.

Hughes noted that it is not only the number of years of education but also the "location of occupational training system in the institutional complex of higher education" which lends prestige to the professions (Hughes 1973). The respondents all graduated from well known universities here in Canada or abroad. One respondent claimed that the university he had graduated from in Taiwan was "the best" in the country. The Canadian universities attended by the respondents include Western Ontario, Queens, McGill and UBC.

Thus, the respondents possessed the characteristics of professional status and university education which in this society are major prestige conferring attributes.

Next, the subjective experiences of Chinese professionals will be examined. The interviews revealed a difference in the experiences of those respondents who work in a corporate setting, such as the engineers and accountant, and those who work in the universities or who work for themselves, such as the lawyer and doctors. The respondents who work in large
corporations expressed ambivalent feelings about their work experience whereas others did so to a lesser extent. This ambivalence arose from social relations at work rather than the actual work itself. The respondents felt the latter to be satisfying and socially and economically important. The technical work itself provided a large part of the legitimation for working.

The Professional Experience: Inconsistency of Status

The engineers worked for a public utility situated in a large modern complex downtown. They seldom visited the sites and worked mainly at the drawing board. Some of the engineers have had fifteen or more years of experience. Two were specialist engineers, which gave them extra prestige. One, with a graduate degree in engineering, was a senior engineer. He was in charge of a specific section of a project and had authority over a few other engineers. He was responsible for any problems which crop up.

The engineers worked on specific projects which could be the construction of a new dam, bridges, roads or buildings. A project could last five years or more. At the same time, they could also be responsible for repairs or maintenance problems cropping up on completed projects.

According to Jackall, the lack of accomplishments workers feel seems mainly related to their own perception of their jobs as insubstantial, that is, resulting in no concrete product (Jackall 1978:40). This was not the case with the engineers. Although within each project the engineers
would be grouped into a complex division of labour according to their specialty, there did not exist a sense of incompleteness resulting from this segmentation of work. One engineer described the division of work as a "jig-saw puzzle" with each person "looking after his little piece". But there was a sense of the "jig-saw" fitting together to form a whole. Because the work centered around specific projects, activity was geared towards a common goal. There was thus an ability on the part of the engineers to link each person's work to that of others conceptually. An engineer was able to give a detailed account of each stage of a project he was involved in, the activities of the other engineers, how it all related to the economy, and the political and social issues that often had to be considered.

Engineering represents the height of what Parsons and Platt termed "cognitive rationality" (1973:225-266). It consists mainly of the rational application of science, the weighting of alternatives in problem solving. One engineer commented that this cognitive rationality extended into personal lives:

I think we engineers, because of our background and training, our natures are a bit more on the suspicious side. Unless it can be proven to us, we would not easily accept what anybody says. When we tackle any problems, we sit back and we'll look at the alternatives whereas other people would not. I guess making a decision comes harder to us because we treat it like work.

Inspite of their satisfaction with their work and their identification with it, the engineers expressed negative
sentiments with certain aspects of their work experience. These often involved their ethnic status. One major problem was the difficulty of getting promotions. Chinese engineers find more difficulty than their white colleagues in venturing into the upper echelons of power and authority where the important policy decisions are made. It was obvious to the respondents that few Chinese were to be found in these top positions. Only a handful of Chinese were senior engineers and there were no managers who were Chinese. Commented one engineer:

They do hire Chinese but it always seems to be at the worker level and not at the management level. It seems difficult to break that level still.

The inability to get to the top was attributed to various factors. One professional felt that there was some discrimination from white society.

I think there is an intentional or unintentional guarding by the dominant society.

Others felt that because they did not share in many of the side activities that their white colleagues share with the management, or possess the same background, they were not able to get to know the management on more intimate terms and therefore could not get desirable promotions. An engineer expressed this view:

I think there's still the old school tie kind of thing. The management here tend to be all Anglo-Saxon. They tend to have gone to UBC. They all come from the same area. But we don't do the same things. We don't go to the beer parlour we don't play goff, we don't belong to the same church. So subsequently the guy who is in the top management, he would promote somebody he knows rather than someone he is not comfortable with.
The different background of the Chinese engineers could bring other difficulties such as lack of fluency in English. Some respondents felt that this could impede their abilities to function as managers. It is also likely that lack of ability to speak and write good English leads to a lack of confidence on the part of the Chinese. An engineer seemed to express this lack of confidence when he claimed that "we're just not good enough". He went on to say:

So far no one has come up in our profession able to speak fluently enough or to be able to write. When you get to the management level, most of the time is spent on correspondence and things like that. There're not too many guys who are able to do that up here. English is still our second language. In my early schooling, I studied half in Chinese and half in English. So I'm not half as good as if I had spent all of my time studying English. So when it comes to written English perhaps my grammar is not that great. It is much easier for me to talk than to write. I have that difficulty. I would say there are others in the same category.

Another engineer in his fifties expressed ambivalent feelings about the fact that for him "there's no hope of getting to a senior level". On the one hand, he felt that he didn't want to get to the top anyway:

Perhaps
Perhaps I don't really seek to become a manager. Perhaps I just wish to reach a reasonable level.

On the other hand, he regarded the senior positions as levels of high esteem and said with some regret:

Perhaps if my temperament is different I could have gone to a higher level than I am now.

This engineer felt that his specialized knowledge in a particular technical area compensated for the fact that he had not been promoted to a higher level. Because of his specialized
knowledge, he dealt directly with section heads and senior level engineers. There was only one person, he said, who specialized in that area.

Although being a specialist afforded some protection against subordinate status, it could not always be relied upon. The same engineer reported:

Because I work at a fairly high level, I am judged on my ability. But if I happen to go outside my particular work area, there is quite strong evidence that I am judged by my race. I'm sure of it.

Although he did not experience prejudice from colleagues, this engineer felt that the technical staff were prejudiced. He had noticed a "strong reaction" from the draughtsmen when the company began recruiting many Chinese. The prejudice of the "sub-professionals" could also, he felt, be due to the personal style he adopted. Unlike the other Chinese engineers who "tend to keep their heads down", he preferred to be "open" and direct with people.

I tend to approach people much more directly, in an open way than other Chinese do. I think it gets an appropriate response. I'm not saying that it's uniform. I do find a negative reaction amongst White Canadians. They're not used to this Chinese person approaching them. So they still have a little bit of education to go through. In a sense I was having to educate them.

On being asked whether being Chinese could enhance his career, an engineer in his forties replied rather sarcastically:

They might feel that we know a little less than they do, so we get away with more! So they say, "that guy's a dummy, he's Chinese. That's why we allow him
to make ten mistakes and still get away with it. That's an advantage, isn't it?

Another engineer commented on his Chinese colleagues' response:

The guys here will tell you that there is no discrimination, but at the back of their minds is always the feeling that they are different. The colour of the skin is different.

For the Chinese engineers, the main difficulty was getting access to the higher levels of power. This difficulty could be the result of discrimination, lack of shared culture and activities with management, or inability to speak and write fluent English. There are other problems which could affect Chinese professionals, as an accountant who worked in a large corporation will demonstrate.

This accountant who possesses an MBA besides her accountancy qualification worked as an accounting analyst at the head office of the corporation. Her job involved not only producing financial information for management in the form of balance sheets and income statements, but also, at one point, the supervision of three other persons. She described a problem she had with communicating with her supervisor:

I can't really put a finger on it but oftentimes when I'm given a job to do and my boss is trying to explain to me how to do it, I could be just sort of thinking in my mind, you know, and if I don't respond verbally he just sort of assumes that I don't understand what he's saying when actually in my mind I'm just going through a thought process. I remember at business school, one of my professors said that people who are quiet are dumb, and this is an American professor. So from that you can see that unless you say something they think you're stupid.

Consequently, the respondent was not sure whether she had been judged fairly by her superior:
According to my boss, I'm judged on the basis of my work but whether his perception is influenced by a lack of understanding of my culture, I sort of hold that open as a question mark.

She has left her job to take up something completely different. But before she left, she decided to "test" her supervisor.

... just before I left my job in October, my boss gave me a job to do and having talked to some women in the company who had gone quite a high way up, I came to realise that I should respond more actively. When my boss gave me that last job to do, some kind of statement, as he explained the instructions to me, I interacted with him more, shooting questions at him and reverbalizing what he was trying to say to me. I could see that expression on his face! He was quite astonished. It was a very conscious decision on my part. I just literally made myself do it, just to help him perceive better. But that was already my last week at work and I don't know if it helped.

Her difficulty, as she felt, was "partly a cultural thing" and "unless a person had been exposed to cultures, he would not be able to understand". In addition, the ambiguities involved in being a female professional are even more marked:

As far as my career goes, sometimes it's difficult to tell whether those prejudices are against me as a woman or as an Oriental because I am a double minority. It's true that in the business world there are a lot of prejudices against women. Even a Caucasian woman has to prove that she can do it because the assumption is that a woman cannot do it -- a woman cannot do the job as well as a man. So I can't distinguish you know.

Although this respondent spoke excellent English and was very westernized in her mannerisms and in her general outlook, she still faced problems in her career. Her case illustrates the point that however acculturated one may be, Chinese ethnic status is ascriptive and acts to constrain one in
some of the roles one may wish to take. Prejudice experienced in one's career is especially hard to bear, as the accountant pointed out:

In terms of little incidents in my daily life, it didn't really affect me all that much. But the hardest thing is to face prejudice is your career because you have to be working with these people, and it is something that really affects you because it takes commitment and responsibility on your job and when you have to face these things, it's a bit harder.

The Professional Experience: Consistency of Status

In contrast to the respondents who work in large corporations, the professionals who work in universities or in their own private practices did not express ambivalent feelings about their work experiences. As far as the professors are concerned, the difference could be due to the fact that universities have traditionally been the place where different types of people mix and learn from each other. They are a source of new ideas and liberal trends. The social standing of a particular professor depends less on progress through a bureaucratic hierarchy within the university than on recognition of research contributions by the scholarly community. In other words, prestige is likely to depend more on achievement criteria than ascriptive criteria.

Similar arguments apply to professionals with their own private practices. Inter-personal competition for prestige is less obvious. There is no immediate overarching bureaucracy to contend with. Patients are referred to the doctors through the referral system and clients are recommended to the lawyer's service. "Once I'm recommended", says a lawyer, "race does not come into it. I'm dealing with sophisticated people who realise
that it is ability which counts". This lawyer worked in a plush modern business block in the heart of downtown Vancouver. He had a White colleague as partner and catered to both Chinese and White clients. Although his ethnic status did not affect him adversely in his practice, there were occasions when his Chinese Malaysian background benefited him.

My Hong Kong clients come to me because I'm not from Hong Kong. They think I serve a half-way house between the White man and the Hong Kong man. They know that we're more at home with White people. At the same time we're also Chinese. If they go to a Hong Kong lawyer, they regard him as just like one of them. We're a good intermediary. A little above them in a sense.

A Chinese physiotherapist with his own private practice which catered to different ethnic groups also found that being Chinese could help him in his career.

Certain people come to me because of my ethnic background. They seem to have the idea that Chinese have the ability to cure things. They might say, "Oh, the Chinese, they invented acupuncture", "Chinese seem to have more insight into things", "Chinese have a different philosophy in medicine". They say that in the olden days, in the Chinese community, the Chinese doctor did not get paid if the patient got sick but if the patient recovered, they pay him. In medicine, especially in my field, there's a lot of psycho-play.

The two respondents mentioned above offer personalized services unique to each client or patient. These clients or patients come to them out of their own preferences. In some cases these preferences are influenced by misconceptions or popular myths -- such as "Chinese have the ability to cure things", which therefore operate to the benefit of the Chinese professionals. Those professionals who work in large corporations are, however, employees with very little contact with clients.
Their ethnic status therefore does not confer any benefits in the above sense.

A unique way in which ethnic status can complement professional status is illustrated in the case of a psychiatrist who worked with a public mental health service. Like the engineers and accountant, he was an employee but his ethnic status fitted his role as a psychiatrist. He dealt mainly with Chinese patients.

I have a rather unique role in that because of my Chinese origin and my own preference, I try and extend the service to the Chinese community. So I do a lot of referrals in the Chinese centre. In this team, one third of the patients are of Chinese origin. -- I look after 99% of them.

Although the health service catered to all citizens in the district, it had become known as the mental health service for Chinese. It took care of all categories of Chinese patients ranging from mild to chronic cases, and covered a wide range of problems. About 40% of the staff were Chinese but the respondent was the only Chinese among the three doctors working for the service. The respondent was also involved in another Chinese welfare service and had become quite well known in the Chinese community as a result of his activities. Thus for this respondent, being Chinese was an important and indispensable part of being a professional. Although he was an employee working in a large organization, his work involved, like the physiotherapist and lawyer, unique person to person services which enabled him to make use of his ethnic status such that it complemented his professional status.
A slightly different case where ethnic status complemented professional status is illustrated in the case of a professor who occupied a high position within a university. His work involved considerable administrative decision making. Over the years, some of this activities included working with architects in designing certain faculty buildings, discussions with the president, interviewing prospective candidates for faculty positions, setting up guidelines for accepting students, developing the curriculum and serving on various committees at both the national and international level. A lot of his work were "innovative and creative types of things". He enjoyed his decision making powers: "the ability to put into action one's own ideas".

This professional felt that being a Chinese in such a high ranking position gave him added prestige. People felt that he was unique and gave him special acknowledgement:

There were times when people might particularly introduce me to other people and make it a point to stress that "He is the chairman, you know", and this would be by Westerners. So I think in their minds, this is something unique and they wanted other people to know about it.

His prestigious position outside the Chinese community also gave him prestige within it. Although he had not been active in the affairs of the Chinese community, he was asked to become a board member of one of the ethnic organisations. Thus, ethnic status complemented his professional status and vice versa. This case illustrates the fact that when a Chinese professional is able to get to the top of his profession, he is held up as an example by the dominant society that a person
with a disadvantaged background is still able to make good. He becomes a symbols both to this own community and to the dominant society. As such he gains prestige in all eyes.

**Conclusion**

An examination of the data from the interview protocols revealed that within the work environment, Chinese ethnic status can both contradict and complement professional status. Ethnic status contradicts professional status when the Chinese professionals experience difficulties in their work environment because of their ethnic status. These difficulties include inability to get to the top and inability to communicate effectively with superiors. These difficulties contrast with the satisfaction the professionals derive from the work itself. The result are ambivalent feelings among the professionals about their work experience. Respondents in a corporate setting tend to experience more difficulties than those who work in universities or who work for themselves.

Among the latter, ethnic status tends to complement professional status. Clients and patients may utilise the Chinese professionals' services because of some imagined traits that they perceive are attached to these professionals as a result of their ethnic status. Professionals may utilize their ethnic status to fit into a unique role as was examplified by the Chinese psychiatrist. Chinese professionals who have climbed to the top of their profession may find that their ethnic status makes them special in the eyes of others. Their visibility therefore gives them added prestige.
It should not be concluded that the latter group of respondents do not therefore experience status contradiction. The point I wish to make is that even though the Chinese professionals may not experience any conflicts in the area of work, they are likely to experience contradictions outside of it. Once they step outside of their working role, they are likely to meet incidents in which they are treated according to their ethnic status rather than their professional status. Their self-image and identity as people of high social standing will be open to challenge. Prestige loss always remains a possibility. A doctor commented:

People whom you know, you don't have discrimination. You don't feel it except those niceties I told you about -- getting to the top. But once you come into the public where you are an unidentified person, it's when discrimination would happen.

A professor made a similar observation:

I think I am judged on my abilities except when people don't know you, like when I go and try to rent an apartment and they only know your face and your colour.

It did not seem to be the case that those who did not feel ambivalent about their work also did not feel ambivalent about their ethnic status. In other words, those who had experienced ethnic status as an advantage in their career did not always feel that it was an advantage in the other areas of life. In fact they were aware that their ethnic status deprived them of certain rewards available to professionals with ethnic statuses highly evaluated by society. This constitutes another aspect of the status inconsistency problem and will be the subject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5

ETHNIC STATUS AS NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE

The previous chapter looked at the ways in which being Chinese affected the respondents' careers. This chapter will look at the lives of Chinese professionals outside of their occupational environment and reveal how status contradiction operates in individual lives as experiences of prestige deprivation and negative evaluation.

Prestige of Ethnic Status

Studies of ethnic status have consistently revealed the relatively lower prestige accorded to non-white ethnic groups. Pineo and Porter utilized a national sample of 393 adult Canadians to judge the social standing of 36 ethnic groups. English Canadians gave their own ethnic group the highest score, at 83.1. Chinese ranked low, at 33.1, as did Japanese, Canadian Indians and Negroes. French Canadians gave their own ethnic group as well as the English Canadians the highest scores, at 77.6. Japanese, Chinese and Negroes were given scores in the twenties. It is therefore very clear that "non-whites are felt to be very much at the bottom, visibility apparently accentuating the phenomenon" (Pineo 1977).

A study by Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) confirmed generally the above findings. Respondents, selected to reflect the characteristics of the Canadian population as
revealed in the 1971 census, were asked to provide prestige ratings for eleven ethnic groups based on ten adjective dimensions: hard working, important, Canadian, clean, similar to me, likeable, stick together as a group, wealthy, interesting and well known to me. Respondents reacted very favourably to the two charter groups, i.e., the English Canadians and the French Canadians, in comparison to the "other" category of ethnic groups. North European groups, i.e., the Germans, Belgians, Dutch and Scandinavians, were evaluated relatively favourably compared to South and East European groups. These were rated more favourably than non-white groups. Chinese Canadians were given below average scores on "Canadian", "Similar to me" and "well known to me". Out of 26 ranks, Chinese ranked 21st, whereas the English and French ranked 1st and 3rd respectively.

Goldstein's study (1978) of ethnic prestige employed an indirect approach in which surnames representing 13 ethnic groups were judged by a sample of students as to their social standing. The Chinese surname was ranked below that of the English and French Canadians. The study also found that there was a high degree of agreement between respondents of different ethnic backgrounds to the relative prestige of the thirteen surnames, demonstrating the existence of socially shared conception of ethnic prestige.

Due to the fact that Chinese ethnic status was consistently given a lower ranking relative to white ethnic groups, especially the French and the English, it can be concluded
that the lower prestige or social standing of the Chinese is an empirical fact.

**Awareness of Ethnic Status Evaluation**

The respondents demonstrate an awareness that their ethnic status was negatively evaluated. Most of the respondents had experienced discrimination of different sorts at some point in their lives. As Parenti states:

> Even if full social acceptance is won without serious encounters with bigotry, it is unlikely that from childhood to adulthood one would have escaped a realisation that some kind of stigma is attached to one's minority identity, that one is in some way "marginal" (1969:278-279).

Background experience even if not in Canada, is essential in describing the attitudes of Chinese professionals who come from different parts of the world. In many cases, perceptions and experiences were brought to Canada and applied to the local context.

Those Chinese who had emigrated from countries where ethnic status is institutionalized as a legitimate basis for allocation of resources, such as South Africa, were more aware of the low status of Chinese ethnic group membership and thus were more sensitive and alert to signals from society. A South African Chinese made this point very clearly:

> We're more aware of racism. We've had it happen to us. We're more conscious and aware of signals whereas other people who haven't been exposed that way wouldn't worry. For instance, when we read about this Ku Klux klan thing, right away we picked up our ears, whereas it didn't bother other people. For us it was some kind of signal.
The respondent's brief sketch of life in South Africa demonstrated the ubiquitous quality of discrimination existing there, and explained some of her sensitivity to race relations in Canada.

In South Africa, we couldn't go to government schools because that was financed by the government. They were just off bounds to non-whites. So the only schools we could go to were the private schools which were catholic. So we paid for our education. We also had to get permits from our government to allow us to go to those schools! In our time, we were the only Chinese children in white schools. They gave us this so called permit because my father was a professional man.

There were many little incidents in the schools. Of course, you get some children who were nice and friendly and others who didn't want to mix with Chinese. It used to hurt, like, you would invite friends home, some of them would come and some wouldn't. They would say, "Mum says I cannot go to your house".

It was terrible especially with the children. How do you explain discrimination to children? Even going to the public swimming pool, you were not allowed. Their friends would go and they couldn't go. And do you say, "Oh, because you're Chinese". It sounds stupid.

They called us second class citizens. We didn't have the vote, we had no rights whatsoever. It was difficult for Chinese to get a job in any field whatsoever unless they were willing to do the same kinds of things the Negroes did. But gradually, you would find one company taking a Chinese and then another would take. I think it was by force of economics if nothing else. Also people found that whenever they had a Chinese, it was such a boon because the Chinese worked harder and they got less pay.

Things are gradually improving but they're still not equal. The last time we went back to South Africa, a lot of our friends said, "Oh, things are improving. We can now buy houses". It sounds like a big deal, but for them it is, you known. But even though they can buy houses, they still have to apply to the government for permit.

The respondent felt that these experiences affected the character and mentality of the Chinese in South Africa to such an extent that even when they did venture away from the
country, they were never really able to overcome the effects of discrimination.

If you meet South African Chinese, they're very much more humble and modest and scared even. We all put that down to the background in which we were brought up because we were almost kow-towing all the time. You couldn't do this, you couldn't do that, and whatever, privileges you got, you had to consider it a real great favour. Lots of Chinese, my own brother for instance, have a chip on their shoulder. Whenever, the white people say, "you can't do this", you'd think oh, right away because you're Chinese, you see. You wouldn't think, that's the law, that's for everybody. So it's bred a lot of neurosis in the South African Chinese.

The experiences of other respondents were less pervasive in their lives. Rather, it was specific incidents which serve to indicate to the respondents that they belong to an ethnic group which was held in low esteem by others. A Chinese engineer who had been brought up in the Pacific Islands and had received his education in New Zealand recounted some of his frustrations:

I graduated out of university and subsequently worked there (New Zealand) for two years. But I had to give a reason for staying on in New Zealand. I had to say I needed the job experience. At the end of the two years, say for instance, the year would end at the end of December, right on October, they sent me a letter: "Your year will end on December. We would like to see you buy an air ticket right now and produce it", that kind of thing. You were almost treated like a criminal. You know, get out of the country by midnight 31st of December otherwise you will be subverting the country. This is New Zealand. In Australia, they come right out and say they have a white policy. O.K., there you know. In New Zealand, they don't say as much but they practise it, you see.

To go to New Zealand as a student, I had to sign a form saying that I would not take employment or get married. In fact, not being able to get married, in New Zealand to a New Zealand girl infringes on my human rights. I had to sign that in order to have an education. Looking back, so what? I don't want to marry a New Zealand girl anyway. Sign anything just to get an education.
Often the respondents were not quite sure that unpleasant incidents they were caught up in had anything to do with their ethnic status. They suspected that they were being treated unfairly because of their ethnic status but were never quite certain. An accountant related the following incident which occurred to her in Canada:

I find that a lot of times prejudice is very subtle and you run into it in your daily life. For example, I had a car accident couple of years ago. It was settled in my favour. But the girl who was the witness was testifying that I was running the red light, when in fact it was amber. She was so strong on that, you know, “You ran the red light”. It sort of made me wonder whether because this other guy (who was involved in the accident) was a caucasian, that she was trying to help this guy. Little things like that do happen. I mean, it’s not that often, but there are subtle prejudices. People think that “we’re better than you are, kind of.”

The experiences of the Chinese respondents who grew up in Canada had some of the ubiquitous quality of the South African experience. They grew up in Chinatown, insulated from white society. They were aware of institutional barriers towards members of the Chinese community, such as the denial of voting rights for instance. There were also other, informal, kinds of discrimination. A Chinese Canadian respondent recounted one such experience:

...when I was getting older, it was obvious that certain places would not rent apartments or rooms to Chinese. It's very difficult to be specific about it because you can never prove it. But if you go to a place that's advertising and ask to rent the apartment and they say, "Well, I've to wait until my husband comes home". You call back and they say, "I'm sorry but it's been rented out in the meantime". Two to three days later, you see the same ad in the newspaper. So something is going on that's not quite right.
Another Chinese Canadian, a university professor, said that he did not want to go into the specifics of the experiences with prejudice what he had personally encountered because "it would take all afternoon".

The Indirect Experience

Negative evaluation need not be directly experienced but may be conveyed through conversations with friends who recount their experiences with prejudice and share their frustrations and anger. Eidheim observed this sharing of ethnic identity as stigma in his study of Lapplanders in an environment dominated by Norwegians. Thus,

social dangers and defeats that people have been subjected to in public encounters are redundantly reviewed and to some extent mended, or at least made temporarily less severe, through the sharing of adversities ... (1969:52)

One respondent's conversation was sprinkled with references to the experiences of others, indicating that he and his friends had participated in the "sharing of adversities".

A Chinese doctor living in the next crescent told us that when he was young, down in Chinatown there were gates and the Chinese had to open and close the gates when they wanted to leave Chinatown. There would be people waiting for them and throwing stones and things at them. Another professional who trained as an accountant, when he got out he couldn't get a job -- couldn't get a job anywhere. Today, he's got a very thriving business sewing drapes. He often said that it was a twist of fate because he couldn't have been so well off doing accountancy. There was another professional, he's a dentist. When he graduated, the war started. He was brought up in Saskatchewan and his family was the only Chinese family there. He said that he grew up never thinking he was anything but Canadian -- until the war started. They asked everybody to join up. All his friends went so he just joined them. Anybody who had a profession, instead of being a private you were a sergeant right away. But they said
to him, "look, we're sorry. Not only do we not see
the need for you to join up, we couldn't give you
any positions". So he said, that was the first time
he realized he was different... This friend of mine
from South Africa said she was in a supermarket
shopping and pushing a cart. A man passed by her
and said, "You Chinese, you'd better get out of my
country". You see, this was Vancouver. She said to
me, "Gee, nobody said this to me in South Africa".
For no reason at all he said that to her. And some
other friends have told us that on CP Air, there's
discrimination of Chinese. Other people have also
said that the Customs, they always look at the Chinese,
especially if they're coming from Hong Kong -- they
go through you. These are just hearsay but there are
all kinds of little incidents.

Besides hearsay, negative evaluation was also conveyed
through radio, television and newspapers. This is to be expected in a world where the mass media play a crucial and indispensable role in conveying information and secondary experiences. Often, the same news items were mentioned by different respondents. A television program on W5 was a common item. This program portrayed Chinese university students as aliens who segregated themselves from Canadian students and took up places rightfully belonging to Canadians. Similar opinions were published in newspapers. The respondents digested these news items and made their conclusions. An accountant commented:

A year ago some racist made a statement in the newspaper that the University of British Columbia was all occupied by these foreign students -- Chinese foreign students, without doing some serious research. Later somebody did some research and spoke to the registrars of these two places and found that most of these students were Canadian citizens or immigrants. That sort of reflects the racist attitudes of the people in that they don't really see a Canadian citizen as someone whose citizenship is Canadian but as someone whose colour is white.
A professor reported a news item he had heard on radio:

I heard of a recent case of a disco that was said to be discriminating. One disco was discriminating against Negroes and another was said to be discriminating against Chinese as well. One Chinese girl, a student at UBC, she heard about it and so she got a group of friends to go down there one night -- Chinese and Western friends, and they found that this was true. The Chinese were charged a higher price than the Western people. So she reported it to the Human Rights Commission and they brought charges against the discotheque. They won the case and the discotheque was fined. So apparently isolated cases of discrimination still happens.

Another respondent reported the effects on her of some comments made on radio:

I got so angry once listening to this Doug Collins on radio. He was speaking about all these immigrants coming in -- Chinese buying up all the property, and Chinese only sell to Chinese and they keep the money circulating within their group. I got so mad that I wrote to CJOR and I said that if they persist in having a person like him on, they'll be breeding racial hatred because if I were a white person, I would say, "Yes, that's true, the Chinese are doing this and this and that", and right away you get mad. So I told them that they're doing a great disservice. I don't know if that helped but I haven't heard him since on radio. In fact, what I did was, I told so many of my friends. I said to them, "Write a letter, write a letter", because the more letters they get the better it would be. I wrote them that every weekend of mine had been spoilt.

Besides these direct and indirect experiences of ethnic status as a negative attribute, the respondents also experience special problems as a result of being both Chinese and professionals. Although being Chinese may not affect adversely an individual's career and may even enhance it, incidents occur outside of the work context which deprive the Chinese professionals of the prestige normally accorded
incumbents of professional statuses.

Prestige Deprivation

Deprivation of prestige occur when Chinese professionals are stereotyped, because of their ethnic status, as incumbents of lower prestige occupational statuses such as restaurant owners or laundry workers — occupations which have traditionally been associated with the Chinese community. Such was the experience of a lawyer:

As far as my practice is concerned, the sophisticated types won't discriminate. But sometimes ... like, one day I was walking along the seashore and somebody came up to me and asked me whether I own a restaurant. I don't think they mean to be rude but they assume that Chinese people own restaurants. That's the unfortunate part about white people. They stereotype people of other races.

This form of stereotyping, consisting of the inappropriate application of low prestige social categories, is irksome to the Chinese professionals for it contradicts the self image which they wish to project of themselves as highly educated; affluent, acculturated individuals.

Another manifestation of prestige deprivation is when passers-by and strangers shout derisive remarks or call the respondents rude names. These strangers consist mostly of young children and teenagers, the category from whom the professionals would normally receive respect by virtue of their age and professional achievement. These incidents are particularly mortifying for the respondents for they usually occur in public when the respondents are waiting in a queue for the bus for instance, or simply walking or driving along the street. A doctor in his late fourties reported:
Every now and then, I think at least three occasions when I was driving down the street, you get insulted by youngsters who, really on racial reasons, giving you a bad sign, cursing, swearing at you for no reason. That happens to me about three times in ten years. So it's not had but still it's there.

A respondent from South Africa also reported a similar incident. The overt, public display of prestige loss caused her to prefer the institutionalized but less personal form of racism existing in South Africa. This was a recurrent theme in her conversation:

When we were children in South Africa, there were many times when other children, white children would call out derisive things to us. They would call "ching, chong, chang" and things like that. That was when I was a child. But growing up in South Africa within the last twenty years, as I got older, those things seemed to diminish and I never heard any of those derisions. And you know, we weren't in Canada one month and I was down in Hastings Street and Woodwards, I was standing, waiting for my husband to pick me up; a car went by and a whole group of teenagers leaned out and shouted, "ching, chong, chang!". I came back and said to my family: "Now, isn't that funny; we came from a country where the racialism is so dominant and really I felt that at the time we left South Africa, people were doing their utmost to try and ignore racialism and they would go overboard to show you that they were not included in the government's feelings about racialism. That's how I felt and when we came to this country, because it seemed to be so free that anybody could do and say as they like, that's where I encountered it. So it's so ridiculous. I just couldn't get over it.

Another form of prestige deprivation has to do with barriers to membership in exclusive, prestigious clubs and organisations. In making some hypothesis about the factors which affect the way organisations admit potential members, Blalock made a distinction between those organisations relying on prestige and exclusiveness as a basis for survival and those depending on numbers (Blalock 1967:123).
In the case where the organisation is competing with other
groups for members and where its goals can only be achieved
by gaining a large membership, individuals with low prestige
may be allowed into the organisation, especially if the indi­
viduals possess resources such as money. But where the organi­
sation is engaged in competition for prestige among similar
organisations, individuals with low prestige would obviously
not be welcomed as they may lower the overall prestige of the
club.

Where organisations rely on high prestige and exclusiveness
as one of the main reasons for existence, membership
usually depends on introductions by established members. Since
there are few individuals from low prestige groups already
present, others from such groups who wish to become members
would find it difficult to be accepted. Chinese professionals
who would normally have been accepted on the basis of their
achieved status are denied acceptance on the basis of their
ascribed status. A Chinese doctor commented rather bitterly
on the fact that he was not able to become a member of an
exclusive club.

You would be very privileged if you can get into
Point Grey Golf Club. You would have to be distin­
guished in some way. They would never say they won't
accept you but when you apply they would keep you
on the waiting list. I have been here for eleven years
and achieved fairly good status but I've never been to
that place. I can go if I want to. The medical pro­
fession has a dinner there but it is just a general
dinner. You don't go as a member, as invited guests,
never. That's the kind of thing. I don't think many
people know about that club because it's purposely
kept out of sight. Like the Women's University Club
for instance. There would be all the Caucasian house­
wives of successful figures. You don't get there. They
won't invite you. You're shut out.
Being denied membership in exclusive clubs is a signal to the respondent that although he is a professional, because of his ethnic status, he is not accorded the same social standing as white professionals. Chinese professionals cannot enhance their high occupational status with prestige symbols which come with that status, such as exclusive club membership. Thus membership in a negatively evaluated ethnic group acts as a constraint to rewards normally available to incumbents of high occupational statuses.

Ambivalent attitudes

Since being members of a negatively evaluated ethnic group deprives the Chinese professionals of the prestige normally available to incumbents of high occupational statuses, the professionals view their own ethnic group with mixed feelings. This ambivalence is compounded by the fact that the professionals have internalized the standards and values of the dominant society so that they begin to judge their own ethnic group by those standards. In most instances these judgements are negative.

In the public sphere of interaction, the professionals who are aware of the standards of behaviour positively valued by the whitesociety, try to avoid behaviour which does not fall into this category, so as to project an acceptable image. But since ethnic group membership is ascriptive, the image the professionals wish to project is not solely self-determined but is also dependent on other ethnic group members who are often less knowledgeable in the ways of white society.
These people give the game away by displaying behaviour which is likely to be condemned by the white majority and emphasizes the dichotomy between the negatively evaluated group and the positively evaluated group, a dichotomy which the professionals would like to play down.

Stigmatising types of behaviour commonly mentioned by the respondents include speaking Chinese loudly in public, pushing through a queue, refusing to get involved in community affairs, refusing to assimilate by "sticking together" (in the words of one professional).

A Chinese engineer criticizes his ethnic group for not displaying correct public behaviour:

Some of the problems start from the Chinese too. Some people say the Chinese don't speak English. They live in this country and they don't mix. I feel that's wrong. I feel if you want to live in this country, the least you can do is to learn the language and speak to the Canadians. Sometimes I find it rude that the Chinese in department stores shouting in Chinese and people look down on you, you know, 'What are you doing here?' So I think some of the problems originate from the Chinese. They seem to isolate themselves, stick by themselves all the time.

A Chinese professor displayed the same tendency to judge his own ethnic group by dominant group standards and consequently felt some frustration and anger against fellow group members.

I know that there are people who say the government is uncaring, that it doesn't try hard enough. But because I've lived in an ethnic area, I could see certain social and behavioural characteristics amongst the Chinese that may annoy non-ethnics -- people talk too loud in public places, pushing through and so on. I know there are functional reasons why Chinese from Hong Kong or China need to do this because they come from societies where they need to be aggressive to survive. But they're now in a different context. Although it is true that there are people who are racists and bigots, sometimes ethnic
people set themselves up to be criticized. I myself as a Chinese get very annoyed when someone who is Chinese breaks traffic rules. I get very angry. Although I don't say "Damn Chinese!", I could see a non-Chinese look at this person and displace anger on him not because of his stupidity but because he was Chinese. And there is also a tendency for people of Asian backgrounds to commit more aggressive acts than other people.

I find that ethnic people behave as if they're still in some little village in China. But how you change that is kind of tough because people do get insulted if you point out to them certain things. Like, my wife is very fluent in Cantonese, and when we go shopping, some women would push in front of her and she would tell them nicely that it was not very nice to do that. They would say, "Who the Hell do you think you are?" Yet she was doing it out of goodwill -- to give them some feedback. They don't perceive that you're trying to be helpful.

Part of the respondent's anger arises from his realization that non-group members are likely to negatively evaluate not only the individual who perpetuates stigmatizing behaviour but also the whole ethnic group to which the individual is ascribed. Since the respondent is himself a member, negative evaluation will also be extended to him. This explains his attempts to correct unreasonable behaviour, attempts which are not appreciated.

A respondent levels another criticism against the Chinese community:

We feel that living in a community you made the money from the community or the country and the only way you can channel back some of that is to be active in the community otherwise you become a parasite. You take everything from the community and you put nothing back in. In fact, that is a criticism we heard from the white Canadians. At universities they have the Alma Mater Society, medical, dental associations or whatever and they always criticize the Chinese. They say they come into University, they are very good students, they do well at school, they do well after school, but they never support their Alma Mater. It
is as though "thank-you very much, good-bye". So it leaves a bit of a sour taste in the mouth of those Canadians that Chinese are not taking an active part enough in the Society, which is true. There are very few Chinese who go out into the community and do anything.

Here again we see how the values of the dominant society are internalized by the respondents and applied to their own community. This particular respondent agrees with the criticisms "heard from the White Canadians". A Chinese lawyer made a similar criticism:

"It's up to the Chinese themselves to create a positive image and I'm afraid that's something they have not done. They've not participated in many activities whereas other people, for example, the East Indians have. Like school: you notice that quite often parents are asked to go to school and meet the teachers and attend meeting. Whenever they ask for volunteers, no Chinese comes out. So they're creating a negative image. It's a Chinese tendency not to want to make himself noticed. It's a weakness. We all suffer from that. Any meeting, try and get a Chinese to serve as office bearer, everybody says: no, no, no, ask somebody else ... Chinese of whatever origin tend to fight shy of political issues. They're not interested and therefore they're a relatively docile.

In judging their own ethnic groups negatively, the respondents identify with the dominant society while distancing themselves from their ethnic group. They display a tendency to positively evaluate the standards of the dominant society. Said a lawyer:

"I don't know how this lack of community spirit among the Chinese can be overcome. Hopefully our children exposed to the white man's values would in that sense act like a white man. The white man is always community minded compared to the Chinese.

A number of respondents expressed the opinion that they were personally very westernized as compared to others in their surroundings and also in terms of their attitudes: "In
terms of openness, I'm more to the American side". The tendency to judge favourably the standards of white society is also indicated by parents' satisfaction with the fact that their children had internalized western values. They felt that their children brought up in Canada were more independent in behaviour and attitude than children from traditional Chinese background. They were "freer thinkers", "more intelligent and more knowledgeable" as a result of their western education and environment.

Conclusion

Membership in an ethnic group is subjected to evaluation by others. Studies attempting to measure the prestige of ethnic groups have shown that Chinese ethnic status is consistently rated lower than most white ethnic groups. The Chinese respondents themselves reveal an awareness of their lower social standing. They are made aware of this through direct experience with prejudice at different points in their lives or through news items on television, radio or newspapers. The sharing of adversities also provides a medium of transmission of negative evaluation. The Chinese professionals experience additional problems of prestige deprivation. Because of their ethnic status they are deprived of the prestige accorded people of their professions.

With these negative experiences it is perhaps not surprising that the Chinese professionals expressed very ambivalent feelings about their ethnic group and fellow group members. In addition, their internalization of western values and stan-
dards of behaviour caused them to judge their own ethnic group negatively, especially when they observe that fellow Chinese do not conform to appropriate standards. The circumstances of the Chinese professionals provide the conditions for them to develop into "marginal men":

Frustrated and not fully accepted by the broader social world he wishes to enter, ambivalent in his attitude towards the more restricted social world to which he has ancestral rights, and beset by conflicting cultural standards ..." (Gordon 1964:57).
CHAPTER 6
RESPONSE TO PRESTIGE DEPRIVATION

Ambivalent feelings about one's own ethnic group constitute only one type of response revealed by the Chinese professionals. This type of "marginal response" (See Park 1950, Stonequist 1937) arises when the respondents utilize a non-membership group as a reference group but are prevented, largely by their visibility, from making this reference group a membership group. The respondents also display a variety of responses which are not marginal, which enable them to live with their ambivalent position as members of a negatively evaluated group occupying positively evaluated occupational positions. They arrive at a modus vivendi, a clarified having-come-to-terms with their position (See Antonovsky 1956).

Ethnic Identification

Members of negatively evaluated ethnic groups may respond to status contradiction by turning to their ethnic communities for affective support. The ethnic community is a source of emotional bonds for the member who chooses to identify with it. It generates self-acceptance and self-respect (Isaacs 1975). It provides members with an identity, informing a person "where he belongs and whom he can trust" (Enloe 1973:39). The individual gains affective ties which may not be found in the wider society.
Although the respondents were aware that their ethnic group was negatively evaluated, and they had personally experienced difficulties as a result of belonging to the group, they did not attempt to cut themselves entirely from their background. Rather they stressed the necessity of being aware of one's roots and cultural heritage. As one professor put it:

"It is quite obvious that whether or not one perceives oneself as Chinese, it is clearly the case that other people when they interact with you, would perceive you as such. By being more aware of your roots, you're a much more sound and realistic person."

Visibility and ascription by others as barriers to complete assimilation was pointed out by another respondent:

"I think it's very important for us to have our own leaders although a lot of Chinese we've spoken to say no. They say, "We're Canadians and whether you're Chinese or Japanese or Negro or what, we must all be Canadians", which is true in a way. But I think if we were Germans or Italians or French or Polish, it wouldn't matter because we would all melt in and you wouldn't know who's German or Polish. But when you're Japanese or Korean or Chinese, you stand out and I think for that very reason, you can't say we're Canadians. I think life is a cycle -- you have ups and downs. Nothing ever goes along the same scale. There are waves of racial feeling and at the moment, I think it's very much against the East Indians. At the time of Pearl Harbour, it was the Japanese. But you must have read about the Ku Klux Klan and the leader said he got tremendous support in Canada. I was so surprised. I said, "My god, Canada seems such a model country and yet ..."

Most of the respondents were in favour of the concept of cultural pluralism rather than assimilation. They felt that the communal life of different ethnic groups should be preserved but within the context of national citizenship and political and economic integration. Commented a doctor:
I don't think it is correct that the Chinese should ever be assimilated. They should be well integrated. That is the concept of multiculturalism established by the present government. Assimilation means you give up everything to the other culture. No Chinese in their right minds would accept that Chinese culture is in any way inferior to western culture.

**Endogamy**

The desire to maintain some form of boundary is indicated by the respondents' preference for endogamy. This ensures that intimate social relations are kept within the group. A number of parents expressed the hope that their children would marry other Chinese. A South African respondent remarked:

> The only reason why we moved from South Africa to Canada and what's more to Vancouver is because there's a large Chinese community here. My husband said it would be the best place for us to make friends and also for our children to meet Chinese because we wanted them to marry other Chinese.

Some of our friends send their children away to the States to attend university there because they said there are too many Chinese in B.C. But I know that deep down they would want their children to marry other Chinese, yet they send them away where there are less Chinese and one day if their children marry other than Chinese, the only thing I'll be able to say to them is: "Well, you asked for it".

Another respondent from Hong Kong commented:

> I would prefer my son to marry a Chinese girl but I wouldn't hate him to the guts if he doesn't. I wouldn't disown him or anything. There are a lot of people who would do that. There have been problems like that brought to me. Parents being unhappy about their daughters going out with Caucasian boys.

**Pride in Chinese Culture**

The respondents also demonstrated a pride in Chinese culture and felt that it had positive things to offer for themselves and other ethnic groups. A Canadian Chinese reso
dent commented:

I've never seen Chinatowns as ghettos. I guess I've always enjoyed the benefits the Chinese community had. When I was a kid, going to that school in Strathcona and having lots of friends and lots of neighbours, I never had fights with individuals. We used to scuffle around a lot but since there were so many Chinese, nobody picked on us. If anything we picked on them... and the food and the friendship. I think that's important. Now that I'm older, I'm beginning to appreciate some of the culture -- the education, the respect for older people. It's really good.

An engineer commented:

Being Chinese you have this cultural background and people respect you more. We have many ways of thinking which other people don't have. Especially in difficult situations, Chinese have the philosophy to lift themselves out of that situation, which some of the Canadians don't know how to do. So I think it's more of an advantage than a disadvantage to be Chinese.

Many of the respondents expressed an identification with China, even those who did not come from there. They wanted to see her do well economically and felt a sense of pride in her historical past. A number had visited the country as tourists. A Chinese Canadian commented on his trip to China:

Since our trip to China, my eyes have been opened more to Chinese arts and Chinese culture. We did a big swing through China for three months -- 9,000 miles and saw a lot of things: museums, achieves and oh! all kinds of things. It was really great. You come out of China and you feel really proud.

I think it really enriches you when you know something about your past, even if it means getting involved in the Chinese community or taking a trip back to China because I think it has a steadying effect on you. You're much clearer about your roots.

An engineer originally from Taiwan expressed a willingness to forget political ideology and to contribute to the Chinese community in general:
Being Chinese, you shouldn't restrict yourself to any small part of the country. I think every Chinese should contribute if they can towards the Chinese community and well, the biggest community is in China.

Most of the respondents who spoke about China did not approve of the Communist government or were indifferent to it. Their identification was more with China's past, its long history and cultural achievements. China's historical heritage enabled them to positively evaluate their ethnic background or roots. Trips back to China, usually consisting of guided tours to historical sites, serve to either re-inforce positive evaluations or to change negative evaluations to positive ones. A comment made by a third generation Chinese Canadian who had just described the tour he took through China illustrates this point:

I had heard stories when I was younger about China, But I discovered that these stories were told by peasant people with a very limited knowledge about China. They only knew their city, Canton. To them that was China. When we went back to China, we went right round. There was a lot of China which wasn't like that at all. So, you have a very different view then of China and your background.

Most parents make an effort to acquaint their children with some aspects of Chinese culture by sending their children to Chinese schools or by celebrating Chinese festivities. Said a Chinese lawyer:

I do make it a point to celebrate Chinese New Year because I feel this is one of the cultural links that we should maintain. I think it's a good thing to make my children be conscious of their cultural heritage.
Friendship Networks

In modern society, identification with the ethnic community at the behavioural level need no longer take the form of a complete confinement of all social relationships and activities within the community. According to Breton, it is more useful to view an individual in terms of role relationships which occur in a series of domains (Breton 1978:59). Some of these role relationships involve the ethnic community, others do not. Thus work relationships may take place in a mixed ethnic setting whereas friendship networks may be confined amongst fellow ethnic members. According to DeSantis and Berkins, "a network of friends and acquaintances of the same ethnic group serves to perpetuate a sense of belonging without much formal acknowledgement" and "identifying symbols of ethnicity may be only occasionally employed in a special setting", such as special ethnic foods during ethnic festivities, for instance (DeSantis and Berkin 1980:142).

Except for a doctor who worked with large groups of Chinese, the rest of the professionals worked in mixed ethnic settings. However, relationships with colleagues and clients tend to be formalized. Though there were occasional get-togethers with members of other ethnic groups at Christmas dinners and other occasions, a number of respondents said they did not enjoy these very much and prefer their own circle of Chinese friends. With Chinese friends, one could converse in one's own dialects, which facilitated intimacy. Personal matters could also be brought up and discussed
whereas with members of the dominant group, one talked about sports, world events or topics that did not require knowledge of ethnic background. A lack of shared understanding placed a limit on close ties with members of other ethnic groups. Commented a Chinese engineer:

Somehow being a Chinese in Canada even for seventeen years now, I tend to have more close friends with Chinese then with Canadians.

A doctor revealed his friendship networks:

Most of the close friends we entertain would be Chinese. Basically we're more comfortable, we find it more enjoyable, at least for my wife to be with people who are Chinese. We share common traditions, culture and language, particularly language. You have to be very fluent in English before you can mix with the Caucasians. Even I who have studied in English for a number of years, there are still some of these things with language that I don't feel comfortable with -- particularly when it comes down to jokes with Caucasians. You don't understand them. Those are the kinds of things which make people intimate -- if you can crack the same kind of jokes. It's very difficult to do that -- to conform to another culture.

A Chinese Canadian commented:

There's a difference in relating to Chinese friends and non-Chinese friends. With my Chinese friends, we probably share more things together in the past. We grew up as kids in Vancouver .. during the war when there was still quite a bit of discrimination and separation. See, when I was really much younger in Strathecona School, I wouldn't go to the playground by myself. If I did, I would get pushed around too. We went with other Chinese friends, and we went in groups. There's safety in numbers I guess. And when I was younger I went to Chinese language classes after school. Chinese school was a very unique experience for us. We used to go and it was a kind of joke for some of us. So we had this sort of added experiences that the non-Chinese friends would never know anything about. Diet was another area which was very different.

Another respondent mixed mainly with Chinese as a "defensive mechanism":

Basically because of my orientation to the Chinese community, the people I invite to my home tend to be always Chinese now. In a sense that is a policy because I'm thinking of my children and the way I want to orientate them. I'm trying to acquaint them with their roots if you like. In a sense, it's a sort of defensive mechanism.

**Ethnic Organization**

Aside from maintaining informal ethnic networks of friends and relations, some professionals involve themselves in ethnic organizations. These organizations aim to provide young Chinese with opportunities to become involved in their ethnic community and cultural roots such that they would have the means to counter prejudice and discrimination. A respondent who had attempted to abandon his ethnic community by assimilating into White society but who was now active in some Chinese organizations made this point:

The young Chinese is brought up in the school system to be a Canadian. That's fine until he starts going out to the work place and begins to encounter prejudice from White people of the main stream. Then he starts asking himself questions. In order to answer these questions within himself he needs to know something about his culture. When he is subjected to derogatory remarks and discriminatory treatment he has to find out why. So he has to know something about the history of the Chinese Canadians and China, and this will strengthen him. The young people tend to abandon the Chinese culture as I did myself. My feeling is that they will look back on their culture when they reach their twenties. Particularly so if there is a focus such as the Chinese Cultural Centre to enable them to easily find out about their own culture, to expose their children to the culture. See, the problem the young Chinese parents won't face is that their children will grow and turn out to be very Western oriented and at that time, they will begin to show concern -- when their children have reached the age of seven or eight. All the Chinese parents I know, when their children reach that age, they become aware of what their problem is and they see the need for some aspect of Chinese culture.
There's no easy way out but we must find a way not only to relate to ancient Chinese culture but also to current Chinese culture.

The young people have to show the way. The older people still have a tendency to react against the White people because of the White people's reaction against them in the past. Many have bitter memories of being separated from their families and so on. So the young professionals have to show the way. The Chinese Cultural centre is taking the lead and so is the Chinese Benevolent Association. The Chinese Cultural Centre is trying to act as a bridge between the Chinese and other groups. While it is disseminating knowledge about the Chinese Culture it is doing it in several ways. It is trying to show the White people that the people they tried so long to discriminate against have a far longer tradition of culture than they themselves have. It is trying to show the Chinese people something about their long tradition of culture, and it is trying to promote friendship between the two groups. It's going to be a prolonged effort.

Ethnic organisations seek to increase consciousness of group membership and to stimulate pride in membership. A positive ethnic identity arising from such consciousness was felt to provide an effective means of countering negative evaluation. Thus the strengthening of in-group ties can be seen as a way of coping with out-group prejudice (Allport 1958:144-146).

The history of Chinese communities outside of China have shown that overseas Chinese have always relied on voluntary associations based on fictive kinship to deal with self-government and welfare. However, with the opportunities now available in the wider society, Chinese Canadians need no longer rely on the resources of the ethnic community for their livelihood, welfare and emotional support, as did their kinsman 50 years ago (Johnson 1979:368). The very fact that membership in Chinese associations is now a matter of choice coupled with the fact that these associations
continue to enjoy a flourishing existence and new associations continue to emerge, demonstrating that Chinese associations still play an important part in the identity of Chinese Canadians. In recent years, organisations devoted to the presentation and preservation of Chinese culture, such as the Chinese Cultural Centre, have assumed greater importance and are popular with young Chinese.

Besides cultural organisations, various social service organisations devoted to helping new Chinese immigrants adjust to Canadian society, have also emerged in the 70s. A respondent involved in an organisation for helping immigrant Chinese felt that his organisation filled a gap in the public agencies:

As a minority group your situations and life experiences are quite different. Although the government would generally take care of everyone's needs, it would not do so to the same degree. What is provided for the minority group usually falls far short of their needs in every way. They're generally not as well treated... There is covert as well as overt discrimination. I have no doubt that being a minority you do have certain frustrations that are not present for people who are in the mainstream.

Unity is strength. The number of Chinese in Canada is still relatively small. In order to get the benefits and rights, you have to exert a reasonable amount of influence and expression in the community. The only way you can get that is by having a strong voice. I feel no doubt about that.

**Alternative Status Mobility Opportunity**

Ethnic organisations could also provide members with alternative channels for status mobility denied them in White organisations. They are a means to resolving status contradiction for those Chinese professionals who involve
themselves with them. Most of the professionals who were members of ethnic organisations had some sort of official standing. They operated as decision makers on the boards of the organisations. Also, because of their activities and official positions, some had become known as spokesmen for the Chinese community by the wider society. They were consulted or contacted for information by the press, mass media or universities and students, and occasionally invited for prestigious social gatherings. Commented a respondent:

Because of my involvement with the Chinese Cultural Centre, I've been invited to various functions. We were invited by the Lieutenant Governor to the State Ball and so on.

In-group Purification

Another way of interpreting the involvement of Chinese professionals in ethnic organisations is to view them as attempts at "in-group purification" (Seeman 1958:29), or what Lyman and Douglas termed "collective impression management" (Lyman and Douglas 1973:347). The negatively evaluated ethnic group "seek to defuse potentially dangerous aspects of the stereotypic saliencies ... and influence outsiders towards a more appreciative and tolerant attitude ... (by, for example) attempts to restrict public displays of ethnicity among their own members to those aspects which are acceptable to the larger society" (Lyman & Douglas 1973:347).

Some of the activities of the Chinese Cultural Centre
can be seen in this light. Chinese art, literature and music are displayed as a way of "making people appreciate Chinese culture" in the words of one respondent. In addition, the professionals set about making their ascribed ethnic identity less burdensome by improving the image of the group through various up-lift institutions and organizations for those lower class members who seem to contribute to the stigmatization of the entire group. The various Chinese social service organisations which have emerged in recent years can be described as up-lift institutions. They are run by boards of directors consisting mainly of Chinese professionals, government officials, businessmen and ministers, who are vested with decision making powers while their clients consist of low income, poorly educated Chinese (Ng 1977:80).

The motives given by respondents for their activities demonstrate a concern with the image that the Chinese community is presenting to the dominant society and a desire to improve that image. The following comment made by a respondent illustratesthis point:

I was instrumental in setting up the Vietnamese relief when there was such a hue and cry over these refugees. There seemed to be so much effort on the part of White Canadians and we felt, Gee, look terrible if these people are Chinese and nor Chinese are helping. So we got together this Vietnamese relief.

Another respondent also indicated his concern with dominant group views and judgements:
I've in the last few years been attempting to relate to the White community at large. Because of what I've seen and what I've judged, I thought it necessary to try and relate to the Chinese community. Basically to try and open up the Chinese community so that instead of looking inwards towards itself, it should look out and open up. That's been my own private philosophy. I'm trying to tackle the problem of lack of communication.

In-group Stratification

The respondents demonstrated a tendency to distinguish between different sections of their ethnic group, usually with reference to class or nationality. Differences do in reality exist since the Chinese community's population is made up of immigrants from different corners of the world. The point, however, is that the respondents not only objectively differentiate between different sections of their ethnic group but also place value judgements on the different sections. They often positively evaluate their particular sub-group while casting unfavourable judgements on the other groups. Often, responsibility for stigmatizing behaviour is held to originate from other sub-groups. Goffman made this observation in his study of stigmatized individuals:

The stigmatized individual exhibits a tendency to stratify his "own" according to the degree to which their stigma is apparent and obstrusive. He can then take up in regard to those who are more evidently stigmatized than himself the attitudes the normals take to him (1963:107).

Class and nationality are the two main principles by which the respondents stratify their ethnic group. Allport notes that,

class distinctions within groups are often a result of trying to free oneself from responsibility for
the handicap which the group as a whole suffers (1958:148).

Class distinctions amongst the Negroes are a basis for the "uppers" to shift blame for their disadvantaged position upon the "lowers". Jews of German origin would look down on Jews of Eastern European origin who are felt to be less cultured. This tendency was present amongst the respondents. A lawyer commented:

It is my own pet theory that people who scream discrimination are people who belong to the lower classes. They're not very well educated. They're rough themselves. They're more likely to be more racially minded than people who come from a relatively well heeled background.

Chinese from places other than Hong Kong tend to look unfavourably on the Hong Kong Chinese, who were regarded as being less articulated in English and segregationist in outlook. They were anxious not to be included as a group with them. This is evident from the comments of the lawyer:

I find that I don't have much in common with Chinese speaking Chinese. That could be due to my Malaysian upbringing. I don't feel very at home with them. We cannot communicate very well.

Many Hong Kong Chinese can't speak good English. Some can hardly speak English at all! I wonder why they bother to come here. They're going to create a bad situation not only for themselves and their children but also for others. The White man is going to say, "See, that's a typical Chinese".

The Hong Kong Chinese have a slightly colonial mentality. They're still a British Colony. They look up on the White man more than we do.

This respondent was instrumental in setting up a social club for his own nationality group because he said he wanted to "show the Whites that we're a different bunch of Chinese".
An engineer had similarly unfavourable comments to make about the Hong Kong Chinese:

They're very close minded. They have their own social system which they persist in maintaining ... I don't think they regard themselves as overseas Chinese. They regard themselves as the one and only Chinese and everybody else is a foreigner.

Another engineer commented:

There's a difference between a Hong Kong Born and a guy who's born locally. We have different priorities, different things in life. We grew up differently. People who came from Hong Kong congregate more because they feel more comfortable with each other then with Westerners. Like myself, though I mix with the Hong Kong Chinese, I don't understand them sometimes. I tend to be more Westernized.

A respondent from Hong Kong however, differentiated Hong Kong Chinese and recent immigrants from the early immigrants and attributed less favourable attributes to the latter. He emphasized that he was one of a group of "affluent" immigrants who had established themselves financially and were considered "very enlightened" because of their activities in ethnic organisations. In contrast, the early immigrants and Canadian born Chinese were less affluent and community minded.

Those who have been here a long time don't like those from Hong Kong or from other parts of the world who are better to do. Overseas Chinese came under different circumstances and are better financially, educationally or socially. They tend to be more successful and more reputable. The other group mostly started from the basic labouring fields. They're all in the labouring class. They came as labourers, then they became small entrepreneurs, grocers, farmers. The people from the professional group, the affluent group who came from Hong Kong, are a threat to them. There's no overt rejection but there's quite a distance because they're threatened.
Besides being considered lower class, the Canadian born were also considered to be more submissive. An English born respondent commented:

The local Chinese tend to have an inferiority complex because of repression over the generation. This is my perception. They have a tendency to keep their heads down.

Another respondent felt that the Chinese Canadians did not do much to overcome their subordinate status, unlike his own nationality group.

What amazes me when the Canadian Chinese told us of their history is that their evolution almost parallels that of the South African Chinese -- in dates and times and what we did. The only difference is that here in Canada it seems they never made any physical efforts to get together and fight for their rights. It kind of evolved through the conscience of the White people. Whereas in South Africa, we actually made the outright attempt to form associations. We had meetings; we made representations to the government; we really worked hard to better our position whereas the ones here didn't seem to do that. And that's why today, they're still loath to organise because they said,"Well, we didn't do anything them". I think it was the White people that brought about equality among the Canadian Chinese.

**Rationalization**

Chinese professionals attempt to find rational explanations for lack of opportunities, negative experiences involving their ethnic status or any discrepancies between themselves and their dominant group colleagues as a means of resolving status contradiction. A phenomenon which can be explained or reasoned out can be more easily accepted. One can then reconcile oneself to a situation.

In trying to make sense of their experiences, the respondents come up with some explanations and rationalizations. A justification frequently given for discriminatory treatment
was that it was innate to all human beings regardless of ethnic groups and therefore cannot be helped. Rather one should accept that as a part of life. A respondent remarked:

Obviously it's going to be very difficult for you to rise the same way as a White man. It's not so much discrimination as a matter of preference. It's a human situation. It's like a lottery. There're so many Whites out there. How can you ever get a chance? If I get a promotion, I would regard it as a bonus. We're a minority here. We've got to accept the limitations otherwise you're going to be very unhappy. If you're not happy here, you can go somewhere else. That's what I always say. You don't have to be the chairman of General Motors. How many people get to be president of General Motors anyway? There's no need to be too ambitious ... You can be comfortable and lead a good life. The good life, that's what we all want, isn't it?

A number of respondents while acknowledging that if two people of equal ability applied for the same job and one was Chinese and the other was White, the White would most certainly get the job, did not wish to describe the situation as discrimination. They preferred terms like "racial preference". Commented a respondent:

Discrimination has a bad connotation. Let's call it racial preference. It's more neutral. There's nothing wrong with that.

Racial preference was a natural thing. A Chinese employer would behave in the same way as other ethnic groups. A Malaysian Chinese drew an example from his background:

If you apply for a job as a labourer, you're going to meet with a supervisor and he is going to look around and see some White faces and some yellow faces, and to him being a non-White you're probably a worst labourer. To me that's natural. Supposing he's a Chinese plantation supervisor in Malaysia and he sees a group of Chinese and one Indian apply for jobs as labourers. Who is he going to favour? He's
going to favour a Chinese. Can't you put yourself in his position? In a sense that's discrimination: "I prefer the Chinese to the Indian who is black".

Another respondent who, earlier in the interview, had talked with some heat about the lack of opportunities for status advancement in Canada, later balanced his perception with the argument that after all Chinese in their turn discriminate too.

You talk about discrimination and the Chinese being discriminated against, you just try and find an East Indian well treated by Chinese. Chinese are no exception. In fact Chinese are one of the most discriminating groups. If you don't wish to be discriminated against by others, you start by not discriminating. But you just check that out -- you just try and talk to 10 Chinese and see how many of them will say a good thing about the East Indians. It's probably to do with Chinese culture and Chinese ways.

Respondents who had been called rude names by strangers rationalize their experiences by explaining that the people who called them names were children who did not know what they were doing. Besides the same things often happened to Westerners in the East. A professor explained:

I figured that it's the individual rather than the whole society who is prejudiced. This kid who called me names, well he doesn't know any better.

An engineer commented:

I have seen Chinese people being discriminated. For instance, some Canadians would pass by Chinese people and call them bad words. You get mad but sometimes you feel that it may happen in China too. Foreigners walking in the streets and Chinese people look and think they're strange.

Another respondent explained that since he came from a country where he had experienced discrimination, he was used to it and did not see the need to make a fuss.
Initially when I first came into the country, we were looking for an apartment, we could see a sign posted in the West End: one bedroom suite for rent. You call up there and they say it's already rented out. In fact at that particular instant, I had a Canadian couple who took me around and they were really surprised. Actually the incident came out in the papers. They were so upset that they wrote to Jack Wilson who had a column in the papers, I don't have the cutting but it did come out that this thing had happened. I didn't make a big deal out of it because I come from a country where, you know, we've been discriminated against.

Conclusion

Chinese professionals identify with their ethnic community by maintaining an informal network of Chinese friends, by taking pride in Chinese culture and tradition, and by involving themselves in Chinese organisations. This identification is in part a defensive mechanism as Chinese professionals face their paradoxical position: occupants of highly evaluated occupational statuses who are denied the prestige that comes with these statuses.

Identification with one's own ethnic community acts as a buffer against discrimination and negative evaluation since it fosters a sense of belonging and acceptance. Isaacs calls ethnic identity "basic group identity" because it is an identity that "no one can take away", generating self-esteem and belongingness as assured givens.

An individual belongs to his basic group in the deepest and most literal sense that here he is not alone, which is what all but a very few human beings most fear to be. He is not only not alone, but here, as long as he chooses to remain in and of it, he cannot be denied or rejected (Isaacs 1979:35).
Identification in the form of participation in community organisations, besides being an active affirmation of one's ethnicity, also serves other functions. Organisation involvement offer alternative status ladders to Chinese professionals who find difficulties in gaining access to the organisations of White society. The existence of Chinese golf clubs and Chinese branches of such mainstream associations as Lions is perhaps indicative of this difficulty. The Chinese branch of the Lions in Vancouver has a large professional membership (Straaton 1974:76). Membership in Chinese organizations enable individual Chinese to gain access to leadership positions within the Chinese community and thus access to greater power and influence not otherwise available in the wider society.

Chinese organisations work towards raising Chinese ethnic status by presenting Chinese culture to the general public and thus generating appreciation for it. Chinese cultural associations in the 1970s are actively involved in this task.

Besides identification with the community, Chinese professionals respond to prestige deprivation by engaging in in-group stratification and by rationalizing their experiences.
CONCLUSION

The empirical findings generated by this study enable us to make some tentative conclusions and to generate some hypothesis for future research.

One of the issues which initiated this study was the question of the saliency of ethnicity in modern societies. In the past, social scientists expected that with increasing modernisation and industrialization taking place in societies, ethnic boundaries would soon lose their utility and class divisions would become the main basis of differentiation between people. It was felt that ethnic boundaries would become less significant with increasing emphasis on achievement rather than ascription. Common participation in education and the occupational community would iron out differences between ethnic groups by inculcating in participants common norms, behaviour and expectations. Participants begin to judge actions and events on universalistic rather than particularistic basis, and to value individual initiative and mobility over kinship assistance (See Inkeles, 1960). This point of view is premature at best. As far as the Chinese professionals in this study are concerned, being Chinese continues to be a relevant factor in their lives, inspite of their long years of education, and their involvement in occupations characterized by the rational application of science. Ethnic status was relevant since it continued to be the basis by which individuals were judged and rewards allo-
Chinese professionals may be viewed as members of a negatively evaluated ethnic group occupying positively evaluated occupational positions. In other words, they are status inconsistencies. Status inconsistency is translated into the individual lives of the respondents through experiences with negative evaluation and prestige deprivation. Chinese professionals are deprived of the prestige allocated to professionals of positively evaluated ethnic groups. For instance, some of the respondents revealed their difficulties in gaining promotions and therefore in attaining greater power and prestige. This difficulty arose because of their lack of facility with English, because they did not involve themselves in similar social activities as their colleagues and superiors, or simply because of prejudice and discrimination. Their talents and abilities were not recognized by their superiors and colleagues because of differences in cultural behaviour which blocked effective communication.

On the other hand, this study also found that Chinese ethnic status could complement professionals status. This was the case for doctors and lawyers having their own private practices. Chinese clients go to them because they are Chinese. Members of other ethnic groups also utilize their services because they are believed to have some special abilities not possessed by professionals of other ethnic groups. Chinese professionals who have reached the top of their profession may be given added prestige by outsiders because they are deemed to be unique since few Chinese professionals ever get to the
top of their profession where power and influence are vested.

However, this study also found that even these professionals who benefited from being Chinese within their occupation, suffered prestige deprivation outside of their occupation. They are treated on the basis of their low ethnic status rather than their high occupational status. They find difficulties in obtaining prestige symbols such as membership in prestigious social clubs and fraternal organisations. They also find it difficult to gain access to leadership positions within the larger society. Occasionally, they meet with prejudice, such as being called rude names by strangers. They may also be stereotyped as occupants of low prestige occupational categories such as laundry workers or restaurant owners.

This study revealed that the Chinese professionals respond to their position in a variety of ways. They attempt to find rational explanations for their experiences with negative evaluation. They stratify their own ethnic group according to period of immigration, ability to speak English, and occupational status, identifying with those groups which are of higher status. They display a tendency to negatively evaluate their own ethnic group. Some of the respondents also participated in ethnic organisations, such as the Chinese Cultural Centres.

Two hypotheses in status inconsistency literature may be relevant here. One commonly stated hypothesis is that persons in situations of status inconsistency would tend to avoid those people who react negatively to them, or to avoid those people who are the embodiment of the low status
the persons suffer from. (See Malewski 1966, Lenski 1956). The tendency to withdraw is true of the respondents in so far as they expressed negative views about their own Chinese ethnic group thus confirming its low ranking. At the same time they withdraw from this group by adopting the role of an outsider.

The other hypothesis states that individuals with several incongruent statuses, some of which are evaluated much lower than others, would attempt to raise those statuses which are evaluated lower. Chinese professionals' involvement in ethnic organisations may be interpreted in this light. By presenting Chinese culture favourably to the public, they hope to influence them into a positive evaluation of Chinese ethnic status. Chinese professionals' involvement in Chinese welfare agencies can be interpreted as attempts to raise Chinese ethnic status by inculcating in those members of the Chinese ethnic group who contribute to the stigmatization of the whole group, correct values and ways of behaviour which would enable them to fit in with the wider society.

Chinese professionals' involvement in ethnic organisations can also be interpreted, in the light of status inconsistency theory, as a direct attempt to resolve contradiction between statuses by dissolving the connection between professionals' status and ethnic status. Within the ethnic group, ethnic status rankings are not relevant. Rather, occupational status is the main criterion of rank. Within their own ethnic group therefore,
Chinese professionals are able to enjoy their high occupational status.

The hypothesized relationship between withdrawal and status inconsistency on the one hand, and involvement in ethnic organisations and status inconsistency on the other, can be tested by comparing the participation rates in ethnic organisations of two representative samples, one of Chinese professionals and one of Chinese in low occupational positions (who are therefore status consistent). If Chinese professionals demonstrate a higher participation rate than Chinese in low occupational positions, then our hypothesis that status inconsistency leads to involvement in ethnic organisations would receive some verification. On the other hand, a lower participation rate among Chinese professionals as compared to Chinese in low occupational positions would demonstrate that status inconsistents tend to withdraw. This type of survey could be useful in generating hypotheses in research on other inconsistents, such as Jewish professionals, East Indian professionals, and female professionals.
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APPENDIX
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name:
Occupation:
Date of Interview:

PERSONAL DATA
1. Birth
   a. Could you tell me in what year you were born?
   b. In what country were you born?
   c. If in Canada, which town or city were you born?
   d. If abroad, when did you come to Canada?
2. Parents' Occupations
   a. What was your father's occupation?
   b. What was your mother's occupation?
3. Languages
   a. What languages and dialects do you speak?
   b. Which languages and dialects do you feel most comfortable with?
   c. Which languages and dialects do you speak most often at home?
   d. When you're speaking to Chinese people, do you speak in Chinese?

EDUCATION
4. Now, I would like to know something of your educational background; the path you took to become a ________.
a. Could you name the schools you went to, from elementary to university level?
b. Could you name me the locations and describe briefly the communities in which the schools were situated?

OCCUPATION
5. Next, I would like to talk about the work that you do.
   a. What were the factors which made you decide to be a ________?
   b. Could you give me a description of what you do during an ordinary working day?
   c. What is it about your work that you like? Do not like?

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
6. Now, I would like to talk about your relationship with the people you work with.
   a. Who do you work with?
   b. How many are Chinese?
   c. Do you interact in social events outside of work?

7. Friendship
   a. How would you define a friend?
   b. How many of such friends would you say you have?
   c. How many are Chinese?
   d. What sort of activities do you participate in together?

Family And Relatives
8. I am now going to ask you some questions which are a little bit more personal.
   a. What is your marital status?
   b. Is your partner Chinese or non-Chinese?
c. Do you have children? How many?

d. Do you have relatives here in B.C. or outside the province? Do you visit them? How often?

CHINESE CONNECTION

9  a. Do you eat Chinese food most of the time or do you prefer Western food?
    b. Do you go shopping in Chinatown? How often?
    c. Do you celebrate Chinese festivities?
    d. Are you involved with any organisations in the Chinese community? Outside the community?

SOCIAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

10. Now I would like to ask your opinion on the social and political issues facing the Chinese in this city.
  a. What do you think are some of the problems confronting the Chinese in this city? Canada?
  b. Looking back over the years, what important gains do you think the Chinese have made?
  c. Do you think the Chinese in this city act together in their own interest?

11. Do you think the Chinese, particularly the younger generation, have adopted Western values and behaviour? Is this desirable?

12. Do you have much in common with members of the Chinese community?

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

13. Next, I would like you to tell me of any personal experiences you might have had with prejudice and dis-
Crimination that may have blocked your career opportunity.

a. Has being a Chinese Canadian affected your career? 
   Closed opportunities?

b. Was there any particular incident which comes to you now where being a Chinese was an asset?

c. Did you have any experience with prejudice? Tell me what happened.

d. Do you think you are judged on the basis of your ability or your race?

CONCLUSION

14. I would like now to conclude with some general questions.

a. What sort of advice would you give a young Chinese Canadian?

b. Now, I've been asking a lot of questions. Why don't I stop for a while and just let you talk about what your experiences as a professional, particularly as a Chinese professional, have meant for you personally.

c. Anything else that stands out in your mind about being a Chinese professional?