

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF THE CHINESE IN
VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the residential patterns of the Chinese within the City of Vancouver. The Chinese are the single largest Asian minority ethnic group in Vancouver and have a uniquely concentrated pattern of distribution.

The study first summarises the general history of Chinese immigration into Canada, particularly British Columbia, over the past 100 years, and also examines the growth of Vancouver's Chinatown. Using published and unpublished census data the changing patterns of Chinese settlement within the City of Vancouver are described. Next, drawing on census data and on material collected through a Sample Survey of 125 Chinese families in 1969, some overall characteristics of the Vancouver Chinese community are described, in terms of such factors as age-sex structure, education, period of immigration, and residential patterns.

It is hypothesised that there are basic 'differences' between the Chinatown and suburban Chinese in Vancouver. This hypothesis was tested and it showed that there were significant differences between the Chinese living in these different locations in terms of demographic, economic, residential and social factors. In conclusion, the study suggests that inquiries of this nature could be profitably repeated with other ethnic groups within the city.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>Page.</u>
I The problem	1
II Chinese immigration into Canada, 1858 - 1961.	15
III Growth and distribution of the Chinese population in British Columbia and the Evolution of Chinatowns, 1881 - 1961 .	38
IV Patterns of Chinese settlement within the city of Vancouver, 1901 - 1961 .	(59)
V Differences between Chinese residents in Chinatown and in the suburbs.	86
VI Conclusions and recapitulation	106
Appendix I. Canada: Chinese population, 1881-1961, by Provinces.	110
Appendix II. British Columbia: Chinese population in cities and towns, 1885 - 1961.	111
Appendix III. Vancouver's Chinatown: Landuse, 1943.	114
Appendix IV. The Sample and Questionnaire, Rationale, Methods and Field Investigation.	115
Appendix V. Interview Schedule (Questionnaire).	119
Select bibliography	123

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>Page</u>
2.1	British Columbia: Occupations of immigrant Chinese, 1885.	22
2.2	Canada: Chinese immigration, 1901-1961.	30
3.1	Canada and British Columbia: Chinese population, 1881-1961.	39
4.1	Vancouver: Growth of the Chinese population, 1901 - 1961.	60
4.2	Vancouver: Length of stay in present and previous residences amongst the Chinese, 1969.	66
4.3	Vancouver: Reasons for moving and types of residences occupied by the Chinese, 1969.	67
4.4	Vancouver: Chinese immigrant population in 1961, by year of immigration.	71
4.5	Vancouver: Comparison between the 1961 and 1969 data relating to the period of immigration and date of birth of Chinese immigrants.	72
4.6	Vancouver: Marital status of the Chinese in 1961, by age-groups.	73
4.7	Vancouver: Correlation table of the Chinese population and age of buildings in 1961, by census tracts.	76
4.8	Vancouver: Educational attainment of the Chinese, 1961, by school levels.	77
4.9	Vancouver: Aspects of education of the Chinese, 1969.	78
4.10	Vancouver: Previous and present (1969) occupations of the Chinese, by occupational groups.	83
5.1	Vancouver: Summary table of chi-square values, degrees of freedom and associated significance values, of the Sample Survey of Chinese, 1969.	88

List of Tables: cont'd.

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>Page.</u>
5.2	Vancouver: Birthplace of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	89
5.3	Vancouver: Period of immigration of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	91
5.4	Vancouver: Residential types occupied by Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	92
5.5	Vancouver: Length of Residence in present home for Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	93
5.6	Vancouver: Occupational Classification of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	95
5.7	Vancouver: Income of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	95
5.8	Vancouver: Some educational characteristics of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	98
5.9	Vancouver: Spoken English ability as reported by the Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	99
5.10	Vancouver: Number of children and boarders of the Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	100
5.11	Vancouver: Kinship in employment among the Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	101
5.12	Vancouver: Participation in associations by Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	101
5.13	Vancouver: Participation in Chinese festivals by the Chinese, 1969.	102
5.14	Vancouver: Attitudes towards returning to China for Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.	103

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>FIGURE.</u>		<u>Page.</u>
1	British Columbia: Age-Sex structure of the total and Chinese populations, 1951.	41
2a - 2h	British Columbia: Chinese population of cities and towns, 1885 - 1961.	45-46
3	Vancouver's Chinatown: 1930-1969 and present-day 'Chinese' landuse.	52
4a	Vancouver: Distribution of Chinese, 1961.	63
4b	Vancouver: Location quotients of Chinese in 1961, by census tracts.	63
4c	Vancouver: Chinese as a percentage of the total population in 1961, by census tracts.	64
4d	Vancouver: Percentage deviation scores (z-scores) of the Chinese population in 1961, by census tracts.	64
5a	Vancouver: Age-Sex structure of the total and Chinese populations, 1951.	69
5b	Vancouver: Age-Sex structure of the total and Chinese populations, 1961.	69

List of Abbreviations used in the text.

BCLA	British Columbia Legislative Assembly
DBS	Dominion Bureau of Statistics
DBSUCM	Dominion Bureau of Statistics, unpublished 1961 Census material.
DHC	Dominion House of Commons
SSCCV	Sample Survey of the Chinese in the city of Vancouver, 1969.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM .

Introduction.

This thesis attempts to study the residential patterns of the Chinese¹ community in the city of Vancouver², British Columbia. One reason for being interested in this topic is that the residential patterns of the Chinese in Vancouver have changed dramatically, particularly since the Second World War. For example, before the Second World War, most, if not all, Chinese residences were located within the downtown area known as 'Chinatown' (Fig.3). Since 1947, that is since the repeal of the 'Immigration Act of 1923'³, however, there has been a tendency for the Chinese to move to the suburbs. This trend has significantly influenced present-day residential patterns of the Chinese in Vancouver.

Within this overall residential pattern, of particular interest are the relative differences between the Chinese living in Chinatown and those in the suburbs. These central city --suburban differentials could perhaps explain the persistence of the ethnic enclave - Chinatown - in Vancouver. This persistence and even expansion of Chinatown is especially interesting in view of the fact that contemporaneous enclaves of other ethnic minorities in Vancouver have since disappeared⁴.

Scope and aims of the thesis.

Until the Second World War, various legal and social restrictions tended to confine Asian minorities to a few traditional centers of residence within Vancouver. These overt constraints were removed in 1947, since which time Asians have been free to reside wherever they want. Despite this freedom, many have continued to reside in their traditional enclaves. This is particularly so in the case of the Chinese, Chinatown being still the largest single concentration of a minority group within Vancouver. It should be noted, however, that it is mainly the 'older' Chinese who still reside in Chinatown as the 'younger' generations have tended to locate their residence elsewhere in Vancouver. Does this division mean that the Chinese are splitting into two distinct groups? If this be so, are there underlying socio-economic factors that would account, individually and/or collectively, for these emerging differences? Perhaps the key to such questions lies in the testing of the following working hypothesis:-

There are basic 'differences' between the Chinese living in Chinatown and those living in the suburbs and these 'differences' could be expressed through a number of variables. For instance, it could be expected that while the Chinese in the suburbs would have adopted a different outlook - socially and economically - to those living in Chinatown, they would, in greater or lesser degree, still retain their 'Chinese-ness' in some aspects of their cultural life; or that, as they were living away from the core of the Chinese community, the suburban Chinese

would be expected to no longer indulge in Chinese festivals and celebrations in their traditional (conspicuous and familiar) manner. It is expected too, that changes would occur in other material manifestations of their culture. Finally, the Chinese in the suburbs would tend to acquire many of the characteristics of the 'society-at-large' leading to the disappearance of extended kinship patterns, diminution in the size of families and generally higher levels of income and education. The investigation of this hypothesis and its corollaries is a major aim of this thesis.

As only a small proportion of the Chinese population in the Lower Mainland lives outside the city of Vancouver, it was decided to confine the study to the City. Also from a theoretical point of view, it would seem that residents in fringe areas of the city would tend to be more 'rural' than 'urban.' This would make it more difficult to discern central city -- suburban differences. Finally from a practical point of view, it would appear that a study of the Chinese population of the whole of the Metropolitan area of Vancouver would be too large an undertaking for the time and resources available.

The Research Setting.

The Chinese community has been chosen as the focus of this geographical study for a number of reasons.

Firstly, though aspects of the Chinese in the city of Vancouver have been the focus of several studies⁵, there has as yet been no overall examination of their socio-economic make-up and even less of their residential patterns. The residential

location of the Chinese community is of particular geographic significance, especially when one considers the changes it has brought about in the landscape, and also subsequent contributions of the Chinese community to the 'city-forming' functions. Chinatown itself plays a vital role not only in the lives of the Chinese community as a whole but also in the general economic life of the city, especially the tourist trade.

Secondly, the Chinese in Vancouver represent a substantial 'minority group' and the Chinatown here is, after San Francisco, the largest in North America.

Thirdly, as has been pointed out by Mayer⁶, geographers can make a distinctive contribution in the field of inter-ethnic relations. For example, by describing the direction and rate of ethnic change within an urban area, a geographer may assist "the planner to achieve policy recommendations that may be workable." This aspect is of particular significance in the light of current development plans for the city of Vancouver. For instance, a proposal that a major freeway be built through a part of Chinatown was debated in the City Council on 17th October, 1967. Although the plan was passed at this meeting, it was later rescinded as a result of vigorous opposition by members of the Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver. In its place a 'beautification' program for Chinatown and part of its environs was proposed by the Association. In fact what emerged from this 'confrontation' was that both sides had little or no worthwhile information relating to such vital aspects as the residential preferences of the Chinese, their general socio-

economic status and related matters of a cultural nature. This study would hopefully help to fill such a gap and thereby aid future urban planning and policy recommendations.

Analytical Methods and Sources of Data.

Data pertaining to the Chinese in Vancouver have been culled from three main sources. Firstly, extensive use has been made of government publications, especially the publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), and those of the Dominion House of Commons (DHC), and the British Columbia Legislative Assembly (BCLA), in the form of 'Debates,' 'Journals,' 'Sessional Papers,' 'Statutes,' and so on. Secondly, extensive use has been made of unpublished Census Material (DBSUCM), relating to the Chinese in Vancouver in 1961. This was kindly made available by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Ottawa. However, due to the nature and inadequacies of these data, another source of information became important. This was data collected through field investigations with the aid of a Questionnaire⁷ and a sample of the Chinese population in the city (SSCCV), in the summer of 1969.

In collecting information from the published material of the Dominion House of Commons and the British Columbia Legislative Assembly, special efforts were made to relate legislative proposals and Acts to the numbers of Chinese arriving at different periods. This, it was felt, had an important bearing on the recruitment, composition and age structure of the Chinese (labor) immigrants.. In the early stages such legislative measures had

little or no immediate effect on the Chinese community, however these measures became more and more apparent after the 1900's.

The Census Reports of Canada, published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, contain figures of the number of Chinese in Vancouver since 1901. Apart from providing absolute numbers for the Chinese population of the city of Vancouver, the published Census Reports are of somewhat limited use. This is because all relevant information relating to the Chinese community has been collated and tabulated together with the Japanese and East Indian populations under 'Asiatics.' The unpublished Census material was the 1961 census data relating to the Chinese in Vancouver. Some of the maps and tables used in the text are based on this material.

Data collected through the Sample Survey revealed further insights into the residential patterns of the Chinese. For example, it provided information on their socio-economic characteristics, cultural traits, residential stability and educational backgrounds. The nature of the sample of the Chinese population and questionnaire used is examined in detail in Appendix IV. It suffices here to say that enough information was collected in this Sample Survey to make this study worthwhile.

Some of the statistical methods that were used in this study included descriptive indices (location quotients) and the chi-square test of association. The statistical tests provided the basis for the acceptance or the rejection of the hypothesis. It is on the basis of these statistics that further

inferences and analysis were made more meaningful. Data for these tests were obtained from the Sample Survey.

Some of the limitations of the main sources of data listed above are mentioned as they occur in the text. Briefly, the main limitation of published census material is that the information available is of too general a nature. Finer details about the Chinese had to be obtained from unpublished sources. As for the Sample Survey, one limitation of the data obtained was that it was difficult to verify whether or not the data collected are representative of the whole Chinese population of the City. However, used together, the available data does provide worthwhile insights into the nature of Chinese residential patterns.

In summary, there were three levels of analyses of the data so collected. At the lowest level, a qualitative assessment was made with the historical sources available. This involved the in-depth study of the reports, books and articles relevant to this study. At the second stage, and of a more quantitative nature, census material was used to trace the growth, trends and spread of Chinese settlement. This involved the use of maps and diagrams to provide a visual impression. The third and final stage of this hierarchy of analysis, constituted the use of data collected through field investigation and the specific testing of the hypothesis.

Methodological Approach.

Various approaches have been pursued in the study of the residential structure of cities. Some of these have been related to ethnic groups and minorities⁸. These approaches can be summarized briefly as : the Historical⁹, Demographic¹⁰, Ecological¹¹, Cultural-Valuational¹², and Socio-Psychological and Behavioral¹³ approaches. For this particular study however, the ecological approach is adopted, as it seems most amenable to the study of the Chinese in Vancouver. This approach is concerned with the mechanisms by which any group (ethnic) adjusts to or modifies its physical environment within the city. Of particular import to North American cities are (a) the spatial distribution of ethnic groups and their related economic activities, (b) their social condition or factors that are inherent in their adjustment to sub-areas, and (c) their interactions with one another and with the population of the city as a whole. Using this approach, some scholars have produced successful studies of particular ethnic groups found in North America. Their studies have resulted in a number of theories relating to the residential pattern of ethnic groups. One of these is often referred to as the 'Wave Theory' which describes the residential mobility of immigrants in North American cities and the formation of immigrant 'quarters.'

This theory has been successfully applied by Murphey to Boston's Chinatown¹⁴. The area of Chinatown in Boston has physically deteriorated as a result of successive occupation by numerous and different ethnic groups. This theory has also been

applied to Canadian cities to explain and describe the foreign islands in Montreal¹⁵, and the Jewish community in Winnipeg¹⁶. However, this theory has several drawbacks. For instance, the theory rests on the assumption that there were 'waves' of immigrants coming over from Europe in the 1900's. But the so-called 'waves' of immigration did not occur in Canada. In short, it has limited applicability. This theory cannot be applied to Negroes, for example, merely because they are still not 'socially desirable' in some neighbourhoods, but also because of the nature of their 'immigration.' In some cases, fear has been expressed in terms of the Negroes 'block-busting' residential neighbourhoods¹⁷. If it were argued that this theory merely 'explains' and 'describes' the processes of neighbourhood change for particular residential areas and for particular minority groups, then, and only then, would it be acceptable here.

Contrary to this theory, Firey¹⁸ regarded foreign colonies in cities more as a static form in the ecology of large cities. His study of the Italians in the Boston area revealed the 'social solidarity' of the Italians. Residential mobility of the Italians was of their own volition, for they wanted to maintain their own life styles and systems of values. Even with upward social mobility, the Italians have preferred to stay within their own community. This brings to fore the 'filtering concept',¹⁹ of real estate and residential area studies. This concept is one in which the average resident tends to filter, according to socio-economic success, into better residential districts of the city. This concept could not be applied to the

Italians mainly because of their cultural traits and partly because of different life styles and value systems. For our purposes, the question is : is this also true of the Chinese?

Of late however, use has been made of data contained in the censuses. Murdie's well known study of Toronto has several implications²⁰. On the one hand, Social Area Analysis in conjunction with Factor Analysis was used as techniques to elicit the three factors in the social geography of the city. On the other hand, this strengthened the importance and relevance of the study of ethnic groups within cities. This method therefore provides a springboard for further analyses of ethnic groups on a firm and quantitative basis.

Thus, of the various approaches and theoretic constructs to the analysis of the residential structure of cities and ethnic groups, the ecological approach as discussed, seems most amenable to this study.

Definitions.

Before proceeding to the study proper, we should clarify some terms used in the text. One of the most frequently used phrase is 'residential pattern.' 'Pattern' is used here to imply some constancy and regularity, such as for example, size of family unit, length of residence, and socio-economic characteristics, in terms of the groups studied and their relative residential location. The boundary of Chinatown is shown on Fig.1 and the Chinese living within this boundary are defined as the Chinatown Chinese, whilst those living outside this boundary are

defined as the suburban Chinese.

The term 'Chinese ethnic group' is used in this study to refer to persons of Chinese ancestry, irrespective of their country of origin or nationality. 'Ethnicity' is based on and traced from, the ethnic origin of the father.

Finally, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics defines a 'household' as consisting of "... one or more persons occupying one dwelling and the number of households equals the number of occupied dwellings"²¹. For the purposes of this study the term 'household' is used to include not only members of the immediate family but also lodgers paying a fixed rent, regardless of whether they are related to members of that particular household.

Plan of Work.

The next chapter examines the general problem of Chinese immigration into Canada. The causes of Chinese migration to Canada are discussed in terms of the methods by which Chinese immigrants arrived. There were several stages in the immigration of the Chinese. Each of these stages is related to the peculiar levies and laws imposed on Chinese immigrants. These levies and legislations affected the demographic characteristics of the Chinese.

Chapter III traces the growth and distribution of the Chinese in British Columbia and how they were affected by specific legislations. The evolution of Chinatowns in the different cities and towns of British Columbia are studied. Vancouver's Chinatown is examined in the light of its struggle, in the early periods,

for existence. This situation is updated with a brief look at the contemporary scene. Related to this historical examination is the qualitative assessment of Chinatown's apparent changing role, from a former 'half-way-house' to its present touristic orientation.

The patterns of Chinese settlement within the city of Vancouver are examined in Chapter IV. The number of Chinese, their distribution and socio-economic characteristics are studied in terms of both the published and unpublished census material, as well as data collected from the questionnaire study.

Chapter V emphasises the contrast between the Chinese living in the two locations, Chinatown and the suburbs. The hypothesis is tested in this chapter. Some of the more important variables such as education, employment, and incomes are studied in relation to the residential patterns of the Chinese within the city of Vancouver.

Finally, Chapter VI contains a summary and a re-capitulation of the findings of this study. It also looks at some of the implications of this study and the future trends amongst the Chinese community and its 'Chinatown.'

Footnotes.

- 1
Unless otherwise stated, the term 'Chinese' in this thesis refers to persons who identify themselves as Chinese and who are so recognised by others, regardless of their nationality.
- 2
The term 'city of Vancouver' or 'Vancouver' is used in this thesis to refer to the area within the legal city limits.
- 3
This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter II, under 'Legislations.'
- 4
It has been reported by Walhouse, F., (1961), "Minority Ethnic Groups," pp.221-229 and pp.276-299 that there had existed a "Japan-town" of the Japanese and a "Little Italy" of the Italians in the city of Vancouver prior to the Second World War. However "Japan-town" has disappeared since the Second World War, whereas "Little Italy" has diminished in importance.
- 5
See, for example, Lyman, S.M., Willmott, W.E., and Ho, B., (1964), 'Rules of a Chinese Secret Society in British Columbia,' Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol.27, No.3, pp. 530-539, and Willmott, W.E., (1964), 'Chinese Clan Associations in Vancouver,' Man, Vol.LXIV, No.49 (March-April), pp.33-37.
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- 7
The format and layout of this Questionnaire owes much to the advice of Drs. R. Leigh and K. S. Sandhu. A copy of the Interview Schedule (Questionnaire) is included. (Appendix V).
- 8
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'Block-busting' is a term often used to describe the successive take-over of residential blocks by Negroes in 'white' neighbourhoods. This promotes the expansion of the Negro occupancy in such cities. For a more comprehensive discussion see: Grodzins, M., (1962), 'The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem,' Earl Raab(ed). American Race Relations Today, Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Co.Ltd., pp.85-123.

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20

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21

DBS, Census of Canada 1961, 'Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Vancouver,' Bulletin CT 22, Catalogue 95-537, Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA, 1858-1961 .

Chinese Overseas.

The number of Chinese living outside Mainland China and Taiwan in 1965 was estimated to be 16.9 million by the China Yearbook, 1964-1965¹. The majority of these Overseas-Chinese or the hua-chiao² are concentrated in Asian countries³. In a recent study, Chang⁴ observes that the Overseas-Chinese in most countries are an urban-group and that their occupational patterns are changing from initial petty occupations as cooks, servants, laundry workers and the like, to trade, services and commercial enterprise. Such occupational changes have fundamentally altered the traditional functions and status of the 'old Chinatowns' and has accelerated the tendency among the younger Chinese to disperse into the suburbs of cities.

There have been numerous studies of the Overseas-Chinese⁵ in different geographical locations, and this chapter merely summarizes some of the more important aspects of the general problem of Chinese immigration; in particular it attempts to examine the case of the Chinese in Canada.

The causes of Chinese emigration out of China are numerous. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economic state of China, and especially that of its coastal Provinces, was depressed. In addition there was increasing population pressure on the land and the general poverty of the people. Famines and floods were rife at this time. These

economic hardships were aggravated by political and social unrest generated by local and country-wide disturbances and political manouverings⁶.

The people of the coastal provinces of China had most contact with 'foreigners.' These contacts with 'foreigners' broke down many of their fears and prejudices of the outside 'barbarian world' and thus facilitated Chinese emigration from these areas. A great majority of the Overseas-Chinese in the Americas and elsewhere came from the two coastal provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. It has been suggested by Murphey, that "...the Cantonese, ethnically and linguistically distinct from the main body of the Chinese people, are China's traditional overseas traders and colonizers, and Kwangtung has been for centuries the traditional supplier of emigrants."⁷ Their emigration can be said to stem mainly from economic reasons. The stories of rich gold fields in the Americas had filtered across to the peoples in these coastal provinces of China. As a result of such stories and news, we observe the beginnings of a 'labor' migration to the west coast of America around the 1840's. Moreover, following the First and Second Opium Wars, Britain had fought for the legalization of free Chinese emigration which hitherto was forbidden by the Manchu Government (1644-1911)⁸. As a result of such efforts, the Burlingame Treaty (1868) formally removed the restrictions on Chinese emigration⁹. This Treaty stimulated emigration of the Chinese.

The Beginnings of Chinese Immigration into Canada.

A comprehensive account of the history of Chinese immigration into Canada can be found in both Cheng, (1931) and Andracki, (1958)¹⁰. This portion of the chapter on Chinese immigration into Canada however, deals with the more important geographical aspects of Chinese immigration into Canada.

The first Chinese to set foot on Canadian soil came not from China but California¹¹. Chinese immigration into California began as early as 1848, with the discovery of rich deposits of gold. 'Mountain of Gold,' the Chinese name for California, is a direct association to these gold deposits. The depletion of the gold resources in California coincided with the discovery and announcement of the rich placer beds in the lower Fraser in British Columbia in 1858¹². This attracted many miners and also some Chinese laborers. This was one of the first instances of Chinese immigration into Canada, more specifically into British Columbia.

Local attitude (in Canada) towards the Chinese immigrants in the west coast was cordial at first. Later on, with the recession in gold mining and depletion of these resources, there was an increasing agitation to legislate against Chinese immigrations. The underlying reasons were : race prejudice, economic competition, alarm over the weight of numbers and problems of racial assimilation. Of these, Boggs points out that, "...probably the most obvious and at the same time least rational [was] race prejudice."¹³ It should be noted too that by this time Chinese

immigrants were arriving directly from China instead of the circuitous route through California. By 1863, the total Chinese population of British Columbia already numbered about 2,500¹⁴. In 1891, the Census of Canada estimated the number of Chinese in Canada at 9,129, of which 8,910 were in British Columbia. This phenomenal increase in numbers was precipitated by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881. For instance, the Onderdonk Construction Company was given a limited sub-contract to construct the railroad. It is reported that to meet its labor requirements, the Company brought a total of 15,701 Chinese laborers from the province of Kwangtung in 1881¹⁵. Thus, it was at the railroad camps that one found the majority of the Chinese working as laborers and cooks. This situation has a parallel in the United States, where the Chinese were employed as laborers in the construction of the Central Pacific Railway. Another parallel between Chinese immigration into Canada and the United States is the introduction of official anti-Chinese legislations. However, in the case of the Chinese in Canada, these were carried out mainly at the provincial level. The Chinese were not accepted as citizens until some eighty years after they first entered Canada.

Friction between the local populace and the Chinese began at an early date. The first instances of violence against the Chinese seems to have taken place as early as January 1867. This occurred when an angry mob marched to the McDougal's Work Camp, a clearing in the 'West End Forests' on the north-western edges of the present-day West End area of the city of Vancouver, late at night and drove the Chinese laborers to the cliffs forcing

them to jump into the icy waters¹⁶.

At the official level however, the first move in the British Columbia Legislature to legislate against the Chinese came in February 1872. A head tax of \$50 per head per annum was proposed¹⁷. This was however defeated in a vote. In 1875, a Bill was proposed in the same Legislature prohibiting franchise to the Chinese in Provincial elections¹⁸. Repeated attempts were also made in 1876 and 1878 to impose a tax of \$10 per capita per annum on every Chinese male over 18 years and "...who wears long hair in the shape of a tail or queue."¹⁹ These proposals, although passed and approved by the British Columbia Legislature, were later ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of British Columbia, the argument of the Court being that these Acts interfered with the regulation of trade and commerce, and the naturalization of aliens -a right which belonged to the Dominion Government itself²⁰.

The first instance of proposed legislation against the Chinese at the Federal level was in March 1878, when a proposal was made in the House of Commons to deny work in the Canadian Pacific Railway to persons wearing hair more than 5½" long. This proposal was specifically aimed at the Chinese immigrants who wore queues. The Prime Minister, Alexander MacKenzie, opposed this motion, for he argued that the Chinese had come from Hong Kong, and as such they were British subjects and should therefore be accorded due rights. The proposal was defeated in a vote²¹.

During the period 1881-1885, although efforts were made at the official level to secure the prohibition of Chinese

immigration, some 15,701 Chinese immigrants arrived in the Dominion²². A debate in the Dominion house of Commons in May 1882, voiced the fear that the Chinese immigrants had numbered some 32,000 and that if this trend persisted, the number of whites in the province of British Columbia would be outnumbered²³. The members proposing legislation against Chinese immigration were re-assured however that since the Chinese immigrants did not bring their families and children, they would likely return home. This argument, although sound at that time, proved to be contrary to their expectations, as we shall later see.

In 1883, a Select Committee was appointed by the British Columbia Legislature to study the problem of Chinese immigration²⁴. Two Acts were later passed on the basis of the report and recommendations of this Select Committee²⁵. The first Act provided that an annual licence tax of \$10 was to be imposed on every Chinese 14 years and over. Another clause of this same Act made it mandatory for every Chinese to have a minimum living space of at least 384 cubic feet for each person. This was purported to maintain a general living standard and prevent overcrowding in the tenements. The second Act prohibited immigration of Chinese into British Columbia and imposed a penalty of \$50 for illegal entry. The Supreme Court however declared the first Act ultra vires as it imposed a differential tax on its subjects. The second Act was declared null and void as the question of immigration was exclusively a Dominion right²⁶.

The First Period of Chinese Restriction, 1885-1900.

A Royal Commission was appointed in July 1885 to inquire into the general problem of Chinese immigration²⁷. The report of this Royal Commission led to the passing of an Act in the same year. This Act aimed at 'restricting and regulating,' but not prohibiting, Chinese immigration into the Dominion. This Act therefore marks the beginnings of anti-Chinese legislation at the Federal level. This Act was also the first anti-Chinese law in Canada²⁸. In addition to the first clause concerning the regulation of Chinese immigration, a head tax of \$50 was to be levied on every Chinese immigrant and 50 tons of goods had to be traded by the ship bringing Chinese immigrants into Canada.

According to this report, there were about 15,701 Chinese in the Dominion in 1885²⁹. Of these, 10,550 or about 67.1% were in the province of British Columbia. The total number of adult male Chinese in the Province was 9,870. This meant that nearly 93.3% of the Chinese population of British Columbia was male. Table 2.1 below gives a breakdown of the occupational structure of the Chinese in British Columbia in 1885. This pattern of male domination in the Chinese immigrant populations had important implications for the Chinese community. Further elaboration of this point is found in Chapter III.

At the city level, the election of Vancouver's first Mayor in 1886 saw the beginning of open conflict between the immigrant Chinese and the anti-Chinese elements. The Chinese from Hastings Mill were on their way to the Maple Tree (the site of present-day 'Gastown') to vote. They were met on the way

Table 2.1: British Columbia: Occupations of Immigrant Chinese, 1885.

Occupations	Number	Percent
Railway construction	3,500	35.46
Mining	2,240	22.69
Farming	800	0.81
Canning	390	3.95
Milling	270	2.73
Services (cooks, servants, laundrymen, etc.)	2,670	27.05
TOTAL	9,870	100.00

Source: same as footnote 29 below.

by a mob of whites. At the same time other similar mobs met ships at docksides to turn away ships bearing Chinese immigrants. The Chinese settlements fringing False Creek were burnt down and the anti-Chinese elements tried to run the Chinese out of town. These elements were mainly white laborers who resented the competition of cheaper Chinese labor in the labor market³⁰.)

Various other petitions were also received at this time at the Provincial level requesting stricter immigration laws be imposed on Chinese immigrants. It was also at this time, in 1891 to be precise, that objections to the Japanese were first mentioned at the Provincial Parliament³¹. Such requests and proposals for Acts to prohibit immigration of the Chinese were more often than not turned down for a number of reasons. For instance, the possibility of the extension of trade with China and Japan, the violation of the Treaty rights of the people involved, were all cited as counter arguments. For such reasons the Municipal Elections Act of 1896³² and the Alein Labor Act of 1897³³, passed by the British Columbia Legislature were both

disallowed by the Dominion Government. Both Acts had violated the treaty rights of the people involved.

The Supreme Court in 1900 pronounced the Immigration Act of 1900 and the Labor Regulation Act of 1900 passed by the British Columbia Legislature to be ultra vires³⁴. Both these Acts required the immigrant to be able to read and write a European language when applying for immigration. Although in appearance these two Acts tried to avoid overt racial discrimination, their clauses made this fact undeniable. It should be noted that at this time many proposals were tabled in the British Columbia Legislature and in the Dominion House of Commons to restrict or totally prohibit Chinese immigration.

The Second Period of Chinese Restriction, 1901 - 1925.

The beginning of this period saw the rapid growth of the Chinese immigrant populace. During the period 1886 - 1891, some 4,809 Chinese immigrants had arrived in the Dominion. Between 1892 and 1901 the Chinese population in Canada was nearly 26,763. Of these nearly 86% were in British Columbia³⁵. At the same time it should be mentioned that the 'oriental immigration problem' in Canada had changed its character considerably during the period under discussion. In the early twentieth century, it was largely a Chinese problem. Now, besides the Chinese, there were also the Japanese and East Indians, mainly Sikhs. These latter two groups were treated differently, as Japan was an ally of Britain, while the East Indians were British subjects.

In 1902, the Dominion House of Commons approved the head tax increase from \$50 in 1885 to \$100³⁶. The 50 tons of goods to be traded by the ship bringing in Chinese immigrants remained unchanged. This amended the Chinese Restrictions Act of 1885. This is viewed as a significant event in this period of Chinese restriction, for the Dominion seemed at this stage to be bending to the wishes of the people of British Columbia. However, this amendment was described as inadequate by members of the British Columbia Legislature. Efforts were continued in 1903 but they failed to include the clause "...that no persons unable to speak English could occupy a position of trust in a mine..." into the 1885 Act.

/ In April 1903, an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1900 raised the head tax to \$500 and a stipulation that one-half of the proceeds so collected should go to the Province collecting it. This amendment became effective on January 1, 1904³⁷. An immediate effect of this tax was the reduction of Chinese immigration into Canada. This was because the amount was too large for the average Chinese immigrant to pay. However, a few years later there was a jump in the numbers of Chinese arriving in the Dominion. Their numbers jumped from 121 in July 1907 to about 1,482 in March 1908. This situation resulted from two related factors. Firstly, as a result of the \$500 head tax, Chinese immigration fell. Because of this, those Chinese who were already here were demanded all the more in the labor market. They had become, as it were, a unit commanding a monopoly of the 'cheap' labor market. This resulted in the doubling and trebling

of their wages. Secondly, the demand for Chinese labor was greater than there were supplies of them. Businessmen and industrialists sought out Chinese labor with higher wages as incentives for attracting them. Both these factors resulted in the willingness of Chinese laborers to pay this head tax of \$500 as they knew that it could be paid off in a few months time³⁸.

One important aspect that needs to be mentioned here is that the head tax of \$500 changed the character of Chinese immigration. Before the imposition of the head tax, a great number of Chinese were brought in by labor agencies and labor contractors. The agencies and contractors, acting as middlemen in the labor market, paid in advance the passage of the Chinese laborers, who in turn worked for a few years here to pay off their debts. When the \$50 and \$100 head tax were in force these agencies paid for the taxes and passage of the Chinese labor. But the \$500 head tax was the 'last straw' for the agencies and contractors who did not wish to risk such large sums of money in advance. This particular head tax therefore completely abolished the contractual system. This period therefore saw the change-over from contract laborers to free labor immigration³⁹.

The anti-Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver in 1907. After a general meeting on 8th. September, 1907, a radical group, not content with legislations against Chinese laborers, decided to take the law into their own hands. This resulted in the infamous 'anti-Asiatic' riots of Vancouver of that year. Damage to personal property was extensive, estimated by various sources to be more than \$100,000⁴⁰. However, according

to the official assessment made by Mr. MacKenzie King⁴¹, the damage claimed by the Chinese was about \$26,900, including legal expenses. This relatively low figure of claims for damages incurred by the riots, as rationalized by King, was due to the fact that the Chinese did not wish to appear to take advantage of the situation and therefore claimed only nominal sums. This was considered to be the minimum amount required to start their businesses again. Another line of thought suggests that the low monetary claims may have been psychologically motivated, in the sense that it might have been used to gain the goodwill and understanding of the people of Vancouver. The Victoria Colonist, which was formerly anti-Chinese, reported in its pages the following day, that "...the action of the mob was deplorable and a disgrace to Canada especially to British Columbia."⁴²

Immigration as a result of the \$500 head tax virtually stopped. But it picked up again in 1907, when 1,542 Chinese immigrants entered the Dominion. It was at this time that charges of illegal entry, smuggling and misconduct were laid against Customs officials in Victoria and Vancouver. This led to the appointment of Mr. Justice Murphy to investigate and report on the problem of Chinese immigration and its administration. The findings of Murphy, were that the administration of the immigration of Chinese at Victoria was effective and adequate. The administration of Chinese immigration in Vancouver, however, left much to be desired⁴³. In 1913, an Order in Council prohibited the entry of skilled and unskilled East Indian (mainly Sikh) labor to British Columbia ports⁴⁴. A year later this stipulation was also

applied to the Chinese⁴⁵.

In August 1913, coal miners on Vancouver Island went on strike. The mine owners used Chinese labor to work the mines. This action on the part of the mine owners angered the strikers and resulted in the riots of August 12th and 16th at Extension, South Wellington and Ladysmith. Chinese laborers used the Chinese Benevolent Association as its bargaining body and claimed damages of \$12,000 for losses sustained as a result of the riots. These losses included loss in wages, property and injury⁴⁶. The period of the First World War resulted in a decline in Chinese immigration. For instance in 1913, some 6,227 Chinese immigrants landed in Canada. When the War started, this dropped to 1,600 in 1914 to 82 in 1915, at which time the 1913 Order in Council became effective.

With the return to normalcy after the First World War, a Dominion Franchise Bill (1920) was passed. It included a clause stating that those persons disqualified by any Province of the Dominion to vote, shall not be qualified to vote in the Federal or Provincial elections⁴⁷. In the 1921 session of the Dominion Parliament, it became mandatory for those classes of Chinese immigrants who were exempt from the head tax, but whose exemption had lapsed, to register with the Controller of Immigration⁴⁸. A proposal for the total 'exclusion' of Orientals was rejected in the Dominion House of Commons. In its place however the Minister of the Interior proposed the Immigration Act of 1923 in which the words 'effective restriction' in lieu of 'total exclusion' were included. With this amendment, the Bill was

passed⁴⁹.

The Immigration Act of 1923 remains the most drastic and effective piece of legislation aimed at stopping the flow of Chinese immigration into the Dominion. This was passed on the 4th. of May 1923⁵⁰. This Act attracted world-wide opinion including that of Britain. Chinese immigration into Canada virtually stopped⁵¹. The special classes of persons who formerly were given unrestricted entry were reduced to Government officials, Canadian-born Chinese who had gone abroad for studies, merchants and students. The points of entry were restricted only to the two ports of Vancouver and Victoria for Chinese immigrants. Final authority on Chinese immigration rested with the Minister of Immigration and a Comptroller. They were empowered to decide on the 'desirability' of the Chinese immigrants. The Chinese viewpoint was heard by the Senate on the 14th. of May 1923, and only certain clauses of the Act were objected to by the Chinese⁵². These clauses were amended in the provisions of the Act. Royal Assent to this Bill was received on the 30th of June 1923⁵³.

The Period of Re-Orientation, 1926-1947.

According to the Canada Yearbooks of the period, from the inception of the Immigration Act of 1923 till its repeal in 1947, only 57 Chinese immigrants entered Canada. The repeal of this Act finally came on the 14th. of May 1947. Chinese already in Canada were allowed to acquire Canadian citizenship and were allowed to send for their wives and unmarried children under-18 years old. In fact Naturalization had begun as early as 1941

when nearly 2,055 Chinese received their citizenship, 91 in the period 1945-1946⁵⁴ and 880 in the period 1947-1949⁵⁵. During the period of the Immigration Act of 1923, there were no other major Bills nor were any amendments proposed. This could thus be viewed as a stage in the re-orientation of the peoples of Canada, and especially that of British Columbia.

Acceptance and Modern-day Trends, 1948-1969.

The hostility against Chinese immigration soon died down after the Second World War. During the period 1947-1959, more than 22,000 Chinese acquired Canadian citizenship. The largest number to receive their citizenship was between 1951 and 1952 when nearly 6,000 persons of Chinese extraction were accepted as citizens⁵⁶.

Certain amendments to the 1947 Immigration Act were made in 1957, when the sponsorship of spouses and children by Canadian Chinese citizens became possible. Those Chinese who arrived in Canada for the purposes of marriage did not have to satisfy residence requirements of 30 days nor was it mandatory for them to secure return tickets in the event that the proposed marriage did not take place. Certain classes of immigrants are still discouraged, primarily on account of age, mental state, literacy in English and other limitations.

A more direct result of the repeal of the Immigration Act of 1923 was the improvement in the sex-ratio of the Chinese here. This aspect is discussed in a greater detail in the next chapter.

The effects of the legislative procedures aimed at the Chinese can best be studied in the light of the statistics compiled from the Yearbooks of Canada, 1901-1961. The main point to note is the adverse effects of the Immigration Act of 1923, and more recently, of the modern-day acceptance of the Chinese. (Table 2.2)

Table 2.2: Canada: Chinese Immigration, 1901-1961.

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1901	2,544	1921	2,732	1941	-
2	3,587	22	810	42	-
3	5,329	23	-	43	-
4	4,847	24	7	44	-
5	77	25	-	45	-
6	168	26	-	46	8
7	1,542	27	2	47	34
8	2,163	28	1	48	276
9	1,883	29	1	49	803
1910	4,667	1930	-	1950	1,746
11	6,660	31	-	51	2,708
12	6,995	32	1	52	2,320
13	6,227	33	1	53	1,936
14	1,600	34	1	54	1,636
15	82	35	-	55	2,602
16	313	36	-	56	2,130
17	542	37	1	57	1,686
18	2,988	38	-	58	2,630
19	1,084	39	-	59	2,586
1920	1,329	1940	-	1960	1,450
				61	894

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Canada, 1901, (p.611), Canada Yearbook, 1911, (p.395), 1921, (p.131), 1931, (p.185), 1941, (p.122), 1951, (p.151), and 1961 (p.233).

The Distribution of the Chinese in Canada.

The effects of specific legislations against the Chinese can be readily seen from the census figures (Appendix I) and from the immigration statistics (Table 2.2). For instance, in the intercensal period 1901-1911 the percentage growth of the

Chinese population in Canada was 60.76 (that is, from 17,312 to 27,831.) The increase dropped to 42.21% for the next inter-censal period and to a low of 17.52% for the period 1921-1931. This gradual decline in the immigration of the Chinese is very highly correlated with the series of legislations mentioned earlier. During the inter-censal period 1931-1941 and 1941-1951, the population actually declined (-25.56% and -6.06% respectively). In terms of absolute numbers this was a drop from 46,519 persons in 1931 to 32,528 in 1951. This meant that there was in fact a loss of population through deaths as well as emigration of the Chinese from Canada. With the easing of the restrictive legislations, the growth rate of the Chinese picked up again, for example between 1951 and 1961 the population increased by 78.91%. There were nearly 58,197 Chinese in Canada in 1961.

The statistics quoted above however do not correlate with statistics used in the reports of the Legislatures⁵⁷. This has been found to be mainly because of return emigration from Canada to China, which is not usually reported in the official statistics. A majority of these persons returning home could probably be the labor immigrants who came solely for the purpose of working in the mines and railways. At the same time, a small proportion of the Chinese also died during this period. The shape of the growth curve of the Chinese population in Canada is an inverted normal curve with a mean growth per decade of 38.5% and a smaller figure of 27.04% for British Columbia.

Between 1901 and 1931, British Columbia contained more than 50% of the Chinese population in Canada. This

concentration of the Chinese population however has been decreasing with the dispersion of the Chinese from this Province to the other Provinces of Canada. From 1941 onwards, the percentages of the Canadian Chinese in British Columbia has dropped steadily from 46.84% in 1941 to a low of 41.62% in 1961⁵⁸. This dispersion of the Chinese from British Columbia may have been due to the very restrictive legislations in this Province. In fact there has been very little evidence of hostility in the other Provinces towards the Chinese through legislations⁵⁹. As a result of such 'favourable' conditions, there has been a tendency among the Chinese to move to these Provinces.

The dispersion and growth of the Chinese population in the other Provinces is very marked in the case of the Provinces of Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec. However, the general trends to be found in these Provinces are nearly the same. For instance, the growth and decline of the Chinese in the other Provinces have shown a close association with the growth and decline of the Canadian Chinese as a whole. The effects of the legislations are all too clear. These legislations had in fact stemmed the flow of Chinese immigration to a great degree. Another effect may be found in the relatively few Chinese women in the country. The ratio of women to men in 1931 was less than 7.5%. By 1951 this had improved to 26.7%. This abnormally low ratio of Chinese women accounts for the fact that natural increase was relatively unimportant as a factor in the growth of the Chinese population until 1951. This aspect is examined in greater detail on a Provincial basis in the following chapter.

Footnotes:

- 1
China Yearbook, 1964-1965, Taipeh, 1965, and The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Taipeh, 1966.
- 2
This is a Chinese word used to describe those Chinese that are now living in overseas territories apart from Taiwan or Mainland China.
- 3
Chang, s-D., (1968), 'The Distribution and Occupations of Overseas Chinese,' Geographical Review, Vol.58 No.1, pp.89-107. Chang reports that about 15.8 million or 97% of the overseas-Chinese are concentrated in Asia.
- 4
ibid. pp. 102-107.
- 5
For instance, Coughlin, (1960), Freedman, (1957), Skinner, (1958), Tien, (1953), and Sung, (1967).
- 6
Sandhu, K.S., (1961), 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca: A Study in Population Change, 1500 to 1957 A.D.' Journal of Tropical Geography, Vol.15 (June), p.10 .
- 7
Morphey, R., (1951), op.cit. p.254. This is also verified by Pyau Ling, (1912), 'Causes of Chinese Emigration,' Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol.39, p.75 : who opines that they are the most enterprising of the linguistic groups in China.
- 8
Chen Ta, (1923), 'Chinese Migration with Special Reference to Labor Conditions,' Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No.340, Washington,D.C., p.17.
- 9
McNair, H.F., (1924), The Chinese Abroad, Shanghai, China, The Commercial Press Ltd., pp.16-17.
- 10
Cheng, T.F., (1931), Oriental Immigration into Canada, Shanghai, China, The Commercial Press Ltd., and Andracki, S., (1958), 'The Immigration of Orientals into Canada, with special reference to the Chinese,' unpublished Ph.D.dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

- 11 Kung, S.W., (1962), Chinese in American Life, Seattle, Washington, The University of Washington Press, p.19 .
- 12 Woodsworth, C.J., (1941), Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations, Canadian Institute of International Affaris, Toronto, p.19.
- 13 Boggs, T.H., (1926), 'Oriental Penetration and British Columbia,' International Forumn Review, Vol. 1 No.3, p.9.
- 14 Kung, S.W., (1962), op.cit. p.18.
- 15 Quan Lin, (1958), 'Early Chinese Settlers,' in a series, see: Chinatown News, Vancouver, (May) Vol.5 Nos.17-23. This figure however is a gross over-estimation and could not have been more than 4,200 in British Columbia for that census period.
- 16 Spearing, D.N., (1969), 'Chinatown-Vancouver's Heritage,' Plywood World, Vol. 9 No.1, p.5 .
- 17 BCLA, Journals, 1872, p.15.
- 18 BCLA, Statutes, 1875, No.2.
- 19 BCLA, Journals, 1876, p.45.
- 20 DHC, Royal Commission, Report on Chinese Immigration, 1885, Appendix G, pp.375 - 383.
- 21 DHC, Debates, 1878, p.1027.
- 22 DHC, Royal Commission, Report on Chinese Immigration, 1885, 'The Commission,' p.v .
- 23 DHC, Debates, 1882, p.1476.
- 24 BCLA, Journals, 1884, 'The Address,' p.88.
- 25 BCLA, Statutes, 1884.

- 26 DHC, Statutes, 1884, 'Disallowance Report,' pp.1092-1095.
- 27 The Royal Commission comprised Mr.J.A.Chapleau, Secretary of State for Canada, and Mr. Justice J.H.Gray, see: BCLA, Sessional Papers, 1885, 'The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration,' No.54a, p.xi.
- 28 DHC, Statutes, 1885, Chapter 71.
- 29 BCLA, Sessional Papers, 1885, 'Report on Chinese Immigration,' Appendix C, pp.363-366, and Appendix E, pp.370-371.
- 30 Spearing, D.N., (1969), op.cit. p.6. Also the term 'Gastown' is used interchangeably with 'old Granville Townsite,' This is the corner of present-day Carrall and Water Streets. It was here that a public meeting place first emerged in the city. For a discussion of the legal aspects and franchise of Chinese immigrants overseas, see MacNair, (1924), op.cit. pp.132-136.
- 31 BCLA, Journals, 1891, pp.50-56.
- 32 BCLA, Statutes, 1896, Chapter 38, Art.7.
- 33 ibid., 1897, Chapter 1 .
- 34 ibid., 1900, Chapter 14.
- 35 DBS, Census of Canada, 1901.
- 36 DHC, Statutes, 1904, Chapter 32.
- 37 ibid., 1904, Chapter 8.
- 38 The above is summarized from the findings in D.H.C., Report of The Royal Commission Appointed to Investigate the Method by which Oriental Laborers Have Been Introduced into Canada, 1908, p.71. For instance Cheng, (1931), reports that wages rose from \$25 to \$60 for the same services rendered by the Chinese, that is, before the \$500 head tax became effective. See Cheng, (1931), op.cit. p. 73-74.

39

DHC, Report of the Royal Commission...1908, pp.72-73.

40

See, MacDonald, D., (1969), 'Chinatown,' Vancouver Life, Vol.4 No.1, p.26 and, Walhouse, F., (1961), op.cit., p.241. Both writers seem to have over-estimated the amount of damage brought about by the riots and the subsequent monetary claims for damages by the Chinese.

41

BCLA, Sessional Papers, 1908, 'The Report of MacKenzie King,' No.74, p.12.

42

Editorial, The Victoria Colonist, September 9th., 10th., & 11th., 1907, Victoria, British Columbia.

43

DHC, Debates, 1911, 'The Murphy Report, 1911.'

44

DHC, Canadian Gazette, 1913, P.C.893.

45

ibid., 1914, P.C.23.

46

BCLA, Sessional Papers, 1919-1920, 'The Report,' Appendix F.

47

DHC, Statutes, 1920, Chapter 46, Section 30.

48

ibid, 1921, Chapter 21.

49

DHC, Debates, 1922, p.1513.

50

ibid, 1923, pp.2481-2489.

51

It should be noted that during the period 1923-1947, only 57 Chinese were admitted into the Dominion. Families of Chinese residents in Canada were strictly non-admissible.

52

Canada, Senate Journals, 1923, p.344.

53

DHC, Statutes, 1923, Chapter 38.

54

Kung, (1962), op.cit., p.20.

55

DBS, Department of Trade and Commerce, The Canada Yearbook, 1952, Ottawa, p.162.

56

ibid., p.21.

57

See footnote 15. The figure given in the report of 1885 was 15,701 while the Census of Canada, 1891, reports that there were only about 9,129 Chinese in Canada at that time.

58

This aspect is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

59

See, Cheng, T.F., (1931), op.cit., p.83,89 & 104.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, AND THE EVOLUTION OF CHINATOWNS, 1881 - 1961.

The Growth of Chinese Populations in British Columbia, 1881-1961.

Since the beginning of Chinese immigration into Canada, nearly 40% or more of the Chinese immigrants have settled in British Columbia. Several reasons help to account for such a dense Chinese concentration in the Province. Firstly, the west coasts of Canada and the United States were the closest land areas to the Orient. This proximity fostered the growth of Chinese immigrant colonies in such cities as San Francisco and Victoria. The latter was more favoured mainly because of Canada's ties with Britain, as Canada was formerly a British colony, and that some of the Chinese arriving from Hong Kong were British subjects. Chinese immigrants favored Victoria and other parts of British Columbia because of the vast opportunities afforded them in gold mining and railraod construction. Then too, as economic demands for labor in the Province of British Columbia increased during the era of pioneer settlements in the interior and the general development of the Province. Chinese labor was contracted from Hong Kong and China to meet the labor demands of the Province. In such settings, the establishment of Chinese settlements in Victoria and New Westminster, by their very existence, further stimulated the flow of emigrants from China. Finally, political legislation against Chinese immigrants in Canada started in earnest

only from the beginning of the twentieth century. Prior to this, Chinese immigrants found it easier to enter Canada than was the case in the United States¹.

Given such a situation as described above, in the first place, the growth of the Chinese in British Columbia was enhanced (Table 3.1). It will be observed that the proportion of Chinese in the total population of British Columbia was particularly high in the early periods of Chinese immigration. Following the Immigration Act of 1923 however, this proportion fell. The proportion of Chinese in the population of British Columbia has remained stable.

Table 3.1 : Canada and British Columbia: Chinese Population, 1881 - 1961 .

Year	Canada: numbers	British Columbia: numbers	(3) as % of (2)	Canada: Percent increase/ decrease	British Columbia: Percent increase/ decrease
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1881	4,383	4,200*	95.82	-	-
1891	9,129	8,910	97.60	51.98	112.14
1901	17,312	14,885	85.98	89.89	67.05
1911	27,831	19,568	70.31	60.76	31.46
1921	39,581	23,533	59.45	42.21	20.26
1931	46,519	27,319	58.72	17.52	16.04
1941	34,627	16,220	46.84	-25.56	-40.62
1951	32,528	15,933	48.98	- 6.06	- 1.76
1961	58,197	24,227	41.62	78.91	52.05

* = estimate only.

Source: These statistics have been compiled from, DBS, Census Reports, 1881-1961.

Secondly, the relative decrease in the Chinese population in British Columbia has been falling gradually since 1941

when a negative net growth was recorded. In fact, Chinese population loss in British Columbia was far greater than that of Canada² as a whole. This was probably the result of emigration and a general dispersion of Chinese from British Columbia to the other provinces in Canada.

Because of the lack of accurate statistics, it is difficult to ascertain the point at which natural increase took over from net immigration as the dominant factor in the growth of the Chinese population. This is because published reports of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration do not provide breakdowns such as these. It is estimated here that natural increase of the Chinese population could probably have become important sometime after 1941. Figure 1 compares the total population of British Columbia to that of the Chinese population alone, in terms of age-groups and sex. The graph of the age-group 30-34 years and less is shown to be tending towards a normal distribution. This would seem to suggest that if those between the age-group 0-34 years were taken to constitute the natural increase, then the point where natural increase became more dominant than net migration would lie someplace between 1941 and 1945.

A more impressive aspect of this age-sex pyramid is the predominance of the male Chinese population. This is to be expected. Firstly, the immigration of the Chinese was male-dominated. This occurred as a result of the exigencies of economic development of the 'frontier lands' of British Columbia which created a demand for labor, coupled with a need for cheap labor to be used in railroad construction. Since Chinese labor was

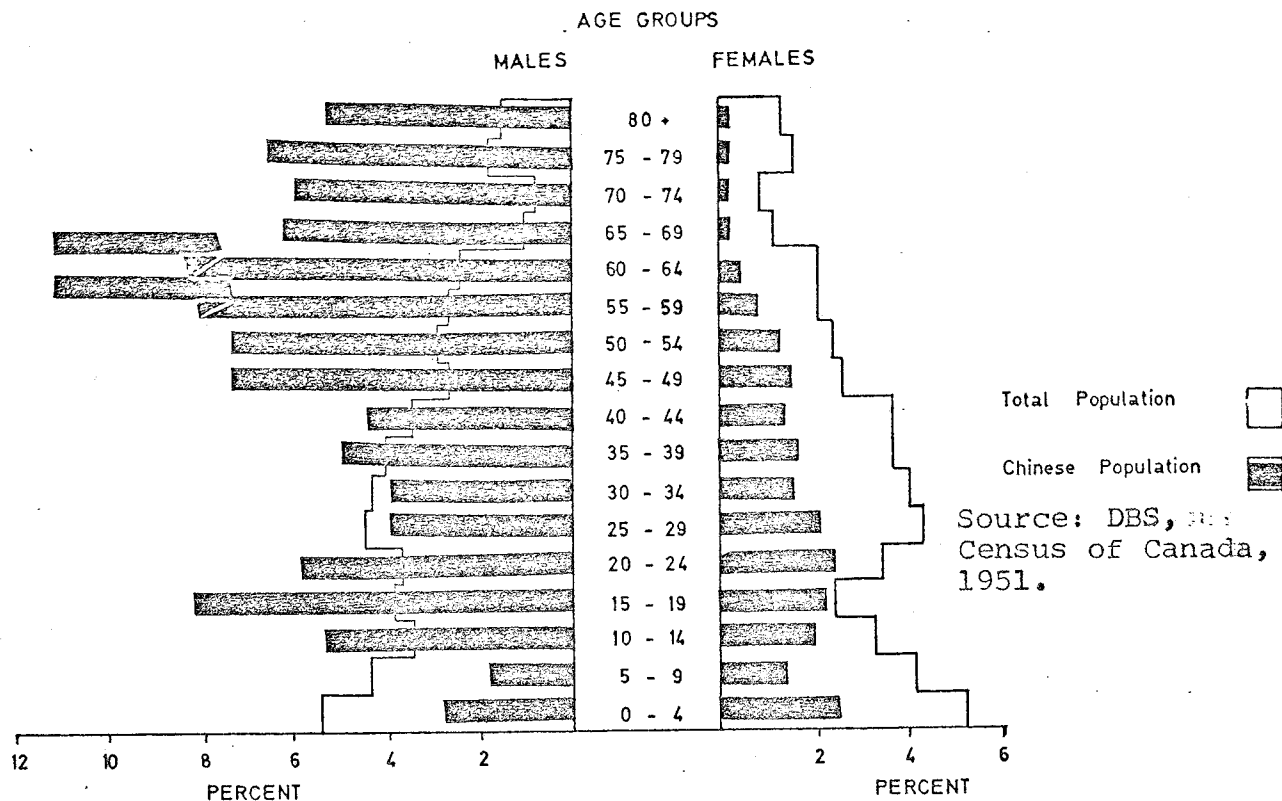


Fig. 1: British Columbia: Age-Sex structure of the Total and Chinese populations, 1951.

relatively easy to obtain and 'cheap,' many Chinese were contracted from Hong Kong and China for work in British Columbia. Chinese women were however not needed in these schemes. Secondly, as Sandhu³ has succinctly summarized, the male-domination of Chinese migrants are apparent for several reasons. For instance, although anti-emigration legislation was strictly enforced in China up to 1868, when the Burlingame Treaty permitted emigration from China, males generally were able to evade the former law. But the law was strictly enforced in the case of women. The rationale being that the men would return to China someday to marry or to visit their wives and parents. Moreover, the role and status of women in China was considered to be in the home. These may well have been barriers for female emigration.

Distribution of the Chinese in British Columbia.

The Chinese population in British Columbia had grown from 4,200 in 1881 to about 24,227 in 1961. This growth in the Chinese population also fostered the growth of Chinese concentrations in smaller towns and villages besides Vancouver and Victoria (Figs. 2a-2h).

In general the distribution of Chinese concentrations was mainly along the coast, especially the south-west coasts of British Columbia and the south-east portion of Vancouver Island. Within these areas, there were two major centers of Chinese concentration in 1885. These were at Victoria and at New Westminster, both with more than 1,500 Chinese. These were by far the largest nodes of concentration at that time. One reason for this being so is the fact that New Westminster was at that time an administrative center for the areas between Burrard Inlet and the north Arm of the Fraser River. Other centers with sizeable Chinese populations included the northern interior region around Quesnel and Barkerville. Smaller centers were also found around Kamloops and Savona Ferry. Expectedly, these were mining towns.

By 1901, the areas around Burrard and Vancouver (then known as Hastings townsite) each had about 2,500 Chinese. However the concentration of Chinese populations remained on the south western coasts of British Columbia. The Chinese population in the Cariboo Region in fact had grown from 979 in 1891 to 3,596 in 1901.

The year 1911 represents a marked reversal of the former trends. Whereas, prior to this year the concentration of Chinese centered around a few areas, for example, Victoria, New Westminster and Vancouver, 1911 saw the growth of other centers of Chinese concentration in British Columbia. The predominance of Vancouver and Victoria, however, persisted. The other centers where small Chinese populations were found were in the Okanagan and Kootenay Regions. There were also about 57 Chinese at Prince Rupert.

The distribution pattern of the Chinese population in 1921 for the most part resembled the pattern of 1911 (Fig.2d), and the growth and dominance of Victoria and Vancouver, concomitant with the declining importance of New Westminster, continued. The persistence of Chinese communities in other centers continued, Prince George was beginning to emerge as yet another new center of Chinese settlement in 1921. The Chinese population there was about 145 persons.

The pattern of distribution in 1931 further emphasizes the growth and predominance of Vancouver as the center of Chinese concentration in British Columbia. In fact, Vancouver was shown to have about 13,011 Chinese in the city in 1931. Although the Immigration Act was passed in 1923, the growth of the Chinese population between 1921 and 1931 is phenomenal, with an increase of 120.56% (see Table 4.1). This growth is partly explained by the growth of the city of Vancouver itself, and its added needs of 'cheap' Chinese labor. Another reason could be the re-convergence of Chinese on the city, resulting from the depletion of mines

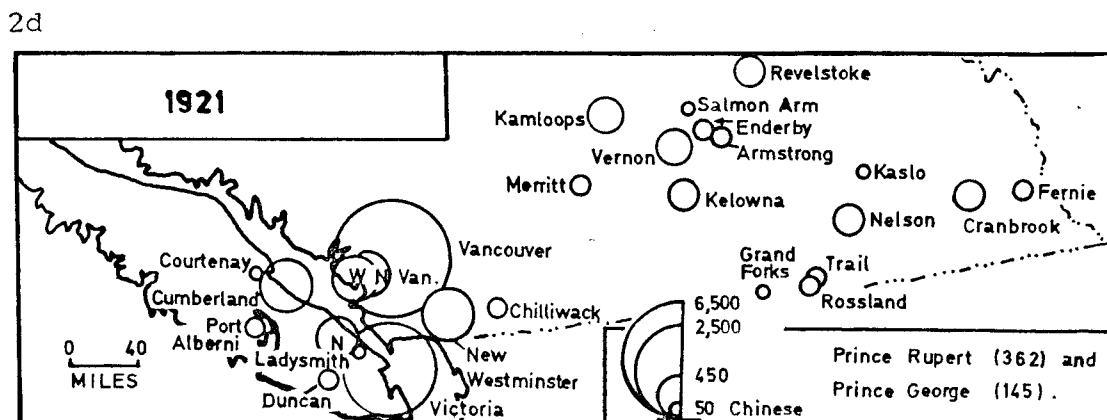
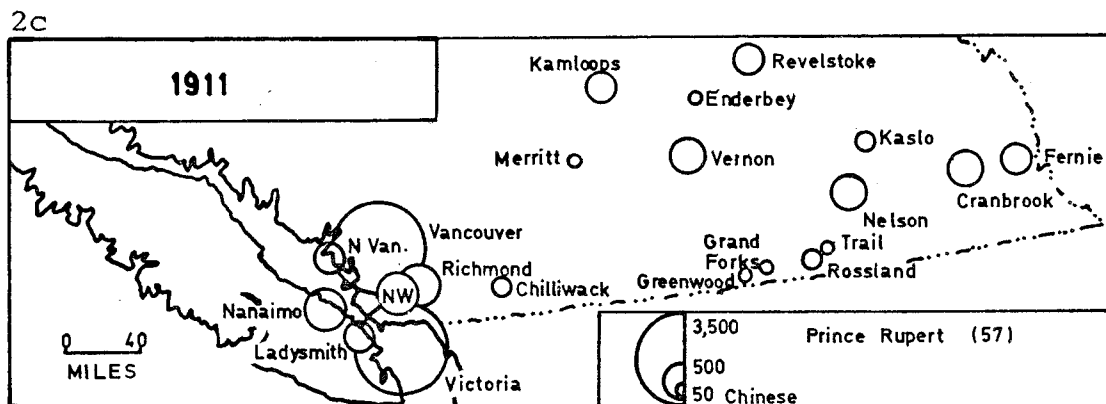
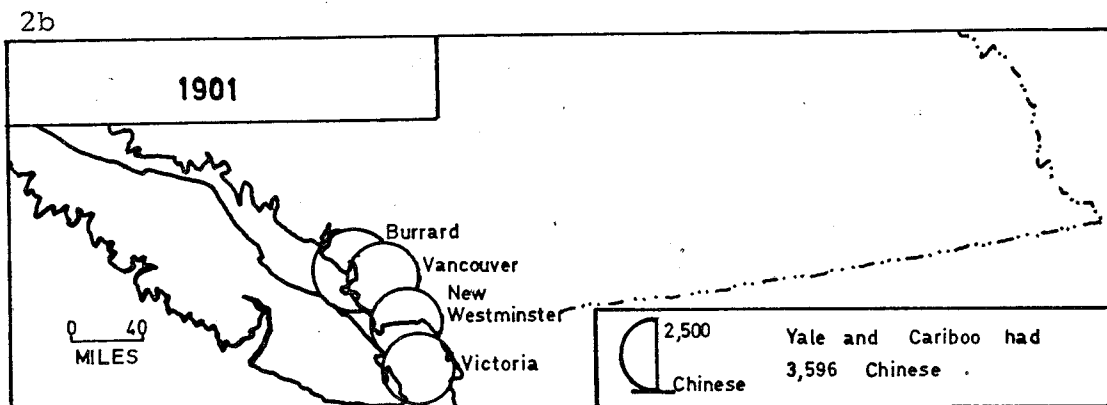
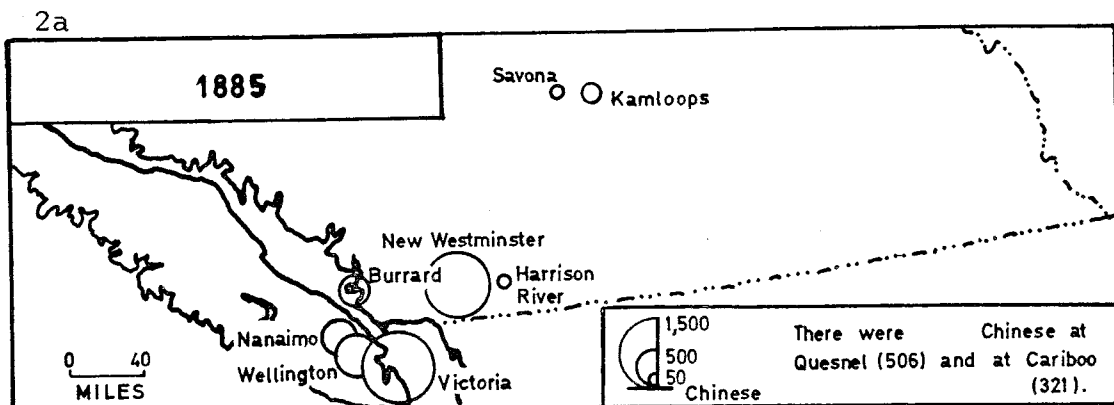
and the completion of railroad construction in British Columbia. On the other hand, in 1941, the Chinese population of British Columbia declined relatively. This decline continued till 1951. In 1961 however, the Chinese population showed a relative increase which might probably have been due to natural increase.

In a Canadian context, British Columbia has been shown to have a persistently larger proportion of the Chinese population in the country (see Appendix I). But in the context of British Columbia alone, Vancouver has persistently maintained a larger proportion of the Chinese population. Thus as a result of such dominance, the growth of Chinatowns in some centers of British Columbia, including Vancouver, was fostered.

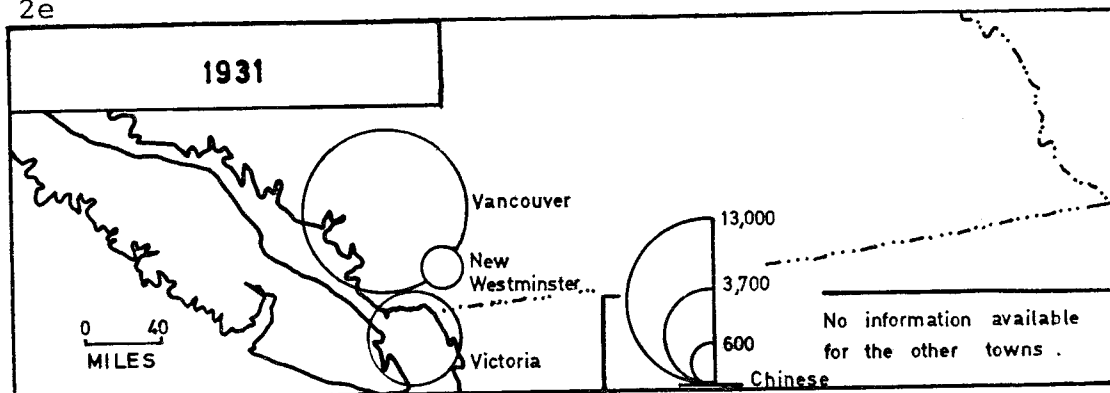
Chinatowns in British Columbian Towns.

In addition to the growth and distribution of the total Chinese population in British Columbian towns, there was the emergence of another important feature. This feature was the growth of 'Chinatowns' in some of the larger towns. Because this feature has seldom been studied in British Columbia, the actual growth of these Chinatowns cannot be easily traced. However an examination of Willmott's article⁴ does provide some insights into the changing roles of Chinatowns. Of the twelve towns⁵ studied by Willmott, only two⁶ did not contain an area recognised as a 'Chinatown.' The persistent features found in these Chinatowns are threefold. Firstly, Chinatowns in British Columbian towns are heavily male dominated. Willmott's study reports that, "...the sex-ratio among Chinese in these communities, with the exception

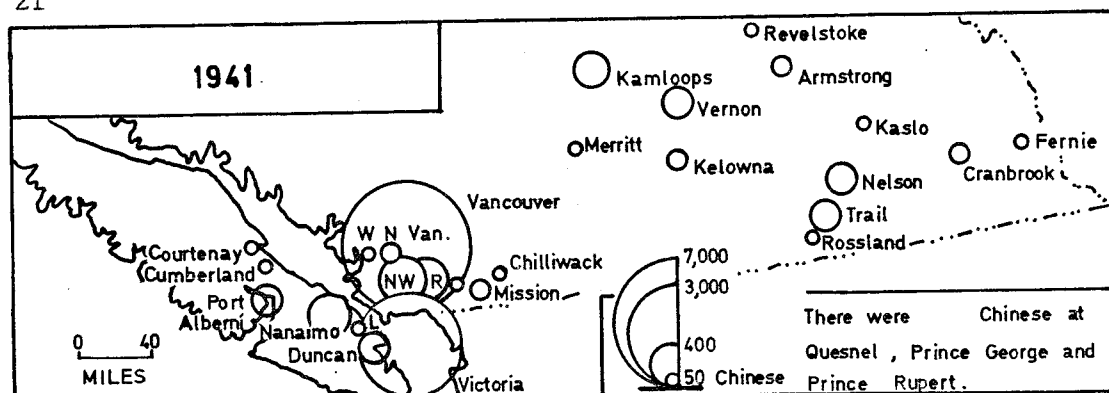
Figs. 2a - 2h : British Columbia; Chinese population of cities and towns, 1885 - 1961.



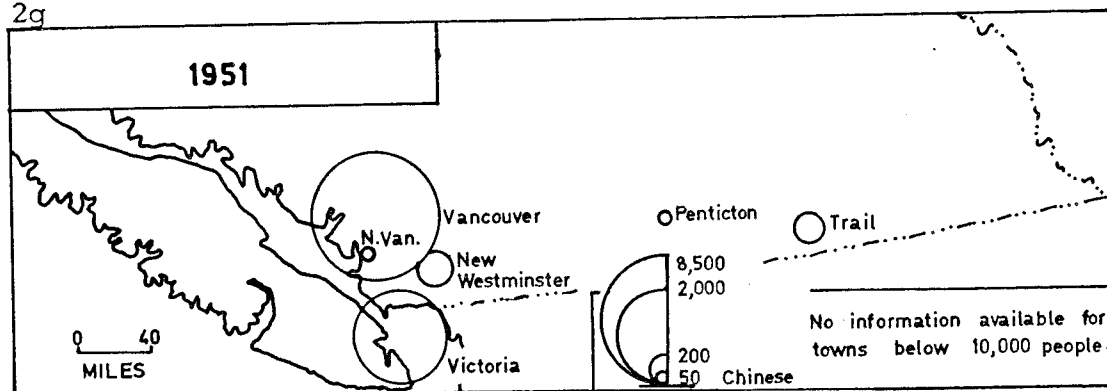
2e



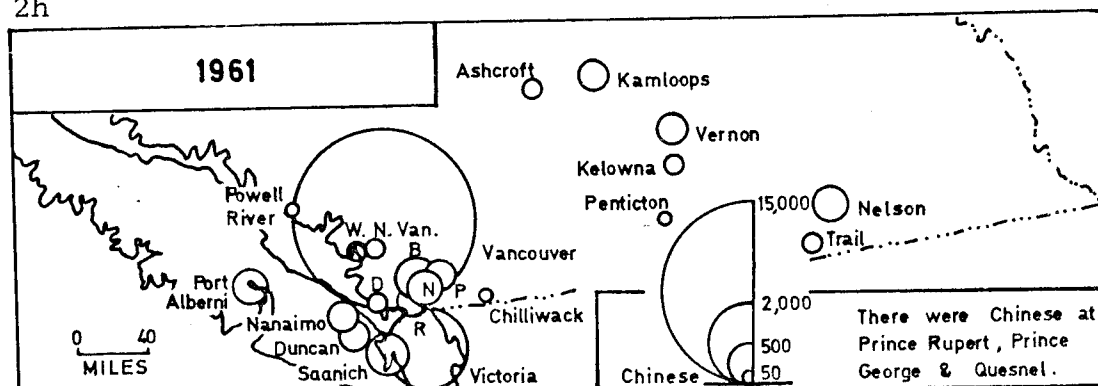
2f



2g



2h



Source: see Appendix II.

of Nanaimo, varies between one woman in four to one in ten, while the ratio is close to one in three in Vancouver."⁷ Of this population, most of the men are elderly, old and retired, who had immigrated during the early period of Chinese immigration (that is, prior to 1923).

A second feature that arises out of the first is, the occupational structure found in these Chinatowns. The Chinese followed the early miners into the mining communities of British Columbia. The Chinese provided such services as washing and cooking in these mining towns. But when the placer beds were depleted, and the demands for such services diminished, the Chinese turned to other pursuits such as restaurants, laundries, groceries and truck-farming in these communities. Today, however, the Chinese in these towns are engaged mainly in restaurants and groceries and partly in truck and vegetable farming.

The last feature found in these Chinatowns pertains to the organization of voluntary associations. According to Willmott, only Quesnel, Ashcroft and Rossland-Trail out of the twelve towns studied did not have any form of an organised association⁸. This feature is especially interesting as most of these Chinatowns have direct connections with Vancouver's Chinatown. More specifically, the smaller Chinese communities look to Vancouver as their cultural and economic center. This brings us to the examination of Vancouver's Chinatown, and its growth and development.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VANCOUVER'S CHINATOWN

Early Chinese Settlement in Vancouver.

Literature pertaining to the settlement of the Chinese and the growth of Vancouver's Chinatown indicates that McDougal's Work Camp in the 'West End Forests'⁹ was one of the earliest Chinese settlements in the Vancouver area. In fact the settlement here consisted of Chinese laborers engaged in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This settlement of Chinese laborers was however burnt down in January 1867, when an angry mob of whites drove the Chinese out of their homes into the icy waters of the inlets nearby. After this, the Chinese regrouped on the south-eastern banks of False Creek, and set up their shanty houses there¹⁰. The wooden shacks fringed both sides of the Creek and these Chinese settlements stretched due west to present-day Carrall Street. There were also pockets of Chinese houses around the vicinity of Pender (then called Dupont) and Keefer Streets¹¹.

On the day of the election of Vancouver's first Mayor, in 1886, a mob burned down this settlement and tried to run the Chinese out of town. At this time, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway meant that there was suddenly a surplus of labor in Vancouver. This meant that wages dropped considerably and competition for jobs became fiercer. The stricken Chinese community then moved into tenements around Shanghai, Canton and Market Alleys, and began taking on menial tasks, lest they incur the wrath of the white laborers¹². The community existed around this

area for some time. However the Chinese community in this area was again dislocated in the 1900's, this time by large commercial interests in their quest for warehouse space. This forced the Chinese to move to the area around Keefer and Pender Streets.

From discussions with some older Chinese residents in Chinatown, it is said that, at one time in the history of the Chinese in Vancouver a wall was built through Shanghai Alley, as a form of protection for the Chinese. Although no evidence can attest to this fact, this might be plausible, since there have been known to be continual harrassment of the Chinese by the white population of this area. But as far as I am aware, no mention of such a wall exists in any of the historical sources examined for this thesis. This could perhaps be counted as one of the wilder stories, as told by older Chinese folk, that have filtered down to us.

Chinese immigrants when not engaged in mining were occupied in menial tasks. In Vancouver, a great majority confined their activities to the precincts of the Chinese quarter, with only an occasional laundry in the other parts of the city. Apart from these, they were also engaged in domestic services, and as unskilled laborers in logging camps and in canneries along the coast¹³.

Evolution of Vancouver's Chinatown.

The description above discusses the emergence of a distinct Chinese quarter in the city. This quarter grew rapidly from the early 1900's as a strictly Chinese area. Part of this

Chinese quarter is described by Chinese in 1931 as follows, "... The business section of the Chinese quarter, 'Chinatown' proper stretches four city blocks. From Pender Street, down south to the Canadian National Railway station, for seven or eight square blocks, the houses are either owned or rented by Chinese..."¹⁴

In terms of the conditions at that time, it was observed that the residential section of this Chinatown stretched further east. However, in Chinatown proper, although there was little space between each house, there were small front and back yards. These houses were all made of wood. Some of these houses built in the 1930's exist to this day, especially along Prior Street eastwards. While the exterior of these houses left much to be desired, Cheng reports that in 1931 practically all of the houses had such modern conveniences as electric lights, gas, running water, a heating system and the telephone¹⁵.

According to Yip, by 1936 the bounds of Chinatown had changed. "...Vancouver's Chinatown is situated on Pender Street, stretching from Carrall Street to Gore Avenue, including the whole of Canton and Shanghai Alleys, part of Carrall Street, part of Columbia and part of Main Street. Also a small Chinese colony is located at Keefer and Georgia Streets which for the most part caters to wholesale produce...."¹⁶ Whether this change was real or whether it may have resulted from the description based on two different points of view, cannot be ascertained at this stage. One could speculate however, that if such change did in fact take place, then it must have been due to external factors, such as for example, the expansion of the Central Area businesses, and the extension of

the tram-car lines of the 1930's. Whatever the reasons, the description above pertains to the commercial heart of 'Chinatown' in 1936. This agrees with the map of Chinatown drawn in 1943¹⁷ (Appendix III.)

In the 1959 edition of the Vancouver Chinese City Directory¹⁸, the heart of Chinatown was defined as, "... that area lying in the rectangle bounded by Carrall Street on the West, Powell on the North, Gore on the East and Georgia on the South, thus making up 214 acres in all...." This describes the heart of Chinatown and more specifically the commercial district of Chinatown. In this definition, as well as those discussed above, it is implicit that the residential area of the Chinese has been partially excluded. As such this definition leaves much to be desired, because, the viability of the commercial district depends to a greater or lesser extent on the residents of the wider area. The residential area should in all cases be included, for although the residential areas and the commercial districts of Chinatown are morphologically distinct units, in an ecological sense they are inseparable.

Figure 3 summarizes the stages of growth of the Chinese settlements around the vicinity of False Creek, as can be interpreted from the evidence available. The present extent of Chinatown is also shown, with the writer's concept of the bounds of Chinatown included. The main criterion of this definition was an occupancy ratio of over 75% Chinese-occupancy in 1969.

VANCOUVER'S CHINATOWN : 1930 - 1969
& Present-day 'Chinese' LANDUSE

Waterfront

RAILWAY

0 400
FEET

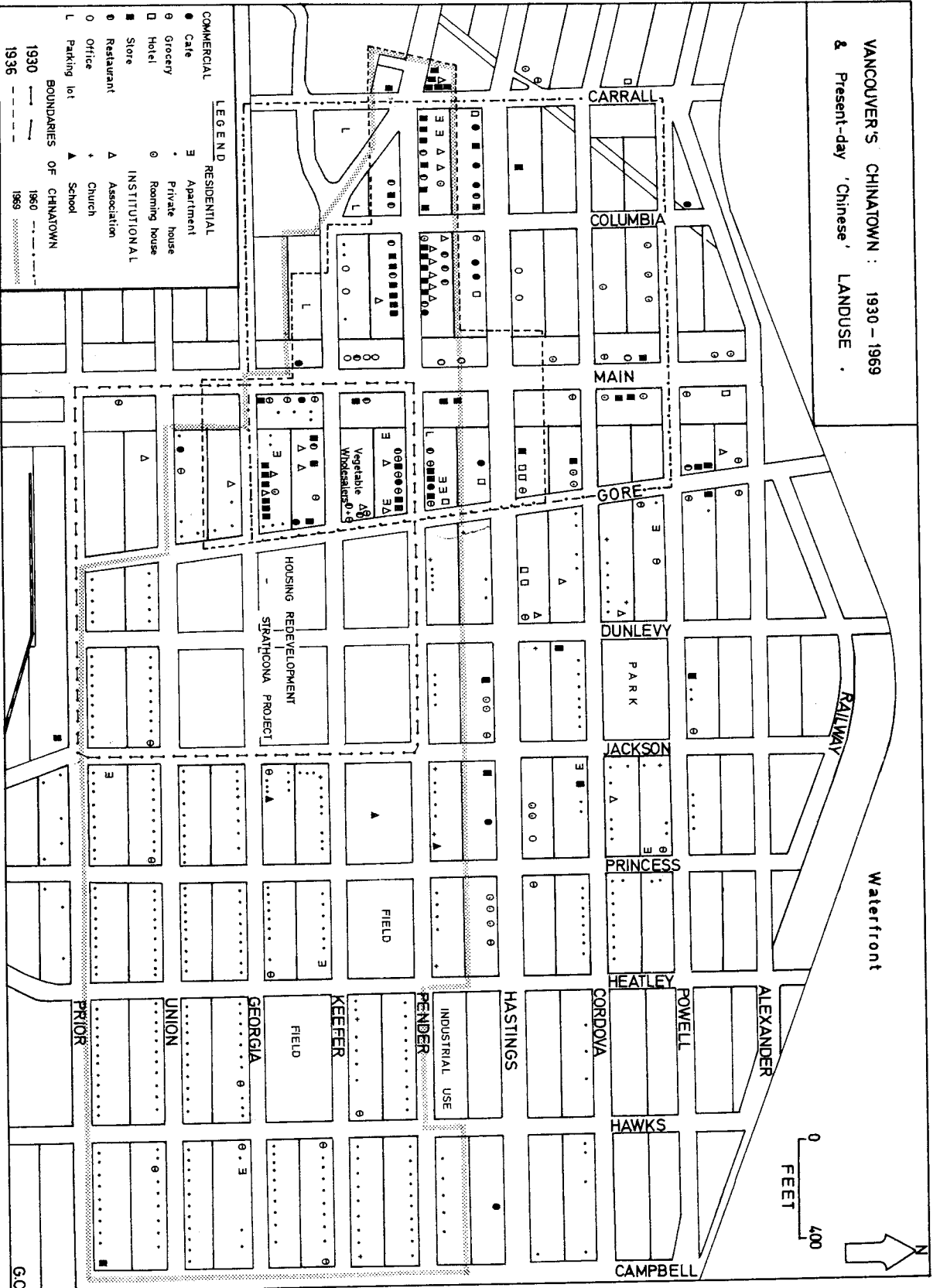


Fig. 3

Urban Ecology of Vancouver's Chinatown.

In discussions of the urban ecology¹⁹ of particular ethnic enclaves, the many faceted character of these enclaves have seldom been discussed. In the discussion of the physical bounds of Chinatown in Vancouver, one salient feature is that the area is a viable socio-economic unit and that its physical bounds are constantly changing. These shifts in the bounds have been discussed by Lee²⁰ in the context of the decline of American Chinatowns. Two major factors were cited for this decline, namely population loss and ecological invasion and succession. This latter trend is not yet evident in Vancouver's Chinatown. Certain characteristics of Vancouver's Chinatown can however be discussed.

The existence of Chinatowns in North American cities has encouraged many sociologists to speculate on the sociology of ethnic enclaves. One line of thought suggests that the harsh social environment of the city has tended to foster a greater need for emotional supports by the family, to cushion blows from the outside world. The implication is that the harsh conditions of existence lead to the growth and perpetuation of close social relationships²¹. In this respect, Chinatown seemingly has served its social functions well with its associations and 'half-way-house' functions.

In the beginning Vancouver's Chinatown provided a source of cheap housing for men. Such housing was often considered mere temporary shelter that would be abandoned with the prospect of returning to China. These 'sojourners,' as they are called by sociologists, conceived the period of migration as

a 'job' overseas which had to be completed in the shortest possible time. Alternatively they travelled back to their homeland every few years to meet their families. From the point of view of Siu²² the sojourner "...clings to the cultural heritage of his own ethnic group and tends to live in isolation..." and , can be considered above all else an ethnocentrist. Thus we find in Chinatown, a conscious effort is made to create a home-away-from-home and thus a "China-town." Temporary occupancy in Chinatown has of late become somewhat semi-permanent for those who have remained.

Vancouver's Chinatown differs in character from Negro ghettos or slums established in some North American cities. Because citizenship rights were not accorded the Chinese till after the Second World War, the Chinese seldom acquired real property and never became, as it were, rooted in the city. Also, due to their cultural heritage and familial ties, Chinatowns satisfied a social need. In contrast, ghettos and slums are somewhat more ethnically heterogenous and there being little or no barriers to settlement in the area. From some points of view therefore, one cannot equate Vancouver's Chinatown with a ghetto or a slum in the strict sense of the word.

The most recent development that is threatening the viability of Vancouver's Chinatown has been the 'Freeway Motion.' On the 17th of October 1967, the Vancouver City Council approved the Carrall Street alignment for a new freeway. This alignment would have flattened one commercial block of Chinatown. Apart from the immediate effect of having to relocate the Chinese residents affected by this plan, the remaining blocks of Chinatown

would have been artificially severed from the city center²³. However, after constant pressure from twenty-seven interested parties, the City Council rescinded its freeway motion approval on the 9th of January 1968. The issue was, however, far from resolved. In addition to the freeway problem, an urban renewal scheme was in progress at this time. This, if fully implemented, would have had the effect of destroying the Chinese residential areas east of Gore and Pender Streets²⁴. This scheme too, has since been halted by pressure from residents, and part of the cleared area is now used as a public parking area. The Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver, in conjunction with Birmingham and Wood, an architectural firm, have proposed alternative uses for the area. For instance, instead of the Carrall Street alignment the Association plans an alternative route further west of Carrall Street. Also planned is a beautification program for Chinatown and a pedestrian mall within the heart of Chinatown thus integrating the Chinese community with the downtown core of Vancouver. The main proposals of their plans are found in their brief to City Council²⁵.

In the above discussions, overt external forces have been described. Mostly, it has considered Chinatown as an entity and treated it in a general fashion. There is however a social environment present within Chinatown. For instance, the Chinatown in Vancouver is the headquarters of most Chinese associations in British Columbia and western Canada²⁶. Due to such linkages, the number of such associations in Chinatown is unmatched anywhere else in the country. Although the membership is largely derived

from elderly Chinese living in the area, a majority of the younger generation Chinese do not belong to or support these associations. It could be suggested that in time the role and importance of these associations will diminish, and this will have adverse implications as to the viability of Vancouver's Chinatown.

A description of the environmental characteristics surrounding Chinatown in Vancouver has to include, apart from the plush facades of the curio shops and restaurants, the alleys and the decaying, substandard wooden frame houses in this area. Many of these houses are collectively owned and co-operatively operated, and are known to the Chinese as fang-kou. These are inhabited by elderly men who have no families. Within the alleys (Trounce, Shanghai, and Market Alleys) are found Chinese restaurants that cater to the elderly men, and so too are the rooms.

To conclude, two points should be emphasised. Firstly, Vancouver's Chinatown is the focal point of most Chinese in British Columbia. Secondly, this Chinatown has steadily grown from early sordid beginnings to a place of some status and increasing importance in the life of Vancouver.

Footnotes.

- 1
This refers to the Chinese Restriction Act of 1882, the first exclusion law ever passed by the Federal Government of the United States. It brought an end to free immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled or otherwise. See Kung, (1962), op.cit. p.80.
- 2
The comparable figures for British Columbia and Canada are -40.62% and -25.56% respectively. See Table 3.1 .
- 3
Sandhu, (1961), op.cit. p.9 .
- 4
Willmott, (1968), op.cit. pp.17-36 .
- 5
The twelve towns studied included Port Alberni, Prince Rupert, Nanaimo, Nelson, Duncan, Prince George, Kamloops, Vernon, Quesnel, Ashcroft, Trail-Rossland and Kelowna.
- 6
Of the twelve towns mentioned in footnote 5, only Quesnel and Trail did not have a 'Chinatown' proper.
- 7
Willmott, (1968), op.cit. p.29.
- 8
ibid. see Table 1, p.28 .
- 9
The 'West End Forests' is the site of the present-day 'West End' in the city of Vancouver. See, Spearing, (1969), op.cit. p.6 .
- 10
It should be noted that at this time False Creek extended northwards to the present-day Hastings Street.
- 11
For a more detailed description, see, Yip, Q., (1936), 'Vancouver Chinatown,' A special preparation for Vancouver's Golden Jubilee, Vancouver, British Columbia, Pacific Printers, Ltd., p.11 .
- 12
Spearing, (1969), op.cit. p.5 .
- 13
MacInnes, T., (1927), Oriental Occupation of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Sun Publications Co.Ltd., p. 17 .

- 14 Cheng, (1931), op.cit. p.233 .
- 15 ibid., p.234 .
- 16 Yip, (1936), op.cit. p.9 .
- 17 Chinatown, 1943, Special Collections Map File, The Library, University of British Columbia, (Accession No.2698, Scale 1:100'). No source.
- 18 Vancouver Chinese City Directory, 1959, published by the Chinese Publicity Bureau, Vancouver, p. 15 .
- 19 The term 'urban ecology' follows that used by Murdie, (1969), op.cit. p.1 . By urban ecology is meant the application of the concepts and techniques of human ecology to a study of the spatial interaction of inter-related social variables. This is perhaps best exemplified by the collection of studies in Theordosen, (1961), (ed.) Studies in Human Ecology, Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson and Co., p.3 .
- 20 Lee, (1951), op.cit., pp.146-160.
- 21 Beshner, J.M., (1962), Urban Social Structure, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., p.172 .
- 22 Siu, Paul, (1952), 'The Sojourner,' American Journal of Sociology, Vol.58, pp.34-44 .
- 23 See footnote 30 in Chapter II. Also Chinatowns have been recorded to 'die' artificially with the buildings of freeways through the heart of these Chinatowns, as for example in the case of Philadelphia (Lee, 1961, op.cit. pp.65-67 .).
- 24 See, Shapiro, (1969), ' The Impact of the Geographic Dispersal of Displaced Households in Urban Renewal Programs: Vancouver a Case Study,' Unpublished M.A. thesis, School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia.
- 25 Restoration Report: A case for Renewed Life in the Old City, A brief presented to City Council, Vancouver, 1969; by Ms. Birmingham and Wood.
- 26 Willmott, (1964), op.cit. pp.33-37.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF CHINESE SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE CITY OF VANCOUVER, 1901 - 1961.

Growth of the Chinese Population.

The fluctuations in the growth of the Chinese population in Vancouver are strongly related to the legislations that were passed in the early twentieth century restricting Chinese immigration. According to the DBS Census of 1901, there were reportedly 2,744 Chinese on the south side of Burrard Inlet in 1901¹. The number of Chinese residents in the city increased steadily and by 1931 had risen to a high of 13,011. This represented an increase of about 120% between 1921 and 1931². In the ensuing years the number of Chinese in Vancouver dropped from 13,011 in 1931 to 7,174 in 1941 as a result of the strict enforcement of the Immigration Act of 1923. The periods 1941-1951 and 1951-1961 showed a gradual increase in the Chinese population in Vancouver, which was reported to be 15,223 in 1961. This represented an increase of over 70% over the 1951 census period³. Thus in view of the lifting of restrictions on Chinese immigrants since 1947, and in view of the general acceptability of the Chinese in Canada, it is postulated that the number of Chinese in the city will increase gradually in the future. Moreover, as immigration would no longer be the factor, natural increase will contribute substantially to the growth of the Chinese population in the city. Table 4.1 summarizes some of the main characteristics of the growth of the Chinese population in Vancouver from 1901-1961.

Table 4.1 Vancouver: Growth of the Chinese Population,
1901 - 1961.

Year	Total City Population	Total Chinese Population	Percentage Chinese of Total: (3) as a % of (2)	Absolute change in Chinese Population*	Percentage increase/ decrease in Chinese Population*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1901	28,895	2,744	7.14	-	-
1911	123,902	3,781	3.15	1,037	37.79
1921	179,087	5,899	3.52	2,118	56.01
1931	246,593	13,011	4.20	7,112	120.56
1941	257,353	7,174	2.17	-5,837	- 44.86
1951	344,833	8,729	2.19	1,555	21.67
1961	384,522	15,223	3.36	6,494	74.39

*This is computed as the change in the Chinese population between two Census periods.

Source: These statistics have been compiled from the DBS, Census Reports, 1901-1961. For more details, see Appendix II.

Distribution of the Chinese in Vancouver, 1961.

In a discussion of the distribution of the Chinese in Vancouver, two major factors have to be borne in mind. Firstly, the distribution and settlement patterns of the early Chinese were influenced by overt constraints as to the location of their residences. Secondly, on arrival in Vancouver, the Chinese immigrants have traditionally settled in Chinatown. This was because some of the Chinese population in Chinatown were able to speak both English and Chinese, which made it easier for the newly arrived Chinese immigrants to settle down and obtain a job. Such factors therefore fostered the growth and perpetuation of Chinatown as a major Chinese concentration in the City, and is the basis of the uneven distribution of the Chinese in Vancouver today.

To illustrate the distribution of the Chinese in Vancouver, four maps were constructed using census tract data⁴. The dot distribution map (Fig. 4a) shows the distribution of the Chinese population within Vancouver in 1961. The dot map however does not indicate the relative importance of the distribution in relation to (1) the population of the city as a whole, and (2) relative importance in terms of the population of the tract itself. Figure 4b shows the relative distribution of the Chinese population in terms of location quotients⁵. Using this method, a comparison is made between the four variables, that is, the total overall population of the tract, the total Chinese population in the tract, the total city population and the Chinese city population. Figure 4c shows the percentage distribution of the Chinese by census tracts. Finally Fig. 4d compares the percentage distribution of the Chinese for each tract in terms of the percentage deviation scores (z-scores)⁶. This method provides a measure for each tract in terms of the mean population distribution of Chinese per tract and measures the importance of each tract in terms of the Chinese population within the city.

The obvious feature portrayed is the intense concentration in the Strathcona area, in fact the area constituting the whole of Chinatown and its immediate environs. Other areas of heavy concentration are found adjacent to the Strathcona area, namely Grandview-Woodland. Taken together, these two areas contain about 60% of the total Chinese population of Vancouver.

Secondly, the unevenness in the distribution of the Chinese is very marked in areas outside Strathcona and Grandview-Woodland. For instance there are extensions southwards towards Cedar Cottage and South Granville. In general, this pattern is quite clearly shown in Figures 4b and 4c, with the distribution along business thoroughfares, for example, Hastings (east), Main (south and Broadway (west)). One explanation for these finger-like protrusions is found in the nature of the immediate occupations of the Chinese. For example, it was observed by Walhouse⁷ that of the approximately 640 businesses found outside the Chinatown area, 180 were green grocers, 79 restaurants and 34 other businesses. Due to such a concentration, the linear distribution of the Chinese population along business thoroughfares is to be expected.

Thirdly, in terms of a lack of concentration of the Chinese, apart from the areas mentioned, negative deviation scores are observed for areas that are farther away from the Chinatown area. The areas that are farther away coincide with areas that have been established in the city for some time, and which are considered of a higher social status according to the Social Area Index of Bell⁸. In the case of the Chinese, the attainment of average social status by later generation Chinese, since the sixties, has meant that they could only recently afford to live in areas with medium-priced homes. Following this line of thought therefore, the Chinese have settled in the older but not wealthier residential areas of the city, which accounts for the concentrations in Fairview, Cedar Cottage and South Granville.

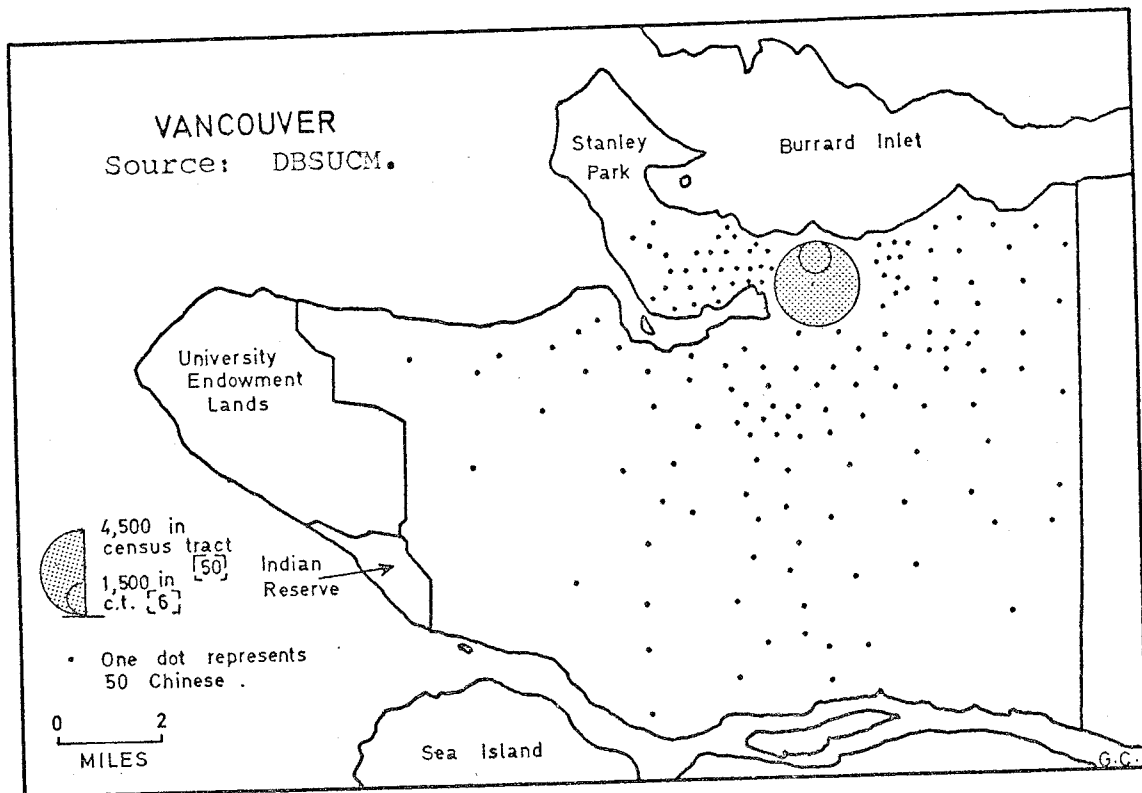


Fig. 4a Vancouver: Distribution of Chinese, 1961.

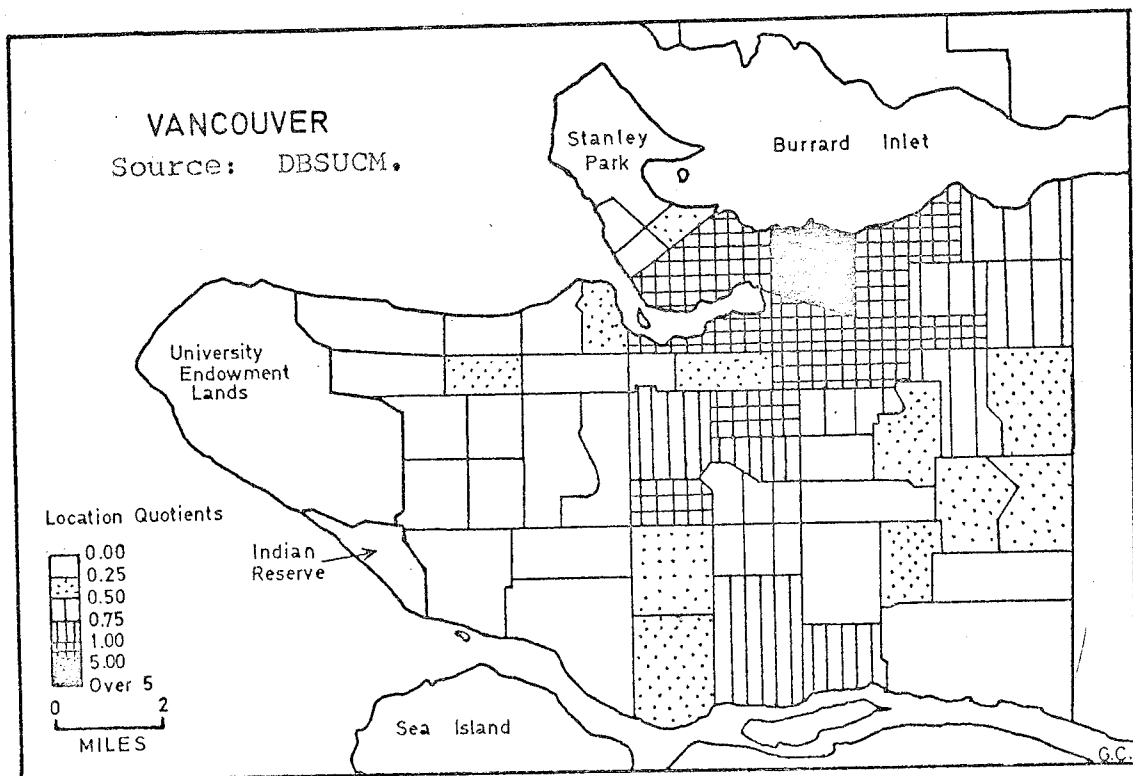


Fig. 4b Vancouver: Location quotients of Chinese in 1961, by census tracts.

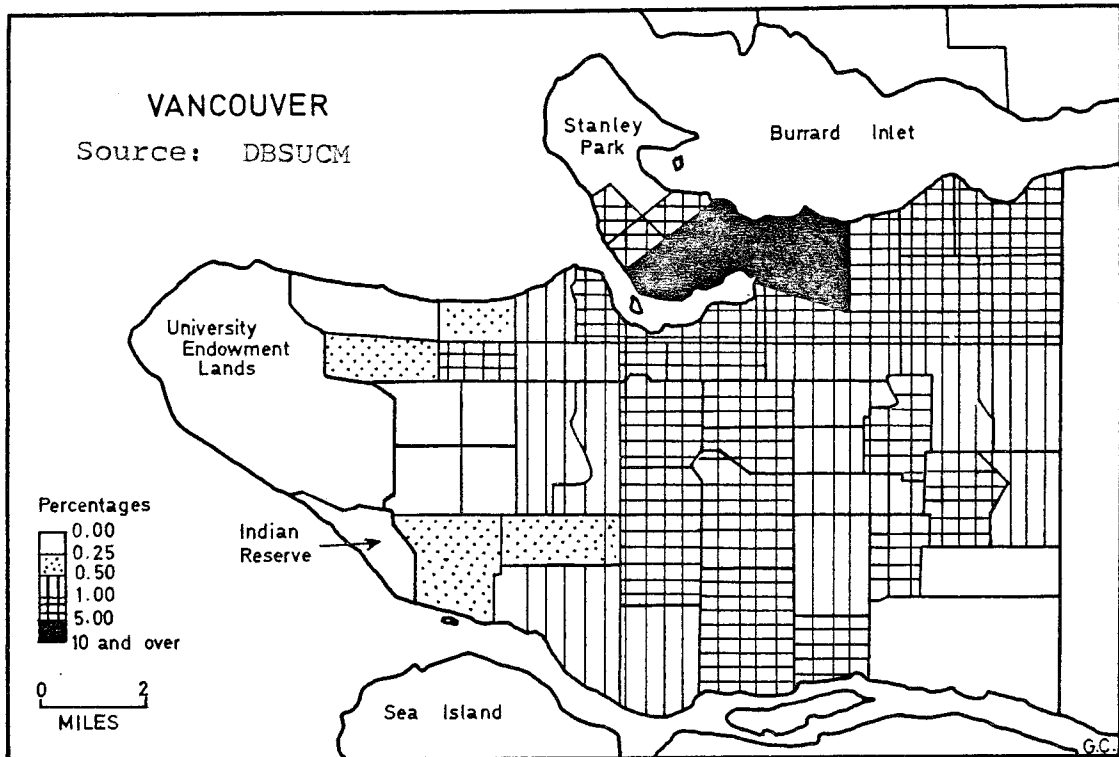


Fig. 4c Vancouver: Chinese as a percentage of the total population in 1961, by census tracts.

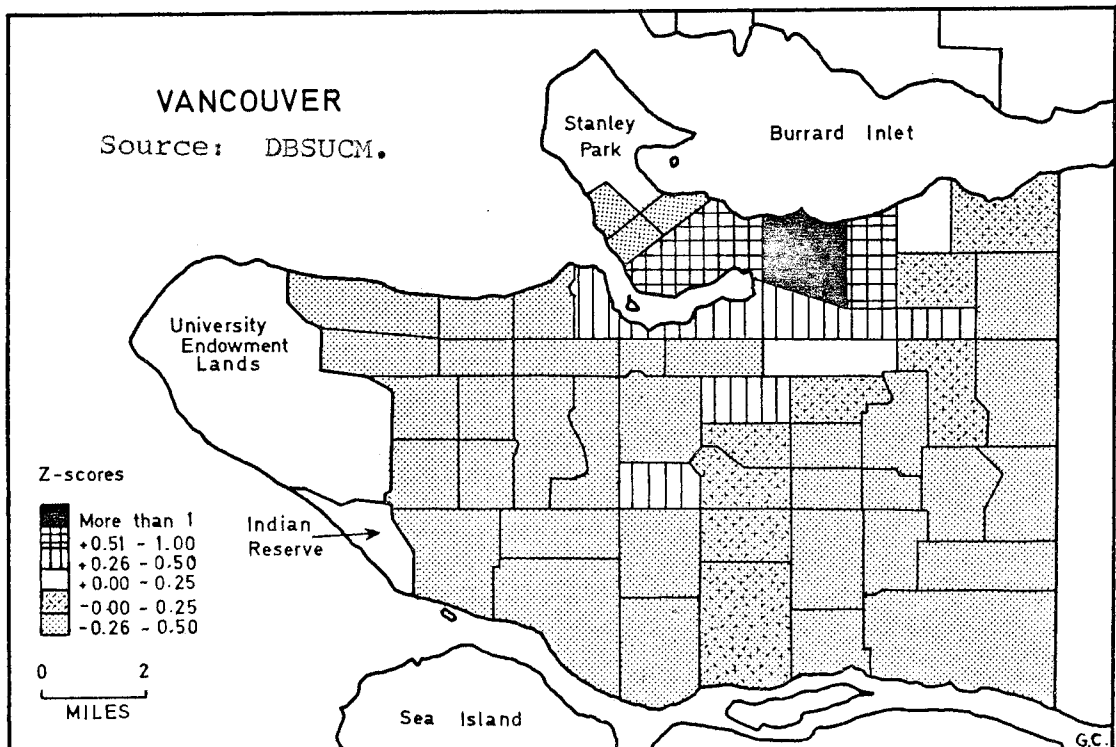


Fig. 4d Vancouver: Percentage deviation scores (z-scores) of the Chinese population in 1961, by census tracts.

Residential Patterns of the Sample Chinese Population, 1969.

In the light of the above distributional characteristics of the total Chinese population, we can look at some of the residential patterns of the Chinese as portrayed by the more detailed sample study. The sample procedure is described more fully in a later section (Appendix IV). Here we can note that it includes 125 families living in Chinatown and the suburbs. We are interested in more details about the residential pattern of the Chinese population as a whole. The major themes to be investigated pertain to the types of residence, the length of occupancy in particular homes and the reasons for moving from one residence to another.

A majority of the Chinese sampled, lived in their own houses. This represented about 68% of the total sample, (that is, 85 Chinese families out of 125 families). The rest lived in rented residences, of which 14.4% were houses, 6.4% apartments and 10.4% rooming houses and hotels. The last category is mainly made up of Chinese from the Chinatown area, as it is in this area that residences of this nature are available.

In terms of their length of residence in their present and former homes, the results prove interesting. A majority of the Chinese have lived five years and more in both their present and former homes (Table 4.2). The percentages are 68% and 68.8% respectively. The percentages for short-term stays (that is, 0-4 years,) in their present and former homes, are nearly the same with about 30% of the total sample. Thus from data presented above, it is apparent that there is an underlying pattern of stability of

residence, in terms of the length of stay in a particular home.

Table 4.2 Vancouver: Length of stay in present and previous residences amongst the Chinese, 1969 .

Length of Stay (years)	Percentage of total residents in present		Percentage of total residents in former	
	Number house		Number house	
0 - 1	14	11.2	4	3.2
2 - 4	26	20.8	35	28.0
5 - 9	34	27.2	32	25.6
10 - 14	30	24.6	20	16.0
15 - 19	17	13.6	8	6.4
20+	4	3.2	26	20.8

Source: SSCCV, 1969.

Probably, long tenure in a particular home is accounted for by a majority of retired persons living in rooming houses, who like to live in the Chinatown area. This has tended to inflate the length of residence of the sample. Also, once a particular home has been established, the pattern is one in which tenure stretches from 15-20 years. On the other hand, at the lower end of the scale, short-term residence, (that is, for stays between 0-4 years) indicate a constant shifting, before any one particular home is established. Once established, we might expect that the above pattern of long tenure would gradually emerge. Lastly, length of stay at a particular home is also the result of other constraints. For example, shift in residence is due in part to the attainment of new family status, for example, larger family size, or the need for better locations (that is, schools, better neighbourhoods).

A glance at Table 4.3 would support these notions. The most often quoted reason for moving was found in the 'other' category, that is, such reasons as newness of area and nearness to schools. This accounted for 21.6% of the total sample in this category.

Table 4.3 Vancouver : Reasons for moving and types of residences occupied by the Chinese, 1969 .

Reasons for Moving	Types of Residence				Total
	Own house	Rented house	Rented apartment	Rooming-house and 'others'	
Proximity to work	7.2%	0.8%	-	1.6%	9.6%
Low rent	-	1.6	0.8	0.8	3.2
Taking over from parents	2.4	0.8	-	-	3.2
Favourable orientation	1.6	0.8	-	-	3.2
Better area	17.6	4.0	1.6	2.4	25.6
More space	17.6	2.4	-	-	20.0
'Other'	21.6	4.0	4.0	5.6	36.0
TOTAL	68.0	14.4	6.4	10.4	100.0

Source: SSCCV, 1969.

Only a small percentage reported that they were taking over their present residence from their parents. An even smaller percentage reported that they moved into their present home for its 'orientation.' For some Chinese this question of 'favourable orientation' of the house has important bearings on residential location. It is believed by them that an east-facing house is more 'lucky' than a west-facing house. Traditionally, this orientation factor has been important to the Chinese, but of late, this practice of house selection according to its orientation does

not play an important part in residential selection. Those indicating 'proximity to work' and 'low rent' accounted for only 12.8% of the total. Finally, under the category 'others' we include the new immigrants from overseas, and the migrants from other parts of British Columbia and Canada.

Characteristics of the Chinese Population in the City of Vancouver, 1961.

Of the more important cultural characteristics exhibited by the Chinese population in Vancouver, three main components might be isolated. These are the demographic, social and economic factors. These factors have important implications and have a direct bearing on the residential patterning of the Chinese. They can be described with the aid of the 1961 DBS unpublished census data as well as data from our Sample Survey of 1969.

1. Demographic: a. Age-Sex Structure.

In the case of the DBS unpublished census material of 1961, it was decided to look at two major variables, the age-sex structure and the sex ratio. The age-sex pyramid (Figs. 5a & 5b) compares the population structure of the Chinese in Vancouver with that of the total city population for 1951 and 1961⁹. This comparison indicates that the total population of the city shows a normal distribution curve, for both census years, whereas the population structure of the Chinese for both census years is heavily skewed. This is in favour of males 45 years and over in age in 1951 and of males 60 years and over in 1961. This pattern, as previously mentioned, is the result of the prohibition of the

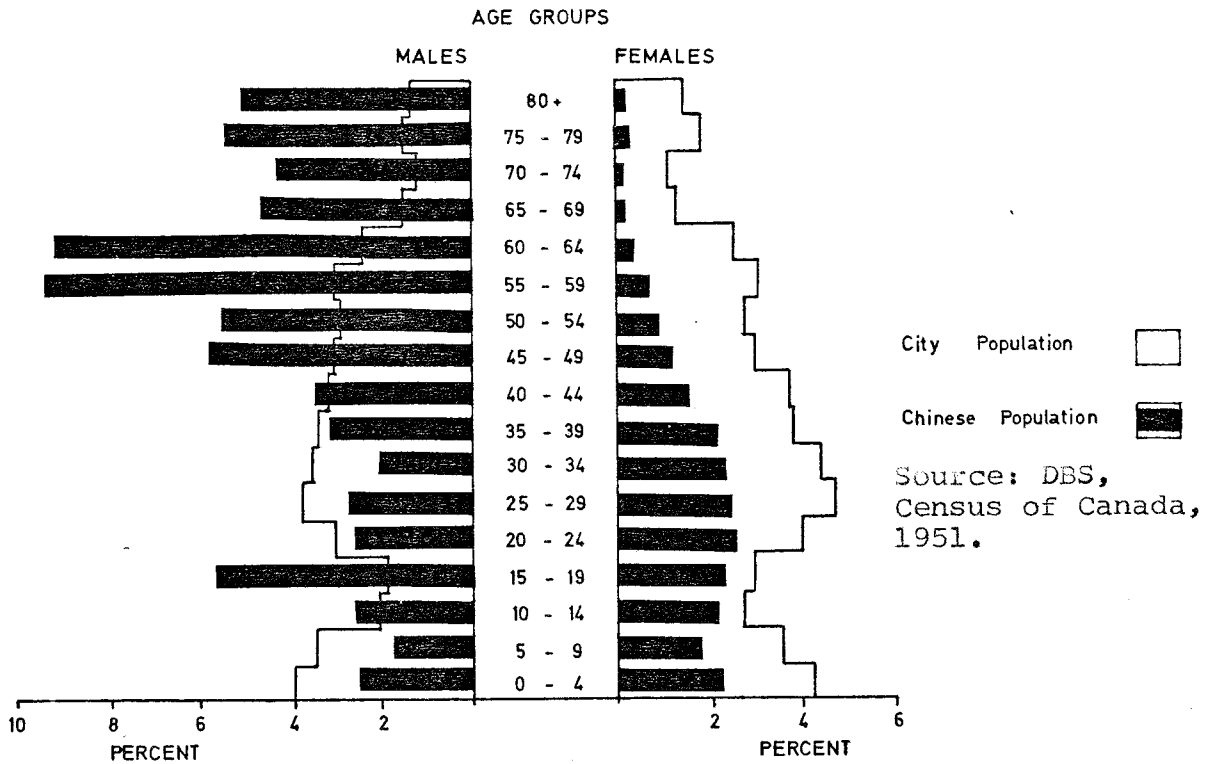


Fig. 5a Vancouver: Age-Sex structure of the total and Chinese populations, 1951.

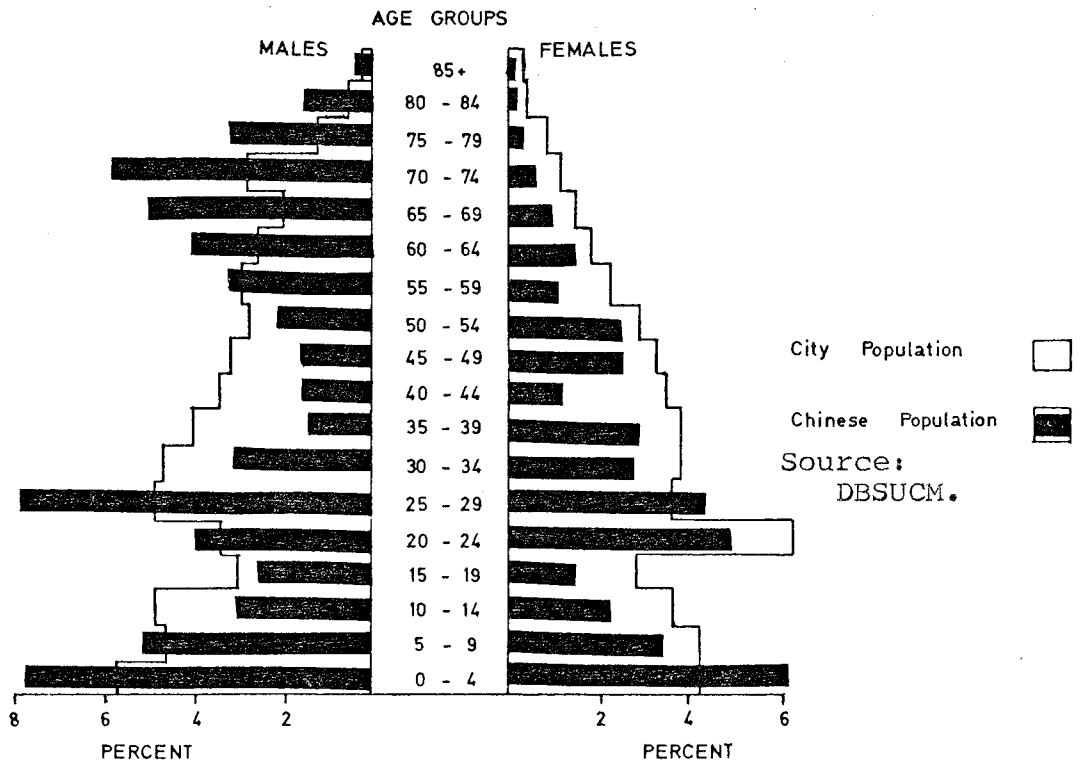


Fig. 5b Vancouver: Age-Sex structure of the total and Chinese populations, 1961.

immigration of wives and families prior to 1947, plus the selectivity of the migration stream itself.

Secondly, except for a slight tendency for there to be a larger proportion of Chinese males between the ages 15 - 19 years in 1951, the age-sex structure of the Chinese compares favourably with that of the population at large, this being especially so for the age group 0-20 years. These age groups, one might expect, are the additions to the Chinese population in terms of natural increase.

Finally, the imbalances of the pyramid as exhibited in the age groups 15 to 19 years in 1951 and in the 25-29 age group in 1961 could have been the result of : (a) the legalisation in 1947 of the immigration of families and children 18 years and under, and (b) the rapidly growing number of Chinese students from other countries arriving in Vancouver since the end of the Second World War.

From Table 4.4, it would be noticed that from 1921 onwards, the dominance of males in the Chinese migration stream declined. This is contrary to the picture earlier, in Chapter III, where nearly all the immigrants were males. As a result of the relative decline in the numbers of Chinese males arriving as immigrants, the sex-ratio of the Chinese population in Vancouver improved considerably (Table 4.4).

Turning to the Sample Survey data again, the data relating to immigration and date of birth here indicate a fairly close relationship between the situation in 1961 and 1969. Table 4.5 summarizes this. Both the 1961 material and the 1969 sample

Table 4.4 Vancouver: Chinese immigrant population in 1961, by year of immigration .

Year Immigrants	Pre-1921	1921-30	1931-40	1941-50	1951-60	1961	Total
Numbers							
Male	3,047	393	62	491	1,961	31	5,955
Female	187	44	27	317	2,278	59	2,912
Total	3,204	437	89	808	4,237	90	8,867
Percentage male of total	93.92	89.89	69.66	60.76	46.28	34.44	67.15

Source: DBSUCH, 1961.

show that a large proportion of the Chinese in Vancouver are immigrants who arrived prior to 1920. The proportions are 23.1% and 38.4% respectively. The 1961 census material shows that for the city of Vancouver, as a whole, nearly 65% of the Chinese were immigrants. It is therefore argued that since 65% of the Chinese are immigrants, it is probable that the cultural heritage of the Chinese has probably not disappeared. This is because many of these early immigrants still living in Vancouver still exhibit the culture-traits and peculiarities of a Chinese way of life. These traits are in fact verified later on in the section on cultural factors.

The age structure and general demographic characteristics discussed above, have several implications for the residential patterns of the Chinese in Vancouver. For example, the area of Chinatown contains a predominantly male population. With the decreasing numbers of older men, and the concomitant improvement in the sex-ratio of the younger generation Chinese and a more

Table 4.5 Vancouver: Comparison between the 1961 and 1969 data relating to the period of immigration and date of birth of Chinese immigrants.

Period of immigration	Percentage of Chinese immigrants according to the 1961 census	Percentage of Chinese immigrants according to the 1969 sample*	Date of birth	Percentage of Chinese immigrants according to the 1961 census	Percentage of Chinese immigrants according to the 1969 sample*
Pre- 1885	23.1	3.2	Pre- 1900	11.4	9.6
1885-1900		6.4			
1901-1910		11.2		10.7	13.6
1911-1920		17.6		9.4	13.6
1921-1930	3.2	6.4	1921-1930	6.9	28.8
1931-1940	0.7	6.4	1931-1940	10.2	21.6
1941-1950	5.9	20.8	1941-1950	19.5	8.8
1951-1960	31.1	13.6	1951+	31.9	1.6
1961+	0.6	8.8	DNA	-	2.4
DNA	-	5.6			

DNA = Did not answer

* refers only to heads of households of the Sample Survey.

Source: DBSUCH, 1961 and SSCCV, 1969.

balanced age-sex distribution, Chinatown's function and role has been changing. The Chinese with families have tended to disperse into the suburbs from their traditional locations in and around Chinatown. Moreover, with the attainment of better social status and higher educational standards by the younger generation, the need to move out to more socially accepted areas has been increasing. These trends are likely to continue in the future.

b. Marital Status.

Based on the 1961 census data, Table 4.6 shows that nearly 28% of the total Chinese population in 1961 consists of children under 15 years of age. These in general could be considered as second-generation and Canadian native-born Chinese.

Table 4.6 Vancouver: Marital status of the Chinese
in 1961, by age-groups.

Age Groups		Single Numbers	Percentage of total Chinese	Married Numbers	Percentage of total Chinese	Widowed/Divorced Numbers	Percentage of total Chinese
Under 15	M	2,310	15.11				
	F	1,962	12.81				
	T	4,242	27.92				
15-19	M	307	2.25	4	0.01		
	F	241	2.51	39	0.28		
	T	548	4.76	43	0.29		
20-24	M	432	2.71	115	0.78		
	F	200	1.51	474	3.12	1	
	T	623	4.22	589	3.90	1	
25-34	M	616	4.07	1,086	7.15	1	
	F	122	0.87	873	5.75	8	
	T	738	4.89	1,959	12.90	9	
35-44	M	88	0.51	411	2.61	6	
	F	48	0.32	519	3.41	7	
	T	136	0.83	930	6.02	13	
45-54	M	44	0.21	573	3.79	19	0.13
	F	11	0.01	623	4.01	53	0.37
	T	55	0.22	1,196	7.80	72	0.50
55-64	M	53	0.37	91	0.51	49	0.33
	F	8	0.08	70	0.49	79	0.53
	T	61	0.45	161	1.00	128	0.86
65 & over	M	122	0.82	1,859	12.21	333	1.86
	F	2	-	159	1.06	124	0.82
	T	124	0.82	2,018	13.28	457	2.68
TOTAL	M	3,963	26.05	4,896	32.19	408	2.61
	F	2,594	17.06	3,080	20.24	282	1.87
	T	6,557	43.10	7,976	52.43	690	4.48

M = males, F= females, T= totals

Source: DBSUCM, 1961.

The sex distribution was even, although there was a tendency for a slightly higher percentage of males. With regard to the Chinese population as a whole, the percentage of males was nearly 61%. Secondly, nearly one-half of the Chinese population in 1961 was in the 'married' category. Significantly, this contributed to the notion that a balance in the age-sex structure would come about in time by natural growth and deaths. The 1969 sample data indeed showed a significantly higher percentage (82%) as married. Thirdly, a marked feature of the census statistics is the concentration of Chinese males in the older age groups. The proportion of males to females in each age category 45 years and above is 8 : 2, for all marital status classes. In the age group 65 years and over, almost all are males.

The above analysis shows that the Chinese population in Vancouver is still 'unstable' in terms of its population structure. It is expected that with the high and increasing percentages in the 'married' category, a balanced age-sex structure will emerge in the future. This is likely to be coupled with the rise in migration into the city from the other parts of British Columbia and Canada. Also a drop in the percentages of the older age groups is expected, as a result of the natural death rate. Another significant characteristic of the Chinese population is the very low number in the widowed-divorced category.

To summarize, it has been observed that for economic reasons, the present-day distribution of the Chinese in Vancouver has been nodal in Chinatown and linear along business thoroughfares, and the dispersion is towards the older but not wealthier

residential areas of the city. Also, there is a high percentage of foreign-born Chinese in the total Chinese population in the city. This situation is however changing with growth of the Canadian-born sector.

Taken together, these suggest a postulate regarding the residential pattern of the Chinese in terms of the age of the houses that they occupy. From the foregoing, it is expected that a high correlation between Canadian-born Chinese and residences built since 1945 would exist. This was found to be true. Using census tract data summarized by Bell¹⁰, and the unpublished census material of 1961, a correlation analysis was performed over these data on the census tracts of Vancouver. Table 4.7 summarizes the results of that analysis.

The most significant correlation was between the percentage (Canadian) native-born Chinese and buildings built prior to 1921, although it was negative. Conversely, the percentage native-born was significantly correlated with those buildings built since 1945. This test suggests the validity of the following:-

- a. Areas with a high proportion of foreign-born Chinese as reported in 1961 are also areas with a high proportion of older buildings (that is, those built prior to 1921), while areas with a high proportion of native-born Chinese are also areas with residences built since 1945.
- b. A majority of the Chinese live in areas with a high proportion of buildings that were built prior to 1921.

Thus from the demographic characteristics, one can discern an underlying pattern of residential location. For the present it suffices to say that peculiar demographic characteristics tend to establish part of the residential pattern of the

Table 4.7 Vancouver: Correlation table of the Chinese population and age of buildings in 1961 , by census tracts.

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Percentage of native-born Chinese	Percentage of pre-1921 immigrants	Percentage of post-1945 immigrants	Percentage Chinese as a percentage of the total census tract population
Buildings Built :-						
prior to 1921	33.67	26.69	-0.8516*	+0.5837	+0.5152	+0.6162*
since 1945	29.48	23.67	+0.6857*	-0.3763	-0.5896	-0.4108
in need of major repairs	6.57	10.40	-0.5019	+0.3522	+0.2698	+0.5794

N = 32

* statistically significant value at the 95% confidence level.

Chinese in Vancouver today. This point will be taken up later. The following section examines the role of some social characteristics that determine and modify these residential patterns.

2. Social Characteristics: a. Educational.

Table 4.8 drawn from the 1961 census data, shows that up to 16.3% of the Chinese population were attending school at the time of the census. Comparable figures for those not attending school, up to and including High school, make up some 82.2%. A greater proportion of this, in all grade categories, is composed of the male component.

The table, however, does not provide information as to the language taught, the city in which major schooling was

Table 4.8 Vancouver: Educational attainment of the Chinese, 1961, by school levels.

Grade	Attending School		Not Attending School	
	Numbers	Percentage	Numbers	Percentage
Elementary	M 1,063	6.9	5,928	38.7
	F 810	5.3	3,570	23.1
	T 1,873	12.2	9,498	61.8
High School	M 272	1.6	1,535	10.0
	F 104	1.2	1,155	7.5
	T 476	2.8	2,680	17.5
University	M 173	1.1	296	1.9
	F 45	0.2	162	1.0
	T 218	1.3	458	2.9

M= Males, F=Females, T=Total

Source: DBSUCM, 1961.

obtained and the number of years in school. For this information one turns to the Sample Survey and 1969 data. The following table, (Table 4.9) summarizes some aspects of the education of the sample Chinese population in 1969.

A high proportion of the Chinese sampled in 1969 had received their elementary education in Chinese. This accounted for 40% of the sample population. The proportion of those who received their elementary education in English was 34.4% while 16% got their education in both mediums of instruction. A major proportion of the Chinese attended elementary school and only a small proportion of the Chinese had received any University education in 1969.

In terms of the language of instruction, the Chinese medium predominates at the lower grades while English predominates in the higher levels. An explanation of this is found in the

Table 4.9 Vancouver: Aspects of education of the Chinese, 1969.

Item	Elementary schooling percentage	Secondary schooling percentage	University schooling percentage
A. Language of Instruction			
English only	34.4	51.2	21.6
English & Chinese	16.0	7.2	2.4
Chinese only	40.0	10.4	-
Did not attend	9.6	31.2	76.0
B. City of Schooling			
Vancouver	31.2	47.2	18.4
B.C. and/or Canada	12.0	2.4	2.4
Hong Kong	16.0	12.8	3.2
Mainland China	34.4	6.4	-
Did not attend	6.4	31.2	76.0
C. Years in school			
0-1 year	4.0	3.2	4.8
1-3 years	7.2	14.4	11.2
4-6 "	56.8	44.0	5.6
7 and over	27.2	7.2	1.6
Did not attend	4.8	31.2	76.8

N.B. each of the major cells total 100.0%

Source: SSCCV, 1969.

location of the school attended. Nearly 43% of the sample had received their elementary schooling in North America, as compared to 34.4% in China and 16% in Hong Kong. At the secondary level, the pattern is repeated except with a lower percentage for those educated in China. However, only 3.2% received their University education in Hong Kong, the rest in North America.

In terms of the number of years in school, 56.8% went to school for 4-6 years in the elementary grade. The comparable figures for secondary and university schooling was 44% and 5.6% respectively.

Some general conclusions could be made with regard to

this description of the educational background of the Vancouver Chinese. Firstly, while a majority had at least an elementary education, most of these were instructed in Chinese. English is the main medium of instruction only in the higher levels, namely at the secondary and university levels. Secondly, large proportions of persons have not received any secondary or university education. Of those who received these levels of education, a majority attended for about 1-3 years.

b. Language.

In Chapter II, it was stated that a majority of the Chinese immigrants had come from the southern coastal provinces of China. As such, it would be expected that a majority of the Chinese in Vancouver would speak the main dialects found in these provinces of China, namely Cantonese and Fukien. This fact is corroborated by the Sample Survey, in that 91% of the respondents spoke Cantonese and another 2% Fukien. Three percent of the respondents did not speak any Chinese. This is probably related to the period of immigration of their parents or grand-parents, who might have been the earlier Chinese immigrants to the city. From another point of view however, a few (5.6%) did not require or wish their children to speak a Chinese dialect. The majority of the sample population wanted their children to speak at least one dialect of Chinese. In terms of Mandarin, which is considered among the Chinese as an 'educated language,' it was found that only 20% were able to read and write Kuo Yu or Mandarin, while a smaller percentage could speak it, but not too fluently. In all, only about 51% of the parents wanted their children to learn Mandarin. This is the

reverse of the earlier question relating to a Chinese dialect, in which nearly everybody had replied in the affirmative. The tendency however, is towards the usage of English as nearly everyone spoke English with a fair amount of fluency while only 13.6% estimated that they spoke it poorly.

c. Participation in Chinese Social Life.

Elements of the pattern established above is seemingly repeated here, that is, the lack of interest or participation in Chinese cultural life. For instance, nearly three-quarters of the sample population had no affiliation with associations and societies organised by the Chinese. Only 29% indicated that they either belonged to the major Association, that is, the Chinese Benevolent Association, or to other minor associations and societies. Willmott has pointed out that there were nearly 80 Chinese associations and societies in Vancouver's Chinatown in 1964 and that it is the cultural headquarters of Chinese associations in Canada¹¹. On the basis of this one expects an active participation and support of Chinese associations and societies by the Chinese in Vancouver, simply by virtue of its large numbers. Data from the 1969 Sample Survey do not support this notion as only 29% of the respondents replied that they participated actively in these associations. This may be for a number of reasons. The small numbers who are members of these associations are mainly merchants, businessmen and general workers who are employed in the Chinatown area. / Those who have not joined these associations are outside these occupations or have reasons of their own for not joining. One of the

more common reasons, often cited by respondents, was their objections to the frequency of appeals for financial support by these associations.

A very small percentage appear to participate in the traditional religions, for instance Confucianism and Taoism. Such followers make up only 7.2% of the sample. Of the remainder, 32% reported to be Christians and 60.8% aesthetes, agnostics and non-believers. One can interpret this to be a tendency for the growing influence of Christianity on the lives of the Chinese, since the proportion of early immigrants that were Christians must have been low.

Some 73% observe and participate in traditional Chinese festivals. The remainder do not observe or participate in these festivals. However, some respondents added that they participated and observed these festivals when one or both their parents were alive.

In sum, a majority of the sample speak Chinese and maintain Chinese festivals, but only a minority belong to formal Chinese associations and maintain Chinese religious observances.

3. Economic Factors.

Nearly three-quarters of the 1969 sample reported that they were gainfully employed. This excludes students and retired persons who accounted for 14.4% of the sample. A little more than seven percent of the respondents were unemployed. Of the employed, 25.6% worked in the Chinatown area while another 33.6% worked within the city. The remainder worked within the

rest of the Metropolitan area. A small percentage (5.6%) were reported to be related to their employer or employees. A very large proportion (81.6%) of the sample population had not changed their occupations in the last two years.

Table 4.10 shows previous and present (1969) occupations of these respondents. It will be seen that there was a big increase in the percentage of white collar jobs between 1967-1969. Whereas in the last two years only 6.4% were engaged in white collar jobs, the percentage for 1969 was 37.6%. Relatively, increases were also recorded in the blue collar jobs, although the change is rather small. There were more people who held farming jobs in the last two years. However, fifty-nine percent did not answer the question about their previous occupations. Among these are included those who did not change their jobs in the last two years and probably too there could have been some who were unemployed at that time.

In terms of the income earned, there was an equal division of income for people earning between \$2,500 and \$10,000 per annum. Each of three determined categories, that is, \$2,500 and less, \$2,500 - \$5,000 and \$5,000-\$10,000, accounted for about 27% each. About 7% earned more than \$10,000 per annum, and 10.4% preferred not to answer this question, as this was considered too personal a question.

Summary.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion some general conclusions could be made with regard to the patterns of residence of the Chinese in the city of Vancouver: the distribution of the

Table 4.10 Vancouver: Previous* and present (1969) occupations of the Chinese, by occupational groups.

Occupational Group	Previous* occupation percentage	Present occupation percentage
Managerial	2.4	12.4
Prof. & Tech.	2.4	10.0
Clerical	1.6	7.2
Sales	1.6	8.0
Craftsmen	0.8	6.4
Labor	6.4	8.0
Farmers	2.4	0.8
Transport	3.2	5.6
Services	7.2	16.0
Students	4.0	3.0
Retired	10.2	10.4
Did not answer	59.2	12.0

* This refers to changes of occupation in the last two years prior to 1969.
Source: SSOCV, 1969.

Chinese, in terms of the 1961 census data, indicated a major node of concentration in the Strathcona area. There were however, signs indicating that dispersion into the suburbs may be underway and this is not contradicted by the 1969 Sample Survey. An increase in the number of Canadian born Chinese is also implied. Demographic characteristics of the Chinese correlated with the quality of residences; showing that a high proportion of foreign-born Chinese live in older buildings, while Canadian born Chinese tend to occupy buildings built since 1945. However, a majority of the Chinese live in buildings built prior to 1921. Social and economic factors examined show that a majority of the sample speak Chinese and still maintain Chinese festivals, while only a minority belong to formal Chinese associations. Also the Chinese are tending towards white collar jobs.

Footnotes.

1 Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol.I, 'Population,' Table XII, 'Nationalities,' p. 406.

2 Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, 'Population of Cities and towns, 10,000 and over, classified according to racial origin, 1931.,' Table 34, p.494.

3 DBS, Census of Canada, 1961, Series 1.2-5, 'Population:Ethnic Groups,' Table 35, p.38.1 .

4 Personal communication from the DBS, Ottawa. This material would be known as, DBS, Unpublished Census Material, (Census Tract Series), 1961, and referred to simply as, DBSUCM, 1961.

5 The location quotient is in the form:

$$L.Q. = \frac{\text{Chinese population in tract (i)}}{\text{Total population in tract (i)}} \div \frac{\text{Total Chinese population}}{\text{Total city population}}$$

A location quotient of unity and above indicates a high relative concentration of Chinese in that tract. Values of less than unity indicate a lower relative concentration of Chinese for that tract.

6 This is in effect the use of the statistical standard-score or 'z' statistic procedure and the mapping of these scores. The assumptions used are similar to that used in most statistical texts. The form of the z-score used was:-

$$'z' = (x_i - \bar{x}) / \sigma \quad \text{where } x_i \text{ is the population of Chinese in the } i\text{th tract,}$$

\bar{x} the arithmetic mean, and
 σ the standard deviation.

7 Walhouse, (1961), op.cit. p.261 ff.

8 Bell, L.I. (1965), Metropolitan Vancouver: An Overview for Social Planners, Vancouver, British Columbia, Community Chest, passim.

9

DBS, Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. I, 'Population: Cities with more than 10,000,' Table 35, 'Origins,' p.35.1 and, DBS, Census of Canada, 1961, op.cit. Table 35, p.38.1 .

10

Bell, (1965), op.cit.

11

Willmott, (1964), op.cit. pp.33-37.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE RESIDENTS IN CHINATOWN AND IN THE SUBURBS .

Having analysed some of the results of the sample survey of 1969 and the 1961 and other census statistics, the main purpose here is to test the hypothesis postulated earlier in this thesis, and to explain the statistical assumptions and method of analysis (mainly the null hypothesis of the chi-square (χ^2)) used in this study.

The Chi-square and Null Hypothesis.

The chi-square (χ^2)¹ is used to give a statistical index of association between two sets of variables. This index is computed from the two-dimensional table of frequencies, more often referred to as a contingency table². Using this contingency table, the chi-square tests the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis (H_0) in a formal statistical sense states that : "there are no significant differences between the observed value for the universe and the hypothesised value." This is for given degrees of freedom and an α -value (the confidence level) which suggests whether or not the null hypothesis is to be accepted or rejected. The confidence level is pre-determined. The chi-square tests assumes that each of the expected frequencies are greater than 1 and no more than 20% of the cells have frequencies of less than 5 observations³.

The hypothesis to be tested in this study is stated

as follows: H_1 : It is hypothesised that there are basic 'differences' between the Chinese living in Chinatown and those living in the suburbs, and these 'differences' could be expressed through a number of variables.

The hypothesis is tested by comparing the responses to the questionnaire of the 45 Chinese households in the sample who lived in Chinatown with the responses of the 80 households who lived in suburban Vancouver. We are looking for differences between these groups in terms of objective demographic, socio-economic and residential factors, and most important, in terms of the cultural factors.

Overview of Results.

The total number of contingency tables constructed from information collected in the sample survey is 53, of which six are invalid. This was because the observed frequencies in these particular tables were less than one or in some cases, they were less than 5 in more than 20% of the cells. Table 5.1 summarizes the results obtained in the χ^2 test.

Areas of Similarity.

It would be noticed that in only eight cases was the null hypothesis accepted. This was expected because of the nature of the particular variables. For instance no differences were likely to appear in the dialects spoken, nor attitudes towards the preservation of Chinatown, for both the Chinatown and suburban Chinese. Significant similarities also existed in terms of the marital status of the respondents, the number

Table 5.1 Vancouver: Summary table of chi-square values, degrees of freedom and associated significance values, of the sample survey Chinese, 1969 .

Variable name	chi-square value	D.F.	Variable name	chi-square value	D.F.
Demographic Factors.			Cultural Factors		
Boarders (Y/N)	24.83	1	Dialect spoken	17.48	3
Boarders (#)	39.19	4	Years at second.sch	22.81	3
Date of birth	45.33	7	Mandrin.for child.	27.07	1
# of children	51.17	6	Literacy in Mandrin	38.59	1
Immigr. period	56.40	9	Yrs. at elem.school	49.53	4
Birth-place	115.50	5	Spoken Mandrin	50.51	4
Residential Factors			Univ. lang.of inst.	83.11	2
Reasons for move	34.79	6	Elem. lang.of inst.	131.44	4
Previous resi.(yrs)	40.84	6	Sec. lang.of inst.	145.76	4
Length of resid.	42.98	5	Secondary (city)	148.08	4
Resid. type	102.04	4	Elementary (city)	164.88	5
Last Address	138.77	13	Spoken English	166.97	3
Economic Factors			Years at school	166.97	3
Relationship to employer	15.10	2	Return to China	12.47	3
Change in occup.	23.26	1	Association(type)	36.34	5
Place of work	25.25	4	Visits to Chinatown	68.69	3
Answer in Ch./Eng.	48.89	1	Food habits	70.37	2
Locat. of prev.job	58.76	4	Local Chin. Newsp.	122.95	1
Income	60.21	5	Religion	141.47	3
Job classific.	77.07	6			
Previous occup.	82.89	10			
Occup. category	148.37	11			
Present resid.loc.	582.38	10			

Constant variable compared: Chinese residents in Chinatown and Chinese residents in the suburbs of Vancouver, 1969.

Significance value (α) set at 0.001* .

* For the probability tables of significance values used when n=1, n=2 and n=3, see Croxton, (1959) Appendix VI, pp. 328 -329.

NB. Tables that were found to be 'insignificant' at the specified significance levels, and invalid tables are not included here.

of related boarders living with the households, and finally the respondents comments regarding the questionnaire and 'study' itself.

Chinatown-Suburban Differences.

There were a large number of valid and significant tables (48 in all) that were used in the analysis⁴. The differences between Chinese residents in Chinatown and the suburbs in 1969 are therefore discussed under four convenient sub-headings, namely, the cultural, residential, demographic and economic factors.

Demographic Differences.

The differences between the Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents are marked, not only in terms of the place of birth, but also in terms of the time of immigration of the holder or his grand-parents, and the year of birth. The differences in the place of birth are shown in Table 5.2 . This table shows

Table 5.2 Vancouver: Birth-place of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Birth-place	Percentage of China- town Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
Vancouver	1.6	15.2
British Columbia	0.8	7.2
Canada	1.6	5.6
Hong Kong	0.8	6.4
Kwangtung (China)	14.4	10.4
Other China	11.2	22.4
Other	-	2.4
TOTAL	30.4	69.6
Chi-square = 115.20* D.F. = 5		

that in the case of the suburban group a disproportionate percentage of persons were born in Vancouver and the rest of Canada. The percentage of the total born in Canada for the suburban group is 28% and only 4% for the Chinatown group. In terms of those born in China and Hong Kong, the percentages are 26% for the Chinatown group and 42% for the suburban group.

Another demographic difference lies in the period of immigration of these two groups of people. It would be recalled that immigration of the Chinese commenced just before 1885, and continues into the present-day. For convenience, one can divide this time span into three periods, namely the period of the early immigration (1885-1900), the period of the 'depression' (1901-1940) and the period of recent immigration (1941-1969). (Table 5.3). Following the above rough classification, about 9.6% of the suburban group were made up of early immigrants, 28.8% 'depression' immigrants and 27.2% recent immigrants. On the other hand, amongst the Chinatown group, there were 12.8% 'depression' immigrants and 16% early immigrants.

The above two tables (Tables 5.2 and 5.3) have several implications. Firstly, in terms of the birth-place of suburban Chinese, although proportionately quite a large number of the Chinese were reported to be born either in Kwangtung or other parts of China, the proportion born in Vancouver would seem to be increasing. This might also apply to the Chinatown residents. At the time of the survey, in mid-1969, only 4% of the Chinese in Chinatown were reported to be born in Vancouver or the

Table 5.3 Vancouver: Period of immigration of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Period of immigration	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of Suburban Chinese
Pre -1885	-	3.2
1885-1900	-	6.4
1901-1910	3.2	8.0
1911-1920	5.6	12.0
1921-1930	2.4	4.0
1931-1940	1.6	4.8
1941-1950	8.0	12.8
1951-1960	6.4	7.2
1961+	1.6	7.2
Did not answer	1.6	4.0

Chi-square = 56.4* D.F. = 9

rest of Canada. But it can be expected that further increases in the Canadian-born Chinese would impinge on the viability of Chinatown with regard to its residential function and to its capacity to accomodate new additions to the Chinese population. The question that will need to be answered in the future is, will Chinatown be able to meet new demands on its already strained capacity in terms of the residential space that is available within Chinatown?

Secondly, recent immigration into Canada and in particular Vancouver has been shown to be increasing. Further increases in immigration further emphasizes the importance of Chinatown's function as a half-way house for some of the new immigrants. Both the above factors therefore would alter the present residential pattern of the Chinese and in so doing would re-emphasize the relative differences between the two groups of Chinese, that is, Chinatown and suburban Chinese.

Residential Differences.

Under this category the major differences between the Chinatown and suburban Chinese were the type of residence occupied, the length of occupancy and the subsequent changes of residence. Undoubtedly, the quality of the residence would be a major factor also, but this is not examined here. However, the above three variables mentioned do provide a partial view of the residential patterning of the Chinese in Vancouver today.

Concerning residential types of the two groups, there seems to be, in the sample as a whole, a preponderance of households that live in their own house. This however is particularly so for the suburban group. For the Chinatown group, proportionately higher percentages are found in the 'rooming house' category. This is mainly because of the availability and low rents of such rooms in proximity to Chinatown itself. Included in this group are the co-operatively-run rooming houses and those organised by the Chinese associations. The differences between the two groups, that is Chinatown vis-a-vis suburban Chinese, are significant. Table 5.4 summarizes the data on residential types.

Table 5.4 Vancouver: Residential types occupied by Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents , 1969.

Residential types	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
Own house	14.4	53.6
Rented house	6.4	8.0
Rented apartment	1.6	4.3
Rooming house	6.4	1.6
Other	0.8	1.6
chi-square = 102.04* D.F. = 4		

The nature of the frequency distribution of the length of residence in a particular home for the two groups of Chinese is an inverted s-curve. Higher frequencies are observed for those residents living in a particular house for ten years and less. Equally high proportions are also to be observed in those households that are very stable, that is, with a length of more than 20 years in residence. Between these two, the first (ten years and less) accounts for a higher percentage. The differences between the two groups is that Chinatown residents are more polarised into those who have been there a short time (nine years and less) and a long time (more than 20 years) while the suburban group contain a larger middle sector. Thus one implication that can be derived from this are the differences in the size of families, the attainment of higher socio-economic status, and other related social factors for the suburban group (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Vancouver: Length of residence in present home for Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Length in years	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
1 year & less	1.6	1.6
1-4 years	10.4	17.6
5-9 "	8.0	17.6
10-14 "	2.4	13.6
15-19 "	0.8	5.6
20 years & over	7.2	13.6
Chi-square = 42.98* D.F. = 5		

To summarize, the differences in terms of residence are manifest in the types and length of residence. The Chinese

in both Chinatown and the suburbs tend to own their own houses, but this is more so in the suburbs. Suburban Chinese also tend to be more stable in terms of the length of residence in a particular house.

As mentioned earlier, it was felt that family status, socio-economic status and other related social factors will be related to these differences, and more important to the understanding of the residential patterns of the Chinese. An examination of these follow.

Economic Differences.

Two major criteria used to differentiate between the two groups concern their occupation and income. The occupational classification used here is compatible with that used by the DBS, Census of Canada, 1961⁵. Table 5.6 emphasises the differences in terms of occupation. Indeed, since occupational differences did exist, one might also expect to find differences in their income. Table 5.7 shows the income earned by the Chinatown and suburban Chinese. Because of the inter-related nature of these two tables, the discussion of these differences are examined together.

The suburban Chinese are engaged in most of the occupations listed on the Table except primary work. The Chinatown Chinese, on the other hand, are engaged in services, primary work and in (minor) managerial capacities. This last category is somewhat misleading, for one has to be suspicious of the nature of this occupational category in the case of the Chinese. For

Table 5.6 Vancouver: Occupational classification of Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Occupational classification	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
Managerial	5.6	6.4
Profess. & Tech.	1.6	8.8
Clerical	-	7.2
Sales	0.8	7.2
Craftsmen	2.4	4.0
Primary workers**	5.6	3.2
Transport	0.8	4.8
Services	4.8	11.2
Students	0.8	2.4
Retired	6.4	4.0
Did not answer	1.6	10.4

Chi-square = 148.31* D.F. = 10

** includes both labor and farm workers.

Table 5.7 Vancouver : Income of Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969 .

Income	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
\$2,500 & less	8.0	17.6
2,500 - 5,000	12.8	16.0
5,000 -10,000	7.2	20.8
10,000 & over	-	7.2
Did not answer	-	4.0
Unemployed	2.4	4.0

Chi-square = 60.21* D.F. = 5

instance, it has been found more often than not, that the persons in this category are engaged in operating rooming-houses, or a small laundry or a grocery store. Technically speaking, they are in a managerial capacity, but the income, capital outlay,

and profits do not match those in corporate businesses and other such establishments. Thus this table has to be used with some caution.

The table on income reflects the high percentage of the suburban Chinese who are employed in the 'white collar' job category. The percentage of the suburban Chinese in the first two income brackets is approximately 30% while 28% earn \$5,000 and more. For the Chinatown Chinese, 12.8% earned between \$2,500 and \$5,000. This probably reflects their employment in service and semi-skilled trades. In sum, the differences between the two groups of Chinese are indeed significant in terms of their occupation and income.

Cultural Differences.

Probably the most difficult and least tangible difference to discern between the two groups of Chinese are their cultural differences. These differences, if they exist, lie partly in the physical manifestations of the 'culture' of the two groups. To discern these differences, an examination is made in terms of their (a) educational attainment and spoken English ability, (b) the size of the household (that is the number of children, lodgers) and kinship in employment, and (c) their participation in Chinese cultural life, including membership and participation in Chinese organised associations and festivals and their attitudes towards returning to China.

a. Educational Attainment.

It will be seen from Table 5.8 that a great majority of the Chinese in Chinatown had their elementary schooling in China, as opposed to a higher number of the suburban Chinese receiving their schooling in Vancouver or elsewhere in Canada. For instance, the proportionate shares for those having had their elementary schooling in Vancouver amounts to 25.6% of all respondents for the suburban group as opposed to 5.6% for the Chinatown group.

The language of instruction of the Chinatown group at the elementary school grade was predominantly Chinese. On the other hand a higher percentage of suburban Chinese had their education in both languages of instruction.

In terms of the total amount of schooling, proportionately more members of the Chinatown group had from 4 to 6 years schooling. However the major difference that separates the two groups are the higher percentages scored for the suburban group in the total number of years at school. This pattern is more obvious in the number of years at the elementary school.

It is interesting to note at this point that differences in terms of educational attainment stretches through to the university level, the pattern being a higher percentage of suburban Chinese have received secondary and university education (that is, 57% and 24% respectively). One of the direct results that derive from such a trend are the relative abilities of the Chinese to speak English. Table 5.9 shows

Table 5.8 Vancouver: Some educational characteristics of Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Total number of years in school	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of Suburban Chinese	Number of years in elementary school	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
0 - 1 year	1.6	2.4	0 - 1 year	1.6	2.4
1 - 3 years	2.4	3.2	1 - 3 years	2.4	4.8
4 - 6 "	11.2	8.0	4 - 6 "	20.8	36.8
7 - 9 "	4.8	24.0	7+ "	3.2	24.0
10 - 12 "	5.6	15.2	Did not answer	2.4	2.4
12+ "	2.4	0.8			
chi-square = 13.16* D.F. = 8			chi-square = 49.33* D.F. = 4		
Language of instruction at elementary school	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of Suburban Chinese	City of elementary schooling	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
English only	4.0	30.4	Vancouver	5.6	25.6
English & Chinese	3.2	12.8	B.C./Canada	-	12.0
Chinese only	20.8	19.2	Hong Kong	2.4	13.6
Other	-	4.0	China	10.0	14.4
Did not answer	2.4	3.2	Did not ans.	2.4	2.4
chi-square = 131.33* D.F. = 4			chi-square = 164.88* D.F. = 5		

a tendency for the Chinese in Chinatown to predominate at the lower end of the scale. Considering their educational background and the pattern of immigration, one might say that this is an expected pattern.

Table 5.9 Vancouver: Spoken English ability, as reported by Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Ability	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
Fluently	4.8	39.2
Well	5.6	16.0
Quite Well	10.4	10.4
Poorly	9.6	4.0
Chi-square = 166.97* D.F. = 3		

b. Composition of the Household.

Relatively speaking there were no difference in terms of the average number of children in the family between the two groups of Chinese. The average number of children per household for the Chinatown and suburban Chinese was 3.58 and 3.73 respectively. Fifteen per cent of the suburban Chinese did not have any children as compared to a lower percentage of 4.8% for the Chinatown Chinese.

Of the whole sample population, there were about 17% of the households that reported having lodgers or boarders living with the family. Of this small percentage, only about 8% were related to the household. From the chi-square value of 2.36, the difference between the two groups of people in terms of the number of related boarders were not significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 5.10 gives the average number of children per household, the number of boarders in the households sampled and associated chi-square values. The frequency distribution (f) shows a higher frequency of boarders for the Chinatown group as compared with the suburban group. From the above, one possible inference is that kinship ties are prevalent among both groups in more or less similar degrees.

Table 5.10 Vancouver: Number of children and boarders of the Chinatown and suburban Chinese residents, 1969 .

Number of children	Chinatown Chinese f	Suburban Chinese f	Number of boarders	Chinatown Chinese f	Suburban Chinese f
0	6	19	0	29	77
1	1	4	1	4	2
2	5	13	2	0	1
3	8	14	3	1	2
4	5	13	4	1	1
5	5	13	5	0	1
6+	8	11	6+	3	3
Average	3.58	3.73		3.45	3.67

Chi-square = 51.57* D.F = 6 Chi-square = 39.19* D.F. = 4
f = frequency of responses.

Kinship ties are possibly important also so far as occupation and employment are concerned. However Table 5.11 provides a breakdown which in fact re-emphasises the small degree of kinship ties in the employment characteristics of the Chinese. From the information collected, it does not seem that the kinship factor is large, or prevalent on a wider scale, neither in terms of employment nor in terms of boarders staying with the household. In short this aspect of Chinese cultural difference among the two groups of Chinese is prevalent only to a limited degree.

Table 5.11 Vancouver: Kinship in employment among the Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Item	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
Related	3.2	2.4
Not related	23.2	56.8
Don't know	4.0	10.4
Chi-square = 15.10* D.F. = 2		

c. Participation in Chinese Cultural Life.

If participation in Chinese associations and Chinese festivals is an indicator of the retention of Chinese traits and traditions, the Chinese in Chinatown tend to exhibit more of such traits and traditions. Significant differences did exist in terms of the participation in Chinese associations as Table 5.12 attests. On a proportional basis, Chinatown residents tend to participate more actively in these associations, mainly because of proximity to these associations, and partly because of interest and occupation. The 'proximity factor' is quite important when one considers the large number of associations that are located in the Chinatown area of Vancouver.

Table 5.12 Vancouver : Participation in associations by Chinatown and Suburban Chinese residents, 1969.

Type of association	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of Suburban Chinese
Chinese Benevolent	6.4	7.2
Clan associations	2.4	4.0
Dialect	2.4	2.4
Village and 'other'	0.8	3.2
None	18.4	52.8

Chi-square = 36.34* D.F. = 5

In terms of the types of festivals observed by the two groups of Chinese however, there were no 'significant' differences between the two groups. In other words, in less formal terms, the suburban group maintains a culture similar with the Chinatown group. In Table 5.13 the suburban group has been further broken down into different functional areas of Vancouver. From this table, the suburban Chinese are observed to be nearly equally divided between those who observe Chinese festivals and those who do not. Moreover, the table also shows that the suburban Chinese tend to observe only Chinese New Year in most cases, rather than the other festivals that occur throughout the year. The Chinatown Chinese on the other hand, are likely to observe several festivals a year.

Table 5.13 Vancouver: Participation in Chinese festivals by the Chinese, 1969.

Functional areas	Percentage participating in most festivals**	Percentage participating in Chinese New Year only	Percentage that do not participate
Chinatown	16.8	10.4	8.8
East Hastings	4.8	3.2	3.2
Kitsilano	0.8	0.8	0.8
Dunbar	3.2	2.4	0.8
Oakridge	3.2	1.6	3.2
Kerrisdale	3.2	0.8	0.8
Shaughnessey	-	4.0	0.8
Fraserview	4.8	-	3.2
Cedar Cottage	4.8	2.4	2.4
Marpole	2.4	2.4	3.2
	27.2	17.6	18.4
TOTAL	44.0	28.0	27.2

Chi-square = 23.51 D.F. = 10 Not significant at the 0.05 level.

**= includes Chinese New Year and other major Chinese festivals.

Finally, one of the questions in the Interview Schedule included a question relating to attitudes towards returning to China. From data collected, it would appear that although significant differences existed between the two groups, most if not all, wished only to 'visit' China. In relation to those who said that they wanted to visit China, many qualified their answer by saying that it depended on the 'political' situation there. There were also some who wanted to return to China to live and work and others to retire. The latter replies were more often from the older immigrants and the retired. The question however was not well worded, as China could mean both Mainland China and Taiwan, although implicitly it meant Mainland China. The answers sought were for Mainland China and are so recorded in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Vancouver: Attitudes towards returning to China, for Chinatown and Suburban Chinese Residents, 1969.

Item	Percentage of Chinatown Chinese	Percentage of suburban Chinese
To live & work	1.6	2.4
To retire	1.6	2.4
For a visit	19.2	51.2
Not at all	8.0	12.8
Did not answer	-	0.8
Chi-square = 12.47 D.F. = 4 Not sig- nificant at the 0.01 level.		

In conclusion it could be said that the hypothesis postulating differences between the two groups can be accepted for most of the variables in terms of which the groups have been examined. These are listed under demographic, residential, economic and cultural factors. These factors have in fact demonstrated some of the differences between the Chinatown and suburban Chinese, as the chi-square tests have shown. The Chinatown Chinese have been shown to be different from the suburban Chinese in most respects excepting those variables mentioned earlier. The Chinese in the suburbs are different socially and economically, though they have in general, retained some aspects of their cultural life. Kinship ties are still strong among the Chinese in Vancouver, so too are relatively large families. In the final analysis, these similarities and differences are the important correlates of the residential patterns existing among the Chinese community in the city of Vancouver.

Footnotes.

1 The formula for the chi-square test is in the form:-

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where O_i is the observed number of cases in the i th cell
 E_i is the expected number of cases in the i th cell
and,
 n is the number of cells in the contingency table.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the contingency tables used in this chapter have been constructed from results obtained from the Questionnaire, also known as the Sample Survey, 1969 (SSCCV, 1969).

3 Siegel, S., (1956), Non-parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc.

4 For ease of comparison among the responses found in these tables, responses are expressed as percentages of the total sample (125). This facilitates comparison between different tables. In the calculation of the chi-square values, however, frequencies were used to satisfy the assumptions of the test. Total percentage of the Chinatown residents accounts for 30.4% and the suburban residents accounted for 69.6% of the total.

Unless otherwise stated, an asterik (*) following the chi-square value indicates the level of significance of the test being at $\alpha=0.001$, and that the chi-square value is 'significant.'

5 DBS, Census of Canada, 1961, 'Population and Housing Characteristics, by census tracts, Vancouver,' Catalogue Number: 95-537,

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECAPITULATION.

The study began by outlining the importance of 'ethnic studies' in urban areas. In particular, the residential patterns of the Chinese in the city of Vancouver were made the focus. The residential patterns of the Chinese were examined with a view to differentiating two groups of Chinese, that is, the central-city dwellers of Chinatown and the suburban Chinese. Much of the theoretical construct is derived from empirical studies which have generated both 'general' and 'specific' theories. As various approaches have been employed in studies of this nature, for our purposes an ecological approach was chosen as being the most relevant and rewarding.

The growth of Chinese immigration into Canada was traced. The reasons for migration and the general characteristics of Chinese immigration were discussed. The growth and decline of the Chinese population in Canada is closely associated with the immigration legislations passed in the Dominion House of Commons and in the Provincial Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. These help to explain sudden declines and rapid growth in the Chinese population in Canada. Most Chinese migrating to Canada entered British Columbia. The reasons for this were traced to British Columbia's geographical location vis-a-vis the Orient and economic opportunities in the west

coast areas of Canada, particularly the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The growth of the Chinese community in the Province of British Columbia was examined in relation to the demands of labor at that time. The growth of Chinese populations in the small towns of British Columbia fostered the growth of Chinatowns. The evolution of Vancouver's Chinatown was dealt with at length. The struggle of Vancouver's Chinatown for existence affected the residential patterns of the Chinese in the whole of the city.

To describe the uneven distribution and patterning of Chinese settlement in Vancouver, both the published and unpublished 1961 census material were analysed. The analysis showed that in 1961, the spatial patterning of the Chinese was nodal and sectoral in nature, and that this was associated with the nature of their principal occupations. The demographic features portrayed by the Chinese were typical of such immigrant groups. Imbalances in the sex-ratio had affected the residential dispersion and residential location of the Chinese. Sample Survey data of 1969 further emphasized these aspects of residential patterns.

One of the elements in the patterns of residences of the Chinese was traced to their immigrant nature. It was also found that immigrant Chinese in general resided in older buildings, that is, those buildings that were built prior to 1921, while there was a tendency for Canadian-born Chinese to reside in buildings that were built since 1945. This trend in residential patterning was traced to the socio-economic background of the two groups of

Chinese. Several variables were examined to support this notion, among these were demographic, educational and occupational factors.

It was hypothesised that there were differences between those Chinese living in Chinatown and those living in the suburbs. From the analyses of the frequency tables, and using the chi-square test, it was found that differences did indeed exist in terms of several variables, classed as: the demographic, residential, economic and cultural factors. The areas of similarity between the two groups of Chinese, as was discussed in Chapter V, could be subsumed under the general category of demographic characteristics, and opinions about this study. The hypothesis was however, generally accepted as a tenable proposition.

The residential patterns of the Chinese examined in this thesis will have profound implications as to the viability of Vancouver's Chinatown. This is because for a 'Chinatown' to exist 'functionally' it should have a sufficiently large ethnic population base to support it; without this, its uniqueness, and indeed much of its social functions will be lost in the mainstream of city growth and renewal. What is needed as a follow up to this study is probably an examination of the changing status of Chinatown, in terms of its changing economic function and its (diminishing) social functions.

The study has focussed on one aspect of an ethnic group, namely its peculiarities in residential location, though

factors of a cultural nature have been considered. The findings of this study however only provide insights into one particular ethnic group. They may or may not be the case in terms of other ethnic groups in the city. A comparative study of residential location of ethnic groups in the city is needed. There is in fact a need for geographers to work in the field of the residential structure of cities, and its concomitant population 'color,' since most residential location models have been economic in nature, and have often disregarded this factor.

No one study is complete in itself. Its success or failure is dependent on the tradition of studies on which it has been built. This work has derived much from other studies, and it is hoped that with investigations of this nature, the ethnic composition of North American cities, and in particular the city of Vancouver, will be better understood.

APPENDIX I.

Canada: Chinese population, 1881-1961, by provinces.

Province	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Prince Edward Island	n	1	4	6	14	31	45	35	43
Nova Scotia	n	5	106	134	315	340	322	516	637
New Brunswick	n	8	59	93	185	231	134	146	274
Quebec	7	36	1,037	1,578	2,335	2,750	2,140	1,904	4,749
Ontario	22	97	722	2,766	5,625	6,919	5,497	6,997	15,155
Manitoba	4	31	206	885	1,331	1,732	1,147	1,175	1,936
Saskatchewan	n	n	41	957	1,667	3,501	1,392	2,144	3,660
Alberta	n	n	235	1,787	3,587	3,875	2,817	3,451	6,937
British Columbia	4,350	8,910	14,885	19,568	23,533	27,319	16,220	15,933	24,227
Yukon	n	n	7		1	1	3	37	100
Northwest Territories	n	41					186	186	445
CANADA	4,383	9,129	17,312	27,831	39,581	46,519	34,627	32,528	58,197
Percentage increase/ decrease	-	108.06	89.89	60.76	42.21	17.52	-25.56	-6.06	78.91

n = no information available.

Source: These statistics have been compiled from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1881-1961.

APPENDIX II. British Columbia: Chinese population in cities and towns, 1885 - 1961.

1885.

Victoria	1,767	Burrard Inlet	114
New Westminster.	1,680	Cassiar	105
Wellington	506	Kamloops	62
M. Quesnel	506	Savona Ferry	55
Cariboo	321	Harrison River	35
Nanaimo	168		

Source: Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, 1885, Appendix C, pp. 363 - 366.

1901.

Yale and Cariboo	3,596
Victoria	2,770
Burrard	2,744
Vancouver Isld.	2,547
New Westminster	2,544

Source: Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. 1, 'Population,' Ottawa, Dawson, 1902, Table XII, 'Nationalities,' p. 406.

1911.

Vancouver	3,871	Revelstoke	104
Victoria	3,458	Rossland	78
Richmond	730	Fernie	76
New Westminster.	609	Chilliwack	68
Nanaimo	591	Prince Rupert	57
Cranbrook	228	Grand Forks	39
Nelson	178	Trail	28
Ladysmith	177	Enderby	25
Vernon	162	Greenwood	24
Kamloops	109	Kaslo	17
North Van.	107	Merritt	9

Source: Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. 1, 'Population,' Ottawa Dawson, Table VII, 'Origins of People by sub-districts,' p. 168.

1921.

Vancouver	6,484	Vernon	107
Victoria	3,666	Port Coquitlam	83
Cumberland	1,263	Duncan	83
New Westminster.	1,171	Merritt	81
North Van. D.M.	669	Port Alberni	73
Nanaimo	453	Enderbey	70
Prince Rupert	362	Armstrong	68
West Van.	190	Fernie	68
N. Van. city	184	Rossland	48

APPENDIX II, cont'd.

Kamloops	173	Chilliwack	46
Nelson	170	Trail	44
Cranbrook	150	Courtenay	31
Prince George	145	Kaslo	25
Kelowna	114	Grand Forks	23
Revelstoke	109	Salmon Arm	20
		Ladysmith	16

Source: Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. I 'Population by Areas,' Table 27, 'Origins of People,' p.538.

1931.*

Vancouver	13,011	Revelstoke	106
Victoria	3,702	Trail	102
Cumberland	769	Prince George	77
New Westminster.	599	Chilliwack	68
Nanaimo	420	Merritt	48
Prince Rupert	390	Quesnel	39
Duncan	337	N.Van.city	39
Kamloops	329	Salmon Arm	33
Kelowna	322	Rossland	33
Mission	246	Kaslo	32
Vernon	218	Port Coquitlam	32
Port Alberni	217	Courtenay	26
Nelson	176	Fernie	25
Port Moody	155	Ladysmith	18
Cranbrook	147	Enderby	8
Armstrong	107		

* Excepting Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster, this table shows both Chinese and Japanese populations, as there were no separate tabulations for Chinese alone.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II 'Population by Areas,' Ottawa: Patenaude, 1933. Table 33, 'Population Classified according to principal origin ...' pp.482-492.

1941.

Vancouver	7,174	Quesnel	48
Victoria	3,037	Mission	41
Richmond	449	N.Van.D.M.	40
New Westminster.	400	Rossland	37
Nanaimo	298	W.Van.	37
Kamloops	281	Prince George	35
Duncan	165	Chilliwack	30
Prince Rupert	150	Revelstoke	23
Port Alberni	137	Kaslo	22
Vernon	112	Merritt	22

APPENDIX II, cont'd.

Nelson	103	Courtenay	19
Trail	87	Fernie	12
Kelowna	71	Port Coquitlam	11
Cranbrook	66	Cumberland	10
Armstrong	64	Ladysmith	9
Port Moody	62	Enderby	7

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1941, Vol. I, 'Population Cross-classification,' Ottawa, Table 32, 'Population according to principal origin,' p. 498.

1951.

Vancouver	8,729
New Westminster	235
Trail	95
Penticton	33
N.Van. city	18

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1951, Vol. I, 'Population Cross-classification,' Ottawa, Table 35, 'Population according to principal origin in cities more than 10,000,' p. 35-1.

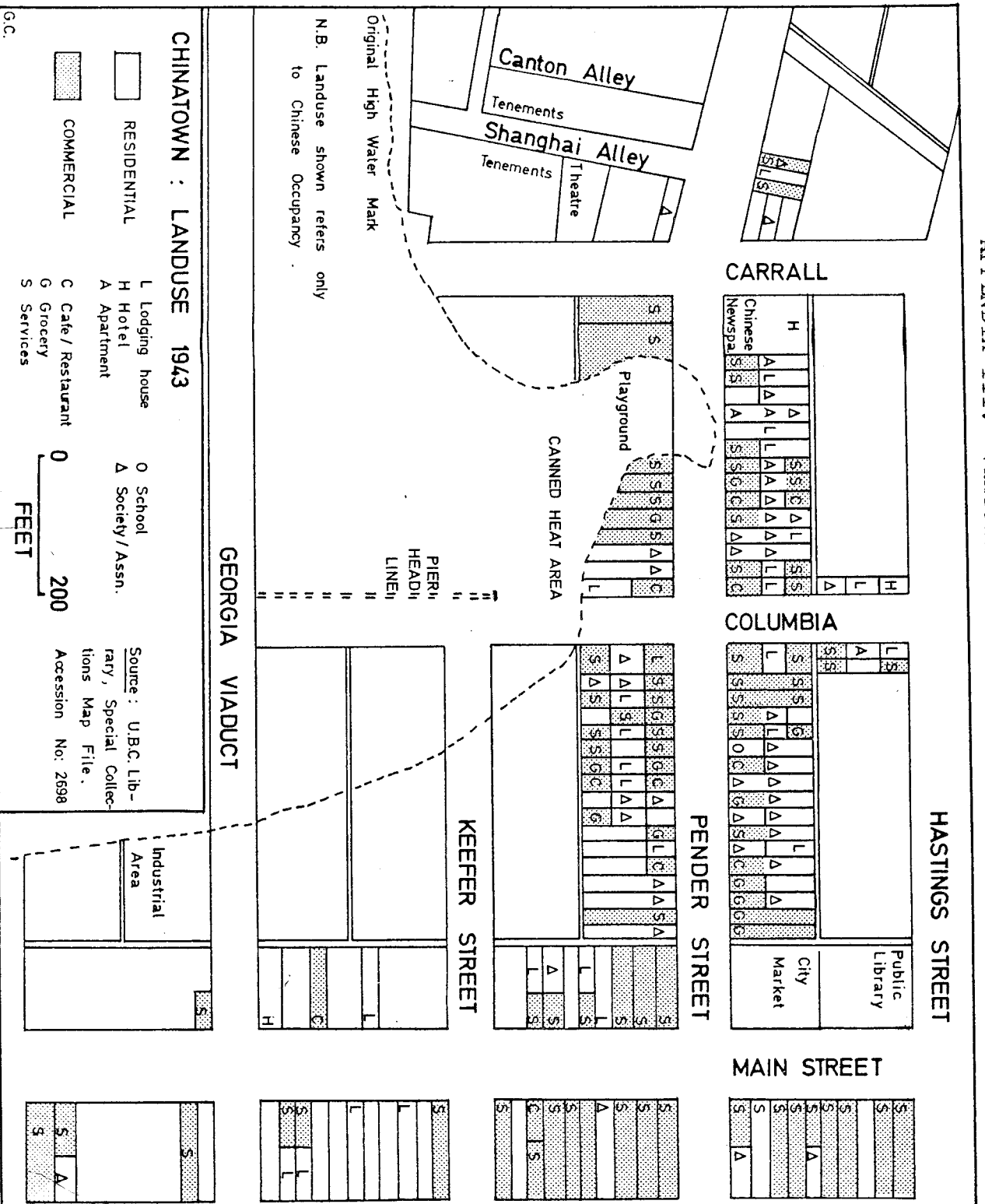
N.B. There were no separate tabulations available for cities and towns with less than 10,000 population in British Columbia, 1951.

1961.

Vancouver	15,223	Delta	111
Victoria	2,137	W.Van.D.M.	100
Burnaby	766	Quesnel	85*
Saanich	491	Ashcroft	80*
Richmond	298	N.Van.D.M.	69
Port Alberni	286	Trail	69
Surrey	273	Dawson Creek	65
Prince Rupert	254	Maple Ridge	62
New Westminster	247	Kelowna	43
Nanaimo	240	N.Van. city	39
Nelson	230*	Peace River	27
Duncan	200*	Penticton	24
Prince George	196	Chilliwack	20
Kamloops	191	Esquimalt	20
Vernon	145	Langley	
Port Coquitlam	133		
Oak Bay	115		

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, Series 1.2-5, 'Population-Ethnic Groups' Table 35, p. 38.1

* Estimates by Willmott, (1969), p.28.



APPENDIX IV. THE SAMPLE AND QUESTIONNAIRE: RATIONALE,
METHODS AND FIELD INVESTIGATION.

The Sample.

Since published and unpublished census material do not contain data required for this type of study, it was felt that the most effective means of achieving this end was through a sample survey with a questionnaire. The questionnaire is one of the more ubiquitous features of empirical social science research and remains one of the better techniques in current use. The questionnaire used in this particular study is included as Appendix V below.

Rationale.

In order to inquire into the nature of the Chinese population in Vancouver, it would have been ideal if one could examine every element of the Chinese population. This however is quite impractical. Firstly, it is literally impossible to examine every element of the Chinese population mainly because of the way in which they are distributed in time and space. Numerically the Chinese population total some 15,223 persons in Vancouver in 1961. This is too large a population to work with. Secondly, if and when all the elements of the Chinese population are collected from this blanket coverage, the data so collected would be too numerous that the time and expense involved in tabulating and analysing the data would not justify the end results. To circumvent such problems, the use of a sample of the population is usually suggested. The main criteria of the sample is that it should accurately portray the characteristics

of the population, and at the same time be small enough to be easily handled.

King observes that information concerning the size of a sample in geographical literature is non-existent¹. For the most part, King suggests that only rough 'rules-of-thumb' be used for example 10 or 20% of the population to be studied. Using this 'rule-of-thumb' method these percentages when translated for the Chinese population would amount to 1,522 and 3,044 persons respectively. Considering the size and in view of practicality alone, the sample size of the Chinese to be studied, according to this arbitrary rule of thumb, is untenable.

Thus the definition of the size of sample is very important. Too small a sample does not contribute substantially to generalizations about the population sampled. On the other hand, too large a sample would result in an over-abundance of data than is warranted by its likely uses. The aim therefore is firstly to obtain an 'unbiased' sample in the sense that the average or estimated value of an element is nearly equal to the same element of the population. Secondly, to obtain a sample which is 'precise' and 'accurate.' In a statistical sense, to be 'precise' is to have samples with low standard errors, while 'accurate' samples pertain to low total errors, including unlikely biases, non-sampling errors and sampling variability². Finally, to obtain a small sample that can be easily handled,

Method.

The definition of the size of the sample for this study followed the following empirically derived formula :-

$$N = \frac{(t)^2 \cdot \sigma^2}{d^2}$$

where N is the size of the sample to be obtained
(t)² is the degree of accuracy that is
desired
 σ^2 is the variance around the mean, and
 d^2 is the precision required.

The degree of accuracy (t)² is set at a specified level of confidence, in this case the 95% level from a two-tailed t-test, for given degrees of freedom (n-1). The precision required d^2 is approximately $\pm 10\%$ variability around the mean. The parameters or characteristics of the population have been estimated from a pilot study, carried out by the writer. In this particular study the size of the random sample, drawn from a population of Chinese students was n=35. This pilot study in effect was used to test a preliminary questionnaire that was later modified and used in this study. The value of the mean (\bar{x}) of the length of residence for the sample was found to be 8.7 years. The sample standard deviation (σ) was 5.2 and the variance (σ^2) 25.7. Using these parameters the size of the sample determined for this study was N=130 households³. In other words, some 130 households had to be interviewed before any 'valid' generalizations could be made of the Chinese population. Validity here connotes the close approximation of the population's characteristics.

Interviews and Questionnaire.

Some 254 households were selected by a random systematic sample from the Vancouver Chinese City Directory, 1966. This Directory provided a listing of all Chinese persons over

the age of 21 (namely heads of households) living in the Metropolitan Area of Vancouver. From personal observations and checks, it can be said that this Directory gives a reasonable and accurate coverage of the Chinese in Vancouver. The Directory in addition, provided information pertaining to the house address, occupation and phone number (if any) of the persons listed. Since this study is concerned with the city of Vancouver, persons living in the Metropolitan Area of Vancouver were excluded. This sample represented about 1.67% of the Chinese population in the city. The large number selected was to insulate against non-replies and refusals.

Field work was carried out between the months of June and September, 1969. The following table summarizes the replies of the Sample Survey, 1969.

Sample size	= 254	
Personal interviews		
completed	= 114	
Mailed questionnaires		Non-responses and non-
completed	= 35	contacts = 105.
Spoiled questionnaires		
= 26		
Useable questionnaires		
= <u>125</u>		

Footnotes.

1 King, L.J., (1969), Statistical Analysis in Geography, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. pp.75-76.

2 For a more detailed discussion of terms, see: Kish, L., (1965) Survey Sampling, New York: John Wiley & Sons., Inc. pp.25-26.

3 Rough working of the formula:-
$$N = \frac{(t)^2 \cdot \sigma^2}{d^2}$$
$$= \frac{1.96 \cdot 5.1^2}{0.87^2} = 130.$$

APPENDIX V. The Interview Schedule (Questionnaire).

STUDY OF VANCOUVER'S CHINESE COMMUNITY.

The Chinese community is an important part of Vancouver's culture. In order to know more about the Chinese here, I am carrying out a study of aspects of their way of life. I am asking your help in carrying out this study by filling in this Questionnaire. Your name has been selected randomly from the Vancouver Chinese City Directory. However your name does not appear on the Questionnaire, and so all responses are anonymous. Of course all the information collected by me will be treated in strict confidence and will be used for no other purpose than my own research.

I am a Graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia.

George Cho Chin Huat
Tel: 228-2663

A. Language.

1. What Chinese dialect(s) (Cantonese, Fukien etc.) do you speak? (List):
.....
2. How well do you speak Mandarin? (Tick one)
Fluently
Well
Quite Well
Poorly
Not at all
3. How well do you speak English? (Tick one)
Fluently
Well
Quite Well
Poorly
4. Do you read and write any Mandarin? YES / NO
5. In which language were you taught at School?
a. English only, b. English & Chinese, c. Chinese only,
d. Other:
.....
6. Number of years in school: years.

Elementary	_____ years	_____	City	_____	Language
Secondary	_____ "	_____	"	_____	of
University	_____ "	_____	"	_____	instruc-
					tion.

7. Do you want your children to:

 speak a Chinese dialect: YES / NO
 read Mandarin : YES / NO

B. Cultural Factors.

1. Do you still observe Chinese festivals? YES / NO
 Which ones?

2. Do you belong to and support any 'Benevolent' Societies?

3. Do you cook and eat
 Chinese food? (Tick one)

Always
Often
Sometimes
Very rarely
Never

4. Do you use chopsticks for
 your meals at home?

YES / NO

5. Do you visit Vancouver's
 Chinatown? (Tick one)

Once a week & more
Once or twice a month.....
Once every 2-3 months.....
Less than the above

6. Do you visit Chinatown to:
 (Tick factors)

Buy Groceries
Buy Chinese herbs
Visit friends &
 relatives
Consult professionals
 (Doctors, lawyers)
Consult 'sinseh's'
 (Chinese doctor)
Other :.....

7. What is your religious affiliation? (Christian, Bhuddist,
 etc?)

8. Do you think the preservation of Vancouver's Chinatown is
 important for:

 the Chinese community : YES / NO
 the City : YES / NO

9. Do you read local Chinese Newspapers? YES / NO
 Do you read Overseas Chinese Newspapers? YES / NO

10. Would you like to return to China : (a) to live and work,
 (b) to retire, (c) for a visit, and (d) not at all ?

C. Residential History:

1. Is your present home: a. Own house b. Rented house...
c. rented apartment ... d. rooming house ... e. Other ...
2. How long have you lived in your present home? ...yrs ...mo.
3. Please write down your last two home addresses and the length of residence there.
 - a. Last address: block & streetcity
Length of residence in years
 - b. Last-but-one address: block & street,
..... city, Length of residence in years
4. Why did you decide to move to your present home?
 - a. Near work e. Wanted better area
 - b. Low rent f. Wanted more space
 - c. Took over from g. Other (specify)
 - parents
d. Chinese orientation
 of the area

D. Personal and Family History :

1. Where were you born:(place) and date:.....
2. If born outside Canada when did you migrate to Canada?
(year)
If born in Canada when did your ancestors migrate to
North America? (year)
3. Are you married? YES / NO
If so is your spouse also Chinese? YES / NO
4. If married, how many children do you have?
5. Any boarders or tenants living with the family? YES / NO
If yes give number:.....
6. Are any of the boarders related to you? YES / NO

E. Work and Social Factors:

1. Are you:
Employer Student
Employee Unemployed
Own Account (no Retired
 employees)

2. What is your type of occupation?

3. Where is your place of work?
.....
(block) (street) (city)

4. Are you related to your Employer/Employees? YES / NO

5. Have you changed your occupation in the last two years?
YES / NO

Previous occupation: Type
Location

6. Please circle category of Income:

- a. Less than \$2,500 p.a. b. \$2,500 - \$5,000 p.a.
c. \$5,000 - \$10,000 p.a. d. \$10,000 and over p.a.

Would you like to make any other comments on this Questionnaire
or on this problem?

.....
.....
.....
.....

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