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A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN A PRAIRIE CITY  
A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE OF ITS CLASS  
AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

by

Wing-sam Chow

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## ABSTRACT

### A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN A PRAIRIE CITY A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE OF ITS CLASS AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

by

Wing-sam Chow

The primary objective of this dissertation is to explore the meanings of class and ethnicity in terms of the ethnographic data on a Chinese community in western Canada. Adopting a relational and holistic perspective, this study will identify the underlying social reality which gives logic to the observable events, activities, and social organizations of the selected local ethnic community. The forms and process of material life of the local community are seen as part and parcel of the very nature and development of the entire social system. Within the context of the global market and political system, the local ethnic community is found peripheral not only in terms of its ethnic identity but also in terms of the work identity of the majority of its members. For Canada's growth, immigrant labor is indispensable; however, the presence of new immigrants is frequently regarded as a challenge to the well-being of the mainstream Canadians. The data used are based on both fieldwork and documentary records.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Class and ethnicity are two pertinent issues in the study of Canadian society. The primary objective of this dissertation is to explore the meanings of class and ethnicity in terms of the ethnographic data on the Chinese minority in Winnipeg. Using a structural Marxist model, this study will identify the underlying social reality which gives logic to the observable events, activities, and organizations of the selected local ethnic community. To achieve this end would require an holistic analysis of the interaction between the local community and its wider social milieu. That is to say, this study, while focusing on the nature and development of the local ethnic community, will elucidate, at the same time, the major features of the system of class and ethnicity which Canada constitutes.

Classes, in this study, are regarded as economic groups; in other words, the sharing of permanent or at least long-term economic interests is an important characteristic of members of a class. An ethnic group is regarded as a group of people who think of themselves as being alike, and stemming from a common origin or from other historically rooted factors. Analytically speaking, ethnic relations are non-class relations.

The City of Winnipeg is the capital of the Province of Manitoba, Canada. With the advent of railway in 1886, Winnipeg has grown to become a grain center and a financial, commercial, and manufacturing city. The

total population in 1971 was 540,260. The major ethnic groups, in order of size in 1971, are the British numbering 232,125, Ukrainians 64,305, Germans 61,995, French 46,205, Polish 25,915, Jewish 19,385, Scandinavians 17,535, and Netherlanders 15,020 (p. 60 below).

In Winnipeg, the Chinese population is largely scattered within the inner city with only a small percentage in the suburbia. The presence of three Chinese in the City was first reported in 1877. By 1921, the Chinese population had grown to 814. This, however, had declined to 762 by 1941, reflecting the restriction of Chinese immigration into Canada between 1925 and 1947. Since the renewed Chinese immigration in 1947, the Chinese population of the City had grown to about 3,400 by 1976 (p. 61 below). The city setting will be more fully described in Chapter III.

The first Chinese immigration in substantial numbers was in connection with railway construction. After its completion, the Chinese population dispersed into various Canadian cities. In Winnipeg, the Chinese population had been engaged largely as entrepreneurs in the service sector. This is classified as the periphery industry (vis-a-vis the core industry), and features low productivity and low income. After the renewed immigration in 1947, the occupational distribution, however, shifted to ramify into the core industry. In this study three historical periods are distinguished, the early Chinese immigrants, the pre-1947 era, and the post-1947 era. The occupations, social organizations, and other observable social relations vary from period to period.

This study also focuses on the organizations which the ethnic Chinese have established to cater to the internal needs and interests of the community. However, the dominance that some associational leaders enjoy is derived by virtue of their strategic linkage to a government in

China and/or to the elites among mainstream Canadians. As demonstrated by certain writers (e.g., Clement 1974, Porter 1965) these Canadian elite patrons are nearly always members of the dominant ethnic groups, primarily the Anglo-Saxons and secondarily the French, i.e., those capable of making individious judgements about the appropriateness of various ethnic groups coming to Canada.

### Analytical Perspective

This study is concerned with the forms and processes of material life of a local ethnic community in an advanced industrial society. The life of the local community is part and parcel of the very nature and development of the entire social system. It belongs to the inclusive polity of a particular historical context. Within the context of the global market and political system, the local community is peripheral not only in terms of its ethnic identity but also in terms of the occupations of the majority of its members. Two sets of terms will be used to delineate class ordering. One set includes terms familiar to students of social stratification: the upper, middle and working classes. The other set indicates ethnic and class domination and subordination among interacting collectivities: the center of the Center, the periphery of the Center, the center of the Periphery, and the periphery of the Periphery (see pages 44f below). These ethnic and class relations will be analyzed in terms of the overall structural conditions implied by this model.

Four major questions confront this study. In what ways do the occupations and social organizations of the ethnic Chinese reflect both the underlying class and ethnic relations and the historical reality of the world system? What is the basis of individual freedom? In what ways

do the observable historical events and social practices reveal the hidden reality invisible but present behind the visible forms? Lastly, to what extent do publications on ethnic Chinese in various parts of the world succeed in portraying and analyzing their ethnic and class relations?

### A Literature Review

In this review are included studies on ethnic Chinese in various parts of the world, a case study on Japanese in Canada, and a theoretical article on ethnicity. This review will demonstrate that these publications show a failure to relate class and ethnicity in any systematic way. An important pioneering work on a Chinese community, *The Chinese in Malaya* by British administrator and historian Victor Purcell (1948 and 1967) is descriptive, and contains a wealth of historical data. Although this monograph is not intended to be analytical, it does not excuse Purcell's treatment of "the Anglo-Chinese relations" as a "social aspect," homologous with "Chinese religion," "Chinese social problems," "Chinese labor and immigration," "Chinese political societies, 1911-1941," and "the Chinese in Malayan industry" (Purcell 1967: xv). The mere description of these "social aspects" should have demonstrated to the writer that they are as much products of the interaction between the ethnic Chinese and the British, as of the Chinese tradition which Purcell seems to emphasize. Although the materials are workable for the analysis of ethnic and class relations, such analysis is not attempted. The so-called "social aspects" are simply convenient categories by which the writer presents his materials, and are devoid of any analytical value.

Among the earlier works on the Chinese in the United States are those of sociologist Rose Hum Lee on the Chinatown in Butte, Montana. Lee

(1948) describes the social institutions which she divides into "religious political institutions" including the Temple, Save the Emperor Society, Gee Kung Tong (transliterated as Chi Kung Tang in this dissertation); "the familial institutions," including the clan associations; and "tongs and festivals." Such a classification based on the ways the participants refer to the institutions reflects the local people's system of classification, but should not be regarded as sociological categories. On the basis of Lee's approach, all the institutions may well be classified as tong (or tang, literally meaning hall), or equally as "familial" and "political," if not "religious" institutions.

In her 1949a paper, she examines changes in occupations among the ethnic Chinese of Butte from 1890 to 1945. Although the paper is entitled "occupational invasion, succession and accommodation..." she only deals with "accommodation" equated with "complementing," "symbiosis," "adjustment" and "adaptation" (Lee 1949a: 50-58). The "occupational accommodation" by the immigrant group is regarded as "an index to their "social accommodation" and "assimilation" (ibid., p. 58). Specifically, "occupational accommodation" can be achieved by performing services which are needed by the dominant groups but are not done by them (ibid.). In accommodation, then, the immigrant group avoids competition with the dominant groups, while maintaining its own identity.

In her article "The decline of Chinatown in the United States" (1949b), Lee observes that the Chinatowns have been rapidly declining since 1940. This is expressed by the gradual disappearance of the "cultural and social institutions," the loss of population, with only the "economic establishments" such as laundries and restaurants remaining (ibid., p. 431).

While the ethnic Chinese have made "accommodation" and the Chinatowns have declined, ethnic Chinese are regarded as not having completed Robert E. Park's "racial cycle of contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation." In The Chinese in the United States (1960), which contains her studies over the years, she calls for full assimilation among her people. She could call and her people might listen. The final outcome, however, would depend on the overall structural conditions. At the present, by her criteria the Chinese remain at the "accommodation" stage. Lastly, although she does not deal with class relations as such, she presents the Chinese as an ethnic minority, emphasizing their interaction with the ethnic majority.

An example of the few monographs appearing in the nineteen fifties and sixties is The Chinese of Semarang by Donald Willmott, 1960. The ethnic Chinese are said to lead a way of life that includes elements of Chinese, Indonesian, and Dutch civilizations (Willmott 1960: 16). Accordingly, the ethnic social behavior is described in terms of these influences in a part of the study. At other times, the study becomes centered on the "internal structure" (Willmott 1960: 47) and the interaction among the ethnic groups. The term "structure" is taken to mean organization and its visible characteristics. For example, the "internal structure" of Chinese business enterprise is one of small units under family management and ownership, and one of instability. Proceeding from a description of the "internal structure," he discusses the interaction between the Chinese and Dutch business, which has "operated smoothly and with mutual benefit" (Willmott 1960: 59). However, the role of middle-man is explained not in terms of an overview of the market transaction and the exclusivist Dutch policy, but solely in terms of the "internal structure" as characterized

by the knowledge of local market and the small accumulation of ready capital (ibid.). The emphasis here is more on social types rather than social relationship.

Parallel to this approach is his treatment of the gentry and social prestige. He notes that:

. . . emigration was responsible for turning the traditional social prestige scale upside down . . . The gentry did not migrate. . . . Almost all the immigrants were illiterate farmers, laborers and petty merchants. Their purpose is to make money, and wealth became practically the sole criterion of success and social position (Willmott 1960: 116)

Does he believe that if the gentry had migrated, the "traditional social prestige" would have been maintained? And the gentry would have been less likely to become middle-men? By severing these entities from their proper historical context, he has rendered them completely meaningless. Although he does not incorporate history into the field of analysis, and although at times his view is fragmented, he attempts to deal with ethnicity as fully as possible. Class relations as such are not dealt with; however, his book provides workable materials for such analysis.

William Willmott has written two monographs on the Chinese in Cambodia. One of them, containing some field notes incoherently presented, is hardly a scholarly work in any sense of the word. He has in fact to acknowledge, "This is not, then, a book of anthropology" (W. Willmott 1967: 2). Nevertheless, the study is under anthropologist Maurice Freedman's supervision: fieldwork is conducted; and library research is carried out in Phnom Penh, Paris, and London (ibid. p. 3).

In his (1970) publication, written on the basis of the same data, he thoroughly confuses the reader about the objective of the monograph. The title indicates that the objective is to study the Chinese community

in Cambodia. However, he begins the preface by writing, "In studying a community of over a hundred thousand persons . . ." (ibid., p. iii). A check on a table (ibid., p. 7) confirms that this is the Chinese population in Phnom Penh. Still, in his Introduction, he states that "the primary focus of this book is the congregation system and its effects upon Chinese social organization" (ibid., p. 2). The congregations are sub-ethnic categories or speech groups among the ethnic Chinese recognized by the French colonial government as corporate groups, each with the authority to exercise self-government. For example, the Teochius form a congregation, which has a hui-guan (association) and a chef (chief) delegated by the French to exercise certain degrees of self-government. The congregation system is a means of indirect rule designed by the colonial authority.

In any case, discussions on the system constitute only one-third of the volume, from the beginning of the system in Annam to its decline after the second world war. The system is not mentioned again except briefly in one chapter for the rest of the book. This consists of four chapters rambling over contemporary Phnom Penh, one chapter on small towns in Cambodia, one chapter on six overseas Chinese communities from Singapore to Vancouver, and a last chapter on the so-called Chinese traditional cities. In these chapters, he takes note of the similarities and differences between the Chinese community in Phnom Penh on the one hand, and the other Chinese communities and Chinese traditional cities on the other hand. In the last chapter, entitled "beyond a conclusion," the reader may think that generalizations and inferences derived from the previous discussions would be presented. However, he is again disappointed. The book is literally "beyond a conclusion" and without a



conclusion. There are a few foci, but there is no "primary focus" as William Willmott (1970: 2) has claimed.

In his analysis, the term "structure" is equated with the overt hierarchy of social institutions. To explain "the structure of leadership" is to demonstrate the dominant role of the Hospital Board; to explain the "associational structure" is to transcribe the hierarchy of associations with the Hospital Board at the apex. The Board consists of a small group of associational leaders in charge of a hospital which the ethnic Chinese had built in Phnom Penh. In any case, the writer makes no attempt to put this hierarchy into the total context of the ethnic and class relations in Phnom Penh (W. Willmott 1970: 118-126).

Above all, his comparative studies are made out of context. He compares the Phnom Penh Chinese community with the so-called traditional cities in general in China, and infers that in both cases there is a "formal separation of political and economic power" (W. Willmott 1970: 161-74). He is, in effect, regarding the "separation" or its contrast as a variable, while the "political and economic power" remains a constant. There is no attempt to assess the scope and nature of this power in its respective context: namely, within a specific local ethnic community and in traditional cities in general. In making such a comparison, the scope and nature of this power is actually far from being constant.

While "structure" often draws the Willmotts' attention, "pattern" construction becomes central in anthropologist Hsu's (1971) studies of the Chinese in the United States. "The American pattern" is constructed by drawing observations and illustrations from various parts of the United States, while the "Chinese pattern" is constructed by using generalizations already made familiar by publications concerning Chinese language,

family, kinship, local ties and religion. The Chinese in America are regarded as having made "a series of bifurcated adjustments" between the two patterns of life (Hsu 1971: 77). Their social behavior is then explained in terms of the components of either of the patterns. This exercise reduces to a demonstration of these components and their differences; however, it cannot, for example, account for the serving in Chinese restaurants of fortune cookies, the products created during the process of interaction between the Whites and the Chinese. If this monograph aims to demonstrate the integration of cultural pattern, the objective is partially achieved. However, if the objective is to demonstrate the effect of "contact and conflict" (preface), and to be counted as a study of one of the "minorities in American life" (title pages), the study fails. Ethnicity is not to be equated with cultural differences, but rather with identities shown during the interaction taking place among groups.

In a textbook widely used in Canadian universities in the early 1970s, there appears an article on the Chinese in Toronto by an ethnic Chinese, Vivien Lai (1971), resulting from thesis research under Donald Willmott. The study is based on sociologist Milton Gordon's (1964) model of assimilation and is concerned essentially with "cultural" and "structural assimilations." "Assimilation" is equated with "integration" and "absorption" (Lai 1971: 125). Examined under "cultural assimilation" are two sub-categories: (1) "cultural symbols," including the preferences in language used, festivals celebrated, newspapers read . . . ; (2) "cultural norms," as exemplified by preferences in post-marital residence and attitudes towards pre-marital sex (*ibid.*, p. 126). The second category, "structural assimilation," is examined under the following assumptions: -

(1) If the immigrants are "fully economically absorbed," their occupations "should be distributed in the same manner as the host society" (ibid., p. 131). (2) If the immigrants choose to "live in a desegregated area, join Canadian clubs and go to Canadian church," they are regarded as integrated in institutional level (ibid., p. 136). (3) "the number of friends the immigrant has from his own ethnic group and from the host society is an index of the extent to which he is integrated into the society at the primary level" (ibid., p. 136). She concludes that "the Chinese immigrants examined in this study are only partially culturally assimilated, partially structurally assimilated. . . ." However, she hastens to apologize that "this does not mean that the Chinese are less capable of being assimilated than other immigrant groups" (ibid., p. 137).

Here and throughout her study, she seems to imply that not to be assimilated is a form of failure, and that, conversely, to be assimilated is good and normal. Reading this implication in conjunction with her assumption (3) regarding friendship tells one that it is good to be assimilated, and in order to be counted as being completely assimilated, an immigrant should only have friends from the "host society." Her study also implies that Canada is egalitarian, and that the two sub-categories (p. 10 above) is of no substantial consequence. A club is a physical expression of class relation, as its membership is a mark of status, and a badge of social certification, to establish friendship, to entertain, and to make deals. How could such a glaring reality be ignored? Moreover, if the immigrants are fully absorbed economically, their occupational distribution ought to lean towards certain sectors, for example, service occupations. This is because immigrants are admitted into

Canada to perform certain economic functions. Her assumption (1) regarding occupations (p. 11 above) is simply wrong! The identity of the immigrants is not based on "cultural norms," but on a series of constraints on the roles that the immigrants are expected to play. The integration of an immigrant group cannot be considered apart from these constraints.

In summary, then, the selected examples are well recognized by the academic circle in North America. It is largely on this basis that they are included in this review. Their chief contribution lies mainly in the empirical data concerning the ethnic Chinese communities which have experienced rapid social change or simply disappeared. Typology comes to play a major role in the handling of these data; there is cultural patterning, as exemplified by the American vis-a-vis the Chinese pattern in Hsu (1971); cultural isolates, as exemplified by the Chinese vis-a-vis Canadian culture in Lai (1971); institutional types, as exemplified by Lee's (1948) classification; social types, as exemplified by Donald Willmott's (1960) "middle-men" and "gentry"; and "internal structure," exemplified by both Willmotts' descriptions of social organizations or the overt hierarchy of social institutions. In these studies all these entities are timeless, and severed from their historical and overall social contexts. History is treated both as a flow of events and as autonomous from the method of analysis, which is carried out without reference to time.

In cases where social change is analyzed, it is treated as a process of "cultural blend" as differing types come together, to use Gordon's (1964: 74) expression. Lee (1949) refers to the process as "contact, competition, accommodation and assimilation"; Hsu (1971), "a series of bifurcated adjustments"; and Lai (1971), "cultural" and "structural

assimilation." In the study of this process of cultural blending, class relations and the material basis underlying freedom of choice are not considered. To these writers, the criteria for the eventual assimilation rest on the observable characteristics of the ethnic community itself, rather than on the structural conditions of the social whole. Assimilation is monitored but not explained. It is on this basis that the erroneous assumptions are made in the case of the Toronto Chinese, and that Lee's (1949b) clarion call for the ultimate goal of full assimilation is made in vain. These writers have substituted their wishes for reality!

Barth (1969), in an introductory chapter to a collection of papers resulting from a symposium on ethnicity, examines major concepts and approaches involved in the analysis of ethnic groups. This has been a well-known publication and used as a textbook in a number of universities in North America. Barth (1969) maintains that in one major approach, the observer sees each ethnic group existing in relative isolation and through a history of adaptation by invention and selective borrowing, and in response to local ecological factors (*ibid.*, pp. 11-12). The ethnic group is regarded as a population which is largely biologically self-perpetuating, which shares basic cultural values, and which constitutes a field of communicating. The diagnostic factors for membership of an ethnic group lie in the objective differences in cultures and factors generated by ecological conditions (*ibid.*, p. 11). This approach leads the observer to prejudge and preconceive of what are the major factors in the genesis of ethnicity. This shortcoming is readily illustrated by concepts such as "internal structure," cultural patterning, and cultural blend examined in the present literature review. Almost all the publications reviewed follow this approach essentially.

Barth (1969) advocates an alternative approach which he calls the generative viewpoint. It purports to explore the process in generating and maintaining ethnic groups. It focuses on the socially relevant factors which become diagnostic for membership. In other words, it focuses on only those cultural features which the actors in an poly-ethnic system use as signals and identities. The ethnic identities are not static but vary with the changing interacting situation. Barth further argues that people's experiences affect and have feedback to the ethnic identities (ibid., p. 30). This feedback is consequential with respect to the following: Firstly, there establishes a conventional definition of the situation in social encounters, so that ethnic dichotomies may be retained and reinforced. Revision occurs only if it is consistently both materially and socially to act according to the conventional definition (ibid., p. 12). Secondly, radical differences in cultural values are often denied and played down, so that interaction may generate a congruence of codes and values (ibid., p. 16). Thirdly, the feedback from the interacting situation may result in variations in the number of characteristics subsumed under the ethnic labels. Some individuals show many and some show few of these characteristics (ibid., p. 29). In sum, ethnic identities are at once a question of sources of origin as well as of current identities.

In his study of ethnicity, Barth (1969) attempts to include a number of variables, including, among others, social stratification, ecology, and demography. In a section entitled ecologic perspective, he constructs the following typology of different forms of adaptation:

- (1) [Ethnic groups] may occupy clearly distinct niches in the natural environment and be in minimal competition for resources. In this case their

interdependence will be limited . . .

(2) They may monopolize separate territories, in which case they are in competition for resources and their articulation will involve politics along the border, and possibly other sectors.

(3) They may provide important goods and services for each other, i.e., occupy reciprocal and therefore different niches but in close interdependence. If they do not articulate very closely in the political sector, this entails classical symbiotic situation. . . If they also compete and accomodate through differential monopolization of the means of production, this entails a close political and economic articulation, with open possibilities for other forms of interdependence as well. (ibid., pp. 19f).

In another section entitled demographic perspective, (ibid., p. 20), he discusses the problems of number and balance of a population in its adaptation to an ecological niche. He maintains that any stable adaptation entails a control of population size. The upper limit on the size of the population corresponds to the carrying capacity of that niche. If two populations are ecologically interdependent, any variations in the size of one must have important effects on the other (ibid.).

In still another section entitled ethnic groups and stratification (ibid., p. 27) he notes that where one group has control of the means of production utilized by another group, a relationship of inequality and stratification obtains. That is to say, a stratified poly-ethnic system exists where groups are characterized by differential control of assets that are valued by the groups. For example, in the Pathan area one finds stratification based on the control of land, Pathans being land owners, and other groups cultivating as serfs (ibid.). Barth argues that they share certain general orientation and scales, on the basis of which they arrive at judgements of hierarchy, and on the basis of which the poly-ethnic system is integrated.

At the same time, he notes that in many cases stratification is simply based on the notion of scales. This he exemplifies with the Indian caste system which, to him, is a stratified poly-ethnic system. Ethnic groups are successfully ranked in the hierarchical system by their acceptance of the value scales defining their degrees of ritual purity and pollution (ibid., p. 28).

Apparently, the article includes a broad range of topics which are significant and relevant in the analysis of ethnicity. The point at issue is the pluralistic viewpoint which results in a series of sections not being systematically linked up. For example, two sections contain closely related topics which do not constitute two different perspectives. Yet, the sections are entitled ecologic perspective and demographic perspective respectively. Barth fails to explore systematically the interplay between the various demographic factors such as population pressure and migrations on the one hand and his typology of ecological adaptation on the other hand. His typology, as it presently stands, has not gone beyond the literal meanings of minimal competition, monopoly, and symbiosis (ibid., pp. 19f; p. 18 above).

On social stratification, he is aware of the effects of the differential control of the means of production (ibid., p. 27; p. 15 above). This observation, however, is followed by the argument that the ethnic groups share general orientation and value, on the basis of which they arrive at judging the hierarchy and its integration (p. 15 above). His analysis of ethnicity is essentially confined to the level of meaning and symbolism. It is the status as recognized by the poly-ethnic system that confers the characters of the individual actors. They enact to conform to the conventional expectations. The ordering of relationship according



to this meaning system is necessary to the existence of the poly-ethnic system. While the meaning system is regarded as the foundation of the stratification, the function of the propertied relationship concerning ownership is not further investigated.

Consequently, the distinction of the two kinds of social relationships in his social stratification is omitted. Where he is concerned with differential control of valued assets by interacting groups, he is actually talking about class relations; where he is concerned with groups ranked in terms of notions of scales, which he illustrates with the Hindu caste system, he is actually talking about ethnic relations. To him, both kinds of social relationships are simply social stratifications with their underlying meaning system and assumed integration.

Lastly, his obsession with integration is overwhelming. Internal conflict is regarded as contributing towards the stability of the system. One may refer to the quotation concerning his typology of ecological adaptation again (*ibid.*, pp. 19f; p. 18 above).

If they also compete and accommodate through differential monopolization of the means of production, this entails a close political and economic articulation, with open possibilities for other forms of interdependence as well (emphasis mine).

To compete, to accommodate, and to monopolize is to achieve interdependence. The disintegration or the demise of the poly-ethnic system is off the limit of analysis for Barth.

In sum, Barth (1969) has called for a generative viewpoint, focusing on the process in generating and maintaining ethnic groups. This is highly commendable. Together with Barth (1969), the present study rejects the viewpoint that sees ethnic groups as isolated cultural groups.

However, he must be criticized in his application of the generative viewpoint. It becomes pluralistic and descriptive by failing to explore the interaction of the major variables. It becomes idealistic by focusing on the meaning system and ignoring the significance of the underlying material basis. And it becomes presumptive by making a priori arguments concerning integration.

Before ending this review, Ken Adachi's (1976) monograph on Japanese Canadians The enemy that never was, is examined. This allows a comparison of the historical experiences of the ethnic Japanese and Chinese on the Canadian west coast, and a supplementation of the delineation of ethnographic facts as presented in the previous section. Adachi's descriptive history leads through the attacks on the Japanese as cheap labor, the Vancouver anti-Asian riots of 1907, the attempts to restrict the ethnic Japanese to a particular area of work such as fishing, and the role of the politicians of British Columbia in aggravating ethnic prejudices against the Japanese. On these scores, the historical experiences of both the Japanese and Chinese are parallel to each other.

The unique experience on the part of the Japanese Canadians came with their forced removal from Vancouver and other coastal areas and their internment in the interior of British Columbia after the Pearl Harbor attack. The provincial politicians used the attack as a pretext for expelling Japanese competitors and seizing their assets. In spite of the advice of both the Canadian military and the RCMP that the Japanese community was not a threat to the defence of North America, the Prime Minister, MacKenzie King, bowed to the pressure of British Columbian politicians and initiated the removal of the community. At the end of the war, King, bowing again to the pressure of the politicians, attempted, but failed, to

deport most of the ethnic Japanese, regardless of citizenship. While both the Japanese and Chinese labor forces were regarded as a threat, only the Japanese experienced this trauma of internment. This was because of their ethnic identification with their country of origin, which was a non-European country at war with the Allies. International setting has significant ramifications in local ethnic communities. The present dissertation will show that the expressions of these ramifications vary in accordance with different ethnicities and class relations.

### Theoretical Orientation

In order to move beyond the descriptive accounts of the assimilationist writers, the epistemological position taken in this study is one which directs the researcher to look at the society from a broad historical perspective, with an emphasis on the social relations which dominate the material process of production. Integrated with this emphasis is the emphasis on class relations. These are defined not in terms of a synthetic scale of a number of factors, such as education, income, and so on which are not necessarily commensurable to each other, but rather on one criterion, the sharing of long-term economic interests.

In societies of large scale immigration, class relations cannot be severed from ethnic relations, dialectically interacting upon each other. Ethnic relations are based on a series of constraints on the roles that the ethnic group is expected to play. Class relations constitute a major constraining factor. Literature on ethnicity has significantly omitted the dialectic interaction between the two types of social relations. This, however, will be fully explored in the present study.

The methods of analysis that correspond to this epistemological

position consist of a synthesis of the concepts of three groups: (1) the French structural Marxist writers including Friedman (1974), Godelier (1972), and Terray (1975), (2) writers who focus on the world system including Wallerstein (1974), Frank (1942), and Galtung (1971), and (3) sociologists who study class and power in the advanced industrial societies, including Parkin (1971) and Clement (1975).

In the model as envisaged by the French structural Marxist writers, the totality of the system to be analyzed is termed the social formation, which may be defined as the total structure that unifies the elements of infra- and superstructure in a historically specific way. The social formation includes several distinguishable functional levels: (1) The infrastructure or mode of production consists of the totality of the productive forces and the relations of production. The forces of production refer to the raw materials and equipment used in the process of production as well as the state of science and technology, the organizational techniques of production, and, significantly, the abilities of the producers. The relations of production are those social relations which determine the economic rationality of the material process of production. More specifically they concern the ownership of the means of production, the division of productive labor, the question of who shall and who shall not work, the forms of appropriation and distribution of the social product and the utilization of the surplus, and, in short, the rationality of the economic system. Occupations, which receive major attention in this study, are specific functions within a social division of labor, as well as skills sold for income on a labor market. (2) The superstructure contains the ideas and systems of authority such as political, legal and military organizations, which support the class structure of that society. The

superstructure rests upon the economic base and is essential for the maintenance of the social relations of production that constitute a part of the infra-structure (Friedman 1974: 445, 1975: 162-5, Godelier 1975: 18).

The link between the infra- and superstructure is not one of simple cause and effect. A purely unidirectional analysis of the link would be grossly inadequate. Each of the structures is irreducible to each other; each has its own historical dynamic, content, mode of functioning, and evolution. Given this relative autonomy of structure, there is a limit to the functional compatibility of different structures. If a structure has been transformed, its change will affect the conditions of existence of the other structures, which are compelled to modify themselves. In other words, these limits are the limits within which the structures can remain constant, allowing certain amount of variations in the related structures. The relative autonomy and mutual constraint of structures form the basis of the notion of contradiction. Such a contradiction may appear within and between structures (Friedman 1974: 447-9, Godelier 1972: 350-5, also see Footnote 1).

Moreover, this contradiction is never anyone's intention or consciousness, and entirely the result of the development of the system itself. A contradiction may not be observed on the level of the visible social relations, for each observable occurrence, event or single relationship is an appearance whose full meaning or reality is only expressed by integrating it theoretically within its total structure (Geras 1971: 80, 85).

Within an infra-structure are a series of different positions, recruiting various categories of a population. A class as indicated by such a position is an economic group, which in social terms may be only a

quasi-group or defacto group holding a common set of interests in the working of the system, and is characterized by its function in the infrastructure. Therefore, class relations in an industrial society such as Canada have to be understood in the context of the genesis and functioning of the capitalist mode of production. One basic problem in coming to such an understanding lies in explaining the existence of surplus value. For money to be turned into capital, one has to be able to buy a commodity which, when used, can create value. This commodity exists in the form of a labor power, and this happens at a historical stage when the producers are severed from the means of production. The producers must be free-- that is to say, they are not slaves--but, at the same time, they are obliged to sell their labor power. When a man works, he creates not only the equivalent of the value which his wage represents but also something more than the value which is directly paid to him. This unpaid work constitutes the substance of surplus value appropriated by the capitalist. However, in the eyes of all the actors concerned, everything occurs as if the wage paid for all labor provided by the worker, as if the profit were the product of capital, and as if capital had of itself the property of automatic growth. The appearance of economic relations conceal and contradicts their essence and the underlying class relations (Godelier 1977: 231; 1972: 336).

It should be noted that a designation of class ordering in this study bears a resemblance to the studies of social stratification in the use of terminology. The terms of corporate elites (the upper class), the middle class (the white-collar groups), and the working class (the blue-collar groups) resemble, for instance, the six classes formulated by Warner and Lunt (1941) in their studies of the Yankee City - the upper-upper,

lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower. However, the resemblance ends here, for the underlying concept of class relations is different. Warner and Lunt, to use them as an example again, conceived of a few important indices of class membership: occupation, source of income, rental value of housing, and residential area. In contrast, the formation of class relations as taken in this study is irrespective of social and political organizations, and the visible day-to-day social relations. Moreover, the categories of occupation and source of income as such cannot explain surplus value which can only be revealed in the holistic perspective as taken in this study.

In advanced capitalist society, an ever greater proportion of the adult population is drawn into the labor market. The mode of production cannot be simply studied in terms of property ownership or of capital versus the labor, but also significantly in terms of market advantages in general. This refers to the entire reward system and a hierarchy of broad occupational categories each representing a different position in the scale of material and nonmaterial benefits (Parkin 1971: 24). On the basis of this approach, Parkin (*ibid.*), a British sociologist, reveals the class-dividing line between the white-collar or non-manual groups and the blue-collar or manual groups.

A class is defined minimally by its relationship to the means of production or, in other words, the sharing of permanent or long-term economic interests is an important characteristic of class membership. However, this relationship cannot by itself account for the identity of concrete social groups, nor does it directly serve as the basis of the distinctions between them (Terray 1975: 93f). This identity will only come about when the social group is conscious of itself and capable of

collective action involving the political and ideological conditions of the superstructure.

In societies of large-scale immigration, class relations are seldom free of the tangle of historically rooted ethnic factors, stemming, for example, from believing in a common ancestral origin, being born into a particular religious community, speaking a common language, and so forth. In analyzing ethnicity, the focus is on the interaction taking place among ethnic groups (Barth 1969 and Blom 1969). The interaction involves ideas of appropriateness, assumptions, emblems of differences, and diacritical features such as food, speech, and phenotypic character that individuals may look for and display to show identity. On the one hand, the identification of a person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies an assumed common understanding and value system. On the other hand, the identification of others as members of another ethnic group implies a recognition of limitation on shared understanding and differences in the standard by which performance is judged. However, ethnic groups do not arise from contrastive cultures as such. They used to live apart or were non-interacting, historical conditions resulting in their interaction in a society. On this basis, one may say that historically the Inuit have been isolated cultural groups until they become integrated into a national society, and they are then regarded as ethnic Inuit.

As indicated above, ethnic identities are superstructural elements, and can neither be defined in terms of the functions in the relations of production nor in terms of labor organization. These constitute the domain of class relations. With respect to the infra-structure, the superstructure retains some autonomy of internal structural properties. The variation and development of the superstructure depend directly on its



internal structure and internal contradiction on the one hand, and on the constraints of the infra-structure on the other hand. For example, the social organizations and world view of an immigrant group are constantly subject to the constraint of the dominant ideologies and juridico-political structures--governmental policies towards particular groups, organized labor, schools, the mass media, and so forth. At the same time, the expressions of ethnic identities of the immigrant group are also subject in complex ways to the constraint of class relations.

While the relations of production are recognized as dominating the entire functioning of the larger system, there is also a reciprocal action of the superstructure on the base. For example, the kind of jobs people get is in part related to whom they know, which, in turn, is based on kinship and ethnic affiliation. Also, employers may give differential treatments in hiring to various ethnic groups. Such ethnic factors may result in the clustering of certain ethnic groups in certain kinds of occupations and affect the appearance of division of labor.

Moreover, if ethnic specialization is carried to an extreme form, it may result in the composition and recruitments of classes out of ethnic groups. Material disadvantage occurs precisely on account of ethnic distinctiveness; class relations and conflict take the form of conflicts between ethnic groups. In other words, classes and class contradictions do not emerge as such (Terray 1975: 93-5). Ethnic relations become manifested parallel to class relations, instead of cross-cutting each other. Ethnic identities remain superstructural elements, however, as Feuchtwang (1975: 68) generalizes, "ideological production, the production and communication of ideas, is no more purely ideal a practice than economic production is purely material."

### Plan of Dissertation

With the theoretical orientation as presented, the plan of approach proceeds as follows: In Chapter II, the history of Chinese immigration into Canada is discussed with reference to the existence of the modern world system. The historical events and Canadian policy with respect to Chinese immigration are described. Also dealt with in this chapter is the early Chinese community in Vancouver before the eastward movement to the various major cities, including Winnipeg. The Vancouver data are significant because they provide a historical background to the study of the Winnipeg Chinese community, and because the theoretical issues of class and ethnicity can be further examined in the light of these data so that generalizations developed may be applied to the study of the contemporary Chinese community in Winnipeg.

Chapter III is a transitional chapter to the study of ethnic and class relations as revealed in the occupations, social organizations and life histories in the contemporary Chinese community in Winnipeg. This chapter, then, consists of a discussion of the contemporary setting on both the national and local levels.

In Chapter IV, the occupations of the Chinese in Winnipeg before 1947 and after 1947 are discussed as 1947 is the date of renewed immigration. While the occupational distributions in both periods are presented, the predominant restaurant business is discussed in greater detail. The chapter also examines how the occupations stand in the symbolic meaning systems of the Canadian society, and into the ramification of the world system in area of occupation.

In Chapter V, the social organizations that the local community has established before and after 1947 are discussed. In particular, attention

will be given to the interaction between the old and new middle class groups in ethnic affairs, the central role of the middle class vis-a-vis the working class, in the areas of social organizations, the world system and the underlying class and ethnic relations.

In Chapter VI, individual life histories will be described and the random and contingent features in these histories will be discussed in terms of the structural condition previously presented. This chapter transcribes on a small face-to-face scale the problems which have been analyzed in the previous chapters.

Chapter VII consists of a summary of the discussions as presented and a final elucidation of the structural conditions of the social formation underlying the local ethnic community.

### Fieldwork

I am a member of the Chinese community in Winnipeg. If I claim that my study actually involves the standard procedure of participation observation, I am not honest to my discipline. No one in daily life, however, can simultaneously participate in all the institutions of one's community. Without a conscientious investigation, no one can claim to understand the overall picture of one's community. Although I am a member of the community, my daily activities do not usually involve Chinese individuals. If participant observation is properly reserved for the ethnographic study of other societies, I claim to follow the spirit of participant observation in the present study.

Because of fieldwork, I became involved in activities that I would have normally not participated in my personal life. In the process, I came to know individuals whom I would have not met otherwise. As much as

possible, I took part in public meetings sponsored by community associations. I tried to be flexible in my probing for information, and tried to play various roles. I took part in festival meetings, and acted as secretary and treasurer in two community clubs. The Chinese community in Winnipeg is divided into contending factions. One cannot move easily from one faction to another. This limitation is not necessarily an inherent weakness of an ethnographic study by an observer who is at the same time a member of the community. Even in a cross-cultural setting, an impartial observer cannot move from one contending faction to another without being suspected and rejected by both.

At times, I lingered around those places frequented by community members. However, I only went to some frequented places where one's reason for being there was taken for granted, for example, the corner stores, churches, and restaurants. There were times when my presence was solely for the purpose of observing. At other times, my interaction with Chinese individuals was simply a part of my personal social life. Only a few persons knew of my research design. However, I did not invade anybody's privacy. The empirical facts as presented in this study were commonly known among the Winnipeg Chinese. I try only to reveal the overall situation systematically with respect to some social theories.

Much information was obtained from Chinese language publications in Canada, local dailies, old newspapers, and the Henderson's Winnipeg Directory. Publications of Statistics Canada were instrumental to establish population structure and pattern of migrations. Statistics Canada kindly provided a special tabulation from the 1971 census data base with respect to the number of individuals in the labor force showing Chinese ethnic origin by occupation and sex from Winnipeg.

## Chapter II

### IMMIGRATION: ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND ITS BEGINNING

#### Introduction

The problem in this study concerns both class and ethnic relations among the Chinese majority of Winnipeg vis-a-vis the white majority in Canada. In order that social events and institutions are understood in the total context of history, the first task is not to describe the local ethnic community, but rather to identify the important features of the social formation as revealed in the historical context and the wider social milieu. In this chapter is included an overview of the historical context of Chinese immigration, ascertaining the existence of the modern world system, the Canadian policy towards Chinese immigration, the important social events, and the interaction of various groups concerning the employment for indentured Chinese laborers. The total picture thus gained becomes an important basis for the understanding of the society as a system of classes and ethnic groups on the one hand, and the origin and development of the social formation underlying the local ethnic community of Winnipeg on the other hand.

#### The Historical Context

The scale of emigration in the nineteenth century was unprecedented in China's history, while the addition of Chinese labor was typical of many countries. For example, in the eighteen forties and early fifties Chinese indentured labor was brought to Cuban plantations, to Peruvian

guano beds and coastal plantations (Krutz 1971: 321-333), and to railway construction in Panama (Cohen 1971: 309-320). Also, both free and indentured laborers migrated to California to work in gold mines. Poverty and overpopulation alone do not explain the movement, as they have long existed in southern China. The movement has to be explained in terms of the historical context of the nineteenth century. This is the existence of a single world system, resulting from the economic and political dominance of the west since the fifteenth century. (See Wallerstein 1974a and 1974b, and Frank 1972). Many countries were involved in a quest for labor to work the lands they had laid open. Already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the plantations in the Americas were responsible for the largest forced migration in world history. Africans were rounded up and sold as slaves to work in the plantations in Colonial America and the Caribbean. Permanent and total submission to the profit aspirations of owners circumscribed the slaves' position. In the nineteenth century, indentured labor was recruited from the underdeveloped countries. Unlike slaves, indentured laborers were not subject to permanent bondage, but contracted to work for only a number of years overseas. It was in this historical context that large scale migration out of China occurred.

The first large scale migration to Canada was in connection with the construction of the western section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Between 1881 and 1884 during the construction, over 15,700 Chinese laborers arrived in British Columbia (Royal Commission of Canada 1969: 21). At that time Canada was open to the immigration of all nationalities. However, on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, parliamentary actions culminated in the passage of legislation in 1885 stipulating that as a condition of entering Canada, Chinese laborers would be required to

pay a head-tax of fifty dollars. In 1901 this head-tax was increased to one hundred dollars; and in 1904, to five hundred. This was paid by all Chinese immigrants "except consular officers, merchants and clergymen and their families, tourists, men of science, students and teachers" (Canada Year Book 1930: 175).

At the turn of the twentieth century, countries with populations of European ancestry, including the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Mexico, began to restrict Chinese entry. In Canada, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 restricted the entry of persons of Chinese origin. (See Table 1, p. 32). This was irrespective of citizenship, "other than governmental representatives, Chinese children born in Canada, merchants and students" (Canada Year Book 1930: 174ff).

Between 1925 and 1946 Chinese immigration into Canada almost completely stopped. As shown in Table 2 (p. 33), from 1931 on the population began to decline. Between 1931 and 1951 there was a drop of 13,991 or almost 30% of the 1931 figure. This was the result not only of absence of immigration but also the paucity of women. In 1941, the sex ratio of the Chinese population was 7.8 males to one female (see p. 53 below). Moreover, many returned to China over the years.

While most of the immigrants in the 1930's were in their forties and early fifties, by 1947 they had become communities of old men. (See Table 5, p.62 below for the age distribution among the Winnipeg Chinese). In the 1940's, when the Chinese population was rapidly dwindling, it was often thought that the number of Chinatowns in Canada would be reduced radically. However, this did not happen. The year 1947 was a turning point in Chinese immigration. Regulations for Chinese immigration were changed; new immigrants comprising wives, husbands and children of Chinese

TABLE 1

## ARRIVALS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS (1901-1966)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arrivals</u>
1901	2,544
1910	2,302
1915	1,258
1920	544
1924	674
1925-46	16
1947	21
1948	76
1950	1,476
1958	2,630
1959	2,586
1960	1,402
1961	894
1962	876
1963	1,571
1964	3,210
1966	5,178

(Canada Year Book 1937: 205; 1942: 156; 1947: 133; 1950: 189; 1952-53: 169; 1961: 188; 1965: 211; 1967: 221; 1968: 235).



TABLE 2

## POPULATION OF ETHNIC CHINESE IN CANADA (1881-1971)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1881	4,383
1901	17,312
1911	27,831
1921	39,587
1931	46,519
1941	34,627
1951	32,528
1961	58,197
1971	118,815

(Canada Year Book 1947: 118; 1952-53: 149; 1975: 169; 1961 Census of Canada 1964: Bulletin 1.3-9, Table 114-2).

residents of Canada were allowed to enter. In 1947 two thousand persons departed for China (Morton 1974: 252). However, unlike the situation in the earlier years, many returned to Canada with their wives and children whom they had not seen for years.

Under the immigration regulations of 1947, there were numerous cases of illegal entry by people from Hong Kong, which involved forgery, impersonation and international smuggling rings. In 1960 Chinese communities in the major cities across Canada were raided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In response to the police action, Chinese voluntary associations presented their case through the mass media, asserting that the publicity concerning illegal entry was exaggerated. In the same year the Federal Government offered amnesty to the illegal entrants. Pamphlets in Chinese were distributed to Chinese residents declaring that the illegal entrants, as long as they were not assisting the racketeers, would not be prosecuted and deported.

As a result of these events, the Immigration Department took stricter measures in admitting immigrants from Hong Kong to make sure that they were authentic. Consequently, in 1960 the number of entrants of Chinese origin dropped to about one-half of that in 1959; in 1961 and 1962, one third; and in 1963, one half. Only in 1964, did the number of entrants return to the general trend of increased immigration. (See Table 1, p. 32).

Since 1962, a Chinese immigrant may enter the country as an independent immigrant on the basis of the "point system" of the 1962 Immigration Act. On August 15, 1973 legislation enacted to allow those who did not have landed immigrant status (i.e., permanent resident status) to regularize their position. The purpose of this was to reduce the backlog of cases before the immigration Appeal Board and to modify the appeals

system for the future. By the deadline on October 15, 1973 a total of 49,900 persons had registered under the program (Canada Year Book 1976-77). Many Hong Kong students holding student visas also took this opportunity to become landed immigrants.

From 1974 onwards, in order to deal with the current unemployment and inflation, the Immigration Department requires applicants to have a firm job offer from a Canadian employer. However, the Immigration Department maintains that sponsored dependents are not affected by this requirement. Although the objectives of Canadian Immigration are supposedly non-discriminatory, the actual conditions of immigration into Canada reflect this country's traditional geographical preferences, much as they are expressed in the following passage from Prime Minister Mackenzie King's diary dated February 13, 1947:

There should be no exclusion of any particular race. That I think had really been wiped out against the Chinese but a country should surely have the right to determine what strains of blood it wishes to have in its population and how its people coming from outside have to be selected (as quoted by Pickersgill and Foster 1972: 33).

Finally, besides knowing the law, it is necessary to understand the way in which it is applied and consequently affects various people and the actual conditions of immigration. As shown in the later chapters, by a controlled measure of exclusion and selection, the end result of Canada's immigration policy is to maintain the status quo of the sitting incumbents--the dominant ethnic groups who have arrived first and who determine the conditions under which other groups may enter.

#### The Early Immigrants: the Indentured Laborers

At the time of the Confederation of Canada in 1867, the dominant commercial class continued to assert a vision of Canada placing the St.

Lawrence region at the centre of an east-west nexus of trade. The policy of continental expansion maintained that rail transportation was a prerequisite to extracting Canadian staples and moving them to the markets abroad. Railways and the associated activities, it was argued, would "spin off" a series of financial and industrial benefits which would project Canada into a leading industrial nation by the twentieth century (Clement 1975: 62-3).

The construction of a transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway had to be realized. The contractor for the construction in the mountainous section, Andrew Onderdonk, found difficulty in securing enough white labor. In 1880, there were about 35,000 white citizens in British Columbia. The contractor needed at least 10,000 workers to build the mountainous and westernmost section of the railway, and perhaps many times more because of the turnover. He had to look elsewhere for much of the needed labor force. The labor problem was resolved by importing and employing Chinese labor. He had the support of Sir John A. MacDonald, the first prime minister of Canada, to take the measure in order to meet the temporary exigencies. According to The Colonist, May 1882, MacDonald told the Parliament that,

when there was a railway stretching across the continent, and there was a means of sending in white settlers, he would be ready to join . . . in preventing the permanent settlement in the country of Mongolians or Chinese immigrants. But at the present it was a question of Chinese labor or no railway (as quoted by Morton 1973: 92).

In British Columbia, some people also pleaded for the Chinese immigration; however, they did so only on the basis that it was economically sound for the province. "It was a hard, cold matter of dollars and cents," Morton (ibid.), the historian, notes. At this time, anti-Chinese

sentiments and activities, however, had spread from California, and an Anti-Chinese Association had been formed in Victoria in 1873. In 1879, the Association sent a petition to the Dominion Government requesting the prohibition of "Mongolian labor" on the railway. There was no difficulty obtaining newspaper publicity. The British Colonist in early January, 1880 voiced the fear that Ondretonk would exclude "white free labor . . . and by the employment of Chinese slave labor conspire to send beyond the seas the eight or ten millions of Canadian money required to be spent on the work of construction" (as quoted by Berton 1971: 194).

After the contractor arrived from eastern Canada, on April 11, 1880 he met a deputation from the Anti-Chinese Association requesting information on the class of labor to be used on the railway (Morton 1974: 77). Contractor Ondertonk told the delegation that he would give white labor preference in all cases. When the white labor of the province was exhausted, he would fall back on the French Canadians of eastern Canada; should that not be sufficient, he would with reluctance engage Indians and Chinese (Berton 1971: 194). Included in the deputation was a city councillor of Victoria who had publicly stated that he would rather vote against the transcontinental railway than see Chinese employed upon it (Morton 1974: 74).

Moreover, the opinions elsewhere in Canada, though less intense, were generally against the Chinese. Almost all newspapers were editorially opposed to Chinese immigration. In Winnipeg, where Chinese were practically unknown, the Times published a fairly typical series of opinions about "the beardless and immoral children of China"; their brains were "vacant of all thoughts which lift up and ennoble humanity" (Berton 1971: 195). The Trades and Labor Council of Toronto wanted them banned

outright from Canada (ibid.). The following quotation from the Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration (1885:13) is fairly representative of the various harsh and unfavorable testimonies given to the Commission, and of the major section of the public opinion of the time:

The Chinese know nothing of our institutions, except the prisons. They do not know or care about citizenship, only to evade the merest duties or burdens of it . . . As a rule they are ignorant, slavish, submissive and often brutish in their manners, living in hovels, poorly fed, worse clad, over-worked, profane, and immoral in the extreme [sic].

In spite of the ever-increasing anti-Chinese agitation, railway construction started in 1881 and was completed in 1884. When the last rails had been laid, and there were encouraging signs to most Victorians that the Chinese were leaving, the Anti-Chinese Union still held weekly meetings, the Knights of Labor were promoting Anti-Chinese legislation, and the Colonist (Oct. 9, 1885) was expressing its usual nominal tone:

Below decks, there were squeezing and pushing . . . They jabbered away at a rate that gave the notion of what Babel must have been (as quoted by Morton 1974: 134-5).

Ethnic prejudices from both the politicians and the white ethnic groups were, of course, not confined to the Chinese community, but were also directed at the other Asians on the west coast. As shown in the ethno-history by Adachi (1976), the Japanese had similar experiences.

Ethnic prejudice has an ideological basis. Many Euro-Canadians were led by their ethnocentrism to regard the non-Europeans and non-Christians as a negation of Euro-Canadian values, and as a failure to measure up to proper standards of Euro-Canadians. This ethnocentrism, though extended to a broad section of the public, was most consciously and vocally expressed among the labor unionists, local politicians, and newspapers in British Columbia. They had regarded the indentured labor

as a source of competition in the labor market, while the dominant commercial class based in eastern Canada equated the employment of the indentured labor with the success of the railway. Ethnic prejudice has an ideological basis. However, the variation in the expressions of the ideology among groups was a revelation of the underlying class relations.

What parts, then, did the Chinese play in the railway construction? Why were they hired as indentured labor? How was the community organized during the railway construction? Chinese labor was imported, because there was little white labor available, owing to the railway boom in the Far West of the Continent. To import labor on a large scale from overseas would mean relying on some middlemen or the "coolie agents" who had both the knowledge, and means to recruit the necessary laborers. From the railway contractor's point of view, it was far more efficient to deal with the coolie agents rather than with a mass of laborers. While working on the railway, the Chinese laborers were directly under the control of a number of Chinese headmen. If a laborer was discharged because of misconduct, his headman was always in a position to find a substitute. These reasons alone are sufficient to bring about the hiring of indentured laborers rather than laborers employed on an individual basis. Moreover, contracts concluded with the agents stipulated that the laborers were to buy their provisions from the railway store where the prices were inflated; otherwise, the laborers would only be paid eighty cents per day, instead of the regular wage of one dollar per day for the Chinese. This compared with one dollar fifty to one dollar seventy-five per day for the whites (Berton 1971: 197).

To the contractor, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the government, the Chinese were the indispensable laborers. Moreover, they formed good

working relationships with the foremen and other railway officials, and were often regarded as reliable, cooperative, and efficient. However, to the white labor, the fact that the Chinese came in as organized groups and accepting lower wages seriously cut their bargaining power with the employers.

The organizations that played the role of coolie brokers in North America were known as the Six Companies, transliterated as the Sam Yup, Yung Wo, Kong Chow, Wing Lung, Hop Wo, and Yan Wo of San Francisco. The directors of these Companies associated themselves with wealthy merchants in China, and dealt with American and Canadian interests, such as the Ondertonk Company, desirous of securing indentured labor. It was through these coolie brokers in San Francisco and Hong Kong that the contractor brought in ten shiploads totalling about six thousand indentured laborers from Hong Kong. Between 1881 and 1884 during the construction, over 15,700 Chinese laborers arrived in the province (Royal Commission of Canada 1969: 21).

When they arrived, they were received by the agents of the Six Companies. In the words of Thomas H. King, a merchant of San Francisco, ten years a resident of China, and "active man in [the U.S.] Consul's office at Hong Kong,"

They are packed like hogs to such companies, having his [sic] contract vised, and commences his fees to insure his care of sick, and return, dead or alive, but not his pay from the contractor, but that he shall fill his part, if able to compel him, the coolies to do it, or prevent his return until he does [sic] (Royal Commission 1885: 188).

Again, historian Berton (1971: 199) reconstructed the scene. In Canada, in the winter of 1881-82 the first two sailing ships, each bringing in one thousand coolies from Hong Kong. Arriving in New Westminster, B.C.



they were "penned in the wharf overnight like so many cattle," and then packed aboard a little sternwheeler and then transferred to flat cars at Emery. From here they were sent directly to the railway camps to begin work. Morton (1974: 135) noted that 1,500 died over the five year period of railway construction: the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (196: 21) noted, "It has been said that a Chinese is buried beneath every mile of track of the railway through the mountains of British Columbia."

Very essential to such a system of recruitment and organization of labor force was internal discipline. The indentured laborers were honor-bound to fulfill their quota of "work years" in North America. Again, King, the merchant, testified,

When breaking his contract the companies' spies bound him to prevent his return to China, by arranging with the steamship company, or through Chinese in the steamship company's employ, to prevent his getting a ticket, and if obtained by others for him he will be forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by the large force of the Six Companies highbinders . . . . Highbinders are men employed by these companies here to hound and spy upon these Chinese, and pursue them if they do not comply with their contract, as they see fit to judge it. All coolies returning to China complain of the extortions, deception, and arbitrary conduct of the companies here (Royal Commission 1885: 188).

Other sources also testify that for many years, the Companies kept a contingent of policemen capable of using coercive force and violence, and kept close connections with the shipping companies on the West Coast. Any attempt by indentured laborers to get on board any ship without the approval of the Six Companies would be thwarted. Moreover, the Companies retained competent lawyers who were frequently in court seeking the apprehension of absconding laborers.

Had the use of coercive force and violence been the only means of

keeping internal discipline, the Companies probably would not have lasted long on the west coast. The laborers had to rely on the Companies in order to make a living. The contractor, the Ondertonk Company, dealt with the Six Companies, and not the laborers. This constraint in the relations of production was sufficient to keep the laborers in law and order.

The Companies legitimized their authority in another way. They maintained private hospitals, and if someone fell sick at the job site, a team would be sent to look after him. However, in the case of the indentured laborers of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Companies failed to provide adequate medical attention. The Companies also provided social club, recreation, women occasionally, familiar food, and, above all, a link with the homeland.

Moreover, the Six Companies were recognized as the legitimate spokesmen of the whole Chinese community. In a letter to President Grant of the United States, the presidents of the Six Companies wrote, "In the absence of any consular representative, we the undersigned, in the name and on behalf of the Chinese people now in America, would most respectfully present for your consideration the following statements regarding the subject of Chinese immigration to this country" (as quoted by Baldwin 1890: 40). At a later date the attorney of the Companies, Colonel Frederick A. Bee, proclaimed himself the Consul of China in San Francisco, and identified himself as such during the hearing of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration to Canada in 1885.

To the public, the Six Companies stressed both the monolithic nature of the Chinese group as represented by the Companies themselves, and the common heritage of being Chinese. The Companies attempted to link individual members from top to bottom across class line, and to divide them

according to places of origin. Besides receiving payments from the railway contractors, the Companies, according to the testimony given by Colonel Bee, collected a fee of two dollars and fifty cents to ten dollars from the individual workers. The actual amount one had to pay depended on how many of one's countrymen were represented in the company; the more countrymen one had in the company, the less one had to pay (Royal Commission of Canada 1885: 19). The Chinese were mostly from the counties of Taishan, Chungshan, Hsinhui, Enping, and Foshan, situated in the Pearl River delta. Thus, if one came from Hsinhui, and belonged to Yan Wo where there were more Hsinhui persons, one's payment to the company would be less than that of a Foshan person. Although the dialects of the five counties were distinctive, they were similar enough to each other so that there was no problem of communication.

Lastly, these Companies were commercial firms which monopolized a good proportion of the trade between China and San Francisco. They also handled the remittances made by the Chinese sojourners to their kin at home. The Companies reached the height of their power during the 1870's and early 1880's. With the completion of the railway, the Companies could no longer play the role of coolie brokers. Consequently their control over the Chinese population diminished.

### Summary and Discussions

Class and ethnicity are two pertinent issues in the study of the social formation at the time of Confederation. The Chinese community was internally divided in response to the demand of the existing reward structure. Many of the Chinese came as a group to take up a particular occupation, so that among them, class relations became manifested parallel to

their marginal ethnic identities. Of those owning and controlling the Six Companies, their relatively prestigious class identities were severely under the constraint of their marginal ethnic identities. Their central position within the ethnic community, however, owed as much to the overall ethnic relations as their role as coolie brokers. Among the Euro-Canadians, people were also divided in response to the reward system.

In the dialectical interaction between class and ethnicity, four major collectivities can be distinguished: (1) the state elites and the dominant commercial class, based in the Toronto-Montreal region and primarily of Anglo-Saxon ancestry; (2) the mainstream Euro-Canadians excluding group 1; (3) the Six Companies comprising the elitist Chinese merchant class; and (4) the Chinese laborers.

In this study the existence of a modern world system has been stressed. This is seen as a single system with many polities and cultures. Parallels can be drawn between the modern world system and the local setting involving a single market system and a multiplicity of ethnic groups. On the basis of the knowledge gained in the enquiry of the modern world system, a model may be built to illuminate the studies of both class and ethnic relations between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups on local setting. Galtung (1971) explains both the dominance relations within and between nations and the ability of some nations to affect the outcome of major decisional outputs of other nations. He sees the world as consisting of Center and Periphery nations, and each nation as consisting its center and periphery. Within each nation, there is disharmony of interest between the center and the periphery, each pursuing incompatible goals and interests as measured by such indicators as income, standard of living, and notions of quality of life.

Between the Center and Periphery nations, dominance relations are based on political, economic, and social/cultural bridgeheads. These the Center nation has established in the center of the Periphery nation, serving as a transmission belt for value forwarded to the Center nation. Because of this brokerage function, the center in the Periphery nation grows more than its periphery. The value forwarded enters the Center nation in the center with some of the value drizzling down to the periphery of the Centre. While Galtung (1971) acknowledges the disharmony of interest between the Center nation as a whole and the Periphery nation as a whole, he stresses that this must not blur the other relations among the collectivities. There is harmony of interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation; there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nation; and there is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Center nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation. Moreover, within the Center nation, while the two parties may be opposed to each other, in the total game, the periphery sees itself more as the partner of the center in the Center than as the partner of the periphery in the Periphery (Galtung 1971: 84).

The above outline of Galtung's "structural theory" will be used as a model for the study of both ethnic and class relations on local level. Parallels will be drawn between the interaction of nation states and that of ethnic groups. In drawing such parallels, the model would take on analogic and metaphoric characters. If this is a shortcoming of the analytical device, one should remember that the linguistic and organic models, popular among social anthropologists, are highly metaphoric also. Moreover, a model tends to formalize and simplify an empirical situation. Still, the model remains a heuristic device to locate gap in the student's knowledge,

and to come to grips with certain essential relationships among the elements of the system that he might otherwise have missed.

In the context of the empirical situation described in this chapter, the four major collectivities (p. 38 above) are regarded as follows: group 1 is termed as the center of the Center (Cc); group 2, the periphery of the Center (Cp); group 3, the center of the Periphery (Pc); and group 4, the periphery of the Periphery (Pp). These terms are not only analogous to those set up by other students of the modern world system, such as Frank's (1972) metropolis/satellite and Wallerstein's (1974a, 1974b) core/periphery.

In terms of the generalizations set up, the ethnographic facts can be reduced to these bare essentials. The center of the Center cannot deal with the periphery of the Peripheral group directly; they need a brokerage in the Peripheral group. The Chinese merchants become the center of the Periphery by virtue of its connection with the center of the Center. The Six Companies merchants were given the supervisory role in the organization of labor, and this accentuated the rigid class relations between the center and periphery in the Periphery. In any case, to play the role of middleman, the Peripheral center is tied to the Center center with the best possible tie: the tie of harmony of interest, as measured in terms of income, living standard in the usual materialistic sense, as well as the subjective notions of quality of life (Galtung 1971: 83).

There was disharmony of interest within the Center. In spite of the strong opposition from the white labor, the Center center ventured to import Chinese labor, equating it with the success of the railway construction which would "spin off" a series of financial and industrial benefits. However, the Center center, consequently, created a labor market differentiated in terms of price, and turned toward the cheaper labor pool as a

more desirable work force, a choice consistent with the simple pursuit of higher profits. Higher priced labor resisted being displaced, and the racist organizations such as the Anti-Chinese Association and labor unions that the labor erected were antagonistic to the interest of the center of the Center. [See Bonacich (1976) for a similar situation between the blacks and whites in the United States.] Conflicts between ethnic groups could conceal the contradiction within the structure of the relations of production. It was obvious that there was disharmony of interest between the two peripheries. However, in the final analysis, it was at their expense that both centers benefitted themselves by the coupling.

Lastly, another parallel situation may be drawn between the local and international conditions. The statuses of ethnic groups are in some ways parallel to the international statuses of their countries of origin. Clement (1975), in his analysis of Canadian corporate elites, shows that Canada has been from the time of Confederation a society controlled by elites essentially of Anglo-Saxon origin. To the extent that in a stable society, the function of the superstructure is to reproduce the mode of production and existing class relations, Clement (1975: 259-63) shows the extensive interconnection between both the corporate and state elites. Accordingly, immigration process may be used to make invidious judgment about the appropriateness of various groups coming to Canada, with the net result of reproducing the existing class relations and the social norm of the chartered ethnic group. The other ethnic groups are then identified with positions peripheral to the dominance of chartered ethnic group which traces its ancestry to a core state in western Europe.

In sum, ethnic differentiation, as it exists in Canada today, begins with the internationalization of labor as a consequence of the functioning

of the modern world system. The analysis of the various groups involved in the employment of Chinese indentured labor force has resulted in the formulation of the interplay of ethnic and class relations. The resulting model would be applied to the empirical conditions of the Chinese community in Winnipeg.



### Chapter III

#### THE CONTEMPORARY SETTING

##### Introduction

This chapter is to continue exploring the nature of the social formation underlying the local ethnic community as revealed in the wider social milieu. Because complete description of both the Canadian society and its history is beyond the scope of this study, only trends and forces which are pertinent to the understanding of the context of the local community are abstracted. Consequently, this chapter is a transitional chapter to the studies of occupations, social organizations, and life histories of individuals of the contemporary local community rather than a complete presentation of the Canadian society and its history as such. The contemporary setting is presented on two levels. While on the national level, the dual economy of urban centers, the center of the Center, and the demography of the ethnic Chinese will be discussed, on the local level, the physical setting of the City of Winnipeg, the growth of the City, and its ethnic groups will be discussed.

##### The National Setting

The scheme of dual economy, as formulated by sociologists such as Bluestone (1968) and Harrison (1974), are reflective of the general picture of employment in urban centers in Canada. In their analysis of the dual economy of the advanced industrial societies, they see a stratification of a core and a periphery. In the core, production is typically

of large scale and markets are normally national or international in scope. The core is also labelled as the monopoly sector by sociologist O'Connor (1973: 15f, Footnote 2). The barrier to the entry of new capital in the core is exemplified by the high capital requirements, high overhead costs, advertising, and brand loyalty (*ibid.*).

The central institution of the core is called the primary labor market. This is characterized by the high productivity which ultimately is a function of the capital equipment, by the non-poverty wages, and by the stability of the labor force which feeds back to the wage-bargaining process and union formation. The central institution of the periphery economy is called the secondary labor market. This is characterized by low productivity, low wages, the instability of labor force, and weak unionization or the absence of it (Harrison 1974).

Moreover, the core industry is publicly visible, relatively speaking. The large firms are more subject to public scrutiny in terms of their profits, wages, and working conditions. In contrast, the periphery industry is less subject to public scrutiny. Consequently, poor wages and working conditions have a much better chance of survival (Bluestone 1971: 105).

The contemporary core of the economy in Canada had been established by the first decade of this century. The merchants, financiers, railway magnates, and members of the state elite based in Toronto and Montreal began to move into manufacturing concerns. These had been small establishments of entrepreneurs. The effect of this movement was that firms became consolidated; manufacturing, concentrated; and opportunities, limited. Also, accompanying this shift was the movement of branch plants of the powerful U. S. corporations into Canada. Social scientists, such as Clement (1975: 71) and Acheson (1973) regard this transformation at this

time as the shift from "entrepreneurial to corporate capitalism."

With regards to the ethnic composition of the elites, Porter (1965) provides an analysis of the Canadian resident members in the 1950's. They are largely the kin of earlier elites and big businessmen of the Confederation, and still hold a predominant place in the power structure. Only 6.7 per cent of the elite members were French Canadians, while other ethnic groups represented insignificant numbers in the elites and the rest were Anglos (Porter 1965: 286). This illustrates that ethnic differentiation had remained as significant for access to the economic elites in the 1950's as it had at the time of Confederation.

Has the power establishment changed since the nineteen fifties? Sociologist Clement (1975) shows that the elites are actually becoming more exclusive in social origins and more closely knit by family ties than in the nineteen fifties. He maintains that advantages deriving from social origin ease the career avenues to centers of decision making. There has been no substantial entry into the board rooms of the major corporations of Canadians who are not Anglos in their ethnic origins. He summarizes his findings:

They [the elites] preside over the corporate world, using as their means of power, the central institution of the Canadian economy--113 dominant corporations, their subsidiaries, affiliates, investments, interlocking directorships with smaller corporations, family ties and shared class origins. Their power is reinforced by control over the major sources of capital, especially the key banks and insurance companies . . . With increasing economic concentration over the past twenty years, the structure has become increasingly closed thus making it more difficult for those outside the inner circles of power to break through (ibid., p. 125).

Moreover, there is a qualitative difference in the relationship to capital and the control of it that the corporate elite and the middle

class are able to exercise. For example, in the ownership of stocks among members of the middle class, this ownership tends to be dispersed with small portfolios valued in the thousands; the capital is mobilized, as an investment or capital appreciation but not for control. On the contrary, the controlling interests constituted by the upper class families are able to dismiss technocrats and monopolize economic decisions. Above all, in view of the popular image of Canada as an open society, one cannot over-emphasize the fact of perpetuation of economic power and its increasing concentration in fewer hands in contemporary Canada.

In the segment of periphery are located the occupations of the great majority of the ethnic Chinese. After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Chinese population began to disperse into various Canadian cities. The great majority of them became self-employed enterprisers or employed in small Chinese business shops. Because of the nature of the occupations, the peripheral ethnic group had to proportion itself according to the size of the core population. Migrations to the east began in about 1890 and Montreal, the largest city in Canada, was the main focal point of settlement. By 1920 there was a Chinese population of just under a thousand in Montreal. Toronto, which became the main focus for migration in later years, had a Chinese population of about one-half that of Montreal. Migrations to the prairies did not start until 1901, when the wheat boom, which was characterized by rapid urbanization, favorable economic circumstances, and a huge inflow of European settlers, was well under way. While the rapid phase of western settlement was over by 1913, Chinese migrations to the prairies continued into the late 1910's. If the dispersion period of the Chinese population in the United States occurred between 1880 and 1910 (Lee 1949: 426), the dispersion period in

Canada occurred between 1890 and 1920. The time lag of ten years apparently reflected the different timing of urbanization in the two countries. After 1920, the Chinese population in the major Canadian cities became stabilized. The migration pattern is consistent with the nature of the occupational structure to be discussed in the next chapter. The great majority of the Chinese population had been settled with some occupations adapted to the local urban settings. The larger the metropolis, the larger was the clientele available for the Chinese enterprise. (The foregoing construction of the migration pattern is inferred from figures by Statistics Canada. See Tables 3 and 4).

The population of ethnic Chinese in Canada in 1931 was 46,519 or 0.4 per cent of the Canadian total; and in 1941, 34,627 or 0.3 per cent (Table 2, Canada Year Book 1945: 93). On the basis of the 1941 census, the sex ratio of the Chinese population was 7.8 males to one female. By 1951, this had changed to 3.7; in 1961 to 1.63. In other words, before 1947 the ethnic Chinese were mostly men who were either single or who had left their wives in the homeland. After 1947, the sex-ratio is becoming more balanced with the renewed immigration and the increasing percentage of locally born Chinese. With these two factors, the average age of the ethnic group also decreases. The population was 32,528 or 0.2 per cent of the Canadian total in 1951; 58,197 or 0.3 per cent in 1961; and 118,815 or 0.6 per cent in 1971 (Canada Year Book 1975: 169, Footnote 3).

A major aim of contemporary Canadian immigration is to help reduce labor shortages in certain expanding sectors of the economy. The result is the recruitment of many unskilled workers and additional labor force in the servicing sector. A researcher of the Department of Manpower and Immigration notes,

TABLE 3DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE POPULATION IN CANADIAN CITIES  
(1921, 1941)

<u>Cities</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1941</u>
Vancouver	6,484	7,880
Calgary	688	799
Edmonton	518	384
Winnipeg	814	762
Toronto	2,134	2,559
Montreal	1,735	1,865

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(Canada Year Book 1922-53: 162; Eighth (1941) Census of  
Canada 1946, II: 508-511.)

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE POPULATION IN CANADIAN PROVINCES  
(1901-41)

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1941</u>
B.C.	14,885	19,568	23,533	18,619
Alta.	235	1,787	3,581	3,122
Sask.	41	957	2,667	2,545
Man.	206	885	1,331	1,248
Ont.	732	2,766	5,625	6,143
Que.	1,037	1,578	2,335	2,378

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( Canada Year Book 1912: 24, 25; 1922-23: 160-161; Eighth  
(1941) Census of Canada 1946 II: 283-317. )

For a long time, Canada Manpower Centres of the Department of Manpower and Immigration have experienced problems in supplying the hospitality industry with suitable manpower. The turnover in the industry is high because wages and working conditions are not sufficiently attractive to keep workers in the industry . . . (Bossen 1971: 2).

In addition to the unskilled workers, there are many Hong Kong immigrants who are well-educated, thoroughly fluent in English before emigrating, and many are graduates of Canadian universities. From 1965 to 1973, a large number of visa students from Hong Kong became landed immigrants; many of them were landed by making use of the amnesty offered by the 1973 legislation. These university graduates have emerged to constitute, as what is called in this study, the new middle class. Their occupations tend to be in the core sector of the economy. The large number of immigrants landed during the 1960's and early 1970's did not choose Winnipeg as their destination. They chose to go to Toronto and Vancouver where the number and variety of job openings and business opportunities were greatest, and where the range of social amenities was most appealing.

During the last decade, major cities in North America have attracted considerable capital from Chinese financial groups based in Hong Kong, Southeast Asia and Taiwan, for the investments in finance, real estate, newspapers, commerce and restaurants. For example, in 1977 a financial group based in Taiwan invested millions of dollars in the opening of a Chinese language newspaper called the World Journal in New York. Restaurants owned by international financial groups are mushrooming in Toronto, San Francisco, Vancouver and New York. These investments are small in comparison with those of the giant corporations. In any case, such outside investment is not noticeable in Winnipeg; this is reflected in the failure of a Chinatown redevelopment program which will be described



briefly on pages 113 and 114 below. Although a huge amount of money had been spent on a feasibility study project, the redevelopment program itself failed to materialize because investment of any kind was not forthcoming.

Lastly, the ethnic Chinese are far more conspicuous than the size of the ethnic category (0.3 per cent of the Canadian population in 1961) would suggest. In a survey of young people's impressions regarding the visibility of the ethnic categories living in Canada, the listing corresponds moderately well to the size of various ethnic minorities in Canada. However, the Chinese were cited relatively more often than would have been predicted by their numbers in the actual population. Of the twenty-three ethnic minorities in the survey, the Chinese were third after the Italians and Germans in the ranking of relative visibility (Johnston 1969: 40-41).

However, one has to add that the ethnic categories according to these young people's codification of ethnicity does not necessarily coincide with Johnston's. The young people may well include Japanese, Filipinos, and Koreans under the ethnic category of Chinese; likewise both Dutch and Austrians may be regarded as Germans. Still, this qualification should not obliterate the significance of Johnston's survey.

### The Local Setting

The city of Winnipeg, the capital of the Province of Manitoba, is located in latitude 49° 54' N. and longitude 97° 08' W., at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, 60 km. south of the Lake Winnipeg and 100 km. north of the boundary between Canada and the United States, and nearly midway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Winnipeg has a

continental type of climate, with great temperature variation through the year. The average wind chill in January is more intense in Winnipeg than in other cities in North America. The wind that sweeps down the plains in winter makes Winnipeg the coldest city in the Continent. Frost-free days in the Province range from sixty days in the north to 120 days in the south. The annual precipitation in the Prairies is light ranging from thirty to fifty centimeters. However, heavy precipitation falls in early summer before the heat becomes great enough to cause excessive dryness and evaporation. This early summer rain and spring meltwater, followed by dry weather, makes agriculture feasible and forms an excellent regime for wheat cultivation. Also, the soils of the hinterland are productive. For the most part, the surface soil is a black or greyish black loam, and varies in depth from a few centimeters to a meter.

Winnipeg began as a trading post in 1870 and was incorporated in 1873 with a population of 1,869 almost all of British ancestry. Its history as a metropolitan city began in 1886, after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the Continent (Bellan 1978: 39). It was then referred to as a gateway city to the west. In addition to the Canadian Pacific Railway, twelve more railways had focused on Winnipeg by 1890, giving it access to all the settled areas in the west of the Continent. Because of its geographic position, the City became the administrative center of the prairie wheat trade. In 1890 the Federal Government allowed Winnipeg to establish a grain exchange to inspect and grade all grains shipped west (Kuz 1974: 10).

As a regional metropolitan city, Winnipeg is closely related to the vicissitudes of the hinterland and its wheat economy. At the turn of the century, the Western countries entered an era of massive economic

expansion. The prosperity of the wheat economy produced a huge increase in the demand for metropolitan services in Winnipeg. These were to handle the rapid increase in both the volume of new settlers to the west and of the staples to be marketed abroad (Bellan 1978: 59). The city grew and prospered. This expansion was expressed in more new buildings, new transport facilities, rapid population growth, and a prevailing optimism on the part of residents.

Winnipeg, however, was only a gateway city; its control over the commerce in the hinterland could not last forever. The opening of the Panama Canal influenced marketing patterns on the Prairies. Vancouver became a new gateway to the west and was able to capture a large part of Winnipeg wholesale trade in the 1920's (Bellan 1978: Chapter XII).

Today, Winnipeg is still in control of a large portion of Canadian wheat sales and shipments. It is still a major grain center, a provincial capital, and the location for a large number of administrative offices of the Federal Government. However, the city has become less specialized; a great portion of its economy is now devoted to serving the needs of the city itself and the nearby area. In the early 1970's, food and beverages, textiles and clothing, metal fabricating, transportation equipment, and printing and publishing have been the largest employers of labor (Kuz 1974: 15).

Winnipeg's population is expected to increase at 1.1 per cent annually; by comparison, Calgary and Edmonton of oil-rich Alberta have expanded at 3.1 and 2.2 per cent respectively between 1971 and 1976. Also, the growth in the provincial economy will be slow considerably in the next decade, according to an inter-governmental task force studying the Greater Winnipeg Development plan (Winnipeg Free Press, July 14, 1978,

pp. 1 and 4). Growth in the employed labor force in Winnipeg is rated as the slowest among ten major cities in Canada, and will be depressed during the next ten years to between 0.5 and 1.7 per cent from 2.2 per cent previously (ibid.). This fact helps to explain why Winnipeg attracts comparatively small numbers of Chinese immigrants.

Winnipeg's inner city, like the counterparts in many North American cities, is degenerating. The same inter-governmental task force reports that the exodus of Winnipeg's population to the suburbs continues apace, with population declining in the inner city since 1971 at a rate of 8.1 per cent per annum (ibid.). The total population in 1971 was 540,260 comprising the following major ethnic categories, in order of size: British numbering 232,125, Ukrainians 64,305, Germans 61,995, French 46,205, Polish 25,915, Jewish 19,385, Scandinavians 17,535, and Netherlands 15,020. Among the Asian minorities, the Japanese numbered 1,225, and the Chinese 2,535. The Filipinos are among the late comers to the city, and apparently constitute the largest Asian ethnic group. However, since the National Census Bureau does not regard the Filipinos as a category, its population figure is not listed (Table 6. Population by ethnic group and sex. For census metropolitan area, urbanized core and fringe, 1971. Pp. 6-7 and 6-8. In Population: Ethnic Groups 1971, by Census of Canada, Statistics Canada).

The immigration of Filipinos to Canada has been mostly within the last two decades. The recent immigrants are mostly females, comprising a large number of garment factory workers and nurses. Several of these have entered into mixed marriages with other ethnic communities such as Indians, Pakistanis and Chinese, in which the males are more numerous. The Filipinos are frequently customers of ethnic Chinese stores located in the

vicinity of the garment factories.

The presence of three Chinese in the city of Winnipeg was first reported in 1877 (Manitoba Free Press, Nov. 19, 1877). By 1921, the Chinese population had grown to 814; by 1941, 762 (Table 3); by 1971, 2535 (as mentioned above); and by 1976, about 3,400. (See Footnote 4 for the estimation of the last figure). Before 1947, the population was almost entirely male (Table 5, p. 62 below). The age distribution of the population in 1946 (Table 5) shows that 85 per cent of the population were above 45 years of age, and 53 per cent were above 55.

By 1947, the Chinese community in Winnipeg had become a community of old men. This prompted the Winnipeg Free Press on July 30, 1947 to paint a bleak picture which was both literally and metaphorically true of the community:

It was a blistering night, and in every doorway were aged and wizened orientals, seeking a breath of air. Some were perched on chairs and stools, brought from rooms above Chinese stores and restaurants. Others huddled together beneath corner street lights, smoking their pipes and chatting in their native tongue. They looked old, very old . . .

The population could not reproduce itself and was dwindling. When the new immigrants arrived after 1947, they found the Winnipeg Chinatown in effect a huge old folks home, with the old sojourners resigned to spending their twilight years in Canada. In addition to the aging population, the new immigrants also saw signs of senility in the dwellings surrounding. The houses of such residents are found among the poorest-lighted apartment blocks inhabited by poor white pensioners, Metis and Indians, and there were some old, probably substandard, frame houses along a couple of streets.

TABLE 5

## AGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG WINNIPEG CHINESE IN 1946

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0-4	2	2	0
20-24	3	2	1
25-34	13	10	3
35-44	70	65	5
45-54	170	166	4
55-64	173	172	1
65-69	65	55	0
70	37	37	0
<hr/>			
Total	523	509	14

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(Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1949: p. 121, Table 40,  
Census of the Prairie Provinces 1946.)

Very few of the new arrivals took up residence in the Chinatown. Most of them are dispersed throughout the inner city, and some are following the city's population in its exodus to the suburbs during the last decade. The contemporary Chinese enterprises are scattered in the city. Map 1 (p. 64) indicates diagrammatically the locations of Chinatown and Chinese-operated restaurants in the city in 1976.

The Chinatown, located in the heart of the inner city, has always been small, covering only six city blocks. The Chinatown is still functioning as a commercial and social center where foodstuffs and other commodities from the Far East can be purchased, where Chinese movies are shown periodically, and where festivals and social events are held. By 1979, in Chinatown, there were five Chinese restaurants, two grocery shops, one tailor-and-laundry shop, a steam-bath, two travel agencies, one insurance agency, six voluntary associations which may or may not be functioning, one church, and an old folks' home. The Chinatown is a heritage from the old immigrants who have constituted a very peripheral ethnic group, and who have taken up residence here sometime after the "wheat boom" and the huge influx of European settlers. With this summary statement, the attention in this study now turns towards the occupations of the peripheral ethnic group in Winnipeg.

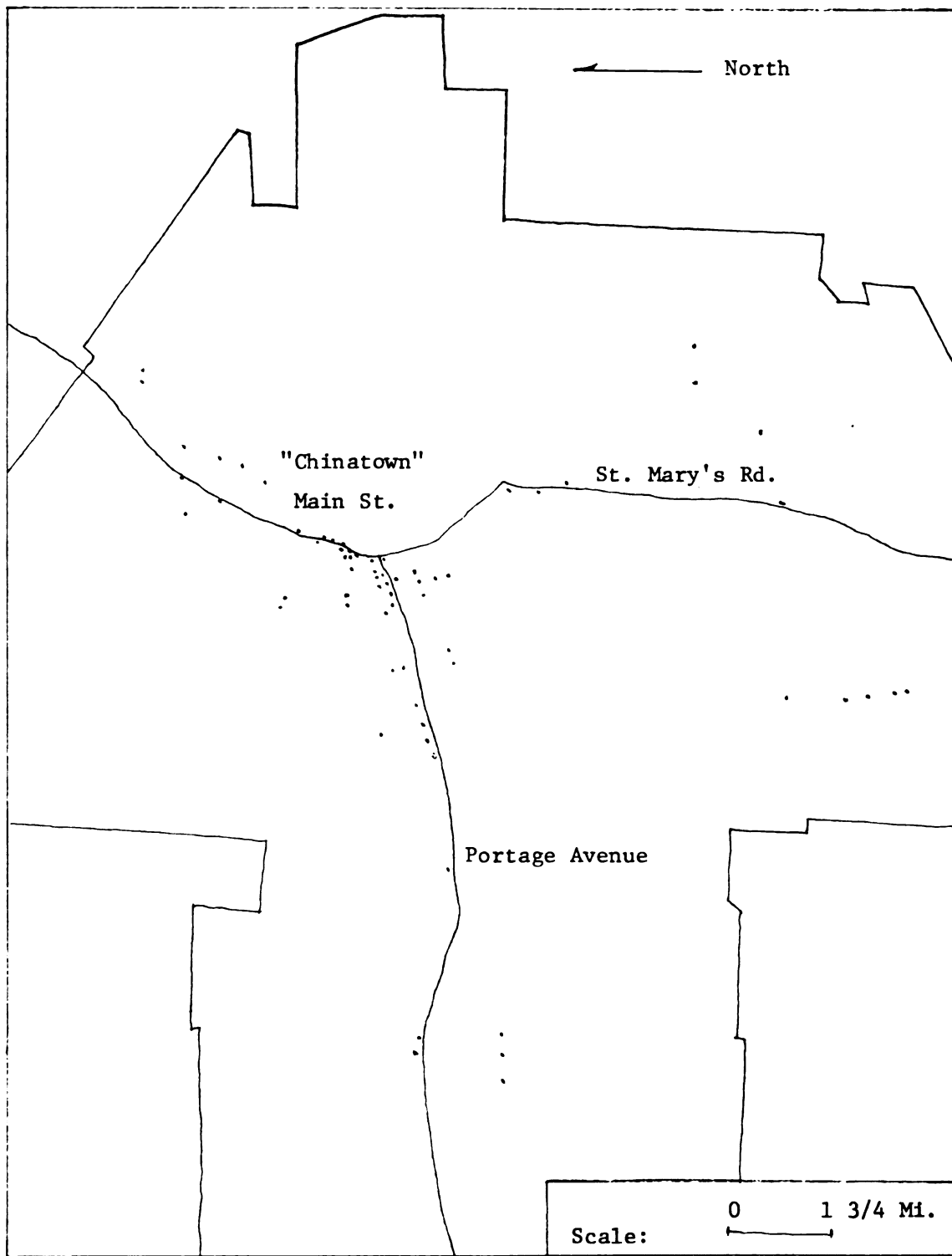


Figure 1. The City of Winnipeg, with the approximate locations of Chinese Restaurants shown.



## Chapter IV

### OCCUPATIONS

#### Introduction

After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Chinese immigrants, instead of confining themselves to the west coast, began to disperse into various major cities in Canada. Owing to the service nature of the occupations, the immigrants had to apportion themselves according to the size of the Center population. They became entrepreneurs, no longer employed as organized labor as in the previous era. The major questions in this chapter include the following:- In what ways do the occupations reflect the underlying class and ethnic relations? How do the occupations stand in the symbolic meanings of the Canadian society? In what ways are occupations affected by the world system?

#### Before 1947

The sources of information concerning the occupations in this era consist of the Henderson's Winnipeg Directory which has been published yearly until the present, the 1931 national census, and conversations with a dozen elders of the community. In the 1931 census (Table 6, p. 66), there was no mention of laundry business under the category of ethnic Chinese. However, laundry business was a Chinese enterprise commonly found in Canadian cities from the 1880's to the 1920's. According to the Manitoba Free Press on November 19, 1877, the first three Chinese arrived

TABLE 6

THE IMPORTANT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS OF GAINFULLY  
OCCUPIED CHINESE IN CANADA IN 1931

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Service	21,095	52.4
(Personal Service)	(14,564)	(36.2)
<hr/>		
Manufacturing	1,054	2.6
(Food Products)	(744)	(1.8)
<hr/>		
Trade	2,733	6.8
Lumberman	649	1.6
Agriculture	4,718	11.7
<hr/>		
Total Occupations	40,263	100.0
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(Seventh (1931) Census of Canada 1936, VII: 430-43.)

by stagecoach in Winnipeg to open a laundry business. This became almost solely a Chinese enterprise in the city. The Henderson's Winnipeg Directory (1917) shows a total of 163 laundry shops in the city in 1917. All, except sixteen, have names reflecting ethnic Chinese ownership. While a great majority of the Chinese population in Winnipeg was employed in laundry business until the 1920's, in the late 1920's laundry shops were disappearing rapidly. By 1939, only about nineteen laundry shops in the city were of Chinese ownership (Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1939). Laundry machines had displaced the Chinese laundry business.

According to an elder, a laundry shop usually had a red and white sign-board, and house plants decorating a front window. On opening, a front door jingled a chain of small bells and metal pieces. Inside a laundryman stood behind a counter; beyond this were ironing tables and shelves. Farther in was a washing and drying area; at the deep interior end was the laundrymen's living quarter, consisting of a kitchenette, a bedroom and a toilet.

The number of laundrymen in a shop varied from one to four, working and living together and sharing the profit equally. They worked hard, from early in the morning until midnight. While everyone was expected to do some washing and ironing, one was assigned to pick up and deliver laundries; one to take care of the kitchen and grocery; and one, relatively fluent in English, to keep the counter. Usually, they washed on Monday, Tuesday and Friday, and ironed on Wednesday and Thursday. On Sunday, they went visiting, and enjoyed themselves in restaurants and gambling dens in Chinatown. This widespread laundry business has contributed significantly towards the ethnic identity, and, until present days, has often been referred to as the traditional occupations of the

Chinese. This reference illustrates the ideological component of ethnic identity. The laundry business, in reality, is not more traditional than gold mining, railway work, or restaurant business, for each has its own historical context.

By 1931, the occupations of ethnic Chinese in Canada were predominantly in the category of personal service which included mainly cooks, domestic servants either in private households or hotels and restaurants, cafe and lunch-counter keepers (Table 6, p. 66). While the numbers of laundry shops decreased rapidly over the period of 1917-1930, Chinese restaurants increased steadily over the same period. In 1917, there were only three restaurants and cafes in Winnipeg operated by Chinese. At that time, as an elder remembered, the Whites called chow mein worms. However, the restaurants had increased to eleven by 1930, and eighteen by 1939 (Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1930 and 1939). In addition to Chinese owned restaurants, individuals were employed in stations of the Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway, hotels and lunch counters in the city in 1939. Both the laundry and restaurant enterprises catered largely to the Center population, which had founded the booming city. A peripheral population, which came later, provided a part of the essential urban service.

A significant minority of the Winnipeg Chinese population consisted of operators of grocery shops. There were eight Chinese grocery stores in 1917 catering to the needs of the Chinese; in 1930 there were still eight; and in 1939 there were three (Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1917, 1930, and 1939). The decline reflected the dwindling Chinese population in the city. According to an elder, in the 1930's and before, there were some Chinese truckers selling produce from door to door on buggies.

Among the Chinese occupations in Canada, trade was third in importance, about one-half of the individuals in this category being listed as owners and managers of wholesale and retail stores (Table 6, p. 66 above).

An important omission in the 1931 census was the fact that many individuals were employed in gambling dens in Canadian cities. According to a few elders, there were five gambling dens in Winnipeg from the nineteen twenties to the forties, and during the war years, the gambling dens were at their peaks when remittance to China stopped. During these years, fifty persons were employed in each of the five dens. The earning in each den amounted to about \$2,000 per month, with about \$600 going to the owner and the rest to the workers; this was divided in a ratio of 3 to 7, two alleged magic numbers on which the elders could not elaborate. However, while the average income of each employee was about \$28 per month, some actually earned more. An elder said that during the Second World War, for three years he made his entire living by working in a gambling den. These dens were registered as private clubs, and the membership was never checked by the police, unless whites were involved in club activities. On Sunday and public holidays, when shops were closed, people usually gathered in these gambling dens for an exciting and enjoyable afternoon.

Some individuals occupied themselves in various other ways in the periphery of the Canadian economy. For example, according to an elder, there were three Chinese-operated coal-heated greenhouses over 1917-39, although only one was listed in the annual publications of the Henderson's Winnipeg Directory during the same period. Also according to the 1931 national census, agriculture was second in importance in occupational groupings; this included many farm laborers and truck gardeners in British Columbia (Table 6).

A great majority of the Chinese population, then, consisted of free, self-employed entrepreneurs and unskilled workers in the periphery sector. In contrast to the organized labor in the previous era, the small business did not involve the workers' unions, and consequently the issue of labor displacement did not occur. Moreover, the periphery was not only compatible with the core development but also contributed towards the development of a harmonious ethnic relationship in the absence of overt competition between the periphery of the Center and the Periphery population.

Ethnic Chinese now appeared as people of curio shops, laundry shops and exotic dishes, hardworking, persevering, kind towards children, respectful towards elders, and law-abiding. Appearing at this time, not accidentally, was Pearl Buck's book, The Good Earth, which described Chinese favorably. However, also published in the 1930's and popular in the same decade was the Irish-American writer Sax Rohmer's book about Dr. Fu Manchu, an embodiment of crafty evil Chinese; revengeful, sinister, wicked, the commander of a host of thugs and slaves, and a master of oriental drugs. Perhaps a slight emphasis should be given to the word overt above, for the characterizations concern essentially the visible social relations which are not to be equated with the underlying structural conditions.

#### After 1947

##### An Overview of the Occupational Distribution

While still oriented largely towards personal service, the occupational distribution begins to ramify into other categories. This ramification has already been reflected in the 1961 census (1961: III, 1-15,

Table 21). In "service and recreational" occupations, Asians were still the most over-represented (24.5 per cent as compared to 8.5 per cent of the total labor force in Canada). However, in "professional and technical occupations" also, Asians were slightly over-represented (9.6 per cent as compared to 7.5 per cent of the total labor force in Canada). Specific information about the Chinese population is not available; however, it is listed as constituting 47.7 per cent of the Asians in Canada.

In the 1971 census, specific data about the Chinese in Winnipeg are available, and provided with special tabulation from the 1971 census base by Statistics Canada, on the request of this study. All figures in this tabulation have been subjected to a confidentiality procedure to prevent the possibility of associating small figures with any identifiable individual. All last or unit digits in the table are randomly rounded to "0" or "5." The writer has used his knowledge of the Winnipeg community to make necessary adjustments of these figures which have been randomly rounded. The figures from Statistics Canada are summarized in Table 7, p. 72.

Table 7 shows that the service category, as in the previous era, remains prevalent among the occupations of Winnipeg Chinese. Within this category, about one hundred and fifty are listed as chefs, cooks and occupations related to food preparation; about forty-five are listed as waiters, hosts and stewards. The large number of cooks in relation to waiters and hosts is striking. This, however, is an illusion of the counting system. In reality, in the late nineteen sixties and 1971, a large number of students from Hong Kong were legally permitted to seek jobs in Canada. They worked as waiters full-time in the summer and part-time in the winter. In the 1971 census, they were registered as students

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AGE 15 AND OVER IN THE EXPERIENCED  
LABOR FORCE SHOWING CHINESE ETHNIC ORIGIN BY DETAILED  
OCCUPATIONS AND SEX FOR WINNIPEG, 1971

	<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	Service occupations	205	35	240
2	Clerical and related occupations	25	70	100
3	Product fabrication, assembly and repair occupations	25	60	80
4	Occupations in medicine and health	30	30	65
5	Occupations in natural science, engineering and mathematics	40	10	50
6	Sales occupations	15	25	40
7	Teaching and related fields	10	15	20
8	Transport equipments operating occupation	15	0	15
9	Artistic, literary recreation and related occupations	10	5	15
10	Occupations in social science and related fields	5	5	10
11	Machining and related occupations	5	0	10
12	Construction trades occupations	5	0	10
13	Matters handling and related occupations	10	0	5
14	Crafts and equipments operation occupations	5	0	5
15	Occupations not stated	70	35	105
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	Total occupations	475	290	770
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Source: Statistics Canada: Special tabulation from the 1971 census  
data base.



not regarded as a part of the labor force. Moreover, a foreign student adviser in a local university recently revealed that during the academic year of 1979-80, fifty-six students from Hong Kong were deported for having been illegally employed. This shows that visa students continue to form a part of the labor force, though often with disastrous consequences.

There are then the two main groups in the labor force. Firstly, there are students who are in the labor market of the service sector out of expediency either legally or illegally. Their ultimate aims are in professional fields, although some of them may return to restaurant business later in life. This group is a ready availability of substitute labor. Because of it, restaurants are unlikely to encounter extended periods when the labor that they need is scarce and therefore expensive to recruit. Again, this pool of surplus labor is possible partly because food preparation and servicing can be made relatively easily in comparison with the technologies and organizations in the core industry. The high rate of turnover makes unionization among serving personnel practically impossible. None of the Chinese restaurants in Canada are unionized. Secondly, there are those who are in the labor market of the service sector to make a career. The working experiences of such individuals will be discussed in a section devoted to restaurant business after an overview of the occupational distribution.

In the 1970's, Chinese restaurants in Winnipeg experienced rapid expansion. While in 1939, there were eighteen Chinese-operated restaurants (Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1939) and fifteen in 1968 (Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1968), listings in telephone directories show a total of seventy in 1972 and 1973; sixty in 1974; seventy-four in 1975;

seventy-six in 1976; and seventy in 1979. In each of these years in the 1970's, only six or seven are patronized by Chinese customers. This shows that Chinese restaurants exist essentially for the service of white customers. Indeed, the expanding Chinese restaurant business has to be seen as a part of the general trend of the fast expanding restaurant business across Canada.

The general expansion of the restaurant business is related to the working wife, who brings home a second income, and does not particularly enjoy cooking at home after a full day's work outside the home. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (National News, 23 July, 1977) predicted that by 1980 many Canadians would be eating out every other night. This trend of development would have profound effect on ethnic restaurant business. Reflecting the market demand is shown in Map 1, in which the new immigrants' shops are seen scattered throughout the city, serving the population of the immediate district and forming an important visible landmark.

The prediction of C.E.C. is consistent with that by an economist of the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, who forecasts that service occupations will remain in the greatest number of job openings for Manitoba workers without university degrees for the years 1974 to 1982. The forecast adds that clerical, sales and service occupations would account for about 55 per cent of manpower needs during the eight-year period (Winnipeg Free Press, August 23, 1978, p. 3).

While the trend of restaurant business is one of general expansion, the number of Chinese restaurants actually declined during 1973 and 1974. This coincided with the dispersal of both the Chinese-operated business and population from Chinatown. During these years, buildings there had

become so run-down that they failed to obtain fire insurance coverage. Consequently, a whole block consisting of an apartment complex, a club, a grocery shop and two restaurants was demolished. In these years, another restaurant was burned down. These three restaurants were not re-established until a year later outside the Chinatown area. In 1973 four more restaurants owned by the old immigrants from China had to close because of the owner's retirement.

If 1973-4 was a period in which the enterprises of old immigrants had critically declined, 1975 marked the beginning of investments by new immigrants. One of the four restaurants closed down was bought by an immigrant family from Hong Kong. Late in the year, three more restaurants were established by new immigrants from Hong Kong admitted into Canada because of their substantial capital investments. All in all, however, investments by outside capital have never been spectacular in Winnipeg.

In Manitoba, nearly all the town with a population of 2,000 and over have one or two Chinese-operated restaurants or cafes. Among forty-eight towns and cities of this size, excluding Winnipeg and Brandon, there were 58 restaurants owned by Chinese, according to the listing of Chinese Telephone Directory of 1974. There were five Chinese restaurants in Brandon, the second largest city in Manitoba. Again, because of the importance of restaurant business in the economic life, this study will return to the discussion of restaurant business after an overview of the occupational distribution. The work organization and the factors leading to the choice of such an occupation will be discussed.

As shown in Table 7, the second largest category of occupations consists of the clerical and related occupations totalling one hundred.

The great majority of this consists of book-keepers, accounting clerks, tellers and cashiers, totalling forty-five, with thirty-five being female.

The third largest category (Table 7) consists of the "product fabrication, assembly and repair occupation," totalling eighty. Essentially, this consists of women working in textile factories in Winnipeg, comprising fifty-five individuals. In addition, five men are listed as tailors and dressmakers. Garment factories of Winnipeg on a few occasions advertised in Hong Kong newspapers to hire workers. The required qualification consists of the ability to speak simple English and working experience in garment factories.

In 1977 a group of twenty-four was recruited by one garment factory in Winnipeg. One of these recruited said that the hiring was approved by the Immigration Department and assisted by the Canadian Pacific Airline. The same person also said that the employer preferred hiring Phillipino who tended to stay longer at the jobs. They have immigrated in large numbers in recent years as unskilled labor, and now constituted the largest Asian minority in Winnipeg.

The fourth largest category (Table 7) consists of the "occupations in medicine and health," totalling  $65 \pm 5$ , comprising about 23 physicians and surgeons, 8 dentists and 18 in nursing and physical therapy. According to the writer's own counting, in 1977 there were 19 physicians and surgeons and 5 dentists.

The fifth largest category (Table 7) consists of the "occupations in natural science, engineering and mathematics" totalling  $50 \pm 5$ . This comprises about 10 civil engineers, and about 20 taking up occupations in life science technology.

The sixth category coming down in the list (Table 7) consists of the "sales occupations" totalling about 40 persons. Essentially, this consists of "sales clerk of commodities, not including salesmen," totalling about 20. There were about 5 persons working as insurance salesmen, and significantly there were no real estate agents in 1971. There were, however, six real estate agents in 1977. This number reflects the growth of a middle class among the individuals who have immigrated and graduated from Canadian universities in the late 1960's and in 1971 and 1972. Two of the original six of 1977 switched to restaurant business in 1979. Again, this shows the central position of restaurant business in the economic life of the community, serving as an haven for individuals dropped out of other occupations. The number of real estate agents in 1979 remained at six.

Included in this category are individuals who are willing to work long hours in nickel-and-dime grocery stores. Their stores stay small, with the children and perhaps the grandparents helping out to avoid hiring outsiders. Often the grocery business is only a second source of income for the family to supplement the husband's earning from outside employment. Often the store provides the living quarters for the family.

In 1976, there are five Chinese grocery shops, selling sundry goods from the Far East, and located in Chinatown and the nearby downtown area. At least five Chinese-owned grocery stores are located in various uptown areas, catering to the needs of the mainstreamers. However, the downtown Chinese grocery shops are experiencing the competition of the supermarkets. One store owner said that the Chinese customers did not want to buy from him commodities available in supermarkets. Moreover, in the summer of 1976, the Manitoba Government began to observe the Sabbath

day ruling strictly, forcing the Asian grocery stores to close on Sunday.

There are three Chinese-owned curio shops selling art objects, handicrafts, and antiques, jewellery and ornaments imported from the Far East. A commercial firm, China Commodity Import of Montreal, which monopolizes importing many items from China such as wall carpets, imitated antiques, handicrafts and so on, is providing wholesale transactions to these curio shops. On the basis of their connections in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the shop owners themselves also import commodities from these places. One of the three shops is located on a busy street, a second one in a supermarket plaza, and the third one in the Convention Centre, all catering to the business of tourists.

There are also individuals who use their connections with businessmen and the manufacturers in Asia to make a living. One such person has a B.Sc. degree in statistics. He uses connections that his family in Hong Kong has established with the jewellers in Bangkok, and is selling precious stones, pearls and the like to local jewellers in Winnipeg. He is also acting as a middle-man for big distributors such as Eatons, Sears, K-Mart and Shell for such items as vacuum bottles, and toys from Hong Kong.

Coming down to the seventh place in the occupation list in Table 7 were about twenty-two persons in teaching and the related fields, five of these being teachers in the two local universities. Lastly, a case, not particularly belonging to any of the above categories, should be described, as it is related to certain theoretical issues in this study. Although it deals with a local ethnic group, attempts have been made to relate the subject matters holistically to the world system. An aforementioned individual conducts a sort of import and export business by using his

personal connections in Asia. Business on the international setting may come also in the form of private schools, organized for the purpose of making a good profit. In Winnipeg, in 1977, a few intellectuals, of both Chinese and European ancestries, who had been either unemployed or underemployed, started a private school. A representative was sent to Hong Kong; advertisements were placed in local newspapers, including photographs of science laboratories, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, and student residence, and including the names of four famous Manitobans, supposedly constituting the so-called board of trustees of the school. The tuition fee plus room and board cost each student \$4,000 Canadian, which was non-refundable. Consequently, thirty-four students were recruited from Hong Kong. When they arrived at Winnipeg in 1978 they found that they could only meet in two classrooms rented from a public school, and for living they had to cramp themselves into two apartment suites. None of the advertised facilities existed, and the four famous Manitobans did not know that their names had been used in advertisements. Moreover, the school offered only mathematics and English, which were conducted after the normal school hours. These courses alone did not qualify the students to be matriculated. They took their grievances to their lawyers and the Immigration Department. While the school was closed in December 1978, the fact remained that the school had collected \$4,000 from each of the thirty-four students. The case described here exemplifies several private schools that have catered to the patronage of Hong Kong students, and that have appeared recently in the major cities in Canada. Again, in this study, occupations have been related to the wider context of the reward system, taking into consideration of the world system, crime as a quick means to become rich and education as a capital investment--these

issues being illustrated by the empirical data provided here. (The data are based on a conversation with one of the students, reports by the Winnipeg Free Press, 29 Sept., 1978 and 20 Oct., 1978, and a C.B.C. telecast on 19 Oct., 1978).

The occupations have been described, and now the question that confronts us is: How does the distribution of these occupations stand in the symbolic meaning systems of the Canadian society? A part of the answer may be derived from the occupational prestige scale of Canada as constructed by Pineo and Porter (1967: 24-40). According to their study, the average prestige scores by occupational group in Canada consists of the following: the professional have a mean score of 72.0; managers, proprietors, officials of large organizations, 70.4; semi-professional, 57.7; managers, proprietors, officials of small organizations, 48.8; clerical and sales, 38.6; skilled manual, 38.8; semi-skilled manual, 32.9; and unskilled manual, 23.5. The distribution of occupations of Chinese in Winnipeg in the hierarchy of occupations by Pineo and Porter is summarized in Table 8.

Certain amendments must be made with respect to Table 8. Among the Winnipeg Chinese, managers, proprietors, officials of large organizations are absent as indicated by the table. This is indeed the case. However, a certain percentage from the Service occupations (1) and sales occupations (6) should be classified as managers, proprietors, officials of small organizations, but their numbers cannot be ascertained from the data of 1971 census. Also, the chefs in restaurants can be classified as skilled or semi-skilled workers; in 1972 there should be 70 chefs for the 70 restaurants, for example. If in 1971, there were the same number of restaurants, the rest of the 150 chefs and cooks are unskilled workers,



as they were actually kitchen helpers. Having made these allowances, one still has to conclude that Chinese representation is very low in both the skilled and semi-skilled manual labor; dominant in both unskilled manual and professional (again, the latter being 20.78 per cent--Table 8--well over-represented in comparison with the 7.5 per cent of total labor force of Canada in 1961--p. 71 above) and unrepresented in the occupational groups of "managers, proprietors, officials of large organizations." In other words, the Chinese in Winnipeg are dominant in the "top" and "bottom" strata of the occupational hierarchy, with the prestige scores of 72.0 and 23.5 respectively.

However, the prestige scale is not a moral referendum across the society but a reflection of the dominant value as distinctive from two other symbolic meaning-systems: the subordinate and the radical value systems (Parkin 1971; 81f). (For Parkin's definitions, see Footnote 5.) The scale is not necessarily the individual's private evaluation of the social worth of occupations but simply a measurement of his perception of how the actual rank order works in daily life, as a result of the normative socialization of one class by another. He has seen certain criteria by which occupations are ranked as relevant, such as education and technical skill, rejecting others as irrelevant, such as dirt and danger (ibid., pp. 41f). Because of the selected criteria, the professional occupational group tends to stand high in the scale of material and symbolic advantages, while the unskilled manual are least well rewarded.

Now the high proportion of the professional group among the Chinese both in Winnipeg and Canada is the result of the large number of visa students who have turned landed immigrants upon graduation. Job

TABLE 8

WINNIPEG CHINESE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND PRESTIGE SCORES, 1971

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Categories (Table 7)</u>	<u>Occupational Group Total</u>	<u>Per cent in the Total</u>	<u>Prestige Score</u>
Professional	4 (65) 5 (50) 7 (20) 9 (15) 10 (10)	160	20.78	72.0
Clerical & Sales	2 (100) 6 (40)	140	18.18	38.6
Skill and semi-skill manual	11 (10) 12 (10) 14 (5)	25	3.24	38.8 / 32.9
Unskilled manual	1 (240) 3 (80) 8 (15) 13 (5)	340	44.16	23.5
Occupations not Stated		105	13.64	
Total		770	100.00	

vacancies associating with industrial growth in the post-war period and 1960's have made the switch in status possible. This professional group constitutes in this study what is called the new middle class--a salaried group in contrast to the self-employed restaurateurs.

By the early 1970's, the Department of Manpower and Immigration still reported labor shortages: in 1967, there were 2069 vacancies; in 1968, 1,900; in 1969, 1,646; in 1970, 1,043; in 1971, 817; and in 1972, 854 (Epstein 1975: 13). Given that some professional bodies do not report vacancies to the Manpower, these figures are probably incomplete. Moreover, the Department also reported that many native-born professionals have tended to concentrate their job searches in the major centers like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, and would not consider jobs outside these centers. Immigrants must be recruited to fill these local labor shortages (ibid., p. 14).

However, the figures above show that the vacancies are fast dwindling by 1972. After 1973 visa students were not allowed to apply for permanent residence in Canada. There are reports of engineering graduates who try to return from Hong Kong but are rejected. The percentage of professionals among the Winnipeg Chinese will not increase, as in the past, by the recruitment of immigrants.

At the same time, the Department of Manpower and Immigration reported that there had been a long term labor shortage in the service occupational group. For example, in 1971, the vacancies in this group were 1,150; in 1972, 2,175; in 1973, 2,300 (ibid., pp. 13f). The specific numbers of Hong Kong restaurant employees immigrated into Winnipeg are not available; however, lately a spokesman for the Canadian High Commission in Hong Kong indicated the number of cooks admitted into

Canada between April 1978 and April 1979 being 150. The reason for admitting them was that "there are new Chinese restaurants opening every month--especially in Toronto" (Winnipeg Free Press, Aug. 29, 1979, p. 20).

The recruitment of garment factory workers in Hong Kong and other areas in the Far East has been mentioned on pages 75 and 76 above. Apparently the proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled manual labor will gradually increase among the Winnipeg Chinese with the expanding demand of the service sector.

#### The Restaurant Business

This section is concerned with the work experience of the serving personnel and entrepreneurs, the work routine, the social factors leading to the choice of occupations in the restaurant circle, and an ad hoc organization of restaurateurs. A description of the restaurants should begin with a corner in Chinatown where the West Lake Restaurant, one of the oldest and the largest Chinese restaurants, is located. Like many restaurants established before 1947, the West Lake is named after a geographic feature in China. The original owner used to keep a laundry shop until he opened the restaurant in 1933. During the war years, its clientele grew until the restaurant became a full-fledged licenced dining room with forty tables and expanded to occupy the main floors of three adjacent shophouses. With the renewal of Chinese immigration, the owner's nephew immigrated into Canada from China in 1948. Before the owner's son could arrive from China, the owner passed away, and the nephew took control of the rapidly expanding business. He is now the legal owner of the West Lake, while the original owner's son is working as a chef overseeing the culinary operations in the kitchen.

The daily schedule of the West Lake involves long hours of work. At 6 a.m. on weekdays, two cooks who hold keys to the kitchen first arrive. One of them specializes in roasting ducks, chicken, suckling pigs and pork. The other cook prepares noodle doughs, egg rolls, and wanton, which consists of cases of this noodle dough containing meat or shrimp. By about mid-morning, the executive chef arrives. Besides overseeing culinary operations in the kitchen, he is responsible for making purchases. For these he usually deals with a grocery shop across the street which imports goods manufactured in the Far East and vegetables from Vancouver. At 11 a.m. two waiters and two kitchen helpers arrive, although they are supposed to start working at 12:00 noon. The West Lake requires its employees to arrive one hour ahead of working time in order to change clothing and have lunch. The kitchen helpers are responsible for washing dishes and utensils, and dicing ingredients. At 4 p.m. eight other waiters arrive. On Friday and Saturday, two or three busboys also report to work at the same hour.

The busy hours begin at 5:30 p.m. and taper off after 10 p.m. From Monday to Thursday, the restaurant closes between 12:00 midnight and 1 a.m. On Friday and Saturday, the restaurant remains open until 2:30 or 3:00 a.m., and on Sunday, until 10 p.m.

At the end of the long work day, both the employer and employees are eager to clean up as soon as possible. The West Lake has found an effective way to deal with customers who linger around. A Contonese opera album is played over a hi-fi system, and the sudden burst of aria, gongs, cymbals, drums and stringed fiddle is found quite effective to drive customers away. After the last customer has left, the restaurant is locked up and a dinner for both the employers and employees served.

In Manitoba employers are required by law to provide to employees transportation after midnight. In the West Lake, a member of the employer's family drives the employees home.

The long hours of work are typical of many Chinese restaurants in Winnipeg. Many individuals go to bed just before dawn and sleep until early afternoon. They rarely see sunshine, and this is particularly true with those who play mahjong after work in the morning. They wake up only in time to go to work, and arriving at the restaurant, they repeat the work routine in the dimly-lighted dining rooms and the oily kitchens.

The West Lake restaurant has a long history of underpaying its employees. For example, in 1973 busboys and kitchen helpers were paid at \$1.35 per hour despite a provincial minimum wage of \$1.75 per hour. The employer justified this treatment by claiming expenses in lunches provided to the employees. In the late 1970's, now that the busboys and kitchen helpers are paid according to the minimum wage of \$3.05, they have always been well below the minimum wage, with two dollars per hour at the present. They too have to pay for the meals. The low wage is also justified by regarding tips as part of a waiter's wage. In the West Lake, tips for a waiter range from \$25 to \$50 per day. Gratuities provide extra, usually undertaxed or tax-evadable income, occasionally in substantial amounts. It is subject to the seasonal fluctuation; for example, between Christmas and the Easter is a period of lean months. Tips also vary directly with the price range of dishes of the restaurants; most Chinese restaurants have dishes priced between \$3 and \$4 in 1977, between \$4 and \$5 in 1978, and between \$4 and \$6 in 1979 and 1980. Canadians usually provide 10 per cent tips or slightly below that level. Waiters are expected to give a small portion of their tips to the busboys. The

total income of a waiter at the present in West Lake is about one thousand dollars per month, with a good portion tax-evadable.

In the West Lake Restaurant, two female, middle-aged kitchen helpers are working full-time, earning supplementary incomes for their families. Although both of the women have houses in the suburbs, both stay in a rooming house in downtown Winnipeg during the winter months, because West Lake refuses to drive to the suburbs when workers are sent home in wintry night. One of the women's husband, nicknamed Old Golden Mountain, is a pensioner retired from years of work in garment factories in Winnipeg. During the winter, he stays mostly alone in his suburban home. However, he commutes by bus between the suburbs and Chinatown almost every day. There he wanders through Chinatown's restaurants, grocery shops, associations, and clubs, chatting and playing mahjong. He also manages to see his wife and son daily, the latter being a cook in a restaurant near Chinatown and staying in an apartment nearby.

Old Golden Mountain has another son presently working as a chef in military bases in northern Manitoba. Graduating from culinary studies in a local technical college, he is known to be able to make both western and Chinese dishes. Old Golden Mountain's kin circle is connected to restaurant business also by an affinal relative, Ken Li.

Li is the owner of a restaurant with twenty-eight tables, and one of the three partners of the Chrysanthemum restaurant near the West Lake. Chrysanthemum is one of the two restaurants in Winnipeg that serve Cantonese snacks such as shrimp dumpling, steamed beef ball, pork pun, and egg tart, at noon on Saturday and Sunday. By the standard of Chinese restaurants in Winnipeg, the Chrysanthemum is big, comprising of forty tables and a bar. When it opened four years ago, it aimed to be a big

and fashionable restaurant. Besides the regular meals, it served Cantonese snacks at noon daily, and established dress rule in the evening. However, the volume of business remained small, and after a few months, the staff was slashed, the dress rule was discarded, and the snacks were served only on Saturday and Sunday. The market conditions do not call for ideals of style and big business. At the present, the restaurant employs five waiters and two cooks from Sunday to Thursday, and six waiters and three cooks on Friday and Saturday. According to one source of information, Chrysanthemum is still losing money.

Near the Chrysanthemum is the small Dynasty restaurant, with nine tables, two waitresses and a cook. The interior is brightly lighted, with a blackboard at the center posting special dishes in Chinese characters. The Dynasty has received favorable comments from columnists of the local press, and attracted both white and Chinese customers. The success is attributed to the imaginative skill of the cook, nicknamed The Sailor, and to the modestly priced dishes.

The Sailor is said to be an apprentice of a famous chef in Hong Kong, and said to have worked on board a Hong Kong freighter as a chef for many years. In 1973 he happened to visit Canada, and he made use of the amnesty to illegal immigrants to become a permanent resident. With the landing paper, he worked in a lumber yard on the west coast for about two years until he went to a town near Winnipeg to open a small restaurant. In 1976, having sold his restaurant, he began to work as an executive chef for a restaurateur who owned three restaurants. He was then responsible for the culinary operations and making purchases for the three restaurants. In 1978, he bought a restaurant from his employer. He owned it for one year, and finding that he was losing money, he sold



it. He now works full-time as a cook for the Dynasty and part-time for another restaurant. He stays in a townhouse in downtown Winnipeg with his wife and two daughters who attend high school and work part-time for a restaurant. The Sailor has a great deal of complaints about owning a restaurant,

To open a restaurant? It is not worthwhile. There are one thousand things that you have to watch out as if they were your last chance. You think of the food, fuel, customers, waiters, health inspectors and grocery dealers . . . You do the waiter's work when he is not around. You do dishwashing when no one will. You work and work just to make ends meet. Then there are those students! They don't turn up if they have exams, and they don't turn up if they have dates. I would much rather work for someone else. If I am sick of working for one boss, I can simply pack up and go to another. Never again'

In a free standing one-storey shop house on a street near Chinatown was Mrs. Huang's small and brightly lighted restaurant containing nine tables. The sign on the windows outside boasted of Cantonese deep-fried pastries. The owner, Mrs. Huang in her late forties, was a cadre in a commune in southern China before her migration to Hong Kong in 1962 and to Canada in 1964. In Canada she taught herself to make yu tiao and other deep-fried pastries, experimenting with flour and yeasts and relying on her sensitivity in such matters as the correlation between weather and fermentation. She now owns and manages the city's only restaurant which features Cantonese deep-fried pastries. She has the help of her two sons whose university education is not related to running a restaurant in any way. She hired a woman who worked both as a kitchen helper and a waitress.

This is Mrs. Chen, formerly a bank teller in Hong Kong until her migration with her family--her husband and their eight-year old boy to a mining town in northern Manitoba. In order to find a job, she had to

leave family for Winnipeg, where she found employment in a garment factory, earning three dollars per hour as compared with the minimum wage of \$2.90 of the province in 1977. She soon told her friends that she was not learning anything worthwhile by working in a garment factory. Chinese restaurants appeared as an irresistible attraction to her. After working for a month in the garment factory, she began to hold a second job in a Chinese restaurant in Chinatown as a kitchen helper. Three months later, she resigned from the garment factory and worked from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. in Mrs. Huang's restaurant, maintaining her first restaurant job from 4:30 p.m. to 10 p.m. The salary rate was the same as that of the garment factory. However, she found better working conditions in the restaurants and felt at home with the owners and colleagues. She soon told her friend that she planned to open a restaurant herself in the near future. However, until the present she is still working for Mrs. Huang and another restaurant.

About two kilometers to the west of Mrs. Huang's was Mr. Hu's restaurant. Mr. Hu had been an underground figure in Hong Kong involved in gambling and prostitution business. Being a close relative of an old immigrant, he was able to immigrate into Canada in 1949. Though inexperienced, he decided to open a restaurant in 1950. Because of language problem, he caters largely to the patronage of Chinese customers. Now he is producing some of the most authentic Cantonese dishes in the city.

On the west side of the city is Mr. Wang's restaurant, catering mainly to white customers. In addition to working as a chemist in a medical laboratory, he has been active in the ethnic affairs and particularly in the Chinese Benevolent Association. Also, in 1977, he ran on a Progressive Conservative Party ticket in the Manitoba provincial

election and lost. He had come to know leaders of the Progressive Conservative Party through his restaurant establishment and his position in the Chinese Benevolent Association.

As in the case of Mr. Wang, another restaurateur, Mr. Fung, is holding his restaurant business primarily as a second job. He is working full-time in an engineering consulting firm in Winnipeg since his graduation in 1971. In 1976 he opened a restaurant registered under his wife's name, because his employer did not allow him to hold a second job. They never had any restaurant cooking experience, and for this reason, his uncle came from the U.S. to teach them northern Chinese cooking, which became their famed dishes. Still, restaurant business is highly competitive, and in order to develop an identity, something unique has to be cooked up. The arrival of a small group of Vietnamese refugees provided an unexpected source of labor. He found among them a cook in December 1978, and he renamed his restaurant "Chinese Vietnamese Food," which became his advertised identity.

Though an engineer by training, Mr. Hsieh, unlike those two professionals, is working full-time in his restaurant which is catering to the businessmen in downtown. Coming from a well-to-do family in Hong Kong, he was educated as an engineer in a Canadian university. He believed that only by being imaginative and entrepreneurial could he remain wealthy. To his friends he often says, "There is only so much you can earn by working as a professional. You cannot decide on what you want to do. Also, as a Chinese you can never get to the top." At the present, his restaurant is enjoying brisk business; however, he and his wife have to put in long working hours--from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. from Monday to Saturday.

Lastly, the case of Miss Yang should be mentioned. Neither interested in being a waitress nor a restaurant owner, she was in restaurant business only to use it as a springboard to goals unrelated to the business. She was a graduate from a local university. Taking advantage of the 1973 amnesty to illegal immigrants, she changed her status from a visa student to that of a permanent resident. In 1976 she rented a restaurant in a hotel, and by operating it, she earned thirty to forty dollars a day by putting in long hours of work. The fact was that she had been trying hard to sponsor her father to immigrate into Canada, so that he might in turn bring to Canada her brother who was under twenty-one years old. The objective of the restaurant was to create a job for her father, qualifying him as an immigrant. However, the immigration officials rejected her application on the ground that the restaurant was too small to be regarded as having a job opening. Undaunted, she proceeded to look for a large restaurant in an outskirt of the city and bought it. While she was doing good business and made herself known in the area, she told the city councillor representing the municipal that she would have to close the restaurant unless her father was allowed to come work in the restaurant. The councillor consented to write on her behalf.

In 1977 her father arrived as a landed immigrant with his son. Almost immediately she closed the restaurant and sold the building. While she moved to Edmonton to find a job, the old man stayed in Winnipeg with his son who began his education in a local university. Ironically finding himself lonesome, he became a cook in a restaurant in Winnipeg's Chinatown. He had not intended to take up such an occupation. However, in spite of his manipulating daughter, how far could he escape the

shaping of social forces? At the time of writing, he is still a cook.

As described, the restaurant business is characterized by small scale production and low capital requirement which ranges from a few thousand to hundreds of thousands of dollars, depending on the size and style of the enterprise. Examples of the costs of essential equipments are: restaurant range estimated \$4,000, walk-in cooler, \$2,500, dishwasher, \$4,000, fire-extinguishers, \$700, twelve tables with four chairs each, \$2,400, glasses, silverware, china and chopsticks, \$700, and menus, \$60, totalling \$14,360. Other costs include those of supplies and services, such as rent, telephone and yellow pages, electricity, gas and water, garbage service, toilet items, dishwasher detergents; those of labour, reduced to a minimal amount in most small Chinese restaurants; and those of licences, legal fees and insurance. For most of the Chinese restaurants in the city, the capital requirement in the first year ranges from \$30,000 to \$60,000.

Some individuals, as exemplified by Mrs. Chen (pp. 89 f. above), starting as garment workers and waiters or waitresses, visualize the golden days when they open their enterprises. A waiter likes to remark, "Whoever you are, as soon as you are here in Canada, pick up the kitchen knife, carry the tray, cling to your life station, and become a Buddha. How many restaurant bosses have started as waiters and cooks!" To this waiter, "to become a Buddha" means to reach for the top or restaurant ownership (footnote 6). In practice, one would have to raise a capital of at least thirty-thousand dollars in order to arrive at this stage. This sum is within the means of some unskilled workers after working for a number of years in Canada. However, maintaining a restaurant is a constant struggle. Owning a restaurant, in the waiter's figurative

speech again, does not amount to an emancipatory state of oblivion to pain, care and social reality. At least one in every two restaurants changes ownership or closes down within five years of opening. The success story of the West Lake Restaurant exemplifies a minority of restaurants. The Sailor's career of twists and turns is probably more typical of the restaurateurs among the Chinese in Winnipeg. "Never again! I would rather work for someone," this may well be the pronouncement of many beginning restaurateurs.

In any case, the restaurants remain a lure to many immigrants. Some choose to work in restaurants because of language difficulty and kinship tie with restaurant owners who have probably sponsored their immigration into Canada. An individual such as Mrs. Chen prefers restaurant work to garment factory work because she is congenial in a Chinese restaurant. Mr. Hsieh, the restaurateur who has been trained as an engineer, expresses his perception of how the actual rank order among ethnic groups would work. Ethnic consciousness and affiliation are important factors in their choice of occupations.

Two of the aforementioned restaurant owners are working as an engineer and a chemist. They might be attempting to increase their wealth through the investment of surplus earning. This is a strategy apparently common among professional people during inflationary period such as the late 1970's. The investment in restaurant business is determined in the last instance by the relatively low overhead costs, the relatively simple management, and the increasing demand of restaurant service. The shaping force of the infra-structure applies not only to the engineer and chemist, but also to the bank teller, the cadre, and the underground figure who have been lured into the restaurants. In

particular, the demand of restaurant service is a decisive material prerequisite which makes relevant the issues of ethnic identity and affiliation, individual ambition, planning and competition.

Just as the restaurants form important landmarks of the city landscape, the entrepreneurs become closely identified as an important feature of Chinese ethnicity. For example, in a survey of the potential voting pattern in the coming Federal election of 1979 a local newspaper interviewed three individuals identified as leaders of the Chinese community, including a professor, a clergyman, and the owner of West Lake Restaurant. He was identified only as a restaurant owner, but not as the president of one of the most important associations in Winnipeg (Winnipeg Free Press, May 7, p. 2). In this report was included a photograph of the restaurateur holding a pair of chopsticks to his mouth, apparently regarded as the diacritical feature of Chinese ethnicity shown by a spokesman of the community.

As Chapter V shows, the restaurateurs have long been active in ethnic affairs. They play a critical role in community associations. Although they do not form a corporate group to protect their vested interests, recent events show that they can organize themselves on an ad hoc basis, and affect governmental regulations perhaps to a much lesser extent than the large corporations of the core industry can. These events first drew the writer's attention in a Chinese restaurant in Winnipeg, when the owner was seen passing a piece of paper from one table to another. It was a petition issued by the National Committee to Save Chinese Barbecued Products, organized by restaurateurs and food suppliers mainly in Vancouver and Toronto. The petition protested against a food and drug amendment, which affected the quality of Chinese barbecued food.

As quoted, the amendment of 1977 says:

No person shall sell meat that has been barbecued, roasted or broiled and is ready for consumption unless the cooked meat at all times has temperature of 40°F (4.4°C) or lower, or 140°F (60°C) or higher.

Anyone familiar with Chinese food knows that while suckling pigs and ducks are cooked at about 220 degrees Celsius, searing the skin and sealing in all the natural juices, it is kept at below 60 degrees until served. If it is kept at the extreme temperatures stipulated, it would become dry, overcooked, and tough or lose its crispness. Alas, in spite of these culinary factors, health inspectors clamped down on a number of food suppliers and restaurants across the country. The petition responded, "The barbecued products have a tradition of two thousand years. Still the Chinese people remain well and health."

The petition movement culminated on April 4, 1978 in a banquet in a dining room on Parliament Hill. Attending were five hundred guests, including five cabinet ministers and members of Parliament. They added three hundred more signatures to the twenty-six thousand signatures already collected for the petition. (Chinatown Commercial News, April 2, 1978, pp. 1f). Perhaps the food was downright delicious, which made the lobbying possible, and perhaps the politicians' liberal and sympathetic attitude was consistent with the demand of the market system. In any case, in Feb. 1979, the Health Protection Branch began to mail circulars to food suppliers and restaurants across Canada, proposing that cooked meat would be examined on the basis of bacteria intensity rather than meat temperature, and that the new amendment be effective by June 1979 (Chinatown Commercial News, Feb. 18, 1979, p. 3).

As the food and drug amendment stands now, it seems satisfactory



to the enterprisers in food industries. Nothing more has been heard about the National Committee to Save Chinese Barbecued Products. It is organized by enterprisers mostly in Vancouver and Toronto on an ad hoc basis. If it has not been formally disbanded, it has become non-operational like many Chinese-organized associations which exist only in names. The restaurateurs will remain as small, independent businessmen, and unorganized just as their employees are not unionized. More than their employees, they are seasoned by long hours of work in the oily kitchens and dining rooms lighted by artificial lights of their restaurants. These they struggle to upkeep against the fierce competition from their neighboring colleagues. Their arduous work identity has become an important part of Chinese ethnic identity.

#### Summary and Discussion

The laundry business in the city was almost solely a Chinese enterprise at the beginning of the Century. By the late 1910's the number of Chinese laundry shops decreased rapidly, however, while the restaurants were on the upswing. Both the laundry shops and restaurants catered largely to the center population. Still, a minority derived its income from grocery shops and gambling dens which catered to the internal need of the peripheral population.

Among the new immigrants, while oriented largely towards personal service, the occupational distribution begins to ramify into other categories. In response to the demand of the market, Chinese restaurants experience rapid expansion throughout the late 1960's and 1970's. The distribution in the occupational hierarchy consists of mainly unskilled manual labor and subsidiarily professional people. As there has been a

long term labor shortage in the service occupations, the proportion of unskilled manual labor will gradually increase.

The examples in this chapter show that choosing the service occupation is closely related to ethnic identity and affiliation, such as language problem, ethnic ideology, ethnic congeniality, and the knowledge of a particular style of food preparation. Closely related to ethnic affiliation is kinship tie; some immigrants are occupied in restaurants because of their kinship tie with the restaurant owners who may have sponsored their immigration into Canada.

In the shaping of the structure of the community, the Immigration Department is playing an important role. It is recruiting immigrants to fill local labor shortages in the service occupations. A number of immigrants are known to have been admitted on the basis of their being employed in restaurants or investments in restaurant business. Moreover, garment factory workers have been recruited from Hong Kong and other peripheral areas in the world. Limited social mobility within the periphery of the economy is always possible. A projected garment factory worker may often end up as a waiter.

While the unskilled workers are being recruited, the educated--to be more specific, the graduates from Canadian universities--are often barred from becoming permanent residents. The arguments of "brain drain," that core states tend to draw intellectuals and the well-educated from the peripheral regions, do not adequately explain Canada's immigration policy. Expertise as such is not called for; marketable skill--rather than skill as such--is in demand. This study predicts an increase in proportion of unskilled manual labor in the occupational hierarchy among Chinese Canadians for the near future. The peripheral nature of

the community has been, in a sense, fixed and formulated by law, mainly through immigration process. In a stable society, the functions of the superstructure is to reproduce the mode of production, and its existing class relations. The specialization in the service occupations by the community may then be seen as being shaped and an expression of both the class relations in Canada and the ethnic identity assumed by many of the immigrants.

Again, as exemplified by the actions of the Immigration Department, the first concern of the state is to protect the continued existence and stability of a given form of society. The state machineries tend to favor the dominant class rather than the peripheral groups. Social origins and advantages derived from social origins ease the career avenue for centers of decision-making. In essence, the state is a political manifestation of the values and interests of the center of the Center. In this connection, Clement (1975) shows the exchange of information, influence, and personnel among elites, who are largely of Anglo-Saxon ancestry.

While the center of the Center is dominant over the state machineries, it also controls the core industries. In these the productions are typically of large scale, and markets are normally national and international in scope. These industries are capable of shaping the course of events in the world. Within the nation, the core industries determine the rate of growth of the economy and the prosperity of the society. That is to say, the fortune of the periphery of the economy depends on the core which has its alteration of prosperity and depression.

The local ethnic community is related to the world system in a very marginal way. Ethnographic data show that some resourceful

individuals and shopkeepers of the community are conducting import and export business by making use of ethnic ties in the international setting. Also, the modern world system serves as a labor market for Canada. The railway construction workers, and employees in both the garment factories and restaurants exemplify labor from international sources. It was mentioned that during the last decade, major cities in North America have attracted considerable capital from Chinese financial groups based in the Peripheral areas and nations in the modern world system, including Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, and Taiwan, for the investments in finance, real estate, newspapers, commerce, and restaurants. These investments, however, are small in comparison with those of the giant corporations (p.50 above). In Winnipeg, a few restaurants were established by capital from Hong Kong; otherwise investments by ethnic Chinese in other countries or areas are hardly noticeable (p.75 above). Still, these few investments were made only because the restaurant owners wanted to be admitted into Canada, and were a part of the immigration requirements.

Occupational activities in a peripheral ethnic community do not provide the information necessary for a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of the modern world system. In spite of this limitation, one cannot overemphasize the fact that the modern world system is real and forms an integral part of the social formation which constitutes the foundation for the understanding of the local ethnic community and its class and ethnic relations.

The analysis of the occupations has revealed both the pervasive influence of the center of the Center and the peripheral nature of the local ethnic community. However, the study has not explicitly revealed the existence of a center of the Periphery. A corporation, similar to

the Six Companies playing a brokerage role in the recruitment of labor and in the supervision of labor, is shown. If a center does exist, it cannot be based on a role relating to work, and there can be no rigid class relations between the center and the periphery. The nature of the center would be vastly different from that constituted by the Six Companies. Both the origin and nature of such a center, if it exists, would probably be revealed by examining the social organizations of the community.

## Chapter V

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

#### Introduction

As residents in Canada, ethnic Chinese inevitably become involved to a greater or lesser degree in various Canadian social institutions: governmental, educational, religious, financial and others. There are also associations, schools and churches that the ethnic category has established mainly for the internal needs and interests of the community. This chapter will include a discussion on these ethnic social organizations. Questions similar to those raised in the previous chapter will be asked: In what ways do the social organizations reflect the underlying class and ethnic relations? In what ways do the social organizations show the ramification of the world system?

#### Before 1947

At the turn of the century in Winnipeg, about four hundred or the great majority of the people came from a village called Chen-shan Tsun in the Hoshan County. The majority had the surname of Li. The early settlers regarded the new comers of later date as encroaching upon their territory. Once, sentries were posted at roads and railways to prevent the arrival of Chinese who traced their territorial origins to other counties.

This account of the early Chinese community in Winnipeg by an elder bears a number of issues relevant to the study of class and ethnic relations which are now discussed and elaborated upon in connection with the later developments in Winnipeg. The belief system, organizations of

partilineage and territorial ties: these are superstructural elements with striking parallels to ethnic relations. In particular, people of different territorial origins have been regarded by some writers as sub-ethnic or ethnic groups. How many groups might be divided out of a population on the basis of a particular kind of social relationship would depend on how the writer wished to state his problem. In the 1920's in Winnipeg, there were six territorial associations, including those of Taishan, Hsinhui, Enping, Chungshan, and Foshan. For the purpose of this study, these are neither ethnic nor subethnic groups but simply territorial groups. In any case, in these territorial associations there was no formal membership or membership dues. Donations were made on the occasions of each of the social events occurring during the year. These associations were never strong in Winnipeg and existed for only a few years in the 1920's. For one reason, the dialects as spoken in these counties were fairly similar. Moreover, the great majority of the population, about seven hundred in Winnipeg, could speak the dialect as spoken in Taishan. Therefore, a visible symbol of territorial ties--dialects--is absent. In a small population, the identity of the local ethnic community as a whole would soon over-ride the identity of territorial ties carried over from the mother country.

In China, all those who bore the same surname were regarded as being patrilineally related. This bond, in a way, united all those using the same Chinese character for their surname, regardless of what part of China they came from. The surname was traditionally exogamous and remained so to a certain extent. The surname group was subject to segmentation into innumerable local groups. These local clans, often occupying a single or group of villages, were organized and under the

leadership of a recognized head, whose jural authority over all members was often strong. Well-organized local clans normally possessed clan lands.

In the urban situation in Canada, the surname group as a whole took the place of the local clan. The immigrants came from the various local clans and they did not group themselves in such a way as to duplicate the kinship structure in the homeland on a miniature scale. They could form associations on the basis of surnames in the Canadian cities in which they lived. Among the early associations in Winnipeg was a Li Clan Association (Li Shi Kung Sho), which existed until the early 1960's; however it did not deal with clan matters as such, but functioned largely as a recreation club, where everyone in Chinatown could drop by for a game of mahjong. It occupied the main floor of a small shophouse owned and attached to a major restaurant in Chinatown. While there was no formal membership, a list of those with the surname of Li was kept in the Association. It was largely under the management of this restaurant.

The brief description above of the Li Clan Association applies well to many of the so-called traditional associations across Canada. The general activities of these associations were not related to clan or territorial matters per se. A family life was mostly absent for the immigrants, and marriages did not occur often. In general, the associations were looked upon as sources of financial and moral support, for example, in the event of death, or business or legal difficulties. In addition, some of the activities of the associations were for purposes of entertainment and social gathering.

Also, according to the above quotation, the early immigrants fought under the appearance of contentions between clans. Indeed, they



had to organize themselves on the basis of the meaning system already familiar to them. However, the purpose of the contending factions was to get access to the reward system as it existed in Winnipeg. An urban center demanded only so many Chinese laundries.

The relationship between the infra- and superstructure is not always readily observable, however. As stated in the Introduction chapter, each of the structures in the social formation has its own mode of functioning and evolution. Superstructural elements, including class, territorial ties, religious cults and arts, have been subject to the constraint of the agricultural infrastructure over the centuries. These superstructural elements of the Chinese society that the immigrants tried to realize were subject to the negation of the overall social formation of Canada: social pressure, law, forces of production, legal system, reward system, the facts of migration, and the identities of being ethnic Chinese vis-a-vis the other ethnic groups.

The major associations of Winnipeg Chinese belong to the type which claims to be community-wide in the recruitment of membership--i.e., associations based on the identity of being ethnic Chinese. Among the earliest of such associations is the Chinese Dramatic Society, established in 1923, and until 1945 the only Chinese organization active in traditional music and dramas performance. The association entertained the Chinese community occasionally on such days as Lunar New Year, the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Double Tenth National Day. The association maintained regular contacts with other ethnic Chinese dramas societies in Canada, especially the Chinese Dramatic Club in Edmonton, Alberta. The self-employed laundrymen who formed the bulk of the membership had both the time and freedom to make these trips possible. The association was

particularly active between 1939 and 1942 when it staged many plays to help the war efforts in China. The Society apparently received wide support from the community. According to one elder, once as many as thirty persons gathered at the Society regularly in the evening to practise singing and instruments. While these were the activists, fewer than half a dozen of men had official posts within the Society. Again, membership was diffusive.

The Society has practically stopped functioning, existing only in name since the nineteen sixties. The Society is still housed in its original small shop house at a street corner in Chinatown. The tiny stage still stands, and some costumes which the old immigrants ordered from Hong Kong are still preserved. However, the Society has become more and more a gambling den.

Another community-wide association was one with lodges across Canada, known variously as the Hung Men Hui, Chi-kung Tang and Chinese Freemason. In Winnipeg, a lodge was established in 1921 in Chinatown. The origin of Hung Men Hui is said traceable to the Triad Societies in Southern China. These were secret and illegitimate organizations widespread in Southern China during the 19th century.

The Hung Men Hui was widely distributed among the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and Hawaii, and in Canada evidently many of the early immigrants were Hung Men members. They remained anti-Manchu and observed the rituals of the Hung Men, which consisted of series of solemn oaths aimed at creating a sworn brotherhood. However, the organization was no longer secret and the activities of the Hung Men were normally well publicized and similar to the other associations in the community. Still, at the turn of the century, they carried out their anti-Manchu objective

insofar as they gave financial and moral support to the Republican revolution. The founder of the Republic, Sun Yat-sen, was in Vancouver in 1897 and in San Francisco in 1904, and on both occasions he launched successful fund-raising campaigns with the members of the Hung Men Hui. Today in Canton City, China, on the marble of a monument commemorating the 1911 Canton Uprising, are carved the names of the various lodges of Hung Men Hui in both Canadian and American cities including Winnipeg.

The Hung Men Hui has long maintained a Chinese language newspaper in Vancouver for many years and a gymnastic society in Toronto. The Hung Men Hui is said to have made significant investments in real estate and remains a well-financed and well-supported organization in both Vancouver and Toronto where the Chinese populations are relatively large. However, in Winnipeg, the Hung Men Hui has existed for a long time without any specific programs, and its activities are often for purposes of entertainment and social gathering. In the era of pre-1947, there were less than half a dozen of men managing the association, and they were also leaders of the Chinese Dramatic Society. Today the association becomes non-operational, like many Chinese organizations which exist only nominally. While the sign of Hung Men Hui remains prominently displayed at at the four-storied apartment block owned by the association itself, the gathering place on the second floor is empty and forlorn.

In the 1910's an ancillary organization of the ruling political party of the Republic of China, known as the Chinese National League or Kuomintang (K.M.T.), was formed in Canada, with operational chapters in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. In Winnipeg a branch was formed in the Chinatown area in 1915, and was given the

certificate of recognition by the headquarter of the K.M.T. in Vancouver in the following year. One of the primary objectives of this organization was to keep the ethnic Chinese in close touch with China. The activities included the initiation and organization of the National Day, the anniversaries of the Canton Uprising, and the like. As quoted by a Vancouver daily, The Province (Dec. 8, 1977, p. 31), the chief editor of a K.M.T. controlled newspaper in Canada said the K.M.T. had 10,000 members in Canada before 1949, and 3,000 in the late nineteen seventies. In Winnipeg, the membership stood at more than a hundred and fifty during the war years, according to a few elders. The K.M.T. maintains five regional chairmen and thirty-seven national directors (The Province, ibid.). Apparently, many who hold membership and titles regard their statuses as honors rather than actual government offices. Also, the duties of the so-called directors and chairmen are not spelt out to the members.

Because of its connection with China, it is by no means an accident that its recognition and acceptance by the Chinese community were the highest during the Second World War when the war effort had received not only the enthusiastic support from the Chinese communities across Canada but also the newspapers and general public. Because of this recognition, the leaders of K.M.T. became spokesmen for the Winnipeg Chinese community, particularly in events concerning the War efforts against the Axis. The connection between the Canadian government officials and these associations leaders led to their being recognized as the center of the Peripheral ethnic group. Already, the legitimacy of such a center has been established by its connection with the Chinese government.

During the war years (1941-45), banquets were given on the Double

Tenth National Day in restaurants in Chinatown. These banquets were attended by the representatives of provincial government, the city council, the bench, as well as representatives from the Chinese associations in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Free Press (Oct. 11, 1944, Wednesday, p. 6), reported that on Oct. 10, 1944, a banquet was given by the Winnipeg Chinese Patriotic League, a front organization of K.M.T. at the New Nan-king Restaurant. At the banquet were governmental representatives and guests of honour including Hon. R. F. McWilliams, Lieutenant-governor and Mrs. McWilliams, and Winnipeg's first Chinese consul, Wen Tao Weng, and his wife. (He was the only Chinese consul ever posted in Winnipeg, established in 1945 and ended in 1950). The Double Tenth National Day was then such a glittering occasion.

Apparently, in the minds of many public-opinion makers, the Chinese ethnic group had come to represent the Republic of China which was then an important ally against the Axis. This was reflected in an editorial statement by the Winnipeg Free Press (Oct. 16, 1942, p. 17):

A few days ago there arrived the Anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese republic; today among the most powerful allies which Canada has. To our deep regret the day passed without the hoisting of the Chinese flag [at the Free Press Building], and to the Chinese people of Winnipeg especially we offer our deep apologies for the lapse.

The ethnic Chinese became a part of the popular image of fighting China and the heroic allies in Asia.

On the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Kuomintang launched a world-wide fund raising campaign among overseas Chinese. In the United States, sociologist Rose Hum Lee (1960: 150-155) reported that during the 1930's and 1940's the so-called voluntary taxes imposed by the K.M.T. organizations became so burdensome that many Chinese left the cities in

order to avoid excessive contributions. In Canada the Chinese Patriotic League took charge of the China Relief Fund. While contributions were made in essence voluntarily, the fund-raising campaign sometimes involved group pressure and probably imposition of fines. Among the documents left behind by one Mr. Li who lived in Winnipeg in this period were some receipts issued by the Chinese Patriotic League in Winnipeg. These are listed in Table 9 (p. 111 below). In addition to these, he also received two warnings from the League, dated April 15, 1940, and Oct. 20, 1940 which said ". . . the deadline has now been extended for two weeks. If you failed to contribute by that date, you will be punished . . . ." These receipts certainly did not constitute the complete list of all those Mr. Li had received. They, however, illustrate that the ruling political party of Republican China, the Kuomintang, was interested in the wealth of overseas Chinese, and illustrate a small part of the expenditure of the Chinese residents in Winnipeg during the war years, and the leadership exercised by the League.

Housed in the same building with the Kuomintang was the Chinese Benevolent Association (C.B.A.), a branch of a continental-wide organization. Following the example of the Six Companies formed in San Francisco in the 1850's, Chinese merchants in Victoria, British Columbia, organized the C.B.A. in 1884. In 1906 a Chinese Benevolent Association was established in Vancouver and ten years later it called itself the official C.B.A. headquarter in Canada. According to a former president of the Association, the Winnipeg branch was established in 1914.

The C.B.A. claims to be the spokesman of the whole Chinese community, and that it legitimately exercises leadership over other Chinese associations. Consequently, the constitution of the C.B.A. stipulates

TABLE 9

DONATIONS FOR CHINESE RELIEF FUND, AS SEEN IN  
MR. LI'S RECEIPTS

<u>Dates</u>	<u>Amounts</u>	<u>Purposes</u>
22 March, 1940	\$1	Winter clothings
8 June, 1940	\$1	"Friends of soldiers"
20 Oct., 1940	\$1	Winter clothings
17 Nov., 1940	\$10	Chinese unemployment
5 Mar., 1942	\$2	Winter clothings and army relief fund
5 July, 1942	\$1	"July 7" anniversary
7 July, 1943	\$1	"July 7" anniversary
18 July, 1944	\$5	"July 7" anniversary
19 Oct., 1944	\$5	Double Tenth donation
16 May, 1945	\$5	Chinese Red Cross
17 July, 1945	\$5	"July 7" Donation
16 May, 1946	\$3	Residence for the Chinese Consul in Winnipeg

that all Chinese living in Canada are automatically members of the Association, and that there is no membership fee. However, those who wish to take part in voting and play an active role in the organization must donate a certain sum of money each year. All associations, clubs, laundry shops, grocery shops, restaurants, and famous individuals in the community are expected to make donations. This is not written into the constitution, but well-known in the community. A few leaders are drawn from other associations, including the Li Clan Association, the Chinese Dramatic Club, the Chinese Freemason, and the Chinese National League, which acknowledge their subsidiary positions to the C.B.A. By occupations, its leaders, usually eight, are invariably restaurant owners.

The overall C.B.A. leadership generally overlaps that of the Chinese National League. The eight leaders in one organization often hold similar positions in the other. Owing to this linkage, social activities can be conducted in the name of either organization. Most of the community-wide activities during the nineteen forties and fifties had been directed in the name of the Chinese National League. Since the late 1930's, in spite of the C.B.A. claim of leadership, the spotlight in the scenario of ethnic affairs had been switched to the Chinese National League. The C.B.A. only resumes its active role in community work just prior to Ottawa's recognition of Peking in 1970. Since then the C.B.A. has become persistent in its claim for leadership over other associations.

#### After 1947

The information on the social organizations before 1947 reflects the existence of a center within the peripheral ethnic group. This center is quite different from that constituted by the Six Companies.



There is no rigid class relation between this center and its periphery. The center is not based on a role of brokerage in business transactions, in recruiting labor, or in supervising labor. This center, constituted by the leaders of K.M.T.-C.B.A. has emerged during the war years by virtue of its recognition by both the Canadian officials and the Chinese government. A few of these leaders remained active until the early nineteen seventies.

Communal affairs are now performed solely in the name of C.B.A. under the leadership of about eight men, still largely restaurant owners by occupations. Meanwhile, the K.M.T. stopped functioning altogether as an association. Its white and blue sign which had been hoisted for more than sixty years was taken down one evening in 1979.

In any case, the C.B.A. has laid claim to be the representative of the whole Chinese community. Its representation, in order to be effective, has to be acknowledged by the governmental officials. This is realized, at least, in the funding of an urban renewal project consisting of a feasibility study for the redevelopment of a four-block area of Winnipeg's Chinatown. Forming the core of the Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation (WCDC), the C.B.A. leaders made the application of the funding. In announcing the initial grants of \$16,000 by both the Provincial Government and the City Council of Winnipeg, the News Service, an organ of the Provincial Government, indicates that the proposal would be based "on the references and aspirations of the predominantly Chinese community and contain elements of orientation, spatial organization and style derived from the culture of Southeast Asia" (News Service, April 27, 1974). By completion, the feasibility study project had incurred \$95,000 to \$100,000 (Winnipeg Tribune, Aug. 26, 1974). Whatever may be

the ultimate goal of such a governmental funding, cultural or otherwise, the business in the Chinatown area would benefit from the project if materialized. The remaining pertinent fact is that C.B.A. leaders have made the application, and are recognized as representing the well-being of Chinatown.

However, by the mid-1970's, a new middle class constituted by the professional has emerged. Consequently, the ethnic Chinese have become dominant in the top and bottom strata of the occupational hierarchy according to the dominant value of the society. A pertinent question is: if the ethnic Chinese are dominant both in the top and bottom strata of the occupational hierarchy, is it possible for those at the top to look toward the bottom and other strata for leadership? To say the least, it is unlikely. The individuals are not unconscious of their relative material and symbolic advantages. Moreover, a new middle class has not only emerged, but also found expression in a few social organizations. In various ways, these organizations challenge the representation made by the C.B.A. They are now briefly described:

Among the important organizations are two Chinese schools, including the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies and the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts, started in response to the increased number of locally-born in the nineteen seventies. By this time, the visa students had graduated from the Canadian universities, become landed immigrants, married and reared children of school age. These children, growing up in the suburbia, are essentially English speaking. Their communications with certain members of the family become difficult. Often, interpretation by bilingual members of the family is needed in discussions in complex matters. Moreover, the gap between generations has developed to such an

extent that there seems to be an ethnic relation between them. While the parents are regarded as uncouth in their speech and mannerism, the children are often regarded as extroverts who love white boys, white girls, French fries, hamburgers and movies. On a few occasions Canadian-born children were seen by the writer teasing each other, "He is Chinese," and pulling up their eyes sideways. At least on these occasions, there emerged two ethnic identities. The original objective of the schools was--and still is--to teach the children Chinese language. This in reality may be extended to the teaching of the ways of the Chinese and Canadians according to the parents' understanding. This concern with ethnic identity becomes more transparent as these schools play an increasingly active part in ethnic affairs.

Since its beginning in 1975, the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies has kept a teaching staff of about twenty who are mostly high school teachers, with a few from other professions. This teaching staff constitutes the leadership of the school. Since its beginning in 1975, it has drawn thirty-eight to sixty children, varying from year to year, currently attending public schools in the city. The private school meets on Sunday afternoon from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. in a suburban public school.

Besides teaching Chinese language to children, the adults also sponsor martial art training of tai chi chuan, choir, and folk dancing classes during the school hours. Some members have come to regard the school as a social gathering place, where one can while the Sunday afternoon away by chattering, and where information about the community can be exchanged.

Although the Academy receives a provincial government language subsidy yearly, the Academy supports itself essentially by tuition fee

and membership fee. For example, during the 1976-7 academic year, the Academy received a total income of \$4,150 with \$750 derived from government subsidy. Most of the expenditure concerns the Chinese language class and the News Letters, the official organ of the Academy. As much as the other associations, the Academy takes an active part in the ethnic affair, as exemplified both by its participation in meetings concerning Folklorama (pp. 118f below) and in the Little World Canada sponsored by an organization of merchants in a supermarket plaza. This program occurred from the 18th of June, to the end of June, 1977, and participated in by various ethnic groups of Winnipeg. Each ethnic group sponsored the events for one week. For the Chinese week, the three organizations, including the Academy, the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts, and the Chinese Benevolent Association, agreed to present a single set of programmes, including the exhibition of antiques and art objects, the selling of Chinese pastries and souvenirs, and stage shows consisting of the choir of the Academy, and lion dance by the C.B.A. and martial arts by the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts.

The C.B.A.-K.M.T. has long maintained a private Chinese language school in Chinatown. In the 1970's it has suffered a sharp decline in enrollment after a faction within the C.B.A.-K.M.T. consisting mainly of professional people, decided to organize a separate school for their children. This is the origin of the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts. The Institute meets in the governmental center which provides new immigrants with various facilities, such as English translation and learning. The Institute has a current enrollment of fifty and a teaching staff of seven in addition to the principal. The school meets during the week-ends. To maintain itself, the Institute relies on tuition fees,

donations from the parents and provincial governmental language subsidy. The professed aim of the Institute is to "disseminate Chinese culture," to provide translation and English lessons for the new immigrants, and to "promote good relationship with other ethnic groups." Apparently the conflicts between the old center and the newly emergent professional middle class can occur even within the same organization. This faction, as much as the other faction, claims to represent the ethnic community, to "disseminate Chinese culture" and to "promote good relationship with the non-Chinese."

Prior to the discussion of the interaction of the social organizations, the Winnipeg Chinese Alliance Church should be mentioned as an example of a relatively recently organized, highly ideological and well-financed group. Started in 1970 by a few high salaried professionals, the Church is now housed in a \$180,000 building in a suburban area. It has an all-Chinese congregation of about 250 in 1977. The Church also provides Chinese language classes to fifty to sixty children of the congregation. Apparently, the Church is constantly attempting to enlarge its congregation by recruiting new immigrants. It is fundamentalist but apparently ethnic in its work, proclaiming its own version of the ethnic identity. "Don't forget the 800 million lost souls in Mainland China," the Church posters say. Although the Church stands aloof from ethnic affairs such as meetings and festivals, its disengagement from the arena of contention is not total. As much as the other organizations, the Church is "disseminating Chinese culture" of its own version, and to "promote good relationship with the non-Chinese" in its own way, in addition to spreading the Gospel.

A new middle-class has emerged and organized in various ways. If

the C.B.A. lays claim to a sole representation of the whole community, such a claim would be challenged. This was demonstrated in a series of meetings between C.B.A. and other associations in the preparation for participation in an ethnic festival, the Folklorama. This is organized by the Folk Art Council under the auspices of the City Council of Winnipeg, and held annually since 1970. The participation by the Chinese has been represented yearly by the C.B.A.

To prepare for the Folklorama of 1977, representatives of various organizations agreed to hold a meeting in a restaurant owned by a C.B.A. leader on Nov. 6, 1976. The Alliance Church was invited, but it declined, apparently, to maintain itself clear of the local "politics." During the meeting, the leaders of the C.B.A. and K.M.T. emphasized that Folklorama committee had long existed in the C.B.A. and represented the Chinese community year after year, and that there involved much red tape in participating in the Folk Art Council and in the application for a recognized pavilion. "You must satisfy all the conditions and there are so many of them," this they stressed time and again. "The C.B.A. represents the whole Chinese community. To the dismay of the righteous people the organization had been challenged and suspected. There is already a community-wide organization. We do not need to set up another, but rather to find talent to support the long existing organization. Already the C.B.A. has all facilities, such as microphones, musical instruments, and a lion head, necessary to take part in the festival."

To this a representative of the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts responded, "Having been in Canada for fifteen years, I must say that there is no single organization which can claim to represent the whole Chinese community." The first meeting ended by appointing a three-person

committee to approach the C.B.A. executive to work out a solution for the Chinese representation in the 1977 Folklorama.

In the second meeting held in the same restaurant on December 11, 1976 with thirty persons attending, the same arguments were repeated. Also in this meeting, the C.B.A. leaders asked who were eligible to vote in the decision making. A K.M.T. leader asked, "Can we specify which groups are qualified as community organizations? How many members must there be in an organization in order to be qualified as a community organization? Could we call a husband-wife team a community organization?" After some heated arguments, the meeting passed by a simple majority that "any interested persons" might vote, as most persons argued that this was a gathering of volunteers and not a formal meeting.

The representatives of Chinese Student Association of the University of Manitoba, the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts all stressed "equality, mutual benefit and making public the budget." The second meeting resolved to send a three-person committee to approach the C.B.A. again to discuss the Chinese representation. A week later, the committee reported to the various organizations that the C.B.A. would not cooperate with other organizations in organizing the Chinese pavilion; as in the past, the C.B.A. would organize it on behalf of the whole Chinese community.

Before the C.B.A. formally rejected a joint effort to establish a Chinese pavilion, a group from the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies already met at a private home, and decided that the Academy should start the momentum of organizing a group capable of handling the application for an independent pavilion in the future, if not in 1977.

In the Folklorama, there were thirty pavilions representing the

ethnic groups in the city, including the West Indies, Irish, Hungarians, Polish, Ukrainians, Mexicans, Romanians, Scottish, Croatians, Japanese and so forth, with a few of them having more than one pavilion. Wide publicity was given on radio and television in Winnipeg and in cities across the U.S. border. The folk festival probably would enhance tourist industry.

The C.B.A. proceeded to prepare for the Folklorama held from Aug. 14 to Aug. 20, 1977. The C.B.A. managed to pool together about six thousand dollars for the festival expenditure from the Chinese business circle of the city. The Chinese Pavilion was housed in the K.M.T.-C.B.A. Building. A Miss Chinatown contest was sponsored, a week-long exhibition of Chinese art objects was held, a lion dance was performed during early evening hours at a street corner nearby, and souvenirs and pastries were sold in an open-air basketball field adjacent to the building. A few old pensioners were there regularly sitting, watching and whiling their time away; a small crowd was attracted to watch the lion dance at the street corner; and noticeably absent in the Chinese pavilion were activists from other associations. Later, the C.B.A. president complained about the Chinese community being non-cooperative.

To this a leader of the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies responded by saying, "Let's hope that they [C.B.A.] would not apply again next year." Moreover, in its News Letter dated 27 March, 1977, the Academy noted that "While we are experiencing a split in the Folklorama [with the C.B.A.] we should now make a fair evaluation of our strength. In two week's time, the Academy has played a major role in the Little World Canada. If we had three months' preparation and more support from the membership, we should be able to set up an alternative Chinese



pavilion." Given a chance, the Academy would not miss it to sneer at the C.B.A.

An alternative pavilion representing the Chinese did not materialize neither in 1977 nor in 1978. The C.B.A. did not even attempt to consult the other organizations in preparing for the 1978 Folklorama, but simply put a huge sign at the entrance of the Association, saying, "Talents among our compatriots are needed to help in our Chinese pavilion . . . ." The C.B.A. was determined to prove itself being the communal representation ipso facto.

However, an alternative pavilion became materialized in 1979. A planning committee consisting of fourteen members was drawn up, primarily from the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts, and secondarily from the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, the Chinese Student Association of the University of Manitoba, the Chinese Ladies Club (with twenty-six members generally meeting in private homes) and the Kung Fu Club (a student martial arts organization with less than twenty members). The Folk Arts Council accepted the application from the planning committee provided that it would not use the name of the Chinese Pavilion which was regarded as the reservation of the C.B.A. pavilion. The alternative pavilion was consequently called the Cathay Pavilion (China).

During the week-long Folklorama of 1979, the Cathay Pavilion presented a program more or less a duplication of the C.B.A. Chinese Pavilion, consisting of an exhibition of some art objects mostly from Taiwan, a fashion show, martial arts display, snacks, souvenirs, and a bar featuring mao tai and other liquor and wines from China. To indicate the amount of transaction and participation by each of the organizations a statement of receipts and disbursements by the Cathay Pavilion Committee

may be quoted. The receipts and disbursements amounted to \$28,854 and \$24,021 respectively, with a net gain of \$4,832. The statement indicated that one third of this net gain would be used to fund the 1980 Cathay Pavilion, while the rest would be distributed to the participating organizations in proportion to the man-hours spent by each organization. According to this formula, the Chinese Student Association received the largest amount with \$1,089.72, and the Institute of Chinese Language and Arts received the second largest with \$972.

These figures were made accessible to the public by the Pavilion Committee to show that it was different from the C.B.A. by stressing "equality, mutual benefit and making public the budget" (cf. p. 119 above). In any case, the new middle-class groups could now claim that they had broken the C.B.A. monopoly of recognition by the Folk Art Council under the auspices of the City Council, and the monopoly of facilities. The new middle-class groups have the bargaining power to negotiate with the C.B.A. At the time of writing, the two sides have met and agreed to form a committee of seventeen to explore the possibility of forming a unified Chinese pavilion for the 1980 Folklorama. The new middle-class groups are more and more in the spotlight in ethnic affairs.

Another historical event, the arrival of Vietnamese refugees, also serves to illustrate the C.B.A. long recognized role in community affairs. One Sunday evening, Dec. 17, 1978, the C.B.A. sponsored a reception for sixty Chinese Vietnamese recently arrived from Malaysian refugee camps. The pertinent fact was the presence of the Manitoba Manpower Minister, who headed a group of dignitaries, including representatives from the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Secretary of State, the Human Rights Commission and the Red Cross. A huge poster at the

entrance read, "Bless those of you from Vietnam who have come to Canada and have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain," reflecting the K.M.T. rhetoric of a monolithic international Communist movement. It probably was truthful to the all-suffering refugees from Vietnam.

In its emergence during the war years, the old center, as constituted by the K.M.T.-C.B.A., was in part legitimized by its connection with the Chinese government. As the international relationship between this government--now the Taipei government--and the Western nations changes, this government has come to rely on the old center to perpetuate a part of its influence in Canada. While the heydays of the K.M.T.-C.B.A. are well over, the activists of the organization will struggle to play a central role in the community affair.

The close connection between the C.B.A. in Canada and the Taipei government was recently reported by two major Vancouver newspapers, The Province and The Vancouver Sun. This government was said to have attempted to gain control of all Chinese-Canadian social organizations by planting and providing heavy cash subsidies to a puppet group in the headquarters of C.B.A. in Vancouver. The Taipei government maintains an account at a branch of the Bank of China in New York, and funds are diverted to the C.B.A. The Taipei connections are also indicated by the seventy-seven-year old C.B.A. chairman Lam Sai Ping. In a letter to his executives defending himself against various allegations by party members, Lam acknowledged that he was the Overseas Affairs Commissioner for Taipei and the co-chairman of both the C.B.A. and the local K.M.T. in Vancouver. He wrote, "Father Chiang [Kai-shek] appointed Sai Ping as the adviser to the Central Government . . . This spring, President Yen [Chia-kan] and Chairman Chiang [Ching-kuo] jointly issued a certificate for appointing

Sai Ping as the Commissioner of Overseas Affairs" (The Province, Dec. 8, 1977, p. 1; The Vancouver Sun, Dec. 8, 1977, p. 1).

A copy of a 1971 C.B.A. financial statement obtained by The Sun indicated the association received \$2,000 from Taiwan to hold its annual national conference in Vancouver. Other regular funding flowing to the C.B.A. from Taipei includes thousands of dollars for the celebration of October 10 National Day and Chinese New Year in various Canadian cities, including Winnipeg.

The Province has obtained copies of both C.B.A. constitutions--the 1972 English version registered in Victoria, and a translation of the unregistered Chinese-language constitution drafted in 1971. The unregistered constitution says C.B.A. objectives are "to unite all overseas compatriots in Canada, and to support the Republic of China" (The Province, *ibid.*).

The Taipei connections of the C.B.A. are translated into concrete local political support in Winnipeg. In 1975 the C.B.A. leaders, acting as middlemen between Taiwan and Winnipeg, succeeded to urge the Winnipeg mayor to send a delegation of "goodwill ambassadors" to visit Taichung, a city in Taiwan which was twinned with Winnipeg in 1971, a year after Ottawa recognized the Peking Government. The delegation was to have included, along with the mayor of Winnipeg, the attorney-general and the corrections minister of the provincial government and two Winnipeg city councillors. But the Federal Government of Canada barred the delegation and declared that Canada would not regard the twinning of Winnipeg and Taichung as having any official status. The trip was to be paid by the Taipei Government; however, the Federal Government vetoed it.

Among the old C.B.A. leaders, John Lee continued to pay birthday

tribute yearly to President Chiang Kai-Shek" on behalf of the whole Chinese community of Winnipeg," right until Chiang's death in 1975. Another leader of the C.B.A. is a professor at a local university, a former Chinese ambassador and a former vice-minister of the Taipei Government. In 1970 when Ottawa was negotiating with the People's Republic of China to normalize diplomatic relationship, he led busloads of Chinese met in Toronto, to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Ottawa. They handed in petitions and long lists of signatures, requesting the negotiation to be stopped immediately. With the recognition of the Peking Government by Canada, this professor became an unofficial representative of Taipei, with the authority to issue permits to visit Taiwan. Recently The Province (Dec. 8, 1977. p. 1) reported him as a member of the "Five-member League of Chairmen" of the K.M.T. organization in Canada. However The Province could not specify its role.

In contrast to socialist societies where there is a combination of a central planning in the economic mode and a relatively monolithic political order, in the western capitalist societies, there is a combination of a market-based economy and a pluralist and diffused political order. In the process of diplomatic recession beginning in 1970, the Taipei government has made use of both this pluralist feature and market orientation to maintain contact with western nations. As shown in the present chapter, the Kuomintang has long maintained local ties in Canada. Consequently, although Taipei cannot continue a formal diplomatic tie with the Federal Government of Ottawa, Taipei carries on its contact with both the provincial and city politicians as well as businessmen. Again, to quote the Vancouver Sun (December 8, 1977, p. 1), the control of the C.B.A. "gives the K.M.T. a network to win overseas Chinese sympathy for

Taiwan and to promote its trade and commerce with the Western world."

The control of the C.B.A. represents Taipei's effort to perpetuate its active participation in the world market. The ethnic and ideological background of Winnipeg's long-time mayor--Ukrainian and anti-Communist--might facilitate the twinning of Taichung and Winnipeg. There are details of interpersonal interaction between the C.B.A. leaders and the mayor and other officials. Short of private detective work, these details may never be known. The pertinent fact is that all these features, random and contingent as they are, when put together, reflect the underlying structural conditions including the existence of a world market, a pluralist political order, and a market-based economic mode. These structural conditions the Kuomintang has utilized quite successfully.

The success of the Kuomintang is related in a small way to the relative absence of Peking's interest in local communities. On a number of occasions, delegations from Peking were in Winnipeg to conclude wheat deals with the Canadian Wheat Board. The delegations avoided contact with the local Chinese. However, in May 1980, the Chinese Ambassador made a special trip to Winnipeg for the first time to meet some local officials and ethnic Chinese. This innovation may be meaningfully related to Peking's new emphasis on world trade.

### Summary and Discussion

The early organizations of the Winnipeg Chinese consist of the territorial and surname associations. These were hardly developed. The general activities of these associations were not related to clan or territorial matter as such, but more in the nature of financial and moral

support and entertainment. The major associations belong to the type which claims to be community-wide in the recruitment of membership, the most important being the Kuomintang and the Chinese Benevolent Association which are continental-wide in organization. Their connections with both the governments of China and Canada during the war years led to their being recognized as the centre of the ethnic group. The old centre remains instrumental to the Taipei government in maintaining contact with influential persons on local level. In Winnipeg, the C.B.A. leaders succeeded in twinning Taichung and Winnipeg, although this was not recognized by the Federal Government of Ottawa. Again, this illustrates how political manoeuvring can be associated with ethnic ties in the international setting. Although the old middle class has its local economic roots, it is by no means severed from the world system. It should also be mentioned that investment in Taiwan's industries by ethnic Chinese in various parts of the world cannot be ignored by Taipei. Subsidies from Taipei provide the old centre with an incentive to insist and exaggerate its representation of the whole ethnic community. These subsidies will form the basis, at least partially, for the reproduction of the old center for the near future. However, changes in the course of events in the world system will have their ramifications in the local level community.

By the nineteen seventies, a new middle class has not only emerged, but also found expression in a few social organizations. In various ways, these organizations challenge the representation made by the C.B.A. The old centre is instrumental to the Taipei government in maintaining contact with influential Canadians on local level. By receiving substantial subsidies from a foreign source, the C.B.A. holds a social advantage over most other organizations, more elbow room and a wider range of choice in

most social situations.

The data show that while dissenting factions of an ethnic group oppose each other, they are at the same time in solidarity with each other. The conflicts among them do not rule out their unity as components of an ethnic group. Territorial ties which form the basis of factions within the Chinese community have been equated, and rightly so, by some writers with ethnic relations. However, in the setting of this study, ethnic group distinction is one of Chinese vis-a-vis non-Chinese. In any case, territorial ties and other superstructural elements had taken on an existential quality over the centuries in China; these the immigrants tried to realize, but were subject to the negation of the overall social formation in Canada. The current identity of the local community soon overrode other historically-rooted identities.

In a community where a majority of the population was either self-employed entrepreneurs or engaged in agrarian occupations, an elitist group could not emerge on the basis of occupational rewards or class relation. This elitist group emerged only during the War years, when the owners of a few restaurants, by virtue of their status as association leaders, interacted with high governmental officials. In this case, status ranking is associated with historically rooted ethnic identity and is functionally unrelated to the class relation.

After 1947, the status ranking of the old centre is visibly out of alignment with its class position. A new middle class constituted by the professional has emerged, and stands high in the scale of material and symbolic advantages. However, the debate among the organizations concerned both the questions of both ethnic Chinese representation and the dominant role of the C.B.A. in this representation. In other words, the



issue at stake was one of self-identity, and both the entrepreneurs and the new middle class are competing for the central role in the representation.

Seen in the context of the total class relations among the ethnic Chinese, the spotlight in the scenario invariably falls on the middle class, while the unskilled workers play a peripheral role. This structural condition can be further elucidated by a comparative study of the Winnipeg Chinese and the Mexican Americans in Border City, Texas as described by Simmons (1961: 286-299):

Of a population of 17,500 of Border City in 1961, 56% were Mexican Americans, mostly employed as farm laborers, shed and cannery workers, and domestic servants. The middle class was small but powerful, comprising of clerks, salesmen, and others. While they favored the retention of Apanish culture, they put a premium on a command of Anglo-American ways and flawless English, for this would promote "getting ahead" (*ibid.*, p. 293). Significant to this study is the critical role of intermediary in negotiations with the Anglo-Americans that the Mexican-Americans of middle class are playing. Moreover, while most Mexicans were well aware of the Anglo-American expectations and practices with respect to the Mexican ethnic group, only members of the middle class seemed to regard the Anglo-American practices of exclusion affecting them. The Mexican working class did not regard participating in the larger society as being necessary and the ethnic irregularity as severe as the middle class did. The situation is markedly parallel to that of the Chinese community in Winnipeg, where the working class participates in the ethnic affairs as an adjunct of the middle class.

Simmons did not explain why the Mexican lower class was relatively

insulated. The problem lies in an analysis of work identity arising from the rationality of the economic system and division of productive labor; in other words, different work identities--i.e., self-identities and identities by other ethnic groups--to members of an ethnic group. For those in the menial occupations in laundry shops, restaurants and garment factories, it is meaningless to put a premium on a command of the Anglo-Canadian ways. Any self-improvement along this line would not lead a waiter to become a manager, and a cutter in a garment factory to become a designer or to a sitting-down office job. Success in work experience, if any, teaches a garment cutter to raise his level of piece-work, and a cook or waiter to deal closely with his fellow ethnic colleagues and to prepare more marketable ethnic food, with the sole aim of raising a capital to start an ethnic food restaurant.

Furthermore, those in menial jobs are there precisely because of their ethnic identities. For example, in a big luxurious hotel in Winnipeg during 1970 and 1975, four Chinese house-boys were required to put on Manchu or Ching costumes as they went about their chores. In the Border City, the Mexicans are said to be inferior, "because they are so typically and naturally Mexicans!" (Simmons, 1961: 293). In Winnipeg, there is no evidence to suggest that the ethnic Chinese are regarded as inferior; nevertheless, the stereotypic image appears to be "Chinese are naturally houseboys because they are so typically and naturally Chinese."

The work experience of both the new and old middle class is different from that of the working class. Firstly, the professional people are scaling careers in a way which is rare among the working class. This scaling involves not only keeping up the technical aspects of the profession, but also, importantly for individuals of the Peripheral ethnic

group, an ability to handle the ways of the mainstreamers. Secondly, the old middle class stands to benefit economically from civic endeavor and improvement. The old middle class people are truly local men. Folklorama and other ethnic festivals in the city would benefit them immediately. Any success in winning standing in either business or career has taught the middle class to become conscious of its ethnic identity and of the significance of gaining acceptance. The results of this comparative study are twofold: (1) a further examination of the meanings of ethnic identity, and (2) an illustration that class relations as defined by the relations of production imposes the limit of functional compatibility on the superstructural elements, including the forms of social organizations and the expressions of ethnic identity.

Lastly, in the formal analysis of class and ethnic relations, four interacting collectivities have been conceived. Towards the end of the period after 1947, however, the local ethnic community is peripheral and fractionalized, and the center is demising. With such an empirical situation, a confronting question is: should the model be reformulated so as to remain viable for the study of the local community? An important assumption of model building is that the model may or may not reflect the empirical situation. The model tends to formalize and simplify the empirical situation. The formulation of the four collectivities has succeeded to call attention to the class and ethnic relations involved in the manifestation of state power which exercises a pervasive influence on the local ethnic community, shaping its ways of making a living and its group identity. For the study of a peripheral ethnic group without a center, the model would remain a useful heuristic device.

## Chapter VI

### LIFE HISTORIES

#### Introduction

Under the broad perspective adopted in this study, the continuity of the individual life histories become blotted out. A coherent descriptive account of the life histories of five selected individuals would provide a different dimension of the Chinese community in Winnipeg; one that dwells on small-scale and face-to-face interaction in their social world beyond the topical bounds of occupations and social organizations of the previous two chapters, and one that dwells on the unique events and personal opportunities as one lives through one's life. In this chapter, after the description of five individuals' life histories, the random and contingent features in these histories will be discussed in the light of the structural conditions already presented.

#### Cases

Case 1. Mr. John Lee was born in a peasant family in Taishan, southern China in 1893. At the age of fifteen he immigrated into Canada together with a few of his lineage brothers. In Winnipeg, he worked in a number of laundry shops until 1914 when he found a job at a meat packer. In 1923, he married a white woman who had a daughter from her previous marriage. Because of his association with the affinal relatives, he came to learn to speak English fluently, although he has little knowledge of

the written language. He worked at the meat packers until 1940 when he became a partner in a restaurant which two of his lineage brothers had established in the late 1930's. In 1914 he was elected as the president of the C.B.A.

During the war years he came to know the celebrities of the city. He was able to make speeches concerning China's war effort over radio stations, entertain high ranking governmental officials, and chair banquets given on behalf of the Chinese community on China's National Day. Towards the end of the war, he befriended the Chinese Consul Weng. A few elders could tell stories about military police who responded promptly to his telephone calls for help whenever returning service men became troublesome in Lee's restaurant, and about city police who covertly protected him when he drove home at night.

At this point in time he was well recognized as the leader and spokesman of the Winnipeg Chinese community, to the extent that he was called "the mayor of Chinatown" by the local newspaper. As recently as February 25, 1977, an entertainment editor of a local newspaper wrote,

My very first close Chinese friend in this city was [John Lee] who moved with Mrs. [Lee] to Vancouver. [John] is missed here because he was the "mayor" of Chinatown and a natural leader of the community (The Winnipeg Tribune, February 25, 1977).

After the war, he continued to function as the president of the C.B.A. and a leader of the Chinese National League. In 1971 he worked hard to bring about the twinning between Winnipeg and Taichung. After his resignation of his position as the president of the C.B.A. he became the Association's honorary president. He continued to travel to Taipei yearly to pay birthday tribute to President Chiang Kai-shek until Chiang's death in 1975. In Lee's public life then, he strongly identified himself as an

ethnic or overseas Chinese. This ethnic identity constituted a major source of political functions that he exercised. However, in spite of this public identity, his family life was strongly identified with the mainstreamers. His wife, daughter, and son-in-law were white people. In any case, he had made use of his opportunities, and came to constitute the symbol of the center of a peripheral ethnic group.

He was a restaurant owner for most of his life. During the war years, his restaurant experienced rapid expansion to include a cafe, a dining room and a night club. On the retirement of his two lineage brothers in 1963, he owned the whole complex by himself. In his restaurant was his brother who worked for him as a chef for almost all of his life. Lee had to retire in 1973, sold his business, and left the city for Vancouver with his wife. He passed away in 1980 at the age of eighty-seven.

Case 2. Mr. Li Yun Chi, a resident of Winnipeg, was born in the county of Hsin Hui, Kwangtung in 1882. He was a peasant until 1913 when a relative returned from Canada for a visit and told him of the opportunities there. The returnee also offered to lend him five hundred Canadian dollars which he could use to clear the head-taxation on entry into Canada. He decided to leave his wife, children, and kin and set sail for Canada, with the hope of returning in a few years' time. He followed his relative to Hong Kong where they took the British liner, the "Russian Queen," bound for Vancouver. In Vancouver, they went to a hostel housed above a grocery shop, where the agency for the Canadian Pacific Railway in the community was also located. After three days, they went to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. Together with one hundred Chinese workers, they were employed in an abattoir. In his later days, he still

recalled the foreman as a kindly person, and that floor and carcass washings were done by the Chinese workers, while the Canadian workers did the skinning and butchering. He worked for ten hours per day at thirty cents per hour. In 1914, he was hired by the Canadian Pacific Railway for repairing the construction. He remembered that many of his Chinese friends found jobs in factories because, as he said, the whites had gone to war. By 1918 he had earned enough to clear the debts he had incurred on immigration to Canada and to make a return trip to China. On his return to Canada the following year, he worked in a laundry shop in Regina, an employment which he kept until 1936.

In the 1930's, his letters indicated a strong wish to return to his native place in Kwangtung. Although the conditions in Canada provided him with a relatively good source of income, they did not conform to his notions of the quality of a good life. How many immigrants maintain such a sojourner mentality, though few of them actually leave their country of residence?

The first letter was written by his relative to Li in Winnipeg on May 6, 1932:

Dear Yun Chi:

. . . I have come to work in the Victory Dry Cleaning in Melville, [Saskatchewan], to substitute Mao Tsung in the business. He and Hsin Nan have already returned to China last year on board the Japanese Queen. Our business is not doing well. Have you decided on a date of returning to China? Please drop me a line. I would like to mention that Ping Kuen because of his unceasing coughing has decided to return to China; Chao Hsing has returned to the ancestral land.

Yu Tsin

The second letter was addressed to Yun Chi by his brother in China:

My good younger brother:

. . . Having received a draft of 50 yuan enclosed in your letter of the 10th month, I gave 5 guan to my daughter-in-law, the rest being the sum you gave me as my pocket money. My good brother, you should not have done this; you have made me uncomfortable . . . Your mother visits us very frequently and is enjoying the best of health . . . Ah Chuan's wife has gone to Nanyang last year, leaving behind three pitiful daughters. I mention this only in passing. What else can I do? Your two sons are well, frequently writing to us from Nanyang. As for my son Shu Fang in Canada, he has been taught and well treated by you as if he were your own son . . . When you save enough, come home to console your aging mother who has been waiting at the door day in and day out . . . There is no harvest in the village; fortunately, everyone is doing fine . . .

Sung Mao  
13th of 10 Month

He returned to China with the thought of settling down for the rest of his life. However, he found that his native land was becoming poorer and poorer; besides his eldest son and younger brothers had immigrated to Thailand a few years previously. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, he concluded that the comfort of a family life and a kin circle was not for him, and once again he left his wife and ancestral land for Canada, perhaps for the last time.

Back in Canada, he worked as a kitchen helper in a Chinese restaurant in Winnipeg until his retirement in 1947. He could not take up the position of a waiter which had better pay because he could speak little English.

His response to the facts of low status during his life did not necessarily entail a sense of abnegation. Inequality of classes, if this ever occurred to him at all, might be seen as being inevitable as well as just. To him ethnic irregularity was probably more transparent. Now and



then in his long retirement, he recalled, for example, how at one time children trailed him and his friends, chanting:

Ching-chong Chinaman sits on the rail  
 wi' stolen chicken in his bail.  
 Policemen come and put him in jail.

Ching-chong Chinaman has long pig-tail  
 He scratches with long finger-nails  
 . . .

During his long years of retirement, he regularly sent a token sum of money to his son and brothers in Thailand who were then his only surviving relatives. After his retirement he began to attend church service because he enjoyed the companionship there. Each day he spent hours sitting in an association, chatting and watching mahjong games. He died at the age of ninety-one, leaving one thousand and six hundred dollars in his bank account, more than sufficient to cover his funeral expenses. One important item in his will was: "Be sure that everybody who attends my funeral is treated to a sumptuous meal." Some writers would classify him in the lower lower class. However, he was a far cry, for example, from Liebow's street corner man who was "obliged to expend all his resources maintaining himself from moment to moment" (Liebow 1967: 65). For little that he had, he managed to share and be a gentleman in his own way.

Case 3. Dr. Lloyd Jien was born in Vancouver in 1932. He was the second of three sons born to a Chinese immigrant family. Like many of the Canadian-born Chinese in Vancouver in his generation, he had no major difficulty in accepting his identity as an ethnic Chinese. After his graduation in the University of British Columbia, he went to Hong Kong to study Chinese. There he was ordained as a theologian and minister and headed the Hong Kong Baptist Church. He remained in Hong Kong where he led various youth, low-income and civic groups and became rapidly the

focal point of many issues affecting the welfare of the low-income Chinese. He returned to Canada and became a minister of Chinese Presbyterian Church in Toronto's Chinatown. He gave up his ministry and joined the Department of Secretary of State in 1966 as an administrator and officer and became increasingly active in civic work. Joining the Liberal Party of Canada in 1971, Jien ran as a candidate in Federal elections in Vancouver Center but lost by a very narrow margin. Failing that, he went on to obtain his Ph.D. from the University of Boston by writing a thesis on approaches to bilingual education in teaching Chinese school children English as a foreign language.

He worked for nearly 12 years with the Department of Secretary of State, travelling from coast to coast as a "social development officer" aiming specifically on the Chinese ethnic group. For the last six years of his life, he stayed in Winnipeg where he was deeply involved in ethnic affairs. Although he had developed terminal cancer, he volunteered to be a secretary in projects such as the planning for a cultural center and the staging of the Chinese pavilion in the 1976 Folklorama. He associated himself with the Chinese Fellowship, the Manitoba Academy of Chinese Studies, and was instrumental in obtaining a grant from the Federal Government for the compiling of Manitoba Chinese Directory, consisting of the names, addresses and telephone numbers of Chinese in Manitoba. He spent the last two months of his life by touring China. It was his first trip to China, a trip which he had wished for for a long time.

Case 4. Mr. Joe Lee claims to be a third generation Canadian, while he acknowledges that he and his ancestors were all born in China. Born in 1941, he came to Canada in 1949 with his mother and lived near the Winnipeg Chinatown. In 1950 his father, a teacher by occupation,

passed away. The boy and his mother continued to live in the Chinatown. In 1954 after his mother remarried a Chinese man, the boy moved to live with his grandfather until 1958. He did odd jobs and gardening and sold Chinese vegetables outside school hours. During his high school days (1958-1961) he became interested in drama performance and he performed in an opera entitled South Pacific. Also in his high school days, he worked in chain restaurants such as Champs and Town and Country, in hotels and chopsuey houses. He attended both the Chinese United Church and the St. Andrew's United Church which had a white congregation. In 1962, he worked as a bank teller. In 1964 to 1968, he attended a local university and married. He tried to study for a degree in commerce after his B.A. but without success. In 1972, he was a manager of Lifetime Finance Services Ltd. From 1972 to 1974, he worked in a travel agency. In 1974, he ran for the city council and with the support of the population around Chinatown, he was elected as a member of city council. During his term, he was active in initiating certain projects including an old folks home and a "cultural center" in Chinatown. He acted as the chief spokesman for these projects, and negotiated with the government officials and private individuals who owned the land.

In the City Council, he was identified as a spokesman for the Chinese community. For example, in 1975 the mayor of Winnipeg was unable to attend a banquet given by the K.M.T.-C.B.A. leaders for a number of city councillors and the mayor. On the guest list Mr. Lee was noticeably left out. However, the mayor, unable to attend, asked Councillor Lee to read a message on his behalf, taking for granted that Lee had been invited and on good terms with all Chinese. In reality, the leaders of the Association disliked him, calling him a communist in his absence. The

inference was that they, but not Councillor Lee, represented the Chinese community. In any case, Lee attended the banquet and read a message from the mayor.

During his term of office, Councillor Lee continued to operate his real estate agency, which was responsible for demolishing a block for the construction of a new commercial complex in Chinatown and the construction for an old folks home which he had actively initiated. He also operated a travel agency near Chinatown, advertising for cheap fares to the Far East. While he ran his business in the downtown, he lived in an affluent residential area.

In 1977, he broke away from the Progressive Conservative Party which had supported his campaign for the city council in 1974. Instead, he ran on the Liberal ticket in the 1977 provincial election. Another Chinese person, a restaurant owner and a practicing chemist, also ran for the same seat on the Progressive Conservative Party ticket. The seat went to the incumbent, a candidate of the New Democratic Party. The Chinese voters did not support the Chinese candidates. Some of them were heard saying, "We don't want them [the whites] to think that we have a leader."

Private citizen Lee is now a thriving businessman. He has moved his travel agency to the newly constructed commercial complex in Chinatown. He is also one of the three owners of a restaurant located in the same complex. He probably is an outstanding individual, and people like to gossip about him. Presently, conversations in the Chinatown usually concern his restaurant: "Dishes are good, but expensive"; "His chef hired from Hong Kong has an annual salary of \$12,000"; and so forth.

Case 5. Tony Tang immigrated into Canada from Hong Kong in 1968 through the sponsorship of a local garment factory. Because of this sponsorship he was requested to work for this factory for one year. He worked there for one year and then moved to work in a major department store as a tailor until 1972. He was then no longer needed as a tailor, and given a choice either to work as a car park attendant or to be laid off. After working in the parkade for a few months, he developed respiratory problems. He resigned.

He proceeded to rent a shop in the Chinatown, and started a tailoring business. A year later, the block in which his shop was located was up for sale. He and a friend bought the block, and there were five shop houses in it. He used two of the houses for his tailor shop and one for his steam bath. The other two shops were used by his friend as a restaurant. Apparently, he enjoys being an entrepreneur. His tailor shop is doing good business, and the old customers of the steam-bath which has existed since 1929 under the management of the previous owner of the block are still coming regularly. Now he can afford to say, "Thanks to that department store. Didn't it lay me off in order to bring me good luck? This is my own business and I am my own boss."

However, his rewards owe as much to his hard work as to his entrepreneurial skill and market system. He has to work almost seven days a week and twelve hours a day. His wife is working five days a week and eight hours a day at a garment factory. Having done all these long hours of work, they now are owning a part of the commercial block, a residential house for themselves, and a station wagon. Besides, they are bringing up three school-aged children, and sponsoring his father, brother, and sister to visit them from far-off Hong Kong.

At the back of his tailor shop is a living quarter for the family and play area for the children. They attend one of the week-end Chinese language schools described in the last chapter. The parents speak only in Cantonese to the children, while the latter respond in the same language whenever they can. However, while a great deal of talking transpires among the children themselves, there is little conversation between the children and parents. Apparently, like many Chinese children in the seventies, the Tang children find difficulties in assuming the parents' ethnic identity.

#### Summary and Discussion

The life histories are now discussed in terms of the major issues of structural analysis raised in this study. The epistemological position has been that the role and status of individuals, as much as any observable occurrence, event or single relationship, constitute an appearance whose full meaning or reality is only expressed by integrating them theoretically within their structures. However, the random and contingent features in these life histories are not direct and mechanical reflection of the overall structural conditions. The individual is not a microcosm of his social world. Often he makes oppositional responses and entertains personal vision against the internal logic of structural conditions. At various points in life, he has his unique evaluation and image of the social world and himself. Still, in the final analysis, an individual cannot construct his social world in terms of a wholly personal vision. Between his action and the underlying structures, the relationship is dialectical. He generally makes adaptive rather than oppositional responses to his social world. He experiences varying degrees of freedom

of choice, arising from different ascribed characteristics such as age, sex and place of birth. If he is regarded as an outstanding individual, that is because he sees further than others. If he is an initiator, that is because he can initiate some events on the basis of his understanding which direction certain visible social relations are changing. In all cases, he cannot combat the internal logic of the overall structural conditions, which over-determine his actions.

For example, the individual of case 2, Mr. Li, held a personal vision aspiring for a comfortable home in his native place. While he held a sojourner's mentality, he was in practice a permanent resident, sedentary and forlorn, in Canada. He was socially and legally free to stay in his native land. He could only perceive his reasons to leave home and to take up residence overseas in terms of highly fortuitous social and personal circumstances. His personal vision could not entail a macro-social view of the power of the world market, which was not a normative defined authority and yet exercised constraint over individual actions. As compared with class relations as defined by the mode of production, ethnic relations are more transparent and more easily perceived. The life history of case 2 illustrates this generalization.

In terms of occupations, residence, and friends, the individuals of both case 2 and 5 are deeply rooted and confined to the Chinatown area. Both have only one set of ethnic identities--the ethnic Chinese or the Peripheral ethnic group. The class identities of the two individuals are different, however. In case 5, skill in the job itself and entrepreneurial skill in general permit a chance of social mobility of which the individual of case 2 is deprived.

In case 1, the individual was not only deeply rooted in the local

community as in the two cases above, but also capable of interacting closely with the local officials and mainstream Canadians. Given the homogeneous nature of the Chinese community of his time and the need for organization during the war years, the emergence of a center of the Peripheral ethnic community was almost inevitable. This position the individual was the most qualified person to fill. He was a promoter, his initiation including his wartime speeches, his close interaction with high-ranking officials, and his attempts to bring about the twinning of Taichung and Winnipeg. His far-sightedness and actions were quite compatible with the structural conditions of the historical moments--the World War II, the market-oriented economic base, and the pluralistic political order. Had the individual of case 4 (the city councillor) lived in the time of case 1, he probably could fill the position of the center. He was an initiator of the same caliber of the individual of case 1. However, authority, power, and leadership, these are expressions of the underlying structures of the historical moments.

The individual of case 3 was quite capable of adapting to a great variety of situations, being Canadian born, well educated, a minister, and a government officer. Because of this wide range of opportunities made available to him, he could not identify himself with any local group long enough to be its leader. A comparison of case 3 with cases 1 (the restaurateur), 4 (the city-councillor and enterpriser) and 5 (the tailor) provides an illustration that work identity importantly affects identities in the superstructural realm.

In summary, the following illustrations have been made: the constraining power of the market, the relatively transparency of ethnic relations, the historical nature of the center of a Peripheral ethnic group



and the constraint of underlying structures over social programs and campaigns. While the constraint of structures has been stressed, the relationship between individual behavior and the underlying structural conditions is recognized as dialectical. It is upon this dialectical relationship that individual freedom is built.

## Chapter VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem in this study concerns both class and ethnic relations among the Chinese minority of Winnipeg vis-a-vis the White majority in Canada. The first task is not to seek out significant classes and ethnic groups. It begins by assessing the origin, nature, and development of the social formation underlying the selected local ethnic community. The important features of the social formation first identified include the following: Canada as an advanced capitalist state, the existence of a modern world system, the immigration process into Canada and the scheme of dual economy. The understanding thus gained becomes the necessary basis for the examination of the ethnic and class relations as revealed in the local ethnic community.

In order to critically examine class ordering in this context, two sets of analytical terminologies have been used. The first set of terms, the upper class, middle class, and working class, frequently appears in studies of social stratification. For purposes of this inquiry, the old and new middle classes are distinguished in order to differentiate between the entrepreneurs and the salaried professional group respectively. The second set of terminology is formulated to analyze the interplay of class and ethnic relations in an advanced capitalist society, consisting of four interacting collectivities: (1) the center of the Center, (2) the periphery of the Center, (3) the center of the Periphery, and (4) the periphery of the Periphery. How the population

in a society is divided in terms of these collectivities depends on how the writer wishes to state his problem. In order to focus on the Chinese as the subject of study, the Center is regarded as constituted by the whites, or, analytically speaking, non-Chinese. While analytical distinction of the particular ethnic groups among the whites is irrelevant, the above formulation directs attention to the Anglo-Saxon group, which constitutes the center of the Center. It determines the conditions under which other groups may enter and makes invidious judgements about the appropriateness of various groups coming to Canada.

During the era of early immigration, disharmony between the center and the periphery in both Center and Periphery ethnic groups can be readily demonstrated. To the center of the Center, the Chinese indentured labor was indispensable in the development of continental transportation. To the peripheral whites, however, the fact that the Chinese came as an organized group and demand lower wages seriously cut their bargaining power with the employers. The center of the Center turned, in part, toward the cheaper labor supply constituted by the indentured Chinese, a move regarded by the higher priced labor as a threat of being displaced from the labor market.

To deal with the periphery of the Periphery, the center of the Center required a brokerage within the Peripheral ethnic group. The Chinese merchants became the center of the Periphery by virtue of their connections with the center of the Center. The Six Companies were the agents for the import of indentured labor and the supervisors in the organization of labor. Rigid class relations between the center and the periphery of the Periphery are obvious. When an ethnic center is at one and the same time the employer and leader in local organizations, the

center is at its maximal degree of dominance. The constraints of the mode of production would be sufficient to keep the indentured labor in order; however, absconding would still be possible without the contingent of policemen, lawyers and close connections with the shipping companies by the Six Companies. The superstructure resting upon the infrastructure is essential for the maintenance of the social relations of production. Conflicts of interest between the dominant and subordinate segments in the system were then more apparent and more violent than during any other periods.

In this study a distinction is made between the primary and secondary labor markets. The former is characterized by high productivity, non-poverty wages, and stability in the labor force, which feeds back to wage-bargaining and union formation. In contrast, the secondary labor market is characterized by relatively poor working conditions, low productivity, low wages, instability in the labor force, and weak unionization or the absence of it. In railway construction, the Chinese labor force found itself squarely in the primary labor market, challenging the existing organized labor force in Canada. The confrontation between the existing labor force and the newly arrived group was overt. This antagonism would have been largely avoided, had the Chinese worked in the secondary labor market alone from the beginning. This argument may be substantiated by the historical experience of the Chinese population after its dispersal into the major Canadian cities. A great majority of the population consisted of free, self-employed entrepreneurs, and unskilled workers in the secondary labor market. The small business did not involve the workers' unions, and consequently the issue of labor displacement did not occur. There was no overt competition between the

periphery of the Center and the Periphery population. The ethnic Chinese were largely performing work unwanted by the mainstream Canadians but essential to the functioning of the infra-structure. The specialization in the service occupations by the community is being shaped by the class relations in the Canadian society. This occupational specialization is reproduced in part by kinship and ethnic affiliations.

The work situations of restaurants after 1947 have been described in some details. The work process exerts an all-pervading influence on people's lives, shaping the conditions of their identities and existence. As compared with the middle class, the unskilled workers do not regard ethnic irregularity as severely, and participating in the ethnic affairs as necessary. The middle class is more conscious of the importance of gaining acceptance by the wider social milieu. The old middle class, in particular, stands to benefit economically from civic endeavor and improvement. Moreover, while the new middle class tends to see job promotion as a realistic possibility, the unskilled workers do not see their jobs as part of an upward career, although many workers entertain the vision of becoming independent entrepreneurs.

The examination of occupations point to a contradiction which is a constitutional feature in the structure of relations of production in Canada. Canada is underpopulated, and while admitting immigrants, Canada experiences the losses of a substantial portion of its population through emigration. The population remains low relative to its land expanse, natural resources, and potential for capital accumulation. To realize such a potential, new immigrants must be admitted. They provide for an indispensable source of labor, but at the same time, become potential competitors to the existing labor force. The key questions in this social

formation are who shall and who shall not work, how shall one work, and who shall enjoy greater material and social benefits in the division of labor. This contradiction within the structure of the relations of production is expressed in events such as the overt conflict between the Chinese and the white ethnic groups, and the restriction of Chinese immigration from 1925 to 1946.

Over a certain period of time, this contradiction may limit the necessary labor supply, and hence constrain the productive force. When this is the case, a contradiction between the productive force and relations of production develops. Certain writers regard this contradiction between the structures as the basic one in an advanced capitalist country; however, economic growth as such is well beyond the scope of this study.

Returning to the observable interaction of the four collectivities, this study notes that given the egalitarian nature, the occupations of the Winnipeg Chinese cannot by themselves form the basis of an elitist group which automatically would evolve into the center of the Peripheral ethnic group. The historical conditions during the war years gave rise to such a center. Certain restaurant businessmen improved their overall social standing by taking on non-work roles. Their leadership positions in voluntary associations enabled them to associate with high ranking governmental officials in connection with the war efforts against the Axis. While these leaders came to constitute the center of the Periphery by virtue of their coupling with the center of the Center, the Peripheral center was weak in comparison with that of the previous period, when the Peripheral center was one and the same time the employer and leader in local organizations.

Among Winnipeg's ethnic Chinese, territorial associations existed only briefly before 1947. Voluntary associations active in the community largely belong to the type that claims community-wide membership and representation. The identity of the local ethnic group has over-ridden the identity of territorial groups.

Among the most important of these associations are the Chinese Benevolent Association and the Kuomintang. Their leadership has come to constitute the center of the Periphery because of its connections with both the Chinese government and Canadian governmental officials. For the Taipei government this center is instrumental in maintaining contact with influential persons on local level, and in maintaining the legitimacy of the government as the government of all-China in the eyes of ethnic Chinese. Subsidies from the Taipei government provide the old center with incentive to exaggerate its capacity as representative of the ethnic community. These subsidies will form the basis partially for the reproduction of the old center for the near future. This reproduction is subject to the constraint of the class relations in Canada, as exemplified by the challenge of the new middle class, and the constraint of international development, as exemplified by the diplomatic tie between Ottawa and Peking and the rising trade activities of the People's Republic. This analysis also demonstrates that ethnic tie can play an important role in the dynamics of the modern world system.

In the late 1960's, the occupational distribution of the Winnipeg Chinese population began to ramify, with dominant representation in both the unskilled manual and the professional categories, or the top and bottom strata of the occupational hierarchy according to the dominant value of the society. A new middle class, as represented by the

professional group, has emerged, and began to challenge the representation of the Chinese community laid claim by the C.B.A. Although the new middle class groups and the old center of the Periphery are opposed to each other, they are also in solidarity with each other. The conflicts among them did not rule out their unity as components of an ethnic group.

While focusing on the local ethnic community, this study has, at various places, elucidated the major features of the system of class and ethnicity which Canada constitutes. It is now possible to predict a future trend of the Canadian society. For the near future, the proportion of unskilled manual labor will continue to remain dominant among the Winnipeg Chinese. There exists a long term labor shortage in the service sector in Canada, and to meet the demand in this sector, immigrants are still being admitted. On the other hand, the proportion of the professional cannot remain dominant simply through immigration. Already, in Canada job vacancy in this sector has been limited, and Hong Kong students graduated from Canadian universities are no longer re-admitted into Canada as landed immigrants.

For the near future, Canada will remain underpopulated; still, immigrants are largely confined to those who prove that they would do jobs unfilled or that cannot be done by those in the mainstream of the Canadian economy. The end result of the immigration process is to maintain the status quo of the sitting incumbents and ultimately the legitimacy of the structural position of the center of the Center. Contemporary conditions point toward the same underlying structure of relations of production that exists in the earlier periods.

In this study the analysis of the social formation has included analysis of the existence of the world system and its ramifications in



the local community. The modern world system has developed from the economic and political dominance of the west since the 15th century. Firstly, the world system has been a source of labor. The railway construction workers, and employees in both the garment factories and restaurants exemplify labor drawn from the international labor market. International labor is recruited according to the following priorities: the demand of both the primary and secondary labor markets, the Center population's ethnic ties with western Europe, and the political conditions in Canada, such as the opposition from the labor unions.

Indeed, class inequality and ethnic irregularity are associated with the immigration process. Between 1925 and 1946 Chinese immigration into Canada almost completely stopped. Had this not happened, the social organizations and occupational structure during this period would have been quite different. There would have been stronger surname and territorial associations; furthermore, there would have been more locally born Chinese Canadians, and occupational specialization might not have occurred. Also, recently, Hong Kong students graduated from Canadian universities are no longer re-admitted into Canada as landed immigrants. These factors further reveal the nature of both class and ethnic relations. They should be appreciated in terms of the world context. In order to come to grips with the reality of these social relations, one has to consider not only those people who are present in the society, but also those who should be around but are not around.

This study also notes that international financial groups and entrepreneurs invest in the periphery of the economy, and that resourceful individuals and shopkeepers conduct some sort of imports and exports by making use of ethnic ties in the international setting. An inference

is that the ethnic community is related to the world market in a very marginal way, and its ramifications can be felt in the economic activities of the local community largely through the vicissitude of the core industry.

In the last chapter is included a description of particular individuals who make life's passage in varying ways. While an individual is seen as having varying degrees of freedom of choice, the constraints of the underlying structures is dominant over individual action. Between the last two entities, structural constraint and individual action, the relationship is dialectical. Individual freedom has its basis on this relationship, and on a recognition and management of reality by individuals.

In summary of this chapter, then, four collectivities may be distinguished, and their interaction over three eras observed. The underlying structure of relations of production reveals that for Canada's growth, immigrant labor is indispensable, still it is a source of challenge to a major section of the population engaged in the mainstream of the economy. The superstructural elements underlying the local ethnic community have been originated outside Canada, but are constantly subject to the negation of the overall social formation. Again, this study is to analyze the social formation underlying the local ethnic community in the context of the world system, and aims to arrive at the hidden reality which gives logic to the visible forms.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The notion of contradiction here is formulated for the structural analysis as presented in this study. Contradiction does not only appear within and between structures. The contradictions appear where the elements are members of one totality, constituting a unity of opposites. Contradictions can exist in simple things such as the relations between spouses, where the persons oppose each other, and where love develops through struggle.

<sup>2</sup> O'Connor (1973: chapter(1) sees two broad groups in economic activities in the U.S.: - (a) industries organized by private capital, and (b) those organized by the state. The former is divided into two subgroups: - (1) competitive industries organized by small business, which is equivalent to the "periphery" sector in the text of this study; and (2) monopolistic industries organized by large-scale capital, equivalent to the "core."

<sup>3</sup> As a comparison, another Asian group in Canada, the Japanese Canadians, does not show the same scale of increase. In 1951, the population was 21, 663 or 0.2 per cent of the Canadian total; in 1961, 29,157 or 0.2 per cent; and in 1971, 37,260 or 0.2 per cent (Canada Year Book 1975, p. 169).

<sup>4</sup> According to the 1976 Census, there were 3,705 individuals whose mother tongue is either Chinese or Japanese in Manitoba; and 3,670 in Winnipeg. According to the same census, there were 495 individuals whose mother tongue was Japanese, and according to one individual who has been active in the ethnic affairs among the Japanese Canadians, there are about 450 in Winnipeg. It follows that there should be about 3,220 Chinese-speaking individuals in Winnipeg. There are few second and third generation Chinese Canadians in Winnipeg. Therefore the total population figure of the Chinese ethnic group should be about 3,400 or slightly less in 1976.

The 1976 Census is said to be a "small census" by one official of Statistics Canada, and therefore would not list some figures which would appear in the "big" census such as that of 1971 (Table 2. Population by mother tongue and sex. For Canada and Provinces, 1976, p. 2-1. Table 6. Population by mother tongue and sex. For census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations of 25,000. In Population. Ethnic Groups 1976. Census of Canada, Statistics Canada).

<sup>5</sup> Parkin's definitions of the three value systems are: -  
 The dominant value system, the social source of which is the major institutional order. This is a moral framework which promotes the endorsement of existing inequality . . .  
 (2) The subordinate value system, the social source or generating milieu of which is the local working-class community. This is a moral framework which promotes accommodative responses to the facts of inequality and low status.  
 (3) The radical value system, the source of which is the mass political party based on the working class. This is a moral framework which promotes an oppositional interpretation of class inequalities (Parkin 1971: 81-2).

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "Buddha" is the title of Buddhists who have been deified. Hence, "to become a Buddha" implies the reaching for the top of one's career through dedication, and, in a way, self-abnegation.

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