DISPERSAL AND CONCENTRATION OF THE VIETNAMESE CANADIANS: A MONTREAL CASE STUDY

by

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ABSTRACT

The Vietnamese refugees in Canada experienced a wide geographic dispersal throughout the country upon arrival, due to governmental and private sponsorship programmes, and a rapid concentration in large cities such as Montréal after the sponsorship period elapsed. Census data produced by Statistics Canada were used in order to illustrate the secondary migration of Vietnamese refugees in Canada. A case study of thirty in-depth interview respondents and one hundred forty-two questionnaire respondents provided information on the process of secondary migration to Montreal. The analysis of survey results further explained the reasons underlying Vietnamese-Canadian concentrations in the country. The main findings indicate that most secondary migrants came to Montréal primarily for reasons of employment, but that they formed small-scale clusters within the city because of the importance of ethnic community and family life among the Vietnamese Canadians.

Key Words: Vietnamese Canadians, refugees, residential distribution, dispersal, concentration, Montréal's ethnic neighborhoods, multiculturalism in Canada, immigration and resettlement policies.

RESUME

Les réfugiés vietnamiens au Canada ont connu, lors de leur arrivée au pays, une dispersion résidentielle importante en région non-métropolitaine. Cette dispersion, induite par le parrainage privé et les politiques gouvernementales d'établissement en région, a laisse place à une rapide concentration résidentielle dans les grandes villes canadiennes, essentiellement Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver. Les données des recensements de 1981 et 1986 sur la langue maternelle et l'origine ethnique ont permis d'illustrer l'ampleur de la migration secondaire des refugiés au Canada Une enquête a éte menée avec trente personnes en entrevue détaillee et cent quarante-deux répondents à de courts questionnaires, tous residant maintenant à Montréal. L'analyse de cette enquête a fourni les facteurs explicatifs nécessaires à la compréhension du processus de concentration et des raisons qui poussent les Vietnamiens Canadiens à se regrouper à l'interieur de quartiers spécifiques, tel Côte-des-Neiges où l'on retrouve la plus importante densité de membres de ce groupe ethnique à Montréal. Les principaux facteurs explicatifs identifiés indiquent la primauté de la motivation économique menant à la migration secondaire. Le regroupement à l'intérieur des régions métropolitaines, cependant, semble être plutôt le résultat de facteurs culturels spécifiques (communauté, famille) à la société vietnamienne.

MOTS-CLES: Vietnamiens Canadiens, réfugiés, distribution résidentielle, dispersion, concentration, Montréal ethnique, multiculturalisme, politiques d'immigration et d'établissement.

Tám tắt

Những người tị nan Việt Nam khi mới đến Gia-nã-Đại phần lớn tiên phương diên cư trú bị phân tán đi những vùng xa các thành phố lớn. Sự phân tán đó, những tư nhân bảo lãnh và chính sách định cư tại các tỉnh nhỏ của chính phủ đã bi thay thế bởi sư tập trung dân số nhanh chóng tai những thành phố lớn của Gia-nã-Đại, nhất là ở Montréal, Toronto và Vancouver. Những dữ kiện của cuộc kiểm tra dân số năm 1981 và 1986 về tiếng mẹ đẻ và về nguồn gốc dân tộc đã cho phép ta thấy sự quan trọng của sự di chuyển to tát của những người tị nan này ở Gia-nã-Đai. Chúng tôi đã làm một cuộc điều tra bằng cách phỏng vấn tỉ mỉ 30 người và nghiên cứu nhỏ câu trả lời mà 142 người đã gửi trả lại, tất cả những người này đều cư trú tại Montréal. Sư phân giải cuộc điều tra này đã cho thấy những yếu tố giải thích rõ ràng về sự tập trung và những lý do nào đã thúc đẩy những người Việt này quyết định tập trung tại những khu đặc biệt như khu Côte-des-Neiges. Một dân số quan trong của nhóm người này đã qui tụ tai khu này. Những yếu tố chính giải thích sự di cư thứ hai này là vì lý do kinh tế. Tuy nhiên, sự tập trung của những người Việt này ở những thành thi lớn hầu như là kết quả của những yếu tố văn hóa (cộng đồng, gia đình).

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The present study deals with residential dispersal and concentration patterns of Vietnamese resettlement in Canada since the first arrivals of refugees in 1975. The analysis of changing Vietnamese-Canadian residential distribution will be conducted in two stages: (1) the initial dispersal of the Vietnamese-Canadian community throughout Canada will be examined on the basis of government resettlement policies, and (2) the subsequent residential concentration of the Vietnamese Canadians in certain districts of metropolitan areas will be evaluated by means of a case study of Montréal, home of the largest concentration of people of Vietnamese origin in the country (Statistics Canada, 1986 census).

During the peak period of Vietnamese immigration to Canada, when more than **60 000**[1] refugees arrived between 1978 and 1981, the Canadian government developed a system of private sponsorship consistent with the 1976 New Immigration Act (Canada, EIC 1982a: 21). The vast majority of Vietnamese in Canada arrived here as refugees, having lost everything because they were involuntary migrants who fled their country under difficult circumstances. Two forces contributed to the residential dispersal of the Vietnamese Canadians at the initial stage of their resettlement: the public sponsorship of refugees, and the contribution of Canadian groups or agencies, which acted as private sponsors for the refugees. The opening of services to immigrants in regional capitals and the location of private sponsors' residence induced a wide dispersal of the new arrivals.

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1. Figures and statistics are bold to ease reading.

At the end of the official one-year sponsorship period, an important secondary migration occurred, as the Vietnamese Canadians started to move towards large urban centres where they could create distinct communities and express their cultural distinctiveness. Peak concentrations of Vietnamese Canadians have been observed within urban areas where they are now active residents of multi-ethnic neighborhoods. The importance of the extended family, low incomes, ethnic network of economic assistance, and a sense of belonging to a distinct cultural group, lead the Vietnamese Canadians to concentrate.

1.1 Research Question

The major question that directed the present research is the following:

> How and why did the residential distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians change from an early dispersal (which was induced by government resettlement policies) to the present concentration in specific districts of metropolitan areas?

Four major assumptions underlie the research question. First, it is assumed that the amplitude of secondary migration, partially denied by some immigration officials, is in fact considerable. Second, it is assumed that immigrant dispersal was the product, at least in part, of a political will. Third, the Vietnamese Canadians' motivations to migrate towards urban areas are regarded as distinct from those of the general population. Fourth, it is considered necessary to look at all levels of geographic distribution because 1. the national scale illustrates dispersal; 2. the metropolitan level permits an understanding of secondary migration; and 3. the neighborhood level demonstrates how small-scale clusters have formed. As indicated by the main research question, the focus of this thesis is on the process (how) of change from dispersal and concentration, and on the reasons (why) influencing such a change. The initial interest in the process and the causes of Vietnamese-Canadian dispersal and concentration was further supported by the fact that: "... geographic research seeks to show why, to what extent, and how spatial concentrations of people of shared ethnicity have come about, and

why they developed just where they did, i.e. research is concerned with location at the individual and group level" (Schlichtmann 1977: 10).

Many other questions arose before and during the course of the research, such as:

A. What are the positive and negative impacts of dispersal policies?
B. Was it ethically correct to encourage the refugees to settle outside metropolitan areas?
C. Was there a link between assimilationist views and dispersal policies?
D. What was the rationale for such a dispersal policy?
E. Through what means or network did the refugees come to know about Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods in Montréal?
F. Is there a difference between the residential mobility of the government-sponsored and the privately-sponsored?
G. What was the relative importance of family reunion, the ethnically-specific services, or the economic necessity in secondary migration of refugees?
H. Are the refugees 'footloose' or are they making roots?
I. Is assimilation, both geographic and social, unavoidable?
J. Do we ultimately live in a truly multicultural society?

The concluding chapter is intended to respond to these questions and discuss their possible impact on immigration and multiculturalism in Canada.

1.2 Objectives

The present study will be directed towards:

A. A critical assessment of the impact of government resettlement policies on the residential distribution of the Vietnamese refugees upon arrival in Canada.
B. The demonstration of the amplitude of Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migration towards and within metropolitan areas.

C. The mapping of the residential mobility of Vietnamese Canadians, from an initial dispersal to an ultimate concentration in metropolitan districts.
D. The surveying of Vietnamese Canadians in order to have them express their own experience of residential dispersal and concentration.
E. The formulation of a practical groundwork for future research on ethnic residential segregation, for the Vietnamese-Canadian community and for government and voluntary agencies dealing with refugee resettlement.
F. The assessment of the differences between Canadian multicultural policy and social life.

1.3 Methodology

In order to respond to the research question and objectives, the methods incorporated into this thesis include the following:

A. An analysis of the residential distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians was conducted, using 1981 and 1986 census data, Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission data, Vietnamese-Canadian associations' membership lists, directories, and other information collected by studies on multiculturalism in Canada. Maps depicting the evolution of the residential distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians were drawn in order to show the evolution of residential distribution through time.

B. A more personal approach placed human experience at the centre of this research. Interviews on residential mobility, locational preferences, housing needs and plans of the respondents, in relation to their period of arrival, the mode of sponsorship under which they resettled, their initial residential location and type of housing, their previous experience with uprooting, their age, sex and other demographic variables, were conducted with Vietnamese Canadians who experienced the dispersal and concentration processes. This part of the methodology led to a more complete understanding of the residential location of Vietnamese Canadians.

1.4 Theoretical Approaches, Biases and Possible Uses

It is now necessary to assess the diverse assumptions and biases that underpinned the present research. This thesis research, like most studies in the social sciences, is of an interpretative nature and is coloured with personal values. There exist many examples of studies dealing with similar topics and showing very contrasting results (Ley 1985: 415-417) The discrepancies between diverse interpretations often come from different (or opposing) viewpoints, basic assumptions, goals, mentalities, value systems, and historical contexts. As long of the biases are acknowledged, interpretative studies are valid.

There are a few major assumptions which underlie this project of thesis research and which have influenced the results. Cultural diversity, inter-ethnic sharing of cultural practices, and mutual understanding are *a priori* regarded as desirable. Assimilation of new arrivals in Canada to a 'dominant' culture --considered the norm--, is deemed unnecessary and a barrier to cultural enrichment. This thesis' findings, therefore, tend to be critical of dispersal policies, that enhance assimilation by cultural isolation. The evidence from fieldwork, however, pointed out some positive aspects of dispersal policies which are reported in chapter 4.

The Vietnamese refugees in Canada have been the focus of several studies of their adaptation patterns since their arrival in this country (Adelman 1980 (ed.), 1982, Chan and Indra, 1987 (eds.), Nann *et al.* 1984, Ngô T.H.W. 1979, Nguyễn Quý Bổng and Dorais 1979, Tepper 1980 (ed.), Woon 1987). Their economic integration (Deschamps 1985, Samuel 1987), socio-psychological problems (Chan and Lam, 1981, 1983, Nguyễn San Duy 1979, 1980, Nguyễn San Duy *et al.* 1983), linguistic and educational adjustment (Chan and Dorais 1987 (eds.), Hemlin *et al.* 1986, LeMay 1979), social responses to refugee intake (Adelman 1980) and the policy aspect of the refugee movement (Dirks 1980, Indra 1987, Ip 1983, Lanphier 1983, Neuwirth and Clark 1981) have received particular attention from researchers.

While a few geographers in the United States (Desbarats 1985, 1986, 1987b, Holland and Desbarats 1983), in France (Hassoun 1983) and in Australia (Wilson 1986) have studied the geographic aspect of Vietnamese refugee resettlement, only two specialists of that discipline (Guillemette-Roc 1986, Rogge 1985, 1987 ed.) have devoted some research to the Vietnamese diaspora in Canada. The questions related to the residential mobility of the Vietnamese Canadians and to their residential location --although mentions of these problems are scattered throughout the literature-- have been rather neglected until now.

The findings of this thesis will provide useful groundwork for the Vietnamese Canadians, as to a more detailed knowledge of their residential patterns. An assessment of the residential distribution (and the evolution of this distribution) can help associations to orient their community services towards specific areas, for example. The thesis might also help the governmental and voluntary agencies dealing with refugee resettlement to avoid failures (and to understand former failures) in housing and residential policies. Large-scale refugee movements are increasingly part of the world's geopolitics today, and Canada might have to face large influxes of refugees in the near future. The geographic management of such intakes needs to be re-assessed. As of yet, little research has been done on the residential adjustment of ***refugees***, such as that of the Vietnamese; in addition, little attention has been given to particular resettlement conditions, such as geographic ***dispersal***. Since immigration is vitally important for Canada's future prosperity, the study of Vietnamese-Canadian residential distribution and mobility is necessary for an understanding the geographic organization of Canada's ethnic composition.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

The historical make-up of the recent exodus from Viêt Nam is certainly a very complex phenomenon. There is a need to develop an understanding of Vietnamese emigration history because of its impact on refugee resettlement in Canada. To be a refugee is by itself another major aspect of the Vietnamese experience in Canada, since most refugees from Indochina have been subject to very specific government policies. The Vietnamese refugees, nevertheless, passed through diverse forms of adaptation as well as voluntary immigrants. And, like other minority groups, they have formed clusters within metropolitan areas. All these aspects of Vietnamese refugee resettlement in Canada, as disparate as they may seem, form an important background for further discussion.

2.2 Vietnamese Emigration

The million Vietnamese who fled their homeland on the termination of the Viêt Nam war in 1975 came from a tradition of deep rooting into the ancestral land and very limited geographic mobility. Although Vietnamese had emigrated in moderate numbers before the French occupation of the country in 1858, it is really under the French rule that Vietnamese migrated to other parts of Indochina in order to provide a work force for administrative posts; opponents to the colonial rule took refuge in Thailand where about 30 000 descendants of the 19th century immigrants and 60 000 more recent arrivals resided at the beginning of the 1960s (Poole 1970: 23). The successive waves of farmer-warriors who had moved southward to the Mekong (Cuu-long) delta during Vietnamese independence (10th to 19th centuries), as for them, were merely the agents of Vietnamese expansionism at the expense of the Khmer and Cham empires (Vuong H. Thành 1987).

Emigration from Việt Nam to western countries is a recent phenomenon. During the Tây Sơn revolt at the end of the 18th century, a Vietnamese royal delegation sought refuge and aid in the Versailles Court (De la Bissachère 1919: 75). This early sojourn in France prepared the way for a stronger French penetration of Indochina[1] and the establishment of a colonial administration in Việt Nam (Mus 1987: 15, Nguyễn Khắc Viên 1974: 109). The French subsequently induced migratory movements as they drafted Vietnamese villagers to Europe for the 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars. Close to 40 000 people forcibly left their homeland during the two world wars. Those who later settled in France formed the very first Vietnamese community abroad (Lê Hữu Khoa 1985: 28-44, 64).

The first voluntary, but temporary, migration experience of the Vietnamese people in Western nations was the sojourn of Vietnamese students in foreign universities (Canadian Federation of Vietnamese Association 1987: 1). During the 1950s and 1960s, thousands of Vietnamese students received grants from diverse organizations, ranging from the prestigious United Nations Colombo Plan to the scholarships sponsored by the two Vietnamese governments in order to train highly qualified professionals and technicians (Canada, Secretary of State for Multiculturalism 1978: 1-3). Several of them came to Canada, and particularly to French-speaking institutions where education was given in the second language of the contemporary Vietnamese élite (Nguyễn Quý Bổng and Dorais 1979: 13). The student temporary migration was in some cases turned to permanent settlement as the conditions of life in the homeland worsened and the students had professional, political, or family reasons to establish in Canada. Towards the end of the Việt Nam war, the number of Vietnamese students who were permanent residents of Canada rose rapidly from 371 in 1967 to 1000 in 1975 (Nguyễn Huy and Louder 1987: 119).

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1. "The name 'Indochina' was coined by a Danish geographer in 1852. The French adopted it, perhaps as a rhetorical consolation for having failed to conquer either India or China" (Fitzgerald 1972: 447). Despite its association with the colonial period, the name "Indochina", referring exclusively to Việt Nam, Laos and Cambodia, is here preferred to the term "Southeast Asia", that includes other countries of the peninsula, the islands of Indonesia and of Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines.

The first and second Indochina wars (1945-54, 1961-75) both produced significant numbers of internal refugees (Tønnesson 1985) The homes of many villagers were destroyed during the war between the French and the Việt Minh. Others, mostly the Indochinese who were French citizens, were forced into exile to France (Simon-Barouh 1981), but it was only after the Geneva agreements in 1954 that a truly massive exodus took place. For fourteen months, opponents to the newly instituted régimes in Việt Nam had to choose their country of residence, either the "Democratic Republic" of North Việt Nam ruled by Hồ Chí Minh, or president Ngô Đình Diệm's Republic of South Việt Nam (Delworth and Dagg 1982: 60). The 1954 exodus led to family separations and a prolonged lack of communication between two parts of the same nation (Rogge 1985: 66).

When the Việt Cộng in the South began to harass the Diệm administration with dangerous raids in the countryside at the beginning of the 1960s, American involvement in the war escalated rapidly (Karnow 1983: 680) Thorough bombing of the North as well as the South, where the population was regrouped in "strategic hamlets", led some 10 **million** people to flee their home villages (Thayer 1978: 223, Hugo 1987: 238). Urban areas in South Việt Nam, offering safer conditions than those prevailing in the countryside, were rapidly filled with rural refugees and the urban population in the South increased from 2 **million** inhabitants in 1959 to nearly **10 million** people in 1975 (Goodman and Frank 1974, Desbarats 1987a: 46).

In the early months of 1975, panic-ridden crowds sought refuge in Sài-gòn, still considered safe until late April of that year. Mostly ethnic Vietnamese and Catholics, these early refugees were both poor and wealthy, farmers and business people; all were united by the fear and confusion that dominated the last days of the Republic of South Việt Nam (Lê thị Quế and Rambo 1976: 860). The American-organised evacuation of "high-risk" South Vietnamese began in March 1975, when the Đà Nẵng region was gradually taken over by the Việt Cộng and the North Vietnamese troops (Dawson, 1977: 48).

The evacuation of Sài-gòn and the fall of the South Vietnamese régime was dramatic. Masses of people fought against each others at the gates of the

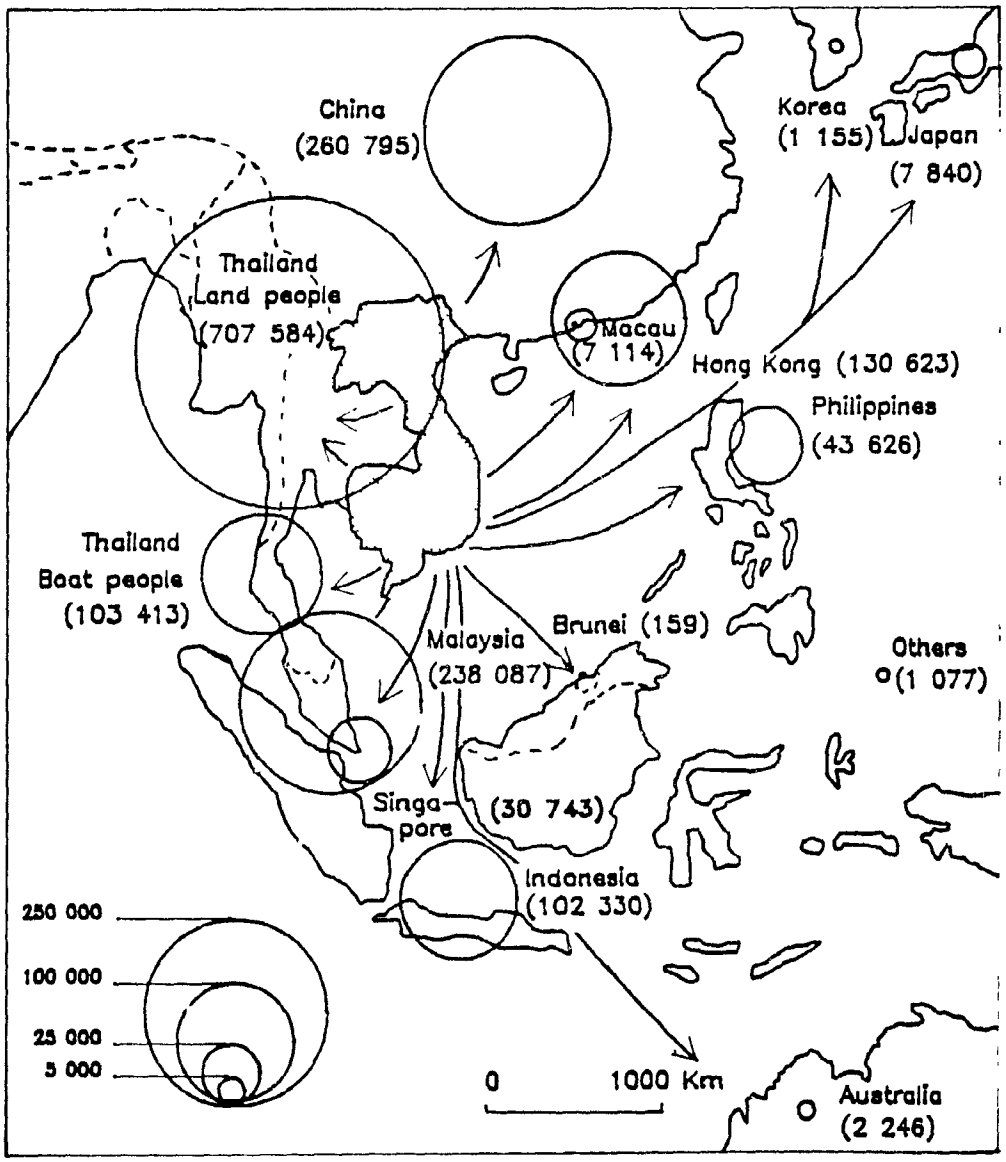
Tây Sơn Nhứt airport, the port of Sài-gòn and the American Embassy, trying to obtain one of the few places available on planes, boats or helicopters. American agencies and Western companies provided for their own evacuation, and of their Vietnamese employees, as well as for the officials of the shrinking Thiệu government. Procrastination in the realization that a communist victory was imminent and delays in ordering the evacuation forced thousands to stay behind in the hands of the new régime (Dawson 1977: 156).

Most evacuees came to the United States where they were housed in four refugee camps before being scattered throughout the United States and a few other resettlement countries (Bennett Jultus 1976: 77, Liu et al 1979: 154). Canada took in 6000 evacuees, the majority of whom resettled in Montréal (Trần Quang Ba 1984: 272).

After April 1975, the conditions of life in Việt Nam changed significantly and affected targeted groups such as the merchant class and the former political and economic élite in South Việt Nam. Special reconstruction policies (New Economic Zones), problems of social adjustment, re-education, political opposition, the war with China and Kampuchea, the American inheritance, and war-related economic difficulties coupled with climatic hazards, make up the underlying conditions of the subsequent boat people exodus (Beresford 1986, Birolli 1987, Đoàn Văn Toại 1979, Naughton 1983, Nguyễn Đức Nhuận 1983, Nguyễn Ngọc Ngạn 1982, Thayer 1980, Westling 1983).

The general deterioration of living conditions in post-1975 Việt Nam provides a partial explanation of the boat people movement. The clandestine departures by boat of the refugees from Việt Nam started to take an unprecedented amplitude and to attract world attention in 1977-78 Ranging from small group escapes to large freighters chartered by the Hà-nội government in order to get rid of the Chinese fifth column in Việt Nam, the boat people movement took on an great diversity of forms (Garcia-Márquez and Nolasco-Juárez 1983, Kircher 1979: 8, Stein 1978: 23). The Chinese residents of Việt Nam were estimated to number more than 1 million before the exodus (Willmot 1980, Chan 1988: 141). Figure 2.1 shows the length and direction of journeys at sea. A few lucky refugees were able to make their way rapidly to

Figure 2.1
Countries of First Asylum for the Indochinese Refugees, 1975–89.



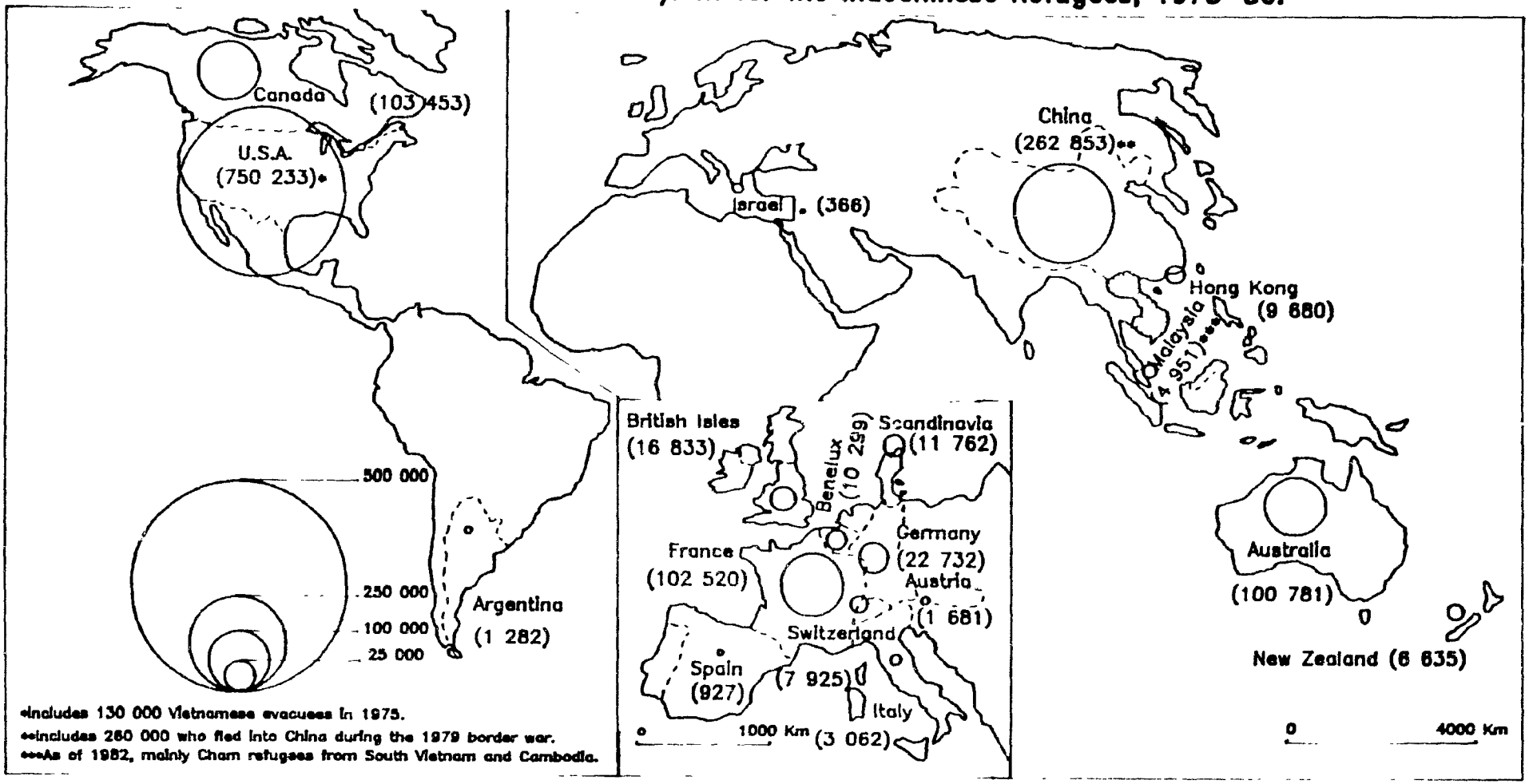
Source: Rogge 1985, UNHCR 1989 Statistics.

safe shores; most boat people, however, experienced piracy, rape, killing, hunger, thirst, dangerous climatic conditions and wreckage (Nhất Tiến *et al.* 1981). In addition to an extensive media coverage of the boat people movement, perhaps one of the most important in Canadian immigration history (Hawkins 1988: 386), monographs have been published in resettlement countries (Adelman 1980, Nguyễn Quý Bổng and Dorais 1979, Tepper, ed., 1980 for Canada; Gatbonton 1980, St.Cartmail 1983, Viviani 1984 for Australia and New Zealand; Kelly 1977, Liu et al 1979, Montero 1979, Strand and Woodrow 1985 for the United States; Ajchenbaum *et al.* 1979, Condominas and Pottier 1982, Nguyễn thị Chí Lan 1980 for France; Heinzlmeier 1980, Krallert-Sattler 1982 for Germany; Edholm *et al.* 1983 for Britain).

The Vietnamese government has expressed its opinion on the topic and considers the boat people movement to be essentially a product of the American-like society of consumption in South Việt Nam and the inheritance of United States war strategies: forced urbanization, bombings of villages, large inflows of American capital to sustain the economy, and the social evils created by the American presence in the country (Courier du Vietnam 1979: 9-11, 25, 27). The Chinese-Vietnamese exodus, in the same view, is seen to be the flight of the bourgeoisie who threatened the establishment of Vietnamese socialism and who left because of mere reluctance to participate in national reconstruction (Nguyễn Khắc Viên 1980: 12, 14-15).

Việt Nam's neighbors received the bulk of refugees, thus becoming their first asylum countries. The incapacity of Southeast Asian countries to offer permanent shelter was due to racial and social tensions, historical animosities between the Vietnamese or the Chinese diaspora and Vietnam's neighbors, and to poor economic conditions and high population densities (Stubbs 1980: 116, Thomson 1980: 128). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees hastily established most camps in Southeast Asia during the peak emigration years of 1978-79 (Adler et al. 1981, Chan and Loveridge 1987: 7). Immigration officials from the United States, Canada, Australia, France and other countries, have since opened offices in the camps in order to proceed to refugee selection (Wain 1979: 166). A total of 1 035 247 Vietnamese had found a final asylum from 1975 to 1986 (Wilson 1986: 3, and figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2
Countries of Permanent Asylum for the Indochinese Refugees, 1975–86.



*Includes 130 000 Vietnamese evacuees in 1975.
**Includes 260 000 who fled into China during the 1979 border war.
***As of 1982, mainly Cham refugees from South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Source: Rogge 1985, Wilson 1986.

The camp experience is particularly important in the life of a refugee, especially when this "transition to nowhere" is prolonged for years before a permanent home can be found (Kunz 1973: 138). The refugee camp is by definition a temporary haven, where the principal activity is waiting for permanent resettlement. Long stayers are particularly affected by the feeling of being trapped in camps forever while no country is willing to accept them. Many psycho-social problems in final asylum countries find their origin in the emotionally stressful experience of camp life (Chan and Loveridge 1987, Garkovich 1976: 5).

Table 2.1 summarizes the major events influencing emigration from Viêt Nam and also illustrates the continuous occurrence of the refugee movement today, despite the progressive adjustment of the new regime to Vietnamese society, the increasing reluctance of first asylum countries to allow refugees on their territory, and the growing indifference of permanent resettlement countries. Fortunately, more and more candidates for emigration can leave through official emigration channels thanks to agreements between the Vietnamese government and some western nations, including Canada.

Table 2.1: History of Vietnamese emigration

Years	Events	Results
End of 17th century	Tây Son revolt	Flight of King Gia Long and his army to Thailand where many of his soldiers settled
Beginning of 19th century	Persecution of the Catholics by Vietnamese emperors	Forced migration of the Catholics
1860s-1954	French colonial rule	Opponents take refuge in China or Thailand
1914-18 and 1939-45	World wars, Japanese occupation (1940s)	Vietnamese draftees to Europe, opponents to Japanese take refuge abroad
1945-54	War of independence against French rule (Viêt Minh)	Internal refugee movements from combat zones

Table 2.1 (continued)

1954-55	Independence and partition of Việt Nam into Democratic Republic of VN (North) and Republic of VN (South)	Refugees cross the 17th parallel, mostly to the South
1954-75	Escalation of war, American involvement (1960s-70s)	Accelerated urbanization (South), displacements toward collective farming zones (North), refugee movements due to bombing
April 30, 1975	Communist takeover of Sài-gòn, fall of the Thiệu régime in the South	Evacuation of Sài-gòn, more than 130 000 flee to the United States
From May 1975 on	Creation of New Economic Zones, re-education, imprisonment	Boat escapes, more than 1.5 million people flee the country until now
March to December 1978	Collectivization of trade and industries, tension with Kampuchea and China	Former merchants, especially Chinese, flee in big freighters with the authorities' agreement
January 7, 1979	Invasion of Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese army	Mobilization of young people, some of whom desert to Thailand
February 17, 1979	Chinese offensive on the Northern frontier	Massive displacements of the Chinese, increase in the boat people movement
July 1979	Adoption of a New Economic Policy (more liberal)	Slight decrease in boat people departures
1979	Signature of the Orderly Departure Program agreement by Canada and Việt Nam	More people can emigrate officially
1983	Political adjustments, rice self-sufficiency	Decrease in the boat people exodus
1988	Famines in the North, general worsening of the political and economic situation	Slight increase in boat departures

Sources: Beresford 1986, Condominas and Pottier 1982, Poole 1970.

2.2 Refugees

The 20th century has emerged as the century of refugees. Our epoch has witnessed many mass migration movements, ranging from the Jewish exodus during the Nazi régime to the displacement of large populations by Saharan droughts in the 1970s. At present, estimates of the number of refugees in the world vary between **10** and **15 million** people (Lacoste *et al.*, ed. 1987: 552). Despite the difficulty of accurate estimates of their numbers, the very existence of large refugee movements may be seen as a manifestation of chronic political instability in the world system, large-scale social and economic turmoil, and even a marked ecological degradation of the planetary environment (D'Souza, ed. 1979: 337, Schultheis 1986: 153). Refugee movements have an important rôle in geopolitics precisely because they illustrate basic dysfunctions in our world.

Refugees are the objects of contemporary theoretical debates about the definition of their identity (Allen 1983, Bernard 1976, Kunz 1973, 1981, Lam 1983, Shacknove 1985, Wenk 1968, Zolberg *et al.* 1986). Since the refugee is a central concept in this thesis, and since the term will be used frequently, further discussion on refugees identity is now required.

The international authority dealing with refugee matters, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (U.N.H.C.R.), has elaborated in 1967 an official definition of a refugee who is designated as.

> a person who, owing to well-found fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself [sic] of the protection of that country (Hawkins 1988: 17).

The most problematic section of the United Nations' definition concerns the "well-found" fear, which is by essence a subjective notion, involving personal judgment on the part of the receiving authority and some ability for persuasion on the side of the claimant (Gunther-Plaut 1985: 242, Jacques 1985: 213). The definition emphasizes the importance of persecution, which

seems to be the only unanimously accepted aspect of refugee identification (Dirks 1977: 5). Persecution, however, is only one way in which the protective relationship between the state and the citizen can be ruptured; in situations of foreign invasion or civil war, the life of those who flee is also highly threatened, even if they are not the victims of direct persecution (Shacknove 1985: 277).

The United Nations' definition suggests that the refugees must come into direct physical contact with at least one country (the first asylum nation) other than their own (McCrossan 1980: 10). The very existence of a supra-national authority dealing with refugee relief (the U.N.H.C.R) confirms the worldwide impacts of refugee migration movements (Minority Rights Group 1985: 6). This necessity for a refugee to cross international boundaries is stamped, however, with "eurocentrism". The definition was elaborated within the post-World War II context and does not correspond to the reality of many current refugee movements. Most African refugees, for example, flee their region of residence for areas where they find security among other ethnic groups and life conditions, but still inside of the political boundaries defined by former colonial powers.

Refugees have been typically viewed as totally at the mercy of events (Jacques 1985, Kunz 1973: 130, Lam 1983: 40). They rarely master their own fate since departure from their country is conditioned by external factors upon which the refugees have no power at all (Zolberg *et al.* 1986). This generally accepted view has been recently questioned, because a seemingly sophisticated social organization underpins the uprooting and flight processes (Allen 1983).

The Vietnamese word for refugees refers, in contrast to the general assumption of passivity, to an active behaviour rather than to a passive submission. *Người tị nạn*, designating the individual who takes flight, means "running away from a catastrophe" and implies that the refugees themselves are responsible for an heroic action. The Vietnamese term suggests a state of transition while the English word *refugee* can either designate one who is seeking a new home or one who has found a safe haven (Adelman 1982: 5).

Political motivations are generally accepted as fully justifying claims for refugee status. On the contrary, economic persecution is not regarded a sufficient motive for becoming a refugee (Tsamenyi 1983: 357). This difficult question of distinguishing between political and economic refugees, nevertheless, is not solvable since no discrimination between interrelated aspects of life, be they of a political or an economic nature, is possible. Usually persecuted politically, the refugee can also respond to economic motives for fleeing; the state of an economy is closely linked with the political power, and the division between political and economic refugees seems therefore unduly artificial (Schultheis 1986: 158).

The differences between refugees and immigrants are sharp, but certain aspects of refugee and voluntary migrant experiences are similar. Cultural shock, de-qualification in employment, nostalgia, affect both types of migrants, only to a different degree (Bernard 1976: 269). A voluntary migrant chooses to live in a new country, either permanently or temporally. The refugee migration generally takes place in a very short period of time, in panic-ridden and clandestine conditions. The would-be migrant benefits from some preparation before the departure and can enjoy a relatively secure journey to the final destination. Refugees react to a forceful stimulus while free-will migrants act with a purpose in mind; "the refugee flees primarily for reasons of fear, whereas the economic migrant aspires to greater material well-being" (Dirks 1977: 6).

2.3 Canadian Refugee Policy

Canada is a nation built on immigration, since its original populations (Inuit and Amerindians) were rapidly turned into marginalized minorities. Refugees have made up sizeable proportions of immigration to Canada; the Nansen award, recently granted the Canadian population as a whole in recognition of its contribution to the welfare of refugees, reflects the high proportion of 1 refugee out of 324 residents in the country (Lam 1983: 32).

Canada has been a country of asylum for centuries; from the 1780s' Mennonites and British Loyalists to the refugee movements from Sri Lanka and

Panama that currently headline the newspapers, hundreds of thousands of people have found refuge in Canada (see table 2.2 at the end of this section). The 20th century has seen increasing entrance of exiles to Canada (Samuel 1987: 65). The political stability, economic wealth and humanitarian tradition of Canada (although discriminatory policies have been partially eradicated only recently) have attracted refugees and immigrants. Both types of migrants were legally treated alike before the 1976 Immigration Act, as they both provided the labour force essential to nation building (Hawkins 1988: 384, Lavigne 1987).

The 1976 legislation, bill C-24, was put into effect in 1978, just on time to be tested on the Indochinese refugees. The basic principles of this new Immigration Act are "non discrimination, family reunion, humanitarian concern for refugees, and promotion of Canada's social, economic, demographic, and cultural goals" (Roberts 1983: 7). These principles can be grouped in two large categories, the first concerning the immigrants' benefit, and the second supporting Canadian socio-economic interests (Andras 1980: 7). The seeming opposition between the newcomers' interests and the promotion of social and cultural (even demographic) characteristics of Canadians (a term which remains undefined) reveals one of the major contradictions of Canadian immigration policies.

In addition to a certain assimilation bias (at least economic), Canadian immigration policies have favored refugees escaping from communism, as those fleeing democratic régimes are thought to represent a threat to Canadian security. Most researchers have acknowledged a non-communist favoritism in Canadian refugee policies (Indra 1987: 149, Wenk 1968: 64). In this regard, Canada merely follows its Southern neighbor's model in refugee selection (Brough 1987: 413, Québec, M.I.Q. 1978: 17).

In order to comply with world geopolitics, the new legislation permits the federal Immigration Minister to declare, through Orders in Council, that a group of people are *a priori* refugees when they flee threatening civil or military conditions. This new disposition of the Immigration Act allows for "designated classes" to be distinguished from Convention refugees,

corresponding to the United Nations' definition. Members of designated classes are "residents or former residents of countries which have been deemed to have such poor human rights records that all residents are considered eligible to come to Canada without personally being subject to persecution ... " (Canada, EIC 1984: 156). The designated refugees, in periods of crisis, do not have to conform to the point system introduced by bill C-24; according to this point system, prospective immigrants have to correspond to the labour demand, to be educated, young, proficient in French or English, and to possess some work experience, an adaptable personality and relatives in this country. The point system measures the ability to adapt to Canadian life and to settle successfully in this country (Roberts 1983: 9).

The development of the private sponsorship system has permitted annual quotas to be raised, and have favoured national groups already present in Canada and those with strong family links (Hawkins 1988: 49). Canadian corporation or institution, as well as any group of five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents, can sign agreements with the government in order to bring in more refugees. As long as there are sponsorship offers, the government is committed to accepting correspondent numbers of refugees, even if the yearly quotas are overtaken (Adelman 1982: 38). The private sponsors engage in providing shelter, furnishing, clothing, foods, and other basic necessities of life for a year, or until the refugees have achieved some economic self-sufficiency (Canada, EIC 1984: 7-9) In addition to providing financial aid, the sponsors teach the new arrivals about Canadian society and help them cope with the socio-psychological problems stemming from uprooting and cultural shock.

The Canadian government can also use the private sponsorship system to expand special programs. The "Matching Formula" put in effect from July to December 1979 is an example of special powers that allow the government to open the door to more people in need of a refuge. In the midst of the Indochinese refugee crisis, the Matching Formula has permitted one additional refugee to enter Canada for every refugee sponsorec by the private sector. This special measure has raised the quota for Indochinese refugees from 8 000 in 1979 to 50 000 in 1980 (Adelman 1982: 33).

Table 2.2: Refugee Movements in Canada in the 20th century

Years	Refugee Movement	Estimated numbers
1898-1905	Russian Doukhobours	7 363
1900-1921	Russian and East European Jews	138 000
1917-1919	Hutterites from the United States	4 000
1920	Armenian and Greek refugees from Turkish persecution	-------
1923-1929	Russian Refugees	20 000
1930s	Opponents to fascism and Jews from Germany, Italy and Spain	-------
1945-1952	European Displaced Persons	186 000
1956-1957	Hungarian refugees	37 000
1968-1969	Czechoslovakian refugees	12 000
1972	Ugandan Asians	7 000
1973	Chilean refugees	7 000
1975	Vietnamese evacuees	6 000
1976-1988	Indochinese refugees	121 182*
1978	Tibetan refugees	228
1980s	Polish, Lebanese, Sri Lankan, Salvadorean, Guatemalan, Panamean, Somali refugees, etc.	-------

* Figure reported in UNHCR, Refugees (65) June 1989: 35.
Sources: Allen 1983, Dirks 1977, Knott 1981.

2.4 Adaptation and Ethnicity

Upon arrival in Canada, the Vietnamese refugees had to adapt quickly to a life style, cultural world, economic system, and even physical environment at first totally new to them. Adaptation is an interactive process: the host society has to adapt to the new arrivals, and the latter must modify some of their values and behaviors in contact with the new world. Anderson and

Frideres (1981: 293) talk about "mutual acceptance", Garkovich (1976: 15) and Park (1952: 146) see adaptation as the harmonious interrelation of all elements of the environment.

In actual fact, however, adaptation is more of a one-way process (Lee 1977: 71). Immigrants generally occupy a position of weakness in their new society as they are ignorant of its rules and languages. They cannot immediately change elements of the social realm. Dominant groups do not adapt to new social facts produced by immigration until the numerical importance of immigrants is influential enough to modify some of the prevailing social rules.

When numbers are not important, and when cultural proximity between immigrants and non-immigrants is significant, the process of adaptation often takes the form of acculturation, "the process of changes in personal and social behaviors which people make to conform to the patterns observed in their new environment" (Ferguson 1984: 7). Acculturation and assimilation have long been considered parts of the same phenomenon. Because there is no consensus on a single definition of assimilation, a distinction between diverse types of assimilation is more relevant at this point.

A. Cultural and behavioral assimilation is the absorption of the host society's cultural patterns (close to acculturation);

B. Structural assimilation refers to the participation of minority groups in the occupational and social structure of society;

C. Marital assimilation is the change in racial characteristics and family organization brought about by inter-ethnic marriage;

D. Identificational assimilation is the process by which individuals or groups develop a sense of belonging to a given nation more than to a specific ethnic group within that nation;

E. Receptional assimilation, directly pertaining to the host society, refers to the attitude and behaviors of the majority population towards newcomers (eradication of prejudices and discrimination);

F. Civic assimilation is the absence of conflicts in power relations between the groups (Gordon 1964: 71).

Integration is either defined as a complete absorption of the immigrants into the host society (Garkovich 1976: 10) or a "process of (...) equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere or mutual tolerance" (Lee 1977: 69). To the first definition, which is too drastic (not including the many nuances of integration processes) and to the second one, which is too idealistic, we must prefer: "the process by which subgroups within a society participate fully in that society, whilst retaining their individual identity and cultural separateness" (Johnston *et al.* 1983: 171). Non-integration, by contrast, refers to rejection of the immigrants from their new social milieu (discrimination) or voluntary isolation, because of priority given to cultural preservation (Nguyễn Huy and Louder 1987: 136, Lê Hữu Khoa 1985: 154).

Adaptation is:

> the process, and the resultant condition, in which changes in an organism, system of social organization, group, or culture aid the survival, functioning, maintenance, or achievement of purpose on the part of an organism, personality, group, culture or any part thereof (Gould and Kolb 1964: 8).

Adaptation is affected by a number of factors:

A. The cultural gap between newcomers and host society, manifested by a sharp difference in ways of life, social institutions, mentalities, systems of values and beliefs, language structures and family organization (Ferguson 1984: 87).

B. Racial difference between majority and minority populations, which is likely to have a long-term effect on adaptation (Darden 1985: 67).

C. Familiarity with the new society, especially for immigrants coming from rural societies to industrialized Western countries.

D. The socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants (education, professional training, language abilities, age and sex --Kalbach 1980).

E. The presence of relatives and of an ethnic community in the new country (Dorais *et al.* 1987: 5, Ferguson 1984: 12, Haines *et al.* 1981: 314, Rogg 1971: 474 and 481).

F. The type of migration: forced or voluntary (Cohon 1981: 255).

G. The objective conditions within the host society: job opportunities, civil security, social attitudes, receptivity of the established population (Garkovich 1976: 11, Weinfeld 1980).

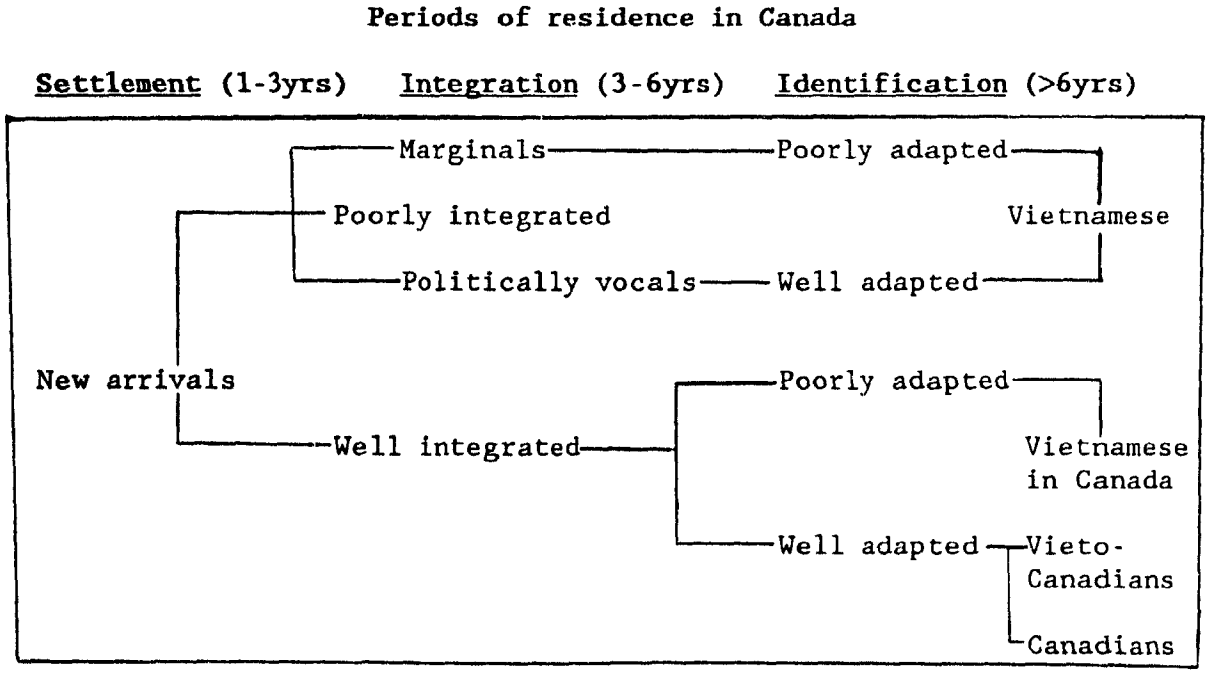
H. Dominant ideologies governing immigration policies, such as the melting pot in the United States and the mosaic in Canada (Palmer 1976).

I. The length of time spent in the new country, since adaptation is a process essentially time-consuming.

J. The physical characteristics of the new environment: climate, quality of air, altitude (Legros and David 1979: 6).

A specific model of adaptation was recently produced by a former Geography professor at the University of Sài-gòn, Mr. Nguyễn Huy (figure 2.3). The three phases of Vietnamese-Canadian adaptation in Québec City are identified as settlement, integration, and identification. The merit of the model lies in its consideration of the length of time spent in Canada, and the diversity of sub-groups within the population (well-, poorly-integrated). The model also links adaptation to integration and to self-ethnic identification.

Figure 2.3: A Model of Adaptation Specific to the Vietnamese Canadians



Source: Dorais et al. 1987.

Ethnicity conditions particular cultural practices and is acknowledged as a determinant factor of adaptation (Michalowski 1987: 21, Skinner and Hendricks 1979: 37). Definitions of ethnicity include several attributes, the most frequent of which are: common geographic origin and ancestry, cultural values and customs, religion, race or physical features, language, sense of togetherness, community relations, distinct institutions, particular group status in society and migratory experience (Isajiw 1974: 117). In fact, terms related to ethnicity are often exclusively used to designate minority or immigrant groups (Johnston 1981: 108, Kuper and Kuper 1985: 267). The ethnicity concept has developed within the North American context (while references to nationality are more common in Europe), where the dominant group does not define itself as an ethnic group but rather as the norm from which the "ethnics" are deviant (Isajiw 1974: 114). Because ethnic groups are generally not defined *per se* but in relation to the majority group, some authors have recently argued that ethnic groups are socially created by diverse mechanisms of domination (Anderson 1987: 584, Juteau-Lee 1984: 40). While that social construct approach (ethnic groups are socially defined) incorporates empirical, subjective and functional aspects of ethnicity, other approaches have speculated more exclusively that ethnic groups exist "in reality" (Isajiw 1974: 114), ethnic identity is self-ascribed (Barth 1969: 13, Woon 1985: 535), and ethnicity functions as a means of survival (De Vos 1975, in Rutledge 1985: 46).

The definition of ethnicity used in this thesis is close to that of Agócs (1981: 146) in his typology of ethnic settlements in metropolitan areas: "the terms 'ethnic group' and 'ethnic population' are used here in a broad sense to refer to a collectivity or aggregate that is defined by race, religious background, *or* linguistic, national, *or* cultural origin" (emphasis mine). The use of the preposition *or* in that definition is significant, since ethnicity is based on several factors, the *combination* of which varies according to particular ethnic identities (e.g.: the French-Canadian ethnicity focuses on language more than religion, while the Jewish ethnicity puts more emphasis on religious particularism).

The word "race" in Agócs' definition, however, is of little significance. It is certain, indeed, that most Vietnamese have black hair and that their is lighter than Rwandese, for example. But "race" appears to have "... no explanatory value" (Jackson 1988: 6) to understand human societies, given the complexity of human inter-racial ethnicity (Gourou 1953: 34-43, Rex 1983: 3). "Race" has classically been used as the only factor of ethnic distinctiveness, while its biological grounds are very shaky and it is mostly a social construction (Anderson and Frideres 1981: 14). The very fact that the main use of "race" is to put people in a pre-determined category (Rex 1983: 6) is somewhat dangerous since it is taken for granted and therefore likely to subject a category of people to specific measures (Kobayashi 1988: 11). Because "race" is socialy constructed and a product of attitudes (racism), it will be avoided here as much as possible.

The ethnic identity of the Canadian population is of particular complexity. "In other words, who are the we against which recent immigrants are always compared?" (Kalbach 1980: 127). The French and English peoples in Canada, although descendants of immigrants themselves, are often depicted as the charter groups, the norm, the non-ethnic population, the founding peoples of this country (Burnet and Palmer 1988: 3, Kralt 1986: 15). Hyphenation has been increasingly necessary for the last two decades, as the numerical importance of the "charter groups" is declining. Their symbolic importance in the definition of who, we Canadians, are, is equally losing ground. Groups of mixed origin or people who identify themselves both to their country of ancestry and Canada also render the use of hyphenated terms necessary. For the people recently-arrived in Canada, however, the double self-identification is still not common, even if researchers, in an attempt to assess the equal participation of members of every ethnic groups in Canadian society, tend to use hyphenated terms before they really correspond to people's identity[2].

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2. The Vietnamese diaspora is a phenomenon of recent occurrence. Most members of the first generation abroad (the actual immigrants or refugees) do not yet identify themselves as Vietnamese-Canadians (Dorais *et al.* 1987: 175, Woon 1985: 543), -Americans (Nguyễn Mạnh Hùng 1983: 45, Simon 1983: 502), or-French (Lê Hữu Khoa 1985: 185). The term Vietnamese-Canadians will be used

Finally, the term "visible minority" was only recently adopted to account for the changing character of Canadian immigration and ethnic composition. The use of this term is rather suspect, since visibility is defined relative to the light caucasian standards (Berry *et al.* 1977, Pineo 1977). Are the South Europeans, the Lebanese, the Amerindians included in the visible minority group, considering the fact that precise lines between races cannot be drawn? (Gourou 1953: 34, Vogelsang 1985a: 269). *"Visible minorities"*, not defined *per se* but in relation to the norm from which they depart, are thus by definition marginalized from *"mainstream"* society (a dubious term again). The use of these ambivalent words do not fit Canadian reality as the population becomes ethnically mixed and racial visibility grows thinner (Kralt 1986: 15).

Ethnic groups do not necessarily form communities, which are characterized by a sense of belonging to a given social group and to a particular place (locality), as well as by participation into community's activities (Haines *et al.* 1981: 313). Community refers to locality. No community can exist without a sense of place, since the term itself carries the sense of locality. People with a sense of togetherness develop a set of informal relations of friendship (informal community), and also an institutional structure (formal community). Fragmentation and cleavages, however, hamper the formation of ethnic communities among groups sharing the same identity (Haines *et al.* 1981: 317, Rogg 1971: 475).

The first sections of this chapter have provided information on Vietnamese emigration (2.1), refugee characteristics (2.2), Canadian immigration policies (2.3), and the inter-related concepts of adaptation, ethnic identity, adaptation and ethnic community (2.4), that all have an impact on the residential distribution of immigrants. The rather low propensity of the Vietnamese to migrate out of their patriae might certainly affect their tendency to regroup once in a situation of exile. The very fact that the Vietnamese were refugees also influences their acceptance of exile

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here, however, on recognition for the cultural enrichment brought by the Vietnamese in the Canadian society, of which they are now entirely part.

and their willingness to take roots in their new society, that many still consider as a temporary shelter Canadian immigration policy, through the use of private sponsorship (a particularity shared only with the United States) and the development of governmental immigration services in regional centres, has had a very powerful impact on the residential patterns of Vietnamese Canadians. Different forms of adaptation and integration, furthermore, have been determinant in the geographical location of new arrivals in Canada (Kalbach 1980, Michalowski 1987) The model developed by Professor Huy (reported in this section), for example, further links adaptation and residential place; when applied to the Québec City Vietnamese-Canadian community, the model indicates that the poorly integrated and adapted tend to reside in the Saint-Roch neighborhood, a working class district with the highest concentration of new arrivals in the city, while the most well integrated reside in the upper-middle-class suburbs (Dorais *et al* 1987).

In looking more closely at the diverse theoretical approaches dealing with ethnic residential segregation, it will be now possible to understand the nature of the links between social and residential experiences of new arrivals in a recipient society The ecological school in the social sciences has for long assumed that immigrant concentration corresponded to weak integration and that with dispersal assimilation would become prominent (Park 1952: 99, 170) The pioneering works of the urban ecology school have been followed by a panoply of other currents of thought that have attempted to understand immigrant residential patterns.

2.5 Ethnic Residential Segregation

Since a hierarchical organization of society has existed, residential segregation among different social groups has occurred People sharing common socio-economic or cultural characteristics have tended or were propelled to live together in segregated areas The word "segregation" is defined by geographers as "the residential segregation of subgroups within a wider population" (Johnston, ed 1983 303) Segregation is therefore an interactive phenomenon, placing two protagonists (the sub-group and the wider

population) against each other, both sharing the same physical setting, generally urban. In the case of ethnic residential segregation, living apart is based on racial characteristics, language, religion, country of birth or other characteristics shaping ethnic identity. Historical contexts in which ethnic residential segregation takes place range from free clustering to forced enclosures such as that of the Jewish ghettos in Germany. Ethnic residential segregation also occurs at a variety of scales, from the storey level (socio-economic segregation in Victorian houses for example --Walter 1986) to the national level (Arabo-Black division of Sudan for example).

A central concept for this thesis, ethnic residential segregation addresses important questions: what agents induce residential separation between groups? Do different ethnic groups choose to live apart or does the power relation between them impose such a residential discrimination? Particularities of each ethnic group are of prime importance in influencing their patterns of residential location (Jackson and Smith 1981. 160). The formation of American Chinatowns, for example (influenced by anti-Chinese laws and the aggressive attitude of the general population) or the early reservation policies in North America, that led to the destruction of Amerindian cultures by isolation, are first and foremost discriminatory (Anderson 1987: 581, 583-586, Chan 1986: 68-69, Garkovich 1976: 6). By contrast, the homogeneous ethnic settlements of the Mennonites or the development of Italian concentrations in middle-class suburbs in Canada seem to be primarily voluntary (Cappon 1974).

The Chicago School of urban ecology has had a profound impact on the social geography of ethnic residential segregation. Some of the concepts underpinning urban ecology date back to the publication of Darwin's ***Evolution of Species*** in 1859. Numerous debates in the social sciences followed this publication and had a significant effect on the development of sociology and geography. Social darwinism evolved around the use, in the social sciences, of concepts such as struggle for life, competition, co-operation, dominance, natural groups and natural habitats (Stoddard 1966: 688). Neo-kantian thought, French and German sociology and geography, as well as American pragmatism have equally influenced research on ethnic residential segregation

(Entrikin 1980: 45). The relationship between social and spatial facts, one of the central themes of the Chicago School, had already been enunciated by Ratzel, Malthus, Durkheim, Bergson and Comte (Park 1952: 131, 183, 166 and 172). Sociologists, rather than geographers, have pioneered research on ghettos at the beginning of this century in the United States (Wirth 1928, Woofter 1925).

According to the ecological school, human communities have a definite life-span; they come into existence, mature and finally decline, just like plant communities (Bassett and Short 1980: 13). Social relations are determined by mobility and communication patterns within the city, as well as social distance between individuals and groups. The community thus forms a moral order that contributes to social cohesion (Park 1926, in Peach 1975: 23-24). To each community corresponds a "natural area", defined by Burgess as "the habitats of natural groups" (Park 1926, in Peach 1975: 25). Segregation is thus an inherent part of the modern city, corresponding to urban population diversity. At the turn of the century, rapid urbanization and large-scale immigration to North America enhanced the tendency towards ethnic concentrations.

The Chicago school weaknesses have been, over the last 30 to 40 years, the object of harsh criticism. Within the realm of that school, immigrant slums were thought to determine the pathological behaviors of their inhabitants, and that pathology, in turns, reinforced the deterioration of the residential place (Johnston 1972). The city was seen as a closed system having no relation with its hinterland, the other cities, the country as a whole and the international urban system (Goheen 1974: 374). Ghettos were predicted to disappear as assimilation goes on, the Chicago school has been proven wrong in that prediction. This was probably due to the infinite diversity between ethnic groups, such a prediction did not take into account the specific residential patterns of each group. Ethnicity was regarded as the single cause of ethnic residential segregation. Some researchers have recently shown, in contradiction with ecological findings, that a multitude of both internal (culture, socio-economic status) and external (discrimination, employment, city transportation) factors of residential

location are related to ethnicity; the existence of segregated areas is the result of many interrelated characteristics of the segregated population, the wider society, and the urban setting (Agocs 1981: 145, Ward 1971). In that respect, the Chicago school has rather been narrowly limited to one type of explanatory factors.

As a response to the theoretical development of the Chicago school, statistical methods using census data proliferated (Duncan and Duncan 1955). Most segregation coefficients, however, were irrespective of the scale and the context of each particular case study (Darroch and Marston 1971: 494) Segregation coefficients have been refined through the development of factorial ecology (Polèse *et al.* 1978, Foggin and Polèse 1976). Comparative mapping, depicting the segregation of ethnic minority groups, is also used as an illustrative tool to complete statistical coefficients (Carlson, 1976).

Whatever weaknesses the ecological approach may have had, its impact on ethnic studies inside and outside the American context has been significant (Chombart de Lauwe 1952, Clark et al. 1974, Claval and Claval 1981, Dansereau 1987, Gessain and Doré 1946, Lindert and Verkoren 1982, Vogelsang 1983 and 1985b, Walter 1986). One of the main applications of the Chicago school concepts throughout the world has been the study of ethnic minority groups' assimilation into wider society (Fitzpatrick 1966: 5, Gordon 1964, Lieberson 1963: 3). Assimilation has been theoretically related or statistically linked to residential segregation as dispersal of ethnic minority groups within the recipient society is thought to hasten loss of cultural distinctiveness (Manzo 1980: 54, Uyeki 1980: 399).

The discrimination forces that influence ethnic residential segregation were rather ignored by the urban ecology school. Conflicts between ethnic groups were seen as extra-social. The ecologists did not consider individual decision-making as influencing residential segregation. Their focus was entirely on the communities. They viewed the formation of ghettos as the sole result of communities' disposition to occupy their "natural" place in the city (Peach 1975: 25).

The behavioral approach filled the gap in research by adopting the individual as a determinant actor in ethnic residential segregation. The belief in the measurability of ethnic clustering, the assumption of homogeneity within groups and cities, and the modelling of city growth and population changes, remain prominent in the behavioral spatial analysis. Segregation is determined by the segregated group and the individuals who compose it, and not at all by discriminatory actions from the dominant group (Wolpert 1965). Residential mobility[3], influenced solely by family life cycles, is therefore a crucial concept in the behavioral school (Michelson 1977: 15, Short 1978).

The coefficients developed by the Chicago School have been refined by behavioral geographers in order to illustrate the prime importance of decision-making in the formation of residential areas (Collison 1967: 282, Izaki 1981: 123). These statistical improvements have given rise to abundant simulation models that seek to understand human behaviour in the city (Morrill 1967: 159, Yamada 1972: 126).

Marxist geographers have reacted to the behavioral trend of the 1960s and have condemned the participation of many behavioral geographers in the reinforcement of control upon the housing sector. The radical approach to housing issues, unlike the behavioral school, aims at a greater social equality and a fundamental change in the structure of society and the city (Bassett and Short 1980: 170-180, Harvey 1972: 11). The Marxist analysis of ethnic clusters, using a historical approach, has highlighted the importance of power in the process of clustering and of the historical conditions in which residential areas developed (Le Corre 1983, Harvey 1978, Blaut 1974).

Within the radical geography realm, the main reason for residential segregation to exist is the unequal distribution of power in society (Brown 1981: 190, Gilbert and Ward 1982: 146, Rex and Moore 1967). The process of residential segregation is not primarily cultural, in fact, social conflicts

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3. Residential mobility is: " .. the process of residential selection in which decisions are made and ordered social geographical patterns emerge". (Herbert D. and R.J. Johnston 1973: 103).

(and particularly discrimination), socio-economic inequalities and class struggle have a much greater influence in inducing segregation. Not only the so-called contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, but also the contradictions and oppressive origin of multicultural societies (which often developed, like in the United States, as a result of forced migration --the Blacks-- or foreign invasion --the Chicanos--) act upon residential segregation with great force (Steinberg 1981: 253).

In order to cope with power structures, groups which have been victim to repression develop strategies of survival; ethnic residential segregation, according to some, is one of these strategies that permit us to deal with social and political control (Bunge 1975: 1). The Marxist explanation is somewhat determinist, however, in its over-emphasis of structures as entirely controlling social life.

Humanistic geographers have, in contrast, given a central place to human agency in their interpretation of neighborhoods.

> Residential areas have a subjective as well as an objective identity, and people's action and sense of well-being are dependent at least as much on their perceptions of neighborhood as on its objective status (Ley 1983: 55).

The sense of place, manifested by rootedness, regional identity and every-day experience of one's neighborhood, is the key factor in the understanding of the residential mosaic in the city (Lee 1976, in Johnston and Herbert, eds. 1976: 171, Timms 1971).

Two major themes dealing with ethnic residential segregation, have derived from humanistic analyses in recent years. First, ethnic boundaries (that are both developed by the ethnic communities and socially constructed) are regarded as defining the place to which people belong (Driedger 1978, Jackson 1980, Woon 1985). These boundaries, however, are more an indication of where one feels at home than a sharp line between one's neighborhood and the outside world. Within the ethnic boundaries, diverse symbols and territorial markers reveal the nature of ethnicity in the landscape; the Ley

and Cybriwski (1974) study on ethnically-specific graffiti, for example, shows the link between territories and identification with specific places. Second, ethnic identity, as a significant factor of ethnic concentration and of the experience of place, has equally preoccupied researchers (Woon 1985, Conzen 1979, Timms 1971). The relation between cultural values and the place in which ethnicity is expressed, is in concordance with the early Park's view of parallel social and spatial organizations of the city.

On a methodological level, humanistic geographers have made a major contribution to research on ethnic residential segregation. The traditional methods of the social sciences, i.e. questionnaire and interview surveys, have been adopted by geographers only recently and are now commonly used in studies of ethnic residential segregation. Owing to such methods, humanistic geography places the individuals, and the communities they form, at the centre of their analysis of ethnically-specific landscapes.

Recent works have attempted to study ethnic residential segregation in every aspect of its manifestations, neglecting neither the voluntary (behavioral, human) nor the discriminatory (structural, external) forces that influence the formation of ethnic residential areas (Agocs 1981, Anderson 1987). Geographers have also recently emphasised the importance of the environment in which ethnic residential segregation occurs (Blanc 1986, Newman 1985, Walter 1986).

In looking at both the measurable (location coefficients, population sizes, objective conditions of the residential place) and the qualitative (sense of belonging, subjective factors influencing residential location) aspects of ethnic residential segregation, geographers have gained a multi-faceted understanding of the problem. They have adopted a more global viewpoint; the result is a deepening knowledge of the many factors and outcomes of ethnic residential segregation. Ethnic clustering is assessed in terms of both individual (voluntary action, personal experience) and social (cultural, political and economic) constraints.

Two major imperatives have guided this thesis approach: First, the family unit and the community experience of place form the focus of the research. The study of ethnic residential segregation is not based only on numbers and structures; it deals with human experience and behaviour[4] that vary infinitely according to individual and collective processes of thought, feeling and physical being. Second, the external constraints are taken into account; persons and communities do not live free of constraints. Each member of a society, whether willingly or not, has social relationships, cultural values, physical, psychological and economic needs; the person is, in addition, subjected to social and political norms. The multi-faceted approach used in this thesis will provide a global depiction and explanation of Vietnamese-Canadian residential patterns.

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4. The term "behaviour" is here used in its broad sense, without specific reference to the behavioralist approach.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH POPULATION PROFILE

3.1 Introduction

The present research required information on the residential distribution and mobility of the Vietnamese Canadians. Census data produced by Statistics Canada provided information on the general distribution of that population in 1981 and 1986. The census data illustrated changes in residential location, hence identifying trends in the mobility of the Vietnamese Canadians. Interviews gave examples of Vietnamese-Canadian dispersal at the early stage of refugee resettlement in this country and their concentration at the moment (i.e. their residential mobility and the result of that mobility). Case studies of Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migrants to Montréal provided a detailed example of the type of residential mobility typical of the Vietnamese refugees in Canada.

Statistical compilation was necessary in presenting a general portrait of the Vietnamese-Canadian residential distribution and mobility. Obtaining data from the Vietnamese Canadians themselves provided a more realistic approach of geographical phenomena such as residential mobility, dispersal and concentration. An understanding of the Vietnamese-Canadian residential distribution and of the changes in residential locations (mobility) was greatly enlarged by listening to interview respondents who retold their residential experience in both peripheral and metropolitan areas of Canada and who expressed their opinions on residential constraints; detailed explanations on why they moved in closer proximity with people of the same ethnic group were thus provided.

3.2 Statistical data

Census data produced by Statistics Canada were used to describe the migration process to Canada and the internal migrations that modified the residential distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians. The Statistics Canada staff consulted recommended the use of language data (mother tongue, single responses), instead of ethnic origin and country of birth, last residence or citizenship. The mother tongue indicator distinguished the ethnic Vietnamese from the Chinese Vietnamese, who often describe themselves as Vietnamese, who were born in Việt Nam, and who had the Vietnamese citizenship, but who usually acknowledge one Chinese dialect as their mother tongue. Vietnamese immigration to Canada being of recent occurrence, moreover, the majority of the Vietnamese-Canadian population most probably declared their mother tongue as Vietnamese in the 1981 and 1986 censuses. Only 6,2% of the Indochinese in Canada in 1987 were born here, therefore decreasing the range of those who might declare one of the two official languages as their mother tongue (Veltman *et al.* 1986: 39).

Some doubts arose, however, on the reliability of Statistics Canada census data. The number of people who declared they were speakers of Vietnamese in the Montréal Metropolitan Area in 1986 (mother tongue, single answers: **11 365**), for example, was far less than that of ethnic Vietnamese (ethnic origin, single answers: **14 035**). While the two variables are expected to provide a different picture of the Vietnamese-Canadian population, the gap between figures remains quite large. That gap is explainable, however, by the fact that there are many Chinese Vietnamese[1], and probably a few others of mixed origin, who define themselves as Vietnamese, while the Vietnamese language is not their mother tongue. The Canadian Federation of Vietnamese

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1. In fact, Chinese Vietnamese were included in the interview and questionnaire samples, as will be illustrated later. While the initial project of this thesis research intended to incorporate ethnic Vietnamese only, it was found, often during the time of interviews and questionnaire distribution, that a few respondents were in fact ethnic Chinese. They all identified themselves with Việt Nam, however, and spoke Vietnamese since their early childhood. Their contribution to this study was therefore deemed valuable and was included to the results.

Associations, by contrast to the 14 035 officially recorded, estimated that the Montréal's population of ethnic Vietnamese had reached 30 000 in 1982 (Canadian Federation of Vietnamese Associations 1982: 1). The gap between these figures illustrates the imprecision of statistical data, as well as the over-estimations of the ethnic community. Even though the precise number of Vietnamese in Canada or in Montréal remains unknown, Statistics Canada data identify census tracts with high concentrations of ethnic Vietnamese; the interview design focused upon these areas.

Complementary statistical sources were employed in addition to Vietnamese associations and official data. Montréal's Commission des Ecoles Catholiques (C.E.C.M.), the largest school board of the city, generates data on the ethnic origin of its pupils; this information indicates the high concentration of Vietnamese Canadians in the Côte-des-Neiges local primary schools and in the Côte-Saint-Luc secondary school. The Niêm Giáng Vàng directories, published since 1980, provide a list of most Vietnamese stores and services in Montréal, Ottawa and Toronto, and their addresses. The directories dispensed some information on the residential clusters, since concentration of commercial and community services generally closely parallels residential cores of Vietnamese Canadians in these three cities.

3.3 Interviews and questionnaires

A sample of the Montréal's Vietnamese-Canadian population was surveyed in order to understand the residential distribution of the Vietnamese, typically tending towards concentration in metropolitan areas The heterogeneous nature of the research population, however, pleaded for two simultaneous surveys of the Vietnamese Canadians in Montreal: one in-depth study of those who migrated from peripheral locations to metropolitan areas, and one more general assessment of the residential mobility of a larger sample. Table 3.1 provides a list of independent and dependent variables considered in these two surveys.

3.3.1 First survey (Interviews)

Structured interviewing was the first method of survey approach utilized as part of the field work component of this thesis. A seven-page questionnaire was administered to thirty respondents with the help of an interpreter. Factual questions were asked in order to determine the socio-demographic characteristics and actual residential mobility of the respondents. Open-ended questions served to understand the reasons why an important secondary migration of the Vietnamese Canadians occurred in recent years. The respondents fulfilled the need for explanatory information while expressing their experience of the passage from a dispersed distribution to a progressive concentration in a metropolitan area.

Table 3.1 Survey variables

I. Independent Variables	**Categories and units**
A) Spatio-temporal	
1. Date of departure from VN	One year, from 1971 to 1988
2. Date of arrival in Canada	Same as 1.
3. Family origin	North, South or Middle Việt Nam
4. Experience as refugee	Yes in 1954, yes during bombing, yes at other times (e.g. Việt Minh), never
5. Type of migration	Voluntary before 1975, evacuation in 1975, boat people, large freighter people, official emigration since 1975, others
6. Residential mobility in VN and in Canada	Moved once, twice, three times, more than three times, never moved
7. First residence in Canada	Place of residence
8. Current residence	Same as 7.
9. Former residence in VN*	Rural, urban, others
10. Family in Canada	Yes in metropolitan areas, yes in non metropolitan areas, no family here
11. Presence of immigration & Vietnamese services, of Vietnamese residential concentration in first and current neighborhood*	Yes, no, list of these services
12. Principal language(s) in first and current neighb.*	French, English, both official languages, many languages, others
13. Patterns of work, shopping & leisure activities*	Name of place, frequency of commuting

*The stars indicate variables tested only through in-depth interviews.

Table 3.1 (continued)

B)Socic demographic	
1. Age	<20, 20-35, 36-60, >60 years old
2. Sex	Female, male
3. Job in VN and in Canada	Professionals, white collars, blue collars, self-employed, students, housekeepers, unemployed or retired, others
4. Occupation before leaving*	Same, military, re-education, imprisonment
5. Mother tongue(s)	Vietnamese, Chinese dialect, both languages
6. Language(s) spoken at home	Vietnamese, Chinese, V & C, V/C & French, V/C & English, V/C & F & E, F only, E only F & E only, others
7. Language(s) spoken at work	Same as 6.
8. Official languages proficiency*	Proficient in French &/or in English, working knowledge, minimal knowledge, non proficient
9. Schooling in VN & Canada	Number of years for schooling in VN and abroad, number of months for Canada, none
10.Diplomas obtained*	None, yes plus type of diploma
11.Family situation	Single, married, widowed, divorced, others
12.Religion	Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Ancestor Cult, Confucianism, none, others
13.Sponsorship	Family, group of Vietnamese, group of Canadians, church, government, others
14.Accompaniment	Close family members[2], relatives, friends, alone, others
15.Type of family in VN and in Canada*	Extended, nuclear, friends, alone, others
16.Type of first and current residence in Canada*	Provided by the government, by the sponsors, rented or bought by the respondents, with Canadians, with unrelated Vietnamese, with relatives or family members
17.Ethnicity of most friends*	Vietnamese, Chinese, both V & C, French Canadians, English Canadians, others
18.Official status*	Citizen, permanent resident, others
II.Dependent variables, spatial	
A)Residential mobility in Canada	Moved once, twice, three times, more than three times, never moved
B)Reasons for residing in Mtl	Job-related, family reunion, desire to live in Vietnamese neighborhood, friends reunion, mere convenience, others Open-ended*
C)Future residential mobility	Not leave Mtl, leave Mtl, do not know
D)Wish to live in V. village	Yes, no, Open-ended*

2. Close family members were defined, in the surveys, as husband, wife, children, brothers, sisters, and parents. Relatives designated cousins, uncles, ants, nephews, etc. (* variables of in-depth interviews)

Table 3.1 (continued)

E)Favorite place of residence if free to choose	Name of the place
F)Perception of first & current place of residence*	Temporary, permanent, others
G)Advantages and disadvantages of first & current places of residence*	Open-ended
H)Judgment of the location of Viet. concentration in Mtl*	Côte-des-Neiges, Chinatown, elsewhere, do not know
I)Judgement of Vietnamese concentration in a district*	Open-ended
J)Major resettlement problems	Language, job, sense of loss, isolation, cultural adjustment, others
K)Willingness to settle in non-metropolitan areas again*	Open-ended

The targeted individuals with whom in-depth interviews were conducted had experienced an initial resettlement outside Canadian metropolitan areas and had subsequently moved to Montréal. Respondents willing to be interviewed were solicited through a "snowball" sampling scheme, the most appropriate in the case of the Vietnamese diaspora (Yu and Liu 1986: 488). Because the Vietnamese-Canadian community is rather closely-knit, approaching people through friendship networks was necessary to obtain access to households for in-depth interviews. It would have been impossible to select people on a random basis because there is no exhaustive list of Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migrants to Montréal. It would have been also problematic to have randomly-selected households to agree for an interview, even more to get access to their home. The snowball sampling method avoided the high rate of refusal acknowledged by most researchers, even by those who were members of the communities studied (Lam 1983, Lê Hữu Khoa 1985, Woon 1985). Randomness was impossible, moreover, considering the high rate of refusal motivated by suspicion toward the researcher, insecurity arising from recent establishment in this country, and lack of energy and time to be interviewed (Benneth-Jultus 1976: 77, Wiseman 1976: 102). The well-known apprehension of the Vietnamese people toward interviews and questionnaires was confirmed by members and leaders of the community in Montréal. To circumvent such difficulties, potential respondent names provided by acquaintances within the Vietnamese-Canadian community in Montréal were first listed; therefore, the introduction to Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migrants was eased by the fact

that they were re-assured about the goals of the research by people they already knew --and therefore trusted. The potential respondents reached through snowball sampling accepted in a large proportion to answer the questions (only nine potential respondents refused)

The snowball sampling method, however, tends to produce a distorted sample. The very fact that the people interviewed are reached through networks can easily influence their answers. In this thesis' sample, nevertheless, the range of respondents was varied: an almost equal number of males (16) and females (14) was reached, hardly-schooled and highly educated, young middle-class and elderly poor, unskilled workers and professionals were represented. The diversity of opinions gathered, therefore, seems quite large considering the sampling scheme. This diversity was due to the fact that as many as eight sources of networking were used to get access to respondents' homes.

The first interview was conducted on June 2, 1988 and the last one took place on August 3, 1988. The average interview length was 2 hours and 5 minutes. The respondents were generally met in their home. Some interviews, however, were conducted in restaurants and in the convent of a priest involved with refugee resettlement (four respondents). The interview schedule is available in annex 1.

Within the thirty-respondent sample, five were ethnic-Chinese from Viet Nam and three were from mixed Chinese-Vietnamese marriages, the rest being ethnic Vietnamese. Twelve were females, thirteen quite young (20 to 35 years old), and fourteen middle-aged (36 to 60). The sample contained a majority of sixteen married people and of nineteen Buddhists. Half the sample had more than ten years of schooling in Viêt Nam, while the remaining had less than ten years of formal schooling. The main professional background were blue collars (7), professionals (5), students (5), small business owners (4), white collars (4), and one farmer, six held a job in the army. In Canada, a majority of ten was blue collar, eight white collar, a high seven unemployed, and three professionals. Most were Canadian citizens, since eighteen were boat people who arrived more than three years ago. Twelve respondents had

been refugees before 1975, and only three were of a rural background. This brief socio-demographic picture of the interview sample permits to realize the wide range of respondents' profiles gathered.

3.3.2 Second survey (Questionnaires)

The major goals of the second survey were: 1. to draw a profile of the residential mobility of the Vietnamese since their arrival in Canada and 2 to broaden the sample figure. Since thorough understanding of Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migration is gained at the expense of representativeness, a second and larger survey permitted people from every socio-demographic sub-group to express their own residential mobility. A sample of 142 respondents was obtained, in concordance with the principle that the larger the size of the sample --within the limits of feasibility-- the more representative of the global population it is (Daugherty 1983: 30).

Stratified cluster sampling, which closely resembles stratified random sampling (Shaw and Wheeler 1985: 39), was the most appropriate technique to distribute shortened questionnaires in Vietnamese-Canadian dentist and pharmacist offices (where people fill out the form in the waiting room), bookstores, restaurants, and in the streets of high Vietnamese-Canadian residential density. These questionnaires (available in annex 2) were distributed randomly to the age, sex and socio-educational subgroups --which had already been identified from statistical data, the socio-demographic categories within the Vietnamese-Canadian population of Montréal being known from the 1981 census (Canada, Statistics 1981)-- according to their proportion in the total Vietnamese-Canadian population. Questionnaire distribution began on May 24, 1988 and lasted until the end of September 1988. Only those who agreed to answer, however, were part of the respondent group; out of 182 questionnaires distributed, 142 were completed (rate of response: 72,5%). The data gathered should therefore be representative, if not perfectly randomly obtained, of the residential location patterns of the Vietnamese Canadians.

Figure 3.1 summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of the questionnaire respondents. A majority of **86%** were ethnic Vietnamese[3] (figure 3.1.1). The respondents were divided almost equally between males (**46,4%**) and females (**52,9%**). Age groups were represented by **17,4%** under 20 years of age, **34,8%** between 20 and 35, **31,9%** between 36 and 60, and **16%** over 60 years old (figure 3 1.2). The respondents' migratory experience reflected the two typical phases of Vietnames immigration to Canada the 1979-80 boat people crisis, that brought in a large number of refugees in a small period of time, and the popularity, since 1984, of family sponsorship that allows Vietnamese now securely settled in Canada to assume the financial support of sponsored family members (figure 3 1 3).

Occupational groups comprised the professionals, white collars, blue collars, self-employed (small merchants --mostly women-- in Viêt Nam and commerce owners in Canada), students, housekeepers and unemployed Nearly half the respondents either held a blue collar job in Viet Nam or were small merchants (self-employed). In Canada, only **6** professionals conserved their former socio-economic status, the others being now white collars or blue collars, because of non-recognition of diplomas The blue collar category regrouped **34,5%** of the respondents in Canada, while an important **14,1%** was unemployed (figure 3.1 4).

Just as most Vietnamese Canadians immigrated in 1979-80, **43,0%** identified themselves as boat people (figure 3 1 5) The second largest group was made up of immigrants (official emigration **31,7%**), as the majority of new arrivals since 1984 come to Canada through family reunion programmes. Nearly half the sample was sponsored in Canada by family members, while the governments of Canada and of Quebec contributed to the establishment of **21,1%** and private groups sponsored close to **17%** refugees (figure 3 1 6)

While a slight majority of respondents was married (**51,4%**), **30,3%** of them were single (figure 3 1 7), the high percentage of single individuals (**44,1%** of the 20 to 35 year-old respondents, compared to the **38,7%** single

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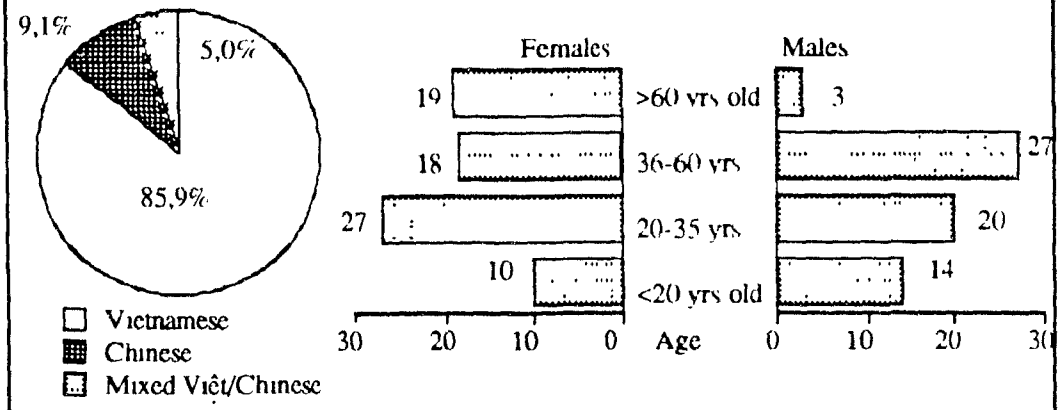
[3]. For those of Chinese or mixed origin, see note 1, page 36

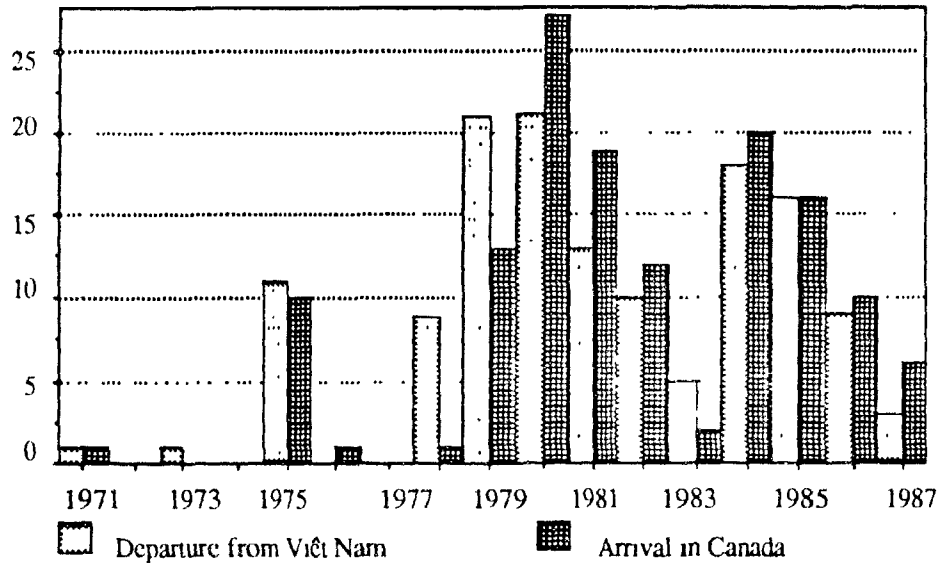
Figure 3.1 Socio-demographic Variables, Questionnaire Respondents*

* When the sample size is not indicated 142 respondents.



3.1.1 Ethnic Origin

3.1.2 Age Pyramid (out of 138)

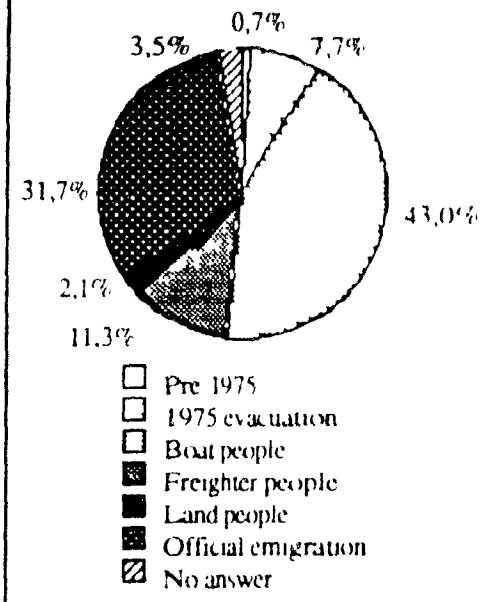


3.1.3 Dates of Departure from Việt Nam and Arrival in Canada (139 respondents)

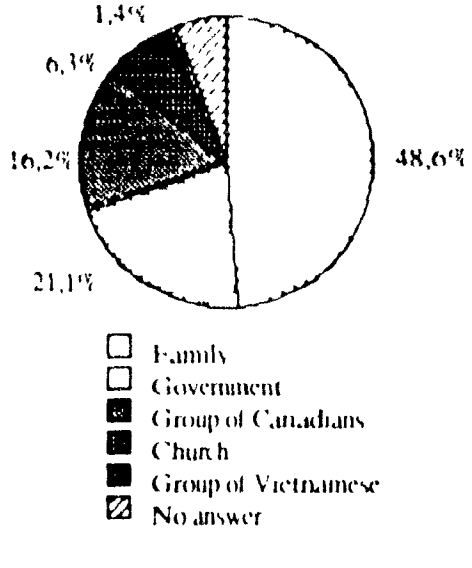
VN / CAN	Prof	W	B	SE	ST	HK	UE	N/A	Total
Professionals	6	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	13 (9,2)
White Collars	4	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0 (6,3)
Blue Collars	5	3	16	10	3	2	1	9	49(34,5)
Self-Employed	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4 (2,8)
Students	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	8 (5,6)
Housekeepers	1	0	2	9	0	7	0	0	19(13,4)
Unemployed	1	0	7	7	0	2	1	2	20(14,1)
No answer	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	16	20(14,1)
Total	18 (12,7)	5 (3,4)	29 (20,4)	30 (21,1)	16 (11,3)	12 (8,5)	4 (2,8)	28 (19,7)	142 (100,0%)

3.1.4 Occupation in Việt Nam and in Canada

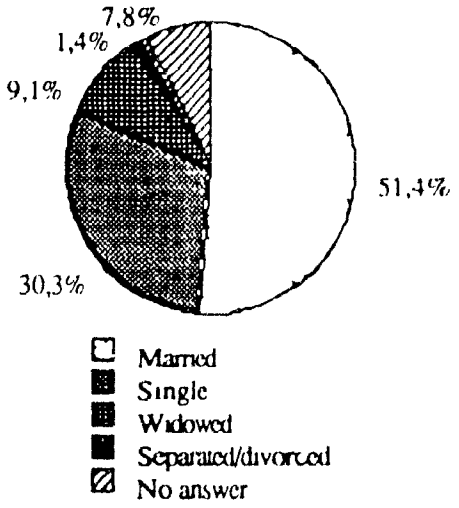
Figure 3.1 (continued)



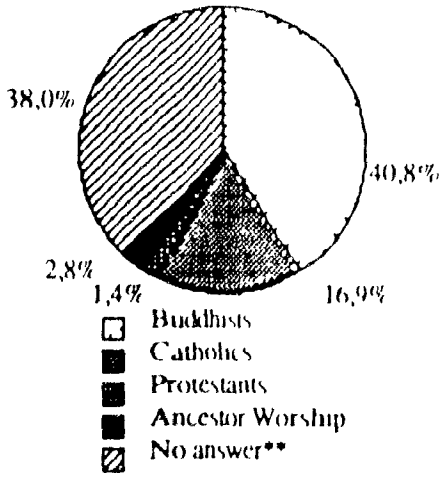
3.1.5 Type of Migration



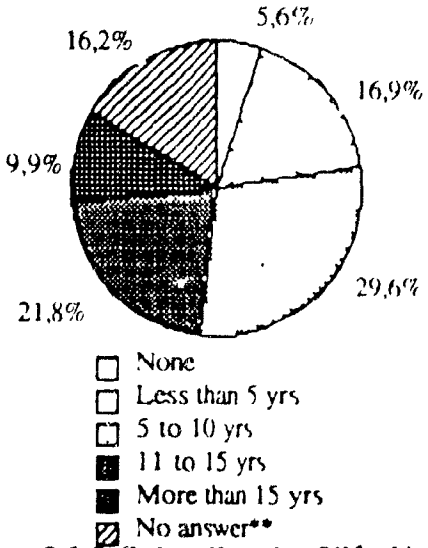
3.1.6 Sponsorship



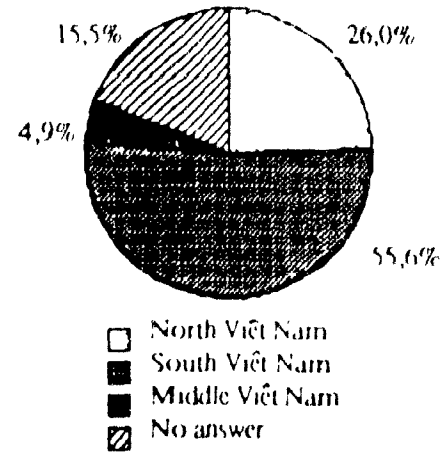
3.1.7 Marital Status



3.1.8 Religion



3.1.9 Schooling in Viêt Nam



3.1.10 Regional Origin

** The high rate of non response is probably due to the private character of religious beliefs; as for schooling, 'no answer' might account for the shame of the low educated

people between 20 and 35 years-old in Canada as a whole), coming from a country where founding a family is considered a most-sacred duty, is due to the inclusion of a high 24 persons aged 20 and under in the survey sample. Most respondents (40,8%) were Buddhists, followed by nearly 17% Catholics (figure 3.1.8). Ancestor cult, generally acknowledged as a customary practice to which all the Vietnamese conform (even the Vietnamese Catholics, who benefit from a special right to practice ancestor worship, acknowledged by Vatican II), was specifically stated as a religion by almost 3% of the respondents. The religions in Việt Nam, however, are not mutually exclusive, the emergence, at the beginning of the 20th century, of new Vietnamese religions based on polytheism and incorporating popular beliefs in spirits, ancestor rituals, and parts of established religions, accounts for the specifically-Vietnamese amalgamate of numerous religious rituals (Phan Kế Bính 1975: 22-37).

Over 30% had more than 11 years of schooling, i.e. secondary education in Việt Nam. A moderate proportion (just over 22%) had received schooling for less than 5 years (figure 3.1.9). This fact reflected the difficulties of education in a country torn by war, economic problems and political restructuring, as well as the Canadian refugee policy that allowed a great variety of refugees to enter the country during the boat people crisis. Only four respondents (3 of Chinese origin) were illiterate in Vietnamese; the questionnaire was directly administered to them, with a simultaneous transcription of their answers.

The questionnaire respondents belonged to families originating either from North (26,0%) or South Việt Nam (55,6%). The high proportion of Vietnamese originally from the North is typical of the post-1975 refugee movement; having already fled Communism in 1954 and occupying important governmental positions in South Việt Nam, the Catholics from North Việt Nam were more likely to be persecuted by the new régime (figure 3.1.10).

3.4 Methodological biases

The responses were most likely biased by the following factors: fear of trouble with immigration agencies or the government, distrust of the interviewers, desire to please them, hiding of some information, personal problems, lack of time leading some respondents to avoid open-ended questions, irrelevance of some questions, misunderstandings, lack of homogeneity in the way questions were asked and the influence of the ambience (friendly or not, in a private house or a public place) Misunderstandings were minimized by my availability in clarifying the meaning of the questions during the interviews and questionnaire distribution, as well as by prior testing of the questionnaire and the interview schedule Criticism made by members of the Vietnamese-Canadian community and McGill researchers experienced in questionnaire design during the fieldwork elaboration, moreover, helped eliminate the potentially misleading questions. Non-responses to certain questions, however, was generally higher than expected, either because it was judged indiscreet, or too obvious, by the respondents

"... some investigators believe that most research on refugees is of questionable value because issues of field procedures and responses validity are de-emphasized or ignored in almost all of the research reports" (Yu and Liu 1986: 493). It seemed essential, according to this quotation, to assess the importance of methodological problems underlying this research In that respect, the above description of sampling difficulties should outline the fact that the survey results on Vietnamese-Canadian residential mobility are relative to the way data were collected.

CHAPTER 4
GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSAL OF THE VIETNAMESE CANADIANS

4.1 Introduction

Immigrant groups generally adopt residential patterns very different from those of long-time residents of a given country. At first, they usually concentrate and after one or two generations, adopt more dispersed residential patterns. Ethnic concentrations occur in most cities of the world, where new arrivals form neighborhoods popularly known as immigrant districts. Paris has its Goutte d'Or, London its Brixton, Bogotá its El Chocó, Kampala had its Nakasera Hill before the expulsion of its East Indian minority, and Shangai its Japanese Chapei before World War II.

Canada has also experienced the formation of multi-ethnic districts in the three major cities (Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal). In the past, however, when urbanization was not yet a predominant social process, ethnically-specific settlement patterns have emerged in rural Canada. The necessity to colonize Canadian virgin lands encouraged the authorities to give out cheap land and to let in would-be farmers from European countries. Some ethnic groups obtained the explicit right to form homogeneous communities (e.g. the Mennonites, the Doukhobors), while most groups actually managed to retain their own cultural and social values by re-grouping within the same residential area or within the same economic sector (Pao-Mercier 1982: 227).

Children and grandchildren of immigrants to Canada, nevertheless, moved out of residential concentrations after socialization into the Canadian society through schooling, social relationships with members of other ethnic groups, and intermarriage. Familiar with the social world their parents often

discovered through cultural shock, knowledgeable of the majority languages, the second generation does not usually resist assimilation and, because of a strong desire to be entirely part of their society and because of discrimination, often attempts to erase traces of an ethnic difference. In order to achieve that assimilation, they must leave the districts with high concentrations of recent immigrants of their own ethnic group.

This general pattern of residential location (well described in Schlichtmann 1977) does not apply to every ethnic minority group Certain groups never move out of ethnic concentrations, even after generations, either because of their rejection from the majority population (e.g. the Chinese in Canada not long ago), or their need to reside apart in order to pursue their own way of life (e.g. the Hasidic Jews). The Vietnamese Canadians have experienced a very anomalous pattern of residential location, from dispersal to concentration.

4.2 Residential Experience of the Vietnamese Diaspora

The most recent experience of the Vietnamese in their native land was that of a very rapid urbanization, induced and accelerated by the war. The boat people movement has dispersed a significant part of the Vietnamese population (close to 2 millions out of the 62 millions recorded in the 1979 Vietnamese census --Lacoste *et al.*, eds. 1988. 387) throughout Southeast Asia, dividing families, fundamental bases of Vietnamese society The refugees regrouped in Southeast Asian refugee camps where family members reunited and new links were created. Through the resettlement process, the extended family dispersed again in diverse final asylum countries. There, the new arrivals were at first scattered, and could not immediately form communities of their own. Later on, an important secondary migration took place.

Dispersal policies had existed in many countries of resettlement in the past. Majority groups had attempted to disperse and assimilate their unwanted minorities; the Japanese Canadians during and after World War II were told, for example, that they "... must disperse themselves across the country, and

not recongragate in groups" (Kobayashi 1988: 22). The re-occurrence of dispersal policies in the 1970s --while racism should be eradicated following ethnic revival and state multiculturalism-- is a sign of the still current discriminative trends in our social institutions, including the government.

Dispersal policies directed toward Indochinese resettlement were initiated by the United States in 1975, while refugees were sent to their place of residence immediately after arrival (Hohl 1978: 128, Neuwirth 1988: 35). Two contextual factors provided the rationale for dispersal: the late 1960s experience with Cuban refugees, and the general anti-Viêt nam war feeling that prevailed among the Americans in 1975 The Cuban refugees tended to concentrate in Miami, waiting for some political change to occur in Cuba. The overwhelming importance of the Cubans in Miami, and their reluctance to integrate, led to inter-ethnic conflicts in that city (Fass 1985: 121). It seems that the Cuban experience strongly influenced the design of Indochinese resettlement programmes (Desbarats 1987b: 310, Simon 1983: 492). The presence of Vietnamese in the country, moreover, did remind the population of the most striking failure of the United States on the international scene (Aylesworth *et al.* 1978: 66). Although some Americans realized that the Vietnamese evacuees were the mere victims of American foreign policies, selfishness and stubbornness led many to adopt aggressive attitudes towards the refugees. These attitudes, despite refugee dispersal, soon degenerated into overt discrimination, as happened on the coast of Texas at the beginning of the present decade (Starr 1981). In addition to those factors, state government variations in the allocation of financial help to refugees influenced their pattern of residential location (Bach 1988: 50).

Most resettlement countries in the West have followed the American model in regard to the geographic aspect of Indochinese reception schemes. In France, rural settlement of the Indochinese was already established; in 1954-55, the French government had sent Indochinese repatriates to Noyant-d'Allier, a very isolated and declining village of Central France (the Ardennes) that the new arrivals were expected to revitalize (Simon-Barouh 1981). During the boat people crisis, the already large influx of immigrants into an economically unstable France led the government to renew the

experience. Most refugees were government-sponsored, and therefore subject to government residential assignment (Hassoun 1983). Resettlement facilities were made available in middle-size communities in order to avoid refugee concentration in Paris, already strained by inter-ethnic hostility In Australia, migrant hostels opened throughout the country at the turn of the 1970s. The refugees settled not only in the populated Southeast, but also in migrant centres located in Darwin, Perth, and even Tasmania (Wilson 1986: 254). In Germany and Britain, refugees were initially located in a wide range of small towns (Edholm *et al.* 1983: 15, Neudeck 1980: 10). The limited literature available in Canada about refugee residential location in China, the second largest resettlement country after the United States, indicates that they settled under governmental supervision in 263 farms of the Southern provinces (Billard 1985: 21). It is likely, moreover, that many refugees, mostly Sino-Vietnamese, settled in close proximity with their kin in China (Alley 1980).

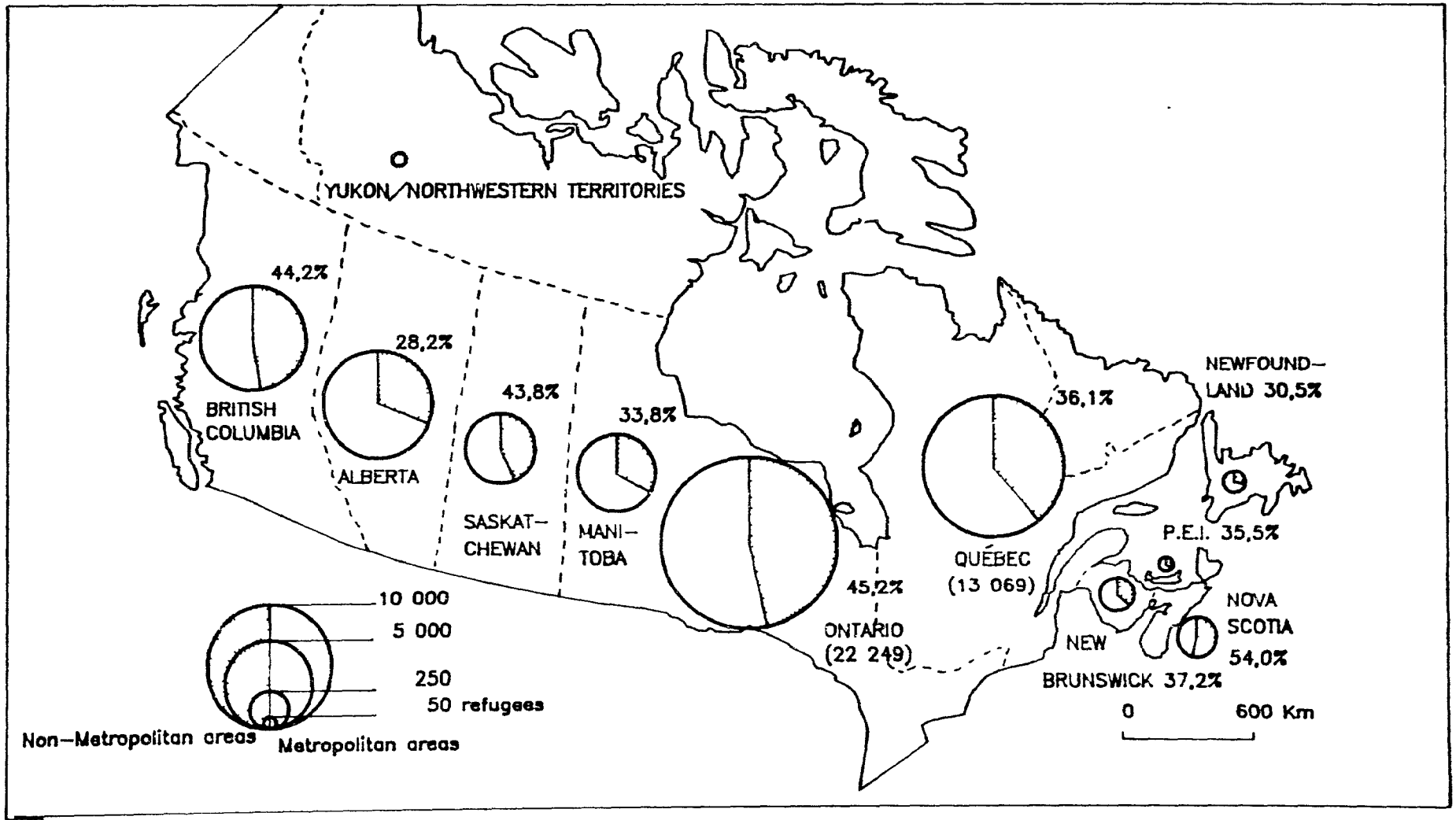
In Canada, **38,8%** of the 1979-80 arrivals resettled in non-metropolitan areas, due to both private and public sponsorship (Canada, EIC 1982a: 21) Sponsorship offers came from everywhere in Canada, even from places with no tradition of immigration and located far from the three Canadian economic poles (Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal).

The point system instituted by the 1976 Immigration Act attaches some importance to residential location: "Five points awarded to a person who intends to proceed to an area designated as one having a sustained and general need for people at various levels in the employment strata and the necessary services to accommodate population growth" (Canada, EIC 1976. 17) Although the Immigration Selection Criteria do not directly apply to refugees, it still has an influence on immigration as a whole because it is one of the bases upon which the laws are built. The legal importance given to geographical distribution of new arrivals is attested, moreover, by immigration history in Canada which shows a clear preference for refugees corresponding to the point system. Specific geographic patterns are in fact attached to the diverse modes of resettlement put forward by the government in times of refugee intakes (Hawkins 1988: 49).

During the peak period of Vietnamese refugee intake, the federal and provincial governments opened immigration offices, and provided services to immigrants in regional centres. Upon arrival in either Longue Pointe near Montréal or Griesbach in the Edmonton region (the 2 arrival points of Indochinese refugees), the refugees were asked to resettle in a large range of communities where services were available. The Canadian government made a deliberate effort to avoid concentration, which was thought to potentially hamper integration and create an important backlash among the already established population (acknowledged, for example, by the Saint-Georges-de-Beauce CEIC representative, --cited in Phạm thị Quế 1987: 213). The Québec government, for its part, established quotas of people to be sent to Trois-Rivières, Amos, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, as well as Montréal and Québec City. The very existence of a "politique de démétropolisation" in Québec confirms that there was a political will encouraging dispersal.

Figure 4.1 demonstrates the amplitude of non-metropolitan resettlement of the Indochinese refugees in Canada, as a result of the joint effort of private and public sponsorship. In 1979-80, the metropolitan areas defined by the Commission for Employment and Immigration Canada were: Whitehorse, Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa, Toronto/Mississauga, Kitchener, London, Windsor, Montréal, Québec City, Fredericton, Moncton, St-John N.B., Halifax, Charlottetown and St-John's Nfld (Canada, EIC 1982a: 21). While Ontario and Québec received the majority of refugees (respectively 22 249 and 13 069), the Northwestern Territories, Yukon, the Maritime provinces, not recently recipient of large-scale immigration, served as resettlement areas for quite a few new arrivals from Indochina. Despite the fact that Ontario comprises six cities defined as metropolitan by the CEIC, the province still had the second highest rate of non-metropolitan resettlement, with 45,2% of the refugees outside these cities. In Nova Scotia, more than half the refugees resettled outside Halifax. In British Columbia, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Québec and Prince Edward Island, the rate of non-metropolitan resettlement was also significantly high. In Yukon and the Northwestern Territories, all refugees, quite understandably, resided in Whitehorse.

Figure 4.1
Geographic Distribution of the Indochinese Refugees in Canada, January 1, 1979 – December 31, 1980



Source: Canada, Employment and Immigration Commission, 1982.

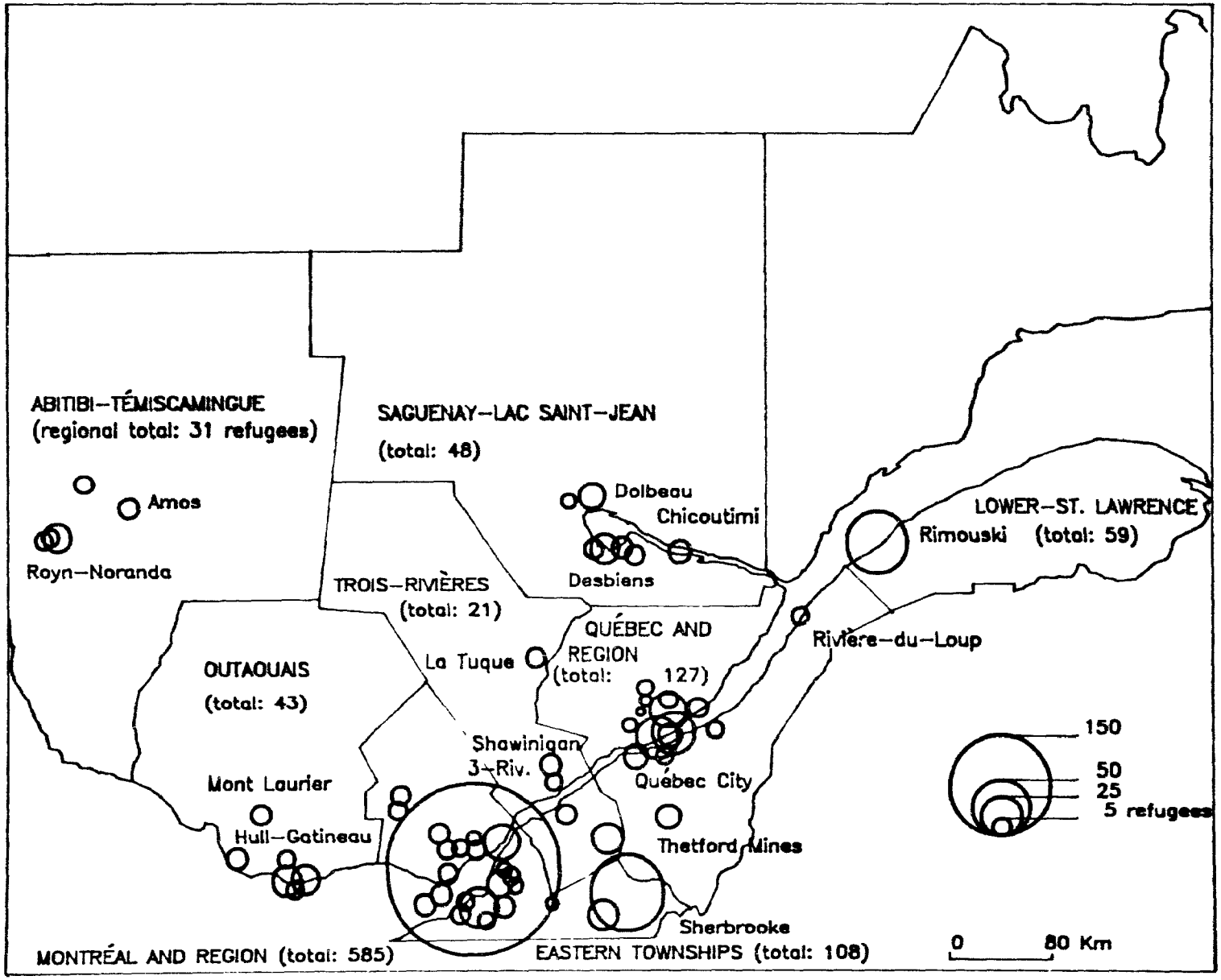
Figure 4.2 presents data on privately-sponsored (Designated Class 3) refugees in the province of Québec. While most refugees resettled in Montréal and region (including villages and outer suburbs within an hour drive from the island), significant numbers were found in Rimouski, Québec City, Sherbrooke and Lac Saint-Jean. The map reflects the geographic distribution of sponsorship offers for 1979-80, coming from regions as remote as Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Haute-Mauricie and Lower-St.Lawrence.

The government-sponsored refugees could theoretically refuse to live in their assigned place of residence. They practically could not do otherwise but accept, since they could not afford to live on their own, felt indebted towards the government that let them in, and feared they would be sent back to Việt Nam if they did not respond to government assignments. Such fears actually affected many refugees, as it was noted in a report on the Saint-Georges-de-Beauce experience with refugees (Legros and David 1979: 9).

Only **61,3%** of this thesis' questionnaire respondents initially resided in large cosmopolitan cities (Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver), 20,4% in smaller cities (Québec City, Ottawa, Calgary) or towns (Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières, and the equivalent in other provinces), and **6,4%** in villages and rural areas (figure 4.3.1). These proportions are still quite a-typical of recent immigrants in highly urbanized Canada of the 1980s, especially in Québec where the very large majority of immigrants settle in Montréal (Hawkins 1988: 64). The questionnaires being distributed in Montréal, it was expected that a high proportion of the respondents were now residents of that city (the results showed a proportion of **97,9%** Montrealers - figure 4 3.2) The sample also included 2 respondents residing in the suburbs of Montreal. It is important to note, from figure 4.3, that slightly more than **30%** of the Montréal respondents had experienced initial resettlement in smaller cities, towns and villages, before becoming secondary migrants to Montréal.

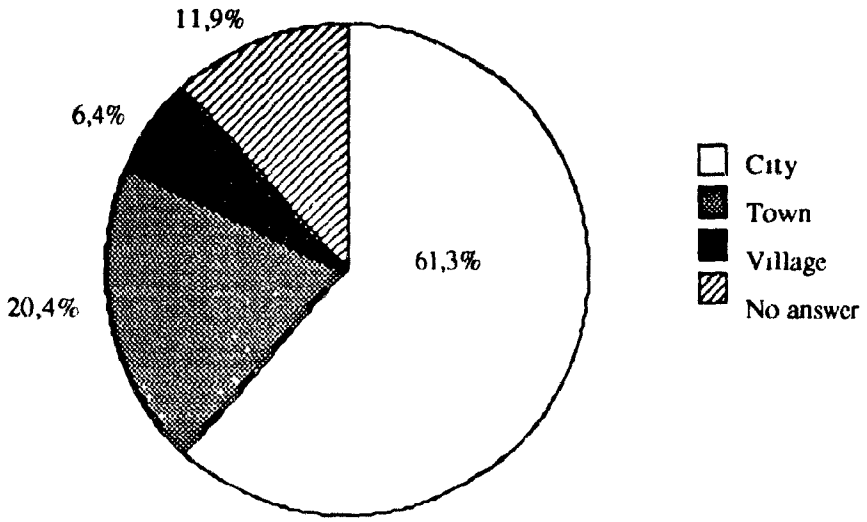
Over **37%** of the **142** questionnaire respondents did not stay in their first place of residence more than a year, and little more than **30%** resided between 1 and 3 years at the same place (figure 4.4). **Nineteen** out of the **twenty-two** respondents who did not move before 4 years of residence were

Figure 4.2 Geographic Distribution of the Privately-Sponsored Vietnamese Refugees in the Province of Québec, as of February 1981

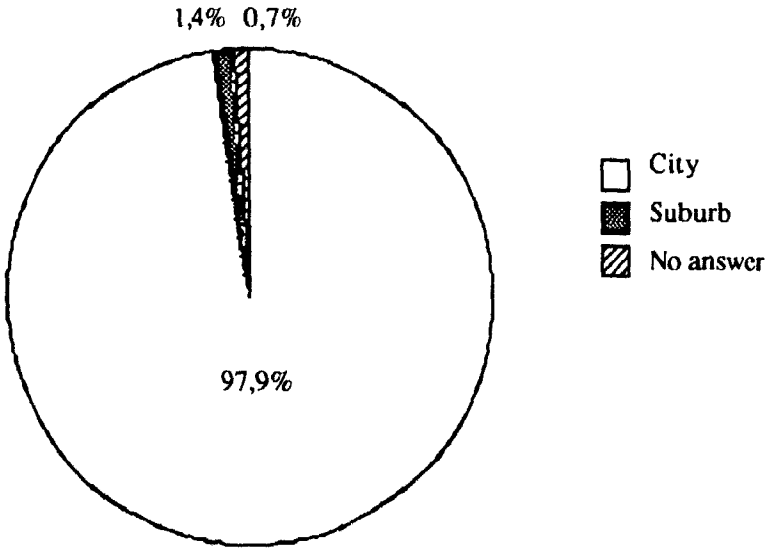


Source: M.C.C.I.Q., 1982.

Figure 4.3 First and Current Residence in Canada (142 respondents)

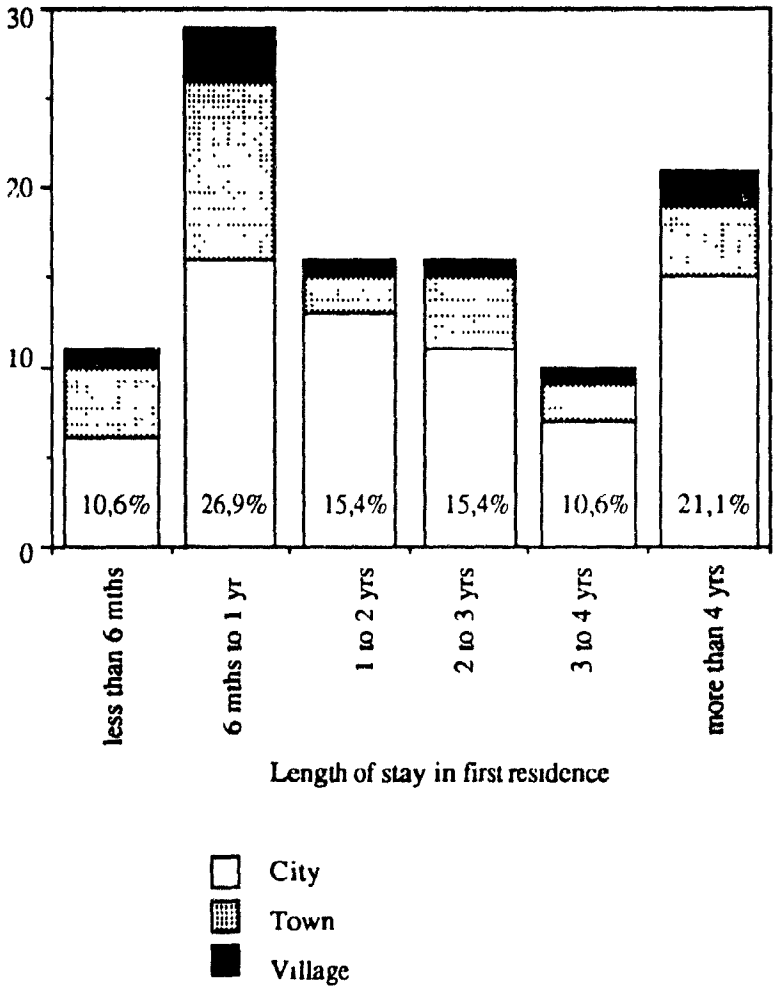


4.3.1 First Residence of the Questionnaire Respondents in Canada



4.3.2 Current Residence of the Questionnaire Respondents in Canada

Figure 4.4 Length of Time Spent in First Residence (out of 104 respondents)



people who resettled directly in Montréal. A large 73,3% of the questionnaire respondents had some friends and family members living in Montréal (table 4.1). Among the 30% who first settled in towns or villages, the majority (87,2%) also had their social network situated in Montréal, while only 5 knew no one in Montréal when they lived in their first residence. The concentration of the social network certainly did not encourage the refugees to settle permanently outside of Montréal.

Table 4.1 Residence of family members and friends, questionnaire respondents

Places of residence	Count	Percent
Montréal	64	45,1
Montréal & else. in Qué.	21	14,8
Montréal & Toronto	15	10,6
Montréal & United States	4	2,8
Total Montréal & elsewhere	104	73,3
Everywhere in Canada	12	8,4
Elsewhere in Québec	4	2,8
Toronto	4	2,8
Eastern Canada	2	1,4
Other countries	2	1,4
Ottawa	1	0,7
Toronto & United States	1	0,7
No answer	12	7,7
Total	142	100,0

4.3 Three examples of non-metropolitan resettlement

The majority of the **thirty** interviewed secondary migrants to Montreal whom had experienced initial resettlement in small cities, towns, and villages of Canada (their residential patterns are shown on table 4.2 and figure 4.5) **Two** interviewees had lived in Toronto before settling in Montréal, **ten** in big towns, **twelve** in small towns, and **six** in small villages Because the interview sample was selected through snowball sampling, **four** interviewees initially settled in Saint-Georges-de-Beauce, **three** in Quebec City and **two** in the outer suburbs of Montreal The experience of the Vietnamese Canadians in these three locations is also documented in the literature (Dorais *et al.* 1987, Dorais 1988, Nguyễn Huy and Louder 1987, Phạm-Nguyễn Thủy 1987, Pham thi Quế 1987, Legros and David 1980) These three locations will illustrate the experiences of the Vietnamese Canadians in non-metropolitan areas of various sizes.

Table 4.2 Residential patterns of the interview respondents

Respondent	Residences and length of time spent in each residence
1. Mr. Ngạn[1]	Calgary (3 mths)-Montreal/Côte-des-Neiges (9 mths)
2. Ms. Điệp	Toronto (3 yrs 5 mths)-Mtl/Cdn* (3 yrs 10 mths)
3. Mr. Hùng	St-Georges-de-Beauce (1 yr)-Toronto (2 yrs)-St-Georges (3 yrs 3 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (1 yr 10 mths)
4. Mr. Minh	Québec (7 mths)-Mtl/Downtown (5 mths)- Ville Lemoyne (3 yrs)-Houston, Texas (2 mths)-Manchester, Conn (4 yrs 2 mths)-Mtl/Rosemont (10 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (1yr 4 mths)-Québec (2 yrs 2 mths)-Mtl/East (8 mths)
5. Mr. Hoàng	St-Jerôme (5 mths)-Mtl/Rosemont (4 yrs 8 mths)-Mtl/ Mile End (2 mths)
6. Mr. Cường	St-Jean-sur-Richelieu (1 yr 2 mths)-Mtl/Chinatown (3 yrs)
7. Ms. Bình	Ottawa (2 mths)-Mtl/East (2 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (1 yr)-Mtl/North (5 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (6 mths)-St-Georges-de-Beauce (4 yrs) Mtl/Cdn (1 yr 1 mth)
8 Mr. Nam	Red Deer, Alta (3 mths)-London, Ont. (11 mths)-Mtl/Jean-Talon (2 yrs 2 mths)

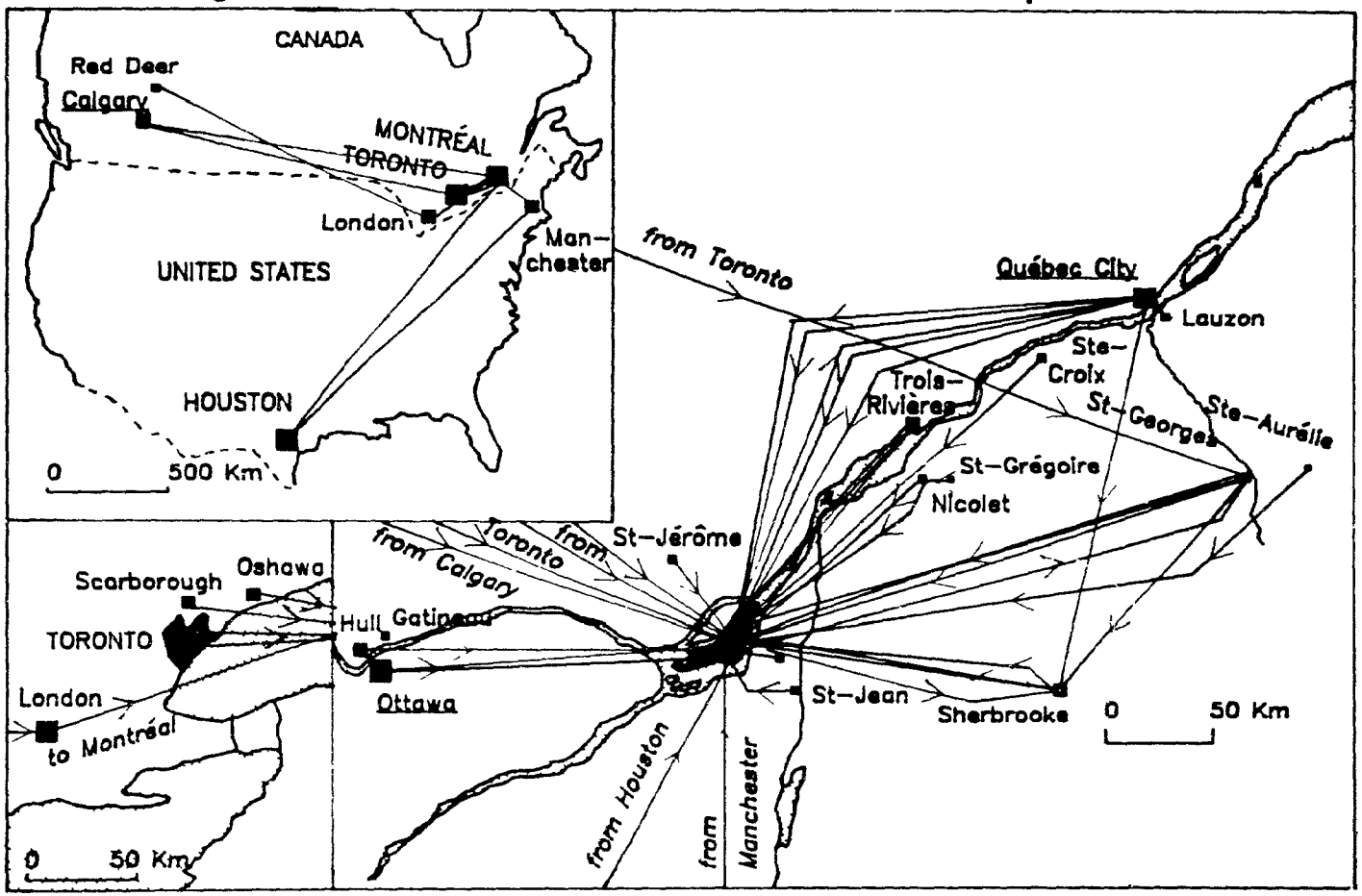
1. Fictive names.

Table 4.2 (continued)

9.	Mr. Đức	Ste-Aurélie-de-Beauce (2 yrs 8 mths)-Mtl/Rosemont (2 yrs)
10.	Mr. Hải	Trois-Rivières (6 mths)-Mtl/East (3 yrs 6 mths)
11.	Mr. Tiến	Trois-Rivières (1 yr 8 mths)-Mtl/East (2 yrs 1 mth)
12.	Ms. Đắc	Ottawa (8 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (3 yrs 1 mth)
13.	Mr. Duy	Sherbrooke (5 yrs)-Mtl/Ville-Anjou (1 yr)-Brossard (7 yrs)
14.	Mr. Viên	Longueuil (3 mths)-Sherbr. (6 yrs 4 mths)-Brossard (2 yrs)
15.	Ms. Phương	Oshawa, Ont. (8 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (2 yrs 1 mth)
16.	Mr. Đức	Scarborough, Ont. (5 yrs 8 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (3 yrs 2 mths)
17.	Ms. Thủy	Hull (3 yrs 9 mths)-Mtl/Jean-Talon (3 yrs)
18.	Mr. Điệp	Nicolet (2 yrs 2 mths)-Mtl/Jean-Talon (3 yrs)-Pointe-aux-Trembles (1 yr 5 mths)
19.	Mr. Minh	Gatineau (7 yrs 3 mths)-Mtl/East (1 yr)
20.	Mr. Đức	Nicolet (1 yr)-Mtl/Cdn (6 yrs 11 mths)
21.	Ms. Ngọc	Calgary (4 yrs 7 mths)-Toronto (2 yrs 2 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (1 yr 1 mth)
22.	Ms. Lan	St-Georges-de-Beauce (8 mths)-Sherbrooke (1 yr 3 mths)-Mtl/East (10 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (1 mth)
23.	Ms. Kim	Toronto (10 mths)-Mtl/Plateau (2 yrs 11 mths)-Mtl/Jean-Talon (3 yrs)-Mtl/ParcEx (1 yr 1 mth)
24.	Ms. Liên	Trois-Rivières (2 yrs)-Mtl/Cdn (11 mths)
25.	Ms. Quế	St-Georges-de-Beauce-Mtl/Downtown
26.	Mr. Đình	Ste-Croix-de-Lotbinière (7 yrs 6 mths)-St-Laurent (1 yr)
27.	Mr. Hữu	Québec (1 yr 9 mths)-Lauzon (2 yrs 4 mths)-Québec (1 yr 6 mths)-Sherbrooke (1 yr)-Mtl/Cdn (9 mths)
28.	Ms. Hoa	St-Grégoire-de-Nicolet (1 yr)-Nicolet (3 yrs 11 mths)-Mtl/Plateau (3 yrs)-Mtl/Cdn (10 mths)
29.	Mr. Minh	Québec (3 yrs 6 mths)-Mtl/Cdn (3 yrs 11 mths)
30.	Mr. Mục	Québec (5 yrs 2 mths)-Mtl/North (1 yr)-Mtl/Outrem. (2 yrs)

*Mtl: Montréal, Cdn: Côte-des-Neiges.

Figure 4.5 Residential Patterns of the Interview Respondents



Source: Rand McNally Goode's World Atlas, 1983, interview data collected in 1988.

4.3.1 Saint-Georges-de-Beauce

The length of time the interview respondents resided in Saint-Georges varied from 8 months to 4 years. They were either government- or privately-sponsored. Saint-Georges is a big village of 11 723 residents[2], with a few industries, including wood and food processing. The village is the service centre of a large farming and wood cutting area that extends south of Quebec City to the United States border. This region has never been very prosperous, due to its hilly terrain, poor soil, and lack of proper transportation to urban centres. From the end of World War II on, urbanization drove half the province population into the Montréal Metropolitan Area (Berneche and Martin 1984: 7). The Beauce (Saint-Georges' region) consequently lost part of its population to the cities. A sharp decrease in Quebec's birth rate since the 1970s, moreover, hastened the decline of the rural population. Saint-Georges has a population almost entirely French, white, catholic and of a rural background. Because of the villagers' inexperience with immigrants, the arrival of such different people (the Vietnamese refugees) aroused the curiosity of the local population (Phạm thị Quế 1987: 208)

The respondents acknowledged the warm welcome they received from the local people, which is confirmed by a government evaluation of the Saint-Georges experience with refugees: "L'ensemble des réfugiés à St-Georges-de-Beauce s'adaptent facilement à leur nouvelle vie, grâce à la compétence des organismes d'acceuil et surtout de la population régionale qui joue un rôle important dans l'insertion des nouveaux venus" (Legros and David 1979: 5) The emotional appeal of the media --picturing the boat people as very needy and distressed--, as well as the traditional solidarity in rural areas, led to a kind and thoughtful reception on the part of the local people. Groups of citizens and the church provided the refugees with initial shelter, food, clothes, and furniture. Teachers gave special attention to the Vietnamese-Canadian children in their classes, and the local school board offered language courses to the adults. One young respondent said that complete

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2. Population figures in chapters 4 and 5 are taken from the 1986 Statistics Canada census, unless contrary indications are provided.

immersion into a French environment helped him learn the language. Devoted individuals looked after the refugees to make sure of their well-being and to assure them some social relationship with Canadians from the majority group The population as a whole, however, soon lost interest in the refugees, as the economic situation in the village worsened. Whatever sensitivity the local inhabitants may have had to the refugee plight, they soon came to regard the Vietnamese refugees as a threat to the local job market. The refugees were regarded as foreigners who came to their village in order to "steal their jobs", and not as Vietnamese Canadians fully part of society

The cultural change from Sài-gòn to a small Canadian town was certainly striking. No ethnically-specific activities were possible in Saint-Georges One respondent, a young married woman, quite happy to be in Canada and willing to integrate, suffered from the sudden change in her diet. She insisted on the fact that "although there was one Chinese restaurant in Saint-Georges, it really did not taste like Chinese cuisine, and I could not get used to Canadian food". She referred to one of these restaurants, of which there are many in the province, serving Canadian and Chinese food, along with spaghetti and pita sandwiches There was no place in the village where one could buy Chinese tea, the rice or noodles proper to certain dishes, oriental sauces and spices, chopsticks, or a statue of Buddha to put on the family altar. More importantly, communication was difficult, due to the lack of interpreters. The Canadian code of behaviour had to be learned at once, without the intermediary of an ethnic community The celebration of the New Year (Tết) was often skipped, as the one hour's drive to Quebec City was not always possible on the day the feast was organized there. Costly long-distance phone calls had to be made in order to gain information about Vietnamese-Canadian activities in Montréal, and some news about the homeland.

The general feeling of cultural isolation expressed by the interview respondents was worsened by a lack of job opportunities Even a Sino-Vietnamese couple who moved to Saint-Georges after residing in Montréal for a while (unlike most refugees) have recently come back to the city for reason of unemployment (Phạm thị Quế 1987: 210-212). In the sample, a young mechanic who just got his diploma from the local high school, a former university

professor, a would-be pharmacist and a young lady married to an oriental medicine specialist, all had to move out of the village in order to earn a living. Now practicing their professions in Montreal, all of them buy their food in Chinese or Vietnamese groceries, two regularly go to the Vietnamese pagodas, and three reside in the Côte-des-Neiges district where family members and Vietnamese-Canadian friends live.

4.3.2 Québec City

Québec City, as the oldest European settlement in Canada, had been an immigrant city long before a sizeable number of Vietnamese refugees arrived there at the end of the 1970s. Irish parishes, a small Chinatown, a Synagogue, a Greek orthodox church, have once existed in that city; the Irish cathedral has recently been thorn down for condominium development, the only Synagogue has been converted into a theatre at the end of the 1970s, the Greek church is no longer operational, and Chinatown has reduced to two groceries and a few restaurants. After World War II, however, Québec City's ethnic minority groups moved to Canadian metropolises and their institutions and businesses closed down. More than 90% of Québec City's population (164 580 people in total) is at present French-white-catholic, and increasingly middle-class. The range of general services, however, is quite complete, since the city is a provincial capital and contains well-developed industries, businesses, companies and public services. The presence of "visible minorities" is quite discreet and centered upon the small Université Laval foreign student community. Although Québec City offered a large job market a few decades ago, manufacturing plants have closed down as a result of the service sector expansion, in which the majority of the active population is now engaged. And this sector is not easily open to people who do not speak the language well, and whose diplomas and experience are not recognized in Canada.

The three Québec City respondents had lived there from 6 months to 5 years. They liked the city, although it is not very cosmopolitan, for its diversity of services and for its relative availability of jobs. They mentioned a rather indifferent attitude of the Quebeckers towards them,

without hostility however. Despite the ethnic and linguistic homogeneity of Québec City, the respondents did not find it easy to learn French, as the number of Vietnamese Canadians sent by the government or privately sponsored to Québec City was sufficient for a small institutional and informal community to exist. This community allowed for a rich social network to develop among Vietnamese-Canadian families, a few restaurants serving typical food to establish, traditional feasts to be celebrated, and Vietnamese language courses for the children to be offered (Dorais *et al.* 1987: 40,164)

Despite the presence and activities of a small Vietnamese-Canadian community in Québec City, one of the respondents moved to Montréal after six months because he could not stand being "all alone in that foreign city" (as he stated), while his acquaintances and family members were then in Montréal The two other Québec City respondents moved out because they lacked job opportunities, which they found more numerous in Montréal. The Québec City Vietnamese-Canadian community, reached 900 members in 1980, owing to government and private group efforts; in 1985, the group had remained stable because of births and family sponsorship that counterbalanced secondary migration to Montréal (Nguyễn Huy and Louder 1987: 126) The low government housing allowance led to a slight residential concentration in the Basse-Ville (lower town) low-rent district. Those who stayed in Quebec City were mostly professionals who could benefit of socio-economic opportunities (employment in Université Laval or the Québec government offices) and tended to reside in a wealthier suburb close to the campus (Nguyễn Huy and Louder 1987: 129). Many Québec City Vietnamese, however, still come to Montréal in order to celebrate the New Year (Tết).

4.3.3 Saint-Jérôme and Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu

Saint-Jérôme, an outer suburb North of Montréal (47 km from downtown), and Saint-Jean, a town reachable in half an hour's drive, are both very homogeneous in their ethnic composition, so homogeneous that racial discrimination has even been noted in Saint-Jérôme where landowners refused Vietnamese refugees as tenants on the basis of their ethnicity (Legros and David 1980: 7). The economic development of the two towns has been somewhat

limited by the proximity of Montréal, although they have benefitted from some expansion of the service sector (a military base in Saint-Jean, the Mirabel airport near Saint-Jérôme). The mid-1960s movement towards outer suburbs has permitted Saint-Jérôme and Saint-Jean, in addition, to reach in 1981 populations of 25 110 and 35 640 inhabitants respectively, a part of whom worked in Montréal on a daily basis. But the sharp increase in the cost of gasoline has since brought many outer suburb residents back to Montréal or immediate environs (between 1981 and 1986, Saint-Jérôme had lost 7,2% of its population, and Saint-Jean 2,5%).

The Saint-Jérôme respondent lived there for 5 months, visiting Montréal as often as his two simultaneously held jobs enabled him. The fascination Montréal exerted on him was tempered by his obligation to work in a Saint-Jérôme manufacturing plant to sustain his family before he could afford moving to the city, where the cost of living was quite high. He finally moved to Montréal when the Saint-Jérôme Indochinese cohort (36 Vietnamese refugees sponsored there by the Québec government, and 90 Indochinese privately sponsored) had reduced to very few members. Despite his present satisfaction with life among friends and a big Vietnamese-Canadian community, he found Montréal disappointing because "people are colder here". He did not like city life --the stress, social indifference-- and would go back to a smaller town if there were better job opportunities and a Vietnamese-Canadian community large enough to develop intra-ethnic friendships.

The Saint-Jean respondent was elderly and unable to manage on his own because spoke neither French nor English and did not know the social ethic peculiar to Canadian society. His oldest son, married to a French Quebecker, sponsored the respondent, his wife and eight brothers and sisters to Saint-Jean. The poor elderly couple felt very isolated, unable to communicate at all and to retain their life-long habits. The son, very busy working, did not bring them very often to Montréal's Chinatown, from where they would return with a month's food supply. They could not do anything by themselves, and felt discriminated against by "all these whites", as they said. After a year, they left the son despite the strong family links and sense of indebtedness that united them to him, and settled in a obsolete dwelling in the middle of

Montréal's Chinatown where the ten of them now live in a five room apartment. Even if winters are cold in the ill-heated house, they are very satisfied with their living in a more familiar world (Chinatown).

4.3.4 Other respondents

The remaining twenty-two interview respondents had first resided at various other places in Canada. One of them was all alone in a very small village of the Beauce region where he was the sole "immigrant" He stayed there two years, living in the presbyter and enjoying much help from the 999 residents of the small community, Sainte-Aurélie-de-Beauce. The interest of the villagers in his fate remained constant, but his knowledge of French is still very rudimentary after his two years among them. He had to move to Montréal to find employment as an unskilled factory worker.

Another respondent was in Sainte-Croix-de-Lotbinière, a small rural community (1 792 residents) 42 km West of Québec City. He got a job at the local industry, but as soon as his children grew up, he moved to Montréal to assure them an education after the high school level.

A woman was in a similar position when she was sponsored in Saint-Grégoire-de-Nicolet, a small settlement (1 904 inhabitants) in the middle of the province, where she and her sister benefitted from the protection of a religious community that helped them cope with their distressful flight experience. After a while, however, they could not stay apart from the world anymore and had to go out for work. The respondent ended up unemployed, unable to say a single word of French despite two sessions of language courses (14 months altogether), alone in a one room Côte-des-Neiges apartment, obviously troubled by her difficult resettlement experience.

Two respondents first lived in Nicolet, a small town of 5 065 inhabitants where they got unskilled work at the local mill. As they could get the same type of job in Montréal, they moved here to live in closer proximity with friends and kin. In Trois-Rivières (50 122 people), lack of job for one respondent, of specialized schools for another, and dislike of

"all-Canadian" (he probably meant what many refugees perceived as being the "typical" Canadian: white English or French-speaking person) neighborhoods for the last one, led them to move to Montréal. The situation of two Hull-Gatineau (58 722 and 81 244 inhabitants respectively) respondents was similar, as the Vietnamese-Canadian communities of these two towns declined rapidly after an initial government dispatch. A respondent resided for a few months in Red Deer (54 425 residents), Alberta, where he did not find a job nor learn much English. Two professionals living in Sherbrooke (74 438 inhabitants) left that town, one after 5 years in order to open a private business in Montréal, and the other after 10 years because of family reasons.

One family first settled in metropolitan Ottawa (300 763 residents), and moved after eight months to look for better jobs in Montréal. Two interviewees initially settled in Calgary (636 104 people in the metropolitan area), where they found lesser jobs than they had expected. They moved here because they merely "preferred" Montréal, not stating any more precise reason.

Two respondents had lived in immediate (Scarborough: 484 676 people) and outer (Cshawa: 123 651 inhabitants) suburbs of Toronto. They had satisfying jobs in Ontario but wanted to live in a city with a bigger Vietnamese-Canadian community. They did not go to Toronto (10 275 Vietnamese of single origin in 1986) because, after visiting the two metropolises, they selected Montréal for its nicer site and the kindness of its people, so they said. The remaining two interviewees, both initially in Toronto, left that city for similar reasons, after visiting Montréal and being convinced by Vietnamese Canadians here. One of them even said that there was less discrimination in Montreal than elsewhere in Canada (that was probably said to please the interviewer).

4.4 Discussion

It is clear, from the above description of experiences with dispersal, that only a few general statements are possible. Most interview respondents mentioned that living outside of cosmopolitan cities involved emotional and

physical isolation, deprivation of a mode of life specific to the Vietnamese culture, lack of job opportunities and separation from members of the extended family. Dispersal also meant a greater linguistic immersion, warmer welcome from small community residents and a quiet rhythm of life that allowed the refugees to recover from a painful flight experience. These disadvantages and advantages of dispersal will be discussed through major impacts of non-metropolitan resettlement on: 1 linguistic adaptation, 2. cultural and social adaptation, and 3. economic integration.

4.4.1 Linguistic Adaptation

Linguistic adaptation is the process by which the immigrants in a given society adopt the dominant language(s) of that society and use it as their main means of communication, at least in the public sphere. In Canada, linguistic adaptation means coming to express oneself clearly in one of the two official languages and to understand French and/or English with some ease.

An all-French or all-English milieu should theoretically hasten the development of linguistic abilities (Kleinmann and Daniel 1981: 241) Most interview respondents, however long their stay in such milieux was and young they were, showed a surprisingly feeble linguistic achievement. Out of thirty interviewees, only seven could have conversations in English or French, of them, three were fluent in French before coming to Canada, two had been here since 1975, and two had an aptitude for languages

The first explanation of the interview respondents' poor performance has to do with the fact that most Vietnamese Canadians arrived here as refugees. Governmental authorities do not take refugee specificity into consideration in the design of resettlement policies, that ignorance partially explains the failure of the dispersal policy Refugees are more subject to mental health problems than voluntary immigrants, because of the sudden uprooting they have experienced (Nguyễn San Duy 1987). Cultural and linguistic isolation, moreover, has a direct relation with psychiatric problems (Cohon 1981: 260). Only a refugee can really appreciate the distress

caused by flight and resettlement; personal accounts by boat people, media reports, books, articles, and talks with Vietnamese refugees, however, give an idea of what the experience of uprooting is like. The refugees do not often accept the situation and retain a life-long hope for going back to their homeland as soon as the situation changes there (Strand and Woodrow 1985: 2); very reasonable people would sometimes not admit that there is no historical example of a Marxist-Leninist régime of the type prevailing in Việt Nam which has ever fallen or drastically changed yet (Phạm thị Quế *et al.* 1989: 113). This general reluctance to accept the reality of exile is likely to prohibit the refugees from integrating in their new society and learning its language It is mostly the Canadian-born generation that will identify itself with Canada, as they are socialized here and rapidly lose some knowledge of the Vietnamese language and culture.

The second explanation of the refugees' lack of fluency concerns the wide gap between their native language and French or English. Only a few Vietnamese refugees were already fluent in French or English upon arrival (Deschamps 1985: 57-58). Vietnamese, moreover, is totally different from the indo-european languages, since it is usually classified in the sino-tibetan family and includes elements of Chinese, Thai and Khmer. It contains 5 tones (*sắc, huyền, nang, hỏi, ngã*). It is a monosyllabic language, with a few composed words, sino-vietnamese synonyms, and repetitions of two equivalent words to express what can also be said with a single word (e g. *chờ đợi* or *chờ* alone, or *đợi* alone all mean *to wait*). The words are invariable: genders do not exist except for human beings, and the plural and verb tenses are formed with a prefix (*các* or *những* for the plural and *đã* or *sẽ* for the verb tenses). The order of words in a sentence is also different from that prevailing in most indo-european languages. Some English and French sounds, in addition, do not exist in Vietnamese (and vice versa). These linguistic differences in almost every grammatical rule do not ease language learning indeed. The differences between languages correspond, moreover, to a wide gap between ways of thought (Denkweisen) (Schneider 1982: 121).

The third explanation deals with the ethnic community's rôle as a linguistic intermediary. Both Québec and Canadian governments spend large

amounts of money and time on language teaching for rather poor results Courses are given entirely in French or English, which most students do not understand at all. An experiment in Québec City has proven that explanations given in the refugee mother tongue were more efficient than those courses taught in the new language right from the beginning (Dorais *et al* 1984). The formation of an ethnic community, offering the resources necessary for linguistic initiation, should therefore not be hampered.

4.4.2 Cultural and Social Adaptation

Life in a rural area is likely to produce a greater cultural shock than in a big city where it is still possible to retain ethnically-specific practices, to share values and behaviours with compatriots, and to learn about the host society through the intermediary of an ethnic community. The way of life in most cities around the world tends to become somewhat homogeneous as international links are tightening.

The contrast between Sài-gon and Montreal, for example, was less important than that between a Vietnamese and a Canadian village. Most refugees from Việt Nam were urban people, even if only for two or three decades. They had been exposed to North American and European way of life in Vietnamese cities before their emigration. Sài-gon, the colonial capital, had rapidly become westernized during the American intervention in the war. Its streets were as crowded as those of Montreal, cinemas and bars shone with the same flashy neon lights and resounded with the same American pop hits Considering the urban background of most Vietnamese Canadians, rural resettlement could not give very positive results

Nor did their experience as refugees prepare them for isolation from their cultural group. The refugees, after the loss of their goods and often of family members, were not psychologically prepared to cope with the foreignness of small towns and villages of Canada Only voluntary migrants can eventually bear with some ease the suddenness of cultural change and show some eagerness to integrate in a new society. Most refugees wanted nothing but to recover --physically and emotionally-- from the stress incurred during

the flight, before they could learn a new language (so different from their own!) and a new code of behaviour, and face the necessities of life in Canada. Some refugees could not get used to Canadian food, were in bad physical condition, and felt deeply depressed for not being able to talk to anyone when they lived in small communities. Others who first resettled in non-metropolitan areas were constantly shocked at Canadian behaviour (speaking loudly, kissing in public, showing anger) that nobody could explain to them in their native language "I find it a great relief to some of my clients to be able to repeat some rituals that are significant to their emotional health", wrote a Vietnamese-Canadian doctor about the intermediary rôle she played between her compatriots and the Canadian society (Bạch Tuyết Đặng 1984: 17).

In big cities, the refugees could adapt more easily Canadian Chinatowns, for example, offered a large range of familiar Chinese foods and medicines, which helped the refugees recover physical good health The intermediary rôle of the rapidly developing Vietnamese-Canadian community in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver served as a determinant help against mental health problems stemming from cultural isolation. The community's economic and moral support was certainly a major factor of cultural integration. And in small communities, the refugees first lacked that support.

4.4.3 Economic Integration

The major rationale for refugee dispersal policies was economic. dispersal was meant to prevent economic problems arising from heavy concentrations of refugees who needed financial assistance. The burden had to be shared. Refugee skills and experience, as a result, were often wasted in non-metropolitan areas. Although soldiers, rice farmers and Vietnamese language teachers, for example, could indeed no longer practice their profession in Canada, a large category of people enriched the big cities with their ethnically-specific skills. Oriental pharmacists or doctors, Buddhist monks, acupuncturists, chefs specialized in fine Vietnamese or Sino-Vietnamese cuisine, singers, painters, and the like, eventually regained their clientele in large cities, owing to an increasing interest for Asian

medicine, philosophies, cultures and arts. Many refugees, resettled in small towns, had to work in local factories or to live on welfare since they could not regain their former professional status. Urban centres offered alternatives to mere de-qualification, such as studies and business opportunities. An exception, however, is cited in Dorion (1986: 95); a Vietnamese-Canadian farmer (one of very few) developed the culture of semi-tropical crops in the countryside on the south shore of Montréal, but still in close proximity to the city market.

The centralised state of the economy in Canada, furthermore, accounts for an increasing concentration of people, goods, and services. The poor economic performance of non-metropolitan areas has affected the new arrivals even more than the general population. Unlike people born in Canada, they had no acquaintances here, their diplomas and experience were not recognized, and they often ignored Canadian work ethics and official languages Their employment status, moreover, was that of the last-employed, first-fired situation. In rural areas, many refugees found themselves deprived of the basic dignity of earning a living. Since welfare and unemployment insurance are not part of Vietnamese traditions, the refugees, reputedly hard-working, had to move to big cities in order to find employment There, they could rely on the Vietnamese-Canadian community, their family and friends for immediate economic help. If economic integration means conformity to the capitalist model of consumerism (i.e. buy a car, a house, a video machine, and all sorts of goods commonly found in Canadian households), the refugees first settled in urban areas succeeded more rapidly because of numerous job opportunities As a matter of fact, the Vietnamese Canadians, probably fascinated by modern goods, have greatly contributed to the economy by becoming eager consumers Rather than "stealing our jobs" --as it is too often heard nowadays--, the refugees and immigrants activate the economy by adopting Canadian consumer patterns and by taking over unwanted jobs necessary for the well-being of the Canadian economic system (Lavigne 1987).

4.5 Conclusion

Geographic dispersal has failed in the case of the Vietnamese Canadians, since an important secondary migration towards cities occurred as a result of economic constraints and cultural isolation. Resettlement of new arrivals in non-metropolitan areas can possibly work only with a special category of people: those who are willing to undertake this experience (dispersal should not be, in any case, coercive), and who are thoroughly informed about it beforehand. Immigrants (and not refugees), who are young and somewhat westernized, if given the facilities to establish themselves, could conceivably integrate and adapt satisfactorily in non-metropolitan areas. Non-metropolitan resettlement can be satisfactory for the immigrants themselves, however, only if jobs related to their qualifications and ambitions are available, and if the ethnic community is large enough to sustain friendships, essential to the quality of life. Twelve interview respondents having experienced non-metropolitan resettlement and now residing in Montréal stated that they would not leave Montreal in any case, the remaining eighteen were willing to move out of Montreal only if they had better jobs and enough compatriots to preserve their culture of origin. The survey of secondary migrants to Montreal demonstrated a widespread concern with economic and cultural well-being among the Vietnamese Canadians in Montréal.

There are therefore two major obstacles against the success of dispersal policies at present. The first obstacle is the decline of economic prosperity outside metropolitan areas and the rapidly increasing concentration of employment, goods, services and people in big cities. The Canadians born here are also subject to rural-urban migration, but most can always make a living in towns and villages, because they know their society and its functioning, they are generally not discriminated against, and they are already adapted to and integrated within a family or a social group in Canada. Among the thirty interview respondents, six were professionals (three dentists, two professors and one pharmacist) in Việt Nam; three of them now occupy unskilled jobs as a result of de-qualification. The three others rapidly left non-metropolitan areas for re-qualification which was offered

only in Montréal (because of the greater diversity of schooling facilities and special programmes directed towards immigrants). They all stated that living in Montréal was unquestionably more advantageous for their own professional future and for the educational prospects of their children.

The second obstacle is cultural. Although the tendency towards residential concentration varies from group to group, the formation of an ethnic community is usual among new arrivals in Canada (Schlichtmann 1977, 16). The ethnic community also appears to be necessary for the immigrants' and refugees' emotional stability, a precondition for economic integration. Most questionnaire respondents, as seen in table 4.1, had friends and family members in Montréal and highly valued residential proximity with their own ethnic community. In most countries of permanent asylum for the Vietnamese refugees, moreover, cultural isolation through non-metropolitan resettlement was fully acknowledged to have failed with respect to integration and adaptation (Hassoun 1983, Héniau 1985, Holland and Desbarats 1983, Wilson 1986). Ethnic communities generally form in large cities where economic and cultural resources are numerous. The ethnic community helps the immigrants and refugees to cope with initial difficulties, and allows them to maintain their cultural ways of life.

Next chapter will demonstrate the amplitude of Vietnamese Canadian residential concentration and offer explanations to the formation of concentrated communities, therefore to the failure of dispersal policies.

CHAPTER 5
GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION OF THE VIETNAMESE CANADIANS IN MONTREAL

5.1 Introduction

The Vietnamese Canadians, after being dispersed upon arrival in this country, initiated an important movement of concentration towards Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. In most resettlement countries, an important secondary migration has been fully acknowledged (Desbarats 1985, Forbes 1985 for the United States, Hassoun 1983, Héniau 1985 for France, Wilson 1986 for Australia). According to the most recent Canadian census, 53,7% of the Vietnamese Canadians now reside in Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal, while only 30 5% of the total population lived in these cities in 1981 (ethnic origin, single and multiple responses). Their institutional community is now highly developed in the three metropolises, and tight-knit social networks have established within the ethnic group. Moving to Canadian metropolises was a means for the Vietnamese Canadians not only to gain access to a wider job market in times of economic difficulties, but also to re-create parts of their suddenly lost social world.

A case study of secondary migration in the province of Québec demonstrates that the proportion of the Vietnamese-Canadian population (single origin) living in Montréal metropolitan area has changed from 74,0% in 1981 to 88,5% in 1986. Vietnamese clusters are emerging within Montréal itself, as the percentage of Vietnamese Canadians who resided in one single neighborhood (Côte-des-Neiges) changed from 22,0% in 1981 to 30,3% in 1986. Secondary clusters have evolved around Jean-Talon and Beaubien streets (Parc Extension and Saint-Laurent boulevard North), on the Plateau Mont Royal, in Ville Mont-Royal, Ville Saint-Laurent and in Brossard. A few authors mention Côte-des-Neiges as the zone of Vietnamese-Canadian concentration in Montréal

(Blanc 1985, Ville de Montréal 1985), even referring to the district as the "Vietnamese Village" (Nguyễn Quý Bổng 1979: 13). The analysis of Vietnamese-Canadian concentrations in Montréal and within the city provides an answer to the how and why the Vietnamese Canadians came to effect a secondary migration towards Montréal, and further regrouped within the urban area.

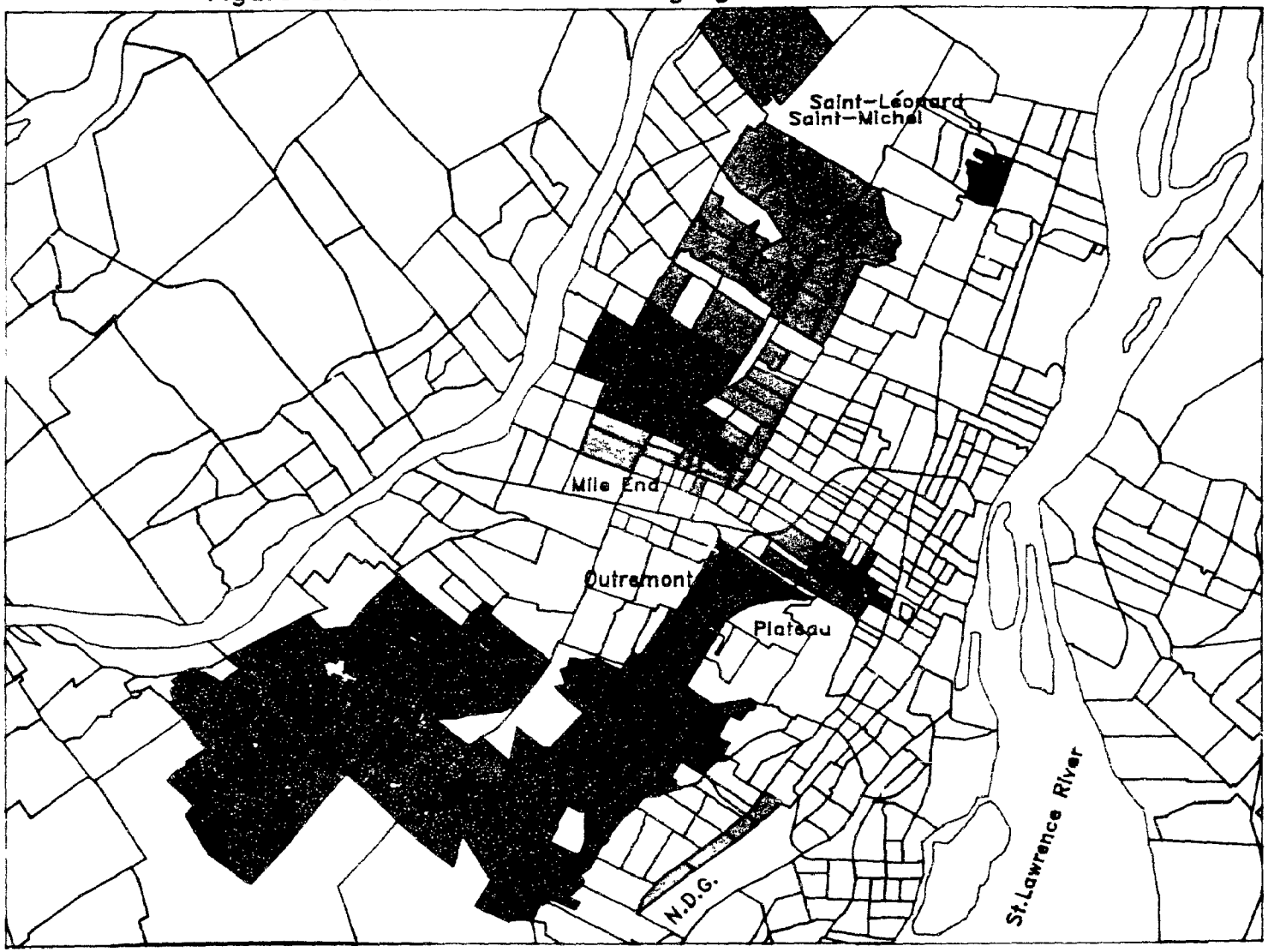
5.2 Montréal

Montréal is a fascinating city for students of ethnic residential segregation because of the particular presence of two major linguistic groups, the French and the English, within the metropolitan area. Like in most north American cities, well-defined neighborhoods have emerged in Montréal (some almost all-French, all-English or with more than half their residents born outside Canada --e.g. Côte-des-Neiges, Côte-Saint-Luc and Hampstead) on the basis of social class, ethnicity, language and religion (Langlois 1985: 50). Overlapping the predominant east-west linguistic division between the French and the English, a number of ethnic districts have developed around specific streets, hence forming a complex mosaic of well-characterized neighborhoods (the major and older ones are shown on figure 5.1). Ethnic districts have evolved according to the type and nature of immigration, the social and economic context, and the changes in urban morphology.

The French had established their Ville-Marie (Montréal's former name) in 1642 near the site of the Lachine rapids. At that time already, the Iroquoians of the island had their semi-permanent settlements apart from the French settlement, now called Old Montréal. Beyond the mountain in present-day Côte-des-Neiges and to the west in Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, missionary activities and the ethnic Iroquoians were residentially and socially segregated from the French newcomers (Harris 1987: 120).

At the time of the English conquest, a secondary town centre developed north of the initial settlement limit, then renamed St. James street. By 1800, the English already tended to be in slight majority in the western part of the island, while the French remained heavily concentrated by the port,

Figure 5.1 Ethnic Residential Segregation in Montréal, 1981.



Main concentrations*

Jewish Canadians

Italian Canadians

Greek Canadians

Portuguese Canadians

* Main concentration correspond to over-representation of these ethnic groups in census tracts.

Source: Polèse et al. 1978, M.C.C.I.Q 1982.

progressively migrating eastward. The immigrants who settled in Montréal during the 19th century were predominantly from the British Isles. The Irish fleeing the 1840s famine formed clusters in catholic working class districts, along the Lachine Canal, then a dynamic pole of manufacturing activity Growing numbers of northern and eastern Europeans were attracted towards Montréal at the end of the century, while agricultural land settlement in the Prairies lost precedence over industrialization in Canada (Burnet and Palmer 1988: 25-27). It is with industrialization that Montréal developed as a cosmopolitan city, with the French working-class heavily concentrated around manufacturing plants in the eastern part of the Island.

The first part of the 20th century witnessed intense changes in Montréal's urban morphology. To the clear-cut division of the island between the two dominant groups, immigrants from origins other than French or English added a new dimension. The Jews and the east Europeans occupied the northern part of downtown, then a zone of cheap housing and slum streets; they later expanded to Saint-Laurent Boulevard and Parc Avenue, commercial roads with low rents, where they developed their own set of community services and ethnically-specific businesses. The Greeks and Portuguese, after World War II, settled in the Mile End, northern section of Parc Avenue, and on the Plateau Mont Royal cheap rental area. The Italians established parishes throughout the northeastern parts of the island (Boissevain 1976: 4-5). The Chinese who migrated from western Canada took over a declining district on the fringe of Old Montréal and formed a small Chinatown, recently the target of gentrification (Chan 1986).

The Canadian-born children of the 1900-1950 immigrants showed a more dispersed residential distribution than their parents, at least for most ethnic groups. Certain communities, culturally close to the dominant groups (e.g. the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Belgians) or in small numbers (the Poles, the Russians, the Spanish) assimilated rapidly and did not leave significant traces in Montréal's residential mosaic (Polese *et al* 1978: 40). The large Italian community (4,0% of Montréal Metropolitan Area's population in 1986) migrated further north and north-east to new suburbs, while the Jews were divided, according to their socio-economic status and religious

affiliation, between the wealthy Outremont neighborhood and the inexpensive Côte-des-Neiges area. Gentrification of downtown Montréal after World War II and the recent restoration of the Parc/Saint-Laurent area led to a major shift of new arrivals' first residential location from downtown to new immigrant districts such as Côte-des-Neiges and Côte-Saint-Luc.

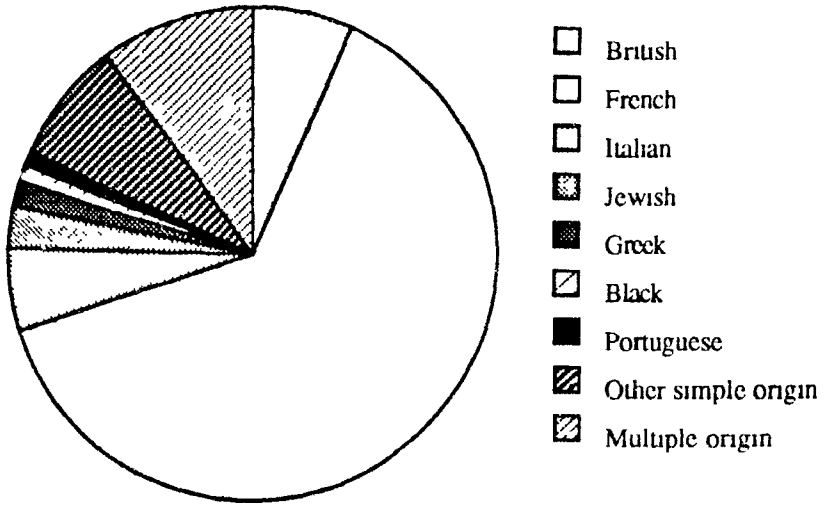
Minority groups coming from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, grew numerous in Canada for the last two decades. Montréal has become a very cosmopolitan city since the arrival of immigrants from these parts of the world (figure 5.2). Refugees from zones of unrest, in addition, have come in large numbers to Montréal, directed by government and relief agencies towards low-cost housing areas.

The importance of suburbs as a place of residence for middle-class minority groups (generally Canadian-born) is growing within the Montréal Metropolitan Area. Saint-Léonard, Ahunsic, Montréal-Nord, Ville Saint-Laurent, Ville Mont-Royal, Côte-Saint-Luc, Verdun, Lasalle, Brossard, Saint-Lambert and a few other residential communities now include large numbers of minority populations. Despite dispersed patterns, increasing with time and generations, only a few suburbs are becoming multi-ethnic, in which small-scale clusters (a few neighboring houses) are being formed, while many suburban areas are still dominated by one of the two majority groups of Canada. Ethnic specific services, however, remain concentrated in older residential districts.

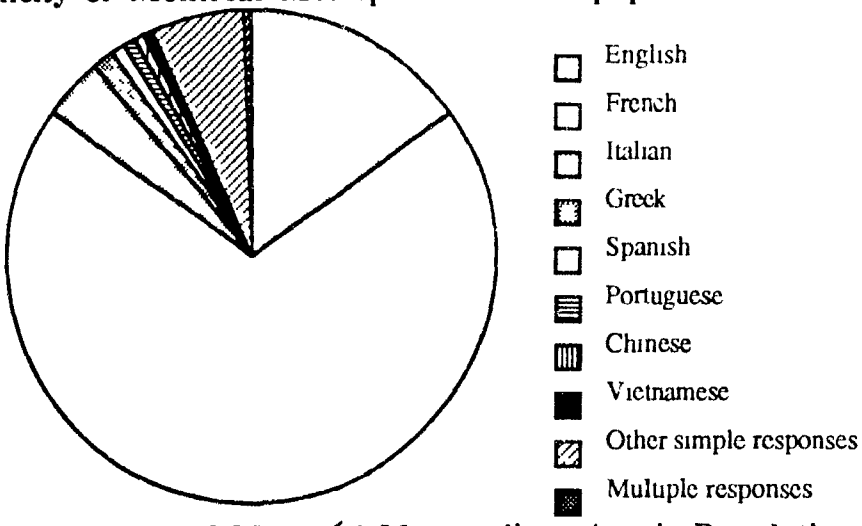
5.3 Vietnamese-Canadian Secondary Migration and Concentration in Montréal

The amplitude of Vietnamese-Canadian secondary migration to Montréal does not match the traditional cultural values of stability, faithfulness to the ancestor land, and family reunion. As a matter of fact, moving is very rare in Vietnam (Phan thị Đắc 1966: 24-36); this is confirmed by figure 5.3 which depicts the residential mobility of the Vietnamese-Canadian respondents to the questionnaire in both their country of origin and Canada. Vietnamese-Canadian residential mobility is much greater than what it was in Việt Nam, despite the evident effect warfare and socialist organization of work have

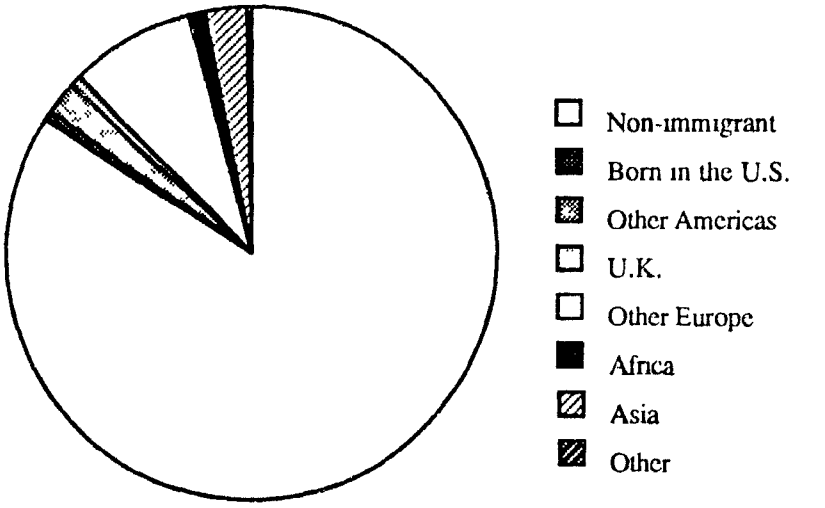
Figure 5.2 Ethnic, linguistic and immigrant characteristics in Montréal



5.2.1 Ethnicity of Montréal Metropolitan Area's population



5.2.2 Mother tongues of Montréal Metropolitan Area's Population

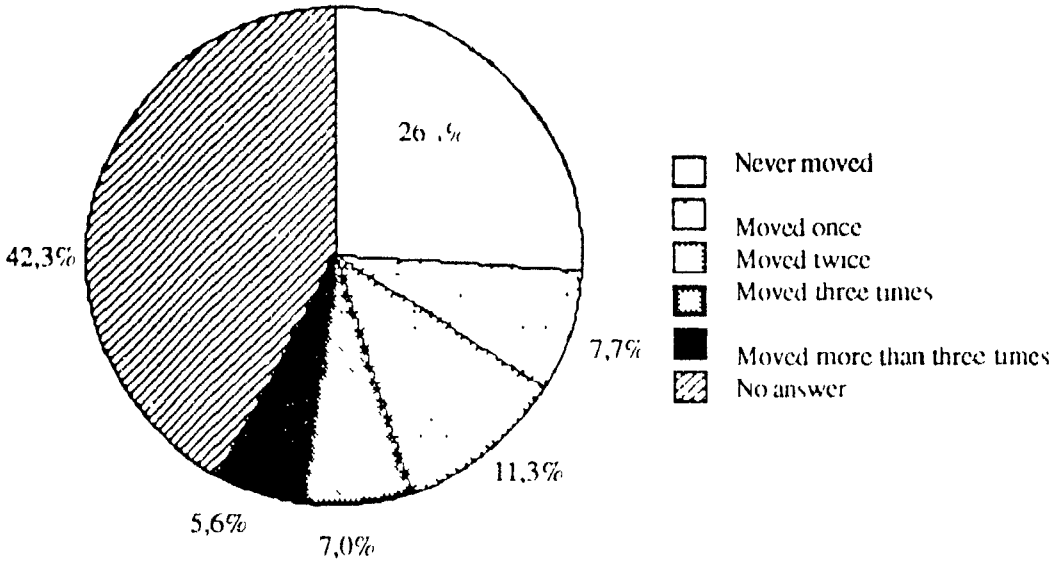


5.2.3 Immigrant Population in Montréal Metropolitan Area

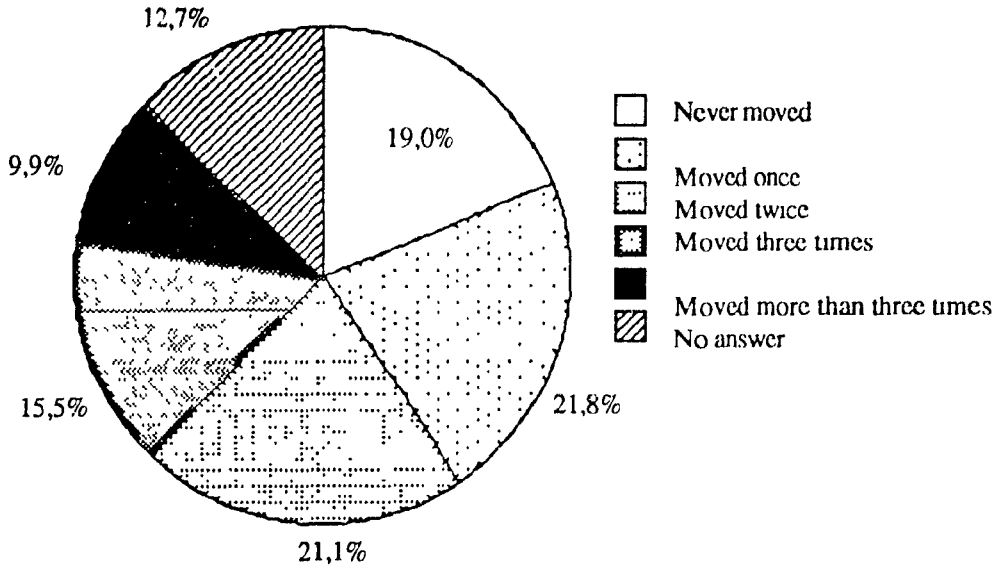
Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 census.

Figure 5.3 Residential Mobility of the Questionnaire Respondents*

* out of 142 respondents
The high rate of 'no answer' on figure 5.3.1 is most probably due to the fact that many people who never moved in Viet Nam were not concerned with the question and ommitted to answer.



5.3.1 Residential Mobility in Viêt Nam



5.3.2 Residential Mobility in Canada

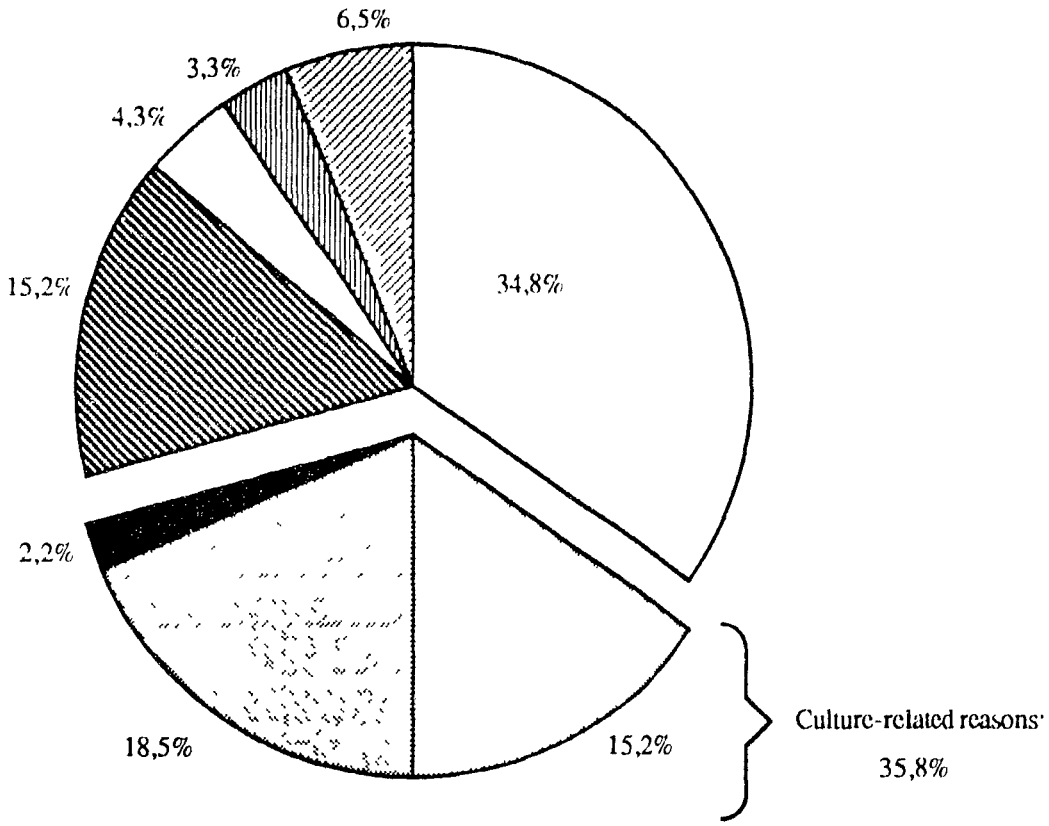
had on mobility in that country. The survey results highlight the fact that the refugees are more 'footloose' in Canada than in the country where their roots lie. More than a quarter of the 142 respondents never moved in Viêt Nam, whereas less than 20%, mostly those in Canada since 1985, never changed their residence in Canada. The residential mobility of the Vietnamese refugees in Canada is quite high, with 46,5% of the questionnaire respondents having moved twice or more since their arrival in this country. This proportion is high, considering the recency of Vietnamese-Canadian settlement in this country.

Residential concentrations of the Vietnamese Canadians in Montreal generally occurred through the process of family reunion and chain migration. Refugees living in Montréal informed their kin and friends resettled outside the metropolitan area about the conditions of life in the city. Seventeen people in the thirty-respondent interview sample were invited by family and friends to move to Montréal. Most of these respondents came to Montréal primarily for finding a job (the why), but the process by which they migrated was that of chain migration through family links (the how). After they arrived in Canada, they rapidly regained contact with extended family members and friends in Montréal, visited them, the city, and its numerous Vietnamese-Canadian services, associations and businesses. The respondents' friends and family often offered initial shelter and some economic help for refugee resettlement in Montréal. Apartment sharing, for example, was common during initial establishment. The interview respondents were rapidly convinced that their future was better among their own ethnic community in Montréal. A few of them, however, saw Montréal as a place where they merely had to move, for economic reasons, even if they would have preferred a quieter place.

Reasons given for residing in Montréal are illustrated on figure 5.4. Most refugees said they lived in Montréal because it is where they found employment (34,8%). The desire to reunite with family members or friends, and to live in closer proximity with other Vietnamese Canadians (15,2%, 2,2% and 18,5% respectively), taken together, exceeded job-related reasons for moving. The convenience of Montréal itself represented 15,2% of the questionnaire respondents' motives for residing in the metropolitan area. Under that

Figure 5.4: Reasons for Residing in Montréal (92 Questionnaire Respondents*)

* Within the total 142-respondent sample, 24 never moved in Canada (and therefore, they had not chosen Montreal and answered 'do not know'), 26 simply ommitted to answer the question



heading were regrouped all reasons for residing in Montréal that concerned the facilities of the city itself, such as the availability of cheap housing, the transportation system, the relative absence of racial discrimination, the variety of schooling opportunities and leisure activities. **Five** respondents who gave 'convenience' as a reason for residing in Montreal did not specify wether they talked about Montréal, their neighborhood or their house. Ten respondents explicitly characterized the district in which they lived (cheap housing, numerous markets and other services). Overall, **19,9%** respondents entered in that category. The sub-sample of who gave 'convenience' as a reason for residing in Montréal regrouped respondents mainly in the 20-35 age group, females, professionals or blue collars in Việt Nam, white or blue collars in Canada, ethnic Vietnamese, the least educated and mostly Catholics. **Four** refugees settled in Montréal because they were asked to do so by the government. **Three** respondents of various ages, all ethnic Vietnamese, well-educated and accompanied by their close family members upon arrival in Canada, were in Montréal to pursue their studies. **Six** other people declared that the greater familiarity they had with Montréal, their preference for the French language, their spouse job assignment here, or their children desire to live in Montréal, primarily influenced their residential choice (these six respondents are defined as 'others' in figure 5.4).

Annex 3, which regroups the questionnaire responses according to the variable "reasons for residential location", demonstrates that it is impossible to draw a typical portrait of the secondary migrants whose residential location is determined by job opportunities, cultural factors or mere convenience; as a matter of fact, correlations between "reasons for residential location" and other variables vary between -0,379 and +0,335, which is too weak to be significant. These results most probably stem from the snowball sampling scheme (the only practicable) which was used in this study. Only "former experience as refugees" (correlation: +0,335), "religion" (+0,334), and the "former job in Việt Nam" (+0,327) had some positive relationship with "reasons for residential location". "Accompaniment upon arrival in Canada" (correlation: -0,325) and "schooling in Việt Nam" (-0,379) had a weak negative relationship with the dependent variable.

The sample data will therefore be used conjointly with information provided by the community leaders and by numerous talks with Vietnamese Canadians. The questionnaire data will be used as a numerical basis for discussion (the relative numbers who were economically or culturally-oriented) while interview data, which provides detailed information on the mechanisms of residential decision-making, will permit further explanation The discussion of the two most significant sets of reasons for Vietnamese-Canadian residential distribution, i.e. economic-employment and family-community reasons, will be further supported by findings from other studies on refugee adaptation in final asylum countries.

5.3.1 Employment

In total, 32 people answered that they moved to Montréal in order to find employment or that their residence in Montréal was due to job possibilities here. Responses such as "here for work", "I came to Montréal to look for a job", "we moved here to open a business" or "we live here because there are jobs available" were regrouped in the economic category. Since there is no major link between the dependent and independent variables in annex 3 (and therefore no "typical" economically-motivated secondary migrant), evidence from the literature and information provided by the interview respondents will allow for further understanding of economic factors of residential location.

In Canada today, there are a few objective conditions that have led to a general movement of population towards the three metropolitan poles of economic development: Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Economic activities such as agriculture, small-scale enterprises and cottage industry have lost ground to the benefit of the service sector of the economy and large manufacturing and transformation industries (Canada, EIC 1986: 36-39). The high percentage (34,8%) of questionnaire respondents who were concerned primarily with questions of employment reflects their knowledge of the bad state of the economy in Canadian rural areas. The interview respondents (all were secondary migrants to Montréal) mentioned a job-related reason for their moving to Montréal; although some gave a cultural reason for moving, all but

those who first resettled in Toronto indicated that there was no job opportunities in smaller cities and villages of the country. A recent study by a government advisory group in Québec (Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration), based on the Indochinese experience in the province, concluded that secondary migration occurred because there is a general lack of jobs in non-metropolitan areas (Québec, C.C.C.I. 1989: 8). Employment shortage affects the Québec population as a whole, and has been the basic motivation for moving to Montréal over the past few decades (Bernèche and Martin 1984).

Economic problems in the regions have influenced the Vietnamese refugees even more than the established population of Canada. New arrivals lacked knowledge of the official languages, job ethics, and contacts within the job market. De-qualification has also been widespread among the refugees, whose diplomas were lost during the flight process, or simply not recognized in Canada. That aspect of refugees' economic integration was discussed in the previous chapter.

The formation of a concentrated community in metropolitan areas has a major positive impact on refugee employment (Johnson 1988: 1). In Montréal, the community was especially useful during initial settlement, when the refugees often found jobs within the ethnic network and, at first, without a required knowledge of French or English. The interview respondents often mentioned, for example, that manufacturing plants hire Vietnamese-Canadian foremen/women who provide jobs to their compatriots and act as interpreters between them and the bosses. Vietnamese-Canadian subcontractors also give work to their compatriots, mostly females, in the home clothing industry. The expanding Vietnamese-Canadian sector of Montréal's economy provides jobs as clerks, waiters, packers, technicians, secretaries or accountants in places mostly frequented by Vietnamese Canadians.

The social links formed among members of the same ethnic group also acts as a means of job information for new arrivals. A case study of the Koreans in the United States, most of them immigrants during the 1960s, demonstrates the fact that they obtain information about jobs through

personal contacts with other Koreans (Kim *et al.* 1981). That system appears true also for the Vietnamese Canadians.

The family, primary unit of Vietnamese society, traditionally has a major economic function in Việt Nam: mutual aid and solidarity among relatives. In Canada, dispersal of the extended family network has rendered family solidarity difficult to transplant. Close residential proximity with relatives or even residence under one roof permits important economies on the cost of housing, transportation, daycare, etc. It was observed, throughout the course of this study, and particularly during interviews, that sharing apartments was very common, in fact, **thirteen** out of **thirty** respondents lived with relatives outside the nuclear unit (married people with their younger sisters and brothers, parents with their married children, cousins, nephews and nieces, etc.). The traditional economic support within the extended family has been partially transplanted in Canada and does, as acknowledged by many interview respondents, ease economic integration in the new society

5.3.2 Family Reunion and the Vietnamese-Canadian Community

> ... the refugees rarely expected any direct assistance from their compatriots, although they will consent to many sacrifices in order to move into an area where they have heard there are other refugees. Their view is although it is good to be around people who have things in common with, only a few persons will really assist you - namely, your relatives and your friends who have reason to feel concern for you. Moving close to a refugee community then makes sense mostly because it enhances the chance of getting near friends and family (Trần Minh Tụng 1980: 160).

The three culture-related reasons for residing in Montreal, added to each other, make up 35,8% of the sample respondents (i e 33 persons), slightly more than the economic-related responses. Taken separately, life in a big Vietnamese-Canadian community (18,5%) was more important than the desires to be reunited with family members (15,2%) and with friends (2,2%).

Việt Nam is part of a cultural world very different from the European or north American cultures. The ways the Vietnamese conduct their lives, their profound values and beliefs (importance given to the past, prolongation

of life through descendence, spirits, reincarnation), the social attitudes and behaviors (respect, group solidarity, reserve, politeness, manners), are deeply influenced by the *tam giáo*, i.e. the three doctrines: Ancestor worship, Buddhism and Confucianism. This fundamental structure of Vietnamese society regulates every aspect of life (Fitzgerald 1972: 14). Even the most westernized adults are deeply marked by Vietnamese culture and mentality.

Among the groups to which the Vietnamese belong, family is their primary social world and the smallest significant unit of human life (Walls 1986: 30). In fact, most Vietnamese coming to Canada today do so in order to reunite with family members and are motivated to concentrate with those of the same ethnic group The importance of family is so often acknowledged by students of the Vietnamese society that it has become a truism (Bach Tuyêt Dang 1984: 16, Lê Thành Khôi 1987: 97, Schneider 1982: 66). The very complexity of the Vietnamese pronouns to designate family members further attests the importance given to family (Spencer 1945, Haines 1984, 1988) Traditionally, the larger Vietnamese family was, the wealthier it was. Different generations lived under one roof, so as to guarantee emotional and economic stability of all. The agricultural economy was based on large family units (Hickey 1964). The family also functioned as a spiritual unit, based on *tam giáo*, solidarity, preservation of traditions, and devotion to ancestors.

"After one year in America, refugees still had difficulty accepting American values such as (1) dispersal of the extended family, (2) numerical limits on home occupancy, (3) indifference and disrespect toward old people..." (Liu *et al.* 1979: 170). In Canada, what the Vietnamese Canadians considered the "normal" family has become "extended"; the traditional family size does not fit the Canadian housing market and economic system Among interview respondents, two families actually lived in quite crowded conditions, as noted by Neuwirth and Clark (1981: 136) in Ottawa, for instance; one family of ten resided in a five-room apartment, whereas a couple and their two children lived in a one-room dwelling in Côte-des-Neiges. Residential proximity with family members is in general very much valued in Viêt Nam. Even though most Vietnamese Canadians are becoming oriented towards the future instead of toward respect for the past, ancestor

worship is still practiced and elders' homes very unpopular. And respect of traditions, so much part Vietnamese culture, demands residential concentration The Vietnamese Canadians in Montreal without the support of at least one relative or friend are very few (only **one** interview respondent out of **thirty** lived on his own). While distributing questionnaires, it was observed that many children, and often adults other than a nuclear family couple, were present in the respondent house.

The re-establishment of friendship was mentioned by the **thirty** interview respondents as a prerequisite to their well-being in Canada. As part of the Vietnamese society, they did not often refer to themselves as individuals. Even in modern Viêt Nam, the individual is far less valued than in most western societies The pronoun I (*tôi*) is of recent introduction in the Vietnamese language, *tôi* was formerly used to designate *"the subject of the king"* (the original meaning of the word) Other pronouns are used to name the speaker and the person addressed, whose identity is not one (a I), but multiple (Lê Thành Khôi 1987· 127). A young woman names herself "child" (*con*) and her parents "mother and father" (*mẹ va cha*) she is *chị* for a younger brother (*em trai*) and *em gái* for an older one (*anh*) The identity of an individual varies according to the people addressed, and the interlocutors' names correspond to their age and hierarchical status. In Việt Nam, the individual does not exist, only the group is important (Haines 1988. 3, Phan thị Đắc 1966).

Transplanted in Canada, the Vietnamese need to be part of a social group in order to secure their basic identity, which lies at the level of the group. Only in reference to a group can they really exist. Individualism is gaining ground among the Vietnamese Canadians, but their general desire to concentrate is highly influenced by a profound cultural value, the importance of the group in Vietnamese society. Even the Vietnamese Canadians who have achieved a high socio-economic integration (the professionals speaking fluent French or English, for example), remain non-integrated as to their friendship network, limiting their relationships to members of the same ethnic group or family members (Aylesworth *et al.* 1978: 69). Only **three** interview respondent, when asked about their friends' ethnicity (those they knew enough to invite

in their home or to visit), declared ethnic groups other than Vietnamese or Sino-Vietnamese.

In addition to the presence of family members and friends in Montreal as a stimulus for residential location, the interview respondents further expressed their satisfaction with living in Montréal because of the numerous services provided by the large Vietnamese-Canadian community in the city Living in close residential proximity with other Vietnamese Canadians was a means, for them, to preserve cultural values, to re-establish self-identity, and to re-assure emotional stability and well-being in Canada. Just after the painful events of 1975, Dr. Trần Minh Tụng, former Health Minister in the South Vietnamese government, declared: "Against the distresses [these caused by the flight process], the protection and remedy most frequently advocated and ardently sought for is the presence of a native (Vietnamese) community" (quoted in Liu *et al*. 1979: 119).

The interview respondents further explained in some details the necessity of large community support. They all mentioned their need for friends who shared their Vietnamese identity and could understand the experience of being refugees; the respondents further expressed their satisfaction for being able to carry on daily activities in their mother tongue, their need for Asian goods, and the numerous opportunities they had to receive help from their community services in Montréal. All but four interview respondents had video machines on which they played Vietnamese films, hardly available outside Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. They could offer to their family a leisure (and cultural security) without having to wait the many years it will take them to become fluent in French or English. All regularly went to Vietnamese or Chinese restaurants where they could be served in their mother tongue. It seems that specific food patterns cannot change rapidly; the food, as trivial as it may seem, remains a prominent ethnic marker, as it is adopted at a very early age and forms the body and the taste (Van Esterik 1982: 207-208). The Indochinese, not used to dairy products for example, have initial difficulties to overcome their repugnance to cheese, milk and butter. In the United States, "... most refugees who returned [from the Snowbelt states] wanted to stay in California because of

its imported Asian foods.. " (Liu *et al* 1979· 163). In Canada, Chinatowns offering Asian foods are found only in large cities; in Eastern Canada, moreover, Montreal is the only large centre of Asian trade.

Other cultural needs further required the formation of a residentially-concentrated community In addition to the economic activities specifically serving the Vietnamese Canadians in Montreal, religious and cultural services are provided here. Four Vietnamese pagodas and a cao-đaist temple allow for the maintenance of religious cults, and numerous cultural associations in Montréal each have a specific function; one such association enhances ancestor cult (to đình từ quang), another promotes Vietnamese literature (thanh niên văn làng), one seeks to maintain a place in the community for the elderly (hội tuổi vang rồng vang), and numerous other defend specific political positions

Community services also include activities of culture preservation (courses in the ancestral language, dances, music, Asian sports and publishing activities) in concentrated settlements (Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver) as an alternative to mere assimilation. Residential concentration is necessary for the celebration of traditional feasts, and some cultural values to be retained, owing to frequent social contacts with members of the same ethnic group. The activities and services provided by a large and concentrated ethnic community played a major rôle in the Vietnamese concentration movement in Canada. The quality of life that the community allows for is understandably attractive to most Vietnamese in Canada

5.5 Vietnamese-Canadian Concentration within Montréal

The Vietnamese Canadians did not only experience a movement of secondary migration from non-metropolitan areas to the major cities of Canada; they also formed concentrated settlements within specific neighborhoods of these cities. The case of Montréal will be here studied in some details in order to understand how and why the Vietnamese Canadians concentrated in a small range of the city's neighborhoods.

Figures 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 illustrate the residential distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians within Montréal Metropolitan Area. Concentrations of the Vietnamese-Canadian population are discernable, with a segregation coefficient[1] of 0,67 for the Indochinese (ethnic origin) in 1981 (Polese and Veltman 1985: 52). The high value of this coefficient indicates that the Indochinese in Montreal are more residentially concentrated than most groups (Chinese, Haitians, Portuguese or Caribbean); only the Jews and the Armenians are more concentrated (Veltman *et al.* 1986: 41). On the island of Montréal itself, one district stands out from the maps as *the* Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhood in the city: Côte-des-Neiges. Section 5.5 1 will attempt to provide explanation to the reasons why the Vietnamese Canadians settled in that area. Figure 5.5.3 shows that Côte-des-Neiges gained population between 1981 and 1986, as did Brossard and to a certain extend the Mile End area and Parc Extension. Through further discussion below, these maps will remain, in addition to questionnaire and interview data, the bases for analysis

In addition to the maps, table 5.1 allows for a refined analysis of Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods and their evolution in Montréal After Côte-des-Neiges, the most important concentration of people whose mother tongue is Vietnamese in 1986 is the Parc Extension area. A high 720 Vietnamese Canadians have moved to the area which has experienced a relative increase of 46,7% between 1981 and 1986; even if the Vietnamese-Canadian population's increase in Parc Extension is lower than that of Côte-des-Neiges (925 people between 1981 and 1986), its relative increase is exceeded only by that of Saint-Henri (+95,7%). Saint-Henri's rapid increase is most probably

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1. The segregation coefficient is defined as the percentage of an ethnic population that should be displaced in order to adopt the general population's residential patterns. It is here calculated with Statistics Canada census statistics on ethnic origins (single responses). The coefficient is computed with the following formula:

$$Si = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{|Eij/Ei - Pj/P|}{2}$$, where Eij - number of people of ethnic group i in census tract j.
Ei - number of people of ethnic group i in total area (sum of census tracts).
Pj - total population of census tract j.
P - total population of the area.

(Polèse *et al.* 1978: 20).

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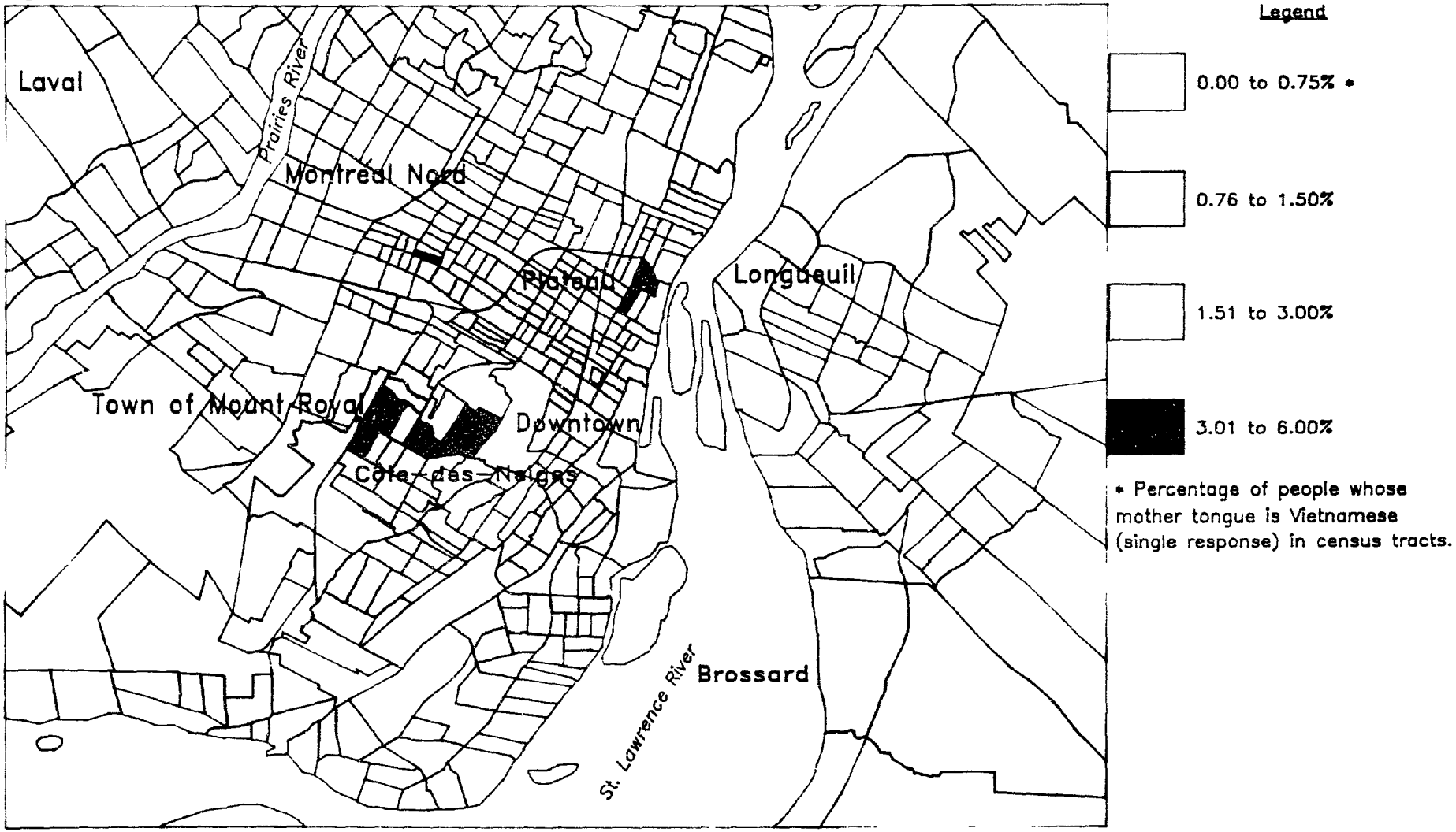
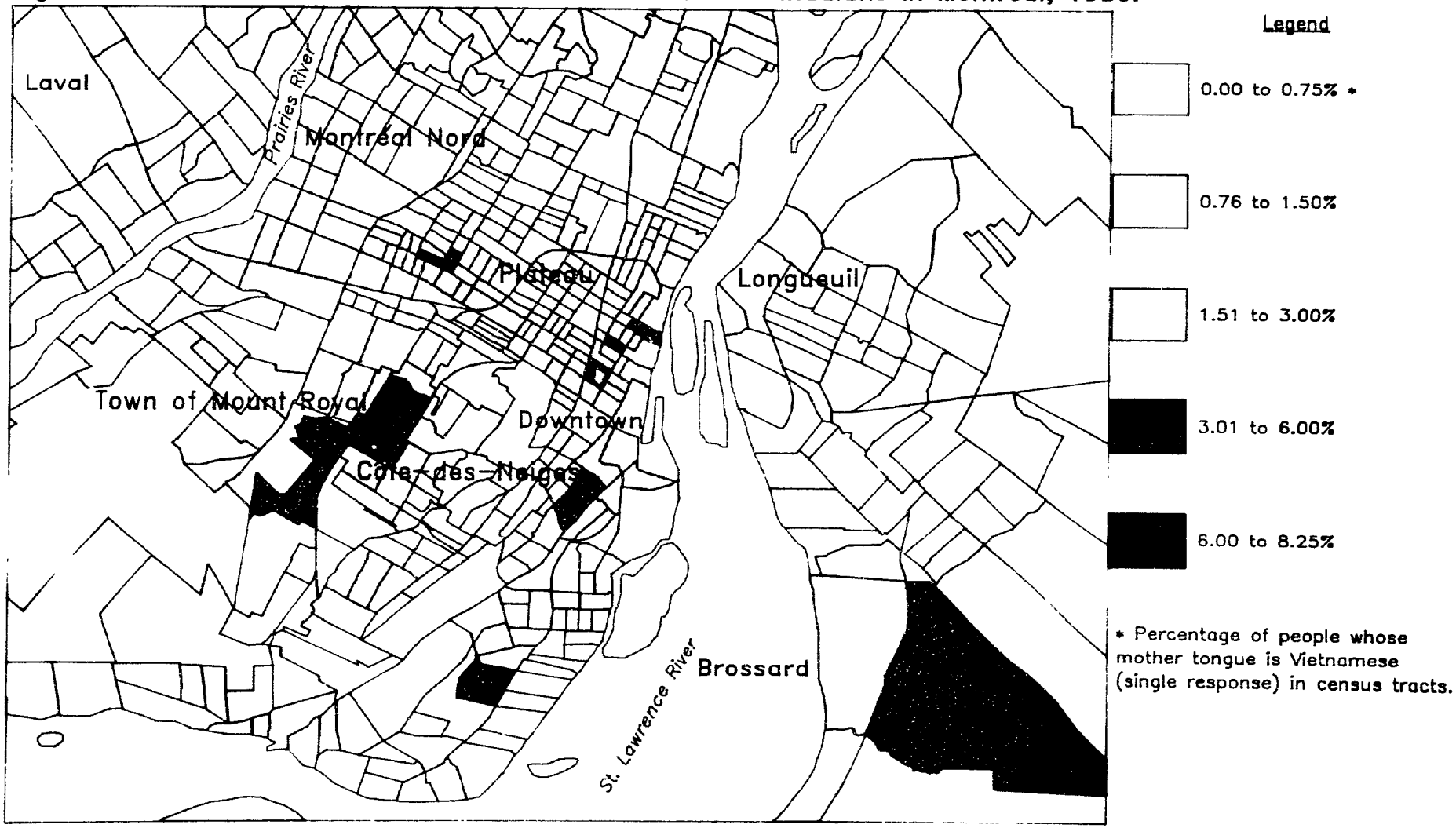
Figure 5.5.1 Residential Distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians in Montréal, 1981



Source: Statistics Canada 1981 (mother tongue, single response), M.C.C.I.Q. special compilation.

Figure 5.5.2 Residential Distribution of the Vietnamese Canadians in Montréal, 1986.



Source: Statistics Canada 1986 (mother tongue, single response), M.C.C.I.Q. special compilation.

Figure 5.5.3 Gains and Losses in Vietnamese–Canadian Neighborhoods in Montréal, 1981–1986.

Source: Statistics Canada 1981 and 1986 (mother tongue, single response), M.C.C.I.Q. special compilation.

due to the establishment of new public housing units and the availability of dwellings in the district, peripheral to downtown. The Plateau Mont Royal ranked second as a Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhood in 1981; in 1986, however insignificant its losses (60 people whose mother tongue is Vietnamese had moved out of the neighborhood in 1986), now ranks fourth in numerical importance. The Plateau has experienced a rapid gentrification from the early 1980s on, and rents are becoming very expensive in most of the neighborhood.

Table 5.1 The Vietnamese-Canadian Neighborhoods of Montréal

Population Neighborhoods	Total 1981 (percent)	Total 1986 (percent)	Change (percent)	Ranks 1981	Ranks 1986
Côte-des-Neiges	1460 (22,0)	2425 (30,0)	+925(+24,8)	1	1
Parc Extension	410 (6,2)	1130 (14,2)	+720(+46,7)	4	2
Brossard	450 (6,8)	705 (8,8)	+255(+22,1)	3	3
Plateau Mont Royal	700 (10,5)	640 (8,0)	- 60 (-4,5)	2	4
Ville Saint-Laurent	280 (4,2)	415 (5,2)	+135(+19,1)	6	5
Longueuil	375 (5,7)	375 (4,7)	± 0 (±0,0)	5	6
Saint-Henri	5 (0,1)	230 (3,0)	+225(+95,7)	9	7
Saint-Léonard	155 (2,3)	145 (1,8)	- 10 (-3,3)	7	8
Ville Mont-Royal	125 (1,8)	100 (1,3)	- 25(-11,1)	8	9
Ville-Anjou	85 (1,3)	95 (1,2)	+ 10 (+5,6)	10	10
Other locations	2595 (39,1)	1745 (21,8)	-850 (-19,5)	--------	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1986 censuses, mother tongue.

Suburban cities have also attracted quite a few Vietnamese Canadians over the past few years. Brossard was in expansion and offered new houses at relatively low prices in the mid-1960s, precisely when most Vietnamese students who stayed in Montréal after their education was completed gained access to private property. Unlike the Canadian-born, the Vietnamese Canadians arrived in this country in waves. Among the students, for example, many decided to stay in Canada during the four years that followed the fell

of the Diệm régime in 1963; after a year or two working as professionals in Montréal, most bought houses in the suburbs in expansion from 1967 to 1974, i.e. Brossard, and to a smaller extend Longueuil, Saint-Leonard, Ville Mont-Royal and Ville d'Anjou Ville Saint-Laurent stands out as a suburb offering predominently low-rent apartment housing. Part of the district (census tracts 419 and 417), precisely where the Vietnamese Canadians concentrate, is similar to Côte-des-Neiges as to the age of the housing stock, its degree of maintenance and its rents. The origin of Vietnamese-Canadian concentration there is mainly the fact of the Québec government, which signed special agreements with largeholders for the reception of mainly Khmer, but also Laotian and Vietnamese refugees in 1979-80. The 280 Vietnamese refugees resettled in Ville Saint-Laurent in 1981 probably acted as catalysts for the growth of Vietnamese-Canadian presence in the neighborhood, now reaching 415 individuals whose mother tongue is Vietnamese.

Concentrations of Vietnamese Canadians within Montréal metropolitan area is well-established and rapidly growing; 39,1% of the people whose mother tongue is Vietnamese resided in 1981 outside of the ten main Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods listed on table 5 1, while in 1986, only 21,8% of them did not live in concentrated settlements. The questionnaire sample (142 respondents) contained 57,8% residents of Côte-des-Neiges, 28,2% who lived elsewhere, and 14,1% who did not specify where they resided.

The concentrations of Vietnamese Canadians are therefore very dynamic and if the current growth continues over the next few years, their neighborhoods in Montréal will become even more well-defined that they are at present.

5.5.1 Côte-des-Neiges

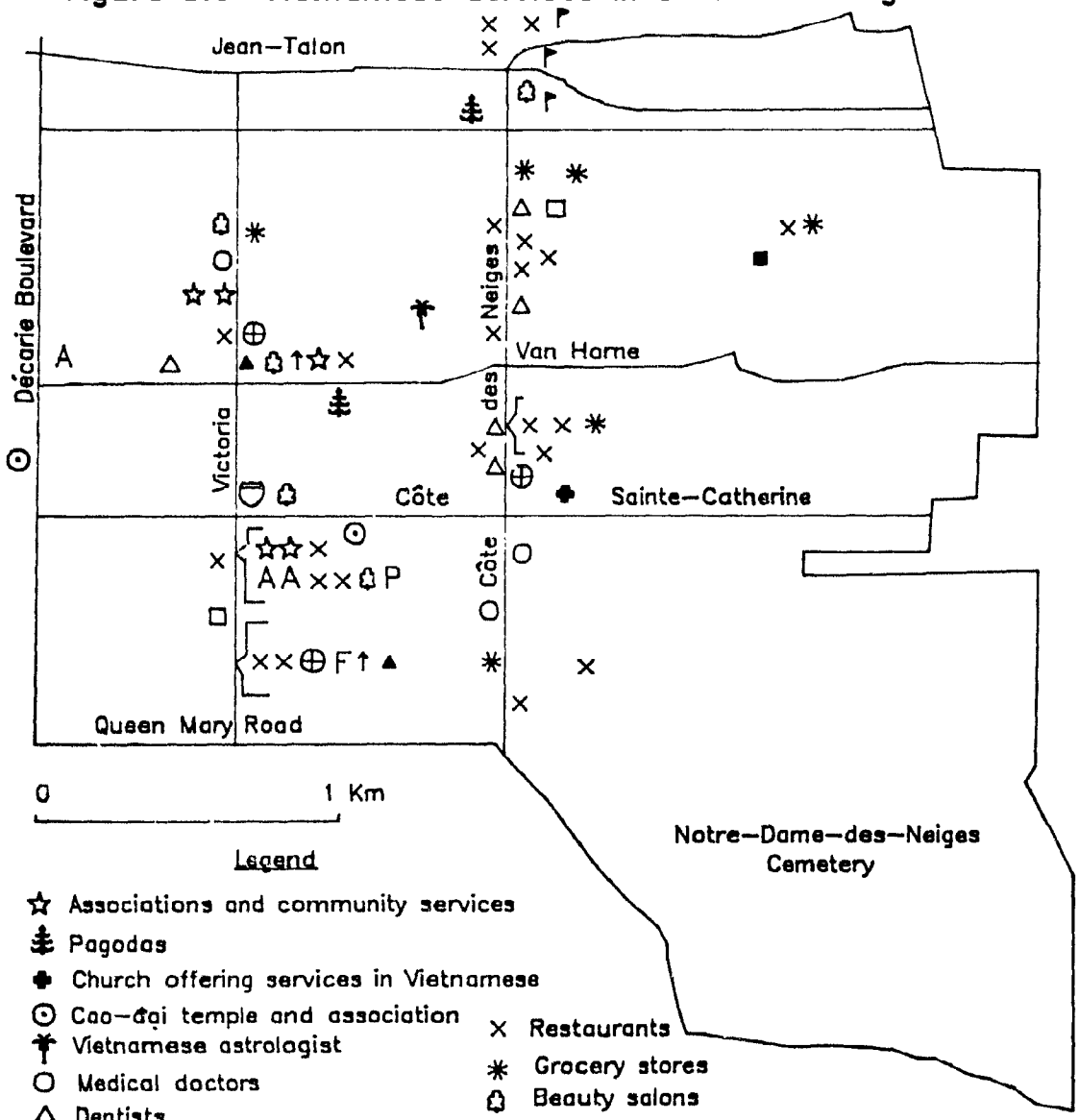
In 1986, 30,3% of the Vietnamese Canadians in Montréal were concentrated in the Côte-des-Neiges area, a low rent multi-ethnic district situated on the northwestern side of Mont Royal (table 5.1). Most Vietnamese-Canadian associations are concentrated in Côte-des-Neiges, along with two pagodas and a cao-đại temple. As a result of high Vietnamese-Canadian

concentration and because of special programmes developed by the Québec's Ministry of Education since 1977, the local schools have developed Vietnamese language courses for the children during lunch time A large number of Vietnamese restaurants, cafés, groceries, drugstores, medical and dental clinics, video stores, a bookstore, and many other Vietnamese-owned businesses are now located in the neighborhood. On Victoria Avenue, for example, one single street corner is occupied by two associations (the Association of Vietnamese Women --Hôi phụ nữ Việt Nam--, the Golden Dragon Elders' Association --Hôi tuổi vàng rồng vàng), five Vietnamese restaurants advertising in their mother tongue (because of the very large Vietnamese clientele), a travel agency with exclusively Vietnamese-Canadian staff, a Vietnamese-owned pharmacy, hair dressing salon, a school of oriental floral art, a Vietnamese-Canadian appliance repairman, an office specialized in courier and parcels to Việt Nam, and a store called Sài-gòn Videos (see figure 5.6). On Goyer Street, east of Côte-des-Neiges avenue, half the tenants in three consecutive apartment buildings are Vietnamese Canadians, and most know each other. In summary, both the formal and informal Vietnamese-Canadian community in Côte-des-Neiges are well developed, a sharp residential concentration is now well-established in the neighborhood.

Originally developed around a Jesuit mission, Côte-des-Neiges was, 200 years ago, a small French Canadian village. Wealthy English Montrealers elected that quiet community for their summer cottages over the last century (Ville de Montréal 1985: 3). After the construction of Universite de Montréal on the southern edge of Côte-des-Neiges in the 1930s, the village was incorporated within Montréal. It soon became a students neighborhood, with increasing presence of Jewish refugees from Nazism before World War II.

More recently, Arabic, Caribbean, Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Latin-American groups have added a new ethnic dimension to the older Jewish core of Côte-des-Neiges. The rôle of the neighborhood as a reception zone for new arrivals stems from foreign student settlement around Université de Montréal in the 1950s and 1960s. The foreign students formed a residential core near the campus that later attracted other immigrants or refugees from the same ethnic groups. The degradation of the neighborhood further led Côte-des-

Figure 5.6 Vietnamese Services in Côte-des-Neiges



Source: Niêm Giáng Vàng directories (1987-88-89), field observations.

Neiges to become one of the cheapest housing areas in town, thus attracting a large immigrant population, generally at the lower level of the socio-economic scale. The neighborhood had 43,2% immigrants in 1986, its ethnic composition was highly varied, the average household income was $35 370, and the French and British ethnic groups were in minority. The development of various ethnic community services in Côte-des-Neiges further reinforced its choice as a first place of residence for the bulk of new arrivals in this city.

The first Vietnamese in Canada, as students in the sole French-speaking university in Montréal at the time, settled close to the Université de Montréal's campus, in the southern part of Côte-des-Neiges This initial core gradually moved northwest inside of the district where the dwellings remained inexpensive while rents were increasing along the edge of the campus. When the Việt Nam war ended in 1975, most students sponsored their families, who gradually attracted other Vietnamese in Côte-des-Neiges. Services developed there, businesses flourished, and both the informal and formal communities induced an important chain migration movement to Côte-des-Neiges

The majority of the questionnaire respondents (68.5%) resided in Côte-des-Neiges. Seventy respondents out of the 130 (53,8%) who answered the question said they would like to live in a village just for the Vietnamese if there was one in Canada. The Côte-des-Neiges respondents said they wanted to reside in such a village in a slightly higher proportion (55.3%), while a close to 100% could have been expected. This percentage reveals different perceptions between those who consider Côte-des-Neiges as a Vietnamese village already, and those who think it is an ethnically mixed neighborhood.

A Vietnamese village is still significant to most Vietnamese Canadians. The traditional importance given to the village community has been well preserved in the Vietnamese diaspora "Le Vietnamien, dans sa commune[2], a sa

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2. The word *xa* (commune or village 社) was, before the introduction of the roman alphabet, composed of the character 示 (key, symbol of the sacred) and 土 (the land, the place); the word itself indicates the importance of the village, a sacred place with a specific genius protecting it (Phan thị Đắc

place sur terre et sa réalité dans l'existence..." (Phan thị Đắc 1966: 24). Without the village and family attachments, the Vietnamese simply loses a large part of his/her personal significance. In the United States, Vietnamese evacuees in 1975 even expressed, when questioned on their sense of loss and disruption, their hope that the American government would built a "reservation" for them, a village where they could regroup and that could even be used as a tourist village! (Benneth-Jultus 1976: 88).

The total questionnaire sample was very much interested in a Vietnamese village in Canada and the would-be villagers were found in every age, ethnic (even the Chinese favored such a village), and marital categories, migrant and sponsorship types, males and females. The students, the Christians and those who had never been refugees in Việt Nam, however, were more reluctant to living in such a village. The reasons given by the interview respondents for that reluctance were: fear of gossip (8 respondents), mix of good and bad people (5), desire for tranquility (5), and realization that life had changed in Canada and that such a village was impossible (2).

5.5.2 Why Côte-des-Neiges

Interview data were used to understand more deeply the reasons why the Vietnamese Canadians concentrated in Côte-des-Neiges. Most respondents talked about the presence of family and friends in the neighborhood, Vietnamese stores and restaurants, the abundance of community services offered in Vietnamese, the possibility to frequent pagodas and temples, the general diversity of services offered in the district, the low rents, the efficiency of public transportation to downtown Montréal, the proximity of an industrial area offering manual jobs, the number of schools and the proximity of Université de Montréal, favorable to their children's future.

The Vietnamese Canadians in Côte-des-Neiges can buy Vietnamese foods in groceries where newspapers and magazines written in their mother tongue (published in Toronto or in the United States) are available. It is also

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1966: 25).

possible in Côte-des-Neiges to shop in Vietnamese clothing stores, jeweller, bookstore, computer stores, drugstores, to go to the hairdressing salon, to eat in restaurants where you know the composition and the taste of food, to buy bus or airplane tickets, to rent videos, to have your car repaired, all that through Vietnamese-Canadian business people. One can, moreover, visit Vietnamese-Canadian doctors and dentists, settle legal matters with Vietnamese-Canadian lawyers, buy houses through Vietnamese-Canadian real estate agents, and, in the absence of Vietnamese-speaking specialists of these matters, benefit of free interpretation services offered by an Indochinese organization devoted to community services (Service des interprètes auprès des réfugiés indochinois, located on Van Horne).

Table 5.2 lists the advantages and disadvantages of life in Côte-des-Neiges, as stated by the interview respondents. Living in the Côte-des-Neiges Vietnamese village avoids too strong a cultural shock that would spoil further integration into Canadian society and economy. The presence of Vietnamese or Chinese restaurants and groceries in the neighborhood, the proximity of family and friends' residences and the large Vietnamese-Canadian population of the area provide a more comforting milieu to people who lost everything and emigrated involuntarily. Côte-des-Neiges is very well connected to the rest of the city and offers an abundance of commercial, educational and recreational services. The low rents and the tranquility of the district (relative to downtown or the Parc Extension area, for example) also account for Vietnamese-Canadian concentration there.

Côte-des-Neiges, in addition, is an important job market for the Vietnamese Canadians, since its northwestern fringe is bordered by factories where turnover is frequent and the jobs not skill-demanding; both formal and informal communities, furthermore, are a great help in finding employment. It is difficult to know, however, how many people do work in such factories; turnover is so active that no systematic surveys of the manufacturing plants seem possible at present.

Table 5.2 Advantages and disadvantages of residence in Côte-des-Neiges as stated by the thirty interview respondents.

Advantages	**Count***
Vietnamese or Chinese restaurants and groceries	11
Good transportation service	7
Close to family and friends' residences	5
Many Vietnamese Canadians in the neighborhood	5
Many stores and services	4
Close to the work place	3
Close to schools and university	3
Cheap rents	2
Security (no thieves) and tranquillity	2
Parks for the children	2
Close to Vietnamese video stores	1
Close to pagodas	1
Close to hospitals	1
Disadvantages	**Count**
None, neighborhood is fine	6
Too many nationalities in the neighborhood	4
Noisy neighborhood	3
High rents	2
Cold social milieu	1
More people speaking English than French	1
Bad transportation system	1

*number of interviewees having mentioned the advantages and disadvantages listed here; some respondents have stated more than one.

Life in Côte-des-Neiges has the advantage of preserving a culture and a way of life that are menaced by the assimilationist (although not always intentional) power of the school and the work place, where members of diverse ethnic groups have to conform to dominant social behaviours and languages in order to communicate with each other. Although residential concentration is not always synonymous with cultural preservation, residence in the Côte-des-Neiges Vietnamese village certainly raises the quality of daily life.

The disadvantages of life in Côte-des-Neiges were expressed against the neighborhood itself and its population (especially ethnic diversity). Côte-des-Neiges was seen as too ethnically mixed and too noisy. Most Vietnamese were used to living in a homogeneous society in their homeland, the contacts with the Chinese, racially close to the Vietnamese, were limited to commercial activities in Vietnamese Chinatowns (phố tàu). The experience with the Americans in Viêt Nam accounted for a certain xenophobia among the Vietnamese Canadians in Montréal. Although some Vietnamese-Canadian friends mentioned on an informal basis that they felt less regarded as strangers in Côte-des-Neiges because of the high percentage of immigrants in the neighborhood, they still did not feel any strong sense of togetherness with other ethnic groups, be they immigrant or not.

It also appeared, from numerous observations in the district (visit of most Vietnamese-Canadian businesses, exploration of all streets of Côte-des-Neiges, informal interviews with association leaders, business owners and passer-bys), that some Vietnamese Canadians in Côte-des-Neiges were part of a restricted society, since they could not speak or understand the official languages and were still unfamiliar with Canadian ways of life after several years in this country. In that sense, concentration can hinder integration, due to the fact that the refugees can conduct daily activities in their mother tongue and have therefore no need to learn about the dominant languages and cultures of Canada. There seems to be no linguistic affinity, however, with either of the two dominant ethnic groups in Montreal: the Indochinese (ethnic origin) were as residentially segregated from the French (coefficient 0,70) as from the English (0,70 as well) in 1981 (Polèse and Veltman 1985: 52). The language dominant in one particular neighborhood is

therefore not a major factor of residential location, although it can play a rôle in some cases.

In Viêt Nam, although conditions of life have changed during the war, residential proximity with family and friends is highly prized (Schneider 1982: 72). "The dream would be for everybody to stay close together under one roof, or at least within walking distance of each other, as if physical proximity makes each one less vulnerable and the group stronger" (Trần Minh Tung 1980: 160). This valorization of residential proximity is even contained in a traditional saying: *bán anh em xa mua láng giềng gần* (sell your far-away relatives, buy your neighbours). All the interview respondents said they visited family members several times a week. Their friends, in large majority Vietnamese or Sino-Vietnamese, are also of great importance, especially to young single males. Residing in Côte-des-Neiges means being part of a rich and tight-knit Vietnamese social world, a comforting and familiar social group. Living in the "Vietnamese village" gives altogether an unmeasurable sense of belonging to a community, and compensates somewhat for the loss of one's patriae, a beloved homeland where family and friends were left behind. The opportunity the Vietnamese Canadians have to live in a big community of their own, gives them the economic aid and emotional stability necessary to a harmonious adaptation to Canadian society.

The case of two interview respondents, in that respect, provides clear examples of community support to emotional stability. A married person and the father of three children, Mr Đạo[3], was a soldier who deserted the Vietnamese army while in Kampuchea. He was admitted to Canada in 1982, after two years in a prison-like camp in Thailand. After living in Nicolet for a year, he moved to Montreal in search of a better-paid job that could allow him to sponsor his family to Canada. Because of his lack of transferrable skills, he has not succeeded in reaching a financial stability high enough to sponsor his family yet; his status as a deserter, moreover, accounts for the Vietnamese government's reluctance in letting his family go. Friends in Côte-des-Neiges, where he resides, have helped him improving his financial

3. Fictive name.

situation in sharing appartments and in supporting him in his moments of distress. Aware of his dead-end employment situation (Mr. Đạo does not speak French or English yet), more fortunate friends in Côte-des-Neiges have recently agreed to form a group of sponsors to help Đạo's family reach the Canadian soil. Another case observed at S.I.A.R.I. (the service of interpreters for the Indochinese refugees, located in Côte-des-Neiges) is similar. An elderly lady who was sponsored by her son has unfortunately a major conflict with her daughter-in-law; once in Canada, she could not live for long in her child's home. Obliged to move out of her son's household with no means of earning money (even welfare insurance is not available to her because of her son's sponsoring duties), she has a deep sense of emotional failure (family disruption). She comes every week at S.I.A.R.I.'s offices where the Vietnamese-Canadian interpreters always have a good word for her (they even comfort her when she cries); her emotional stability is therefore in part preserved by the fact that there are ethnically-specific services in Côte-des-Neiges.

5.6 Conclusion

The respondents have expressed a general satisfaction with ethnic residential concentration. Most seem to have benefited from a strong ethnic community, providing services necessary to a harmonious adaptation to Canadian society. For the first generation at least, residential concentration has very positive aspects. In contrast, some refugees will probably remain non-integrated as the disruption they have known as involuntary migrants and the cultural shock they have incurred were too strong (Meinhardt *et al.* 1985-86: 54). If the quality of their life can be better in ethnic clusters, then perhaps their community support should be encouraged.

From the data analyzed in this chapter, however, no evidence separates the characteristics of those who live in concentrated settlements and those who are dispersed within the metropolitan region of Montréal. The desire to live in a Vietnamese village if there was one in Montréal, the importance of family reunion and the advantages of both formal and informal communities was

shared by most Vietnamese Canadians surveyed. Even the so-called socio-economic status did not seem to play a major rôle in residential location; although no direct question about households' income was asked, the financial situation of the professionals and the merchants might have led them to become dispersed in suburbs through access to private property. The Vietnamese-Canadian doctors, pharmacists, computer specialists and business people surveyed, however, tended to live in concentrated (Côte-des-Neiges, Brossard) as much as dispersed settlements.

The second generation, however, is likely to disperse. The Canadian-born Vietnamese, even if raised in the Côte-des-Neiges Vietnamese village, soon adopt western social behaviors, speak French or English better than Vietnamese, and integrate very well in the job market and in social networks outside their own ethnic group. For the Vietnamese born in Canada. the need (both economic and emotional) for a residentially concentrated community will most probably be less important than for the Vietnamese presently coming to Canada.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The change from an initial dispersal of the Vietnamese in Canada to an ultimate concentration within specific neighborhoods of metropolitan areas has been illustrated by statistical data and by case studies derived from questionnaires and interviews. The vast secondary migration of the Vietnamese Canadians has mainly occurred through chain migration, and in a short period of time. The reasons why dispersal policies failed and secondary migration ensued are more subject to interpretation. Certain aspects of the choice and constraints upon residential location have been deemed significant, according to survey data, while others have not been considered, due to a lack of evidence. The reasons why concentration occurred have been categorized as follows: employment-related reasons, desire to form a community, family reunion, and characteristics proper to the neighborhood itself

The study has supported most assumptions that formed the basis of this study, as stated in the introductory chapter. The amplitude of secondary migration, for example, was confirmed by statistical data. The motivations underlying Vietnamese-Canadian migration towards cities and concentration within given neighborhoods are different from that of the general population. Even unemployment and de-qualification act differently on the Vietnamese arrivals and on the Canadian-born. The high rate of positive answers concerning the desires to reunite with family members and to live within a large Vietnamese community (and even a village) demonstrates, moreover, that cultural values play an active rôle in the concentration process of the overseas Vietnamese. The multi-level approach (Canada, Montréal, Côte-des-Neiges) used in the present thesis has permitted a more global analysis of Vietnamese residential patterns in Canada. The part played by a political will in dispersal is more difficult to assess. Although indications are numerous that dispersal was regarded desirable by the government, it is still unclear how conscious that will was and how sizable governmental action was.

The research questions formulated in the introductory chapter summarize the findings of this study:

A. What are the positive and negative impacts of dispersal policies?
This question demands the assessment of the desirability of dispersal policies. In fact, the meaning of dispersal depends on the view point of policy evaluators. In view of national (and even regional - Québec) interests, influxes of immigrants are regarded positively as long as they do not bring about major changes in the country's demography, economy, way of life and so-called "culture" (in that realm regarded as rather static and unchanging). In other words, assimilation, or at least economic integration, is judged necessary. Dispersal is likely to hasten the process of assimilation (Anglo-conformity, and its counterpart Franco-conformity). From the view point of the immigrants themselves, however, dispersal represents a sharp and sudden cultural shock, along with discrimination and unemployment.

B. Was it ethical to encourage the refugees to settle outside metropolitan areas?
C. Was there a link between assimilationist views and dispersal policies?
D. What was the rationale for such a dispersal policy?
These three questions address the ethical aspect of dispersal policies. The coercive element of such policies is certainly not desirable. And even without coercion, there is a very subjective aspect of the relationship between government or sponsors and the refugees: that relationship is one of dependence. The refugees, encouraged to settle outside metropolitan areas, felt a deep sense of indebtedness to their country of asylum for allowing them to start life anew. They were also unsure about their rights and duties as new residents of Canada. They had no idea, moreover, of what life would be like in small communities. Because of the subjectivity of the sponsor/refugee relation, it is difficult to talk about a true residential "choice". The elaboration of dispersal policies, moreover, was clearly the act of the host society itself; it would be surprising if immigrant groups decided to isolate themselves culturally, to reside in small settlements and to disperse their members. The political will to disperse a "visible minority" serves first of all the interests of the ruling majority and is evidently an attempt to

promote rapid assimilation. In view of the major current trend towards urbanization in Canada, it was equally unethical and unreasonable to put them in the economic fringe of the country.

E. Through what means or network did the refugees come to know about Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods in Montréal?

The process by which the refugees formed concentrations in Montreal was that of chain migration. The family was a major element of that chain, since reunification was highly valued, both because of traditional values and of its emotional and economic function in a situation of uprooting The social group, disrupted by flight and resettlement, had to be re-created, a study by Dr. Nguyễn San Duy (1980) showed that social relations were of prime importance in countering the sense of loss experienced by most refugees The community activities also acted as both attracting factors in the chain migration and as dispenser of information about Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods. The concentration of Vietnamese landmarks (pagodas, commercial signs in Vietnamese, grocery stores where one can hear Vietnamese spoken) also characterized Vietnamese-Canadian neighborhoods

F. Is there a difference between the residential mobility of the government and the privately sponsored?

No great differences between the residential mobility of the government and the privately sponsored have been noted within the limited scope of the present study. Most refugees have not kept links with their sponsors and initial residential place, as misunderstandings and lack of fluency in the official languages have rendered the formation of friendships problematic

G. What was the relative importance of family reunion, the ethnically-specific services, or the economic necessity in secondary migration?

Chapter 5 has answered that question with the survey data The importance of economic motivations to secondary migration was slightly higher than expected, while cultural reasons for residing in Montréal were still predominant. Among the cultural reasons for regrouping in specific neighborhoods, the importance of the Vietnamese-Canadian community was predominant. Living with other Vietnamese Canadians around was actually

linked to family reunion and to the re-creation of a social group within a tight-knit community. The daily services offered in Vietnamese was regarded by many respondents as significant advantages of residing in Côte-des-Neiges. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the availability of cheap housing and the convenient location of the neighborhood within the metropolitan area are still important factors of residential location.

H. Are the refugees 'footloose' or are they making roots?

The surveys have provided evidence that only a small proportion of the Vietnamese-Canadian population in Montréal intended to move to somewhere else. The prospective trend of Vietnamese-Canadian residential patterns, moreover, is towards home ownership. Many Vietnamese Canadians have the desire to buy a house, symbol of traditional residence of the family under one roof and of rooting into the new land. Residential mobility is still higher than for other Canadians, but roots are being made in the new country, in the new city, and even in favorite neighborhoods.

I. Is assimilation, both geographic and social, unavoidable?

The dispersal of well-to-do Vietnamese Canadians towards suburbs might go along with assimilation. The question that remains unanswered concerns the very nature of that so-called assimilation (assimilation to what?). Since there is no specifically-Canadian cultural standard (the population being very diverse as to its origin), assimilation in the Canadian context means adoption of the Anglo-Saxon-Canadian way of life, or else the French-Canadian's. Geographic and social assimilation (the adoption of the general population's residential distribution and social values) was experienced by most minority groups in Canada with the second and third generations Some groups, however, stay residentially concentrated over long periods of time, and retain cultural particularities deeply rooted in their Canadian-born members. The Vietnamese, because of their long history of resistance and their involuntary migration, are likely to avoid complete assimilation. Profound changes, both geographic and social, however, are undeniably occurring.

J. Do we ultimately live in a truly multicultural society?

The very existence of dispersal policies raises some doubts about the reality of multiculturalism. Discrimination, nativism and racism have long been part of Canadian immigration policies, and have only recently been abolished Social reality, furthermore, differs from political efforts toward multiculturalism, and "... attempts to present Canada as a mosaic whose attitude toward assimilation has always been enlightened as compared to the United States, where crass 'melting potism' has prevailed, are on shaky historical ground" (Palmer 1976: 528). The socialization process (manifested in the school system, and in the over-valorization of French and English cultures and languages) through which every Canadian goes, does not fully prepare them to appreciate ethnic diversity.

The findings of this thesis demonstrated that the initial dispersed distribution of the Vietnamese in Canada was imposed on them by resettlement policies including private sponsorship and governmental action Agents external to the Vietnamese community, have induced a wide dispersal The concentration process rather stemmed from voluntary action on the part of the Vietnamese. Although some constraints act on them (such as housing costs and discrimination from apartment owners), the fact that the Vietnamese Canadians are forming clusters appeared to be predominantly voluntary. It is not yet possible in Canada, however, to speak of a "Little Sai-gon" as in Orange County, California (Holland and Desbarats 1983) or of an "Indochinatown" as in Washington (Rice 1980); Montréal's Vietnamese neighborhoods are not homogeneous enough yet to talk about Vietnamese "villages" within the city The Vietnamese Canadians are not in numerical dominance in specific districts, they are only components of multi-ethnic areas

The Vietnamese experience has provided interesting insights on refugee migration and cultural traditions, and multiculturalism in Canada. The geographical view point, usually neglected in ethnic research, has proven relevant to the multi-faceted study of a minority group in situation of resettlement. The ultimate aim of this thesis is that residential distribution will be, in the future, the act of immigrant groups themselves, and that residential patterns will be developed in their own interests.

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ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questionnaire #_____ Place of interview_____ Date_____

1-When did you leave Viêt-Nam?_____

2-When did you arrive in Canada?_____

3-Mother tongue_____

Language(s) presently spoken at home_____at work_____

(can the respondent express her/himself easily in French and/or English? -

Personal judgment from the interviewer:_____)

4-Sex (check): Female_____ 5-Age (check): Less than 20_____

Male_____ 20-35_____

36-60 _____

More than 60_____

6-Civil status_____ 7-Religion._____

8-How many years did you attend school: In Viêt-Nam___ In Canada____

Elsewhere (specify)_____

9-What was your occupation for most of your life?_____

What was your occupation just before you left Viêt-Nam?_____

What is your occupation now?_____

10-How did you leave Viêt-Nam?_____

11-Were you (or your parents) ever refugees in your country before 1975?

(check) Yes____ No_____ Specify when_____

12-Where did you live in Viêt-Nam for most of your life (big city, town,

village)?_____

13-Who did you live with in Viêt-nam (under the same roof)?

Members of your family:_____

_____

Others:_____

14-Who do you live with now?

Members of your family:_____

_____

Others:_____

15-Did you have any family in Canada before you came?(check)Yes__No__

16-Was your arrival in Canada sponsored by:

(check) Your relatives_____

An unrelated group of Vietnamese people_____

A group of Canadians_____

The government_____

Other (specify)_____

17-With whom did you arrive in Canada?_____

18-Your first residence in Canada was: (check)

An apartment or house provided by the government _____

An apartment or house provided by your sponsors_____

An apartment or house rented or bought by you _____

With a Canadian family in their home_____

With an unrelated Vietnamese family in their home_____

With your Vietnamese relatives in their home_____

Others_____

19-Did you consider your first place of residence temporary? (check)

Yes ___ No____

20-Were there any immigration services that helped you resettle at your first place of residence? (check) Yes_____ No_____

What were they and where were they located?_____

21-Were there any services or activities offered by a Vietnamese association at your first place of residence? (check) Yes_____ No_____

What were they and where were they located?_____

_____

22-Were there any job opportunities at your first place of residence? (check) Yes _____ No _____

What were they? _____

_____

23-Were there many Vietnamese around your first place of residence? (check) Yes ____ No ____

24-Was your first place of residence mainly: (check or specify)

French___ English___ French and English mixed____

Other-s (specify)_____

25-What were the greatest advantages of living there?

_____

_____

_____

26-What were the greatest disadvantages of living there?

_____

_____

_____

27-Could you tell me more about the reasons why you left the place where you first resettled?_____

_____

_____

28-In your present place of residence, do you live:

In an apartment or house given by the government _____

In an apartment or house given by your sponsors_____

In an apartment or house rented or bought by you _____

With a Canadian family in their home_____

With a Vietnamese family that was not your relative in their home__

With your Vietnamese relatives in their home_____

Others_____

29-Do you consider your present place of residence as temporary? (check)

Yes____ No____

30-Is there any immigration services you use that are offered near your current place of residence? (check) Yes_____ No_____

What are they and where are they located?_____

_____

31-What are the services or activities offered by the Vietnamese associations that you participate to, and how often do you participate to them?____

_____

32-Are you member of one of the Vietnamese associations of Montréal? (check)

Yes___ No___ Which one(s)?_____

33-Do you think that there are many job opportunities in Montréal?

(check) Yes_____ No_____

What are they? _____

_____

34-Is there many Vietnamese around your place of residence now?

(check) Yes_____ No_____

35-Is the place where you live now mainly (check or specify)

French___ English___ Mixed English and French___

Other(s)(specify)_____

36-What are the greatest advantages of living where you live now (district)?_____

_____

_____

37-What are the greatest disadvantages of living where you live now?

_____

_____

_____

38-Do you want to move away from Montreal some day? (check) Yes___ No___

If yes, where do you want to go next?_____

39-If you were really free to choose, what would be the place in the world where you would like to live the most?_____

Why? _____

40-If the Vietnamese in Canada were given an entire village or a district in a city, would you want to live there? (check) Yes___ No___

Why?_____

_____

_____

41-Where do most of your relatives and friends in Canada live?_____

How often do you visit with your relatives and friends

In Montréal_____ Elsewhere in Québec (specify)_____

Elsewhere in Canada (specify)_____

Outside of Canada (specify)_____

42-Are the people you visit with mainly: Vietnamese___

French Canadians__

English Canadians___

Others (specify)_____

43-How often do you go to the religious places in Montréal (pagoda, cao-daist temple, church with masses in Vietnamese, etc)?_____

44-Where do you go for: (list the names of the stores or place of work where you use to go)

Work_____

Groceries_____

Clothing_____

Leisure: restaurants_____

videos_____

films_____

books, magazines, etc_____

bars and cafes_____

sports_____

45-Where in Montréal do you think there is the greatest number of Vietnamese?

_____

46-What district of Montréal would you recommand to other Vietnamese as a place of residence?_____

Why? _____

_____

_____

47-Do you think it is desirable for the Vietnamese in Montréal to live in the same district? (check) Yes_____ No_____

Why?_____

_____

48-Are you a Canadian citizen? (check) Yes____ No_____

49-What do you regard as the single greatest difficulty or problem that you have had to face in trying to settle down in Canada?_____

_____

Place of residence _____

Phone number_____

ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Questionnaire number._____ Place_____ Date._____

1-When did you leave Viêt-Nam?_____ 2-arrive in Canada?_____

3-Age (check). <20_____ Sex (check) Male_____

20-35_____ Female_____

36-60 ____

> 60_____

4-What was your occupation for most of your life?_____

What is your occupation now?_____

5-Mother tongue_____

Language(s) spoken: a)at home_____ b)at work_____

6-How many years did you attend school (check) In Viêt-Nam_____

In Canada_____

Elsewhere (specify)_____

7-Civil status:_____ Religion _____

8-Do you come from the North, the South or the Centre of Viêt-Nam?

North_____ South_____ Centre_____

9-Were you (or your parents) refugees in your country before 1975? (check)

Yes_____ No_____ Specify when_____

10-How did you leave Viêt-Nam? (check)

Before 1975____

In the evacuation in 1975____

By small boat after 1975____

By freighter after 1975_____

By official emigration channels after 1975 (directly from Viet-Nam)_____

Otherwise (specify)_____

11-Were your sponsors

Your relatives_____

A group of Vietnamese__

A group of Canadians___

A church____

The government___

Others (specify)_____

12-With whom did you arrive in Canada?_____

13-Where do most of your relatives and friends in Canada live?

_____

14-Do you intend to leave Montréal some day? (check) Yes___ No____

If yes, where do you want to go next?_____

15-If the Vietnamese in Canada would be given an entire village or district, would you want to live there? (check) Yes_____ No_____

16-If you were really free to choose, what would be the place in the world where you would like to live the most?_____

17-Before your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move, from one place of residence to another?_____

18-Since your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move?_____

19-Where was your first place of residence in Canada (village, district, etc), and how long did you live there?_____

20-Where do you live now and for how long have you resided there?_____

_____

21-Could you give the reason why you decided to reside in Montréal?

_____

_____

Thank you very much for your collaboration.

Bản câu hỏi này nằm trong chương trình nghiêu cứu của phân khoa địa-dứ của Đại-Hoc McGill va đã dược sư đồng ý của Công đồng người Viet tại Montreal Mục đích chính của bản câu hỏi này là để biết về những rời đổi nói cư ngu của người Việt Nam tại Gia-nã-Đai. Danh tánh của quý-vi sẽ dược bảo đảm giử kín và cuộc nghiên cứu này chỉ có mục đích hoàn toan giáo khoa. Một phu bản của luận án đúc kết tư bản câu hỏi nay sẽ dược để tại tru sở Công đồng Việt Nam, 6338 đường Victoria 16, hy vong luận án này có thể dùng để tăng tiến các đich-vu cho công đồng việt tại Gia-nã-Đai. Xin quý-vi vui lòng trả lời hết các câu hỏi và xin cho cang nhiều chi thiết cang tốt.

**** Cám ơn sư hợp tác của quý-vi ****

Caroline Lavoie

Caroline Lavoie
sinh-viên ở Đai-Học McGill
Montréal

Dò ý kiến số_____ Chỗ_____ Ngày_____

1-Ông (Bà) đời Việt Nam năm nào?_____

2-Ông (Bà) tới ở Gia-nã-Đại bao lâu rồi?_____

3-Ông (Bà) bao nhiêu tuổi? (xin gạch)
ít hơn 20_____
20-35_____
36-60_____
hơn 60_____
Đàn Ông (Phái Nam)_____
Đàn Bà (Phái Nữ)_____

4-Ở Việt Nam, Ông (Bà) làm nghề gì?_____
Bây giờ, Ông (Bà) làm nghề gì?_____

5-Tiếng mẹ đẻ_____ Ngôn-ngữ ở nhà_____
Ngôn-ngữ ở nơi làm việc_____

6-Ông (Bà) đi học bao nhiêu năm? Tại Việt Nam___ Tại Gia-nã-Đại___
Ở chỗ khác (xin nói rõ)_____

7-Tình trạng gia đình_____ Tôn giáo_____

8-Ông (Bà) là người gốc Bắc hay Nam, hay Trung? (xin gạch)
Bắc_____ Nam_____ Trung_____

9-Trong thời kỳ chiến tranh Việt Nam, Ông (Bà) có phải lánh nạn lần nào không (năm 1954, trước 1975)? (xin gạch) Có____ Không____

10-Ông (Bà) đời Việt Nam bằng cách nào? (xin gạch)
Trước 1975____
Di tản năm 1975____
Đi bằng thuyền nhỏ sau 1975____
Đi bằng tau sau 1975____
Đi chính thức sau 1975____
Đi cách khác (xin nói rõ)_____

11-Ai bảo lãnh Ông (Bà)? (xin gạch)
Thân-nhân hay gia đình__
Một hội người Việt__
Một hội người tây__
Một hội đạo__
Chính phủ__
Người khác (nói rõ)_____

12-Ông (Ba) tới Gia-nã-Đại với ai?_____

13-Phần đông thân-nhân và bạn bè của Ông (Bà) tại Gia-nã-Đại ở đâu (tiểu bang nào, tỉnh nào)?_____

14-Ông (Bà) có tính dời khỏi Montréal một ngày nào đó không? (xin gạch) Có____ Không____
Nếu có, Ông (Ba) tính dời đi đâu?_____

15- Nếu bây giờ có một làng Việt Nam hoặc một khu phố Việt Nam tại Gia-nã-Đại, Ông (Ba) có muốn ở đó không? (xin gạch) Có___ Không___

16-Nếu Ông (Ba) có quyền lựa chọn một nơi cư ngụ trên thế giới thì Ông (Ba) sẽ chọn nơi nào?_____

17-Trước khi đến Gia-nã-Đai, Ông (Bà) đã don nhà bao nhiêu lần?____

18-Từ khi ở Gia-nã-Đai, Ông (Bà) đã don nhà bao nhiêu lần rồi?_____

19-Xin cho biết nơi cư ngu đầu tiên của Ông (Bà) tai Gia-nã-Đai (tiểu bang nao, tỉnh nao?) và Ông (Bà) đã ở đó bao lâu?_____

_____

20-Xin cho biết nơi cư ngu biên tai của Ông (Ba)?_____

21-Xin cho biết vi lý do gi mà Ông (Ba) đã don tới đây?_____

_____

_____

_____

**** Cám ơn ông (bà) rất nhieu ****

ANNEX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS ACCORDING TO "REASONS FOR RESIDING IN MONTREAL"

Annex 3a: Questionnaire results according to
"economic reason for residing in Montréal" (32 respondents)

1-When did you leave Viêt-Nam?		2-arrive in Canada?	
1975:	9,4%	1975:	9,4%
1978:	3,2%	1979:	3,2%
1979:	28,1%	1980:	25,0%
1980:	9,4%	1981:	15,6%
1981:	9,4%	1982:	6,2%
1982:	9,4%	1984:	18,7%
1984:	12,5%	1985:	6,2%
1985:	9,4%	1986:	6,2%
1986:	6,2%	1987:	6,2%
No answer:	3,2%	No answer:	3,2%
Total:	100,2%*	Total:	99,9%

(*totals do not equal 100,0% due to rounding)

3-Age (check):		Sex (check):	
<20:	3,2%	Male:	62,5%
20-35:	43,8%	Female:	34,4%
36-60:	46,8%	Not stated:	3,2%
>60:	6,2%	Total:	100,1%
Total:	100,0%		

4-What was your occupation for most of your life?	
Blue collars:	40,6%
Professionals:	21,8%
Self-employed:	15,6%
Students:	15.6%
Housekeepers:	3,2%
No answer:	3,2%
Total:	100,0%

What is your occupation now?	
Blue collars:	40,6%
Professionals:	21,8%
Unemployed:	15,6%
Students:	9,4%
White collars:	6,2%
Self-employed:	3,2%
Housekeepers:	3,2%
Total:	100,0%

5-Mother tongue:	
Vietnamese:	84,4%
Chinese dialect:	15,6%
Total:	100,0%

Language(s) spoken: a)at home:	
Vietnamese:	78,1%
Chinese:	15,6%
Viet + French:	6,2%
Total:	99,9%

b)at work:

French:	25,0%
English:	18,7%
French + English:	18,7%
Vietnamese:	9,4%
Chinese:	3,2%
Viet + French:	3,2%
Viet + English:	3,2%
No work/NA:	18,7%
Total:	100,1%

6-How many years did you attend school:

a) In Viêt-Nam:

None:	9,4%
<5 yrs:	3,2%
5 to 10 yrs:	28,1%
11 to 15 yrs:	40,6%
>15 yrs:	18,8%
Total:	100,1%

b) In Canada:

None:	34,4%
Up to 7 mths:	40,6%
7 mths to 1 yr:	3,2%
1 to 2 yrs:	6,4%
More than 2 yrs:	15,6%
Total:	100,2%

c) Elsewhere:

None:	90,6%
More than 2 yrs:	9,4%
Total:	100,0%

7-Civil status:

Married:	65,6%
Single:	21,9%
Widowed:	3,2%
No answer:	9,4%
Total:	100,1%

Religion:

Buddhists:	59,4%
Catholics:	25,0%
Ancestor cult:	9,4%
None/NA:	6,2%
Total:	100,0%

8-Do you come from the North, the South or the Centre of Viêt-Nam?

South:	59,4%
North:	34,4%
Centre:	6,2%
Total:	100,0%

9-Were you (or your parents) refugees in your country before 1975?

No:	56,2%
Yes:	40,6%
No answer:	3,2%
Total:	100,0%

10-How did you leave Viêt-Nam?

Boat people:	53,1%
Freighter people:	15,6%
Official emigration:	15,6%
1975 evacuation:	9,4%

11-Sponsors:

Government:	40,6%
Family:	37,5%
Church:	12,5%
Private group:	9,4%
Total:	100,0%

Land people: 6,2%
Total: 99,9%

12-With whom did you arrive in Canada? Spouse/children: 56,2%
Alone: 31,2%
Relatives: 9,4%
Friends: 3,2%
Total: 100,0%

13-Where do most of your relatives and friends in Canada live?
Montréal: 18,7%
Montréal & elsewhere in Québec: 28,2%
Elsewhere in Québec. 3,2%
Montréal & Toronto: 18,7%
Toronto: 6,2%
Eastern Canada: 3,2%
Everywhere in Canada: 15,6%
No answer: 3,2%
Total: 97,0%

14-Do you intend to leave Montréal some day?
No: 62,5%
Yes: 31,2%
Do not know: 6,2%
Total: 99,9%

15-If the Vietnamese in Canada would be given an entire village or district, would you want to live there?
No: 68,7%
Yes: 21,9%
Do not know: 9,4%
Total: 100,0%

16-If you were really free to choose, what would be the place in the world where you would like to live the most?
Canada: 34,4%
Montréal: 21,9%
Viêt Nam: 18,8%
Viêt Nam w/o communists: 6,4%
Elsewhere in Canada: 6,4%
United States: 6,4%
Other countries: 6,4%
Total. 100,7%

17-Before your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move, from one place of residence to another?
Never: 21,9%
Twice: 9,4%
Three times: 6,2%
More than 3 times: 3,2%
No answer: 59,4% ** (see figure 4.3 on 'no answers')
Total: 101,1%

18-Since your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move?

Once:	25,0%
Twice:	31,2%
Three times:	15,6%
More than 3 times:	25,0%
No answer:	3,2%
Total:	100,0%

19-Where was your first place of residence in Canada (village, district, etc), and how long did you live there?

Big city:	31,2%	<6 mths:	12,5%
Town:	50,0%	>6 mths - 1 yr:	21,9%
Village:	15,6%	>1 - 2 yrs:	18,8%
No answer:	3,2%	>2 - 3 yrs:	9,4%
Total:	100,0%	>3 - 4 yrs:	9,4%
		>4 yrs:	12,5%
		No answer:	15,6%
		Total:	100,0%

20-Where do you live now?

Big city:	96,9%
No answer:	3,2%
Total:	100,1%

21-Could you give the reason why you decided to reside in Montréal?

Job-related:	100,0%

Annex 3b: Questionnaire results according to
"family and community reasons for residing in Montréal" (33 respondents)

1-When did you leave Viêt-Nam? 1975: 12,5%
1978: 9,1%
1979: 9,1%
1980: 24,2%
1981: 6,1%
1982: 6,3%
1983: 3,0%
1984: 12,1%
1985: 12,1%
1986: 3,0%
1987: 3,0%
Total: 105,2%

2-arrive in Canada? 1975: 12,5%
1979: 18,2%
1980: 15,1%
1981: 12,1%
1982: 9,1%
1984: 15,1%
1984: 15,1%
1986: 3,0%
1987. 3,0%
Total: 103,2%

3-Age (check): <20: 21,2%
20-35: 30,3%
36-60: 33,3%
>60: 15,6%
Total. 100,4%

Sex (check): Male: 57,6%
Female. 42,4%
Total: 100,0%

4-What was your occupation for most of your life? Blue collars: 24,4%
Professionals: 18,2%
Students: 12,1%
Self-employed: 9,1%
Housekeepers: 9,1%
White collars: 9,1%
Unemployed: 6,1%
No answer: 12,1%
Total: 100,2%

What is your occupation now? Blue collars: 39,4%
Housekeepers: 15,2%
Unemployed: 12,1%
Professionals: 9,1%
White collars: 6,1%
Self-employed. 3,0%
No answer: 12,1%
Total: 97,0%

5-Mother tongue: Vietnamese: 90,9%
Chinese dialect. 6,1%
Both languages: 3,0%
Total: 100,0%

Language(s) spoken: a)at home: Vietnamese: 81,8%
Chinese: 6,1%
Viet + Chinese: 3,0%
Viet + French: 9,1%
Total: 100,0%

b)at work:

French:	24,2%
English:	15,2%
Viet + French:	15,2%
Vietnamese:	12,1%
French + English:	9,4%
Viet + English:	3,0%
Chinese:	3,0%
No work/NA:	18,8%
Total:	100,9%

6-How many years did you attend school:

a) In Viêt-Nam:

None:	21,9%
<5 yrs:	6,1%
5 to 10 yrs:	27,3%
11 to 15 yrs:	27,3%
>15 yrs:	18,2%
Total:	99,9%

b) In Canada:

None:	30,3%
Up to 7 mths:	33,3%
7 mths to 1 yr:	6,1%
1 to 2 yrs:	18,2%
More than 2 yrs:	12,1%
Total:	100,0%

c) Elsewhere:

None:	97,0%
From 1 to 2 yrs:	3,0%
Total:	100,0%

7-Civil status:

Married.	54,5%
Single.	36,4%
Widowed.	6,1%
Separated:	3,0%
No answer:	3,0%
Total:	103,0%

Religion:

Buddhists:	33,3%
Catholics:	18,2%
Protestants:	6,1%
None/NA:	42,4%
Total:	100,0%***

(see figure 3.1 on 'no answer')

8-Do you come from the North, the South or the Centre of Viêt-Nam?

South:	66,7%
North:	27,3%
Centre:	6,1%
Total:	100,1%

9-Were you (or your parents) refugees in your country before 1975?

No:	33,3%
Yes:	30,3%
No answer:	39,4%
Total:	102,0%

10-How did you leave Viêt-Nam?

Boat people:	51,5%
Official emigration:	33,3%
1975 evacuation:	12,1%

11-Sponsors:

Family:	42,4%
Government:	24,2%
Private group:	21,2%
Church:	3,0%

Freighter people: 3,0% Total:101,0%
Total: 99,9%

12-With whom did you arrive in Canada? Spouse/children: 66,7%
Alone: 15,2%
Relatives: 15,2%
Friends: 3,0%
Total:100,1%

13-Where do most of your relatives and friends in Canada live?
Montréal. 48,5%
Montréal & elsewhere in Québec: 21,2%
Montreal & Toronto 15,2%
Elsewhere in Canada. 6,1%
Toronto: 3,0%
No answer: 6,1%
Total.100,1%

14-Do you intend to leave Montreal some day?
No: 75,8%
Yes: 24,2%
Total:100,0%

15-If the Vietnamese in Canada would be given an entire village or district, would you want to live there?
Yes: 57,8%
No: 39,4%
Do not know: 3,0%
Total 100,2%

16-If you were really free to choose, what would be the place in the world where you would like to live the most?
Canada. 21,2%
Viêt Nam: 15,1%
United States. 15,1%
Montreal 12,1%
Viêt Nam w/o communism 9,1%
Other countries: 6,1%
Elsewhere in Canada: 3,0%
No answer: 12,1%
Total: 93,8%

17-Before your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move, from one place of residence to another?
Never: 24,2%
Twice: 9,1%
Three times: 12,1%
More than 3 times 3,0%
No answer: 39,4% ** (see figure 4.3 on 'no answers')
Total: 97,8%

18-Since your arrival in Canada, how many times did you move?

Never:	12,1%
Once:	21,2%
Twice:	27,3%
Three times:	27,3%
More than 3 times:	9,1%
No answer:	3,0%
Total:	100,0%

19-Where was your first place of residence in Canada (village, district, etc), and how long did you live there?

Big city:	69,7%	<6 mths:	9,1%
Town:	24,2%	>6 mths - 1 yr:	27,3%
Village:	6,1%	>1 - 2 yrs:	3,0%
Total:	100,0%	>2 - 3 yrs	12,1%
		>3 - 4 yrs:	6,1%
		>4 yrs:	18,2%
		No answer:	24,2%
		Total:	100,0%

20-Where do you live now?

Big city:	100,0%

21-Could you give the reason why you decided to reside in Montréal?

Live with more Vietnamese around:	51,5%
Family reunion:	42,4%
Join with friends.	6,1%
Total:	100,0%